

Date Printed: 11/03/2008

JTS Box Number: IFES_4
Tab Number: 24
Document Title: Learning How to Make Democracy Work: The
IFES Project in Ghana Midterm Evaluation
Document Date: 1999
Document Country: Ghana
IFES ID: R01616



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LEARNING HOW TO MAKE DEMOCRACY WORK

**The IFES Project in Ghana
Midterm Evaluation**

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**Accra
June 1999**

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About IFES

The International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) is a non-profit, non-partisan organization based in Washington, DC. IFES was founded in 1987 to support global transitions to democracy and has worked in over 100 countries worldwide.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This document is a midterm report on the impact of a project designed to support the further development of decentralized democratic governance in Ghana. Devised and administered by the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), Project ECSELL (Enhancing Civil Society Effectiveness at the Local Level) was organized in mid 1997 under a cooperative agreement with the U.S. Agency for International Development, and is active in 20 of Ghana's 110 districts. The project commenced in late 1997 with an assessment of the state of civil society and the District Assembly in the 20 districts that were selected, two districts in each of Ghana's ten regions. From the data collected IFES designed Project ECSELL as two sequenced programs: training to establish trust, enhance communication and build capacity to be followed by the collaborative award of small grants to sustain the gains achieved. This report presents evidence that the Project ECSELL training program at the midterm was achieving its goals.

Project goals

The IFES project has three goals: (1) to strengthen civil society at the grassroots; (2) to increase civic advocacy; and (3) to improve the responsiveness of District Assemblies to community needs. IFES is using qualitative and quantitative data to measure project impact. This report summarizes a variety of qualitative data and the results of a statistical analysis of carefully collected quantitative data. To quantify project impact IFES asked 37 questions of 734 respondents – 321 District Assembly (DA) officials and 413 civic society organization (CSO) leaders – on a survey administered at the baseline in March 1998. To measure change IFES then asked the same 37 questions of 707 respondents – 301 DA officials and 406 CSO leaders – at the midterm in November. The findings from the quantitative data are supported by qualitative anecdotes from trainer reports, notes from focus groups and interviews conducted by IFES staff members in each district, and reports from the 20 IFES participant observers, one in each district. At the midterm of Project ECSELL collaborative attitudes and cooperative problem solving behavior had begun to take root in all 20 districts.

Training workshops

With information from an initial assessment it conducted in late 1997 of the state of civil society and local government in the 20 districts, IFES designed the Project ECSELL training program. The training program began in March 1998 and will end in July 1999. IFES has been inviting approximately 850 influential civic leaders and the most senior government officials in each district to its quarterly workshops, an average of a little over 40 key persons from each of the 20 districts nationwide.¹

The training employs participatory methods and techniques in a series of five mutually reinforcing capacity-building workshops. These have been held once per quarter. The content of the training is designed to cultivate a practical, collaborative, problem-solving

¹ IFES conducts the training "in the environment," that is in each of the 20 districts.

relationship between and among the two sets of participants, and thus foster the development of democratic attitudes and behavior.

The training has been well received. About 325 officials from the 20 District Assemblies and 425 leaders from 226 different civic groups have been attending the workshops. The average attendance rate is well over 95% of the civic leaders invited and almost 85% of the government officials. Most importantly, as this report will show, the training is having the desired effect. Project ECSELL is helping Ghanaians develop a culture of decentralized civic-government cooperation that functions to resolve local problems at the local level.

To help design the workshop curricula and training manuals and to provide the skilled trainers and train them to facilitate the workshops in the field IFES engaged four Ghanaian non-governmental training organizations. The curricula developed for the five workshops fall into three categories. These are: (1) consciousness raising in Workshop I; (2) skill transfer in Workshops III and IV; and (3) collaborative problem solving in Workshops II and V.

The first workshop under the theme *The Structure and Functions of the District Assembly and the Role of Civil Society in a Democracy* was conducted in March 1998. It raised the consciousness of the civic and government participants about their own and each other's roles at the local level of Ghana's democracy.

The third workshop, *Strategic Planning and Resource Management* was conducted in September 1998 and the fourth, *Financial Management and Proposal Writing* was conducted in March 1999. These two practical workshops equipped the participants with essential managerial and fund-raising skills.

The curricula of the second and fifth workshops employed (or will employ, respectively) the *collaborative analytic problem solving* (CAPS) methodology. The second workshop was conducted in June 1998. It transferred skills in communication, conflict management, teamwork, problem identification, problem analysis and problem solving. The fifth workshop will be conducted in July 1999. This workshop will use the same CAPS method to facilitate a discussion aimed at establishing consensus on the modalities of the grant program that will in turn institutionalize the joint problem solving relationship between government and civil society that is being cultivated by the training workshops.

Project impact

Each district made statistically significant progress at the midterm. Government responsiveness improved, civic groups grew stronger, and civic advocacy increased. To translate the statistical findings into terms that are more readily understood IFES developed a simple scoring system that is detailed in this report.

Government responsiveness

Government responsiveness is defined in terms that include the government's effectiveness, its internal cohesion, its level of engagement with the community, and its public image. By these terms, according to the IFES scoring system, on a scale of zero to one hundred percent, halfway through the training government responsiveness registered as 83% improved. In some districts, in response to community complaints about high district taxes, District Assemblies have been consulting civic groups and community leaders in setting the tax rates. The resultant lower tax rates have resulted in a higher rate of payment and, thus, more resources on hand to the District Assembly for community development.

Civic strength

The strength of the participating civic organizations is defined in terms of their level of internal democracy, the effectiveness of their management practices, their engagement with the community, and their efforts to grow. According to these criteria the civic groups in Project ECSELL at the midterm measured as 85% strengthened. Many CSOs now have elected leadership and the District Assembly in Wa, in northern Ghana, has reported to IFES that there are new leadership styles and skills apparent in the local CSOs. Life leaders have given way to elected ones and the CSOs now seem to have a sense of direction. They are able to identify their problems and set priorities on how to make the best use of their limited resources.

Civic advocacy

The effectiveness of civic advocacy is defined in terms of knowledge of the District Assembly (for to be an effective advocate one must understand how government works), concern about issues of justice, action to promote democracy, as well as, of course, actually going to government to advocate. By these terms advocacy by the civic groups in Project ECSELL in November 1998 registered as 100% increased. CSOs engaged in Project ECSELL are more knowledgeable about their District Assembly and are more likely now than at the start of the Project to meet with District Assembly officials on community matters.

Regional variation

Government responsiveness has improved, civic groups have grown stronger, and civic advocacy has increased in each of the 20 districts at the midterm. However, to analyze Ghana as a whole is not entirely valid because Ghana consists of three geographic zones that are ecologically and culturally quite distinct: the north, the middle and the south. Therefore IFES disaggregated the data by zone and found significant differences in the rate of change. The six northern districts made the most progress, followed closely by the seven middle belt districts, while the seven districts in the south trailed behind. The explanations for the variance are historical. The legacy of over forty years of sustained high levels of governmental assistance flowing into the north has given northerners many reasons to appreciate and cooperate with their government. In the middle zone, the legacy of the strong state and strong society of the Ashanti kingdom of old has contemporary effects that explain why ECSELL is having such a positive impact on the behavior of the

participants there. The pace of positive change has been slowest in the south. Southern Ghanaians have the highest levels of education in the country and hence at independence had the highest expectations of what Ghana's new government could do, a flame of hope that four decades of misrule doused into a smoldering distrust of government that IFES has been obliged to overcome, which is why the southern participants in Project ECSELL have been the slowest to take to the new democratic attitudes and behavior.

The way forward

Based on its midterm assessment IFES knows the project participants have learned beneficial skills and have begun to use them. They are adopting collaborative, democratic behavior to resolve local problems at the local level. By conducting a careful and thorough midterm evaluation IFES has determined that the Project ECSELL training program works.

Just as importantly IFES has learned what constraints and opportunities it faces in designing the grant-making program that will follow the training. Forewarned, IFES is forewarned, and hence is designing the program of small grants to exploit the opportunities and overcome the constraints. It is crucial to sustain the positive attitudinal and behavioral changes. The program of small grants will do so by institutionalizing the civic-government dialogue that is developing. Two institutions will be established in each district – an umbrella group of civil society organizations and a joint board of civic and government leaders. Their respective functions will be to facilitate civic-government communication and to help IFES administer the grant program.

The individual grant awards will go to civic groups to support activities that will continue building local technical and managerial capacity, will continue to strengthen the performance of local institutions, and most importantly will continue to increase local advocacy. The overall effect of the process of administering the grant program in a collaborative manner will be an institutionalized, problem-solving civic-government dialogue in each district, or consolidated decentralized democratic governance in a little under one-fifth of Ghana's districts.

1. INTRODUCTION

IFES in Ghana

IFES first came to Ghana prior to the multiparty elections of 1992 to conduct an evaluation of the existing voter register. Although IFES reported numerous shortcomings with the register, there was neither the time nor the resources for the Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC) to make the changes needed. The INEC "cleaned" the register by expunging about 200,000 names and went ahead with the presidential elections scheduled for November and the parliamentary elections scheduled for December. Jerry Rawlings won election as president by a substantial margin of votes. The opposition parties promptly disputed the results, alleging massive fraud as a result of the flawed voter register and other problems with the electoral process, and boycotted the elections for parliament in December. Running virtually unopposed the party of Jerry Rawlings won all but a handful of the 200 seats. The rest were won by independent candidates or by candidates from minor allied parties.

In response to this flawed transitional election, in 1994 IFES initiated the Supporting the Electoral Process (STEP) Project with funding from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). The STEP Project was designed to promote democracy in Ghana by assisting the permanent Electoral Commission create a credible voter register in 1995 and more effectively administer the 1996 electoral process. In stark contrast to the 1992 elections, in the presidential and parliamentary elections held on the same day, December 7, 1996, the losing candidates accepted the results. Jerry Rawlings won reelection, but four different parties won enough seats in parliament to prevent a ruling party super majority. When the second Parliament of the Fourth Republic convened in January 1997, Ghana had become a full-fledged multiparty democracy. But given what was happening elsewhere in the world, and especially in West Africa, was it a *sustainable* democracy?

Through the 1994-1996 STEP Project IFES helped Ghanaians reestablish multiparty democracy. But by 1997 there was a growing body of evidence to show that simply holding elections was no guarantee of successful democratization. There was legitimate concern about whether democratic governance in Ghana would become consolidated. To this end, with funds remaining from the STEP Project, in June 1997 IFES embarked upon a project called Enhancing Civil Society Effectiveness at the Local Level (ECSELL).

In pursuit of the objective of consolidating democratic governance in Ghana the goals of Project ECSELL are threefold: (1) to strengthen civil society at the grassroots; (2) to increase civic advocacy; and (3) to improve the responsiveness of District Assemblies to community needs. Twenty districts were selected for Project ECSELL, two in each of Ghana's ten regions. In the latter half of 1997 IFES conducted an initial assessment of civil society and local government in these 20 districts. Based on the data collected by the assessment team IFES finalized the project design. Since early 1998 Project ECSELL has been working to help develop a collaborative relationship between approximately 350 local government officials from 20 District Assemblies and 450 local civic leaders

representing 226 different groups. If the project participants learn how to work together peacefully and effectively to resolve local problems at the local level IFES will have contributed to the consolidation of democratic governance in Ghana. This report presents strong evidence that Project ECSELL is doing just that.

Project Design

The 1997 assessment mission was crucial in helping IFES design ECSELL as a two-part project. The first part of the project consists of a training program of five capacity-building workshops. IFES conducts its training “in the environment” – that is in each of the 20 districts. In collaboration with IFES, professional Ghanaian trainers skilled in experiential learning techniques from four separate organizations carry out both the curriculum development and the training-of-trainers exercises and then conduct each workshop in each district. At the time of this report IFES has held four of the five workshops. Attendance was high for all four, averaging over 90% of all persons invited. A total of 340 local government officials from 20 District Assemblies and 429 civic leaders representing 226 different civic groups participated in the fourth workshop in March 1999.

In the first workshop, held in March 1998, IFES assembled the District Assembly (DA) and civil society organization (CSO) participants in separate venues. Under the theme *The Structures and Functions of the District Assembly and the Role of Civil Society in a Democracy*, the workshop helped the participants develop a deeper understanding of Ghana’s local government system and the central importance of civic advocacy in a democracy. Having gained in the first workshop a greater appreciation of their own role and the role of the other as District Assembly officials and as members of CSOs in Ghana’s democracy, the participants were prepared for their initial encounter in the second.

In the second workshop in June IFES took the major step of bringing the District Assembly and civil society participants together for the first time. The second workshop was designed to lay the groundwork for a permanent problem solving relationship. To help the participants learn how to work together to resolve local issues at the local level, IFES developed a curriculum using the methodology called *collaborative analytic problem solving*, or CAPS, which transferred skills in communication, teamwork, problem identification, problem analysis, and problem solving.

The third workshop, conducted in September 1998, was designed to help participants acquire better strategic planning and resource management skills. The workshop employed the experiential or participatory training method and transferred skills in the *strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats*, or SWOT method of problem analysis, and the *specific, measurable, attainable, realistic, and time bound*, or SMART principles for planning.

The fourth workshop was held in March 1999 and the fifth and final workshop will be held in July. This report presents evidence of changes in attitudes and behavior only as of

the third workshop. Local government officials and civic leaders have developed a sustainable collaborative problem-solving relationship. To sustain this relationship a program of small grants for local civic groups will follow the training. The grants program will commence in the latter part of 1999. IFES will help the civic groups in each district form themselves into a democratically constituted umbrella organization that will provide a channel of communications between the civic groups and the District Assembly. IFES will help set up a civic-government joint board in each district. The joint boards will advise on the award of grants, which will be met by District Assembly matching funds. The *process* of advising IFES on the administration of the grants program through the institution of the joint board will hold the two sides together in an ongoing decision making dialogue. This dialogue will sustain the positive changes in attitudes and behavior taking place as a result of the IFES training program. In the 20 districts that comprise the project area, by the end of ECSELL the institutions of civil society and of local government will be working together on a permanent basis to resolve local problems at the local level. Governance will have become more democratic--and more effective as a result.

Evaluation Design

In its evaluation of project impact IFES is using the pre-test post-test no-control-group design with one modification. To offset the lack of a control group and to eliminate rival explanations for change, a midterm test for effect has been added. IFES administered a baseline survey on the first day of the first workshop in March 1998 and administered a midterm survey in November. Data from these surveys are bolstered by trainers' reports, reports from IFES participant observers, and from focus groups and interviews conducted by IFES in each district. These qualitative and quantitative data cover the time period from the first workshop in March through the third workshop in September 1998.

The survey questionnaire (which will be administered for the final time on the first day of the last workshop in July 1999) consists of 37 close-ended questions. Twelve of these are asked of District Assembly officials and 25 are asked of civic leaders. This report compares the mean responses given on the baseline survey of 734 respondents to the mean responses given on the midterm survey of 707 respondents and evaluates the direction and significance of change using the statistical method called the paired t-test.

The 37 close-ended questions asked on the baseline and midterm surveys may be thought of as 37 different indicators, or as 37 different variables. Each question probed a unique dimension of one of the three project goals of strengthening civil society, increasing civic advocacy, and improving government responsiveness. Change in government responsiveness is measured by change in the mean responses to 18 of the 37 questions. Change in the strength of civil society is measured by change in the mean responses to 13 of the 37 questions. Change in civic advocacy is measured by change in the mean responses to six of the 37 questions.

This report presents both the quantitative information collected in the surveys and qualitative data reported by the workshop trainers, IFES participant observers (based in each district) and follow-up interviews conducted by IFES.

Testing for Regional Variation

In its preliminary assessment IFES found that northern civic groups lagged behind non-northern civic groups in terms of engaging in the policy making process. As a result of these initial findings IFES has been concerned since the outset to track project impact in the north. To test for regional variation IFES examined the data by geographic zone. Ghana's three distinct ecological belts define the three geographic zones. These are:

- *The southern zone:* The southern part of Ghana is a coastal plain. There are seven project districts located in the southern zone.
- *The middle zone:* The middle portion of Ghana is the country's mountainous, forested cocoa and gold producing belt. There are seven project districts in the middle zone.
- *The northern zone:* The northern zone is the vast lightly forested savanna that covers Ghana's three northernmost regions. There are six project districts in the northern zone.

IFES was surprised to find that halfway through the training program the northern participants were responding more readily than the southern participants were.

Grading Progress in the Zones

Statistical results can be quite dry and tedious to read. In order to translate the statistics into terms that are more readily understood IFES developed a system for grading each district. Each of the 37 questions – 18 questions on government responsiveness, 13 on civic strength, and six on civic advocacy – was assigned a "target mean response." For each question, this was the answer indicating the most change in the desired direction. For example, on the question asked of civic leaders, "In the previous twelve months, how many times did your organization go to the District Assembly to advocate on behalf of your members?" the respondent could select one of five answers: "three or more times," "twice," "once," "none," or "not sure." The first answer was assigned the code "1" and the fifth answer the code "5." The target mean answer (the one indicating the most change in the desired direction) for this question was 1.0, indicating "three or more times." To interpret the mean responses IFES used the conventional rounding rule whereby .5 is rounded up. Applying the rounding rule to the question of how many times in the previous twelve months a civic leader's group went to the District Assembly to advocate, a mean response of 1.49 would be rounded down to 1.0 to translate as the target answer: "three or more times." A mean response of 1.50 would be rounded up to 2.0 and translate as "twice" and fail to meet the target.

To assign grades according to the statistical results, IFES compared the mean responses for each of the 37 questions given on the midterm survey administered in November 1998 with the mean responses given on the baseline survey administered the previous March.

If the mean response hit the target at the midterm, IFES awarded a point for that question. If the midterm mean response did not achieve the target, but compared to the baseline mean response showed movement *toward* the target, IFES awarded a point. If the midterm mean response did not meet the target *and* either showed no change or showed movement *away* from the target, IFES awarded no point for that question. By this system of grading it was possible to receive a total of 37 points. It was also possible to get 0 points.

To set a standard for satisfactory progress toward the three project goals IFES decided on a qualifying minimum for "improved" as a score of 67% of the possible points. By the IFES standard, to qualify as having a more responsive government at the midterm a score of 12 of the 18 possible points was needed. To qualify as having a stronger civil society, a score of nine of the 13 possible points was needed. To qualify as having increased civic advocacy a score of four of the six possible points was needed. To qualify as improved in overall terms a score of 25 of the 37 points possible was needed. This scoring system permits IFES to categorize the project area as a whole and each of the three regions as "improved" or "not improved" in government responsiveness, strength of civil society, and increased civic advocacy.

As will be seen in the following pages there has been substantial improvement in the 20 districts. Project ECSELL at the midterm was having the desired effect.

2. PROJECT IMPACT AT THE MIDTERM

Comparing the baseline mean responses from 734 respondents to the 37 questions with the midterm mean responses from 707 respondents reveals the existence, direction and significance of any change in attitudes and behavior. The *direction* of change at the midterm (whether the mean response to each question was onto, toward, or away from the target) and the statistical *significance* of the change reveals the impact of the training on the attitudes and behavior of the Project ECSELL participants.

In this section the 20 districts will be discussed as a whole. In the following section the mean responses will be disaggregated by geographic region. The results will be analyzed for significant differences among zones.

Project Goal: Improve Government Responsiveness

An effective local democratic government possesses seven major characteristics:

- (1) It is engaged with society.
- (2) It is responsive to society.
- (3) It works well with the national government.
- (4) It is internally cohesive, that is, able to harmonize its legislative, executive and judicial functions.
- (5) It is sustainable; meaning it has adequate resources to support its structures and functions.
- (6) Performance is improving over time.
- (7) As a reflection of all the foregoing the local government has a positive public image.

Of the 18 questions that probed into different dimensions of government responsiveness, a total of 12 points (67%) were needed to qualify as "improved." On this issue a total of six targets were met. The majority of the participant DA officials believed at the midterm that the relationship between their District Assembly and the national government in Accra was characterized by "cooperation." As of November 1998 the majority of DA officials in Project ECSELL thought that the relationship between the elected and appointed members of the District Assembly were "very good." The average DA official participating in Project ECSELL thought that halfway through the IFES training program her District Assembly was performing "more effectively" than in 1992. She also thought that the national government was performing better. The average civic leader in Project ECSELL agreed with her opinion about the performance of the national government at the midterm, and also thought that his members had "confidence" in the District Assembly.

The six targets achieved resulted in a score of six points.

On the 12 questions in which the target mean response was not achieved, there was change in the desired direction on nine. On only three questions the target was not achieved *and* there was either no change, or the change was in the wrong direction. The average DA official continued to feel that the problem of divided loyalties in her District Assembly was "somewhat severe" and that tax collection was only "somewhat effective," an opinion with which the average civic leader agreed.

The nine questions on which there was positive change resulted in nine additional points. The resulting total of 15 points of a possible 18 for six targets achieved and eight cases of change in the desired direction amounts to a score of 83%, surpassing the qualifying threshold of 12 points, or 67%. IFES can say with confidence that government responsiveness in the 20 districts was improved at the midterm.

Table 1 shows the results for the 18 questions asked on issues relating to the responsiveness of government. Eleven of the questions were asked of DA officials, and seven were asked of CSO leaders. The direction and significance of change for each question can be seen, and whether or not the target average response was achieved.

Table 1: Participant opinion on government responsiveness

Variable (And Target Mean)	20 Districts		
	B	M	Sig
Increase Government Responsiveness			
*Percent of local CSOs consulted by DA (1.0)	2.2	2.0	.122
#DA consulted your CSO (1.0)	2.9	2.8	.128
*Times DA has used mechanisms (1.0)	1.9	1.5	.001
*Times DA has acted by citizen request (1.0)	2.1	1.9	.283
*DA policies changed by citizen action (1.0)	3.5	3.1	.012
#DA policies changed (1.0)	4.0	3.3	.000
*Relations between DA and natl. govt. (1.0)	1.2	1.2	.327
*Relations between elected & appointed (1.0)	1.4	1.4	.947
*Severity of problem of divided loyalties (1.0)	1.8	1.8	.796
*DA tax collection is effective (1.0)	2.2	2.3	.024
#Tax collection effective (1.0)	2.0	2.0	.884
*Belief DA system working well overall (1.0)	1.8	1.6	.066
*Belief DA is more effective than 1992 (1.0)	1.3	1.2	.048
#Belief DA more effective (1.0)	1.7	1.5	.000
*Natl. govt. more effective than 1992 (1.0)	1.3	1.2	.001
#Natl. govt. more effective (1.0)	1.4	1.1	.000
#Members confident in DA (1.0)	1.5	1.4	.016
#Belief DA concerned (1.0)	2.3	1.9	.000

Note: The baseline survey was administered to 734 respondents, 321 DA officials and 413 CSO leaders. The midterm survey was administered to 707 respondents, 301 DA officials and 406 CSO leaders. An asterisk (*) indicates the question was asked of DA officials. The symbol (#) indicates the question was asked of CSO leaders. Numbers in parentheses indicate target mean responses. Numbers in bold indicate targets met. Shaded numbers indicate significant change at $\alpha = .05$.

Six target mean responses were achieved at the midterm. There was change *toward* the target on nine additional questions and either no change or change *away* from the target on three others.

A local government engaged with society

A democratic government engages with society in many ways. IFES considers two. The government can initiate contact with individual civic groups by inviting them for consultations, and can initiate contact with the general public by such mechanisms as holding public meetings and establishing joint civic-government commissions and boards.

Consultations

DA participants were asked what percentage of local civic groups their District Assembly consults with regularly. The target mean answer (1.0) represents "over 75%." At the baseline, March 1998, the mean answer given was 2.2. At the midterm in November 1998 it had moved to 2.0. The change was in the desired direction, but was not statistically significant, and did not achieve the target. At the midterm the average DA official felt that her District Assembly consults with "about 50%" of the civic groups in the district.

To get the other side's opinion on this issue IFES asked the CSO participants how many times the DA consulted their organization in the previous twelve months. The target mean answer (1.0) represents the response "three or more times." At the baseline the mean answer was 2.9 and at the midterm was 2.8, which by the conventional rounding rule in which .5 is rounded up translates as "once." The change was in the desired direction but was statistically insignificant and did not achieve the target. As of November 1998 the average civic group had been consulted by the District Assembly "once" in the previous twelve months.

The most common example of consultation with local civic groups involves the issue of setting taxes. As a direct result of Project ECSELL most of the District Assemblies were at the midterm consulting with civic groups before setting taxes. As a consequence revenue has increased in all 20 districts. In at least two districts, Yendi and Tolon, local revenue has actually *doubled*.

In Suhum the Garages Association reported on the invitation they have received from the District Assembly for a meeting to discuss land acquisition. The Tailors and Dressmakers are meeting the DA to negotiate on fee fixing. In Agona the Akpeteshie Distillers have been collecting revenues from the members and delivering it to the District Assembly.

Organized mechanisms of public participation

IFES asked DA participants in an open-ended question to list all the “mechanisms” of public participation their DA has used in the past such as holding public hearings and establishing joint civic-government boards and commissions. In the next close-ended question IFES asked the DA participants how many times in the previous twelve months their DA had used the mechanisms they named. The target mean answer (1.0) signifies the response “three or more times.” At the baseline the mean was 1.9 and at the midterm 1.5. The change was in the desired direction and was highly significant. However, the target was not achieved. By the rounding rule the average DA official at the midterm continued to believe that her District Assembly used mechanisms of public participation only “twice” in the preceding twelve months.

In Winneba the civil society organizations (CSOs) now approach the DA so confidently and so often that the DA is considering creating a “CSO desk” to handle the requests. Some forms of DA mechanisms of participation are more of a social nature. In Bechem the DA sent a special invitation to the CSOs to join the DA to celebrate Independence Day on March 6. Some types of mechanisms of participation have policy implications. In Jasikan the potters, bakers, queen mothers and the Guaman soap makers have been given seats on the Economic Sub-Committee and the Poverty Alleviation Sub-Committee of the DA.

A responsive local government

An effective local democratic government responds to the wishes and concerns of the citizenry. This includes action to meet individual requests as well as formal policy making.

Meeting citizen requests

IFES asked DA participants how many times in the past twelve months their DA had taken action based on a group’s or a citizen’s request. The target mean answer (1.0) represents “three or more times.” At the baseline the mean answer was 2.1 and at the midterm was 1.9. The change was in the desired direction, but was insignificant and did not achieve the target. At the midterm the average DA participant continued to believe that her District Assembly was taking action based on a group’s or a citizen’s request “twice” a year.

Most requests are for resources. In Nadowli, for example, the Biggu women’s group applied for and received a loan from the DA for income generating activities.

Policy making

IFES asked DA participants how many policies were changed as a result of community input in the previous twelve months. The target mean answer (1.0) signifies “three or more policies.” The baseline mean was 3.5 and the midterm was 3.1. The change was in the desired direction and was significant at the 0.05 alpha level but the mean response at the midterm remained distant from the target. The average DA participant in November

1998 believed that “one” policy changed as a result of community input in the previous twelve months as opposed to “none” in the twelve months prior to March.

IFES asked the same question of the CSO participants. At the baseline the mean answer was 4.0, and at the midterm was 3.3, indicating the same change from the response “none” to “one.” The change was in the desired direction and was highly significant but the target was not achieved. The average DA official and the average CSO leader agreed at the midterm that “one” policy changed in the previous twelve months as a result of action by civil society. In Wa, for example, the District Assembly now involves CSOs in the fee-fixing resolution meetings as a matter of policy.

Relations with the national government

Good relations between national and local governments are crucial to the health of a democracy. IFES asked DA officials how they would describe relations between their DA and the national government. The target mean answer (1.0) signifies “cooperation.” Both the baseline and midterm mean answers were 1.2. By the conventional rounding rule the target was achieved at the outset, and no change in opinion occurred. At the midterm the average DA participant continued to believe that the relationship between her District Assembly and the central government in Accra is one of “cooperation.”

An example comes from Ada, where, due to what they had learned in Workshop III, the DA officials found the government’s new budget system called the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), largely based on strategic planning, very easy to learn. Using analytic skills learned in the IFES workshops the DA was able to prepare and sign a performance agreement with the national government. In Berekum the District Assembly officials used their new knowledge of strategic planning at the Regional Coordinating Council’s workshop on the MTEF. “We were the only group that had knowledge of strategic planning and we used the terminology,” one member told IFES. While their colleagues from elsewhere in the region were struggling to formulate mission statements, the Berekum DA officials accomplished the task easily.

Internal cohesiveness

An effective democratic government harmonizes its executive, legislative and judicial functions. According to the Ministry of Local Government the District Assembly in Ghana is a nonpartisan “fused” system. Political parties may not contest election and there is no formal separation of powers. The legislature of a Ghanaian District Assembly is made up of 70% elected members and 30% appointed members. The bureaucracy of the District Assembly is staffed with a large percentage of people who have been assigned to their posts by central departments and ministries. The internal cohesion of this structure is said in the literature on District Assemblies to be weak.

Relations between elected and appointed officials

IFES asked the DA participants their opinion on how well the appointed and elected officials of the DA work together. The target mean answer (1.0) signifies “very well.” At

the baseline the mean answer was 1.4, and the same result came from the midterm survey. By the rounding rule 1.4 rounds down and the target of 1.0 was achieved. The average DA official believed in November 1998 that the elected and appointed members of her District Assembly work together “very well.”

Relations among civil servants in the districts are improving. In Wa the Department of Health provided support to the Department of Agriculture to bring under control an outbreak of cattle anthrax in the Kundungu area located in the extreme eastern part of the district. In New Edubiase the Deputy DCD jokingly told the Finance Officer that because of the IFES training now he can no longer confuse the other officers with his terminology.

The main problems are thought to be between the elected and appointed members. In Sogakope a suggestion has been made in the DA to have sessions where decentralized departments, the administration and assembly members will discuss issues openly outside the General Assembly, and the DA intends to pursue it. In Bongo, a newly created district, there are multiple problems due to the lack of skilled personnel. Many of the people who have been posted to Bongo have an unclear understanding of the decentralization process. The IFES training has been very timely as it systematically introduced participants to the whole concept and practice of Ghana’s decentralized system of democratic governance.

Divided loyalties

The academic literature on Ghana’s District Assemblies suggests that the system is not working well as a whole. One reason given is that the career civil servants posted in the districts by the national government are hired, fired, assigned, transferred, paid and promoted by Accra. The attention of the typical District Assembly civil servant is not focussed where it should be – on what is happening in the district – but on what is happening in the capital. IFES asked the DA participants how severe they thought this problem is. The target mean answer (1.0) signifies “not severe at all.” At the baseline the mean answer was 1.8 and there was no change at the midterm. By the conventional rounding rule in which .5 is rounded up, on the question of divided loyalties, in November 1998 the average DA official thought this problem remained “somewhat severe.”

A sustainable government

A local government must have the necessary resources to sustain its structures and functions in order to be effective. Ghana’s District Assemblies at the outset in the late 1980s were heavily dependent on the national government, and from most accounts the situation is not improving. Central government leaders have harshly criticized the District Assemblies for their ineffectual tax collection. IFES asked the DA participants how effective tax collection is in their district. The target mean answer (1.0) signifies the response “very effective.” At the baseline the mean answer was 2.2 and at the midterm 2.3. The change was in the *wrong* direction, and unfortunately was also statistically

significant. The average DA participant thought that tax collection in her district was still only “somewhat effective.”

What to make of the statistically significant change in the *undesired* direction on this question? Is tax collection in the districts becoming *less* effective? IFES thinks not. Rather, IFES believes that many respondents at the outset did not yet trust IFES, and were worried that their answers on the baseline survey would be divulged, and so did not give their true and critical opinion. By this reasoning the change in the undesired direction is an indication not of a decline in the effectiveness of the tax collection system but of an increase in trust in IFES. In any event, by the rounding rule the average DA participant had not changed her view at the midterm. Tax collection was still only “somewhat effective.”

The same question was asked of the CSO participants. The mean answer given at the baseline was 2.0 and remained unchanged at the midterm. Halfway through the training program there was consensus among the DA and CSO participants that tax collection in the districts was only “somewhat effective.”

There is evidence that tax collection is in fact improving. Revenue mobilization in Ada, for example, has improved considerably as a result of a better working relationship with the CSOs. The District Inspector of Taxes in Tolon recently announced that there has been a 92% increase in the revenue mobilized since ESCELL began. In Yendi the increase in local revenue in the same span of time has been nearly 100%.

Improved government performance

An effective democratic government performs better over time as it matures. In the baseline and midterm surveys IFES probed for DA and CSO opinion on the performance of both the national and local governments in Ghana.

The District Assembly system

IFES asked the DA participants their opinion on how effectively the District Assembly system is working as a whole. The target mean answer (1.0) signifies the response “very effectively.” At the baseline in March 1998 the mean answer was 1.8 and at the midterm in November was 1.6. The change was in the desired direction but was not significant and the target was not achieved. The average DA official in November 1998 thought that the system of local government in Ghana was performing only “somewhat effectively.”

Change in District Assembly performance since 1992

Both sets of participants were asked to compare their District Assembly at the present with how it was functioning in 1992, the year of the first multiparty elections. The target mean answer (1.0) signifies the response that the District Assembly is working for the people “more effectively.” Not surprisingly the DA participants gave a mean answer at the baseline of 1.3 and at the midterm of 1.2. The change was in the desired direction, was significant, and reached the target. At the midterm the average DA participant

believed more firmly than ever that her District Assembly was working more effectively for the people than in 1992.

However, the average civic leader did not share the same view. At the baseline the mean CSO answer was 1.7 and at the midterm 1.5. The change was in the desired direction toward the target 1.0 and was significant, but by the rounding rule in which .5 is rounded up the target was not reached. At the midterm the average civic leader still thought that his District Assembly was performing "about the same" as in 1992.

The midterm mean responses of the civic leaders shows change in the desired direction, indicating that in all the 20 districts performance is better. In Suhum, for example, the Deputy DCD told IFES that he has developed an action plan that has increased revenue mobilization in the district "considerably."

Change in national government performance since 1992

Both sets of participants were asked to rate the performance of their national government since 1992. The target mean answer (1.0) signifies that the central government is working for the nation "more effectively." The mean answers from the DA participants were 1.3 at the baseline and 1.2 at the midterm. The change was in the desired direction, was significant, and achieved the target. The average DA participant thought that the national government was performing "more effectively" in November 1998 than in 1992.

Unlike in his opinion about the performance of their District Assembly, the average CSO leader agreed with his DA counterpart on the performance of the national government. Mean CSO opinion on the question at the baseline was 1.4 and at the midterm was 1.1. The change was in the desired direction, was significant, and achieved the target. The average DA official and the average CSO leader participating in Project ECSELL agreed in November 1998 that their national government was performing "more effectively" than in 1992.

Public image of local government

Good governance at the local level will be reflected in a positive public image of local government. IFES asked the CSO leaders whether their members have confidence in their District Assembly, and how many of their members believe that the District Assembly is addressing their organization's concerns. The target mean answers (1.0 for both questions) signify, respectively, "yes" the members have confidence in the District Assembly and "nearly all" the members believe the District Assembly is addressing their concerns.

Confidence of members in the District Assembly

The baseline mean response given for the first question was 1.5 and at the midterm was 1.4. The change was in the desired direction, was significant, and by the rounding rule achieved the target. The average CSO leader felt at the midterm that his membership had "confidence" in the District Assembly.

In Wa the DA is collaborating with the CSOs to address pertinent community issues. As a result a cattle-rustling syndicate in Boli village was arrested and the culprits are now facing the law. Such instances of DA-CSO collaboration are now common in all 20 districts, boosting member confidence in the DA.

Belief the District Assembly is working for member interests

The baseline mean response for the second question was 2.3, and the midterm mean response was 1.9. Although the change was in the desired direction and was highly significant, the target was not reached. The average civic leader still thought in November 1998 that only “about half” of his group’s members believed the District Assembly was addressing their concerns.

But such confidence is indisputably rising. In Navrongo the civic leaders have told IFES that the workshops have helped them build up their groups to the extent that they no longer fear the DA and are closer to the DA, although the leaders hate the bureaucracy. Due to the openness of communication, rumor mongering has been reduced to a minimum.

Project Goal: Strengthen Civil Society

IFES asked the participating civic leaders 13 close-ended questions pertaining to the project goal of strengthening civil society. A civil society that is strong, densely woven, and plays its role of checking state power and bolstering democracy has three broad characteristics. First, civic groups must be internally democratic; second they must be connected both to the community at large and to other civic groups; and third they must be growing both in size and in resources. On the 13 questions that delved into the issue of the strength of civil society, seven target mean responses were met. At the midterm the average civic group in Project ECSELL was registered with the government, was electing its leaders, was engaging in participatory decision making, was holding at least three meetings per year between the executives and the members, and had a constitution. The average civic group with which IFES is working was, as of November 1998, operating a bookkeeping system and belonged to a formal civic network.

Of the six questions for which the target mean response was not met on this issue, there was positive change in four. On only two questions for which the target wasn’t achieved was there either no change or change in the wrong direction. At the midterm the average civic group in Project ECSELL had a strategic plan but wasn’t implementing it, and was still only conducting one fundraising drive per year.

The four questions on which there was positive change result in four additional points of 13 possible. The total of 11 points for seven targets achieved and four cases of change in the desired direction amounts to a score of 85%, easily surpassing the qualifying threshold of 67% for improvement. IFES can say with confidence that the participating civic organizations in the 20 districts were much stronger at the midterm. Table 2 shows the results from this set of questions.

Table 2: Participant opinion on the strength of civil society

Variable (And Target Mean)	20 Districts		
	B	M	Sig
Strengthen Civil Society			
#CSO is registered with the govt. (1.0)	1.3	1.3	.338
#CSO elects executives (3.0)	3.0	3.0	.933
#Collaborative decision making (2.0)	1.9	2.0	.043
#Times CSO execs meet with members (1.0)	1.2	1.2	.405
#CSO has constitution (1.0)	1.2	1.1	.013
#CSO has strategic plan (1.0)	1.8	1.9	.378
#CSO has bookkeeping system (1.0)	1.2	1.2	.090
#Number of other CSOs cooperated with (1.0)	2.9	2.2	.000
#CSO belongs to a CSO network (1.0)	1.5	1.4	.145
#Times CSO has met with nonmembers (1.0)	2.5	2.2	.001
#Times CSO has mobilized nonmembers (1.0)	2.0	1.7	.001
#CSO has conducted membership drives (1.0)	2.1	1.9	.085
#CSO has conducted fundraising drives (1.0)	3.0	3.0	.740

Note: The baseline survey was administered to 734 respondents, 321 DA officials and 413 CSO leaders. The midterm survey was administered to 707 respondents, 301 DA officials and 406 CSO leaders. An asterisk (*) indicates the question was asked of DA officials. The symbol (#) indicates the question was asked of CSO leaders. Numbers in parentheses indicate target mean responses. Numbers in bold indicate targets met. Shaded numbers indicate significant change at alpha = .05.

The target mean response was achieved at the midterm on seven of the 13 questions. On three other questions there was significant change toward the target.

A democratic civil society

A strong and effective civic organization must first of all be formally engaged with the government. IFES asked the CSO leaders whether or not their organization is registered with the government. The target mean answer (1.0) signifies the answer "yes." At the baseline the mean answer was 1.3 and was unchanged at the midterm. The target was achieved. By November 1998 the average Project ECSELL civic group was registered with the government.

Registration is not limited to individual groups. In Axim a civic umbrella group, the United CSOs of Nzema East (the first of its kind to form) has written to the DA of its existence.

Elected leaders

To play its theorized role in civil society as a "school of democracy," a voluntary association must itself be democratic. IFES asked the CSO participants how their executives are selected. The target mean answer (3.0) signifies the response "formal

election by the members.” The mean response at the baseline was unchanged at the midterm: 3.0 exactly. The executives of the average civic group in Project ECSELL at the midterm were formally elected by their members.

In Wa the DA officials have acknowledged to IFES that there are new leadership styles and skills apparent in the local CSOs. Life leaders have given way to elected ones and the CSOs now seem to have a sense of direction. They are able to identify their problems and set priorities on how to make the best use of their limited resources.

Participatory decision making

To be a school of democracy a group must encourage member participation in the decision making process. IFES asked the CSO participants how most decisions are made in their organization. The target mean response (2.0) signifies that most decisions are made “at meetings between the members and the executive.” The mean response given at the baseline was 1.9, and at the midterm 2.0. The change was in the desired direction, was significant, and the target was reached. At the midterm decision making in the average Project ECSELL civic group was participatory.

Meetings with the members

Democratic civic groups hold regular meetings between the executives and the members. IFES asked the CSO participants how often in the previous twelve months the executive met with the membership. The target mean response (1.0) signifies “three or more times.” The mean from the baseline and the midterm was the same: 1.2, meaning no change and the target was reached. At the midterm the executives of the average Project ECSELL civic group had since the outset been meeting “three or more times” a year with their members.

A constitution

Democratic civic groups are formally constituted. IFES asked the CSO participants if their organization has a constitution. The target mean answer (1.0) signifies “yes.” The baseline mean response was 1.2 and the midterm was 1.1. The change was in the desired direction, was significant, and the target was achieved at the outset. In November 1998 the average civic group in Project ECSELL had a constitution dating from before the project began.

A strategic plan

Strong and effective civic organizations have strategic plans they are carrying out. IFES asked the CSO participants if their organization has a strategic plan. The target mean response (1.0) signifies “yes, and it is being implemented.” The mean answer at the baseline was 1.8, and at the midterm was 1.9. The change was in the *wrong* direction, but happily was not significant. The target obviously was not reached. By the rounding rule the average CSO in Project ECSELL at the midterm had a strategic plan that was “not being implemented.”

IFES believes the reason why the average civic group in Project ECSELL was not implementing its strategic plan at the midterm was lack of resources. A case in point

comes from Wa where the IFES participant observer has reported that the civic groups have all drawn up strategic plans but are constrained in implementing them by the lack of funds and equipment.

A bookkeeping system

A democratic civic group must be financially accountable to the members. IFES asked the CSO participants if their organization operates a bookkeeping system. The target mean response (1.0) signifies "yes." At the baseline the mean answer was 1.2 and there was no change at the midterm. The target was achieved. As of November 1998 the average Project ECSELL civic group was using a bookkeeping system.

In New Edubiase the IFES participant observer has reported that all the groups participating in Project ECSELL have opened bank accounts and are keeping good records.

A civil society of interlocking groups

Civil society is theorized to be a vast network of interlocking associations deeply rooted in their communities. To be effective in this theorized role civic groups must have contact with the wider world. Interconnections of civic groups do not need to be formal to be effective, but may indeed be so. An effective civic group that is connected with the wider community must somehow meet with nonmembers from time to time. It may do so to mobilize nonmembers to participate in community activities.

Number of other groups cooperated with

IFES asked its CSO participants how many other groups their organization cooperated with in the previous twelve months. The target mean response (1.0) signifies "three or more organizations." The average response at the baseline was 2.9 and was 2.2 at the midterm. The change was in the desired direction and was highly significant. However, the target was not reached. Nevertheless the average IFES civic group which at the start of the project's first workshop was cooperating with "one organization" was by the end of the third workshop cooperating with "two."

In Yendi the Project ECSELL CSOs are now reaching out to other CSOs to impart what they have learned. For instance, the Nakpache CSO has had a series of meetings with CSOs in Kpabilobi and Bambuli villages.

Membership in a network

IFES asked its CSO participants if their organization belongs to a formal network or coalition of organizations. The target mean response (1.0) signifies "yes." The mean response at the baseline was 1.5 and at the midterm was 1.4. The change was in the desired direction, but was not significant. However, by the rounding rule the target was reached. The average IFES civic organization at the midterm was in a formal coalition. Some of these have formed at the instigation of IFES; others as in Axim have formed spontaneously.

Contacts with nonmembers

IFES asked its CSO participants how many times in the previous twelve months their organization met with nonmembers in the district. The target mean response (1.0) signifies "three or more times." At the baseline in March 1998 the mean response was 2.5 and at the midterm in November was 2.2. The change was in the desired direction and was significant, but the target was not achieved. At the midterm the average project civic group was meeting with nonmembers "twice" a year, up from "once" a year in March.

In Suhum the Kraboa-Coaltar Women's Association recounted how they are better able to market the cooking oil they produce because of improved teamwork among members and nonmembers alike.

Mobilization of nonmembers for community activities

IFES asked its CSO participants how many times in the previous twelve months their organization mobilized nonmembers for community activities. The target mean response (1.0) signifies "three or more times." At the baseline the mean response was 2.0 and was 1.7 at the midterm. The change was in the desired direction and was significant, but the target was not achieved. At the midterm the average project civic group continued to mobilize nonmembers for community activities "twice" per year.

By mobilizing nonmembers the Pokuase Development Association of Amasaman was recently able to clear a refuse dump in December before the February rains, which otherwise would have worsened the town's sanitation problems.

A civil society of growing groups

A key component to strengthening civil society is strengthening its component groups. A group grows stronger if it increases membership and increases its financial resources.

A growing membership

IFES asked its CSO participants how many times in the preceding twelve months their organization conducted membership drives. The target mean response (1.0) signifies "three or more times." The baseline mean response was 2.1 and at the midterm was 1.9. The change was in the desired direction, but was not significant, and did not achieve the target. The average civic group in Project ECSELL at the midterm still was conducting "two" membership drives in a twelve-month period.

In Bechem the CSO participants have told IFES about how their membership has increased, how unity in the groups has improved, how attendance at meetings has increased, and about how the payment of dues has become more regular. The participants are better able to solve the problems confronting them and are able to implement their programs and projects more effectively. In Yendi the Sakpegu Amasachina has increased its membership from 60 to 142.

Increasing finances

IFES asked its CSO participants how many times in the previous twelve months their organization conducted fundraising drives. The target mean response (1.0) signifies "three or more times." The baseline mean response was 3.0 and there was no change at the midterm, thus the target was not reached. The typical project civic group in November 1998 continued to conduct only "one" fundraising drive every twelve months.

Using skills in resource management, the Tefle Bakers from near Sogakope have put in place a revolving credit scheme for members. Other groups involved in Project ECSELL in the district are generating funds from their own resources through strategies such as re-registration of members and the re-launching of their CSOs to elicit commitment from the entire membership.

Project Goal: Increase Civic Advocacy

IFES asked its CSO participants five questions relating to civic advocacy, and asked DA participants one question on the topic. On the six questions that explored the issue of civic advocacy, one target mean response was met. The average civic group in Project ECSELL at the midterm was "very concerned" about issues of social justice.

Of the five questions for which the target mean response was not met, there was positive change in each, resulting in five additional points. The total of six points out of six possible for one target achieved and five cases of change in the desired direction amounts to a score of 100% on improved civic advocacy. IFES is certain that by the halfway point in the training program the civic organizations participating in Project ECSELL had improved their capacity to advocate.

The results from these six questions are shown in Table 3 (below).

Table 3: Participant opinion on civic advocacy

Variable (And Target Mean)	20 Districts		
	B	M	Sig
Increase Civic Advocacy			
# Leaders knowledgeable about DA (1.0)	1.9	1.7	.000
# Times participating in mechanisms (1.0)	2.5	1.9	.000
# Times gone to the DA to advocate (1.0)	2.8	2.4	.000
* Number of CSOs coming to DA (1.0)	3.0	2.5	.001
# CSO concerned with social justice (1.0)	1.3	1.1	.000
# Ways CSO has promoted democracy (1.0)	2.1	1.9	.028

Note: The baseline survey was administered to 734 respondents, 321 DA officials and 413 CSO leaders. The midterm survey was administered to 707 respondents, 301 DA officials and 406 CSO leaders. An asterisk (*) indicates the question was asked of DA officials. The symbol (#) indicates the question was asked of CSO leaders. Numbers in parentheses indicate target mean responses. Numbers in bold indicate targets met. Shaded numbers indicate significant change at $\alpha = .05$.

At the midterm the target mean response was achieved on one of the six questions. There was significant change toward the target on all the remaining five.

Knowledge of the District Assembly

To be an effective advocate as a civic leader it is important to understand the structures and functions of the government. IFES asked the CSO participants how knowledgeable they are about how their District Assembly works. The target mean response (1.0) signifies "very knowledgeable." The mean response at the baseline in March 1998 was 1.9 and was 1.7 at the midterm in November. The change was in the desired direction and was highly significant at $\alpha = 0.05$, but the target was not reached. The average civic leader remained only "somewhat knowledgeable" about how his District Assembly works.

Participation in formal mechanisms

Civic advocacy often occurs at functions organized by the government. In an open-ended question CSO leaders were asked to name all the mechanisms of civic participation they know of that their District Assembly employs. In the following close-ended question the CSO participants were asked how many times in the previous twelve months their organizations participated in the mechanisms they named. The target mean response (1.0) signifies "three or more times." At the baseline the mean response was 2.5, and was 1.9 at the midterm. The change was in the desired direction and was highly significant, but the target was not reached. In November 1998 the average project civic group had participated in DA mechanisms of public participation "twice" in the previous twelve months, up from "once" in the twelve months prior to March.

Civic advocacy

IFES asked CSO participants how many times in the preceding twelve months their organization went to the District Assembly to advocate on behalf of their members. The target mean response (1.0) signifies "three or more times." At the baseline the mean response was 2.8, and it was 2.4 at the midterm. The change was in the desired direction and was highly significant. Although the target was not achieved, there was significant progress. The average IFES civic group increased the number of visits it made to the District Assembly to advocate in a twelve-month period from "once" in March 1998 to "twice" by the following November.

IFES asked the DA participants a similar question, how many civic groups came to the DA in the previous twelve months to advocate the views of their members. The target mean response (1.0) signifies "twenty or more civic groups." The mean response on the baseline survey was 3.0 and was 2.5 on the midterm. The change was in the desired direction and was highly significant, but the target was not attained. At the midterm the average DA participant continued to think "less than five" civic groups came to the District Assembly to advocate in the previous twelve months.

In Odumase-Krobo the Dademantsemei led a delegation of CSOs from Upper Manya to the Director of ECG and the Minister of Mines and Energy to lobby for electricity transformers and other electrical equipment for the completion of the Upper Manya Electrification Project which was long overdue. As a result of this effort at advocacy now the people enjoy electricity.

In Berekum this year, unlike in most of the other districts, the DA fixed fees with very little consultation with the CSOs. This angered the CSO leaders, who viewed it as a deliberate attempt to undermine their authority. The DA participants acknowledged that the response of the local civic leaders indicates how much Project ECSELL has built up their confidence. They no longer have any fear of challenging the DA.

The positive effects of the IFES training are diffusing throughout the 20 districts. In Dunkwa, for example, the Butchers Association which is not in ECSELL went to the DA for a reduction in their taxes after hearing that the Market Women's Association, which is in ECSELL had been successful in reducing theirs.

Concern about social justice

An active civil society consists of organizations that do not restrict their advocacy only to issues of self-interest. IFES asked the CSO participants how concerned their organization is about issues of social justice. The target mean response (1.0) signifies "very concerned." In March 1998 the mean answer was 1.3, and was 1.1 in November. The change was in the desired direction, was highly significant, and the target was achieved at

the outset. The average CSO leader at the midterm continued to believe that his organization was “very concerned” about issues of social justice.

Promotion of democracy

In the same vein IFES asked the CSO participants in how many ways their organization has acted to promote democracy in the district. The target mean response (1.0) signifies “three or more ways.” At the baseline the mean response was 2.1 and it was 1.9 at the midterm. The change was in the desired direction and was statistically significant, but by the rounding rule the target was not reached. The average civic organization had acted to promote democracy in the district in “two” ways at the midterm, unchanged from the baseline.

3. GRADING THE 20 DISTRICTS

To translate the above results into terms that are more easily understood IFES developed a scoring system. As has been seen IFES assigned each of the 37 questions a target mean answer. To interpret the mean responses IFES used the conventional rounding rule whereby .5 is rounded up. Under the IFES scoring system, if the mean response hit the target mean answer at the midterm, a point was scored for that question. If the midterm mean response compared to the baseline mean response showed movement toward the target but by the rounding rule did not hit the target, whether or not the change was statistically significant a point was scored for that question. If the midterm mean response did not meet the target *and* either showed no change or showed movement *away* from the target, no point was scored for that question. Of 37 questions, a score of 37 points was thus possible. A score of 0 points was also possible.

To assess progress toward the three project goals IFES set a qualifying standard for “improved” as a score of 67% of the possible points. To qualify as improved overall a score of 25 out of 37 points was needed. To qualify as having a more responsive government at the midterm, a score of 12 of the 18 possible points was needed. To qualify as having a stronger civil society, a score of nine of the 13 possible points was needed. Finally, to qualify as having increased civic advocacy a score of four of the six possible points was needed.

Midterm Score

With a total of 15 of 18 possible points for improved government responsiveness (83%), a total of 11 of 13 possible points for strengthened civil society (85%), and a total of six of six possible points for increased civic advocacy (100%), the IFES participants scored a total of 32 of 37 possible points, or 87%. At the halfway point of the training, Project ECSELL was having a positive impact.

Table 4: Performance scores

	<u>Gov't. Resp.</u>	<u>Civic Strength</u>	<u>Civic Advocacy</u>	<u>Total</u>
Score	15	11	6	32
(possible)	18	13	6	37
Percent	83%	85%	100%	87%

IFES is confident that its training program was having the desired effect at the midterm. The evidence it has collected is compelling. Table 5 (below) shows the baseline and midterm mean responses for the three zones and for the 20 districts as a whole. The

direction and significance of change can be seen. Considering the 20 districts as a whole 14 of 37 target mean responses were achieved at the midterm. There was change in the desired direction on 18 additional questions. On only five questions was there either no change or change in the undesired direction.

Table 5: Mean responses in the three zones and the 20 districts

Variable (And Target Mean)	Zone									20 Districts		
	North			Middle			South					
	B	M	Sig	B	M	Sig	B	M	Sig	B	M	Sig
Strengthen Civil Society												
#CSO is registered with the govt. (1.0)	1.2	1.2	1.00	1.3	1.3	.427	1.3	1.2	.395	1.3	1.3	.338
#CSO elects executives (3.0)	2.9	2.8	.366	3.0	3.0	.897	3.1	3.0	.646	3.0	3.0	.933
#Collaborative decision making (2.0)	1.9	2.1	.002	1.9	2.0	.200	1.9	1.9	.877	1.9	2.0	.043
#Times CSO execs meet with members (1.0)	1.2	1.2	.574	1.3	1.2	.977	1.2	1.2	.889	1.2	1.2	.405
#CSO has constitution (1.0)	1.2	1.1	.001	1.2	1.1	.468	1.1	1.1	1.00	1.2	1.1	.013
#CSO has strategic plan (1.0)	1.7	1.9	.179	1.8	1.9	.460	1.8	1.8	.946	1.8	1.9	.378
#CSO has bookkeeping system (1.0)	1.3	1.3	.503	1.3	1.2	.205	1.2	1.2	.733	1.2	1.2	.090
#Number of other CSOs cooperate with (1.0)	2.7	2.2	.002	2.9	2.1	.000	2.4	2.2	.153	2.9	2.2	.000
#CSO belongs to a CSO network (1.0)	1.5	1.4	.049	1.4	1.4	.839	1.7	1.5	.010	1.5	1.4	.145
#Times CSO has met with nonmembers (1.0)	2.3	2.2	.294	2.7	2.1	.000	2.2	2.2	.824	2.5	2.2	.001
#Times has mobilized nonmembers (1.0)	2.0	1.8	.365	2.2	1.7	.000	1.9	1.6	.065	2.0	1.7	.001
#CSO conducted membership drives (1.0)	2.2	1.9	.163	2.1	2.1	.818	2.1	1.8	.023	2.1	1.9	.085
#CSO conducted fundraising drives (1.0)	2.6	2.6	1.00	3.2	3.0	.320	3.2	3.2	.545	3.0	3.0	.740
Increase Civic Advocacy												
#Leaders knowledgeable about DA (1.0)	1.9	1.6	.001	1.8	1.6	.026	1.9	1.8	.144	1.9	1.7	.000
#Times participating in mechanisms (1.0)	2.5	1.7	.000	2.5	1.8	.000	2.4	2.1	.028	2.5	1.9	.000
#Times gone to the DA to advocate (1.0)	2.9	2.5	.012	2.8	2.0	.000	2.9	2.7	.179	2.8	2.4	.000
*Number CSOs coming to DA (1.0)	3.2	2.5	.003	2.9	2.6	.102	3.1	2.6	.024	3.0	2.5	.001
#CSO concerned with social justice (1.0)	1.2	1.1	.109	1.3	1.1	.009	1.3	1.2	.081	1.3	1.1	.000
#Ways CSO has promoted democracy (1.0)	2.3	1.8	.002	2.1	2.0	.372	1.9	1.9	.851	2.1	1.9	.028
Increase Government Responsiveness												
*Percent local CSOs consulted by DA (1.0)	2.2	1.9	.193	2.2	1.9	.050	2.1	2.2	.722	2.2	2.0	.122
#DA consulted your CSO (1.0)	2.9	2.8	.543	2.8	2.3	.000	2.9	3.3	.005	2.9	2.8	.128
*Times DA has acted by citizen request (1.0)	2.0	1.7	.208	2.1	1.8	.227	2.3	2.0	.201	2.1	1.9	.283
*Times DA has used mechanisms (1.0)	2.0	1.3	.001	2.1	1.7	.057	1.8	1.7	.663	1.9	1.5	.001
*DA policies changed by citizen action (1.0)	3.9	3.5	.124	3.1	3.0	.525	3.4	2.7	.009	3.5	3.1	.012
#DA policies changed by citizen action (1.0)	3.8	3.3	.002	4.0	3.0	.000	3.7	3.5	.220	4.0	3.3	.000
*Relations between DA and natl. govt. (1.0)	1.2	1.2	.787	1.2	1.2	.911	1.2	1.3	.296	1.2	1.2	.327
*Belief DA system working well (1.0)	1.7	1.6	.654	1.7	1.6	.368	2.0	1.7	.049	1.8	1.6	.066
*Relation between elected & appointed (1.0)	1.5	1.4	.234	1.2	1.3	.402	1.5	1.4	.841	1.4	1.4	.947
*Severity of divided loyalties (1.0)	1.8	1.9	.503	1.7	1.7	.763	1.8	1.8	.599	1.8	1.8	.796
*DA tax collection is effective (1.0)	2.2	2.3	.096	2.2	2.4	.048	2.2	2.3	.397	2.2	2.3	.024
#Tax collection effective (1.0)	2.1	2.0	.312	1.9	1.9	.894	2.2	2.2	.692	2.0	2.0	.884
*Belief DA is more effective than 1992 (1.0)	1.4	1.2	.187	1.2	1.1	.356	1.3	1.3	.653	1.3	1.2	.048
#Belief DA more effective than 1992 (1.0)	1.8	1.4	.003	1.5	1.3	.015	1.8	1.6	.038	1.7	1.5	.000
*Natl. govt. more effective than 1992 (1.0)	1.2	1.1	.103	1.3	1.1	.011	1.4	1.2	.150	1.3	1.2	.001
#Natl. govt. more effective (1.0)	1.3	1.1	.000	1.3	1.1	.001	1.5	1.2	.003	1.4	1.1	.000
#Members confident in DA (1.0)	1.6	1.2	.000	1.4	1.4	.440	1.6	1.5	.391	1.5	1.4	.016
#Belief DA concerned (1.0)	2.5	1.5	.000	1.9	1.9	.918	2.7	2.3	.003	2.3	1.9	.000

Note: The baseline survey was administered to 734 respondents, 321 DA officials and 413 CSO leaders. The midterm survey was administered to 707 respondents, 301 DA officials and 406 CSO leaders. An asterisk (*) indicates the question was asked of DA participants. The symbol (#) indicates the question was asked of CSO participants. Numbers in parentheses indicate target mean responses. Numbers in bold indicate targets achieved. Shaded numbers indicate change is significant at alpha = .05.

The results from the IFES system of scores based on the statistical results are shown in Table 6 (below). The 20 districts are in rank order by total score.

Table 6: Total scores

Status	District Capital	Govt Resp	Civic Strength	Civic Advoc	Total Score
Improved	Jasikan (M)	16	11	6	33
	Agona (M)	15	11	6	32
	Navrongo (N)	16	10	6	32
	Yendi (N)	15	11	6	32
	Wa (N)	13	12	5	30
	Winneba (S)	13	11	6	30
	Amasaman (S)	11	13	4	28
	Berekum (M)	10	13	5	28
	Bechem (M)	12	10	5	27
	Dunkwa (M)	12	10	5	27
	Tolon (N)	13	10	4	27
	Wiawso (M)	13	9	5	27
	Axim (S)	10	12	4	26
	Bongo (N)	12	9	5	26
	Nadowli (N)	14	6	6	26
	New Edubiase (M)	11	11	4	26
	Odumase-Krobo (S)	11	9	6	26
	Suhum (S)	10	12	4	26
Not Improved	Sogakope (S)	12	9	3	24
	Ada (S)	6	8	2	16
	Average	12.25	10.35	4.85	27.45

Note: Letters in parentheses indicate whether the district is in the north (N), middle (M), or south (S). A score of 12 points is required to qualify for improved government responsiveness, 9 points for strengthened civil society, and 4 points for increased civic advocacy. A total score of 25 points is required to qualify as improved overall. Numbers in bold show failing scores in each category.

By the IFES system of grading performance two of the 20 districts failed to qualify as having improved overall. Seven districts failed to qualify as having improved government responsiveness; two districts failed to qualify as having strengthened civil society; and two districts failed to qualify as having increased civic advocacy.

It is important to know if there was regional variation. Table 7 (below) gives each zone's total score. But when the districts of a zone are averaged as a single unit, the unequal distribution of participants among the districts results in the few districts where improvement was low being masked by the many districts where improvement was high.

Table 7 thus also gives the average grade received by the districts in each zone. The zone's scores are higher than the average district grades, as expected.

Table 7: Average total score by zone, 25 points needed to qualify

<u>Zone</u>	<u>Average District Grade</u>	<u>Zone's Score</u>
North	28.83	33
Middle	28.57	31
South	25.14	28

The north with 28.83 points (78%) and the middle zone with 28.57 (77%) were virtually tied for first place for best average district grade overall. The south trailed well behind in third with 25.14 points (68%), a grade that just barely qualified as improved.

It is important to know the components of the overall grade. Table 8 presents the districts' average grades and the total scores for each zone on improvement in government responsiveness. Five of the seven districts that failed to qualify as improved in this category were in the south putting the south in third place with the average district grade of 10.43 (58%), a mark that did not qualify as improved. What is just as surprising as the south's failure to improve government responsiveness, given the findings in IFES' initial assessment, is that the northern zone both by its score and its average district grade of 13.87 points (77%) showed the most improvement in government responsiveness at the midterm.

Table 8: Government responsiveness by zone; 12 points needed to qualify

<u>Zone</u>	<u>Average District Grade</u>	<u>Zone's Score</u>
North	13.83	16
Middle	12.71	14
South	10.43	13

Table 9 (below) shows the districts' average scores and the scores for each zone for improvement in the strength of civil society. The zones' scores show a two-way tie between the north and the middle zone with 11 of the 13 possible points each, with the south in third place with ten points. But when the individual grades of the 20 districts are averaged by zone it becomes apparent that civic groups in the districts of the north are not as strong as elsewhere. In its average district grade the northern zone fell to last place for this objective. Though the lowest of the three grades, the north's 9.67 points (74%) passed the nine-point (67%) threshold and qualified as improved by the IFES standard.

Table 9: Strength of civil society by zone; 9 points needed to qualify

<u>Zone</u>	<u>Average District Grade</u>	<u>Zone's Score</u>
Middle	10.71	11
South	10.57	10
North	9.67	11

Table 10 shows the districts' average grades and the scores for each zone for improvement in civic advocacy. The zones' scores resulted in a two-way tie for first between the north and the middle with six of six points. The south placed last with five points. The average district grades, however, reflect low southern advocacy overall, again a failing mark. The civic groups in the south are not advocating as much as the civic groups in the other two zones.

Table 10: Civic advocacy by zone; 4 points needed to qualify

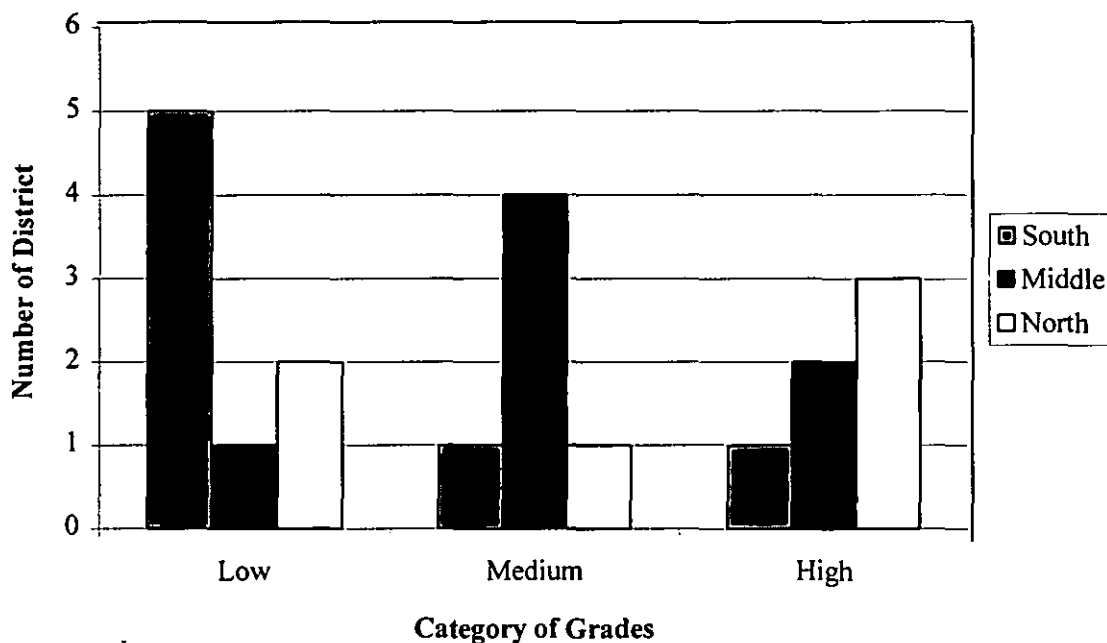
<u>Zone</u>	<u>Average District Grade</u>	<u>Zone's Score</u>
North	5.33	6
Middle	5.14	6
South	3.29	5

With an average district grade of 3.29 of six possible points (55%), the south failed to qualify as having increased civic advocacy by the IFES standard.

The Distribution of District Grades by Zone

Under the IFES system of scoring performance, total points from 0 to 37 were possible. Eight scores were recorded: 33, 32, 30, 28, 27, 26, 24 and 16. These eight scores were distributed unevenly across the 20 project districts.

In order to examine the distribution patterns of district grades in the three zones in an equivalent manner IFES divided the 20 district scores into three roughly equally sized groups by categorizing each of the eight grades received as either "low," "medium" or "high." Total points scored from the low of 16 in Ada, up through Sogakope with 24 points, to the 26 points achieved by six districts – eight districts in all – were categorized as "low." The total scores 27 and 28 comprising six districts were categorized as "medium." The six districts receiving total scores ranging from 30 to the high grade of 33 achieved only by Jasikan were categorized as "high." The histogram in Figure 1 (below) shows the distribution of district grades by zone.

Figure 1: Distribution of district grades by zone

Eight districts fell into the “low” grade category: five in the south, one in the middle zone and two in the north. Six districts fell into the “medium” grade category: one in the south, four in the middle zone, and one in the north. Finally, six districts fell into the “high” grade category: one in the south, two in the middle zone, and three in the north.

As Figure 1 shows the distribution of grades of the seven districts in the south was heavily skewed toward “low.” The grades of the seven middle districts approximated the normal distribution curve with four of seven districts bunched at “medium.” The northern districts’ grades displayed a bimodal distribution with five of six districts falling at the two extremes.

Why the different patterns in performance? To answer this question IFES has looked to history and suggests that the different rates of change may be due to the different historical legacies of the north, the middle and the south of Ghana.

Explaining regional variation

The north

Since independence the Ghanaian government has undertaken a sustained effort to stimulate accelerated development in the north by bringing roads, wells, schools, clinics, soft credit, and even food. IFES hypothesizes that due to this history northerners have many reasons to appreciate and work with their government, and few reasons to distrust

and avoid it. The legacy of sustained high levels of governmental assistance flowing into the north explains the high levels of improvement in democratic attitudes and behavior that IFES is seeing there.

The middle

The participants in the middle zone are readily adopting democratic attitudes and behavior as well. The reasons again may be historical. The modern day Akan people reside in what was once the heartland of the Ashanti kingdom, the last of the great West African empires. The Ashanti kingdom featured a strong state and an equally strong society of ancient Asafo companies that persist today alongside Nnoboa organizations of more recent vintage. The legacy of the strong state and strong society of the Ashanti kingdom of old may have contemporary effects that explain why ECSELL is making such a positive impact in the middle districts of the project area.

The south

The pace of positive change has been slowest in the south. The reasons for this too may be historical. Southern Ghanaians have the highest levels of education in the country due to the fact that during the colonial era the British built all of Ghana's best schools in the south. Upon independence the better-educated southerners had higher expectations of Ghana's new government than the less well-educated people further inland. These high expectations were slowly and systematically dashed during Ghana's long period of political turmoil, leading to deep-seated negative sentiments about government today. The comparatively higher levels of education that produced bright expectations in 1957 of what Ghana's new government could do was a flame of hope that four decades of political misrule doused into a smoldering distrust of government today. Suspicions of the government in the south are much more stubborn and deeper than in the middle and northern parts of the country. This explains why the southern participants in Project ECSELL have been the slowest to take to the new democratic attitudes and behavior.

4. CONCLUSION

The data from the baseline and midterm surveys yield persuasive evidence of positive project impact. By November 1998 the IFES training program was succeeding in enhancing democratic attitudes and behavior among approximately 450 civic leaders representing 226 different groups and approximately 350 government officials from 20 District Assemblies, two in each of the ten regions of Ghana.

Summary of Project Impact

Improving government responsiveness

At the midterm the District Assemblies were responding more effectively to civic demands than before. The 20 local governments were making a better effort to reach out and be receptive to the communities they serve. They were internally more cohesive and were performing better in many areas than they were before the project began. Yet despite the overall positive change, the District Assemblies do not yet have an entirely positive public image. There is evidence of a reciprocating residual distrust of certain civic leaders for government and of certain government officials for the new effort to invigorate civil society. These poor attitudes predominate in the south and are much less serious in the north. The effect of low southern performance is that improvement in government responsiveness in the Project ECSELL area as a whole was coming more slowly at the midterm than the positive changes toward the other two project objectives.

Strengthening civil society

At the midterm civil society had grown stronger in all 20 districts, but less so in the north where the resource endowment is much poorer than elsewhere in Ghana. In general the civic groups participating in Project ECSELL have become more democratic and participatory, better-organized, more engaged in their communities, and are making greater efforts to grow than before the project began. But IFES has reason to believe that many if not most of the participating civic leaders still do not display sufficient drive and motivation in seeking the resources they need to help their organizations achieve their set objectives. They retain an overly passive and dependent mentality, a situation that IFES intends to address in the fifth and final workshop.

Increasing civic advocacy

Civic advocacy at the midterm was increasing, but not as fast or as far as IFES would like. The leaders of the 226 Project ECSELL civic groups remain concerned about issues of justice, but they still lack sufficient knowledge of local government, and hence at the midterm were not approaching their District Assemblies to advocate as often as they might.

The Way Forward

The midterm evaluation process has enabled IFES to measure the existence, direction and significance of the changes in attitudes and behavior occurring as a result of its training

program. The data presented in the previous sections reveal that, overall, civic groups at the midterm were stronger than before and were advocating more, and that local government was becoming more responsive.

The evaluation process has also enabled IFES to learn of the different sets of constraints and opportunities that the civic leaders and District Assembly officials face in the different districts. IFES has used the information gleaned from the midterm evaluation exercise in designing both the fifth (and final) workshop and the grants making program that will ensue.

Designing Workshop V

Because the participants have requested it, and because IFES has planned to all along, Workshop V will employ the collaborative analytic problem solving (CAPS) methodology used in Workshop II. The purpose of the final workshop of the training program will be to prepare the participants for the commencement of the IFES grants program still to come.

In the 20 districts in which IFES works, democratic attitudes and behavior have indisputably improved because of the Project ECSELL training. The workshops have raised the consciousness and knowledge of the two sets of participants about their respective and complementary roles in Ghana's democracy. The workshops have also just as importantly imparted critical management skills.

As a tool of facilitated dialogue and conflict management the CAPS methodology is the ideal instrument for bringing people with divergent views into consensus, especially in situations where the stakes are high. This fifth workshop will encourage the District Assembly officials and representatives of civic groups to discuss how the IFES grants program can best address community concerns. IFES has also developed exercises for Workshop V that will help the civic leaders recognize that they now possess the requisite skills to go out and find additional resources they need to improve and strengthen their organizational capacity and to achieve their set objectives. Other exercises will at the same time encourage the District Assembly officials to take positive action to assist the civic groups in this endeavor.

Designing the grants program

It is crucial to sustain the positive attitudinal and behavioral changes being made. The program of small grants that will follow the training in late 1999 will do so. IFES grants will be awarded in collaboration with the ECSELL civic and government stakeholders. The process of administering the grant program collaboratively will institutionalize the civic-government dialogue that IFES has helped establish in each district, and will thereby consolidate decentralized democratic governance in 20 districts in Ghana.

To this end IFES will help the participating civic leaders in each district form their groups into an umbrella organization to channel communications between their groups and the District Assembly. At the same time IFES will help the District Assembly officials and civic leaders form joint boards that will advise IFES on administering the

grant program. By bringing and holding the two sets of participants together in an ongoing decision-making process the joint boards will function to cement decentralized civic-government cooperation in place.

Funding from IFES will support activities that continue to build local technical and managerial capacity, that continue to strengthen the performance of local institutions, and most importantly continue to increase local advocacy. By bringing civic leaders and government officials together in an ongoing decision-making process the grants program will have the effect of sustaining the positive attitudinal and behavioral changes that have been achieved through the workshops. To make civic advocacy and government responsiveness a permanent feature of each district IFES will welcome the following sorts of proposals:

- Funds to sponsor public forums that engage government officials with the local citizenry.
- Funds to undergo additional training.
- Funds to train other groups that were not involved in Project ECSELL.
- Funds to engage strategic or business planning consultants to assist in crafting proposals.
- Funds to hire legal experts to write proposed legislation.
- Funds to engage external auditors to examine the organization's bookkeeping system.
- Funds to travel to regional capitals or to Accra to present project proposals or business plans to lenders or donors or other funding agencies.
- Funds to travel to Accra to propose legislation or to lobby on behalf of or against legislation in Parliament.

Some of the civic groups have expressed to IFES that they would like to use the grants for income generating activities. As these types of activities do not contribute to the objectives of Project ECSELL, IFES will encourage those civic groups who are seeking funds to support income-generating activities to recognize that in addition to their own District Assembly poverty alleviation fund there is a plethora of agencies in Ghana that support micro-enterprise income-generating schemes. Furthermore, IFES will encourage the civic leaders to acknowledge that they now possess both the skills needed to write award winning project proposals and the knowledge they need to go out and locate sponsors.

Conclusion

The training portion of Project ECSELL has succeeded in fostering new democratic attitudes and behavior. In planning for the commencement of the grants program IFES is able to see its way forward quite clearly now. The clarity of vision is a direct result of the very careful and thorough evaluation of project impact at the midterm that IFES has conducted. Equipped with detailed knowledge of what has been transpiring on the ground IFES is confident that the Project ECSELL grants program will succeed in sustaining the positive attitudinal and behavioral changes created by the training program. IFES feels

confident in asserting that it is achieving its overall objective. Project ECSELL is in fact helping Ghanaians learn how to make their democracy work.

APPENDIX

Project ECSELL Districts

Region	District	Capital
Ashanti	Afigya-Sekyere	Agona
	Adansi East	New Edubiase
Brong Ahafo	Berekum	Berekum
	Tano	Bechem
Central	Upper Denkyira	Dunkwa-on-Offin
	Awutu-Efutu-Senya	Winneba
Eastern	Suhum-Kraboia-Coaltar	Suhum
	Manya-Krobo	Odumase-Krobo
Greater Accra	Ga	Amasaman
	Dangbe East	Ada
Northern	Tolon-Kumbungu	Tolon
	Yendi	Yendi
Upper East	Kassena-Nankana	Navrongo
	Bongo	Bongo
Upper West	Wa	Wa
	Nadowli	Nadowli
Volta	Sogakope	Sogakope
	Jasikan	Jasikan
Western	Nzema East	Axim
	Sefwi-Wiawso	Wiawso

Purpose:

This questionnaire will be used by IFES to assess the impact of the series of workshops that we are sponsoring in this district. It is important for us to know how many of the participants are changing their opinions, and the reasons why. The only way to do this is to have participants put their names on our questionnaires. However, we will treat this as a CONFIDENTIAL document. *We will not release this document outside of IFES.*

Thank you for responding to this questionnaire. When you have finished please give the questionnaire to the IFES staff member.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CIVIC LEADERS

Your full name _____

Sex _____

Full name of your organization _____

Your title _____

District Capital _____

1. Is your organisation registered with the District Assembly? (tick one)
 - a. yes _____
 - b. no _____
 - c. not sure _____
2. How are officials selected in your organisation? (tick one)
 - a. the organisation is led by its founding members _____
 - b. consensus acclaim by the members _____
 - c. formal election by the members _____
 - d. appointment by the Board of Directors _____
 - e. appointment by the founding members _____
 - f. by traditional means _____
 - g. by other means _____
 - h. not sure _____
3. How are *most* decisions made in your organization? (tick one)
 - a. by the executive _____
 - b. at meetings between the members and the executive _____
 - c. by the members _____
 - d. other _____
 - e. not sure _____
4. How many times in the past 12 months did the executive of your organization meet with the full membership? (tick one)
 - a. three or more times _____
 - b. twice _____
 - c. once _____
 - d. none _____
 - e. not sure _____

5. Does your organization have a written constitution? (tick one)
- a. yes___
 - b. no___
 - c. not sure___
6. Does your organization have an action plan or strategic plan? (tick one)
- a. yes, and it is being implemented___
 - b. yes, but it is not being implemented___
 - c. a plan is being prepared___
 - d. no___
 - e. not sure___
7. Does your organisation operate a bookkeeping or financial ledger system? (tick one)
- a. yes___
 - b. no___
 - c. not sure___
8. How knowledgeable are you of how your District Assembly works? (tick one)
- a. very knowledgeable___
 - b. somewhat knowledgeable___
 - c. not very knowledgeable___
9. How many times during the past 12 months has your organisation participated in any of the methods of citizen participation employed by the District Assembly? (tick one)
- a. three or more times___
 - b. twice___
 - c. once___
 - d. none___
 - e. not sure___
10. To your knowledge, in the past 12 months, how many District Assembly policies were changed as a result of action by local civic organisations or by an ordinary citizen? (tick one)
- a. three or more policies___
 - b. two___
 - c. one___
 - d. none___
 - e. not sure___
11. In the past twelve months, how many other organisations in the District has your organization cooperated with to achieve set objectives? (tick one)
- a. three or more other organisations___
 - b. two___
 - c. one___
 - d. none___

- e. not sure ____
12. Does your organisation belong to a formal network or coalition of organisations? (tick one)
- a. yes ____
 - b. no ____
 - c. not sure ____
13. In the past 12 months, how many times has your organization held meetings with non-members who live in the District? (tick one)
- a. three or more times ____
 - b. twice ____
 - c. once ____
 - d. none ____
 - e. not sure ____
14. In the past 12 months, how many times has your organization mobilised volunteers for community activities? (tick one)
- a. three or more times ____
 - b. twice ____
 - c. once ____
 - d. none ____
 - e. not sure ____
15. In the past 12 months, how many times has your organisation conducted membership drives? (tick one)
- a. three or more times ____
 - b. twice ____
 - c. once ____
 - d. none ____
 - e. not sure ____
16. In the past 12 months, how many times your organization conducted fundraising drives.
- a. three or more times ____
 - b. twice ____
 - c. once ____
 - d. none ____
 - e. not sure ____
17. In the past 12 months, how many times has your organisation gone to the District Assembly to advocate on behalf of your members? (tick one)
- a. three or more times ____
 - b. twice ____
 - c. once ____
 - d. none ____
 - e. not sure ____

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18. In the past 12 months, how many times has the District Assembly consulted your organization? (tick one)
- a. three or more times ____
 - b. twice ____
 - c. once ____
 - d. none ____
 - e. not sure ____
19. How concerned is your organization about issues of social justice? (tick one)
- a. very concerned ____
 - b. somewhat concerned ____
 - c. not very concerned ____
 - d. not sure ____
20. In how many ways in the past has your organization acted to promote democracy in this District? (tick one)
- a. three or more ways ____
 - b. two ____
 - c. one ____
 - d. none ____
 - e. not sure ____
21. In your opinion, how effective is the collection of local taxes in this District? (tick one)
- a. very effective ____
 - b. somewhat effective ____
 - c. not very effective ____
 - d. not sure ____
22. Would you say that on the whole, your membership has confidence in the District Assembly? (tick one)
- a. yes ____
 - b. no ____
 - c. not sure ____
23. In your opinion, how many of your members believe that the District Assembly is addressing your organisation's concerns? (tick one)
- a. nearly all the members ____
 - b. about half ____
 - c. less than half ____
 - d. almost none ____
 - e. not sure ____
24. Thinking back eight years to 1992, how would you say this District Assembly is working for the people? (tick one)

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- a. more effectively___
- b. about the same___
- c. less effectively___
- d. not sure___

25. Thinking back eight years to 1992, how would you say that Ghana's government today is working for the people? (tick one)

- a. more effectively___
- b. about the same___
- c. less effectively___
- d. not sure___

Purpose:

This questionnaire will be used by IFES to assess the impact of the series of workshops that we are sponsoring in this district. It is important for us to know how many of the participants are changing their opinions, and the reasons why. The only way to do this is to have participants put their names on our questionnaires. However, we will treat this as a CONFIDENTIAL document. *We will not release this document outside of IFES.*

Thank you for responding to this questionnaire. When you have finished please give the questionnaire to the IFES staff member.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DISTRICT ASSEMBLY OFFICIALS

Name: _____

Sex: _____

Your Title: _____

District Capital: _____

1. What percentage of the civic groups in this District would say your District Assembly regularly consults with? (tick one)
 - a. over 75% of local civic groups ____
 - b. about 50% ____
 - c. less than 50% ____
 - d. less than 25% ____
 - e. not sure ____
2. In the past 12 months, how many times has your District Assembly taken action based on the request of a group or a single citizen in this District? (tick one)
 - a. three or more times ____
 - b. twice ____
 - c. once ____
 - d. none ____
 - e. not sure ____
3. How many times in the past 12 months has your District Assembly used formal mechanisms for public participation? (tick one)
 - a. three or more times ____
 - b. twice ____
 - c. once ____
 - d. none ____
 - e. not sure ____

4. In the last 12 months about how many civic groups came to your District Assembly to advocate the views of their members? (tick one)
- a. twenty or more civic groups ____
 - b. about ten ____
 - c. less than five ____
 - d. none ____
 - e. not sure ____
5. In the past 12 months how many District Assembly policies were changed as a result of community input?
- a. three or more policies ____
 - b. two ____
 - c. one ____
 - d. none ____
 - e. not sure ____
6. How would you describe the relationship of the central government to this District Assembly? (tick one)
- a. cooperation ____
 - b. the relationship is neutral ____
 - c. interference ____
 - d. not sure ____
7. Overall, how effectively would you say Ghana's District Assembly system of local government is working? (tick one)
- a. very effectively ____
 - b. somewhat effectively ____
 - c. not very effectively ____
 - d. not sure ____
8. Under Ghana's system of local government, some District Assembly officials are elected while others are appointed. How well do the appointed officials and the elected officials work together in this District? (tick one)
- a. very well ____
 - b. somewhat well ____
 - c. poorly ____
 - d. not sure ____
9. Many of Ghana's experts say that District Assembly officials in the administration and in the decentralised departments pay more attention to the government in Accra than to the affairs of their districts. How severe a problem is this in this District Assembly? (tick one)
- a. not severe at all ____
 - b. somewhat severe ____
 - c. very severe ____

d. not sure___

10. Many of Ghana's leaders have said that the District Assemblies are ineffective at collecting local revenue. How effective is the collection of local taxes in this District? (tick one)

- a. very effective___
- b. somewhat effective___
- c. not very effective___
- d. not sure___

11. Thinking back eight years to 1992, how would you say this District Assembly is working for the people of this District? (tick one)

- a. more effectively___
- b. about the same___
- c. less effectively___
- d. not sure___

12. Thinking back eight years to 1992, how would you say Ghana's government as a whole is working for the nation? (tick one)

- a. more effectively___
- b. about the same___
- c. less effectively___
- d. not sure___