

**CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS AND THE PROMOTION OF
GOOD GOVERNANCE: A CASE OF NGOS IN THE SUNYANI
MUNICIPALITY.**

KNUST

By

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A Thesis submitted to the Department of Planning, College of Art and Built
Environment, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology,
Kumasi in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Philosophy (MPhil) in
Development Studies

August, 2015

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DECLARATION

I, **VIDA AMPIAH**, do hereby declare that except for reference to other people's work which have been duly acknowledged, this thesis is the result of my own research carried out towards the Master of Philosophy in Development Studies Degree at the Department of Planning, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST).

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I give thanks to God Almighty who has been my source of inspiration, knowledge and strength. I appreciate God's goodness and guidance and direction towards me throughout my entire studies and the various stages of my thesis.

To my supervisor, Dr. Ronald Adamtey, who was always available just to make this work a masterpiece, I say God richly bless you. You made this work a possibility through your well constructive criticisms, guidance, dedication and encouragement.

My heartfelt gratitude goes to all the lecturers in the department of planning at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology especially to my MPhil Director, Dr. Justice Owusu-Ansah for his support and encouragement. My appreciation also goes to Prof. K. K. Adarkwa who has kept me on my toes throughout this period with his frequent question of „when are you submitting your final draft?“ was my great source of motivation. Prof. I am grateful.

Several people contributed towards the completion of this work in terms of cash, advice, suggestions and criticisms. The list is endless but I would say may the good Lord reward you all. Special thanks to Mr. Yaw Opoku (Municipal Electoral Officer of the Sunyani Municipal Assembly) for your assistance in the collection of field data. To my friend John Ebotui Yajalin, I am equally grateful for your criticisms, suggestions and for keeping watch with me to meet the set deadline.

Furthermore, I extend my appreciation to my family especially to my parents Mr. Samuel Godson Ampiah and Mrs. Esther Ampiah for their moral support and the financial sacrifices they have made and continue to make towards my attainment of formal education. I finally, seize this opportunity to thank all my mates in the Master of philosophy class of 2015, especially Ato Kwamena Senayah, Jerry Chati Tasantab and Fauster Awepuga. Thank you for the love you have shown me throughout my studies.

God bless you all!

ABSTRACT

Ever since Ghana returned to constitutional rule in 1992 after the various military interventions since independence, the country has undergone various developments in terms of democracy and good governance. These developments have been associated to different institutions and organisations. While some scholars attribute the progress towards democratic good governance to the effectiveness of political institutions in the country, others link it to the work of NGOs. However, the role of NGOs in enhancing democratic good governance is seen to be more of speculations rather than based on empirical evidence.

With the above competing claims in mind, this study is undertaken with the objective of examining critically the actual role of NGOs in promoting democracy and good governance in the Sunyani Municipality of the Brong-Ahafo Region of Ghana. Specifically, the study seeks to examine the role NGOs play in promoting democratic good governance within the context of election monitoring, political education, policy advocacy and access to justice. The study also examines the challenges NGOs face in promoting democracy and good governance in the Sunyani Municipality.

The study employed both evaluative and case study designs to assess the role of four indigenous NGOs (CODEO, Women and Youth in Development, World Clock and CHREP-Aid) in the Sunyani Municipality in promoting democratic good governance. Both primary and secondary data were gathered for the analysis. Analysis of the study was accomplished through the use of the mixed research approach involving both the qualitative and quantitative techniques in finding answers to the research questions.

Using the Pearson Chi-square test and an independent t-test, there was evidence to suggest that NGOs activities promote democratic good governance (government legitimacy, citizens' participation, government accountability and rule of law) in the Sunyani Municipality. In spite of the achievements of these NGOs, the survey revealed a number of challenges which tend to limit the extent of their work. These setbacks included financial constraints, limited human resource capacity, inadequate logistics, and misappropriation of funds on the part of the leadership. Based on the survey results, the study recommends the following: adoption of effective means of mobilising resources, increase collaboration and cooperation among NGOs and between NGOs and their constituents, and the strengthening or establishment of a strong regulatory body.

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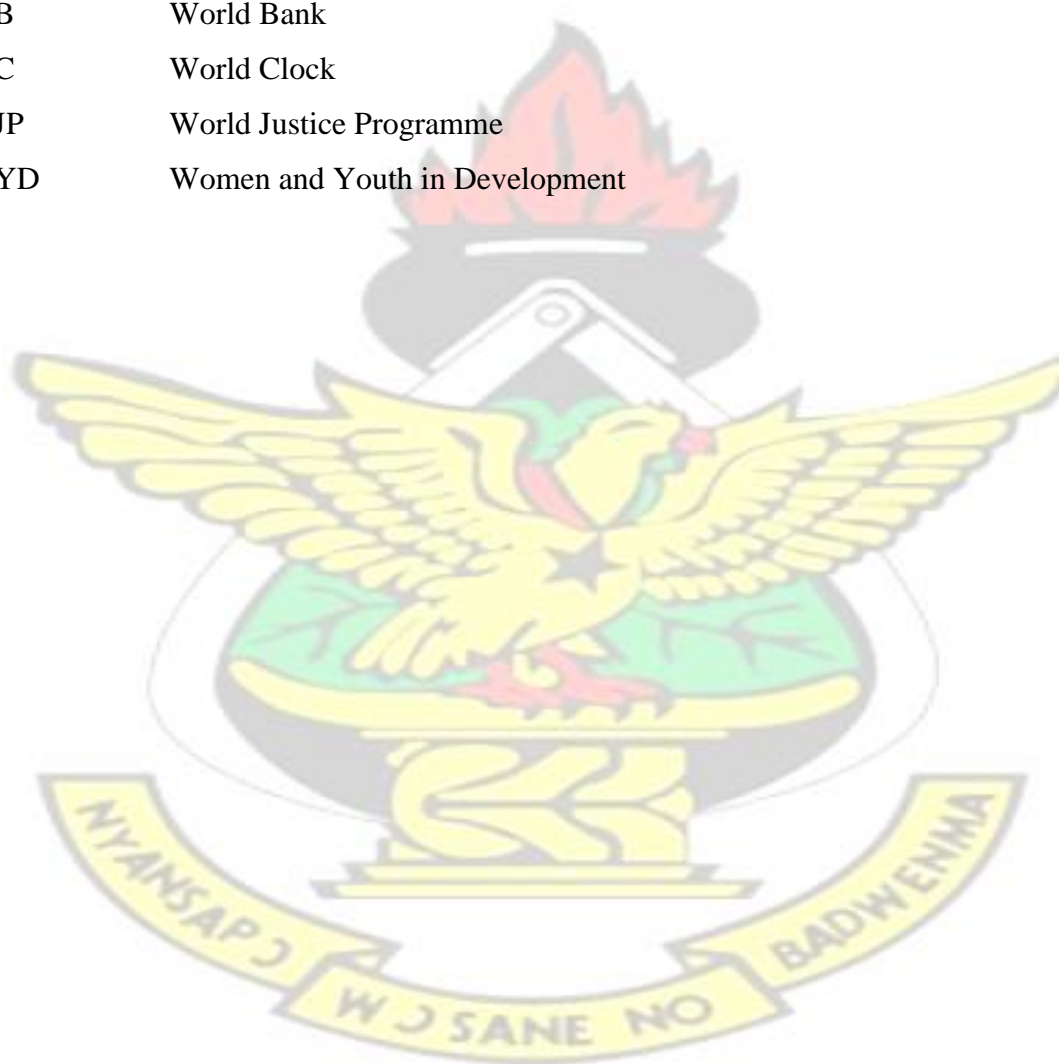
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BANGO	Brong-Ahafo Association of Non-Governmental Organisations
CADI	Centre for Alternative Development Initiatives
CDD	Centre for Democratic Development
CHREP- Aid	Centre for Human Rights Enforcement and Prisoners Aid
CLS	Christian Legal Services
CODEO	Coalition of Domestic Election Observers
CPP	Convention People's Party
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DFID	Department for International Development, UK
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
DVA	Domestic Violence Act
EC	Electoral Commission
FCS	Foundation for Civil Society
GAPVOD	Ghana Association of Private Voluntary Organisations in Development
GPF	Growth and Poverty Forum
IDAs	International Development Agencies
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IEA	Institute for Economic Affairs
ISODEC	Integrated Social Development Centre
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agencies
LI	Legislative Instrument
NCCE	National Commission for Civic Education
NDC	National Democratic Party
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NPP	New Patriotic Party
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
RCS	Red Cross Society
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SB	Society for the Blind

SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SPT	Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WC	World Clock
WJP	World Justice Programme
WYD	Women and Youth in Development



CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background

The task of any society is to restructure and strengthen itself by building the capacities of its citizens through education, organisation and mobilisation for them to achieve their aspirations. In the words of Wolfomitz (2006), the achievement of these aspirations is what is termed good governance. Since the 1990s, the concept of good governance has attracted the attention of many all over the world. The concept of good governance was first proposed by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) as the antidote to the problems inherent in the various strategies undertaken by governments in their pursuit to achieve growth and development. The popularity of the concept can further be associated with the fall of communism which changed the political direction of the Eastern European countries in terms of their approach to development (Almond, 1992).

According to the World Bank (1992), good governance serves as the foundation in considering the ability of a state to conform to any generally acceptable standards. Being the principal proponent of the good governance agenda, the World Bank explains good governance as the manner in which a country's resources are managed to achieve development. In line with this, the World Bank identified effectiveness and efficiency, accountability and good responsiveness, transparency, rule of law and public access to information as some of the key components of good governance. Though the government is the principal actor in the good governance promotion, there exist other actors that either complement the government or work in an entirely new area to achieve good governance. Of critical importance of those actors is Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) specifically Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs).

Since the 1990s, civil society has gained grounds and recognition both nationally and internationally for promoting democracy and good governance. According to Mutfang (2003), civil society seeks to sustain the democratic systems by articulating the views of its people as well as regulating the power of the state by acting as a check on the state and its institutions. These activities they perform promote accountability, transparency and responsiveness which are the key indicators of good governance.

Currently, various accounts abound that portray CSOs, specifically NGOs, as the key player that ushered citizens of the hitherto autocratic societies into a liberal democratic society unknown to them (Clark, 1991; Fukuyama, 1992; Putnam, 1993; Diamond, 1999; Mercer, 2002; Dorman, 2004). Though in a new democracy in which the government retains the responsibility of managing the affairs of the citizens for them to achieve their aspirations, the actual task of promoting and maintaining the democratic system is done by NGOs, especially those working in the public interest. This view has led to a proliferation of NGOs all over the world. According to Anheir, Glasius and Kaldor (2001), the number of international NGOs increased from 28,900 in 1993 to 40,000 (38%) in 1999. It was revealed in a report by the Commonwealth Foundation that Britain alone has over 500,000 NGOs with over 175,000 (35%) being registered charities in the UK. This increase in the number of NGOs was not peculiar to the developed countries but also to developing ones with Kenya recording over 793 percent increase in the number of registered NGOs between 1993 to 2005 (Vanessa, 2008). Tanzania's case was even more impressive with 41 registered NGOs in 1990 to a more than 10,000 by the year 2000 (Reuben, 2002). Within the context of a democratic state like Ghana, there has equally been an increase in the number of NGOs from 320 NGOs in 1996 to 5,000 in 2008 (USAID, 2010).

However, the optimism held about NGOs is not universal. Contrary to views of these optimists, there exist schools of thought who share an entirely different view. Such schools of thought argue that the contribution of NGOs to democracy and good governance are exaggerated and that the actual roles performed by these NGOs are not clearly understood yet. The critics further assert that the views shared by the optimists are based on normative assumptions rather than empirical evidence (Farrington and Lewis, 1993; Bebbington and Farrington, 1993; Clark, 1998; Mercer, 2002). Tvedt (1998) argues that those assumptions and logic should not be extended to the southern NGOs which originated from a different background (history, traditions and customs) from those of the western countries. White (2004) therefore challenged that unless the traditions, culture and the context of a particular society is critically considered, any assertion that the increased number and activities of NGOs is more favourable to democracy and good governance would be pointless.

Ever since Ghana returned to constitutional rule in 1992 after the various military interventions since independence, the country has undergone various developments in terms of democracy and good governance. These developments have been associated with different institutions and organisations. While others associate the progress towards democratic good governance with the effectiveness of political institutions in the country (Huntington, 1991; O'Donnell, 1995; Grindle, 2000; Rose and Shin, 2000), some link it to the work of NGOs (Huntington, 1991; Fukuyama, 1992; Diamond, 1999; Bratton, et al, 1999). However, the actual role of NGOs in enhancing democratic good governance is not known yet.

With the above competing claims in mind, this study is undertaken with the aim of examining the actual role of NGOs in promoting democracy and good governance (i.e. through election monitoring, political education, policy advocacy and access to justice) in the Sunyani Municipality of Brong-Ahafo Region of Ghana. The study also seeks to examine the challenges NGOs face in promoting democracy and good governance. Specifically, the study takes the case of four indigenous NGOs (CODEO, Women and Youth in Development, World Clock, and Centre for Human Rights Enforcement and Prisoners Aid, „CHREP-Aid“) operating in the Sunyani Municipality.

Though many studies have been carried out on the activities of NGOs in relation to democratic good governance, such studies have been characterised by some weaknesses. Of particular interest is the fact that those studies have tended to focus on the western ideas and theories to the neglect of the history of that state. This view is well articulated by Tvedt (1998) when he indicated that the culture and tradition that shaped a particular country's political institutions and the people's behaviour are ignored in those researches. This study therefore, is structured, taking into account the context within which these NGOs originated.

1.1.1 Defining Democratic Good Governance

Democratic good governance is a defused concept and there is no universally acceptable definition of the concept. In the same manner, measuring democratic good governance is highly subjective especially when one does not know the particular aspect of

democratic good governance one is measuring. For instance, is it measuring political participation, socio-cultural or economic development? To this end, the term democratic good governance has been broadly defined as the extent to which governance is able to meet the key ingredients, features, the functional and institutional prerequisites and building blocks of democracy. These ingredients include free, fair and regular elections, protection of human rights, free press, transparency and accountability of elected leaders, majority decision making, rule of law and the activities of civil society (see Ayee, 1998; Robinson, et al, 1999). Based on this, Santiso (2000) argues that democratic good governance is synonymous with democratic governance.

Following the work of Landman (2003), democratic good governance can be viewed from two broad perspectives, namely, the political and the economic perspective. The political perspective refers to the extent to which the government of the state is legitimate, accountable, competent and ensure rule of law. The economic perspective embraces public sector management, organizational accountability, rule of law in terms of contracts and property rights, and transparency in terms of freedom to information.

Drawing from the above however, the meaning of democratic good governance in this study, is seen as the extent to which the state is able to meet the political requirements (political perspective) of the concept as emphasised by Landman (2003). Specifically, democratic good governance is used to mean government legitimacy, government accountability, citizens' participation and rule of law.

1.2 Problem Statement

The concept of good governance has attained a central place on the development agenda in recent times. Many scholars believe that good governance is the number one key to development, besides resources. Ghaus-Pasha (2004) has emphasised that one of the prime actors responsible for advancing the good governance course is CSOs specifically, NGOs. In this respect, NGOs have an important role to play in the development of any given country. This is because, according to the Foundation for Civil Society (2009), their activities are geared towards creating the atmosphere where the people are involved in solving their socio-economic needs, hold the government

accountable and settle issues amicably which will enhance democracy and good governance.

Currently, Ghana has over 5000 registered NGOs that claim to be involved in one way or the other in promoting democracy and good governance (Department of Social Welfare (DSW), 2009). However, this claim needs to be backed by empirical evidence if it is to be accepted. Otherwise it will be risky to assume that the mere presence of numerous NGOs in a country like Ghana automatically suggests the consolidation of democracy and good governance. According to the 2012 General elections and per the results declared by the electoral commission, as many as 251,720 rejected votes were recorded. This can be attributed largely to lack of political education. The Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) (2014) has also raised concerns about the large number of rejected ballots in the previous general elections and in their view, this situation makes emerging candidates win by a very small margin which is a dent on the absolute majority as preached by democracy. Gyimah-Boadi (2010) posits that high rate of electoral malpractice, an unbalanced government policy as well as high rate of injustices against some individuals of the state due to weak governmental institutions does affect democracy and good governance. However, Gyimah-Boadi (2010) argued that in spite of these weaknesses, there has been considerable growth in Ghana's democracy and good governance since 1992 to date.

The success achieved in terms of democratic good governance in Ghana is attributed to various factors. While some scholars believe it is through the efforts of political institutions (O'Donnell, 1995; Grindle, 2000), others attribute the success to the work of NGOs (Fukuyama, 1992; Diamond, 1999). However, other schools of thought have also argued that the role of NGOs in promoting democracy and good governance are based on speculations rather than on empirical evidence (Clarke, 1998; Mercer, 2002). Based on these competing claims, there is the need to find the actual role of NGOs in promoting democracy and good governance. The Sunyani Municipality of the BrongAhafo region is deemed appropriate for this work. This is because there exist NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality that are into political education, election monitoring, policy advocacy and access to justice but their impact on democracy and good governance have not been effectively explored.

The study therefore, examines the extent to which NGOs are working to promote democratic good governance in the field of promoting citizens' participation, government legitimacy, government accountability and rule of law. It also examines the challenges that face NGOs in promoting democratic good governance in the Sunyani Municipality.

1.3 Research Questions

The main research question is:

What are the roles that NGOs play in promoting democratic good governance in the Sunyani Municipality?

The specific questions are:

- i) What role do NGOs play in promoting government legitimacy in the Sunyani Municipality?
- ii) To what extent do NGOs promote citizens' participation in the Sunyani Municipality?
- iii) How do NGOs demand government accountability in the Sunyani Municipality?
- iv) How do NGOs promote rule of law in the Sunyani Municipality?
- v) What are the factors that tend to enhance or inhibit NGOs in promoting democratic good governance in the Sunyani Municipality?

1.4 Research Objectives

The main objective of the research is to explore the linkages between civil society and democratic good governance with particular reference to the role of NGOs in promoting democratic good governance.

The specific objectives of the study are:

- i) To examine the role of NGOs in promoting government legitimacy in the Sunyani Municipality.
- ii) To assess the role that NGOs play to promote citizens' participation in the

- Sunyani Municipality iii) To ascertain the role that NGOs play to demand government accountability in the Sunyani Municipality
- iv) To gain insight into the activities of NGOs in promoting rule of law in the Sunyani Municipality
- v) To explore the various factors that tends to enhance or inhibit NGOs in promoting democratic good governance in the Sunyani Municipality.

1.5 Argument of the Thesis

This study argues that NGOs play numerous crucial roles that are vital in promoting democracy and good governance in the Sunyani Municipality in terms of enhancing citizens' participation, government legitimacy, rule of law and government accountability. The activities of NGOs become particularly important in a state when the main actor (government and its institutions) that is supposed to promote the democratic good governance agenda do not seem to be very effective in this process. In Ghana where the government, with its institutional arrangement for promoting democracy and good governance, is still characterised by structural challenges leading to unbalanced policies, abuse of human rights, electoral malpractices and rigid bureaucratic procedures in various government institutions, the role of NGOs become necessary to act as a check and to fill in the gaps left by the government and its institutions. However, the role of NGOs have also been viewed to undermine democracy and good governance especially when NGOs are politically motivated to subvert the democratic rules and procedures as evidence from Weimer Germany and Rwanda (in the 20th century) suggest. This study seeks to examine the actual role NGOs play and the extent to which they promote democracy and good governance in the Sunyani Municipality. The study does not therefore attempt to generalise the findings since the study focused on only one case in the country (Gerring, 2007; Thomas 2011), given that the political environment within which NGOs operate might vary. However, the study might apply to a case or a combination of cases. Therefore, the study might help provide an understanding of the actual role NGOs play and the extent to which they promote democracy and good governance.

This study also argues that the existence of NGOs is to speak and work in the interest of the people (constituents). The literature on the activities of NGOs largely points to

the views of the NGOs themselves and the associations and institutions that work closely with NGOs. However, a comprehensive research that seeks the views of the general public who they (NGOs) claim to represent is largely missing in the literature. In this study, the author will not only seek the views of the NGOs and the various associations and institutions that work closely with NGOs but will also seek the views of the eligible voters about the role NGOs play in the Sunyani Municipality in the field of political education, election monitoring, access to justice and policy advocacy. This will be a source of information to triangulate the responses from the NGOs and the associations and institutions as used in the study.

The study finally argues that NGO is a western concept which originated in an entirely different background and environment from others and that in examining the actual role of NGOs in a particular society like Ghana (Sunyani Municipality), the history, culture, traditions and context of that particular society should be considered. Therefore, this study is relevant by selecting four indigenous NGOs to ascertain the extent to which their activities adapt to the culture and traditions of the society to promote democracy and good governance.

1.6 The Scope of the Study

This study only concentrates on formally established organizations with their focus on the public interest. Again, since the term non-governmental organisations basically refer to those organisations that are private, autonomous, voluntary, not for profit and work towards improving the quality of life of a people especially the vulnerable, the understanding of NGOs applied in this study excludes such organisations as business associations, professional associations, and other associations that do not have social development or the public interest as their focus.

Furthermore, the study lays emphasis on democratic good governance and how the activities of NGOs (political education, election monitoring, policy advocacy and access to justice) contribute to promoting democratic good governance (citizens' participation, government legitimacy, government accountability and rule of law). It also examines the challenges that NGOs face in their bid to promote democratic good governance.

Geographically, the study area is the Sunyani Municipality in the Brong-Ahafo region of Ghana where the offices of these NGOs (CODEO, Women and Youth in Development, World Clock, and CHREP-Aid) are situated.

1.7 Justification of the Study

The relationship between CSOs, particularly, NGOs and democratic good governance is contentious. Various schools of thought give an entirely different meaning to the relationship between NGOs and democratic good governance. While some scholars argue that CSOs play a crucial role in promoting and sustaining democracy and good governance, especially in countries experiencing democratic transitions (Fukuyama, 1992; Diamond, 1999; Bratton, et al, 1999), other schools of thought hold that CSOs rather weaken democracy and good governance (Behr and Siitonen, 2013). However, there are others who contend that civil society is a western concept as such when implementing it in other societies, the history, culture, traditions and context (type of government) should be given utmost consideration (Böge, 2006; White, 2004).

Against these competing claims, this thesis looks for evidence to support the argument, taking a more positive approach towards the role of NGOs in promoting democratic good governance in the Sunyani Municipality to increase awareness, inform partnerships among NGOs to advocate for democratic change. Brong-Ahafo region (Sunyani Municipality) was chosen for this study due to the fact that a lot of works has been carried out in the three northern regions of Ghana pertaining to NGOs, therefore, calling for the need to examine the role of NGOs in other parts of the country. Brong-Ahafo region being the second region with myriads of NGOs in the southern part of Ghana besides Greater Accra was deemed appropriate for this study to bring to bear the peculiar issues that pertains in the region.

Again, the findings and recommendations that will emerge from the study will help academic institutions and researchers understand the changing trends and landscape of NGOs, improve credibility and legitimacy of NGOs in the eyes of the people, improve government and other state actors interaction with NGOs on issues such as policy-making as well as inform funding decisions on the part of donors and intergovernmental organisations. The study will also serve as a spring board to generate interest for further research into the other aspects of NGO activities. This stems from the fact that

development challenge is a multifaceted phenomenon and cannot be addressed fully with one particular research. Lastly, the study will contribute to the existing literature on the roles engaged in by NGOs in promoting democratic good governance and to the body of academic knowledge. The findings of the study shall therefore be put at the disposal of students and other researchers in development work for reference purposes, hence it will add to knowledge.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

A few challenges were encountered in the course of the study. First, data gathering suffered due to difficulty in getting respondents from the various institutions and organisations used in the study especially political party executives and the NGO staff. The researcher had to make a number of follow-ups (4 times in some cases) before meeting them for their responses. Also, getting some of the data needed for the study was difficult as some was unavailable, not updated or not willing to give such information. The difficulty in releasing such relevant data was mainly because of the politically sensitive nature of the information. This notwithstanding, the researcher, through patience, persistence and persuasions was able to access the needed information for the work.

1.9 Organisation of the Thesis

The report is organised into five (5) chapters as follows: Chapter One provides the background information and the statement of the problem. It examines the nature, role and the extent of the problem. The chapter also outlines the questions the study seeks to answer and the objectives to be achieved. In a sense, the chapter provides a foundation for the rest of the study.

Chapter Two discusses the role of civil society organisations, especially nongovernmental organisations in the promotion of democratic good governance at the theoretical level and as shown by existing literature which then provides a basis for the conceptual framework.

Chapter Three outlines the research methodology applied in the study, including research design, sampling techniques, and the criteria for selecting the NGOs and other respondents in the Sunyani Municipality for a better analysis. It also presents the

various research methods employed in the identification and collection of primary and secondary data, and the means of analysis and presentation.

Chapter Four discusses the results of the research by answering the research questions in order to form a strong opinion on the topic. This is done by presenting an overview of the present state of NGOs activities in the Sunyani Municipality. It examines the various activities engaged in by NGOs that promotes democratic good governance taking into consideration some key roles such as policy advocacy, election monitoring, political education, and access to justice.

Chapter Five summarises the main findings of the study and draws lessons for promoting the activities of NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality. Specific policy recommendations are also given to encourage and promote NGOs in order to enhance the good governance agenda. The chapter also identifies possible areas for further research that are not covered by the study but are seen to be key for the promotion of democratic good governance.

CHAPTER TWO

THE STATE, DEMOCRATIC GOOD GOVERNANCE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

ORGANISATIONS: A LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews empirical literature on the meaning and theories of the state and democratic good governance. It also reviews past and present literature on the meaning and activities of civil society organisations as well as non-governmental organisations. The aim of the chapter is to examine the various issues regarding the role that NGOs play in promoting democratic good governance in the field of participation, accountability, legitimacy and rule of law. The chapter concludes with a conceptual framework linking the variables of NGOs activities to the indicators of democratic good governance that they promote in Ghana.

2.2 Emergence of State: A Theoretical Review

Political thinkers of all times have sought to answer the question as to how the state originates. In the quest to get answers to this fundamental question, various scholars have divergent views concerning the origin of state. As advanced by Anifowose (1999) the various theoretical explanations concerning the origin of the state include among others the divine theory, the social contract theory, the force theory and the natural theory. This study therefore reviews these different theoretical explanations on the origin or emergence of the state in order to ascertain their relevance in the modern democratic state.

2.2.1 The Theory of Divine Origin of State

The theory of divine origin of state is rooted on the fact that the state has been established by an ordinance of God and therefore their rulers are divinely ordained and are accountable to no other authority but God (Anifowose, 1999). The notion of this theory strongly prevailed in empires where rulers regarded themselves as descendants of God. The early Hebrews according to Shaapera (2009) believed that their government was instituted by God. The theory of the divine origin of leaders was used to support the absolutism of James I of England who, like the others of his era governed absolutely without the support of his people. This theory of the divine origin of state was strongly supported by rulers throughout the middle ages (Abenstein, 2000).

However, the divine theory of royal absolutism was challenged by the proponents of popular sovereignty. These proponents included among others John Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Thomas Hobbes and other British Political thinkers who mostly considered the whole idea of “State” as a “social contract” between the rulers and the ruled (Ebenstein, 2000). To this end, the next sub-theme considers the theoretical position of the social contract theorists on the emergence of the State.

2.2.2 The Social Contract Theory of State

The social contract theory views the state as a product of mutual agreement of men created with the sole objective of achieving certain social needs. The main proponents of this theory include Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean Jacques Rousseau to some later thinkers such as Immanuel Kant, Herbert Spencer, John Rawls and Robert Nozick (Gaubu, 2003). This theory implies that men at a particular time in history lived or

would have lived without any acceptable civil laws (without the state). This life pattern of men without any acceptable civil law, state or political control is referred to as the “state of nature”. At this stage, there is no industry nor systemic production and men had to depend solely on the abundance of nature for their survival.

As indicated by Shaapera (2008), it must be emphasized that though the social contract theorists have different perspectives of how the state came about given their different analysis of the state of nature, they commonly agreed that the state was a social contract after an unsatisfactory experience in the state of nature. For instance, Thomas Hobbes viewed the contract as being between the people and the constituted authority (State) while Locke says such a contract is “of all with all” but not a contract with government or state. Rousseau supported Locke in this way and emphasised that the contract is designed to provide “collective security”.

According to Hobbes, life in the state of nature is characterized by war which leads to perpetual fear and strife which makes the Hobbesian “state of nature” to be “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short”. For Locke the “state of nature” is moral and social in character. In it, men have rights and acknowledge duties, just that life in the state of nature is not satisfactory as peace is constantly upset by the corruption and viciousness of degenerate men resulting from the lack of an established settled down law, lack of an impartial judge, and the lack of an executive power to enforce just decisions. These, Locke argued, necessitated the formation of a civil society (the State) devoid of the evils and hence the social contract (Gaubu, 2003; Murkherjee and Ramaswamy, 1999; Enemu, 1999). Equally important is the views of Rousseau who saw the State as the result of a contract entered into by men who originally lived in a “state of nature”. However, Rousseau emphasizes that there was only one contract called the “social pact” in which the government or the State itself was not a party. In this social pact, Individuals surrendered all their rights to the community and therefore, after making the contract, are entitled to only such rights as are allowed to them by the General Will (Law) (Appadorai, 1974).

However, the social contract theory of state origin have been criticised for being ahistorical by not taking cognisance of history and chronology of events in human lives. The social contract theorists arguments of life in the state of nature is therefore criticised for being too idealistic, utopia and unrealistic as history does not tell us when such a social contract took place in human existence as well as the era of the state of nature.

Though, the theory of the social contract origin of State tries to demonstrate that the State is the product of the “Will” of all individuals comprising it (the State) and as instrument for harmonising the interests of all individuals and all sections of society, it is unfortunately not so in many societies, particularly in modern capitalist societies where some dominant sections or a chosen few are so organised and vocal that they become “self-styled” representatives of the will of society, and seek to justify their authority on this ground (Gaub, 2003). The theory of social contract, therefore, lacks logical explanations as to the origin of State. It has also been described as “bad history, bad logic and bad philosophy” (Gaub, 2003:188).

2.2.3 The Force Theory of State Origin

The force theory holds that the State originated through conquest and coercion. According to the proponent of this theory, the State is the result of the subjugation of the weaker by the stronger. As cited in the works of Anifowose (1999), some German philosophers maintained that the use of force was a major feature of the State and that power has its own justification. Hence, the State as Power, was superior to other forms of human associations. The force theory however has been criticised as having no respect for the natural rights of the citizens and does not approve of any resistance to the acts of political authority (Anifowose, 1999).

2.2.4 The Natural Theory of State Origin

The proponents of the natural theory hold that the State came into being as a result of natural evolution. According to this theory, the State evolved out of a complex set of human needs such as kinship, religion, force and political consciousness through the ages (Anifowose, 1999). Thus, Aristotle argues that man was by nature a political animal. The need for order and security is an ever present factor man knows that he can develop the best of what he is capable only through the State. Therefore, man outside the state was either a god or a beast. Unlike the notions of the social contract theorists, the natural theory of the state origin, like the force theory, has no provision for citizen's independence of the government, including the rights of political participation in the affairs of the state. The state assumes unrestricted power over its subjects.

Based on the different theories that exist concerning the origin of state, the study adopts the social contract theory as the theoretical framework for this study. The Social

contract theory so far captures to a very large extent the kind of state that exist in a modern democratic state like Ghana.

2.3 Democracy

The concept of democracy regarded by political theorists as the only form of government that is legitimate and on which one can trust for a just political order has gained popularity after the collapse of communism by late 1980s. Like many other social science concepts, democracy defies a single definition. The broad nature of the concept has attracted various scholarly works giving different meanings and perceptions to democracy depending on the experiences of the country and the stories following from those experiences (Kothari, 2007).

Notwithstanding, the concept of democracy originated from the Greek word “demos” and “kratos” referring to the “people” and “rule” respectively. Hence, democracy refers to the form of government in which the people rule (Held, 1996). Right from the root meaning there is an understanding that the people must be allowed to rule under a democracy. The contentions in the concept have been who the “people” actually refer to. In an attempt to define and explain who the “people” to rule really are, how they can participate and what the rule encompasses lies the diversity of the democracy concept (Johari, 2006). Three theories have been presented to explain the meaning of democracy. For a better understanding of these theories however, consideration has been given to the definition of democracy by Lipset (1959). According to him, democracy is a political system which provides regular means for changing political leaders, the presence of alternative candidates for citizens to freely choose from and finally, the creation of that atmosphere for the resolution of problems and where decision making is by the majority of citizens.

Lipset (1959) asserts that for these procedures and mechanisms to be effective, certain conditions need to be met. Firstly, that a system of ideals that bestows legitimacy to the democratic system and clearly outline the functions of its institutions exists. Secondly, that the institutions are accepted by all and finally, that there exist the ruling government as well as the opposition parties to act as a check on the former. As such, emphasis is placed on decision making based on the consensus of the majority, free and fair election and a constitutional check (opposition party) on the government to keep the system

running effectively. All these are features of democracy. With this understanding, the three different theories on democracy (liberal-pluralistic democracy theory, deliberative democratic theory, and civil society democratic theory) are presented below with each expressing different views on what constitutes a democracy and what makes it successful.

2.3.1 Liberal-Pluralistic Democracy Theory

Theorists under the liberal-pluralistic democracy tend to answer the questions of what constitute democracy and how authoritarian and despotic rule can be avoided in a state.

Robert Dahl's conception of what constitutes a democracy which he termed the „polyarchy“ is used to represent the general view of this approach. This is because Robert Dahl's polyarchy is one of the influential works within the democracy theory and forms one of the most important assessments of modern democracy (Pickel and Pickel, 2006). His main objective is to fill in the gap between the democratic ideal and its realisation (Krouse, 1982). Dahl sees the ideal democracy as a system characterised by effective citizen participation, equal franchise under universal adult suffrage, decision making by the will of the majority, and finally, the control of government and its institutions purely decided upon by the electorates.

Dahl, however, realises that though these criteria are necessary for the effective operation of a democracy due to the legitimacy it gives to political leaders and the protection of citizens' rights, the criteria are too perfect to be achieved in practice (Dahl, 1956). He therefore solves the issue of the gap between the ideal democracy and its practice by establishing a system characterised by certain imperfection which he termed polyarchy. In his view, polyarchy refers to those systems that are not democratic in their ideal state but rather contain some democratic components. This theory holds that all human associations have the potential of breeding inequalities and autocratic leaders (Dahl, 1976).

Dahl identified eight criteria upon which a polyarchy can be achieved. They include the freedom: of associations, of expression, to vote, to be voted for, of the political leaders to campaign for support, of information as well as holding free and fair elections and finally institutions which are elected to be allowed to operate in a state

(Dahl, 1973). Though the liberal pluralist theory, especially, Robert Dahl's polyarchy has been criticised by the other theoretical approaches for putting the individual interest above the state, it still serves as the standard in the evaluation of the democratic consolidation of a state. Since this study solely deals with the political aspect of democracy, Robert Dahl's polyarchy presents a perfect model.

2.3.2 Deliberative Democracy Theory

Theorists of the deliberative democracy hold that democracy cannot be referred to as the mere collection of individual views as postulated by the other theorists, but rather that in which consensus is achieved through debates and discussions. In a deliberative democracy, each individual has the chance to participate in the discussion and debates of the group (Öberg and Svensson, 2012). The theory instils in the citizen some level of rational thinking and ideals in order to enable him/her defend his/her political position with general arguments and logic. However, through the exchange of arguments, the citizen should have the common good at heart and be conscious of the political issues around at any given point in time to form his own opinion (Landwehr, 2012).

The goal of this theory is to change individual preferences to consider other perspectives. These can only be achieved through deliberation. According to Öberg and Svensson (2012), the free and open discussions and debates can only take place in the civil society sphere. Proponents of this theory emphasise that the ability of individuals to openly and freely deliberate on issues is dependent on the existing political system and atmosphere. Therefore, it is imperative for such conditions to be created to enable the citizens develop their deliberative abilities (Landwehr, 2012). Though the deliberative democracy theory has been criticised that, first, the belief in reaching a consensus does not exist in real world, and second, that all the individuals in the state cannot possess equal abilities to present effective arguments to support their stance (Landwehr, 2012), it places emphasis on the role of civil society in a democracy. This forms the basis of this study. The study seeks to find out if civil society indeed contributes to democracy through deliberation and how they achieve this objective (Öberg and Svensson, 2012).

2.3.3 Civil Society Democracy Theory

The third and final theory to be discussed in this section is the civil society democratic theory. The proponents of this model argue that democracy is not simply a system that gives freedom to individuals and institutions but that which demands the full involvement of the citizens through the civil society in order to survive. Comparatively, the civil society democracy theory is young to the other theories of democracy. A key feature of this theory, contrary to the other theories, is the emphasis placed on the role of civil society. The proponents of this theory maintain that the activities of the civil society are vital for the survival of modern democracy (Bluhm and Malowitz, 2012). Though there are various theorists under the civil society democracy theory, Arendt's (1951) theory is considered the centre of discussion in order to answer the research questions. She stresses the full engagement of the citizens in the public discourse rather than the state and its institutions.

The approach holds that political freedom can be better safeguarded by the citizens in associations rather than the state. The place where the citizens can act in association is the civil society. However, for civil society to operate effectively to achieve its democratic objective, it needs the rights that are granted by the state (Bluhm and Malowitz, 2012). This is because civil society can only function well in that political atmosphere that is receptive, appreciates freedom and a sense of oneness. This model is seen as a critique of the liberal-pluralistic theory when Arendt argued that political institutions and a representative order are not adequate conditions for a successful democracy as postulated by the proponents of the liberal-pluralistic theory. This notwithstanding, Arendt's (1951) work is also criticised as not considering the negativity that comes with civil society.

In summary, the aforementioned theories give a broad view of what democracy consists of and the criteria for measuring it. The liberal pluralist theory prescribes political institutions and a representative order as a necessity for democracy to thrive. The deliberative democracy theory emphasises that decision making should be done through public discussions and debates in a democracy while the third theory stresses the activities of civil society. The important role civil society plays in a democracy is discussed in a latter section of this chapter. In line with these, the concept of democracy can be said to mean that political system where leaders are true representation of the people, with decision-making based on the consensus of the people through debates and discussion, and the existence of a vibrant civil society. The next section discusses the

types of democracy in order to give a clear understanding of the various forms with which democracy can be viewed and practised in a state.

2.4 Types of Democracy

Democracy is not a sharply defined form of government that would need to be implemented in just one particular way and no other. Both in theory and in practice, there exist different systems of democracy practiced in the various democratic countries (Kothari, 2007). This notwithstanding, there are some universally agreed features shared by all democratic countries irrespective of the particular system of democracy one is practising. However, before any attempt is made to explain the various types of democracy, it might be imperative to recall some of the principles common to all forms of democracy. These principles embrace separation of powers and checks and balances, existence of an independent electoral commission, an impartial judiciary, functioning political parties, elections, legitimacy and the enjoyment of fundamental human rights (Lansford, 2010).

Whatever form a democracy takes it must uphold the will of the people and also make political leaders responsive to the needs of the people. Theoretically, this can be achieved through direct democracy. Direct democracy involves the direct participation of all citizens in decision making. There exists no intermediaries and each individual is treated equal. Its common manifestations in the modern era are the use of referenda (U.S. Department of State, 1998). In Ghana, direct democracy is evident in national referenda as was the case in 1992 for the acceptance of a new constitution and the reintroduction of a multiparty system as well as the division of powers between the three main organs of government.

Direct democracy, though sounds like a perfect system, cannot be fully practised in modern states due to an expansion in the size of population and the scope of policy areas. With a population of over 25 million in Ghana, it is almost impracticable to operate a direct democracy (GSS, 2010), hence, the need for a representative democracy which demands the establishment of an intermediary political actor to take decisions on behalf of the citizens in the state. It should be noted that popular participation in government is limited, infrequent and brief under representative democracy. It is restricted to the act of voting which is conducted periodically to elect their leaders to rule them.

However, embedded in the representative democracy may be either a strong parliament (parliamentary democracy) or a strong president (presidential democracy) or the mixed system. The contention that often arises is not whether there exist some forms of direct participation or of representation but rather on how much importance is given to these ideals in a certain democratic system. Looking at a democratic state like Ghana which practises the mixed system of government usually referred to as neo-presidential system (Owusu-Ansah, 2010), this study seeks to examine the extent to which the democratic ideals are upheld in the state. Looking at the concept of democracy with its different configurations, the subsequent section looks at the concept of good governance in order to draw a link between these two concepts for a better understanding.

2.5 Good Governance

Various ideas exist about the meaning and scope of good governance (Rhodes, 2000; Santiso, 2000), which is partly due to the enormous amount of literature on the subject that lays emphasis on the myriad roles played by the state in promoting good governance. Therefore, in order to understand the meaning of good governance, one must first understand the meaning of what governance actually is. According to Smith (2007), governance refers to the ideas of political authority, the mobilisation of resources and the ability of governments to effectively, efficiently, and equitably formulate and execute sound policies.

As advanced by Graham, Amos and Plumptre (2003), governance must not be limited to the mere notion of government but that which embraces a wide range of issues regarding public policies, institutions, economic relationships as well as the role of the non-governmental sector in the state (Smith, 2007; European Commission, 2001). It is also viewed as the management of affairs of a country for them to achieve development (UNDP, 2007; Schneider, 1999). To achieve development therefore demands that governance embraces the activities of all actors (both state and nonstate) in the governing process. As indicated by the United Nations Development Programme over a decade ago, “governance encompasses every institution and organisation in society from the family to the state” (UNDP, 1997:9). Hence, the various roles played by institutions at the different levels of governance, be it local, national or international are crucial to development. As a consequence, the European Commission sees governance as the fundamentals of any active society (European Commission, 2003).

According to the UNDP (2007), four types of governance are identified. First is economic governance; which deals with how decisions taken in a country affect its economy either directly or indirectly. Second, political governance; which refers to how decisions are taken and policies implemented legitimately and firmly in a state. That is, there should be the existence of separation of powers between the three arms of government, namely, the legislature, executive and judiciary. The state should represent the interest of its people and allow them to freely choose their representatives. Third, administrative governance, which deals with how policies are implemented through competent, impartial, responsible and transparent public sector. Lastly, systemic governance, which covers the manner in which society is structured politically, socially or economically to create and sustain an atmosphere of freedom, security and to give citizens the opportunity to exercise their individual capabilities in order to achieve quality life (UNDP, 2007).

Governance is thus viewed in diverse ways. As such most international organizations and agencies like the UNDP and the World Bank have basically assumed an “apolitical” notion of governance. For instance, in a speech delivered by Paul Wolfowitz, former president of the World Bank in 2006, he stated that the World Bank has now developed a robust means of assessing what aids governments to function effectively and achieve growth. This is termed good governance by the development community. Therefore, good governance refers to the various processes about how the state is managed to ensure transparency, accountability and rational and judicious use of resources (Wolfowitz, 2006). As the principal proponent of the good governance agenda, the World Bank defines it as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s resources for development. They identified effectiveness and efficiency in public sector management, accountability and good responsiveness of public officials to the citizens, transparency, rule of law and public access to information as the key components of good governance (World Bank, 2000; 2003). The UNDP also views good governance as the manner in which citizens express their interests, exercise their rights, perform their duties and settle their differences (The World Development Report, 2004). This means that good governance is believed to close the wide gap that has arisen between the rich and poor in developing countries due to shattered governmental structures.

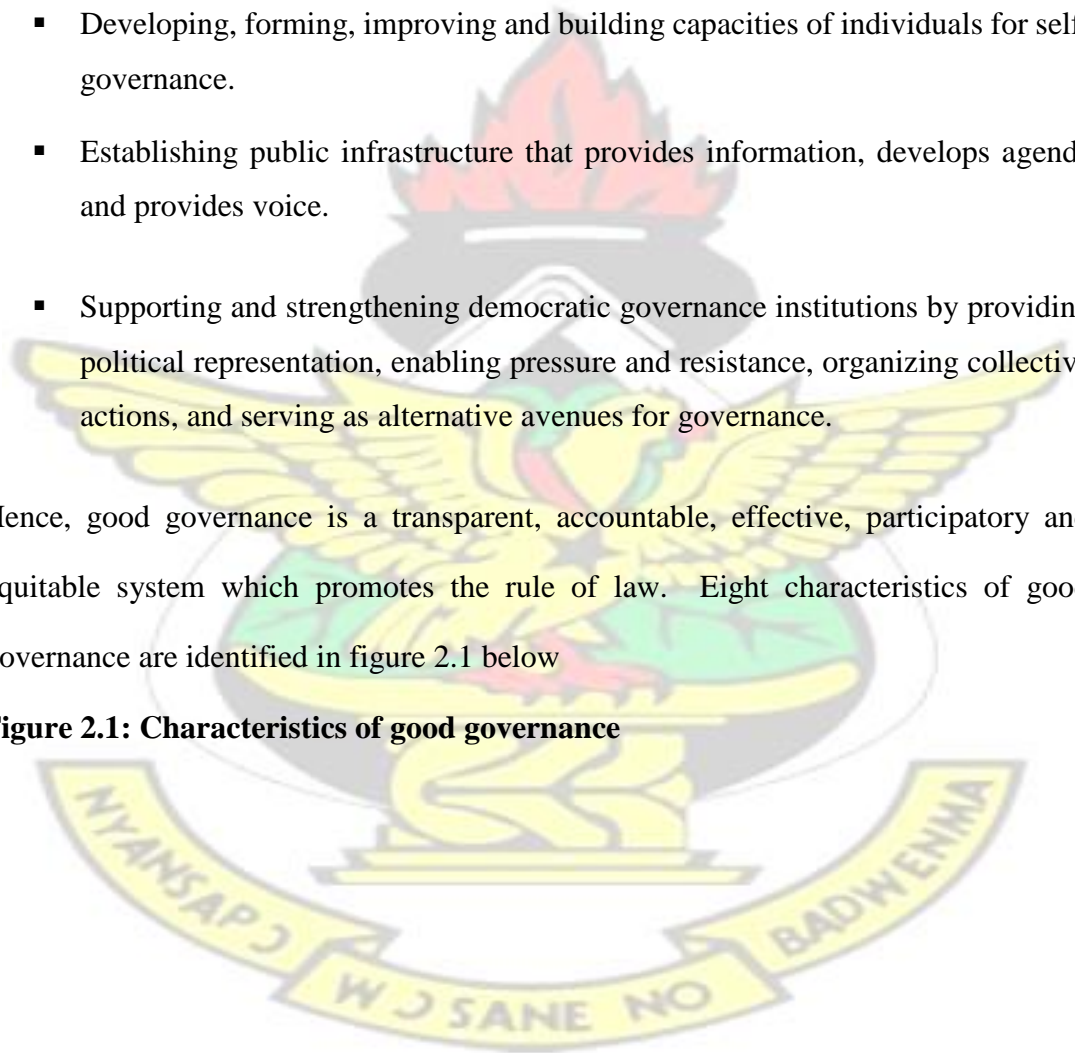
According to Diamond (1999), good governance has some dimensions. First, it must involve the ability of the state to work effectively and efficiently in the interest of the public, and second, must be committed in ensuring that the interests of the people are met. Indeed, good governance requires that government is transparent in its activities which include transparency on how government makes decisions, transacts business and spends public funds.

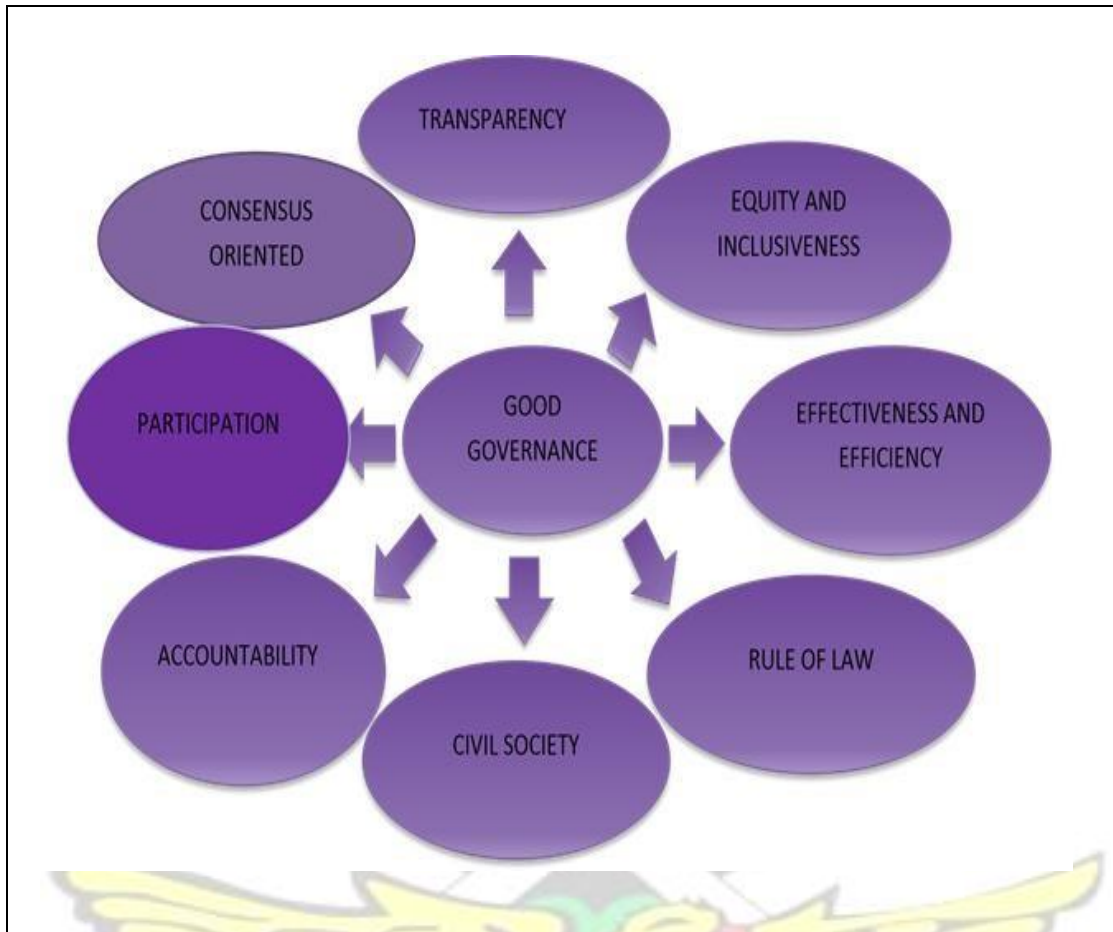
To Warren (1999), the notion of good governance can be put into three categories under which the various roles of civil society contribute. These include:

- Developing, forming, improving and building capacities of individuals for self-governance.
- Establishing public infrastructure that provides information, develops agenda and provides voice.
- Supporting and strengthening democratic governance institutions by providing political representation, enabling pressure and resistance, organizing collective actions, and serving as alternative avenues for governance.

Hence, good governance is a transparent, accountable, effective, participatory and equitable system which promotes the rule of law. Eight characteristics of good governance are identified in figure 2.1 below

Figure 2.1: Characteristics of good governance





Source: Noueihed, 2010: 25.

These definitions and features show that good governance possesses some basic degree of quality and performance in any society while the contrary (poor governance) according to the World Bank (2009) is characterized by arbitrary policy making, unaccountable governments, unjust legal systems, executive dictatorship, a civil society unengaged in public life as well as high rate of corruption. Therefore the concept of good governance can be interpreted to mean the activities of all actors (state and non-state) in pursuance of the public good (World Bank, 2009).

With the above definitions, there is a clear similarity between good governance and democracy especially, with its key features of participation, accountability, responsiveness, rule of law among others as well as the emphasis placed on non-state actors particularly, CSOs in promoting and sustaining democracy and good governance (Colomer, 2010; Smith, 2007). Therefore, democracy with its features, functional and institutional prerequisites serves as the building block of good governance. In fact, these two concepts according to Ayee (1998) are inseparable and are now put together as democratic good governance since their features tend to reinforce each other.

2.6 Democratic Good Governance

Generally, a country's governance is considered good and democratic to the degree in which its institutions and processes are transparent. These institutions refer to such bodies as parliaments, the various ministries and departments. The processes on the other hand, embrace such key activities as elections and legal procedures which must be seen to be free from corruption and must be accountable to the people. A country's success in achieving this standard has become a key measure of its credibility and respect all over the world (United Nations, 2012). However, before reviewing literature on the measurements of democratic good governance, a detailed discussion on the relevant theories underlining democratic good governance is looked at for a better understanding of the concept.

2.6.1 Theories of Democratic Good Governance

Almost all countries today say that promoting democracy and good governance is an important part of their agendas. This importance given to democratic good governance has generated the interests of many scholars to give various reasons to what promotes and sustains democratic good governance. While some scholars argue that democratic good governance can be sustained when the authority of the state is centralised (Centripetalism), others hold that authority should be decentralised (Decentralism) as well as allow the activities of some independent and autonomous bodies and organisations (Civil society) to operate. This study therefore, critically reviews two main theories of democratic good governance to get a clearer understanding of the concept.

2.6.1.1 Centripetal Democratic Good Governance Theory (Centripetalism)

The centralist theory, which is associated with the Westminster system (Cabinet), argues that good governance exist when authority and institutions of state are centralised in a single locus of power. Among the most popular theorists of centralism in the past two centuries is the works of Thomas Hobbes (Hobbesian theory). However, in the views of Gerring, et al (2005), the Hobbesian model seems to have lost much of its appeal and vigour since scholars of today rarely espouse the ideals of the Westminster. Even though, there exist some few democratic centralists in present times either in the field of academics or politics, majority of both the Leftists (liberals) and

the Rightists (conservatives) now all agree on the virtues of the decentralised system of democratic governance.

To this end, Gerring, et al (2005), proposes a revived and modified version of democratic centralism. In their revived model, democratic institutions work best when they are able to reconcile the two broad goals of centralised authority and broad inclusion. This suggests that democratic good governance would arise when political institutions preserve the authority of the sovereign while mobilising together and adequately representing the ideas, interests and identities of that society. Therefore, these twin goals of central authority and broad inclusion form the foundation of this new model of centripetalism. The hallmark of this model is the centralisation of power within a framework of democratic elections. This according to Gerring, et al (2005) is interpreted in terms of a unitary government, parliamentary system, strong parties, two-party dominance, a hierarchical bureaucracy, an unwritten constitution and a restrained judiciary. This model fosters consensus by primarily shaping the construction of interests.

However, the theory of centripetalism has been criticised as radically opposed to each other. This stems from the fact that it would be difficult for a single institution or a set of institutions to fulfil one criterion without sacrificing the other. To the critics of centripetalism therefore, it seems fanciful to suggest that an institution could empower leaders without disempowering the citizens.

2.6.1.2 Decentralised Democratic Good Governance Theory (Decentralism)

The theory of decentralism, which has gained popularity among contemporary scholars and policy makers, traces its origin far back to the 17th century of Greece and Rome through to Britain and Italy in their search for political accountability (Vile, 1998; Gordon, 1999; Rodden, 2006). However, the American state came to be known as the model of decentralism due to their practice of federalism which is a key feature of this theory. To this end, the decentralist theory typical of the American system holds that good governance arises from the diffusion of power among a multiplicity of independent bodies. These notwithstanding, theorists of decentralisation view the concept differently in terms of forms, theoretical frameworks and policy areas. These theorists include British pluralists (Hirst, 1989), American pluralists (Dahl, 1956;

Truman, 1951) and Lijphart's (1999) consensus model of good governance. A common division among these scholars are their attitudes towards popular rule. Scholars like Blackstone, Montesquieu and Madison who are dominant strands in the field of decentralisation view the concept as a mechanism to resist direct popular rule. In the views of Riker (1982), the direct popular rule (Majoritarian system) is seen as a tool for the manipulation and redistribution of resources by unscrupulous leaders and envious masses for their own personal aggrandisements as against the interest of all. An opposing strand to the views of Blackstone, Montesquieu and Madison, is the works of Paine (1953) who argues that decentralisation of power as a mechanism is to bring government closer to the people. The assumption is that centralised power is generally controlled by leaders whose interests contradict that of the electorate. Therefore, the only way to break this chain of contradictory interests is to decentralise the locus of decision making (Roland and Tabellini, 1997; Heinz, 2000).

Despite the evident differences among theorists of decentralism, they all share some common core precepts. These include diffusion of power, broad political participation and restraint on governmental action. As such, the two main theoretical underpinnings to this theory is separation of powers and federalism. While O'Donnell (1999) views the division of power on a horizontal basis, Roland and Tabellini (1997) and Heinz (2000) view the division of power on a vertical basis. Therefore, the essence of this theory is to act as a check against the abuse of power by the minorities, against the authoritarian ambitions of individual leaders, against democratic tyranny instituted by the majority, and against ill-considered legislations. In effect, decentralist government can be described as "limited government".

The limit of governmental power created by decentralisation has been criticised to increase the rate of political instability and secession due to the practice of federalism under this system. It has also been argued that decentralization will worsen public service provision by decreasing productive efficiency and decreasing the quality of policy-making (Prud'homme, 1995; Treisman, 2007). In their view, instead of the total control over production to enjoy economies of scale as well as high human capital, decentralisation will lead to more expensive and/or lower quality of public goods. Again, the absence of a sovereign power to have an absolute say on important policy issues would lead to a decrease in the quality of policies.

However, in order to increase the quality of policy making and a high level of accountability under decentralism, there is the existence of multiple groups to possess an effective veto power over decision making. This allows for consensus decision making which is the goal of this model of democratic good governance (Faguet, 2012). These limitations placed on the central state authority preserves and strengthen the autonomy of the market and the civil society (which are viewed as separate and independent spheres by the followers of Madison). The theory of decentralisation also suggests that there would be greater popular control of, and direct participation in the decision making process as emphasised by the supporters of Rousseau (Government of Cambodia, 2005; Romeo and Spyckerelle, 2003). Again, due to the existence of political institutions that lie close to the constituents they serve, efficiency is enhanced by a flexible apparatus that takes into considerations the local conditions of that particular society.

Based on the unique features of this theory majority of which are exhibited in the Ghanaian system, the decentralised theory would be used to form the theoretical framework of this study. These unique features include among others separation of powers, a written constitution (with clear roles and limitations on the central authority and local government), frequent elections, fixed term of office, popular referenda, recall elections, decentralised party structures, agencies enjoying a high degree of autonomy and the establishment of micro political units.

2.6.2 Indices of Democratic Good Governance

Measuring democratic good governance means evaluating the extent to which a particular government and its activities meet the ideals of democracy and good governance. These ideals as earlier mentioned in the previous sections include free, fair and regular elections, protection of human rights, free press, transparency and accountability of elected leaders, majority decision making, rule of law and the activities of civil society (Robinson, et. al., 1999).

In recent times, there exists a multiplicity of democratic good governance indicators as presented and approved by the various international organisations and multilateral institutions (ADB, 2000). Though there have been many attempts to adopt common indicators for measuring democratic good governance, no agreement has been reached. This problem has arisen because one does not know the specific aspect of democracy

and good governance one is measuring. For instance, is it measuring political participation, socio-cultural or economic development? As such, various multi-lateral institutions have developed different indicators for measuring democratic good governance depending on the specific aspect of democracy and good governance one is measuring. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) (2002) asserts that democratic good governance can only exist in a state when there is the presence of:

- A political system which encourages the input from civil society organisations
- An impartial electoral administration, and an informed and active citizenry
- Strong public sector, legislature and institutions
- Transparency, predictability, and accountability in political and regulatory decisions
- Effective public sector management with effective resource mobilization, and efficient use of public resources
- Adherence to the rule of law, protecting personal and civil liberties and gender equity, and ensuring public safety and security with equal access to justice for all.

Besides the above criteria, some other international development agencies (IDAs) such as the World Bank, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) have identified a number of basic components for democratic good governance. Among these indicators are four that are common to these international development agencies and universally accepted. They include accountability, participation, transparency and rule of law. The element of accountability is explained as the extent to which the governing body is answerable to the citizens in terms of delivering of services. On the other hand, participation is understood as the degree to which the local people and the private sectors are involved in the decision making process. By transparency, the understanding is that all the information that affects the citizens should be made available to the people. Lastly, by rule of law, it is understood as the extent to which

the implementation of government decision adheres to the local laws and regulations of the state (ADB, 2000).

Though, these three international organisations agree that democratic good governance exists when there is accountability, participation, transparency and rule of law, the World Bank further emphasised the absence of corruption while the UNDP laid stress on strategic vision as part of its democratic good governance elements.

Due to the varied indices given by these different international institutions as a result of the diffused nature of the democracy and good governance concept, Punyaratabandhu (2004) emphasised that when measuring democratic good governance, the particular context (history) should be given utmost consideration. He further advanced that though most of the democratic good governance indicators are based on subjective assessments, there is the need to test for validity and reliability if the outcome of the research is to be trusted. Van Deth (1998) agrees with Punyaratabandhu (2004) when he argued that since there exist no single democratic good governance indicators generally accepted by all, serious considerations should be given to those indicators that fulfil the same function in a given research context if validity and reliability is to be achieved.

Based on the foregoing, the advancement of democratic good governance in Ghana according to Ayee (1998) will be measured by:

- political accountability
- freedom of association and participation
- a fair and reliable judicial system
- bureaucratic accountability
- freedom of information and expression.

According to Landman (2003) however, democratic good governance consists of two major dimensions, namely, political and economic dimension. In his view, the political dimension can be further differentiated into four components, namely, government legitimacy, government accountability, government competence and rule of law with regards to human rights. The economic dimension equally has four components embracing public sector management, organizational accountability, rule of law in terms of contracts and property rights, and transparency in terms of freedom to

information. However, for the purposes of this study, the political dimension of democratic good governance will be the focus. Hence, the study has assessed the role of NGOs in promoting government legitimacy, government accountability, citizens' participation and rule of law.

2.6.2.1 Government Accountability

Democracy demands that holders of public office exercise their functions on behalf of the state. It is therefore incumbent upon them to be accountable to the citizenry for the decisions taken regarding the use of public resources entrusted in their hands. But in the bid to explain the concept of accountability has brought various definitions by different scholars due to the broad range of the concept and the variety of actors and processes involved in promoting it. According to Arkerman (2005), accountability is a proactive process by which public officials inform about and justify their plans of action, their behaviour and results and are sanctioned accordingly. This definition is far too broad since it does not indicate precisely who is to be informed and how they are to be informed. It therefore gives more room for flexibility in identifying who is to be informed and the direction to which accountability flows, be it vertically or horizontally. This according to Bovens (2007) may not be very useful for critical analysis.

Related to this work is probably the definition given by Gyimah-Boadi (2001) as:

Holding responsible, elected appointed officials and organisations charged with a public mandate to account for specific actions, activities or decisions to the public from which they derive their authority (Gyimah-Boadi, 2001:9).

From this definition, accountability can be said to mean the ability to hold public officials responsible for the allocation, use and control of state resources in accordance with the laws of that particular state. Therefore, holding of free, fair, transparent, periodic and competitive elections, the institution of independent media commission, an independent judiciary, an independent electoral commission, effective parliamentary oversight, an independent audit body, an impartial public complaint and investigative body, and other independent constitutional commission are identified as relevant ingredients for the attainment of the accountability principle (Gyimah-Boadi, 2001).

Based on these, there is an understanding that accountability essentially consists of two groups, namely, the power wielders and accountability holders. It involves the capacity

of accountability holders to demand answers from power wielders, and the capacity to sanction the power wielders should they fail to comply with the agreed statutes (Fox, 2007; Sarker & Hassan, 2010). To this end, the power wielders are those who are responsible for upholding the agreement or standards accepted by both parties such as the government, employers or private service providers while accountability holders are those to whom the power wielders are responsible. Ideally, accountability should take place wherever a power wielder has come into an agreement of some sort with the accountability holder. This may occur in the legal, political, social or corporate environment.

According to Reuben (2007), legal accountability occurs when law enforcers take those who have broken the law to court. This is exemplified in a situation where an employer employs a worker, in this stance; the employer prepares the job description and the terms of contract pertaining to the number of hours the worker is supposed to work and the salary to receive. If both parties agree to these terms and sign the contract, there is a legal backing where the failure of each party to fulfil the terms to the letter would demand that they hold each other to account. There is also political accountability where electorates can hold their political representatives to account through elections. Social accountability has to do with the various initiatives taken by citizens or civil society organisations to hold the government accountable for their actions. Lastly, the corporate accountability refers to the act of being accountable to the stakeholders of an organisation, which may include shareholders, employees, suppliers, customers, the local community and even the particular country that the firm operates in.

As far as this study is concerned, emphasis will be placed on social accountability. This is where the civil society organisations demand that the government is accountable to the people by fulfilling the promises they made to them. According to Sarker and Hassan (2010), social accountability has been gaining prominence especially in developing countries. This they associated to the failure of the state mechanisms such as elections, the judiciary and the press to hold the government into account. On the other hand, these state mechanisms take too long a time to occur or come out with results, hence, the increased activities of CSOs whose active processes such as public protests and advocacy campaigns yield quicker results. Despite the advantages and increased popularity of social accountability, Sarker and Hassan (2010) argue that in order for them to be effective, they cannot and should not take over the work of the state

mechanisms but rather, complement them. In this study, government accountability is measured using four indicators:

- How often do CSOs meet with government on the policy table before policy implementation?
- To what extent do CSOs influence the decisions of the government to favour their stakeholders?
- To what extent do CSOs make follow-ups on such policies for effective implementation?
- To what extent do such policies address the needs of stakeholders?

2.6.2.2 Government Legitimacy

For any democracy to be effective, demands that the source of power exercised by the government over its citizenry is legitimate. The concept of government legitimacy has been at the centre of political inquiry for over two millennia. According to Alagappa (1995) scholars like Plato, Machiavelli, Locke, and Rawls and some present scholars have examined the importance, causes and consequences of legitimate government. As such, the term legitimacy in political science refers to the voluntary acquiescence to coercion by government. It can also be described as people's recognition and acceptance of the validity of the rules of their entire political system and the decisions of their rulers. Diamond (1999) asserts that this consent and compliance is generated by the individual's evaluation of the prior behaviours of the political authority to determine whether to convey to them some level of legitimacy. Therefore, legitimacy empowers an authority to act and speak on behalf of the state.

Based on this, scholars have identified various sources for assessing the legitimacy of government. According to Rothstein (2009) the legitimacy of government is enhanced when citizens perceive them to have impartially made and followed the rules of the state. Hence, a government is viewed as less legitimate if they have violated the procedural fairness. Again, citizens may confer more or less legitimacy on an authority based on their assessment of the person(s) or institution's competence, often measured as outcomes with respect to public services and overall economic and political performance (Rothstein, 2005).

Accordingly, two things can be expected from political systems whose government is legitimate. First, these political systems will be more resilient to survive periods of

crisis, and second, rulers and authorities will enjoy a fundamental condition needed to formulate and implement policies in an effective manner. This means that they will be able to make decisions and commit resources without needing to obtain approval from the ruled and without resorting to coercion for every decision. The issue of government legitimacy can therefore be considered to be of utmost importance in democracy and good governance.

In this study, focus is placed on more recent efforts to examine the practical aspects of government legitimacy. More specifically, emphasis is placed on the effects of elections on government legitimacy. In the views of Goodwin-Gill (2006) most policymakers and scholars consider the selection of leaders through fair elections as a key part of establishing a legitimate state. Therefore, in this study, government legitimacy is measured in the following ways:

- Check for the presence of up to date voters register
- Ensure that equal opportunities are given to candidates to contest elections
- Observe the balloting and the count
- Ensure that electoral results are accepted by all parties.

2.6.2.3 Citizens' Participation

The concept of participation can be viewed in diverse ways. On one hand, it can be said to mean engaging with any particular activity. On the other, participation is defined as the process through which people influence and share control over development initiatives and decisions which affect them (World Bank, 1996). To this end, Robert (2004) has defined citizens' participation as the process by which members of a society share power with public officials in making substantive decisions and in taking actions related to the community. Although, participation sometimes delays decision making, may be quite expensive to practice or may bring conflict, it is described as very essential to the sustainability and consolidation of democracy. In line with this, Cooper, Bryer and Meek (2006) have argued that citizens' participation can only be effective when people's empowerment reaches a stage that enables them to cooperatively and collectively take decisions resulting in enhanced influence over decision-making, monitoring and evaluation processes.

However, the mechanism and practice of citizens' participation has been debated as to what degree of participation is deemed appropriate in a democracy. While some scholars regard the participation process as a one way activity where citizens are ready to be involved in making a decision even if they just informed (Lawrence and Deagen, 2001), others hold that the extent of participation should be dependent on the type of task undertaking. They further emphasised that whatever type the participation may be should not be discontinued (Bishop and Davis, 2002).

The World Bank (1995) identified four categories of citizens' participation for various kinds of activities. These include:

- Information sharing: This is where organisations or service providers inform their local beneficiaries in order to facilitate collective or individual action. The information given equips the local people to understand and perform their tasks better.
- Consultation: In this process the views of the local people are sought on key issues at some or all stages of an activity. This gives the citizens the opportunity to interact and provide feedback to enhance the effectiveness of that activity. In this direction, the outcomes of such consultation are likely to be better than if they were merely informed.
- Decision making: This occurs when beneficiaries have a decision making role in that activity or event and may be affected by the effects of such an activity. Decisions may be made jointly with rulers on specific issues or aspects relating to an activity.
- Initiating action: This is a different category of participation when beneficiaries are able to take the initiative in terms of actions/decisions pertaining to an activity.

In a similar manner, Wilcox (1994) and the International Association for Public Participation (2003) proposed some categorisation of citizens' participation but identified five stages which are:

- To inform: A one way communication
- To consult: A two-way communication

- To involve: Deciding together
- To collaborate: Acting together
- Empower: Supporting independent individuals and group interests.

On the contrary, Arnstein (1971) has identified eight stages of the participation process including manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power and citizen control. But for the purpose of this work, the meaning of participation is drawn from Wilcox classification of participation. This is because for democratic good governance to be achieved there is the need for the citizens to participate in the democratic process. This can be done either by informing the government and its institutions of their needs, be consulted in order to know what they need, be involved in the decision making process through election and bring out their views concerning national issues and finally, the need for the citizens to be empowered either through education or skills in order to be independent and actively influence political decisions. The table 2.1 below better explains the correlation between the stages of citizens' participation and democratic good governance.

Table 2.1: Correlation between Stages of Participation and Democratic Good Governance

Stage of Participation	Model of Democratic Good Governance
Stage-1: Inform	Authoritarian Model: in this model a decision comes from the top and is implemented mostly by bureaucrats. Total process of program is not transparent, accountable and predictable.
Stage-2: Consult	Bureaucratic Model: in this model people's participation is not enough to ensure the transfer of power. The process of program is less transparent and less predictable, and the agency remains accountable to the top not to the people.
Stage- 3: Involve	Political Model: in this model people's participation is enough, but people are engaged in the development programs in different segments, which may create conflicts between different interest groups. Governing agency is transparent and accountable to a group of people but not to the whole community.
Stage-4: Empower	Democratic Model: this model allows developing partnerships with people, delegate authority to make decisions and implements program with a sharing of local knowledge. Total process of the program is highly transparent, accountable and predictable.

Source: Waheduzzaman, 2010.

The above indicate that democratic good governance cannot be achieved only by improving systems or capacities of the governing agencies but also through proper cooperation between governing agencies and local people. On one hand, the governing agencies need to come close to the local people by extending and smoothing pro-citizens' systems and approaches. On the other hand, the local people need to be empowered enough to make joint decisions that may have an effect on them. Only through these reciprocal activities can citizens' participation be effective towards achieving democratic good governance. In this study, citizens' participation is determined by the extent to which the individuals are able to influence the decision making process in their country through voting, airing their views on national issues and among others.

2.6.2.4 Rule of Law

Rule of Law is the cornerstone of democratic good governance. It requires fair legal frameworks that are enforced impartially. According to the UNESCAP (2002) rule of law requires the full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities. Therefore, the concept of rule of law ensures that governmental authority is legitimately exercised in accordance with written, publicly disclosed laws which are consistent with international human rights norms and standards and enforced in accordance with established procedural steps referred to as due process. The existence of laws and justice systems provides a starting point for individuals and group of people to claim and demand their human rights as laid down in international, regional and national instruments.

However, the existence of the laws alone is not enough unless these laws are effectively implemented and mechanisms are made available for citizens to seek justice and redress where these rights are not protected or have been violated. In line with this, the World Justice Programme (2012) defines rule of law based on four universal principles such as:

- the government and its officials and agents are accountable before the law
- laws are clear, publicised, stable and fair, and protect fundamental rights, including the security of persons and property
- the process by which the laws are enacted, administered and enforced is accessible, fair and efficient

- justice is delivered by competent, ethical, neutral and independent representatives who are of sufficient number, have adequate resources, and reflect the makeup of the communities they serve.

In a similar and more enhanced manner, the United Nations (2004) describes rule of law as the principle of governance in which all persons and institutions be it public or private, including the state, are accountable to laws that are openly promulgated, equally enforced and independently adjudicated, and which are consistent with international human rights norms and standards. The UN further states that application of the rule of law requires measures to ensure adherence to the principles of supremacy of law, equality before the law, accountability to the law, fairness in the application of the law, separation of powers, participation in decision making, legal certainty, avoidance of arbitrariness and procedural and legal transparency.

It is worth mentioning that both definitions agree to at least most of the eight features identified by Bingham (2011) which include accessibility of the law, law not discretion, equality before the law, limits on the discretionary use of public powers, legal protection of human rights, dispute resolution, fair trials, and compliance with international law. Most scholars hold that whatever the purpose of the rule of law, it should allow easy accessibility, free, fair and efficient application of the law in a democracy. Therefore, required in any democratic state are functioning systems and mechanisms through which aggrieved citizens and parties can seek redress.

In the African context, the last decade has seen numerous reforms, innovations and practices aimed at enhancing the rule of law, democracy and access to justice that have made some difference within the countries of intervention. In some specific cases like Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, tangible progress has been recorded and justice outcomes have been attained (The Danish Institute of Human Rights, 2011). In many cases, however, some reforms have not always been responsive to structural challenges and often do not address the roots of the problem caused by patriarchy, power and privilege that are manifested in exclusion, unequal distribution of resources and discrimination. In this study therefore, rule of law is measured in terms of the extent to which citizens especially the poor are given free legal aid, counselling or financial assistance in their quest to defend their rights. Rule of law is also measured in terms of the extent to which the citizens are given fair hearing of their cases.

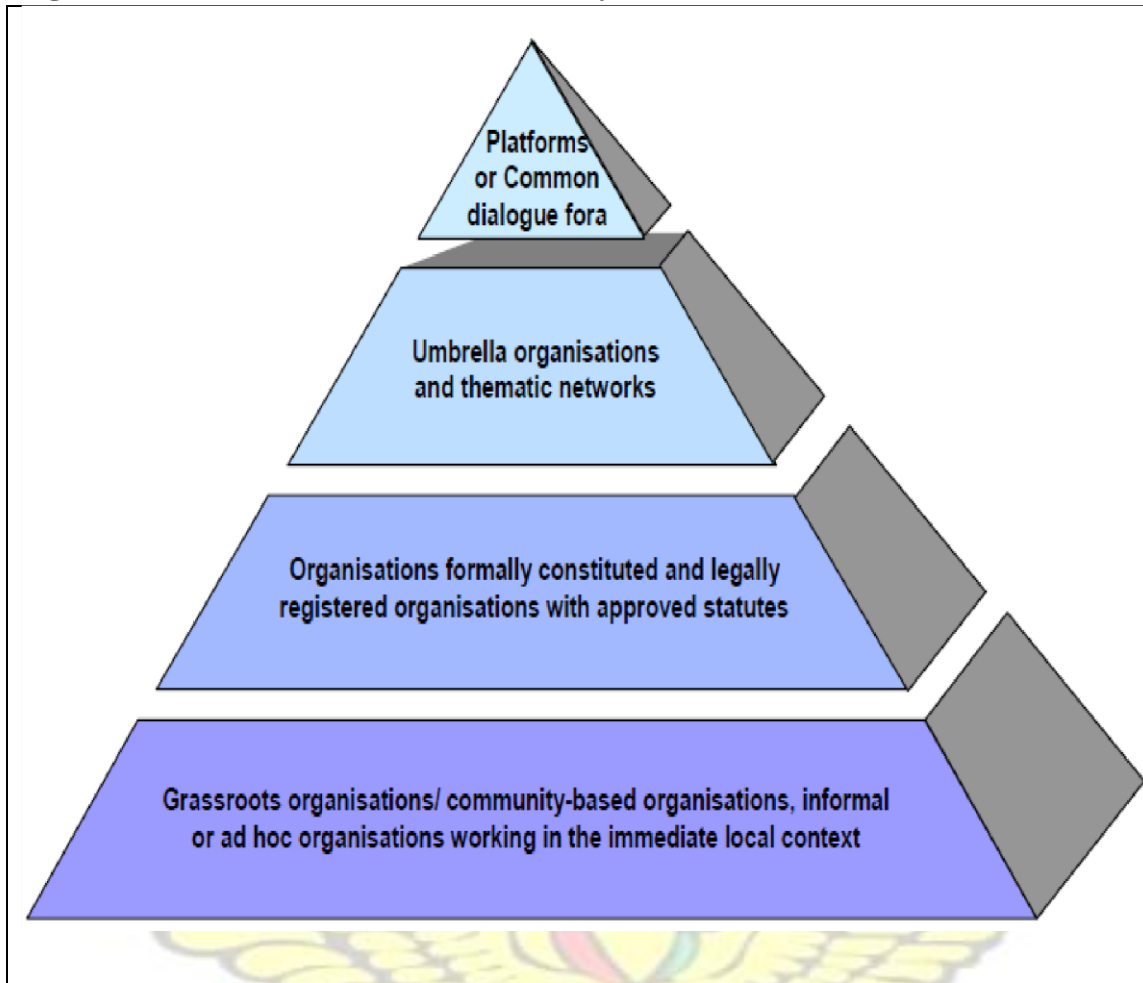
2.7 Civil Society Organisations

The concept of civil society is a contentious issue among scholars. It has become a commonly used term in the area of political development as early as the 1990s. This contention according to Monga (2009) is mostly due to the changing trend of democracy across the developing countries. Over the years, civil society has been viewed and analysed in relation to its antiauthoritarian nature and the mobilisation of forces towards the democratic good governance promotion. Based on this, Barber (1999) defines civil society as that space located between the public and the private sphere which tends to democratise and legitimise the system by acting as a check on the government. Diamond (1997) provides a more detailed conception of civil society by stating emphatically that civil society constitutes that:

Realm of social life that is open, self-generating, at least partially self-supporting, autonomous from the state... It involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interest, passions, preferences, ideas, to exchange information, to achieve collective goals, to make demands on the state, to improve the structure and functioning of the state and to hold state officials accountable (Diamond, 1997: 6).

This view of Diamond indicates that democracy is reinforced when it faces a vibrant civil society (Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti, 1994). It should be emphasised that though the foregoing discusses the liberal view of civil society, there are other perspectives of civil society which include the radical and the conservative view point. Gramsci (1978), who speaks on the conservative point of view, describes civil society as linked to the state and hence, cannot be separated from each other (cited in Tar, 2009). Masterson (2007) supports Gramsci's view by stating that it is not always that the state dominates and the civil society resists, but rather, the interaction of both power relations. Therefore, one needs to consider both sides of the coin (cooperation and resistance) when analysing civil society. The radical view holds that civil society exist to resist and oppose the existing order (Morton, 2004). The foregoing indicates that any definition of civil society has to take into account the specific politico- cultural context in which it works. In this study, the liberal perspective of civil society is considered in order to assess the role that NGOs play in promoting democratic good governance. Based on Cangas' (2004) categorisation of civil society, the study focuses on his second level of civil society known as NGOs as indicated in figure 2.2 below:

Figure 2.2: The Four Levels of Civil Society



Source: Herrero Cangas, 2004: 18.

According to Cangas (2004), the base levels are community based organizations which are generally informal groupings that develop strategies to address immediate problems affecting the community. Formal or structured civil society organisations compose the next level. Such organizations operate at the local or national level by supporting community-based organizations in service delivery, research and advocacy. Umbrella organizations and thematic networks exist at the next level. These networks are often authorized to defend common interests, share information, enable strategic planning etc. The fourth level is constituted by platforms or common dialogue for various umbrella networks and formal organization.

2.8 Civil Society Organisations and Democratic Good Governance

CSOs have come to assume a crucial position on the development agenda due to the innumerable roles they play in enhancing democracy and good governance throughout

the world (Abrahamsen, 2000; Opoku-Mensah, 2009). Following Diamond's definition of CSOs which focused on its functions in promoting democracy and good governance, nine different but closely related roles are identified. According to Diamond (1997), these roles range from limiting the powers of the state; monitoring human rights issues; monitoring the electoral process; educating citizens politically; instilling a culture of tolerance and political participation; information sharing; integrating the marginalised groups into the political process; providing means through which the citizens build their capacities other than the state and finally, advocating policy reforms (Diamond, 1997). Supplementing these roles include the demand for accountability in the allocation of resources (Hearn, 1999). A detailed discussion will be done under the thematic areas of election monitoring, political education, policy advocacy and access to justice that promote democratic good governance as indicated in this study.

2.8.1 Election Monitoring

Elections are a critical component of any democracy and good governance. They are a regular and direct means by which the citizens participate in governance. Democratic electoral processes and systems ensure that government is responsive, transparent and accountable to the people. Such systems promote trust and participation on the part of the citizens. According to Schwedler (2002), election in itself does not promote democratic good governance but rather the quality of that election. This has also been argued by Rose (2000) that even those fallen dictatorial regimes also held elections. Hence, the only difference in these two elections that entitles one as democratic and the other, undemocratic is the quality of the election. This quality is termed free and fair elections. To this end, Munck (2009) describes free and fair election as all embracing, that is, the kind of election where all the citizens are allowed to freely exercise their franchise in the electoral process, citizens political affiliations respected and duly registered, elections conducted in a competitive manner (providing alternative choices), change of government based on periodic elections and finally, election results a true reflection of the peoples' votes. In the same vein, O'Donnell (2001) asserts that elections can only be free and fair when they are competitive, unrestricted and equal, and where decisions (election results) are established by the votes of all.

For elections to be free and fair however, some mechanisms need to be in place to check the excesses of the system. One of the means through which free and fair elections can

be achieved is through election monitoring by the various institutions and organisations both state and non-state. Of particular importance are the activities of civil society organizations (Diamond, 1997; Gyimah-Boadi, 2004; Arthur, 2010). The election monitoring role of CSOs tend to promote trust among opposing parties by providing guarantees, clearing all forms of doubts and confusions, sending information to and from the various parties as well as settling key issues that may come before, during and after the elections. Chand (1997) suggests that even the presence and pressure from the CSOs can urge governments to either establish new institutions or strengthen existing ones to ensure free and fair elections. Such institutions may include an independent electoral commission to revise the voter registration list, the opening of the media and, an independent and impartial judiciary. Chand (1997) further asserts that election monitoring does not refer to the mere presence of CSOs on the day of the election itself but that which embraces myriads of activities before, during and after the election. These involve the observation of the electoral processes; pressure for changes in the electoral environment; verification of voter registration lists, balloting and the count; mediation between the government and opposition, and the provision of technical assistance (skilled personnel to train stakeholders on elections).

In this regard, Ghana's CSOs have played a crucial role in enhancing the confidence in the electoral processes. By this, a group of vibrant religious and civic organisations came together to form a coalition to monitor the various elections held in the country. This group, known as the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), train volunteers throughout the country in order to deploy them to monitor elections at the various polling stations. In the 2008 general elections for example, CODEO trained and deployed 4000 people to monitor and observe the elections. Similarly, Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung (NGO) partnered the Electoral Commission to provide training to key stakeholders such as election officials, political parties and their agents, observers and also publish election educational materials and finally solicit for public funding for political parties. These are done to ensure free and fair elections in the state (Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung, 2009). To this end, it can be argued that the crucial role played by CSOs in election monitoring to a larger extent has led to the success in the six successive elections held in Ghana since 1992. In this study, election monitoring refers to the extent to which CSOs check the presence of up-to date voters register, ensure that candidates standing for elections are given equal opportunities to contest, observe the balloting and the count, and lastly, that electoral results are accepted by all parties.

2.8.2 Political Education and Participation

Participation is an essential constituent of democracy. According to the World Bank (1992), participation is the process by which populations, especially the disadvantaged groups engage in decision making that directly affect them. As such, all decisions pertaining to who to rule and what the society needs should be decided by all through citizens' participation. It also helps to identify peoples' initiatives in making decisions on the problems confronting them. This includes standing for elections, voting at elections, being informed, debating issues, attending community or civic meetings and paying taxes. To this end, Gibson (1998) argues that citizen participation is not only a right but a responsibility, hence, the need to sensitise people on its crucial role in promoting democracy and good governance.

Participation can be enhanced through political education. Various researches conducted prove that a positive correlation exists between political education and participation (see Nie et al, 1996; Allen, 1997; Mason, 1997; Gyimah-Boadi, 1997; Diamond, 1999; Habib and Opoku-Mensah, 2003; Mattes, 2002; Darkwa, et al, 2006).

These scholars assert that individuals who are educated politically tend to be very active in the governing process which is an essential feature of any functioning democracy. As a consequence, various stakeholders are involved in promoting the political education course. A prime stakeholder in political education is CSOs especially NGOs. Today, many NGOs have taken upon themselves roles that were once solely done by the state to enhance political participation at all levels be it local, national or international (Farrington and Bebbington, 1993). They educate the citizens politically through discussions, seminars, the publication of books, magazines among others (Andersen and Wichard, 2003).

In Ghana, CSOs have been conducting public education on key political issues to imbibe in them the knowledge and the capacity for active participation to promote democracy and good governance. Darkwa, et al. (2006) argued that one crucial area CSOs are seen to be performing tremendously is in the field of voter education and participation. This is evident in how some CSOs such as CDD and IEA partner some state institutions such as the Electoral Commission and the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) to design and conduct civic and voter education programmes geared towards promoting active participations and peaceful elections as well as post

elections. Again, to ensure that citizens are more informed to take rational electoral decisions, the IEA has since the year 2000 instituted both the presidential and vice presidential debate programme in Ghana. This programme involves a debate between both the presidential and vice presidential candidates in the various political parties about their party manifestos, vision, policies on national issues that are broadcast live on televisions and radio stations across the country (IEA Website). In this study, political education involves those activities undertaken by CSOs to enlighten the citizens about their rights and liberties, the need to vote at elections, the need to become an informed citizen as well as how these activities actually translate into their political behaviour.

2.8.3 Advocacy

The policies of government have a great impact on the lives of every citizen in that country. Government policies, programmes and laws which do not take cognisance of the real and felt needs of all especially, the poor and disadvantaged may become irrelevant or even aggravate their situation. These problems can best be addressed through pro-poor government policies and programmes, laws and institutions. In this regard, CSOs assist to demand that the policies of the government favour all, particularly the poor and disadvantaged in society. This they do by advocating the needs of citizens through the initiating of pro-poor structural measures and involvement in high level decision making through research and advocacy (Diamond, 1994).

According to Jordan and Tuijl (2002) advocacy is described as a process where individuals and organizations try to influence public policies with the use of information and their practices in order to democratise unequal power relations. In line with this definition, Gaventa (1995) argues that policy advocacy involves different strategies aimed at influencing decision making at all levels be it local or national. In his view, these strategies involve specifically:

- Who decides: This refers to the elections, appointments and selection of policy makers, judges, ministers, board of advisors, administrators, among others.
- What is decided: This refers to the issues discussed such as laws, policies, national priorities, services, programmes, institutions and budgets.

- How it is decided: The accessibility of people to information and the process, extent of consultation with the people, accountability and responsiveness of decision makers to citizens and other stakeholders.
- Finally, how it is enforced, implemented and the extent to which the policy addresses the needs of society.

The above indicate that CSOs that are engaged in advocacy work aim at bringing about changes in public policy, laws and decision making structures. This change is achieved through the use of the existing public participation framework, the judiciary and public consultation mechanisms to influence policy makers and implementers as well as members of parliament on the need for pro-poor policies, laws and other measures or review of existing ones at the various levels.

Therefore, Bratton (1990) stressed that it is imperative for CSOs to gain a voice for the poor in policy making through non-confrontational means as a more useful strategy than empowerment against the power structure. Indeed, CSOs in Ghana are influencing government policy through their collective power (Gyimah-Boadi, 2004; Afrimip, et al., 2007). These are exhibited in their influence in public policy which led to the initiation and campaign for the passage of the Domestic Violence Act in 2007, the Right to Information Bill and finally, the Disability Act in 2006 (Dawuni, 2010).

Reference can also be made to the Integrated Social Development Centre's (ISODEC) stance on the government privatisation of the water sector. This they did by engaging policy makers on various means all in the name of bringing the government's attention to the negative effects the policy will have on the poor (ISODEC Website). In addition, the Growth and Poverty Forum has equally worked tediously to influence the design and have continuously monitored the implementation of the government Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers. But for the purpose of this study, policy advocacy refers to the extent to which CSOs meet with government on the policy table before policy implementation, the ability to influence the decisions of the government to favour their stakeholders, follow-up on policies for effective implementation and lastly, the ability of such policies to address the needs of stakeholders.

2.8.4 Access to Justice

The idea of access to justice is as elusive as the concept of justice itself. However, in an attempt to understand what access to justice really mean and how it can be achieved, there is the need to first, understand what justice mean. In philosophical terms, Aristotle defines justice as giving to someone what is due him (Aristotle, cited in Shepard, 2005). Aristotle further views justice in two senses; first, justice in the distribution of wealth (distributive justice) and second, justice in punishing someone for the wrong he has done (retributive justice). For Saint Thomas Aquinas (quoted by Shepard, 2005:8), „Justice is a certain rectitude of mind whereby a man does what he ought to do in the circumstances confronting him“. These definitions suggest that justice has to do with our conscience and imposes a sense of duty and equality on all people. The equality embedded in justice implies that all citizens must have equal rights to liberty, to their property, and to the protection of the laws.

In line with the fairness that the concept brings, justice is one of the prerequisites of democracy and good governance which requires that all citizens enjoy equal rights to their political, social and economic freedom. However, with the complexities and heterogeneous composition of modern states with different values, needs and classes make this dream very difficult and almost impossible to achieve. Ways have been found to address the inequality that has existed in societies where citizens have not been able to access resources at the same level thereby creating inequality. To this end, it is assumed that those who suffer injustice in such societies are the poor as against the rich individuals. According to Smith (1919), as cited by the Christian Legal Services (2005), this continuous injustice to the poor can be put to an end if we can ensure the accessibility of an effective judicial system to all irrespective of their political stand, religious inclinations, status, colour or gender. To this direction, the UNDP (2004) stress that though access to justice implies providing equal opportunity for all, it is practically the promotion of access to justice for the poor. The right of access to justice even becomes more crucial in states which are democratically governed by the rule of law. Samatta (2003) explains that it is one of the most basic human rights without which the enjoyment of many other rights cannot be guaranteed. The UNDP (2004) notes that access to justice encompasses more than improving an individual's access to courts, or guaranteeing legal representation but can also be seen in terms of ensuring that legal and judicial outcomes are just and equitable. In the views of Ramaswamy (2003) access to justice must encompass the ability of people, especially, those from disadvantaged groups, to prevent and overcome human poverty by seeking and obtaining a remedy,

through the justice system, for grievances in accordance with human rights principles and standards.

To ensure an effective justice system and access to justice therefore, involves the roles of all stakeholders which may include the government, an independent judiciary, CSOs and a strong and vibrant National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE). For the purpose of this study, emphasis will be placed on the role of CSOs specifically, NGOs in providing access to justice for the poor. NGOs ensure that the poor and vulnerable in society have access to fair trial through the granting of legal aid either in the form of legal advice or for representation in judicial proceedings. Various reasons have been given about the cause of the inability of citizens to have access to justice. According to the UNDP (2007), issues relating to absolute shortages of state capacity are factors that render groups particularly unable to access justice services. Compounding these are low literacy rates, a lack of awareness of citizen rights, or even just a basic lack of time to attend lengthy court proceedings act as further barriers. The geographical dispersion of courts were also identified as one of the factors that prevent the rural poor from drawing upon their services, as do differences between the vernacular of specific poor communities and language of the courts.

From the foregoing discussions, it can be noted that civil society organisations play various roles ranging from election monitoring, political education, policy advocacy and access to justice to promote democratic good governance. However, since the focus of this study is on the role of NGOs in promoting democratic good governance, this study sets out to discuss the meaning and forms of NGOs for a better understanding of the concept.

2.9 Non-Governmental Organisations

Non-governmental organisations had existed as far back as the nineteenth century in the developed countries. However, the world saw an explosion of NGOs only after the end of the Second World War with their main objective to promote the welfare of its members. In recent times, NGOs are scattered all over the world with various objectives and working in different areas (Korey, 1998; Clayton, 1998).

The concept of non-governmental organisation has been viewed differently by different scholars due to its heterogeneity. In the views of Sunkin, et al (1993), NGOs are those

independent organisations that may or may not make a profit. Put differently, Charnovitz (1997) explains NGOs as those associational groups of individuals that are formed to achieve their various goals and aspirations. Both definitions though logical, are too broad bringing into its fold various organisations that are profit oriented which is not the focus of this study. In line with this criticism, Vakil (1997) offers a more narrow and precise definition when he postulated that NGOs are those autonomous, private, not for profit organisations that work towards improving the quality of life of the disadvantaged in society. This they do at all levels to bring about change in the political, social or economic lives of citizens. The World Bank (1995) stressed that the essence of these tasks undertaken by NGOs is to relieve suffering, promote the interest of the poor and vulnerable, protect the environment, provide the basic essential services to the people and finally undertake various community development projects.

The aforementioned clearly distinguishes NGOs from the other types of civil society groups such as the trade unions, sports organisations and professional associations.

Therefore, NGOs are regarded as the subset of CSOs (Ghaus-Pasha, 2004). However, NGOs have come to assume a dominant position by shadowing the other types of CSOs. This was put rightly by Edwards (2000) who held that:

If civil society were an iceberg, the NGOs would be among the more noticeable of the peaks above the waterline, leaving the great bulk of community, political parties and social networks sitting silently (but not passively) below (Edwards, 2000:7).

Due to the popular stance NGOs have assumed by engaging in various development and democratic activities, this study focuses on NGOs in order to examine their actual impact on democracy and good governance. However, the term NGOs itself embraces a wide range of organisations with different roles yet fall under the label NGOs. To this end, Lewis and Kanji (2009) assert that for a better understanding and clarity, there is the need to differentiate one NGO from the other. Therefore they identify three forms of NGOs based on their functions, namely;

- Implementers (concerned with the mobilization of resources to provide goods and services to people who need them).
- Catalysts (train and empower individuals through education and advocacy).

- Partners (NGOs that work together with other bodies and share the risk or benefit from a joint venture).

According to Lewis (2007), the implementing role performed by NGOs has increased as they have been increasingly “contracted” by governments and donors to carry out specific tasks such as responding to disasters and other humanitarian action. The second categorisation being the catalyst role refers to those NGOs who inspire, facilitate or contribute to improved thinking and action to promote change. This they do by organising activities as gender and empowerment work, lobbying and advocacy work and undertaking research. The third role deals with NGOs that work with government, donors and the private sector on joint activities. These include providing specific inputs within a broader multi agency programme or project.

These categorisations though good seem to be a bit ambiguous for this study as NGOs roles are not clearly distinguished from one another. To that effect, Kaldor, et al. (2003) provide a better and a more comprehensive classifications of NGOs. They classified NGOs into four groups according to the functions they perform, namely;

- New public management (NGOs as sub-contractors to policy makers)
- Corporatisation (NGOs as organisations partnering with companies)
- Social capital/self-organisation (NGOs building trust through networking)
- Activism (NGOs monitoring and challenging power-holders)

Based on these classifications, this study will focus on the third and the fourth forms of NGOs such as social capital/self-organisation and activism. The election monitoring, political education, policy advocacy and access to justice role undertaken by NGOs is to promote legitimacy, participation, accountability and rule of law as Kaldor, et al (2003) third and fourth classification of NGOs indicate.

Lewis (2007) however advanced that despite the various classifications, a particular NGO is rarely confined to a single role since their activities overlap. A particular NGO may be involved in more than one activity. Even so, Korten (1990) explains that an NGO may turn their attention from one area of activity to another with time depending on the particular environment it finds itself. They normally start on very small levels

but grow gradually over time into complex organisations as those NGOs we see in recent times. Based on the meaning and forms of NGOs, this study reviews empirical literature on the actual role NGOs play in promoting democracy and good governance in Ghana.

2.10 NGOs, Democracy and Good Governance in Ghana

NGOs were present in Ghana even during colonial times. Initially, the country saw the presence of various movements, associations and organisations whose membership cut across ethnic and religious lines. These organizations not only brought societies together, but also provided the needs of their members. But they were mainly the self-help type and charities who voluntarily supported one another especially in farming and the provision of basic social services to deprived communities respectively (Bob-Miller, 2005; Bridget, 1997). Throughout these periods, NGOs activities were slow. After independence from British rule, Ghana's NGOs even faced a slower development specifically due to the fact that the various regimes such as the Convention People's Party (CPP) and the other military government saw their presence as a threat to their government. These regimes sought to cripple these organisations by arresting and detaining their leaders or granting some of their members government appointment (Darkwa et al., 2006).

Contrary to the slow development of NGOs during this period, the 1980s saw a proliferation of NGOs in Ghana. Ninsin (2007) associated the increase in the number of NGOs to the promotion of liberal democracy all around the world coupled with the introduction of the structural adjustment programme (SAP). This programme brought a lot of sufferings on the people due to the reforms that came with it in the 1980s. This situation therefore demanded the activities of more NGOs to complement the government in the provision of essential services (water and healthcare) to the people. Bridget (1997) states that amongst these organisations are the Society for the Blind, the Red Cross Society, and the Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis.

Currently, most NGOs in Ghana like those of the developed countries have turned their attention from the mere provision of social services such as building of schools, hospitals and the construction of bore-holes to other democratic advocacy oriented activities. The new activities and focus areas of these NGOs may range from gender awareness creation, policy advocacy, skill training and research, political education,

election monitoring, protection of human rights and anti-corruption promotion in Ghana. According to Gyimah-Boadi (2004), NGOs have been greatly involved in promoting democracy in Ghana through their election monitoring function since the Fourth Republic. The election monitoring role of NGOs is to ensure that election results are credible and hence, bestows legitimacy on the emerging government. He further associates the reasonable progress in successive elections following Ghana's disputed 1992 Presidential elections and the subsequent boycott of the parliamentary elections by the NPP (the main opposition party) which almost collapsed Ghana's young democracy partly to the role of NGOs.

In the views of Thomas (1992), NGOs are described as agents of advocacy and contribute greatly to policy dialogue. He further opines that through their advocacy role, the NGOs check the state by acting as watchdogs, lobbying and openly supporting groups of individuals that are negatively affected by government policy and holding the state accountable. These advocacy roles are done in order to address injustices and structural causes of inequality that arise to promote democracy.

However, Gyimah-Boadi (1994) argues that despite the considerable progress NGOs have made towards the promotion of Ghana's democracy and good governance since 1992, it still suffers serious setbacks. He associates these setbacks among other things to financial shortcomings. According to Gyimah-Boadi (2010), the activities of NGOs to effectively perform their functions are highly dependent on external aid. The common impact of financial dependence on donor funding is that, once the donors pull their financial support, NGOs collapse or limit their scope of operation. The effect of these is that NGOs tend to turn their attention to areas where funds are readily available hence neglecting the actual needs of the people in a particular society (Lokerwe and Mpabanga, 2007).

The form of government and its attitude towards NGOs also influences the activities of NGOs. This, according to Ayee (1997), was evident in the NDC regime in 1992 when the government saw NGOs that were not under their control or aligned to them as a threat and sought to cripple them. Therefore, the effectiveness of NGOs can to a larger extent be enhanced within a favourable governmental system.

Hosain (2001) also associates the ineffectiveness of NGOs towards democracy and good governance to socio-cultural factors. According to him, the success of a particular

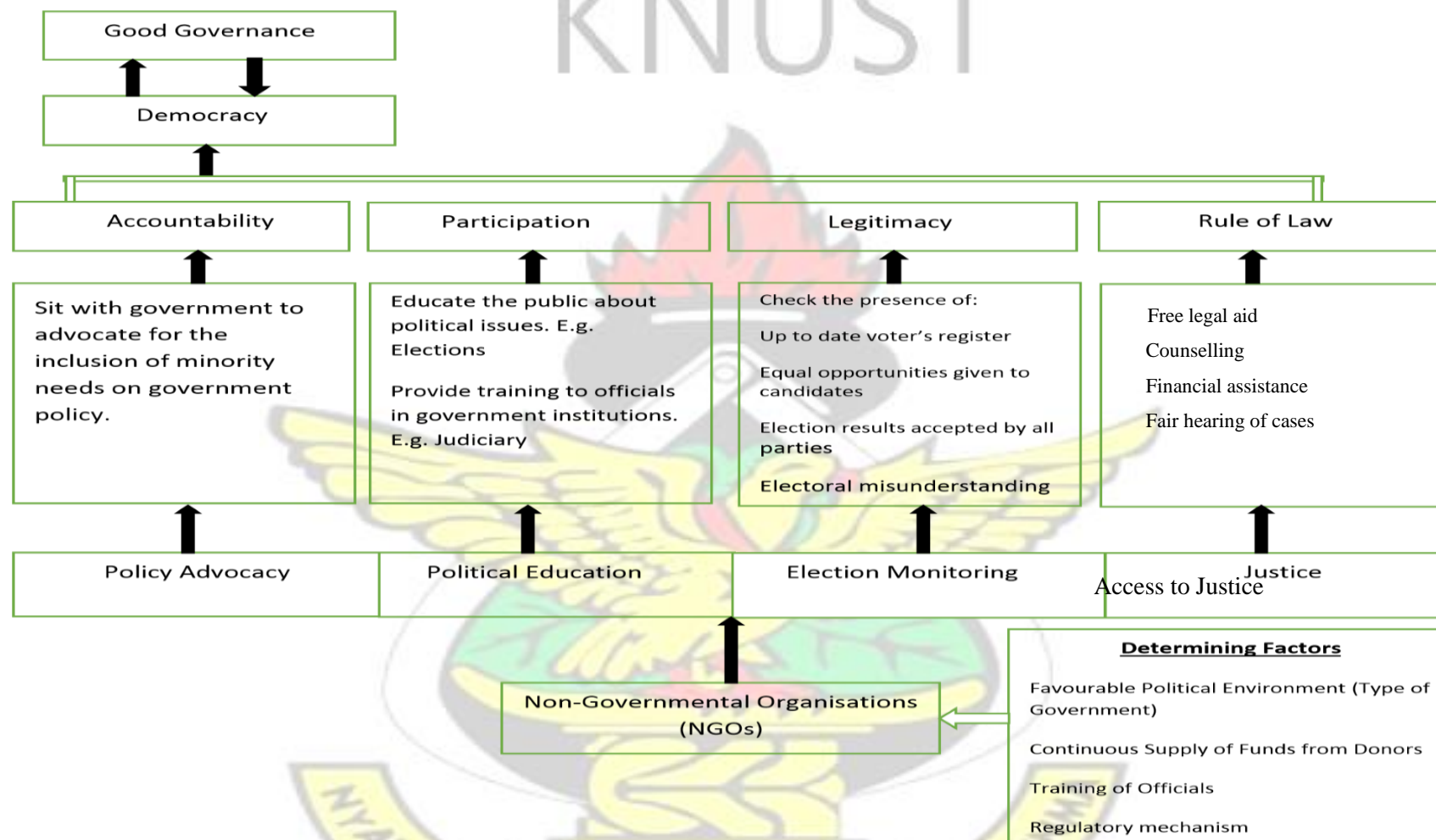
project of activity is largely dependent on the involvement of the local people themselves. The OECD (1987) emphasised that the involvement of the local people allows them to take advantage of their traditional organisations and indigenous practices which they are familiar with, hence, making such programs and projects easier to identify with. However, Lekorwe and Mpabanga (2007) assert that since the concept of Non-Governmental Organisations was imported from the western world by the donor agencies in response to the hardships faced by Africans, particularly Ghanaians, its activities tend to be inward looking and less engaging rather than an active involvement of the local communities themselves.

2.11 Conceptual Framework

NGOs are playing various important roles to ensure democracy and good governance. Specifically, the study focuses on four main political roles engaged in by NGOs, namely; policy advocacy, political education, election monitoring and access to justice. These channels are said to be the most effective means through which NGOs can influence the democratic good governance process as indicated in figure 2.3.



Figure 2.3: A framework for Assessing NGOs Contribution to Democratic Good Governance



Source: Adopted from Bingham (2011); Ng'oma (2008); Chand (1997) and Gaventa (1995)

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NGOs activities in policy advocacy, political education, election monitoring and access to justice tend to promote accountability, participation, legitimacy and rule of law in a state respectively. These ideals are the major pillars on which democracy stands and consequently good governance. It should be noted that the presence of good governance in a state automatically enhances democracy, and so does it promotes the activities of NGOs. In this regard, these concepts are said to reinforce each other due to the common ideals and values they espouse.

These notwithstanding, NGOs cannot work effectively to promote democracy and good governance unless certain conditions and needs are met. The conditions include the presence of a favourable system and legal framework that allow the free operations of NGOs, second, there should be the continuous financial support from donors, the training of officials to equip them with the necessary skills to work effectively, and finally, a regulatory and evaluative mechanism to check and assess the progress of NGOs work in order to achieve the objectives for which the organization is set. However, the absence of these determinants and mechanisms would have a negative impact on democracy and good governance. To this end, individual's rights will be compromised due to the inability of NGOs to effectively function. The results of these would be a state characterized by minority interests being ignored due to an unbalanced government policy, low political participation, high rate of rejected ballots in elections, rigging, electoral violence and abuse of human rights, corruption and among others.

Therefore, a logical conclusion can be drawn from these factors that democracy and good governance is enhanced through the activities of NGOs only if the government and legal framework, donor funds, training of officials and an effective regulatory mechanism exist and are favourable.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section outlined the research design for the study, followed by the study population, sampling technique, sources of data, data collection instruments and lastly, the data processing and analysis.

3.2 Profile of the Sunyani Municipal

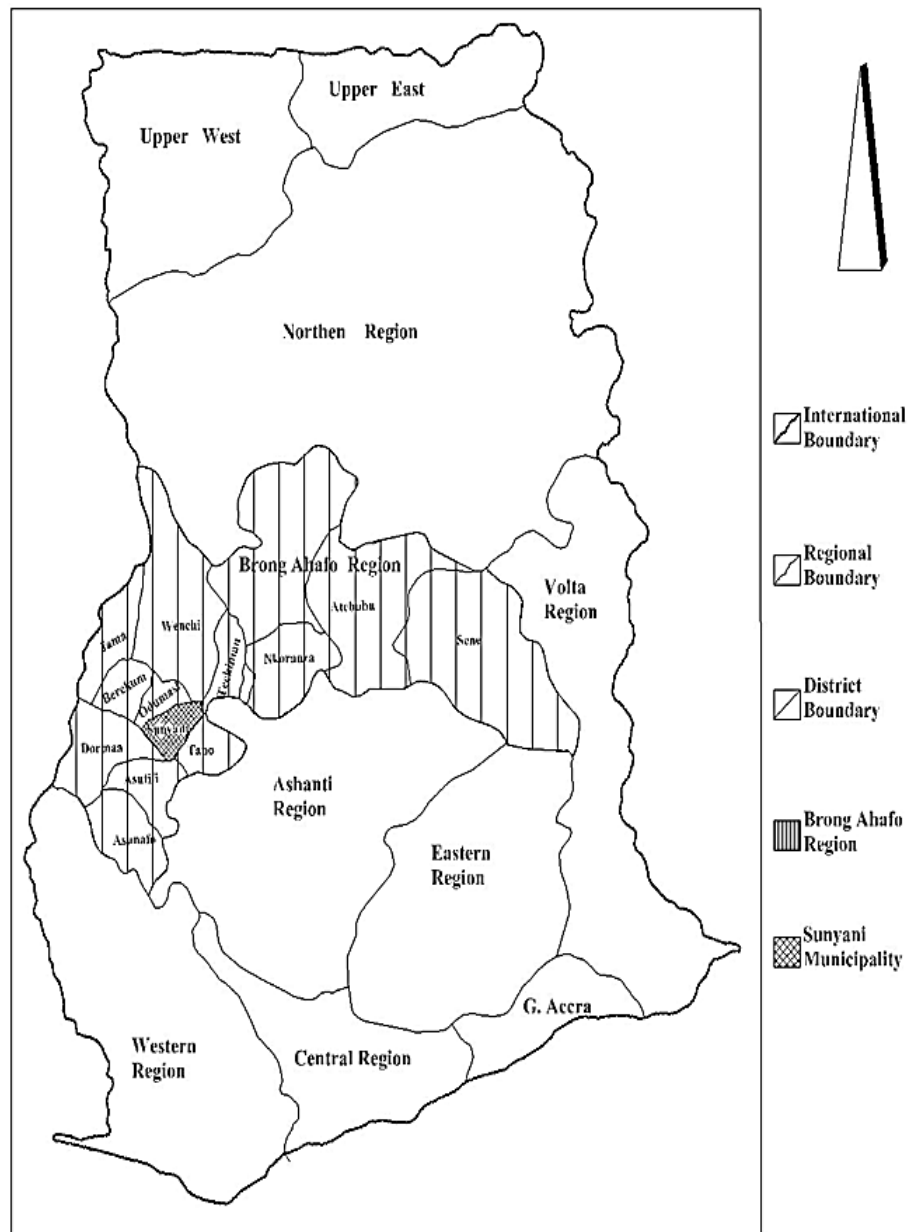
This study gives a useful background of the Sunyani Municipality. The information was basically sourced from a secondary data, specifically, documentary reviews which presented information on the demography, socio-economic, political and physical features of the Municipality.

3.2.1 Demographic and Socio-economic Characteristics

The Sunyani municipality is located in the Brong-Ahafo region and lies between latitude 7° 05'N and 7° 20'N, and longitude 2°10'W and 2°30'W. The Municipality shares borders with Sunyani West district to the West and North, Asutifi District to the South, Tano-North to the East and Dormaa-East to West. The Sunyani Municipality is the largest settlement in the region with a total land area of 74,943 square kilometres. It also serves as the regional capital of the Brong-Ahafo region (Sunyani Municipal Assembly, 2014).

The 2010 Population and Housing Census conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) puts the population of the Sunyani Municipality at 123,224 constituting 5.3% of the Brong-Ahafo region's total population. Like the national and regional compositions, the female population outweighs that of the male population but this time by a very small margin, that is, 61,614 (50.1%) and 61,610 (49.9%) respectively in the Sunyani Municipality. The inhabitants of the Municipality are predominantly Akan with the minority ethnic groups being Dagaaba, Wangara, Frafra and Dagomba, just to mention but a few. In terms of religion, Christianity, Islam and Traditional religion are present in the Municipality with Christianity having the largest percentage of the population and the Traditional religion constituting the least (GSS, 2010). Figure 3.1 below displays the location of Sunyani Municipality of the Brong-Ahafo region.

Figure 3.1: A Map of Sunyani Municipality in Regional and National Context



Source: Town and Country Planning Department, Sunyani Municipal Office, 2014.

Economically, the Municipality used to be mainly agrarian. However, with the expansion of the commercial, industrial and service activities have led to the diversification of the local economy. At present, the service sector employs a greater percentage (58.3%) of the population in the Municipality (GSS, 2010).

3.2.2 Municipal Governance and Administration

Politically, the Municipality has thirty-four (34) electoral areas. This was until the Assembly was elevated to a Municipal status on the 17th March, 2004 by a legislative instrument (LI) 1794 with Sunyani, Abesim, and Atronie council as its Urban, Town and Area Councils respectively. The legal basis for the establishment and functioning of the Sunyani municipality is the 1992 Republican constitution of Ghana and the Local Government Act 1993, Act (462).

Given the socio-economic and political background pertaining to the Sunyani municipality, it becomes an obvious choice for the study. This is because since 1992, various elections both national and local have been held in the municipality, resulting in various controversies relating to the acceptance of some of the election results as being free and fair. The controversies arise from the political ills such as electoral malpractices, high number of invalid votes and electoral violence and injustices evident during such elections. This unfair electoral practices and injustices exposed by various political parties coupled with low voter turnout, high rate of invalid vote cast and an unbalanced government policy makes it expedient to study the role of NGOs in promoting democratic good governance. Specifically, the study looks at the election monitoring, political education, access to justice and policy advocacy role of NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality.

3.3 Research Design

The researcher used a combination of both qualitative and quantitative approaches of research to collect and analyse text and numeric data respectively. According to De Vaus (2001), a research design is the overall strategy that provides the framework for collecting and analysing relevant data with the aim of addressing a research problem or issue.

Essentially, a researcher's choice of a particular research design is informed by the objectives and questions that the study seeks to respond to. In conducting social science research, various research designs including case study, surveys or archival analysis could be adopted depending on the purpose and requirements of the research (Yeleduor, 2009). After a thorough consideration of the various research designs, both the case study and evaluative research designs were chosen as per the nature of the research questions and objectives of the study.

As espoused by many scholars, case study is an empirical investigation of a phenomenon that is essentially contemporary. This is done through the use of multiple sources of evidence to examine the phenomenon in detail in terms of the actor's sentiments, interactions and behaviours. The use of these multiple sources in order to come up with a valid conclusion is termed data triangulation (Yin, 2003; Naele, et al, 2006). Based on this background, the use of the case study design is appropriate given that the role of civil society organisations, specifically, NGOs, in promoting democratic good governance has become a major topic in recent times though the origin of the civil society concept dates back to the days of Aristotle. To come up with a valid conclusion therefore, the study sourced data from diverse areas including published and unpublished reports, journals, interviews and questionnaires/survey schedules.

The evaluative research design was also used for the study. The primary purpose of employing this design was to assess the impact of NGOs role on democracy and good governance in the Sunyani Municipality. To this end, evaluative design is defined as the assessment of the effectiveness of an activity, programme or intervention aimed at bringing about change (Patton, 1997; Weiss, 1998). The findings from such evaluation focus on the strengths and weaknesses of the various aspects of the intervention and its overall performance. In this study, the evaluative research design is used to assess the role of NGOs (intervention) in promoting democratic good governance in the Sunyani Municipality.

3.4 Operationalisation of the Research Variables

The objective of this study is to assess the role of NGOs in promoting democratic good governance. As such the study sought to examine the extent to which the activities of NGOs influence democratic good governance.

(i)The Independent Variable

The independent variable in this study is the role that NGOs play which are policy advocacy, political education, election monitoring and access to justice. These variables have been used to explain the sustenance and strengthening of democratic

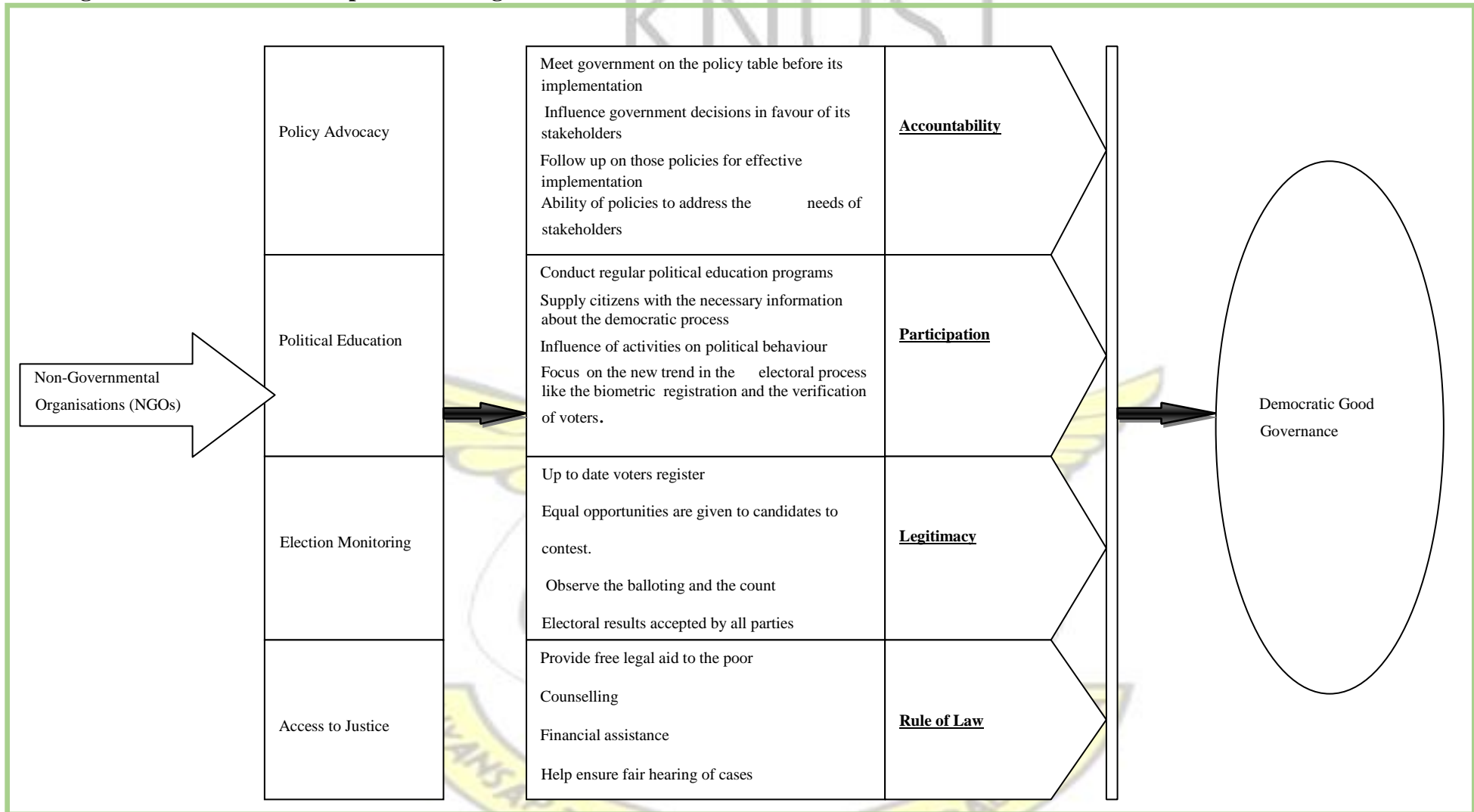
good governance.

(ii) The Dependent Variable

The role of NGOs is expected to promote democratic good governance in the Sunyani Municipality. Specifically, the study emphasises the extent to which the NGOs role influence democratic good governance using indicators as accountability, participation, legitimacy and rule of law. These four indicators of democratic good governance constitute the dependent variables in this study. Figure 3.2 operationalises the means of assessment of the four indicators of democratic good governance as used in the study.



Figure 3.2: A Framework Operationalising the Research Variables



Source: Adopted from Bingham (2011); Ngoma (2008); Chand (1997) and Gaventa (1995)



One component of the independent variable is policy advocacy. This is described as a process where individuals and organizations try to influence public policies with the use of information and their practices in order to democratise unequal power relations (Jordan and Tuijl, 2002). As such, NGOs undertake policy advocacy to influence the policies (demand accountability) of government by sitting with the government on the policy table before its implementation. According to Gaventa (1995), policy advocacy involves different strategies aimed at influencing decision making at all levels. These strategies involve who decides, what is decided, how it is decided, and finally, how it is enforced or implemented and the extent to which the policy addresses the needs of society. In this study however, the NGOs policy advocacy activities are assessed on the following: the extent to which NGOs meet with government on the policy table before its implementation, the extent to which they influence the decision of the government to favour its stakeholders, make follow up on the effective implementation of such policies and finally, the ability of such policies to address the needs of stakeholders. These four components of policy advocacy formed the main indicators for measuring the effectiveness of NGO (World Clock „WC“) in promoting government accountability in the Sunyani Municipality.

Political education also known as civic education or democracy education (Braham, 2006) refers specifically to the outreach activities such as programmes, campaigns and activities that are or have been formulated and implemented by the Women and Youth in Development (WYD). This NGO claim to have undertaken political education with the view of instilling in the citizens an understanding of the type, structure and functioning of Ghana's democratic political system, how to participate in its activities and why it is necessary for them to do so.

Studies have found that the most effective approaches used by NGOs in conducting political education programmes, campaigns and activities include training workshops, radio and television broadcasts, sponsored discussions and talks, drama shows, concerts, educational movies, sponsored sporting activities, leaflets, booklets and pamphlets (Bratton et al, 1997; Robinson et al, 1999). In this study, political education is measured in the following terms: the extent to which NGOs conduct regular political education programs, supply citizens with the necessary information about the democratic process, focus on new trends in the electoral process and how their activities

influence the political behaviour (example, voting, and ability of citizens to petition the EC) of the people. These activities, therefore, constitute the indicators for measuring how the NGOs political education programmes promote citizens' participation.

Election monitoring is another major component of the independent variable noted for promoting democracy and good governance. Election monitoring ensures the credibility of elections and ultimately enhances the legitimacy of the emerging government (Gyimah-Boadi, 2004; Diamond, 1997). The indicators used in examining the impact of CODEO in their election monitoring activities were largely drawn from the views of Chand (1997) who argued that election monitoring does not refer to the mere presence of NGOs on the day of the election itself but that which embraces myriads of activities before, during and after the election. These activities involve the observation of the electoral processes, pressure for changes in the electoral environment, equal opportunity given to candidates to contest elections, verification of voter registration lists, balloting and the count, mediation between the government and opposition, and the provision of technical assistance. In this study, election monitoring is measured in terms of how NGOs check the credibility of the voters register, equal opportunities given to candidates to contest elections, balloting and the count, and ensure that electoral results are accepted by all parties through mediation. These indicators were used to assess the extent to which the election monitoring role of CODEO in the Sunyani Municipality has impacted on elections to be specific and democratic good governance at large.

Access to justice constitutes the final component of the independent variable. In the views of Samatta (2003) access to justice is one of the most basic human rights without which the enjoyment of many other rights cannot be guaranteed. The high level of importance placed on access to justice in a democracy justifies the need for what constitutes it. In line with this, the UNDP (2004) argues that access to justice encompasses more than improving an individual's access to the courts, or guaranteeing legal representation but can also be seen in terms of ensuring that legal and judicial outcomes are just and equitable. Based on the ideas of the UNDP (2004) on what constitute access to justice and for the purpose of this study, four indicators were identified for measuring access to justice. These include: provision of free legal aid to the poor, counselling, financial assistance and ensuring fair hearing provided by NGOs.

3.4.1 Determining the extent to which NGOs promote Democratic Good Governance.

To determine the extent to which NGOs promote democratic good governance, I calculate the number of existing performances as a percentage of all possible performances as used in this study. The study adopts the use of the Likert scale to assess the extent to which NGOs promote democratic good governance. This is interpreted using the following scale: **excellent** ($\geq 75\%$); **very good** (50% - 74.9%); **good** (25% - 49.9%); **poor** ($\leq 24.9\%$). The four roles of NGOs as used in this analysis are: i) policy advocacy ii) political education iii) election monitoring and iv) access to justice.

To calculate an individual's assessment of NGOs performance, I used the following procedure:

Excellent „4“

Very Good „3“

Good „2“

Poor „1“

The maximum number of performance assessment a respondent can rate a particular NGO's role is (4 performance assessment x 4 unit of measurement) = 16 performance assessment.

This means that the number of performance assessment a respondent could obtain by rating a particular NGOs role would be the addition of all existing performance assessment (Y) as a *percentage* of all possible performance assessment. This shows a respondents' assessment of a particular NGOs role (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Means of Performance Assessment of NGOs Role by Respondents

NGOs Role	Unit of Assessment	Performance Rating*				%
		Excellent (4)	Very Good (3)	Good (2)	Poor (1)	
Policy Advocacy	Meet with government on the policy table before its implementation					Y/16×100 (%)
	Ability to influence government decisions in favour of its stakeholders					
	Make follow-ups on those policies for effective implementation					

	Ability of policies to address the needs of stakeholders					
Political Education	Conduct regular political education programmes					Y/16×100 (%)
	Supply citizens with the necessary information to keep them well informed about the democratic process					
	Focus on the new trend in the electoral process like the biometric registration and the verification of voters					
	Influence of activities on the political behaviour of citizens					
Election Monitoring	Check for the presence of up to date voters register					Y/16×100 (%)
	Equal opportunities given to candidates to contest elections					
	Observe the balloting and the count					
	Electoral results accepted by all parties					
Access to Justice	Provide free legal aid					Y/16×100 (%)
	Counselling					
	Financial assistance					
	Help ensure fair hearing					

Note: NGOs performance is excellent if ($\geq 75\%$), very good if ($50.9\%-74.9\%$), good if ($25\%-49.9\%$) and poor if ($\leq 24.9\%$). *A scale adopted from Adamtey (2012:90)

Source: Adopted from Bingham (2011); Ng'oma (2008); Chand (1997) and Gaventa (1995)

3.4.2 Determining the Strength of NGOs roles in the Sunyani Municipality

To determine the extent of performance among the four NGOs roles as used in this study, I calculate the mean for all the performance assessment of NGOs role of policy advocacy, political education, election monitoring and access to justice as indicated by the respondents in the survey. The differential performance of the results showed the extent of NGOs performance in the Sunyani Municipality.

3.5 The Study Population

To ensure democracy and good governance demands the responsibility of various stakeholders including the electoral commission, the media, the government, the NGOs, electorates, the political parties, the department of social welfare and the courts. But for the purposes of this study and in an attempt to achieve the research objectives, the study

population was limited to the NGOs, electoral commission, political parties, department of social welfare and the electorates.

3.5.1 Sampling and Sampling Technique

A sampling technique is a definite plan or road map for obtaining a sample from a given population. It refers to the procedure the researcher adopts in selecting items for the sample (Kothari, 2004). Both the probability and non-probability sampling techniques were used to obtain the sample for this study. Specifically, the purposive, cluster and quota sampling was used in the survey. According to Tongo (2007), items for the sample under a non-probability sampling are selected deliberately by the researcher based on the information needed rather than using the technique of the random sampling. As such, the purposive sampling method which is a non-probability sampling procedure was used to collect data from the officials of four NGOs (based on their specific role with regards to the topic), the Electoral Commission, political parties (party executives), the Department of Social Welfare and one beneficiary (Mr. A.) of NGO (CHREP-Aid) access to justice provision. In all, 24 people were purposively selected for this study. The sampling distribution is presented in table 3.1.

Table 3.2: Sample Size Distribution Based on the Target Institutions/ Organisations

NAMES OF INSTITUTIONS/ORGANISATIONS/ INDIVIDUAL	UNIT OF ENQUIRY	SAMPLING DISTRIBUTION
NGOs	World Clock	6
	CODEO	7
	Women and Youth in Development	2
	CHREP-Aid	3
Political Parties	NDC	1
	NPP	1
	CPP	1
Electoral Commission		1
Department of Social Welfare		1
Individual (Mr A.)		1
TOTAL		24

Source: Author's Construct, November, 2014.

Cluster sampling was used to group the thirty-four electoral areas into four clusters using focal locations of north, south, east and west. The study further adopted simple random sampling to select four electoral areas based on the focal locations in the Sunyani Municipality. These electoral areas were selected by writing the names of the electoral areas in a particular focal locations in the Sunyani Municipality on pieces of paper. These papers were then shuffled severally and then one electoral area selected each from a focal location. In all, four electoral areas (Atuahenekrom, Yawhimakrom, Sunyanitifi and Mireku) were selected to represent the north, south, east and west zone respectively.

A quota sampling was then used to sample the electorates from the four selected electoral areas. According to the data gathered from the Municipal Electoral Commission, the number of registered voters in all the thirty-four (34) electoral areas as at 2012 was 89,893. Out of this number, 7,322 represented the population of the registered voters in the four selected electoral areas of Atuahenekrom, Yawhimakrom, Sunyanitifi and Mireku. At a confidence level of 93 percent and 0.7 percent margin of error, the researcher obtained the sample size of 156 respondents using the mathematical formula below:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N \alpha^2}$$

Where n = sample size, N = sample frame, α = margin of error, 1 = constant

The individual respondents were selected using convenient sampling based on their age. Table 3.3 gives the details of the sample size distribution according to the selected electoral areas.

Table 3.3: Sample Size Distribution Based on Electoral Areas

NO	ELECTORAL AREA	NO OF REGISTERED VOTERS	SAMPLE SIZE
1	Atuahenekrom	1369	29
2	Yawhimakrom	2749	59
3	Sunyanitifi	1632	35
4	Mireku	1572	33
TOTAL		7322	156

Source: Sunyani Municipal Assembly, November, 2014.

3.6 Sources of Data

Two types of data were used for the study. They included the primary and secondary data. The primary data were collected through the use of the questionnaire and interview guide from the fieldwork. Secondary data was obtained from published and unpublished sources. These include articles, journals, institutional records, thesis, books, annual reports as well as the internet.

3.7 Data Collection Instruments

A number of research instruments were used to collect and evaluate data for the study. Both interview guide and questionnaire were used to collect primary data for the study. The head of the various institutions and organisations were interviewed using the interview guide to solicit their views on the role of NGOs in enhancing democracy and good governance as well as how the NGOs themselves go about those roles (election monitoring, political education, access to justice, and policy advocacy) in the Sunyani Municipality. It also examined the factors that inhibits their efforts and sought their views on the means of enhancing the role of NGOs in order to promote democratic good governance.

In addition, a questionnaire was used for the other respondents (political party executives and NGOs staff) of the various institutions and organisations besides the institutional heads. Questionnaires were also distributed to the electorates from the four selected electoral areas in the Sunyani Municipality. The use of questionnaire was important in this regard because it gave the respondents the opportunity to work at their own pace. Also, the questionnaire made the respondents feel comfortable particularly in answering questions which were personal and would not have given under a face-to-face interview. Questionnaires were also used to obtain responses from respondents due to the anonymity it provides.

Different sets of questions were used to collect data from these respondents and this was done with the use of both Close-ended and Open-ended questions. The closeended questions were used to keep respondents' answers focused on the questions as well as made it easier with respect to time. According to Best and Khan (1995), close- ended questions allow easy coding, analysis and cross tabulation. However, open- ended

questions were also considered which allowed respondents express themselves better by giving more detailed responses.

3.8 Pre-test of Questionnaires

The researcher pre-tested the questionnaire in Offinso, a Municipality, in Ashanti region with similar characteristics as Sunyani Municipality and administered the instrument on them. This enabled the researcher to understand the clarity, validity, adequacy, relevance, suitability and length of data to be collected. It also assisted in finding out whether the instruments needed some revision to meet the research objectives and seeking appropriate answers to the research questions in order to address the research problem (Arthur and Nazroo, 2003). The questionnaire was revised and made clearer for data collection as a result of the experience from the pretest.

3.9 Administration of the Instruments

A letter of introduction was collected from the Department of Planning, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), Kumasi, and presented to the Heads of the various institutions to seek permission. Appointment was then made with the heads with regards to the time and venue to administer the data. Respondents were also taken through the questions on one-on-one basis to ascertain the validity and reliability of their responses.

3.10 Techniques for Quantitative Data Analysis

The quantitative data was organised and presented in descriptive form including frequency tables, bar charts and cross tabulations. The independent t-test was used to compare the mean responses of those who participated in NGOs political education and the mean responses of those who did not participate in NGOs political education in relation to their consistency in voting in previous national elections. The study test the null hypothesis that:

H₀: Mean (diff) = 0

H₁: Mean (diff) >0

The null hypothesis H₀ states that there is no statistical difference between the mean of those who participated in NGOs political education and that of those who did not

participate in NGOs political education in relation to consistency in voting. The null hypothesis postulates that participating in NGOs activities do not have an effect on ones voting pattern while the alternative hypothesis states that participating in NGOs activities has an impact on the probability of an individual being consistent in voting.

The Pearson chi-square of independence was used to determine whether there is a significant association between a person participating in NGOs educational forum and the probability of such a person taking the Electoral Commission (EC) to court in the case of dissatisfaction with elections outcome. The chi-square was used to test the association between categorical variables. In this case, political education is the independent variable while petitioning the court in case of dissatisfaction with election results becomes the dependent variable. These are qualitative responses but of categorical outcomes.

The chi-square test tests the null hypothesis that: there is no relationship between participating in NGOs political education activities and ones readiness to take the EC to Court while the alternative hypothesis states that there is a significant relationship between one participating in NGOs educational forum and the probability of such person taking the EC to court.

3.11 Data Processing and Analysis

Prior to data processing, an inventory of all the data available for each of the objectives was done for the different data collection instruments, namely, the interview guide and questionnaire. The essence is to ensure a better organisation for data analysis.

Before data analysis, data processing was carried out. This was done in such a way that information was easy to handle and to check for mistakes that occurred during data collection. To ensure this, therefore, the following exercises were undertaken. First, data was sorted; questionnaires were numbered in the most convenient way for easy identification. Second, a proper check was conducted on all data for completeness and consistency of information. Again, all the data was entered in the computer using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software. The total numbers of responses were matched with the total number of respondents for each variable. This was done to correct any missing data that might be overlooked and finally, all qualitative data

including open-ended questions were categorised. Interviews were transcribed, read, ordered, summarised and analysed according to the topic under discussion.

Data analysis was done in such a manner that the findings provided answers to the research questions as well as meeting the research objectives. Therefore, data analysis was done by discussing issues under major themes to facilitate easy understanding of issues. Conclusions were drawn and recommendations made based on the findings. Qualitative data was categorised, coded and interpreted depending on the content and purpose of the data collected using content analysis. According to Berelson (1952) content analysis is a research technique used to systematically identify and describe the content of communications and as suggested by Holsti (1969), the questions posed by content analysis is who says what, to whom, why, to what extent and with what effects? The codes generated by this technique were entered into the computer using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software and counted. Quantitative data was expressed in numbers and presented in frequency tables. This helped summarised and analysed data in line with the purpose of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATAPRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the data. As stated in the Methodology Chapter, themes have been developed to facilitate the presentation and analysis of the data. Thus, the data is captured under the following themes; respondents' understanding of the concept of democratic good governance, knowledge of the elements of democratic good governance, respondents' awareness of NGOs activities, the role of NGOs in promoting democratic good governance and finally, the factors that tend to promote or affect the effective operations of NGOs to promote democratic good governance.

4.2 Respondents Understanding of Democratic Good Governance and Awareness of NGOs

The main objective of this study was to examine the role that NGOs play in promoting democratic good governance using Sunyani Municipality as a case study. To do this,

the study first sought the views of respondents on the meaning of democratic good governance and their awareness of NGOs in promoting democratic good governance in the Sunyani Municipality. This was done to determine their level of awareness and understanding of the issues under discussion. From the survey, it was found that out of the 156 respondents, 49 percent held the view that democratic good governance refers to the high level of freedom enjoyed by citizens in a state as well as the promotion of the activities of civil society organisations. Close to 20 percent were of the opinion that democratic good governance is the involvement of citizens in decision making in the state.

As shown in table 4.1, 14 percent of the sampled respondents said that democratic good governance is the ability of the state to uphold the concept of rule of law. About 4 percent of the respondents were of the view that democratic good governance is the ability of government to meet the needs of citizens while 10 percent of the respondents gave other definitions beside the aforementioned. Some of these definitions and descriptions include good economy, corruption free government, right to vote, independent judiciary, multi-party system, effective legislature and security systems, the provision of social amenities, good education, among others. These definitions though not conclusive in themselves, they address one or more features of democratic good governance. These notwithstanding, there were about 3 percent of respondents who claimed they have no idea about democratic good governance. The results from this study suggest that majority of the respondents surveyed (97 percent) have an idea of what democratic good governance is. The responses of the sampled respondents are presented in table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Knowledge of Democratic Good Governance

Meaning of Democratic Good Governance	Frequency	Percentage (100%)
Involvement of citizens in decision making	31	19.9
Ability of government to meet the needs of citizens	7	4.5
State's ability to uphold the rule of law	22	14.1
Level of freedom and civil society activities	76	48.7
No idea	5	3.2
Other Interpretations	15	9.6

Total	156	100
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Source: Field survey, January 2015.

The views of the sampled NGOs on what constituted democratic good governance was equally sought and the results revealed that all the respondents had good knowledge about democratic good governance. Eighteen (18) respondents were interviewed from the four selected NGOs and their numbers are represented as follows: World Clock (6), Women and Youth in Development (2), CODEO (7) and CHREP-Aid (3) respondents respectively. The views of a CODEO staff concerning his understanding of democratic good governance is as follows:

When citizens are involved in the governance process and the government strives to fight corruption and allows civil society organizations to operate, then, there is democratic good governance (A staff of CODEO, 4th February, 2015).

A staff of CHREP-Aid also expressed his opinion about democratic good governance in this way:

Where fair opportunities are given to individuals in every area of their lives in the state be it political, economic or social, there is democratic good governance. Political in the sense that the individual has the right to vote and be voted for, access justice when need be, and the ability to express him/herself freely on political issues of the state. Economic in the sense that an individual can freely engage him/herself in any legal activity to earn a living as well as the ability to enjoy physical structures such as good roads and electricity provided by the state. Socially is when every citizen is free to join one association or the other according to the law as well as access social infrastructure like schools and hospitals without any intimidation whatsoever. Indeed, the fundamental of democratic good governance is freedom (A staff of CHREP-Aid, 28th January, 2015).

Almost all the other NGOs staff agreed with the views of the staff of CHREP-Aid and CODEO that democratic good governance entails the involvement of citizens in decision making, meeting the needs of citizens as well as being able to uphold the concept of rule of law.

The third group of respondents whose views were sought pertaining to the meaning of democratic good governance were political party executives. The study sampled the three popular political parties using the 2012 elections results namely: NDC, NPP and CPP. Each of these three political parties was represented by one party executive. The views of one of the political party executives is summarised as:

Democratic good governance refers to the extent to which the state upholds the concept of rule of law, the extent of freedom enjoyed by citizens as well as their effective participation in decision making in the state. In fact, the absence of citizens' participation in the decision making process in any state means bad governance (Political Party Executive, 29th January, 2015).

The responses of the sampled Party Executives revealed that democratic good governance has to do with the states' ability to administer justice in an impartial manner, fight corruption and the establishment of effective state institutions. It also emerged from the survey that the involvement of citizens in the decision making process is a key determinant of democratic good governance without which is "bad governance".

The last group of respondents were the institutional heads used in the study. These respondents include the Director for the Department of Social Welfare and the Electoral Officer in the Sunyani Municipality. Pertaining to their views on democratic good governance, the Director for the Department of Social Welfare explained that:

the concept deals with the involvement of citizens in decision making and the extent to which the government of the state is able to meet the real needs of the people be it political, social, economic and among others. For democratic governance to be good means that there is the maximum participation of citizens in decision making, evaluation and its implementation (Director for the Department of Social Welfare, 28th January, 2015).

The Municipal Electoral Officer on the other hand described democratic good governance as:

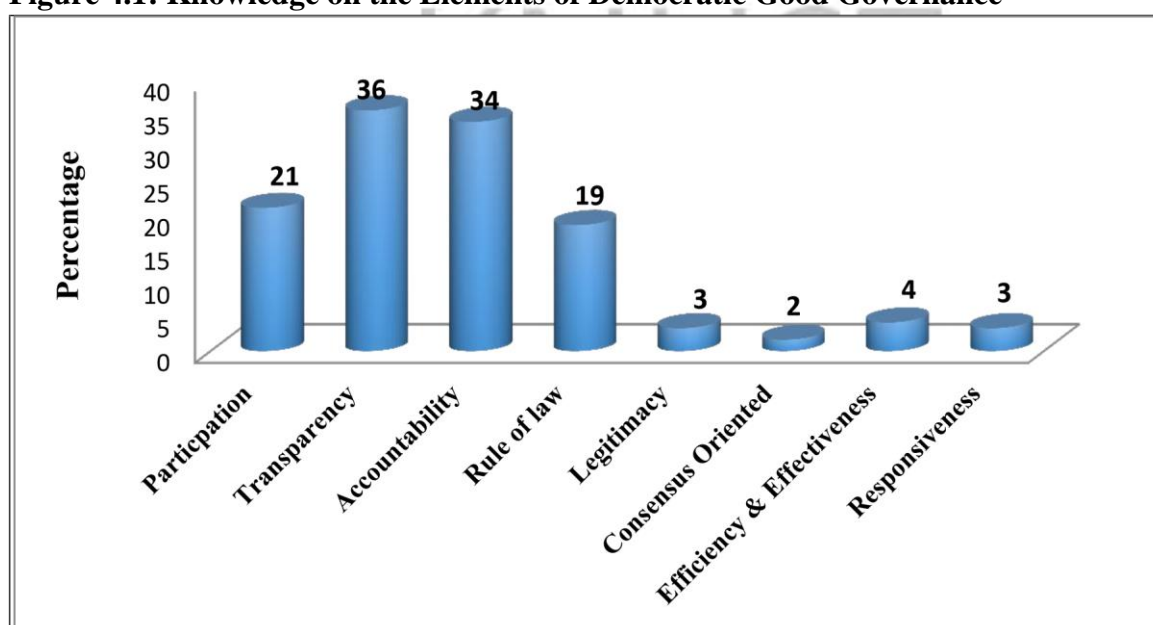
The extent to which the state is guided by the concept of rule of law and the degree to which the other democratic principles such as press freedom, independent judiciary, and multi-party system are practised in the state (Municipal Electoral Officer, 4th February, 2015).

The responses of both respondents showed that they have in-depth understanding of what democratic good governance is, hence, their ability to better explain and discuss the issues concerning NGOs and democratic good governance constructively.

To further ascertain respondents' level of knowledge and understanding of democratic good governance, the sampled respondents were asked to identify from a list of indicators of democratic good governance. The study found that out of the 156 respondents, 118 respondents representing 76 percent were able to identify at least one

indicator of democratic good governance indicating that they were familiar with those indicators. However, 38 (24 percent) of the respondents said they had no knowledge about these indicators. Figure 4.1 below presents the popularity of the democratic good governance elements as indicated by the sampled respondents.

Figure 4.1: Knowledge on the Elements of Democratic Good Governance



Source: Field survey, January 2015.

From the survey, it was revealed that the most recognised democratic good governance element was transparency which was identified by 42 respondents (36 percent), followed by accountability with 40 respondents constituting 34 percent. The next most recognised indicator was participation which was identified by 25 (21 percent) of the respondents. About 22 respondents (19 percent) recognised rule of law, with efficiency and effectiveness recording four (4 percent). This was followed by legitimacy and responsiveness identified by four (3 percent) of the respondents each. The least recognised element was consensus building reported by two (2 percent) of the respondents.

It has been argued that an informed citizenry is a *sine qua non* to the sustenance and effective practice of democratic good governance. For instance, Galston (1991) and Carpini and Keeter (1996) found that adequate knowledge of the democratic process is a critical component of citizenship as it enables individuals to understand their real

interests and to make effective use of the opportunities given them. A contrary observation was made by Hoffman (1998) over a decade ago. He observed that citizens with low levels of information are able to use shortcuts, heuristic devices, and cues to make reasonable judgments about their political processes. The survey results in the Sunyani Municipality showed that majority (76 percent) of the respondents are informed about the democratic process. This result suggests that for democracy and good governance to be effective and acceptable, the citizens in the state must be equipped with adequate knowledge and understanding of the process.

4.3 Awareness of NGOs and their Activities in the Sunyani Municipality

In addition to the meaning of democratic good governance, the study sought from the sampled respondents whether they were familiar with the activities of NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality with regards to their role in promoting democratic good governance. The responses of the sampled participants in the survey revealed that of the 156 respondents, 114 of them recognised the presence of at least one of the NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality. Out of this number, 88 (77 percent) had an idea about the work of NGOs with the remaining 26 (23 percent) not having any idea. Of the 114 respondents, 65 of them indicated their knowledge about the activities of CODEO in the Sunyani Municipality. This was followed by World Clock (37) and CHREP-Aid (29). The least active NGO according to the responses of the sampled participants in the survey was Women and Youth in Development as only 15 respondents indicated they were familiar with their activities. The responses are presented in table 4.3.

Table 4.2: Knowledge of NGO's Activities in the Sunyani Municipality

Names of NGOs	Frequency	Percentage (100%)
World Clock	37	21
CODEO	65	38
Women and Youth in Development	15	9
CHREP-Aid	29	17
No Idea	26	15
Total	172	100

(Note: This was a multiple response, the total is more than the 156 sampled respondents)

Source: Field survey, January 2015.

Despite the clearly indicated objectives of the NGOs being political education (Women and Youth in Development), election monitoring (CODEO), policy advocacy (World Clock), and access to justice (CHREP-Aid) respectively, the study found that some of the NGOs performed activities considered as the reserve of other NGOs. For instance, the results of the survey revealed that World Clock provided political education while CODEO provided political education aside their core roles of policy advocacy and election monitoring respectively. This confirms what Lewis (2007) observed; that many NGOs tend to be involved in more than one activity apart from their core mandate. They may begin with one and add on other activities later on depending on the environment they find themselves.

Pertaining to the views solicited from the three political party executives on their knowledge concerning the activities of NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality, 2 (NDC and NPP) were able to identify the specific activities undertaken by each of the four NGOs. However, the CPP executive was able to identify only two of them; specifically he identified that of CODEO (election monitoring and political education) and World Clock (policy advocacy and political education).

The Electoral Officer on the other hand, was able to match CODEO and World Clock to election monitoring and policy advocacy/political education respectively. Obviously, the Director of the Department of Social Welfare was able to identify all the activities of each of the four NGOs, given that it is his responsibility to monitor the work of the NGOs.

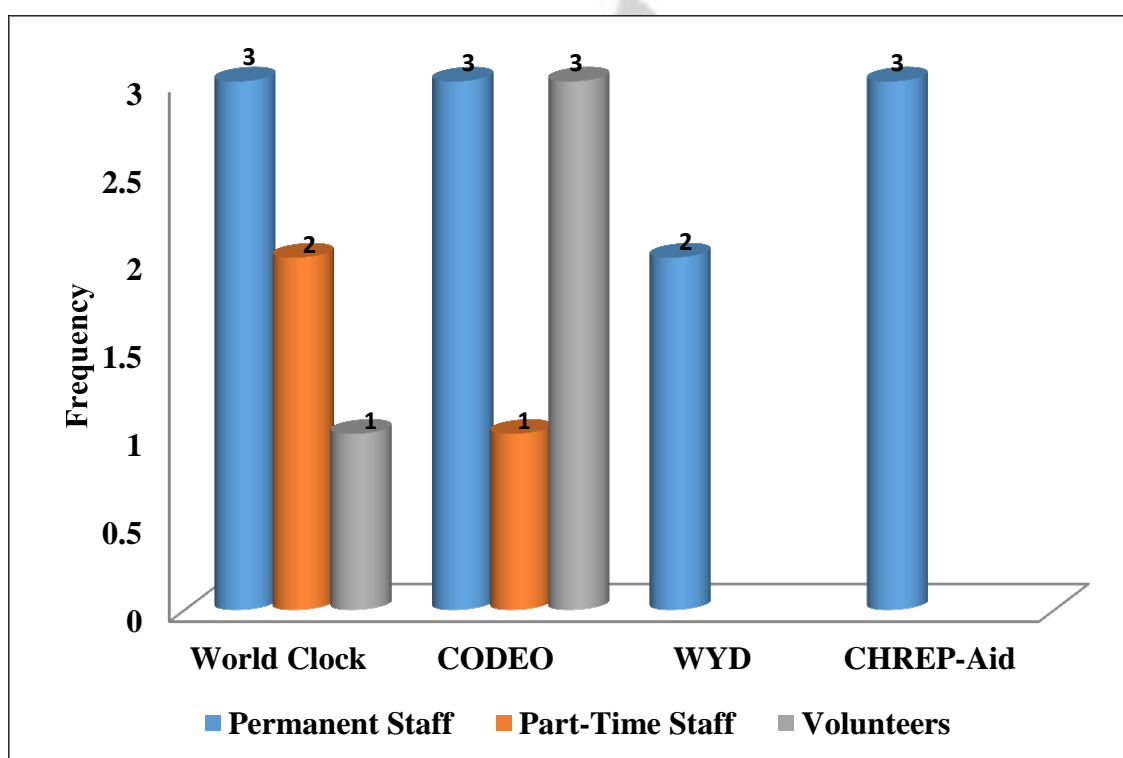
4.4 Organisational Structure and Management of NGOs

One other objective of this study was to explore the issues of the organisational structure and management of NGOs activities. This was done to determine the extent to which these issues either enhance or limit the work of NGOs in promoting democratic good governance in the Sunyani Municipality. In this regard the study examined the staff composition of the sampled NGOs, NGOs-stakeholder engagement and their sources of funds.

4.4.1 Staff Composition of NGOs

The staff composition of the selected NGOs (World Clock, Women and Youth in Development, CODEO and CHREP-Aid) is very important as it informs the category of staff, their number, level of education and experiences. This information provides a good knowledge about their capacity to effectively undertake their activities to yield progress. Generally, the staff of NGOs are categorised into permanent, volunteers and part-time staffs (temporal) and the case of World Clock, Women and Youth in Development, CODEO and CHREP-Aid are no exception. From the study, there were eighteen staffs employed by the four NGOs surveyed. Figure 4.2 displays the categorisation of staff.

Figure 4.2: Staff Categorisation



Source: Field survey, January 2015.

The survey results show that there were 11 permanent staffs in all with World Clock represented by 3, Women and Youth in Development (2), CODEO (3) and CHREPAid (3) staffs respectively. The part-time staffs were 3: World Clock (2) and CODEO (1), while CHREP-Aid and Women and Youth in Development had no part-time staff. The volunteers were 4 in all with World Clock (1) and CODEO (3), while Women and Youth in Development and CHREP-Aid had no voluntary personnel.

Aggregating the staff strength of each of the NGOs used in this study, it was found that the capacity of the NGOs to effectively undertake their activities is greatly hampered by their poor staff strength.

In response to the age categories of the 18 NGO staffs interviewed, half of them (9) fell between the ages of 18 – 28, 5 between 29 – 38, and 4 were between 39 – 48 years. Borrowing from the Ministry of Youth and Sports, Ghana (2010), it can be concluded that majority (14) of the staff employed by the NGOs belong to the youthful age since they defined a youth as a person who falls within the ages of 15 and 35 years. All the volunteers were young graduates either national service personnel or searching for employment and were all within the ages of 25 – 28. These voluntary workers were mainly employed by well-established NGOs which could afford to pay them some allowances. In relation to staff composition and gender, it was revealed that of the 18 staffs employed by the four NGOs, only 5 were females with the remaining 13 being males. This deviates from the affirmative action (gender equality) preached by the various international and non-governmental organisations to ensure that every institution or organisation employs at least 40 percent females to perpetuate the democratic system.

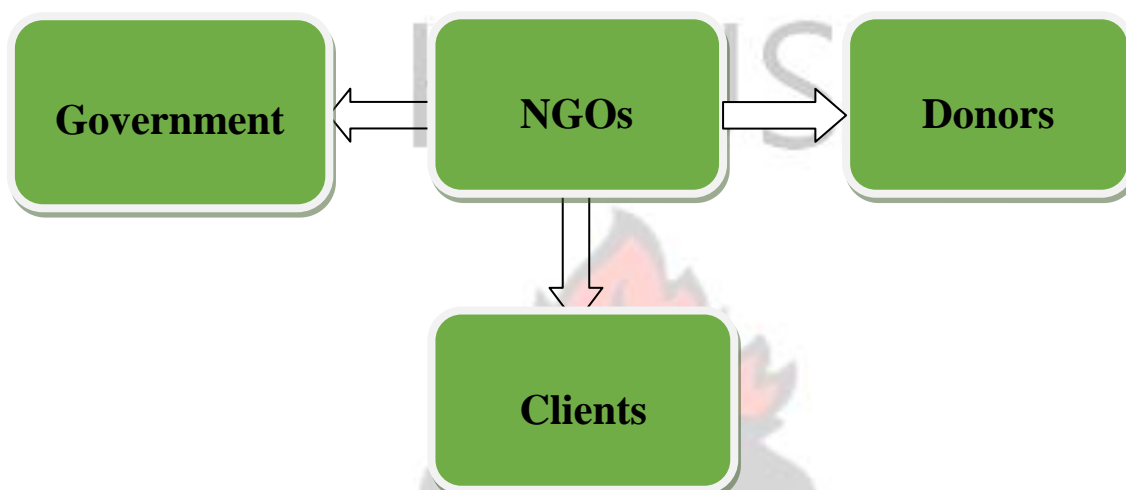
The study further revealed that all the staffs interviewed had attained tertiary education. This is really encouraging since employee performance has a link with their level of education, especially, when it comes to issues relating to democracy and good governance with its accompanying abstract concepts such as election monitoring, political education, policy advocacy and access to justice. Studies conducted by Lazear (1977) revealed that the better the academic achievement of an individual, the better their job performance. This means in order for NGOs to effectively educate and properly undertake their activities, their staffs need a clear and deep understanding of their objectives (democratic good governance). However, Lazear (1977) emphasised that the high level of education alone does not produce better job performance. He, therefore, suggested such activities like in-service training and effective supervision as supportive measures to enhance job performance of an individual.

4.4.2 Views on NGOs main Stakeholders and their Engagement

This study found that NGOs in their pursuit to promote democratic good governance have to meet the needs of their three main stakeholders, namely, the government, donors

and their constituents (their clients). Thus, NGOs have to ensure good relations with the government and donors and at the same time must be able to meet the needs of their clients (their constituents). Therefore, NGOs have to balance the interests of these three main stakeholders. Figure: 4.3 depict NGOs and their main stakeholders.

Figure 4.3: NGOs and their Primary Stakeholders



Source: Author's Construct, January 2015.

From the survey, NGOs were made to state the level of cooperation that exist between them and their stakeholders. The survey showed that out of the four NGOs interviewed, three of them (CODEO, CHREP-Aid and Women and Youth in Development) stated that their relationship have been cordial. In their view, there is free flow and access to information between them and their stakeholders, high involvement of stakeholders in their activities, their activities have been able to address the problems of stakeholders and finally, stakeholders are willing to accept changes brought about by their activities. However, the views expressed by World Clock were quite different. The response from World Clock was that the relationship they have with their stakeholders was somewhat cordial. In their explanation, this was what one of the staff said:

Our clients are not willing to accept our policy advocacy concept. You know, it is not easy to change the attitudes of people especially when they have been brought up in a particular way and see issues in an entirely different perspective. For instance, there are times we call on citizens in the Municipality to bring their concerns pertaining to the policy decisions of government so we could channel it to the government for proper policy implementation, majority of these citizens do not show up. Instead, they give various excuses which greatly affect the effectiveness of our work (A staff of World Clock, 28th January, 2015).

It is difficult to change the attitudes of people when they themselves are not ready to accept any form of change. To this end, the other staff of World Clock also revealed that the citizens in the Sunyani Municipality are not very receptive to their activities. This tends to limit the level of cordiality that exists between them. However, it can be concluded that there exist a cordial relationship between NGOs and their stakeholders since majority (three of the NGOs) confirmed to that effect. The views expressed by NGOs in terms of their cordial relationship with stakeholders is in tandem with the work of Afrimap, et al (2010) that the effective stakeholder relationship that exists between NGOs and their stakeholders has been the driving force of the peaceful atmosphere and tranquillity devoid of ethnic, religious, regional and electoral conflicts we enjoy as a state.

4.4.3 NGOs and Sources of Funds

All NGOs, whether national or international, depend on some source of funding even though the source might vary. According to Muthupandian (2006), NGOs generally derive their funds from two different sources namely, external and internal sources. The external sources include funds from foreign governments, foreign development agencies and other international non-governmental organisations while the internal sources are basically from the government, private individuals and self-generated or earned income. While there are tremendous variations in the sources of funds for NGOs among countries and NGOs within any sector, there are at the same time identifiable trends of NGOs' sources of funding. For instance, in their study of East African indigenous NGOs, Semboja and Therkildsen (1995 cited in Barr et al, 2005: p.664) found that majority of indigenous NGOs' funding comes from external sources. The works of Hulme and Edwards (1997) also found that funds from external sources form a major component of indigenous NGOs' funding. Another study conducted in Uganda by Fafchamps and Trudy (2006) revealed that funds from external sources represent about 80 percent of indigenous NGOs' funding in Uganda. Similarly, the findings of Turary (2002) in Ghana showed that the Youth Development Foundation, an indigenous NGO in Kumasi receives an average of 90 percent of their funding from external sources.

However, with respect to the four NGOs selected from the Sunyani Municipality, only two of these NGOs (CODEO and World Clock) share this view. A staff of CODEO said:

We receive donor funds to undertake our activities. These funds constitute a greater proportion of the funds we receive in general. As at now, our major external source of funds comes from Concerned Universal, and external governments through their embassies and agencies (DANIDA and GTZ). Though these funds are received in somewhat regular basis, they are still not enough to effectively undertake all our activities. We equally receive funds internally through individual or group donations to undertake our activities (A staff of CODEO, 12th February, 2015).

With respect to the information gathered from Women and Youth in Development, and CHREP-Aid, this view is yet to be realised, since they have not been able to receive any foreign aid yet. They further stated that the funds with which they operate with are those they generate from undertaking few economic ventures, donations from private institutions and individuals as well as those from their own personal earnings.

The views of a staff and founder of CHREP-Aid are expressed as:

Since we started this NGO, we have still not received any foreign aid yet. Though we are putting in efforts to receive such financial assistance by writing proposals and applications here and there, we are yet to receive any good news. The funds we currently use in undertaking our activities are those we receive internally through individual and group donations. There are some renowned private institutions (I do not want to disclose their identity) who have been very helpful in terms of financial support to this NGO. We also engage in some economic activities to generate additional funds to carry out our programmes. However, with all these funds we receive through donations and engaging in economic activities are not adequate to effectively undertake our programmes. At some instances, I have to pay my staff from my own personal earnings. This has negatively affected the other areas of our activities such as staffing, providing frequent in-service training and widening our scope of activities to cover those in the hinterlands (A staff and founder of CHREPAid, 4th February, 2015).

Even though, all the four NGOs surveyed for this study confirmed that they receive a reasonable financial support internally (within Ghana), they held that these funding alone is not enough to enable them work effectively given that the supply of funds are not regular. It was only with CODEO who indicated that they receive funds on somewhat regular basis. The NGOs therefore argued that without the continuous supply of funds to the NGOs, their activities cannot be effective and that this has been the cause of some other NGOs folding up. The NGOs further stated that the frequency in the supply of funds will determine the staff capacity in terms of number, educational level and the frequency and intensity of their activities.

4.5 The Role of NGOs in Promoting Democratic Good Governance

The main objective in this study is to assess the role of NGOs in promoting democratic good governance using Sunyani Municipality as a case study. In order to measure

democratic good governance, the following indicators were used; participation, legitimacy, accountability and rule of law. The study therefore assessed NGOs activities in Sunyani Municipality in the areas of political education, election monitoring, policy advocacy and access to justice which are the key elements that ensure democratic good governance.

4.5.1 Promoting Democratic Good Governance through Political Education

In order to determine the extent to which NGOs play a role in political education which in turns promote participation leading to democratic good governance, the sampled respondents' views were sought on the activities of NGOs with respect to political education in the Sunyani Municipality using the indicators of political education and organising it on a Likert scale as excellent, very good, good and poor (refer to table 3.1 for a detailed explanation of the assessment). The responses are presented in table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Respondents Assessment of NGOs Political Education

Assessment of NGOs Political Education Activities	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Excellent	9	6
Very Good	56	36
Good	45	29
Poor	36	23
Others	10	6
Total	156	100

Source: Field survey, January 2015.

The responses of the sampled respondents as in table 4.4 showed that 6 percent of them said NGOs have been excellent in carrying out their political education programme. While 36 percent held that NGOs performance in the Municipality has been very good, 29 percent saw NGOs activities to be good. The survey further revealed that 36 (23 percent) of the sampled respondents rated NGOs activities as poor. However, 10 (6 percent) of the respondents stated that they were not aware of the existence of these NGOs and could not assess their performance.

The views of the political party executives were equally sought and the responses showed that 2 out of the 3 respondents held that NGOs performance have been very good while the remaining one respondent thought NGOs activities have been good.

The reasons given by the two party executive for assessing the NGOs' activities to be very good are summarised by one of them (Party Executive A):

We are often called upon from time to time to have workshops and conferences with NGOs where we are educated on new technology pertaining to elections. They also educate us on our rights as political parties as well as give us room to share our problems concerning elections and its conducts with them for clarifications and assistance. A case in point was the introduction of the Biometric registration and voting in the year 2012. Initially, we had difficulties in understanding how it was going to work and doubts about its effectiveness. However, all these doubts were clarified after attending a one-day workshop with the NGOs. At the workshop, not only did they educate us on the need and other rudiments of the biometric exercise but educated us on our rights and responsibilities as a political party/party executives in the process of elections. They also keep us updated on issues by supplying us with handouts and leaflets from time to time. Based on this, I believe NGOs have been very good in this respect (Party Executive A, 5th February, 2015).

The other party executive who assessed NGOs activities to be good also had this to say:

NGOs enlighten us a lot when it comes to our roles as political parties in the conduct of elections. The education they give us enables us to conduct ourselves well especially during elections. Even when issues arise we know the appropriate quarters to channel our concerns. (Party Executive B, 5th February, 2015).

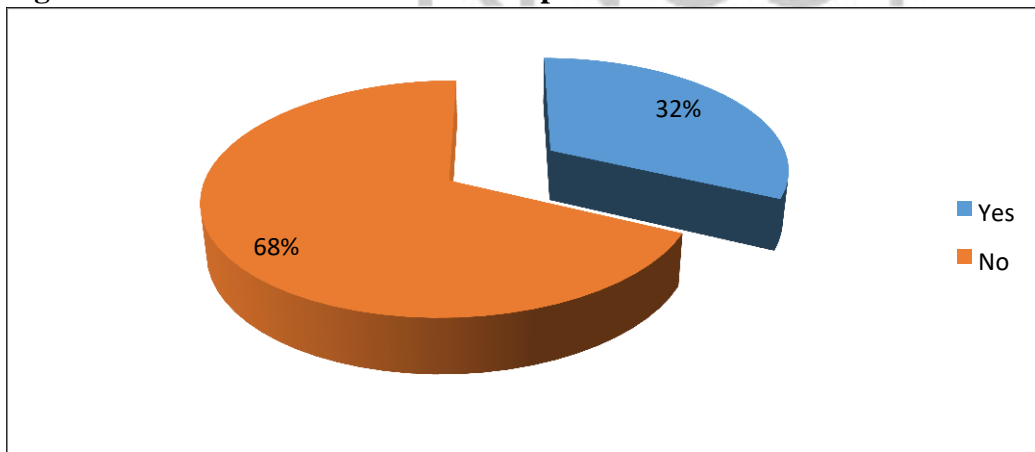
The views from the 3 party executives showed that NGOs performance in terms of providing political education has been effective. To validate the claim of these respondents the staff of NGOs were interviewed. From the survey, 10 out of 18 respondents believed that NGOs into political education have been very good, while 8 maintain that NGOs have been good in enhancing citizens' political participation through their educational programmes. This was what one of the NGOs staff who graded NGOs' political education activities as very good said:

Our activities involve holding public education forums to educate the citizenry on their rights and responsibilities especially on issues concerning voting. We do conduct these activities on a monthly basis only that we move from one area to the other in order to cover a wider section of the Municipality. We sometimes hold radio programmes or give out leaflets to people in this Municipality. Seminars are also held for key stakeholders like political party executives on the need to be an informed citizen by being abreast with current political and constitutional issues. Though I cannot say we are working in our maximum limit, I believe we have been very good in these areas I have indicated (Staff and founder of Women and Youth in Development, 4th February, 2015).

The views from the NGOs confirm the assessments of the other respondents that NGOs have been effective in their political education activities in the Sunyani Municipality.

The study further sought from the sampled respondents whether they have ever participated in any NGO political educational forum. The responses are presented in figure 4.4. The results showed that out of the 156 respondents interviewed, only 50 (32 percent) have participated in the political education forum organised by NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality, while majority (68 percent) have never attended such a forum. This shows that the level of citizens' participation in the political educational forum organised by NGOs is quite low.

Figure 4.4: Evidence of Citizens Participation in NGOs Political Education



Source: Field Survey, February 2015.

With respect to the 32 percent who have participated in the NGOs political educational forum, 92 percent of them admitted that their educational activity was effective. The reasons given by a participant is expressed as follows:

I have attended their political educational forum anytime I was around and I really like the way they take their time to discuss the issues and give room for questioning and further clarifications. Also, they always conduct the education in our local language to the understanding of all. Personally, these NGOs have really enlightened me politically especially when it comes to voting issues and about my rights and responsibilities as a citizen. I sincerely, believe my other participants of the NGOs political education forum will attest to their effectiveness in this Municipality (Participant A, 4th February, 2015).

However, the remaining 8 percent of the respondents who have participated in the NGOs political educational forum believed that their activities were not effective. The reasons given by one of these participants are presented below:

These NGOs do not start their programs on time. You see, when they announce that the programme will start at 2pm, we will all go and gather at the park waiting for them sometimes over an hour to two before you see them (NGOs staff). By the time they organise themselves to start their education programme, majority of the people would

have already left for their various homes. Since I have equally important things to attend to, I always make sure I am done before attending. Due to this, I am unable to get a clear understanding of what they taught since it is either I got there late, or earlier and left midway depending on when the actual programme will start (A participant, 4th February, 2015).

The reasons given by the other 3 respondents were not different from this since all of them had to do with the NGOs inability to honour the time they give to the citizens concerning their educational programmes.

However, majority of the citizens 106 (68 percent) who indicated that they have never participated in the political educational forum by the NGOs gave various reasons for their non-participation. About 70 percent of these respondents associated their nonparticipation to the lack of information about NGOs political educational forum. The views of one of these respondents are explained as:

We have heard that these NGOs have been organising various political education programmes in this Municipality but we do not get to know of their meetings or any information pertaining to the date and time of their meetings to also attend. Enquiries from some people suggest that their announcement is done once either on the radio or at the municipal market area. This means that those of us who will miss their first announcement or hear it from a friend would be left out from their programme (A participant, 4th February, 2015).

Contrary to the views of these respondents as mentioned above, 22 percent of the sampled respondents also stated that they are just not interested in the NGOs activities since they already know what they will be educating the people on. The last category constituting 8 percent stated that they do not have time to attend such forum because of busy schedules at work as well as other important social activities. According to one of the respondents:

I am a very busy man, a banker who spends the greater part of the day at work and even the nights. I have no time to spare in attending any programme outside my work schedule during the week days. I even learnt that majority of the NGOs educational programmes are held during the weekends but then, my weekends are even busier than my week days to allow me participate in the political educational programme of the NGOs. If not that I have to spend my weekends attending family and social gatherings like family meetings, funerals, weddings, etc which forms an important part of our culture and tradition, I would gladly participate in these NGOs programmes because I learnt it is very educative (A participant, 4th February, 2015).

Analysis of the citizens' participation of NGOs political education programme shows that their activities are effective. However, due to the lack of information about their meetings, the delay in the time within which to start the educational programme among

others tend to prevent or discourage the citizens from participating in the NGOs political education programme.

4.5.1.1 The Independent t-test showing Participation in NGOs Activities and Voting

The study sought to know whether there was a relationship between respondents' participation in NGOs political education forums and the probability of such individuals voting consistently. The study compared the mean responses of those who participated in NGOs political education and the mean of those who did not participate in NGOs political education in relation to their consistency in voting in the past national elections (1992 to 2012). Consistency is measured by the ratio of the number of times that respondents have actually voted and the number of times they have been eligible to vote. The values of consistency vary from zero to one, where zero implies that the respondents have not voted even though he or she might have been eligible to vote at least once. On the other hand, a consistency value of one implies that the respondent have voted all the times he or she was eligible. The results of the t-test is presented in table 4.4

Table 4.4: Independent T-Test Showing Participation in NGOs Activities and Consistency in Voting

Group	Mean	t – statistic	P – Value (diff = mean(1) – mean(2))		
			Ha: diff < 0	Ho: diff != 0	Ha: diff > 0
Participants (1)	0.8804	6.2242	1.000	0.000	0.000
Non-Participant (2)	0.5172				

Source: Field survey, January, 2015.

From the table, the t-statistics of the t-test was 6.2242 with its corresponding p-value of 0.000, which is less than the 5 percent level of significance. The results indicate that, statistically, the average consistency for those who participated in NGOs political education was higher than the average consistency for those who never participated in NGOs political education. This implies that respondents who participated in NGO political educational forums were more consistent in voting than those who never participated in NGO political educational forum. There is evidence to support the assertion that NGOs political education promote participation which leads to good governance.

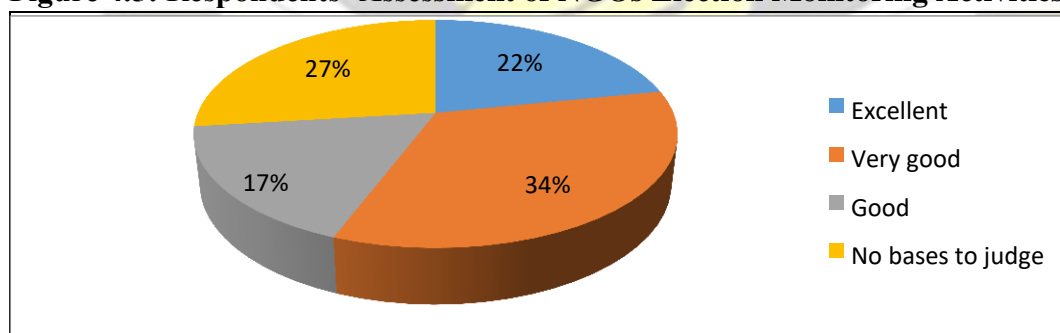
The findings of this study are consistent with the works of Diamond (1994, 1999); Allen (1997); Mason (1997); Gyimah-Boadi (1997); Habib and Opoku-Mensah (2003); Mattes (2002); and Darkwa, et al (2006) that there exist a positive relationship between political education and participation. In order for citizens to effectively participate and make rational decisions in the state, it means that they must be made to understand the system (democracy and good governance) they are practising. According to Print and Lange (2013), political education enables citizens to be conscious political players in their country's governance. They further stressed that political education enables the citizens to appreciate and strengthen their values of dialogue, tolerance and democratic good governance through accountability, participation, and adherence to the rule of law, which in the end promotes a culture of constitutionalism.

4.5.2 Promoting Democratic Good Governance through Election Monitoring

The second dimension of good governance is conducting periodic elections and NGOs play a key role in ensuring a free and fair election through election monitoring. The election monitoring role conducted by NGOs is to bestow legitimacy on an emerging government. The study sought from the sampled respondents whether they have encountered NGOs in Sunyani Municipality with respect to monitoring elections.

Figure 4.5 presents the breakdown of the respondents' assessment of NGOs election monitoring activities in promoting democratic good governance in the Sunyani Municipality.

Figure 4.5: Respondents' Assessment of NGOs Election Monitoring Activities



Source: Field Survey, January 2015.

The results of the survey showed that 34 (22 percent) of the sampled respondents were convinced that NGOs have been excellent in monitoring elections, 53 (34 percent)

believed NGOs have been very good in their activities, 27 (17 percent) of the respondents were of the view that NGOs are good while 42 (27 percent) of the respondents could not judge the activities of the NGOs because of lack of information about them.

In the case of the three political party executives surveyed, none of them perceived NGOs to have performed excellently, but 2 believed NGOs have been very good, while the remaining 1 held that NGOs are good in ensuring free and fair elections in the Sunyani Municipality. The views of one of the party executives were that:

The NGOs have assisted in various areas in ensuring free and fair elections in this Municipality. Even before elections, they, in collaboration with the EC, conduct training and educational programmes for us (political party executives) to enlighten us about our rights and new technologies that come with elections like the Biometric Registration that was introduced in the last 2012 elections. On the day of elections, these NGOs are present to observe the proceedings to ensure that elections are conducted fairly in terms of the voting, the count and finally, present reports on the elections after its declaration by the EC. In cases where there were misunderstandings at some of the polling stations in the Municipality, the NGOs made sure that some of those issues were settled amicably.

A typical incident was when a woman could not vote at a polling station under the Atuahenekrom electoral area at the 2012 election because the verification device could not verify her finger print on the day of election. This brought confusion and tension to that polling station as a particular political party saw it as a deliberate attempt to disqualify the woman from voting knowing her political affiliation. However, the NGOs together with the EC were able to settle the issue amicably by calling on the parties involved. This they did by listening to both parties and educating and counselling them accordingly. (Political Party Executive B, 5th February, 2015).

The study further sought the views of the Municipal Electoral Officer on the performance of NGOs in relation to election monitoring given that the NGOs work in close contact with the EC in this regard. This was what he said:

During elections, NGOs help in various capacities to ensure that elections are conducted peacefully and the results are free and fair. Even before the actual elections they are part of those organisations which assist us in educating the political parties on their roles during elections. On the day of election, even their presence at the polling stations instils some discipline at the polling stations. Also, in cases where there were misunderstandings at the polling stations, they assisted in various ways to bring peace depending on the nature of the misunderstanding. A case I remember vividly was a misunderstanding that ensued between one party agent and a presiding officer concerning a woman who was not able to vote because the verification device could not verify her finger print at the polling station. The polling agent saw the act as a deliberate attempt to deny the woman her voting right given that her name was in the

voters register. When this issue was brought before my office and with the help of the NGOs who were even present at the polling station at the time, we were able to settle the issue peacefully and the elections continued as expected (Municipal Electoral Officer, 4th February, 2015).

The views of these respondents as indicated above shows that NGOs undertake various activities before, during and after elections to ensure that elections conducted in the Municipality are free and fair.

4.5.2.1 Knowledge on Election Offence/Petition

To further ascertain citizens understanding of the constituents on election monitoring, respondents were asked to give their opinion on election offence and election petition. From the survey, it was revealed that of the 156 respondents interviewed, as many as 84 percent have a fair knowledge about what an election offence/petition is. Some of the answers given by respondents include; flouting electoral laws and formally appealing to appropriate authorities for redress, double voting, fighting at polling station, voting by legally ineligible individuals, campaigning at polling station on the day of election, electoral officials teaching people who to vote for at polling station, rigging, among others. On the contrary, 2 percent of the respondents gave different ideas which had no bearing on the meaning of election offence/petition. This category was termed „misconception“. Some of the responses given by these individuals include; stealing, killing people, and violence. It was also revealed that as many as 13 percent had no idea at all.

The study also found that 19 percent of the respondents were aware of NGOs helping to ensure that citizens are granted fair hearing to their electoral petition, while the majority (81 percent) held that they are not aware of such NGOs in the Municipality.

One of the respondents who stated that he was aware of NGOs assistance to citizens in terms of being granted fair hearing to their electoral petition cited a case he witnessed. According to him:

NGOs assisted one boy to receive fair hearing at a court concerning doubts about his eligibility to register as a voter which created a lot of confusion and chaos at one of the polling stations (clusters) under Mireku electoral area. This was during the Biometric registration in 2012 when a boy who claimed to be 18 years walked to the polling station to register. Just in the process of the registration, one polling agent got up to challenge the eligibility of the boy which led to his ID card to be withheld since he together with

his guardian could not produce a birth certificate to clear the doubts. This was a boy who hails from the Northern part of the country precisely, Navorongo but lives with his guardian in this Municipality to assist him in farming. Immediately, the NGOs heard of this issue they came in to assist the boy financially in terms of his travel back home for his birth certificate as well as assisted him through counselling till he was called to court and was discharged of all the allegations (Participant C, 28th January, 2015).

In a discussion with the staff of NGOs pertaining to their assistance to NGOs in terms of having a fair hearing to their electoral petition, this was what the Director said:

We have been conducting various activities in the Municipality to ensure that elections are free and fair. However, with respect to assisting individuals or groups to be granted fair hearing, this NGO has been very effective. Instances recorded were in 2012 during the Biometric registration exercise where three cases concerning individuals whose eligibility was being challenged at the polling stations/clusters. We assisted them financially and followed the issue through to the court where all the three individuals were discharged from all allegations since they provided concrete evidence of their eligibility (Director of CODEO, 12th February, 2015).

The study revealed that NGOs engage in various activities in terms of monitoring elections in the Sunyani Municipality as the evidence provided by these selected respondents indicate. This finding confirms the existing literature that NGOs play a crucial role in ensuring free and fair elections and ultimately bestows legitimacy on the emerging government (Diamond, 1997; Gyimah-Boadi, 2004; Arthur, 2010). As observed by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (2009), NGOs in Ghana have played a crucial role in enhancing the confidence in the electoral processes. This is done by partnering the Electoral Commission to provide training to key stakeholders and also publish the election educational materials, monitor media coverage of incumbent and opposition parties, conduct of campaigns, election primaries, monitoring voters' registers and reporting incidences of violence to ensure free and fair elections in the state.

In spite of the efforts that NGOs have been making in the area of election monitoring in the Sunyani Municipality, there were some respondents though in the minority (27 percent) who were not aware of the roles or even the existence of these NGOs in the Municipality.

4.5.2.2 The Relationship between NGOs Political Education and Probability to Petition the EC

To ascertain whether the political education of NGOs influences respondents' decision making, the Pearson Chi-square test was used to determine whether there is a relationship

between participating in NGOs political education and ones readiness to petition the Electoral commission in case of dissatisfaction with election outcome. Table 4.5 presents the responses while table 4.6 gives the results of the Pearson Chisquare test and Fishers Exact test.

Table 4.5: The Relationship between NGOs Political Education and Ability to Petition the EC

Count		Ever Petitioned EC Before?		Total
Have you ever participated in political education forum	Yes	6	44	50
	No	3	102	105
Total		9	146	155

Source: Field survey, January 2015.

Table 4.6: Chi-Square and Fishers Exact Test Results

CHI-SQUARE TESTS		
	Value	P-Value
Pearson Chi-Square	5.177 ^a	0.032
Fisher's Exact Test		0.032

Source: Field survey, January 2015.

The results of the Chi-square test suggest that there is a significant relationship between a person participating in NGOs political education and the probability of the person taking the EC to court in case the person was dissatisfied with election outcome given the P-value of 0.032. However, because Chi-square tests must always have at least 5 cells, the study used the Fisher's Exact test to triangulate the findings since the cells in table 4.5 were less than five for each count. From table 4.6, the Fishers Exact test showed that there was a significant relationship between participating in NGOs political education and taking the EC to court in case of dissatisfaction with elections results given its P-value of 0.032. This confirms the results of the Pearson Chi-square test.

The broad implication of these findings is that NGOs play a vital role in sensitizing people to seek redress through constitutional means in addressing electoral malpractices which goes a long way to improving democratic good governance in the country.

4.5.3 Ensuring Government Accountability through Policy Advocacy

Another key determinant of democratic good governance is accountability on the part of the government. NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality in their bid to ensure democratic good governance play an advocacy role. To assess their performance in promoting government accountability, the study asked respondents to indicate their views on NGOs role in advocating accountability in the Sunyani Municipality. The survey results showed that 8 percent of the respondents believed NGOs have been excellent in advocating the interests of the people, 35 percent were of the view that NGOs performance have been very good, while 29 percent held that NGOs have been good in advocating the interest of the citizens. This, the NGOs do by demanding that the government be accountable to the citizens by fulfilling the promises they made to them. Though 32 (20 percent) of the respondents believed NGOs have been poor in this regard, 12 (8 percent) of the respondents stated that they are not aware of the existence of these NGOs to even assess their performance. Table 4.7 presents data on the assessment of NGOs policy advocacy activities in the Sunyani Municipality.

Table 4.7: Assessment of NGOs with Respect to Policy Advocacy

Assessment of NGOs Policy Advocacy Activities	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Excellent	12	8
Very Good	55	35
Good	45	29
Poor	32	20
No Bases to Judge	12	8
Total	156	100

Source: Field survey, January 2015.

Pertaining to the views expressed by the political party executives, 2 out of the 3 respondents surveyed believed that NGOs performance have been very good while the remaining 1 respondent held that NGOs activities have been good. One of the party executives who assessed NGOs policy advocacy activities to be very good gave the following reasons:

NGOs into policy advocacy have been very active in this Municipality looking at the way they put pressure on us and chasing us around from time to time to see the extent to which their concerns are being addressed. This is especially with those of us belonging to the ruling party presently. They often invite those in government to their programmes and channel their concerns across or attend other gathering attended by these authorities and pass their message across (Party Executive B, 5th February, 2015).

In addition to the views expressed by the political party executives the study also sought the views of NGOs staff pertaining to the performance of NGOs into policy advocacy activities. From the survey, 12 out of 18 respondents believed that NGOs into policy advocacy have been very good, while 6 maintain that NGOs have been good in enhancing government accountability. To further validate the views expressed by these respondents, the specific views of the NGO into policy advocacy (World Clock) was sought on how effective their programme has been. The founder and staff of World Clock said that:

Whenever we are organising programmes, we try as much as possible to invite those in government like the Minister, Member of Parliament, Municipal Chief Executive and so on to chair the programmes. At such programmes, we advocate by channelling our issues and needs of the citizens to the government through these individuals. We do follow-ups from time to time in order to get favourable response. Sometimes these individuals accept our issues in good fate and push it to the appropriate authorities for redress. At other times too we do not get favourable feedback from them especially, when those demands do not favour their political interests. Notwithstanding, we as an advocacy NGO are trying our best to see to it that the government attends to the needs and interests of the citizens as part of fulfilling their promises made to them (Staff and founder of World Clock, 4th February, 2015).

The view expressed by the founder of World Clock confirms the opinions of the respondents in the Sunyani Municipality concerning the performance of this NGO. Indeed they do advocate the interests of the citizens by pushing forward their demands to the government through the various political leaders in the Municipality and monitor the progress made in that direction. Based on this finding, it can be stated that NGOs performance in terms of promoting government accountability in the Sunyani Municipality has been effective. However, much more work needs to be done to yield higher performance as stressed by the founder of World Clock that there are times that they do not receive favourable feedbacks from authorities especially in cases when such demands contradicts their political interests.

Contrary to the findings of Ikelegbe (2001); Aiyede (2003); Ibeanu (2006); Essia and Yearoo (2009) that NGOs policy advocacy activities has been very limited, this study strongly supports the various studies in Ghana by Gyimah-Boadi (2004); Afrimap, et al

(2007); GNA (2009) and Dawuni (2010) that NGOs play an important role in ensuring government accountability through their policy advocacy activities. In their views, NGOs serve as institutional routes for incorporating minority issues into the policies of the government, thereby enhancing democracy and good governance as a whole.

4.5.4 Promoting Democratic Good Governance through Access to Justice

Access to justice is one of the prerequisites of democracy and good governance. On a likert scale, respondents were made to assess the role of NGOs in terms of providing access to justice. The results are presented in figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6: Respondents' Assessment of NGOs Access to Justice Activities



Source: Field Survey, 2015.

The study found that 7 percent of the respondents saw the NGOs activity of providing access to justice as excellent, while 14 percent were of the view that NGOs have been very good in providing access to justice. About 35 percent of the respondents maintained that NGOs have been good with their access to justice provision. However, 15 percent of the respondents rated the work of NGOs in providing access to justice as

poor while 29 percent of the sampled respondents had no knowledge of this NGO to even assess their performance.

To confirm the views of these respondents on the performance of NGOs in terms of providing access to justice to citizens, the study further sought the views of the NGOs themselves on how they promote rule of law through their access to justice role.

According to the founder of the NGO:

We provide access to justice to prisoners as well as the officials working at the prisons (Warders). Our activities in the Municipality embraces issues concerning prisoners who have been unlawfully put on detention to access justice, the enjoyment of their rights as prisoners as well as issues concerning their general wellbeing. The welfare of the prison officers themselves forms part of our concerns. We do this by visiting the prisons from time to time to check on the welfare of both prisoners and the prison officials. We have also made ourselves available to the public through some of the radio programmes we hold though not that regular to report cases of breach of justice concerning prisoners and the state of affairs of the prisons. To the best of my knowledge, I believe we have been effective though there is still more work to be done given that the NGO is relatively young (Founder of CHREP-Aid, 4th February, 2015).

Based on the information given by the NGOs in providing access to justice, the study sought from the respondents in the Municipality whether they had received any assistance from NGOs with respect to access to justice. From the survey, it was found that 28 (18 percent) of the sampled respondents had received at least one form of assistance in accessing justice while the remaining 128 (82 percent) have never received any form of assistance from the NGO. The responses of the respondents are presented in table 4.8.

Table 4.8: Assistance from NGO in terms of Access to Justice

Assistance from NGO	Frequency	Percentage (100%)
Yes	28	18
No	128	82
Total	156	100

Source: Field survey, January 2015.

Concerning the forms of assistance received, 5 respondents had received financial assistance, 2 had free legal aid, 16 respondents received counselling, with 5 respondents assisted in having a fair hearing in court.

Table 4.9: Forms of NGO Assistance in terms of Access to Justice

Forms of Assistance from NGO	Frequency	Percentage
Financial	5	18
Free Legal Aid	2	7
Counselling	16	57
Fair Hearing	5	18
Total	28	100

Source: Field survey, January 2015.

From the survey results, it was found that NGOs have assisted individuals in various forms in accessing justice in the Sunyani Municipality. To further validate this claim however, the study sought the views of the NGO (CHREP-Aid) on some specific cases they intervened and ensured that individuals accessed justice. This was what the founder said:

A case I remember vividly was a middle aged man who had been on remand for about four years. Though he was granted bail at the time, no one was there to secure him bail (sign the bail bond). You know Ghana and our complex legal systems with its attendant delay in the court proceedings. His case was not called for hearing to even know his fate in terms of his judgement throughout all those four year period on remand. Upon investigations, we got to know his case was even a minor one. He was alleged to have stolen somebody's palm fruits and palm wine from the farm. We demanded that he should be released unconditionally (A staff and founder of CHREP-Aid, 4th February, 2015).

Upon further enquiries from CHREP-Aid, the researcher was able to trace this middle aged man for him to share his personal experiences with us. For the purpose of anonymity, this respondent was named Mr. A. The choice of this name was to ensure that the respondent's right to confidentiality was not compromised.

When Mr. A. was asked on what actually led to his remand and how the NGOs assisted him in accessing justice, this was what he said:

I was arrested by the police on the 25th of April, 2009 for stealing palm fruits and palm wine worth GHC320.00 from a farm a bit close to mine. Though, I do pour some palm wine from some of the fallen palm trees in this farm on my way to my farm, I never took such a large quantity they claimed. While in police custody, I was granted a bail of GHC 1,200.00 but there was no one to secure me

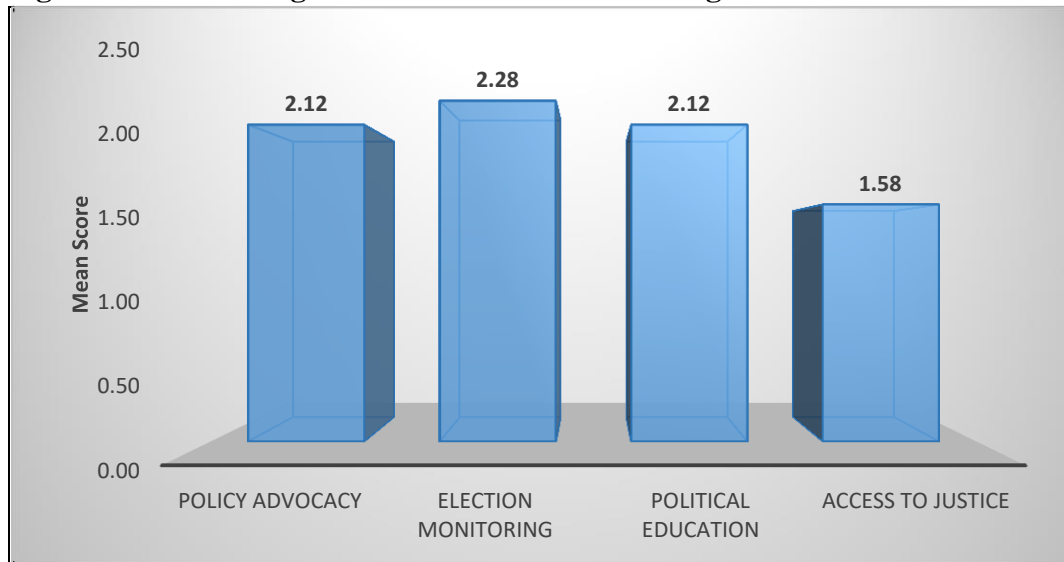
bail given that my family were far in the northern region. Due to this, I was sent on remand in order to process my documents to court for judgement. I was on remand for three good years, eight months until I met an NGO called CHREP-Aid when they visited me for the first time on remand upon hearing my case. This NGO was my saviour! They took the issue up, going to court up and down, encouraging me through the counselling system they provided for me and their own encouragement till the end of this case where I was finally released in November, 2013 without taking a dime from me! What would I have done if they had not come to my aid? I probably would still have been locked up in prison all in the name of remand without proper trial. I always thank God for meeting CHREP-Aid at that particular point in my life (Mr. A., 10th February, 2015).

Given these assessments by the various respondents in this study, it can be stated that NGOs play a crucial role in promoting rule of law through the access to justice they render to the citizenry in the Sunyani Municipality. This study is consistent with the studies conducted in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania (see The Danish Institute for Human Rights, 2011) that NGOs play an important role in providing access to justice in the region. They further stressed that the access to justice services provided by NGOs is much more accessible to the poor and vulnerable especially those in the rural areas as opposed to the access to justice initiatives managed by the state bodies and the legal profession. The works of Chowdbury (2011) in Bangladesh further supports the finding from this study that NGOs are performing better in terms of providing access to justice to the poor. Though there was no conscious effort to compare the access to justice provided by NGOs and that of the government, the responses of the sampled respondents (18 percent) who have benefitted from one form of assistance to the other in terms of NGOs access to justice provision confirmed that they have been very effective in providing quicker access to justice.

4.6 Determining the Strength of NGOs Role in the Sunyani Municipality

In order to determine the extent to which each of the NGOs activities (policy advocacy, political education, election monitoring and access to justice) promote democratic good governance (government accountability, citizens' participation, government legitimacy and rule of law), I calculate the mean after summing up all the responses of each of the NGOs activities. The differential performance shows the extent of NGOs activities of policy advocacy, political education, election monitoring and access to justice in the Sunyani Municipality as presented in figure 4.7 below.

Figure 4.7 The Strength of NGOs Role in Promoting Democratic Good Governance



Source: Field Survey, 2015.

From figure 4.7, it was revealed that the election monitoring role of NGOs in promoting government legitimacy was the most effective with its mean value of 2.28. This was followed by political education and policy advocacy role recording a mean value of 2.13 each. The least effective among the NGOs role in the Sunyani Municipality was access to justice with its mean value of 1.58.

4.7 Do NGOs Promote Democratic Good Governance in the Sunyani Municipality?

Studies have shown that NGOs play a key role in promoting democratic good governance worldwide. For instance in Kenya, Ndegwa (1996) and Bukari (2003) found that NGOs have contributed in promoting democratic good governance in the country. However, this contribution has not been maximally utilised due to the various challenges they face. Similarly, evidence from Zambia suggests that NGOs are a great force in strengthening the country's democracy leading to good governance (see Ng'oma, 2008). There are findings from Nigeria and Ghana which further buttress the fact that NGOs are playing a significant role in promoting democratic good governance in both countries (see Mohammed, 2011). The works of NGOs in strengthening good governance have been tremendous and many findings across the globe testify to this assertion (see Huntington, 1991; Fukuyama, 1992; Clarke, 1998; Diamond, 1999; Bratton, et al, 1999; Hadiwinata, 2003; Ghaus-Pasha, 2005).

The survey in Sunyani Municipality revealed that NGOs have been monitoring elections to increase the legitimacy of emerging governments. From the survey, majority (73 percent) of the respondents held that NGOs in this Municipality assisted by checking the credibility of the voters registers before every elections (both national and local). They also ensured that candidates standing for political positions were given equal opportunities to contest elections, observed the balloting and the count and finally ensured that the electoral results were accepted by all parties in the Sunyani Municipality. In cases of electoral misunderstanding for instance, about 19 percent of the sampled respondents revealed that NGOs have assisted individuals in various ways in petitioning the court. This finding supports the works of Diamond (1997), Gyimah-Boadi (2004) and Mohammed (2011) that NGOs have played a crucial role in monitoring elections to enhance the legitimacy of an emerging government.

The survey results also revealed that NGOs in Sunyani Municipality play a key role in strengthening the country's democracy and good governance through political education. The study found that NGOs embark on political education in the Sunyani Municipality to sensitise citizens on the political process which have led to increased participation in the electoral process. For instance the T-test results revealed that there is a significant relationship between NGOs political education and an individual's consistency in voting. The Chi-square results also showed that there exist a significant relationship between one participating in NGOs activities and petitioning the Court in case of dissatisfaction with elections outcome. This finding is consistent with what Mohammed (2011) observed, that NGOs have contributed extensively in strengthening democracy and good governance in Ghana.

Pertaining to policy advocacy, the study found that NGOs play a role in ensuring government accountability in the Sunyani Municipality. The survey revealed that 72 percent of the sampled respondents believed NGOs meet with government on the policy table thereby ensuring openness and accountability of the government. These findings are consistent with the findings of Diamond (1997); Gyimah-Boadi (2004) and Mohammed (2011) that NGOs demand accountability of government by holding government to deliver on their promises and policies to suit the interest of the citizens.

To further ascertain the role of NGOs in promoting democratic good governance, an assessment was conducted on the activities of NGOs in providing access to justice to the poor in the Sunyani Municipality. From the survey, it was found that 50 percent of

the sampled respondents believed NGOs have enhanced rule of law through their provision of access to justice role. Similar conclusions were drawn from the findings in Bangladesh, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania (see Chowdhury, 2011; The Danish Institute of Human Rights, 2011) that NGOs have enhanced rule of law through the access to justice they provide.

The conclusion drawn from these findings are that NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality have impacted positively on democratic good governance through their activities namely, election monitoring, political education, policy advocacy and access to justice. However, the study also found that NGOs abilities and influence have not been fully utilised or felt in the Municipality due to the numerous challenges they face as revealed by Ng'oma (2008) pertaining to his studies conducted in Zambia.

4.8 Factors Affecting the Effective Operations of NGOs

From the survey, though it was revealed that NGOs play enormous roles in promoting democracy and good governance, they are still faced with daunting challenges. These challenges tend to affect their performance. The respondents were interviewed on what they believed are these challenges in order to know the way forward. By so doing, the NGOs themselves were the first to be interviewed on the challenges they face in carrying out their activities. This was followed by the views of the other sampled respondents as well as the political party executives used in the study. Finally, the two main institutions (Department of Social Welfare and Electoral Commission) all in the Sunyani Municipality were interviewed on what they perceived to be hindering the effective operations of NGOs. These issues are clearly discussed under two broad themes below.

4.8.1 Challenges Identified by NGOs

In their pursuit to perform their functions effectively to achieve their expected impact, the NGOs are faced with a number of challenges that should not be underestimated. From the survey, the NGOs respondents identified various challenges affecting the effective operations of NGOs. These factors include; limited funding, human resource capacity constraints, inadequate logistics, and lack of collaboration among NGOs and between NGOs and stakeholders, and problems of conflict of interest.

Financial Constraints

From the survey, it was revealed that all the 18 NGOs' staffs interviewed mentioned financial constraint as their major challenge. In their view, financial constraints tend to have multiple effects on their activities including the inability to invest in capacity strengthening of NGOs human resource, particularly in the area of research, skills and technical knowledge necessary to undertake projects. The views expressed by a staff of CHREP-Aid were that:

The effectiveness of our activities is largely dependent on the availability of funds. But the funds we receive from individuals and private institutions are not enough to effectively undertake our activities. Even those funds we receive are not regular. As it stands now, we need a staff capacity of at least ten but where is the money to pay their salaries or allowances? Even with the three people we are working with now, at times it becomes very difficult to pay them their monthly salaries. Then again, like every progressive organisation which needs to catch up with new technologies and development trends require regular training of staff on the job. How do we fund these activities when we can barely afford to pay staff salaries? At times, we receive a lot of cases that demand our immediate assistance but due to financial problems we are unable to effectively handle them all with the kind of attention and urgency that they need. The issue of funds greatly influences our activities to the extent that we are unable to adopt very effective long-term plans (A staff of CHREP-Aid, 4th February, 2015).

When I asked the staff of CODEO why all of them are stressing on the issue of inadequate funds, one of them had this view:

It is so because with enough funds, majority of the challenges we face will not be there. As I speak, we need to train a lot more people who will go to the interior part of the Municipality to educate and also monitor the upcoming district assembly elections but where are the funds to undertake such an important activity? Due to financial constraints, we are unable to effectively monitor the local elections but rather would wait and monitor the general elections. Meanwhile, both elections form an important aspect of our democracy and good governance and would need equal monitoring of elections. Even with the general elections, we are unable to cover all the polling stations in the Sunyani Municipality as we should have. Though we are doing our best to ensure fair elections, the issue of finance in one way or the other still limits our efforts greatly (A staff of CODEO, 12th February 2015).

To this end, the respondents emphasised that without the regular supply of funds to the NGOs, all their activities will come to a halt, thereby forcing NGOs to fold up. The results of this study are consistent with the findings of Gyimah-Boadi (1996); Hennie (1999); GTZ (2002); Sarr (2006) and Vincent (2006) that the continuity and effectiveness of NGOs activities largely depend on regular and secured source of funds.

However, NGOs in the development sphere continue to lack this stable financial base. Further studies conducted by Turary (2002) found that without the continuous supply of funds to NGOs, they will wither and die. Turary (2002, p. 40) therefore argued that “the continuity of NGOs is the continuity in raising money”.

b) Human Resource Capacity Constraints

Related to limited funding is human resource capacity constraints as identified by 11 NGO respondents. The NGOs respondents noted that they are limited in terms of staffing and skills to effectively undertake their activities. From the survey, this was what one of them said about human resource capacity constraints:

As an NGO we are understaffed. Currently, our staff capacity is only six as against eleven which would allow us to work in our full capacity. This goes a long way to negatively affect our activities. Sometimes, we are forced to close our office to attend programmes or undertake our activities because of lack of personnel to stay behind and oversee the work at the office. Equally important is the issue of in-service training for staff. Ever since I joined this organisation in 2013, I have attended workshop only once and even that was early this year when my senior colleague could not participate due to family issues and I was called to attend on his behalf. This is not because we are not allowed to participate but the resources are not readily available to convey all of us to Accra for a three day workshop on our job. All these greatly affect our activities (A staff of World Clock, 4th February, 2015).

NGOs' inability to employ more staff and provide regular in-service training to staff has become a great challenge to their effectiveness. Even though the study revealed that majority (14) of the NGOs staff have completed the tertiary level of education, many of them seem to lack the necessary skill and knowledge to undertake their activities effectively and efficiently. This issue is worsened with NGOs inability to provide regular in-service training to staff to equip them with the necessary knowledge and skills on the job. This finding supports the studies conducted in Kenya and Zambia (see Bikuri, 2003; Ng'oma, 2008) that the limited human resource capacity of NGOs often cause NGOs failure to deliver on their commitment and hence, become ineffective in their activities. This was further supported by Carothers et al (1999); GTZ (2002) and M'boge and Doe (2004) when they argued that local NGOs lack the required human resource to effectively and efficiently undertake their activities.

c) Inadequate Logistics

From the survey, it was revealed by 11 NGOs respondents that inadequate logistics greatly affect the effectiveness of NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality. A staff of Women and Youth in Development intimated that they are limited in terms of vehicles, office space and technical equipment like computers, printers, power plants etc. to effectively undertake their activities. According to him:

In this time of frequent power cuts, we lack basic equipment like power plant, computers, printers, and a comfortable office. The vehicle we are using now is worn out and can hardly travel 70km without breaking down. These issues and many more have impeded our effective operation (A staff of Women and Youth in Development, 7th February 2015).

According to M'boge and Doe (2004), the effectiveness and efficiency of NGOs is greatly dependent on the availability and adequacy of logistics to undertake their activities. A number of studies have established that NGOs in developing countries including Ghana are under-resourced in terms of logistics which often limit their ability to effectively function to promote democracy and good governance (GyimahBoadi, 1996; Carothers, et al. 1999; GTZ, 2002). Findings from the study confirmed this situation with information from the staff of NGOs attesting to the fact that they woefully lack the necessary logistics to effectively and efficiently undertake their activities to promote the democratic good governance agenda.

d) Lack of Collaboration and Cooperation

Lack of collaboration and cooperation among NGOs and between NGOs and their stakeholders was also identified as a major challenge to NGOs effective operation. From the study, about 13 NGOs respondents mentioned the lack of collaboration and cooperation among NGOs and between NGOs and their stakeholders as one of the factors hindering NGOs effectiveness. This is how one of them perceived the collaboration among NGOs and the cooperation between them and their stakeholders:

Instead of NGOs to come together to be a force to reckon with in terms of pushing forward the demand of the citizens, these NGOs hardly meet to share ideas on how best to undertake their activities. This is especially with NGOs who share the same or similar objectives. In the Municipality for instance, we see different NGOs undertaking political education at a particular locality at the same time resulting in duplication of function and waste of resources (A senior staff of CODEO, 12th February, 2015).

The NGO respondents revealed that owing to competition over influence and funding, NGOs fail to pool their resources and knowledge together to undertake more effective programmes but rather work separately. This they explained leads to waste of resources resulting from duplication of functions. Though there is an association of NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality called the Brong-Ahafo Association of Nongovernmental Organisation (BANGO) which is to serve as an umbrella organisation to these NGOs where they will meet and share ideas pertaining to development initiatives and new strategies of sourcing funds, their activities are seen not to be very effective in this process. This was further revealed from the survey where a respondent from the Women and Youth in Development explained that:

We have never been invited to any of their meetings or been involved in their activities even though BANGO is aware of our existence. The last time we learnt they were holding a meeting was about some seven months ago. We were hoping to be officially invited to such meeting but nothing like that came. Now we have resorted to minding our own business until such a time that BANGO will be ready to invite us to be part of their activities (A staff of Women and Youth in Development, 16th February 2015).

The views of another staff of CHREP-Aid suggest that there is not a strong collaboration among NGOs. Her view gives further credence to the earlier claim of the staff of Women and Youth in Development that NGOs are unable to meet as one group to share ideas about their activities. Her view is presented below:

This organisation has been in existence since 2012 but not for once have we been invited by other NGOs or even BANGO to talk about how best we can improve on our activities in terms of skills, activities or finance. Rather than pull our resources together to undertake more rigorous activities, we see each other as competition. This is especially with NGOs performing similar activities. This goes a long way to negatively affect our activities (A staff of CHREP-Aid, 4th February 2015).

Contrary to the views shared by Women and Youth in Development and CHREP-Aid, CODEO and World Clock intimated that they have been participating in the activities undertaken by BANGO. However, they added that their activities have not been frequent and very effective.

e) Public Suspicion of NGOs

It was revealed from the survey that the perception of the general public about the work of NGOs affect their credibility and integrity. Among the issues raised by NGOs include the public suspicion that i) NGOs owned by individuals are doing businesses with those

NGOs ii) some NGOs are funded by political parties. To deal with the first issue, the views of NGOs were sought about why the general public believe they are running a business with the NGOs. From the survey, this was what one of the staff of the NGOs had to say:

As an organisation, we need regular supply of funds to sustain our activities especially when the funds from donors and private individuals and institutions are not forthcoming. To this end, majority of us engage in other economic activities like farming, running of restaurants, internet services among others to generate funds to undertake our activities. However, the public misconstrue this act of engaging in economic activities to mean that we are doing businesses to enrich ourselves. This therefore gives us a negative image in the sight of the public which negatively affect the extent to which they cooperate or relate with us (A senior staff of World Clock, 4th February, 2015).

To confirm this, the views of the general public were sought about the belief that NGOs owned by individuals are doing business with the organisations. The views of one of the respondents summarises the opinion of the public:

We have seen a lot of NGOs who are supposed to be a non-profit organisation engaged in various economic activities ranging from operating internet services to consultancy services all in the name of raising funds to undertake their activities. We see them all the time riding luxurious cars and living luxurious lives yet complain of inadequate funds to undertake NGOs activities. As far as I am concerned, these individuals hide behind the name NGO to make profit (Participant D, 5th February, 2015).

Another suspicion of the public against NGOs was the claim that they are partisan in their activities. According to one of the staffs:

It has been alleged by the general public that NGOs are influenced by political parties to push forward their political agenda. According to them, NGOs rely on funds from NGOs and in turn promote their political agenda. It should be noted that the basis of non-governmental organisation is to be a neutral body to articulate the needs and interests of the citizens. But as a human organisation there are influences from people in power because they hold the money to assist you achieve your objectives as an NGO. However, I do not think an NGO would deliberately allow itself to be influenced by a political party all in the name of funds as against the interest of the citizens (A staff of CODEO, 12th February, 2015).

The study further sought the views of the general public on the partisan role played by some NGOs. The views of one of the respondents encapsulate the views of the general public:

Some NGOs are seen to be speaking in favour of a particular political party and from sources we are told those NGOs are sometimes funded by some political parties. How can NGOs who are supposed to be neutral in promoting the democratic good governance course be effective in this process when they are partisan in their activities? Well, like I said, I do not have evidence to support this claim but this is what we hear all the time and if you decide to follow the trend with which such NGOs carry out their activities, there are reasons to believe that their interests are directed towards a particular political party (Participant C, 5th February, 2015).

These comments by the general public confirm the challenges NGOs face pertaining to their integrity and credibility. Yet the public do not seem to have evidence to support their claim. However, this appears to be a widely held view among the public and this perception appears to negatively influence the manner with which majority of the citizens relate with the NGOs.

4.8.2 Challenges Identified by Other Respondents

The views of the other sampled respondents comprising the constituents (ordinary citizens), the political party executives and the officers of both the EC and the Department of Social Welfare all in the Sunyani Municipality were sought on what they perceived to be hindering the NGOs from working effectively as expected. The major factors identified are discussed below.

a) Misappropriation and Misallocation of Funds

Out of the 156 respondents surveyed, about 21 percent held that misappropriation and misallocation of funds has been one of the major factors that hinder the effective operation of NGOs. For example, one of the respondents said:

The bulk of funds these NGOs receive go into paying the salaries and allowances of their staff and since there is no effective regulatory body to effectively audit the accounts and the actual activities undertaken by these NGOs besides their donors, a lot of the funds are being embezzled by their senior staffs in charge of projects. This has been the cause of NGOs inability to widen their scope to reach out to rural communities who may even need their services the most (Participant A, 28th January, 2015).

To confirm the assertions made by the respondents (ordinary citizens), the views of NGOs were sought on the issue of misappropriation and misallocation of funds. The views of the staff and founder of CHREP-Aid sum up the views of the NGOs.

According to him:

Well, we have been hearing from rumours that some NGOs, especially with the directors in charge of projects, squander funds meant to undertake projects. For instance, we learnt that some NGOs receive funds based on a particular budget they prepared to train a number of people on a particular field but end up training very few people in order to keep the rest of the money. But as I said, I cannot say with evidence since I am not in those organisations. Pertaining to the issue of misallocation of funds, I think it is dependent on how much money staffs receive as salary as against the funds the NGOs receive in general. For me, the payment of salary to staff is as important as the activities we undertake as an NGO. We need the staff to keep the NGOs running and one cannot afford not to pay the staff just anything because the funds for running the NGOs are not forthcoming. So we try as much as possible to balance them both so that we do not lose our skilled staff to other competitive organisations (A staff of CHREP-Aid, 4th February 2015).

Though the funds for running NGOs are not that frequent and regular, it has been revealed from this survey that some senior officers of these organisations are used to embezzling funds meant for projects due to the absence of a strong and effective regulatory system to check and audit the accounts and actual activities of these NGOs. The results of this study confirms the works of Guardian (2006) that some local NGOs in Botswana have been accused of maladministration, financial mismanagement, and the misuse of donor and public funds majority of which were used for their personal aggrandisements. This account for projects not effectively carried out or covering only a small section of society hence yielding limited results. To this end, the Director of the Department of Social Welfare intimated that:

We are supposed to look at their financial reports (audited reports) annually and give a recommendation to the Ministry of Gender and Social Protection and a copy to the National Association of NGOs. But you see, the NGOs do not adhere to this and we do not even see them until they are coming to renew their certificate of registration. This greatly affects our work in effectively regulating them in terms of how they manage their funds. Based on this, I will not challenge the view that some NGOs are mismanaging funds that are supposed to be used for undertaking NGOs activities (Municipal Director for Social Welfare, 29th January, 2015).

The views expressed by the Director of the Department of Social Welfare indicate that even though they are supposed to go through their financial accounts, majority of the NGOs do not bring their reports for scrutiny. It can therefore be deduced from the above that some NGOs' failure to submit their financial reports to the Department of Social Welfare may be due to their misallocation and misappropriation of funds which they intend to hide. It was further revealed by the Director of the Department of Social Welfare that even with regards to the financial reports of the NGOs; they are limited in terms of what to look out for with regards to the spending of funds. This limitation

placed on the Department would give some NGOs room to misappropriate and misallocate funds.

b) NGOs inability to identify their Real and Target Group

In addition to misappropriation and misallocation of funds is NGOs inability to identify their real and target group where their impacts would greatly be felt. From the survey, 6 percent of the respondents mentioned that NGOs fail to identify their real targets in their bid to achieve their democratic good governance objective. One of the sampled respondents explained that:

Though NGOs in general concentrate their activities in the rural areas, NGOs that are involved in activities such as election monitoring, political education, etc tend to concentrate their efforts in the cities leaving the rural communities to their fate. These rural folks are the very people who are mostly not aware or sometimes completely cut off from hearing issues pertaining to their rights, where and when to defend them, and would need the help of these NGOs. Yet, these NGOs work in areas where majority of citizens do not participate or benefit much because they are already aware of their rights partly due to their level of education or the myriad of information available through the media and many other sources in the cities (Participant B, 5th February 2015).

To validate this claim by the respondents, the study further sought the views of the NGOs about the extent to which they are able to reach out to those in the rural communities. A staff of Women and Youth in Development explained that:

Indeed, we have not been able to cover the entire Municipality especially the rural communities. But as earlier on indicated, our challenge with finance is the cause of our inability to cover those in the interior part of the Municipality. But we are trying our best to cover the entire municipality to reach out to all though this will be done gradually (A staff of Women and Youth in Development, 16th February 2015).

It was clear from this study that NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality are not able to make great impact due to their inability to reach out to those in the rural communities who may need their activities the most.

c) Lack of Collaboration among NGOs and stakeholders

Equally important is the lack of collaboration among NGOs as well as NGOs and their stakeholders (citizens). The respondents (28 percent) indicated that NGOs view themselves as competitors instead of partners working together to achieve a common goal. This affects their work negatively due to their inability to pull their resources

together to undertake more effective activities and even share ideas pertaining to new ways of enhancing their activities to promote democratic good governance (Kaulem, 2007).

This view was also shared by the Director of the Department of Social Welfare.

According to him:

NGOs in this Municipality hardly come together to undertake a common programme. This lack of collaboration among them has led to duplication of functions and waste of resources since different NGOs engage in the same activity at the same locality separately. This affects their effectiveness (Municipal Director, Department of Social Welfare, 28th January 2015).

Effective collaboration and cooperation is one of the watchwords preached by NGOs but are seldom practised. As observed by the GTZ (2002), inter-NGOs collaboration and cooperation is limited. This has led to a lack of clear understanding of the democratic culture and government policies and programs among NGOs. The findings of this study revealed that NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality lack a strong and effective collaboration and cooperation among them. Respondents further argued that NGOs fail to seek their views (constituents) on issues affecting them for redress and even when they do, they do not get the feedback from them. These results support the findings of the OECD (1987) that lack of local involvement in the activities of NGOs is a major cause of their ineffectiveness. The study conducted by Hossain (2001) further buttresses this result when he emphasised that the involvement of the local people allow them to take advantage of their traditional organisations and indigenous practices which they are familiar with.

d) Inadequate Media Coverage

Moreover, inadequate media coverage by NGOs was identified as one of the factors that hinder their effective operation. From the survey conducted, as many as 27 percent of the respondents stated that they have not heard from the NGOs existence while 51 percent out of the remaining 73 percent of the respondents who were aware of these NGOs indicated that they do not hear of any information pertaining to their activities on the media or the time and venue of their meetings. The views of one of the participants are explained below:

I am unable to participate or seek help from most of the NGOs through their activities because I do not get to hear much information or announcement about their specific activities (Participant C, 14th February 2015).

A discussion with the Municipal Electoral Officer also revealed that the activities of the NGOs are not well communicated to the people in the Municipality. In his view:

The voices of these NGOs are not often heard to make their activities known to the citizens. The best way for NGOs to disseminate information about their programmes and activities is through the media yet they hardly use that medium. I believe this is one of the major reasons people do not know or participate in their programmes and activities (Municipal Electoral Officer, 4th February, 2015).

The views of NGOs were sought on why majority of the citizens are not informed of their activities on the media. According to a staff of Women and Youth in Development:

We do communicate with the general public about our activities and programmes through the radio stations we have in the Municipality. Through this medium, information is able to reach the majority of people. But you see, the frequency of such announcement is based on the NGOs ability to pay. In most times we use other medium like posting notices at vantage points and giving out leaflets to individuals other than the media to communicate with the general public about our activities (A staff of Women and Youth in Development, 16th February 2015).

NGOs inability to advertise their activities limit their work since their ultimate goal may not be achieved due to non-participation by the majority who were unaware of such gatherings.

e) Conflict of Interest

Lastly, the Director of the Department of Social Welfare identified the issue of conflict of interest as another challenge facing NGOs. According to him:

Since the supply of funds is a great determinant of NGOs sustainability, NGOs tend to move their activities to areas where funds are readily available. For instance, most NGOs whose original objectives were political education and policy advocacy have now turned their attention to areas such as HIV/ AIDS awareness, malaria prevention, provision of educational materials to students just to mention but a few (Municipal Director, Department of Social Welfare, 28th February, 2015).

To confirm this claim, the views of NGOs were sought whether they are faced with the challenge of conflict of interest. The opinion of a staff of CHREP-Aid sums up the views of NGOs as:

We have a lot of NGOs who have moved from one activity to the other or add on other activities because of the easy access to funds from those areas. As an NGO, there are times we are tempted to add on other activities just to enable us access more funds to undertake our activities more effectively. But doing this would not allow us give the needed attention that each of them deserves (A staff of CHREP-Aid, 4th February 2015).

The survey results indicated that conflict of interest is a challenge to NGOs effectiveness. According to the survey, a lot of NGOs who were originally into areas like political education, election monitoring, policy advocacy and access to justice have moved to areas where funds are readily available. This finding supports the works of Lokerwe and Mpabanga (2007) and Gyimah-Boadi (2010) that the issue of conflict of interest is a great challenge to NGOs activities as it forces them to either abandon their original activities or tend to be ineffective in those areas.

4.9 Summary of the Chapter

NGOs are seen to be working in various areas to assist the government in achieving democratic good governance which is now the envy of almost all countries in the world. This study conducted in the Sunyani Municipality proves that NGOs have performed in their respective areas of activity to enhance democracy and good governance. However, the study also found that their abilities have not been fully utilised or felt since some respondents intimated that they have not yet felt the impact of these NGOs in the Municipality. The study further revealed that the NGOs are faced with enormous challenges which negatively affect their effective performance in the promotion of the democratic good governance agenda.

NGOs, therefore, need to double their efforts in order to have much influence on our political society in general and democratic good governance to be specific. To this end, the researcher has suggested various pragmatic and innovative ways to enhance the activities of these NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality. The adoption of these pragmatic and innovative strategies to address the issues that hinder the success of NGOs activities are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the summary of findings on the role that NGOs play in promoting democratic good governance in Sunyani Municipality as well as conclusion and recommendations.

5.2 Summary of findings

The main argument of this thesis hinged on the claim that Ghana has been touted as a beacon of democratic good governance in Sub-Saharan Africa since 1992. Many are of the opinion that NGOs have played a role in promoting democratic good governance in the country but this assertion seems to be mere speculations instead of evidence-based, which inspired the researcher to undertake this study. The study found that the selected NGOs in Sunyani Municipality are into political education, election monitoring, policy advocacy and access to justice which are the key indicators used in measuring democratic good governance.

5.2.1 Promoting Democratic Good Governance through Political Education

The study found that majority of the respondents acknowledged the activities of NGOs with respect to political education. The results showed that 6 percent of the respondents believed NGOs have been excellent in carrying out their political education programmes, 36 percent held the view that NGOs performance in political education in the Municipality has been very good, 29 percent saw NGOs activities to be good while 23 percent of the respondents rated NGOs activities as poor. Similarly, the views of the political party executives in the Municipality were equally sought and the responses showed that 2 out of the 3 respondents believed that NGOs performance have been very good while the remaining one respondent believed NGOs activities have been good. This means that NGOs performance in terms of providing political education has been effective

Furthermore, the results of the survey revealed that out of the 156 respondents interviewed, 32 percent have ever participated in the political education forum

organised by NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality, while majority (68 percent) have never attended such a forum.

The results of the independent T-test revealed that there was statistical evidence to support the assertion that a significant relationship exist between respondents' participation in NGOs political education forums and the probability of such individuals voting consistently. From the results, the T-statistics of the T-test was 6.2242 with its corresponding P-value of 0.000, which is less than the 5 percent level of significance. The results indicate that statistically, the average consistency for those who participated in NGOs political education was higher than the average consistency for those who never participated in NGOs political education. This implies that respondents who participated in NGOs political educational forums were more consistent in voting than those who never participated in NGO political educational forum.

This finding is consistent with the works of Diamond (1994, 1999); Allen (1997); Mason (1997); Gyimah-Boadi (1997); Habib and Opoku-Mensah (2003); Mattes (2002) that there exist a positive relationship between political education and participation. For citizens to effectively participate and make rational decisions means that they must be made to understand the system they are practising. According to Print and Lange (2013), political education enables citizens to be conscious political players in their country's governance. They further stressed that political education enables the citizens to appreciate and strengthen their values of dialogue, tolerance, democracy, good governance, accountability, participation, and adherence to the rule of law, which in the end promotes a culture of constitutionalism.

5.2.2 Promoting Democratic Good Governance through Election Monitoring

The descriptive statistics of the survey revealed that 22 percent of the respondents in Sunyani Municipality were of the view that NGOs have been excellent in monitoring elections, 34 percent believed NGOs have been very good in their activities, and 17 percent of the respondents were of the view that NGOs are good. However, 27 percent of the respondents could not judge the activities of the NGOs because of lack of information about the activities of NGOs.

The study also found that 19 percent of the respondents were aware that NGOs help citizens in the Sunyani Municipality to ensure that citizens are granted fair hearing in

cases of election disputes. To ascertain whether the political education of NGOs influences respondents' participation and decision making, the Pearson Chi-square test was used to determine whether there is a relationship between participating in NGOs political education and one's readiness to petition the Electoral commission in case of dissatisfaction with election outcome. The results of the Chi-square test suggest that there is a significant relationship between participating in NGOs political education and the probability of taking the Electoral Commission to court in case of dissatisfaction with election outcome given its P-value of 0.032. However, because the Chi-square test must always have at least 5 cells, the study used the Fisher's Exact test to triangulate the findings since the cells in table 4.5 were less than five for each count. From table 4.6 the Fisher's Exact test showed that there was a significant relationship between participating in NGOs political education and taking the EC to court in case of dissatisfaction with election results given its P-value of 0.032. This confirms the results of the Pearson Chi-square test. The broad implication of these findings are that NGOs play a vital role in sensitising people to seek redress through constitutional means in addressing electoral malpractices which goes a long way to improving democratic good governance in the country.

These findings confirm the existing literature that NGOs play a crucial role in ensuring free and fair elections and ultimately bestow legitimacy on the emerging government (see Diamond, 1997; Gyimah-Boadi, 2004; Tar, 2009). As observed by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (2009), NGOs in Ghana have played a crucial role in enhancing the legitimacy of government through their election monitoring role.

5.2.3 Ensuring Government Accountability through Policy Advocacy

Another key determinant of good governance is accountability on the part of the government. The descriptive statistics from the survey showed that 8 percent of the respondents believed NGOs have been excellent in advocating the interests of the people, 35 percent were of the view that NGOs performance in the area of advocacy has been very good, while 29 percent held that NGOs have been good in advocating the interest of the citizens. The NGOs do this by demanding that the government be accountable to the citizens by fulfilling the promises they made to them. However, 20 percent of the respondents believed NGOs have been poor in this regard while 8 percent

of the respondents stated that they were not aware of the existence of these NGOs to even assess their performance.

Similarly, 2 out of the 3 political party executives interviewed believed that NGOs performance was very good while the remaining one respondent was of the opinion that NGOs activities have been good. Based on this finding, it can be stated that NGOs performance in terms of promoting government accountability has been effective. NGOs play an important role in shaping policy through their advocacy activities. This role tends to promote accountability which is an essential feature of democracy and good governance. Contrary to the findings of Ikelegbe (2001); Ibeanu (2006); Essia and Yearoo (2009) that the role of NGOs in influencing government policy is visibly absent in Nigeria, the findings of this study is consistent with what Holloway (1998) observed that NGOs advocacy role help to change and influence policies and behaviour of the government so that all citizens, especially the disadvantaged, will benefit.

5.2.4 Promoting Democratic Good Governance through Access to Justice

Access to justice is one of the prerequisites of democracy and good governance. The study found that 7 percent of the respondents saw the NGOs activity of providing access to justice as excellent, while 14 percent were of the view that NGOs have been very good in providing access to justice. About 35 percent of the respondents maintained that NGOs have been good in terms of access to justice provision. However, 15 percent of the respondents rated the work of NGOs in providing access to justice as poor while 29 percent of the sampled respondents had no knowledge of NGOs activities in this area and could not assess their performance in this regard.

Concerning the assistance that NGOs offer with respect to access to justice, the study found that 18 percent of the sampled respondents have received at least one form of assistance in accessing justice while the remaining 82 percent have never received any form of assistance from the NGOs. The survey revealed that 5 respondents had received financial assistance, 2 had free legal aid, 16 respondents received counselling, with 5 respondents assisted in having a fair hearing in court. These findings are consistent with the conclusions drawn by Chowdhury (2011) from Bangladesh that NGOs have enhanced rule of law through the access to justice they provide.

5.3 Factors Affecting the Effective Operations of NGOs

5.3.1 Financial Constraints

From the survey, it emerged that all 18 NGO respondents indicated financial constraints as their major challenge. In their view, financial constraints tend to have multiple effects on their activities including the inability to invest in capacity building of NGOs human resource, particularly in the area of research, skills and technical knowledge necessary to undertake projects. This view is shared by Gyimah-Boadi (1996) when he noted that inadequate funds is a major challenge of NGOs which tend to limit their ability to adopt a more strategic long-term approach to political change. The problem of funding as indicated by NGOs in this study is also in conformity with the results of various researches conducted as the major challenge influencing the effective operation of NGOs, particularly indigenous NGOs (see Hennie, 1999; Sarr, 2006; Turary, 2002; Vincent, 2006). This was further reiterated by GTZ (2002) that one of the key challenges affecting the performance of indigenous NGOs is the difficulty in accessing regular source of funds.

5.3.2 Human Resource Constraints

Related to limited funding is human resource capacity constraints as identified by the four NGOs selected from the Municipality. The study found that 11 respondents believed they are limited in terms of staffing and skills to effectively undertake their activities. A staff of World Clock noted that NGOs are limited in terms of the ability to employ more staff and provide regular in-service training to staff. Even though the study revealed that majority (14) of the NGOs staff have completed the tertiary level of education, many of them seem to lack the necessary skill and knowledge to undertake their activities effectively and efficiently. This finding is in line with the studies conducted in Kenya and Zambia (see Bikuri, 2003; Ng'oma, 2008) that the lack of institutional capacity of NGOs often causes NGOs failure to deliver on their commitment and hence, become ineffective in their activities.

5.3.3 Logistical Problems

From the survey, it was revealed by 11 NGOs respondents that inadequate logistics greatly affect the effectiveness of NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality. A staff of Women and Youth in Development noted that they are limited in terms of vehicles, office space

and technical equipment like computers, printers and power plants to effectively undertake their activities. This study is supported by the study conducted by GTZ (2002) that local NGOs lack physical assets to effectively and efficiently undertake their activities.

5.3.4 Lack of Collaboration and Cooperation among NGOs and between NGOs and their Stakeholders

Lack of collaboration and cooperation among NGOs and between NGOs and their stakeholders was also identified by the NGOs staffs as a major challenge to their effective operation. From the study, 13 NGO staff acknowledged lack of collaboration and cooperation among NGOs and between NGOs and their stakeholders as one of the factors hindering NGOs effectiveness. The survey revealed that as a result of competition over influence and funding, NGOs fail to pool their resources and knowledge together to undertake effective programmes but rather work separately. This view was equally shared by the sampled respondents when 28 percent of them indicated that NGOs view themselves as competitors instead of partners working together to achieve a common goal. This leads to waste of resources resulting from duplication of functions. Though there is an association of NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality called the Brong-Ahafo Association of Non-governmental Organisation (BANGO) which is to serve as an umbrella organisation to these NGOs where they will meet and share ideas pertaining to development initiatives and new strategies of sourcing funds, their activities are seen not to be very effective in this process. The respondents further argued that the NGOs fail to seek their views (constituents) on issues affecting them for redress and even when they do, they do not get the feedback from them.

5.3.5 Misappropriation and Misallocation of Funds

Apart from NGO's staff, the study sought the views of other sampled respondents on the challenges they think confront NGOs. The survey results revealed that out of the 156 respondents surveyed, about 21 percent held that misappropriation and misallocation of funds has been the bane to effective operation of NGOs. Though the funds for running NGOs are not that frequent and regular, it was revealed from the survey that some senior officers of these organisations usually embezzle funds meant for projects due to the absence of a strong and effective regulatory system to check and audit the accounts and actual activities of these NGOs. The results of this study is

consistent with the works of Guardian (2006) that some local NGOs in Botswana have been accused of maladministration, financial mismanagement, and the misuse of donor and public funds majority of which were used for their personal aggrandisements. This may account for projects not effectively carried out or covering only a small section of society hence yielding limited results.

5.3.6 NGOs inability to identify their Real and Target Group

In addition to misappropriation and misallocation of funds, the study found that NGOs are unable to reach out to those in the interior part of the Municipality where their services are most needed. From the survey, 6 percent of the respondents cited that NGOs are unable to identify their real targets in their bid to achieve their democratic good governance objective. This view was confirmed by a staff of Women and Youth in Development that they are unable to cover the entire Municipality, especially the rural communities with their activities due to lack of funds.

5.3.7 Inadequate Media Coverage

Moreover, inadequate media coverage by NGOs was identified as one of the factors that hinder their effective operation. The survey results showed that 27 percent of the respondents had never heard of these NGOs, while 51 percent out of the remaining 73 percent of respondents who were aware of these NGOs indicated that they were not acquainted with the activities of the NGOs in the media or the time and venue of their meetings. This was confirmed by the NGOs themselves as the staff of Women and Youth in Development indicated that because of lack of funds they are unable to disseminate their information to the general public through the media on a regular basis. It was noted that NGOs inability to advertise their activities limit their work since their ultimate goal may not be achieved due to non-participation by the majority who were unaware of such gatherings.

5.4 Conclusion

The study set out to examine the role that NGOs play in promoting democratic good governance using Sunyani Municipality as a case study. The specific objectives were to explore into detail the role NGOs play in political education, election monitoring, policy advocacy and access to justice, which are the key ingredients of democratic good

governance. Other objectives were to examine the challenges that inhibit NGOs from achieving their goals. Based on the study findings summarised above, the study draws the following conclusions: 1) NGOs in Sunyani Municipality play a significant role in promoting democratic good governance at the local and national level. 2) The role of NGOs in promoting democratic good governance however is bedevilled with a number of challenges.

With regards to the role of NGOs in promoting democratic good governance, the study has shown that NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality play a key role in educating the citizens politically in the Municipality. The independent t-test showed that there was statistical evidence to suggest that persons participating in NGO activities are more likely to participate in national elections than those who did not attend. This means that NGOs sensitise citizens and enlighten them on the need to participate in political activities of the state which tend to strengthen democracy and good governance. The Pearson Chi-square further confirms this assertion since there was statistical evidence suggesting that a positive relationship exist between participating in NGOs political forums and taking the EC to court in case of dissatisfaction with electoral outcome. This implies that NGOs activities legitimise the emerging government after elections since citizens have confidence in the process. Similarly, there was evidence pointing to the activities of NGOs in areas of policy advocacy and access to justice. Overall, it can be argued that NGOs activities with regards to democratic good governance in the Sunyani Municipality is outstanding and these findings are consistent with studies conducted by Gyimah-Boadi (1997), Ng'oma (2008), and Mohammed (2011) which all found positive correlation between NGOs activities in promoting democratic good governance.

With regards to the challenges facing NGOs effective operation, the study concludes that the role NGOs play be exercised with caution since the study found that a good number of the sampled respondents claimed they had never heard about the activities of these NGOs. The study found that NGOs could have done better in covering a wider scope of the Municipality but they are limited by finances, human resource capacity, logistics and misappropriation of funds on the part of the leadership.

5.5 Recommendations

Based on the study findings the following recommendations are made for NGOs, Association of NGOs, the Government, the Media and the General Public.

5.5.1 What the NGOs can do

(a) Resource Mobilisation

This study has shown that the availability of adequate funds is an important tool for NGOs effectiveness. As such, NGOs are entreated to adopt more pragmatic methods and approaches to raising funds and mobilising resources both internally and externally to effectively undertake their activities. Internally, NGOs may involve themselves more in income generating activities such as farming, restaurants, internet services and retail outlets, the profit of which should be used to finance NGOs activities. Another way NGOs can access funds is by approaching the corporate bodies for their support. Externally, NGOs should market itself more effectively to attract more funding. Most of these organizations (DANIDA, GTZ, and USAID) require a formal grant proposal in order to consider a request from potential applicant. The first step before an NGO contacts these institutions is to learn about their specific criteria and grant proposal procedures. Based on this, NGOs must deploy staff with the requisite skills as well as having a good public reputation to raise funds. The expertise is needed to plan when, where and how to seek for funds from corporate bodies as well as international institutions. This would help the NGOs to solve their problem of human resources and logistics as well as securing funds to implement their development projects.

(b) Collaboration and Cooperation among NGOs and between NGOs and Constituents.

NGOs are strongly encouraged to collaborate and cooperate among themselves as well as with their stakeholders. They can do this by entering into alliances with likeminded NGOs to undertake activities as well as share experiences to the enhancement and achievement of democratic good governance. NGOs are entreated to create networks and resource these networks to function effectively. Though the NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality already have this network of association called BANGO, they need to effectively resource this association by paying dues on regular bases. The individual NGOs should also take their membership more seriously by showing commitment and selflessness towards the association. To further enhance their impact and activities,

NGOs must actively involve their constituents in undertaking their activities. NGOs should use various mediums like the media, and community forum to solicit the views of citizens on issues affecting them and bring them feedbacks on progress made. This will make the citizens feel part of the process and will be ready to assist in any way they can to promote the democratic good governance course.

5.5.2 What the Association of NGOs can do

The Association of NGOs such as the Ghana Association of Private Voluntary Organisations in Development (GAPVOD) and the Brong-Ahafo Association of NGOs (BANGO) should provide regular and intensive capacity training to NGOs. The association should ensure that NGOs pay regular dues to sustain the association. Again, NGOs should be made to pay penalties for breach of the Associations' code of conduct to ensure their commitment to the association. Furthermore, the association should act as a reservoir of information where NGOs can seek all sorts of information relating to new developments and initiatives on NGOs and fundraising strategies. Lastly, this association should provide the platform where issues affecting NGOs are solved and priorities set.

5.5.3 What the Government can do

(a) Strengthening the Capacity of the Department of Social Welfare

Reforms are needed in the institutions mandated to regulate the activities of NGOs. Though the Department of Social Welfare is the institution mandated by government to regulate NGOs activities, the study revealed that they have not been very effective in this process. The study therefore, recommends that the government take steps to strengthen the Social Welfare Department by equipping them with the needed resources like vehicles and funds to effectively regulate the activities of NGOs through regular monitoring.

(b) Establishment of Strong Regulatory Body

The study further recommends that a strong and independent body that is representative be established to evaluate and audit the accounts of NGOs at least annually. This body should be composed of representatives of the government, NGOs, donors and the

ordinary citizens. This will ensure that funds received by NGOs are efficiently and effectively utilised.

5.5.4 What the Media can do

(a) Media Assistance to NGOs as part of their Social Responsibilities

The study further recommends that the various media as part of their social responsibilities should assist the NGOs by giving them slots on their platform to talk/discuss about their activities. The media should also ensure that NGOs programmes are covered. This would increase the citizens' awareness of NGOs in order to seek help or participate effectively in their activities to promote democratic good governance as a whole.

5.5.5 What the General Public can do

The general public should show more interest in the work of NGOs. Individual citizens should realise that the NGOs exist to protect their interests against the unfriendly policies of the government and its institutions. As such, citizens should be willing and ready to communicate their needs and interests to the NGOs. This would enable the NGOs to become aware of their needs to adequately deal with them.

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APPENDICES

APENDIX A QUESTIONNAIRE

DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING

KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

This Research Instrument is designed to collect Data for a Study on the Topic “Civil Society Organisations in the promotion of Democratic Good Governance: The Case of NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality”

The Purpose of this research work is strictly academic and respondents are assured of utmost confidentiality of all information collected for this study. Your participation in this survey is very much appreciated.

Institution(s) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR NGOS

BIO-DATA

Age:

Sex: (a) Male ☐ (b) Female ☐ Level

of education:

- (a) None ☐
- (b) Basic (Middle school/JSS) ☐
- (c) Secondary /Vocational/ Technical ☐
- (d) Tertiary ☐
- (e) If other, please indicate ☐

SECTION A: THE ROLE OF NGOS AND DEMOCRATIC GOOD GOVERNANCE

1. Which NGO do you belong to?.....
2. For how long has it been in existence? a. 0-3 b. 4-6 c. 7-10 d. above 10
3. Which of the following is your major area of activity?
 - a. Political education
 - b. Election monitoring
 - c. Policy advocacy
 - d. Access to justice
 - e. If other, please indicate.....

(Tick as many as applicable)

4. What constitute your major area of activity?.....

.....
.....

5. How do you conduct your activities?

.....

6. How often do you perform those activities in 5 above?

(a) Once a year []

(b) Twice a year []

(c) Thrice or more a year []

(d) If other please indicate []

7. What in your opinion is democratic good governance?.....

.....

8. Mention at least five elements of democratic good governance.....

.....

9. Which of these elements is more applicable in Ghana?

.....

.....

10. Why do you think that these element(s) mentioned in 9 above is/ are more applicable in Ghana?

.....

11. Which of these elements in your opinion are not applicable in Ghana?

.....

12. What can be done to ensure the applicability of these elements of democratic good governance as stated in 11 above?

.....

13. Have your activities as an NGO helped to ensure democratic good governance in Ghana?

(a) Yes [] (b) No []

14. If “Yes”, which particular democratic good governance element does it promote and to what extent does it promote it?

.....

15. If “No”, why?

.....

.....

SECTION B: EVIDENCE OF NGOS ACTIVITIES IN THE SUNYANI MUNICIPALITY

16. How many staff do you operate with as an NGO?.....

17. What is the nature of the staff?

(a) Temporal

(b) Permanent

(c) Both temporal and permanent

18. How many of these staff are Part-time?

19. How many of these volunteers?

20. How many of these staff are permanent?

21. Who are your major stakeholders?

22. How do you engage them?

23. In your view, have you made any impact? (a) Yes [] (b) No []

24. What is the extent of your impact?

Please tick *Excellent if NGOs impact is $\geq 75\%$, Very good if 50%-74.9%, Good if 25%-49.9%, and Poor if $\leq 24.9\%$.*

NGOs Activities	Indicators	Excellent ($\geq 75\%$)	Very Good (50%-74.9 %)	Good (25%-49.9 %)	Poor (≤ 24.9 %)

Election monitoring	Check the presence of; Up to date voters register Equal opportunities given to candidates to contest elections Balloting and the count Electoral results accepted by all parties				
Political education	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Conduct regular political education programs 2. Supply citizens with the necessary information to keep them well informed about the democratic process 3. The focus on the new trend in the electoral process like the biometric registration and the verification of voters. 4. The influence of NGOs activities on your political behaviour 				
Policy advocacy	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Meet with government on the policy table before its implementation 2. Ability to influence government decisions in favour of its stakeholders 3. Follow up on those policies for effective implementation 4. Ability of policies to address the needs of stakeholders 				
Access to justice	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provide free legal aid to the poor 2. Counselling 3. Financial assistance 4. Help ensure fair hearing of cases 				

SECTION C: FACTORS INHIBITING THE ACTIVITIES OF NGOS 25. Who funds your NGO?

26. Do you receive regular support from this source(s)?.....

27. What is the level of cooperation between you and your stakeholders?

Indicators	Level of Cooperation	Remarks

1. Free flow of information 2. High involvement of the stakeholders in the activities of NGOs 3. Accessibility of information from stakeholders 4. How well the policies of the NGOs address the problems of the stakeholders 5. The willingness of the stakeholders to accept change brought by the activities of the NGOs	1. Cordial 2. Somehow cordial 3. Uncooperative	1. When all these indicators are available, select 1, 2. When any three of these indicators are available, select 2, 3. Select 3, when two or less indicators are available
---	--	---

28. In your opinion, what are some of the challenges you face in carrying out your activities?

.....

.....

.....

SECTION D: MEASURES UNDERTAKEN TO ENHANCE NGOS ACTIVITIES

29. How do you assess your performance?

- (a) Daily report []
- (b) Weekly report []
- (c) Monthly report []
- (d) Yearly report []
- (e) If other, please indicate []

30. Do you normally meet stakeholders for feedback?

.....

31. Do you think you need more support from the stakeholders upon the feedback?

(a) Yes [] (b) No []

32. If “Yes”, what kind of support?

.....

33. Suggest three (3) ways in which the activities of NGOs can be improved.

i.

ii.

iii.

34. In your opinion, do you think that your activities have impacted positively on democratic good governance? a. Yes b. No

35. If “Yes”, in what ways?

.....

Thank you for your cooperation!

APENDIX B

DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING

KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

This Research Instrument is designed to collect Data for a Study on the Topic “Civil Society Organisations in the promotion of Democratic Good Governance: The Case of NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality”

The Purpose of this research work is strictly academic and respondents are assured of utmost confidentiality of all information collected for this study. Your participation in this survey is very much appreciated.

Institution(s) **INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE**

1. How long have you been the head of this institution?
2. How many NGOs have registered with your office?

3. Are they all operating currently in the municipality?
4. Are you aware of any NGO(s) who are operating in the municipality without registration?
5. How do you monitor the activities of these NGOs in the municipality?
6. What are some of the challenges you face in monitoring the activities of these NGOs?
7. What measures have you put in place to handle these challenges?
8. In your view, do you think the NGOs are operating as expected by law?
9. Are there any sanctions against those NGOs who operate illegally?
10. Have you ever sanctioned any NGO before?
11. What kinds of sanctions are involved?
12. How do you ensure the effective implementation of these sanctions?
13. In your opinion, how would you assess the work of NGOs in the Sunyani municipality in relation to election monitoring, political education, policy advocacy and access to justice?

Thank you for your cooperation!

APENDIX C

DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING

KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

This Research Instrument is designed to collect Data for a Study on the Topic “Civil Society Organisations in the promotion of Democratic Good Governance: The Case of NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality”

The Purpose of this research work is strictly academic and respondents are assured of utmost confidentiality of all information collected for this study. Your participation in this survey is very much appreciated.

Institution(s) INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ELECTORAL COMMISSION

1. How long have you been the head of electoral commission?
2. What are some of the challenges you face in conducting elections?
3. How do you handle these challenges to ensure credible elections?
4. Do you engage in election monitoring and political education as an institution?
5. How do you do these activities?
6. Besides electoral commission, are there any other organization especially, NGOs who engage in election monitoring/ observation and political education?
7. Do they seek permission from the EC for their operation?
8. Is there any level of collaboration between the EC and these NGOs?
9. How do you collaborate with these organizations?
10. How do you assess the work of these NGOs who are engaged in election monitoring/observation and political education in relation to free, fair and credible elections?
11. Do you recommend more of these engagements and why?
12. What constitute election offences /petition?
13. How often do you receive these petitions?
14. How do you handle election offences/ petitions?
15. In your opinion, do you think petitioners have been treated fairly according to the law?
16. What can be done to avoid election petition?
17. Has your organization ever sanctioned election offenders?
18. Have these sanctions been deterrent enough?
19. How do NGOs come into this election petition/election offence framework in relation to access to justice?
20. To what extent have they helped in this direction?
21. In your opinion, what do you suggest NGOs do to enhance their activities in the access to justice process?

Thank you for your cooperation!

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APENDIX D

DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING

KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

This Research Instrument is designed to collect Data for a Study on the Topic “Civil Society Organisations in the promotion of Democratic Good Governance: The case of NGOs in the Sunyani Municipality”

The Purpose of this research work is strictly academic and respondents are assured of utmost confidentiality of all information collected for this study. Your participation in this survey is very much appreciated.

Institution(s) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ELECTORATES/POLITICAL PARTY
EXECUTIVES

BIO-DATA

Age:

Sex: (a) Male ☐ (b) Female ☐ Level of
education:
(a) None ☐

- (b) Basic (Middle school/JSS) []
- (c) Secondary []
- (d) Tertiary []
- (e) If other, please indicate []

SECTION A: THE ROLE OF NGOS AND DEMOCRATIC GOOD GOVERNANCE

- Are you a registered voter? (a)Yes [] (b) No []
- If “Yes”, which year did you register?
- Have you ever voted in any elections in Sunyani municipality?
(a) Yes [] (b) No []
- If “Yes”, which year (s) since the fourth republic (1992)?
.....

- Do you know of these NGO operating in the municipality?

(Please tick as many as possible)

- World Clock[]
- CODEO []
- Women and Youth in Development[]
- CHREP-Aids[]

- In your opinion what do these NGOs do?

NGOS	MAJOR ACTIVITIES
World Clock	Election monitoring
CODEO	Access to justice
Women and Youth in Development	Policy advocacy
CHREP-Aids	Political education

(Match as many as possible)

- What constitute each of these activities?
 - Political Education
 - Election monitoring.....
 - Policy Advocacy.....
 - Access to Justice.....
- What in your opinion is democratic good governance?
.....

9. Mention at least five elements of democratic good governance

.....

10. In your opinion, have these NGOs helped to ensure democratic good governance?(a)Yes [] (b) No []

11. Give reasons to your answer in 10 above

.....

SECTION B: EVIDENCE OF NGOS ACTIVITIES IN THE SUNYANI MUNICIPALITY

12. Have you ever participated in any of the political educational forum organized by any of these NGOs?(a) Yes [] (b) No []

13. Give reasons

.....

.....

14. Have you ever received any assistance from these NGOs in terms of access to justice? (a) Yes [] (b) No []

15. If your answer to question 14 is “Yes”, what kind of assistance did you receive?

- a. Financial
- b. Free legal aid
- c. Counselling
- d. Fair hearing

16. What do you understand by term election offence/petition?

.....

.....

17. Have you ever petitioned EC before? (a) Yes [] (b) No []

18. If “Yes” what was your petition about?

.....

.....

19. In your opinion, do you think your petition was given the necessary attention?

- a. Yes []
- (b) No []

20. Have you heard of any NGOs helping to ensure fair hearing of election petition?(a) Yes [] (b) No []

21. How did they handle the issue?

.....

22. How do you rate the activities of these NGOs in relation to election monitoring, political education, policy advocacy and access to justice?

Please tick *Excellent if NGOs impact is $\geq 75\%$, Very good if $50\% - 74.9\%$, Good if $25\% - 49.9\%$, and Poor if $\leq 24.9\%$.*

NGOs Activities	Indicators	Excellent ($\geq 75\%$)	Very Good ($50\% - 74.9\%$)	Good ($25\% - 49.9\%$)	Poor ($\leq 24.9\%$)
Election monitoring	Check the presence of; 1. Up to date voters register 2. Equal opportunities given to candidates to contest elections 3. Balloting and the count 4. Electoral results accepted by all parties				
Political education	1. Conduct regular political education programs 2. Supply citizens with the necessary information to keep them well informed about the democratic process 3. The focus on the new trend in the electoral process like the biometric registration and the verification of voters. 4. The influence on your political behaviour				

Policy advocacy	1. Do NGOs explain government policies to you? 2. How often do they do that? 3. Do you have an opportunity to express view? 4. How do those policies influence your life?				
Access to justice	1. Provide free legal aid to the poor 2. Counselling 3. Financial assistance 4. Help ensure fair hearing of cases				

23. Suggest three ways that NGOs can help to enhance their activities.

.....

Thank you for your cooperation!

APENDIX E

A Table showing the Indicators of Democratic Good Governance according to some International Organizations

UNDP	WB	UNESCAP
Participation	Participation	Participation
Transparency	Accountability	Transparency
Accountability	Rule of Law	Accountability
Rule of Law	Political stability and Absence of violence	Rule of Law
Responsiveness	Government effectiveness	Responsiveness
Consensus Orientation	Regulatory quality	Consensus Orientation
Efficiency and Effectiveness	Corruption	Efficiency and Effectiveness
Equity		Equity

Strategic Vision		
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Source: Waheduzzaman, 2007; Noueihed, 2010: 20

KNUST

APENDIX F

Mathematical formula for calculating the sample size of electorates in the Sunyani Municipality;

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N (\alpha)^2}$$

Whereas;

n = Sample Size

N = Sampling frame (total population)

α = Confidence interval

$$n = \frac{73221 + 7322(0.05)^2}{1 + 7322(0.05)^2}$$

$n = 156$

APPENDIX G

The T-Test showing Participation in NGOs Political Participation and

. Consistency ttest con sin Visteotingncy, by(participation)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.
	[95% Conf. Interval]			
1	50	.8804	.0519222	.3671454
		.7760584	.9847416	
2	105	.5172381	.0317922	.3257727
		.454193	.5802832	
combined	155	.6343871	.0304342	.3789032
		.5742646	.6945096	
diff		.3631619		.0583469
		.2478923	.4784315	

diff = mean(1) - mean(2) t
 = 6.2242 Ho: diff = 0
 degrees of freedom = 153

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0
 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 1.0000 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0000
 Pr(T > t) = 0.0000