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## Annual Report

Partisans for Democracy

[www.cddghana.org](http://www.cddghana.org)



Established in 1998, the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) is an independent, non-partisan, and non-profit policy-oriented think tank in Accra, Ghana. CDD-Ghana is dedicated to the promotion of democracy, good governance, and economic openness in Ghana and Africa. The Center pursues its mission through research, publications, seminars, conferences, workshops, roundtables and outreach, as well as local and international collaborations and partnerships.

**Website:** [www.cddghana.org](http://www.cddghana.org)

**Email:** [info@cddghana.org](mailto:info@cddghana.org)

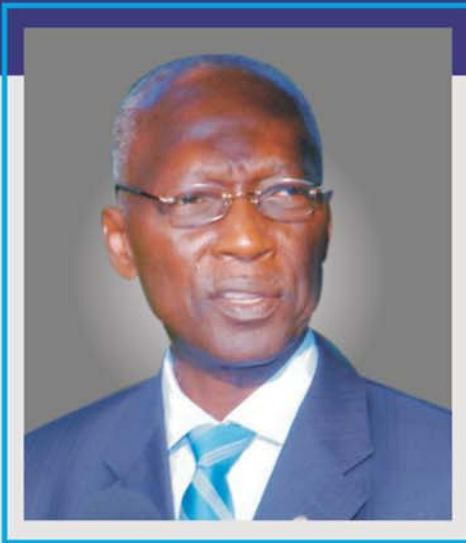


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GHANA CENTER FOR  
DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT

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## Chairman's Message



The closely contested 2008 Presidential and Parliamentary elections severely tested the commitment and dedication of Ghanaians to multi-party democracy. In that sense, the praise for Ghana from the international community for the credibility of that election and the peaceful transfer of power from the John Kufuor-New Patriotic Party to John Atta Mills and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) on January 7, 2009, was truly well-deserved.

As Chairman of the Governing Council of CDD-Ghana, I take deep pride in the contribution of the Center to the success of this tension-packed and largely acrimonious polls and transition process. The Center's seminars, conferences and media engagements did not only identify problem areas that required immediate national attention by the election authorities, government, media and other key stakeholders, but also generated ideas and suggestions for redressing them.

I am also exceedingly satisfied with the Center's input into national policy discourse on a variety of forums—from radio and television to the print media.



The Center's achievements in collaborating with other state and civil society institutions to promote democracy and good governance in our part of the world are equally noteworthy.

I am also happy to see that CDD-Ghana continues to be the destination of choice and a reference point for researchers and practitioners from all over the world interested in Ghanaian democratization and good governance. Our plans to open additional offices within Ghana and elsewhere in Africa (as part of a Five-Year Strategic Plan) would help expand our geographical coverage and enable more people within Ghana and the sub-region to benefit from the Center's services.

On behalf of the Governing Board, Management and Staff of the Center, and on my own behalf, let me express profound gratitude to international donors, development partners, corporate bodies and individuals whose generous financial and technical support enabled the Center to undertake its various activities during the year. I trust that the Center can continue to count on your support in the coming years as we collectively work to deepen democracy and good governance in our country and continent. In this regard, I find the support that the Center began to enjoy from the KPMG Accra office in 2009 extremely encouraging. It is my fervent hope that the

KPMG-CDD cooperation deepens, and serves as a beacon for others to come on board in working together to promote democracy and good governance in our dear nation and continent.

In line with the overall vision and goals established in the Center's 5-Year Strategic Development Plan, and particularly, to enhance medium and long term financial sustainability, we are launching a CDD Endowment Fund in the coming year. May I seize this opportunity to appeal to all our friends, collaborators, sponsors and corporate organizations to support the CDD Fund to help the Center sustain and improve the quality of its work, even as it expands its reach in the nation and region.



**Kwasi Abeasi**  
Board Chairman

## Executive Director's Message



Without doubt, Ghana has made great strides in democratic governance since the return to constitutional rule and multi-party democracy in 1992. A robust civil society and vibrant media has emerged, civil-military relations have been significantly democratized, and above all, five successive multi-party elections have generally been free and fair. The country's two main political parties (the National Democratic Congress – NDC and the New Patriotic Party – NPP) have alternated between government and opposition.

Indeed, President Obama's choice of Ghana for his maiden presidential visit to Africa in 2009 was an endorsement of our burgeoning democratic governance and the rule of law, which every Ghanaian should be proud of.

However, formidable gaps remain. An over-dominant presidency that has wide and poorly regulated power, the system of checks and balances, including parliamentary oversight, is weak. Political patronage and corruption remains entrenched and the electoral processes flawed, among others. In the words of Kwasi Prempeh, (professor of law at Seton Hall University, USA and CDD

governing council member), “(P)ower and resources remain highly centralized and concentrated in the hands of a president who wields vast unregulated discretion... rampant use of presidential patronage continues to frustrate prospects for the emergence of a meritocratic and stable public administration... the legislature remains largely a talking chamber, given to playful taunting and theatrics than to serious matters of public policy or oversight...”.

Confronted with these governance and democracy challenges, the Center's 2009 programs concentrated on the documentation, reflection and analysis of the 2008 polls and the bye-elections within that year, with a view to drawing appropriate lessons for enhanced electoral peacefulness and credibility.

We also continued with our activities to help deepen the protection of the rights of disadvantaged groups in our society such as Persons with Disability (PWDs) and Persons Living with HIV/AIDS and to promote decentralized and democratic local government.

And in anticipation of the fulfillment of the promise by the new President, John Evans Atta Mills of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) to embark on a review of the 1992 Constitution, the Center launched a comprehensive

research and advocacy program aimed at ensuring that the constitutional review exercise led to the strengthening of the constitutionalist and democratic governance content of that Constitution.

It is gratifying to note that these activities and programs in the year were extremely well-received and appear to have impacted positively on Ghana's march towards democratic development.

I would like to give special acknowledgement to the Chairman and members of the Governing Board for their unstinting support and able guidance throughout the year, and to the management and staff of the Center for the enthusiasm, diligence and creativity with which they worked to ensure the successful execution of the year's programs.

On behalf the Governing Board, Management and staff of the Center, and on my own behalf, let me place on record our deepest appreciation of local and international collaborators and donors such as KPMG Ghana, Coca Cola Bottling Company of Ghana, Friedrich Naumann Foundation, United Nations Development Program, United Nations Democracy Fund, German Development Cooperation, the Department for International

Development, the Canadian High Commission, United States Agency for International Development, World Bank, Overseas Development Institute, the National Democratic Institute, British High Commission, Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice, Electoral Commission, National Media Commission, National Commission for Civic Education, among others. Their invaluable material and technical support was crucial to the Center's ability to pursue its mission and achieve key goals in 2009.



**E. Gyimah-Boadi**  
Executive Director



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1. The Afrobarometer stand at the European Development Day Stockholm, Sweden

2&3. The Afrobarometer global release at the Golden Tulip Hotel, Accra

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## The Afrobarometer

As the headquarters of the Project Management Unit, the Center coordinated the 'global release' of the main findings of the Afrobarometer Round 4 covering 20 African countries. The global release events took place in Accra, Cotonou, Pretoria, Kampala and Washington DC. And as part of its responsibilities as core partner for Anglophone western and eastern Africa, the Center provided technical support for dissemination programs in Liberia.

The Afrobarometer is an independent, non-partisan research instrument that measures the social, political and economic atmosphere in Western, Eastern and Southern Africa. The surveys are aimed at capturing the views of ordinary Africans on the social, economic and political situation in their respective countries. The survey findings provide an empirical basis for policy making and programming, aid the demand for and supply of public accountability and help to stimulate dialogue on African political, economic and social development issues.





TAP launch workshop, Kampala Uganda

## Transparency and Accountability Project (TAP II) (Tracking Capitation Grant (CG) in Public Basic Schools in Ghana)

### **(Tracking Capitation Grant (CG) in Public Basic Schools in Ghana)**

Activities under this project in 2009 included investigations into the usage of the grant by the beneficiary schools and an examination of the transparency and accountability measures put in place by the school authorities for the efficient usage of the funds. TAP II is a follow-up to a pilot study conducted by the Center in 2007 on Teacher Absence in Primary Schools in Ghana. It is aimed at tracking leakages and inefficiencies in the disbursement of the Capitation Grant (financial resources from the Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service) to selected basic schools.

## Promoting Transparency and Credibility in Ghana's Elections

As a follow-up to the Center's elections-related activities in 2008, and to strengthen election transparency, credibility and peacefulness of future polls, CDD-Ghana carried out several programs and activities during the year under review. A “Reflections Workshop” at the Capital View Hotel in Koforidua brought key stakeholders together to review the entire electoral process and to seek answers to such crucial questions such as “what worked during the elections, what did not work and why, and what needs to be done to consolidate multi-party democracy in Ghana. Participants included representatives of the Electoral Commission of Ghana, the Election Security Task Force, the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice, National Commission for Civic Education, the National Media Commission, security sector experts, media, domestic election observation groups and development partners, among others.

CDD-Ghana and the Coalition for Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) also monitored the 'special' elections in Akwatia and the bye-elections in Chereponi, organized a major roundtable conference on election violence jointly in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme, UNDP.



Some participants at the “Reflections Workshop” in Koforidua



The Center also supported the National Democratic Institute (NDI) to undertake Malawi's first Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT). The opportunity to collaborate with the NDI to introduce PVT in the Malawian poll was a reflection of the glowing commendation the CDD/CODEO received from the report for its part in the introduction of the methodology in Ghana's 2008 elections. The success of the CDD/CODEO effort was described in the NDI's assessment report as a "superb feat of organization" which was made possible due to the unflagging commitment of coalition members, excellent PVT observer manuals, well-supervised observer trainings, well-managed deployments, reliable communication systems, and smart database software all handled professionally despite tight time constraints. Finally, the report stated that "CODEO/CDD-Ghana has mastered this advanced technique of systematic election monitoring".



A cross-section of the public being briefed about the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) election observation methodology



The CODEO Election Observation Center, Accra

# Studies in African Politics

## The Africa Power & Politics Program (APPP):



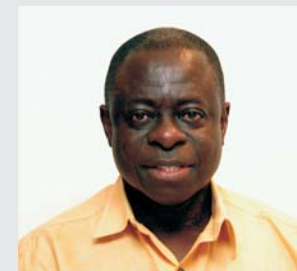
David Booth  
Program Director, ODI, UK

The APPP is a five-year program of research, training and policy debate managed by a consortium of research units and think tanks in Ghana, Niger, Rwanda, Uganda, France, UK and the US. The research is committed to discovering better ways of organizing governance for development in Africa, drawing from Africa's own experience—in short, “discovering institutions that work for poor people.”

CDD-Ghana is directly involved in the Local Justice provision and Parliamentarians research streams. The Local Justice research focuses on land, inheritance, property rights and family disputes, and examines the degree to which differences in the effectiveness and legitimacy of local justice provision can be explained by variations in the type of non-legal values and norms used and their mix with formal state laws and procedures.

The MPs research proposes a study of the formal, informal and hybrid institutional determinants of the MPs role, using survey and ethnographic techniques to illuminate the means by which MPs can be made better servants of the poor in their task to solve collective action problems and produce public goods.

The APPP saw its most active year so far in 2009. CDD-Ghana is the Center for the APPP Communication activities. It also manages the consortium website and coordinates communication among research team leaders. In September, the APPP Communication Team met in Accra to map a collaborative strategy for managing APPP communication and to develop a communication plan which is currently being implemented. The Communications team produced information sheets and an electronic newsletter for the consortium.



Prof. E. Gyimah-Boadi  
Executive Director, CDD-Ghana

# Constitutional Review Project



CDD-Ghana forum on constitutional review

## Addressing Ghana's Governance Deficits through Constitutional Reform

With a grant from the United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF), CDD-Ghana began a comprehensive project to support the national process of reviewing the 1992 Constitution. The CDD-Ghana project, which places particular emphasis on reducing the gaps and deficits in democracy and good governance in Ghana's 4<sup>th</sup> Republic, specifically seeks to mobilize non-state, civil society and independent expert inputs into the national constitutional review and reform process over a one and half-year period.

The project was launched on November 26, 2009 at a public lecture organized by the Center on the topic: "Framing a Constitution of Ghana for the 21st Century: Averting the peril of a Constitution without Constitutionalism". The lecture was delivered by H. Kwasi Prempeh, professor of law at Seton Hall University (New Jersey, USA) and member of the Governing Board of CDD-Ghana.

E. Gyimah-Boadi, CDD-Ghana Executive Director and professor in the Department of Politics at the University of Ghana (Legon) presented a paper on the topic "...Towards a Constitution for a Democratic and Well-Governed Ghana" at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (Kumasi). Similarly, the CDD-Ghana FNF Annual Liberal Lecture



examined the topic: **“Strengthening the Liberal Roots of the 1992 Constitution: An Agenda for Reform”** as part of its input into the Constitution review exercise. It was delivered by Mr. Ernest Abotsi, a Lecturer at the Law Faculty of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST).



Public lecture on constitutional review



Inaugural meeting of the Constitutional Review Project Advisory Team at the Center

Anti-Stigma sensitization training for the Judiciary and the security services



## Anti-Stigma

This project forms part of a broader program on “*Protecting the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and Promoting their Participation in the Electoral Process*” being undertaken by the Center with the support of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). It was designed to reduce the stigmatization of persons living with HIV/AIDS in the workplace and to facilitate the establishment of an enabling legal and policy framework for such individuals.

A number of sensitization workshops were organized in 2009 for key stakeholders in the administration of justice in Ghana, including Prison Officers, Magistrates and Circuit Court Judges, to enhance their knowledge of the rights of the “most at risk populations” (MARPS) and to enhance the awareness of the critical roles they play in the prevention of HIV/AIDS in Ghana.



## Conferences, Workshops and Public Lectures

The Center also organized conferences, seminars and workshops on a wide range of issues:

### The “Kronti ne Akwamu” Lecture:

The 5<sup>th</sup> “Kronti ne Akwamu” (Democracy and Governance) Lecture was delivered by Dr. Kwadwo Afari-Djan, Chairman of the Electoral Commission of Ghana on the topic: *“The Challenges to Conducting Free and Fair Elections in emerging African Democracies: The Case of Ghana.”* The lecture was held at the British Council Hall on the 17<sup>th</sup> of March 2009, and was chaired by Justice VCRAC Crabbe, a former Electoral Commissioner and currently Statutes Law Revision Commissioner.



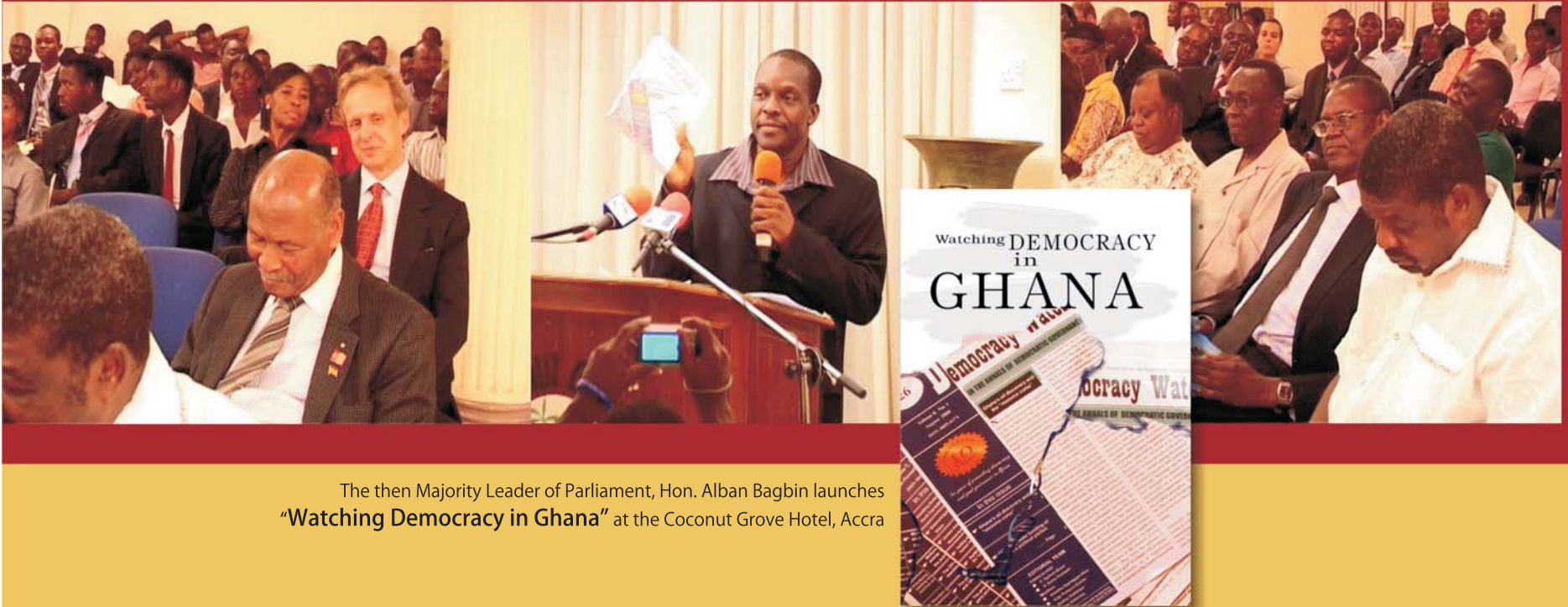
### Symposium on Decentralization:

The Center, in collaboration with the Canadian High Commission, organized a symposium at the British Council Hall on the topic: *Reflections on Ghana's Decentralization Program: Progress, Stagnation or Retrogression.* It was chaired by the Deputy Minister for Local Government Mr. Elvis Afriyie-Ankrah.



## “Watching Democracy in Ghana”:

With sponsorship from KPMG, and the Coca Cola Bottling Company of Ghana, the Center launched *Watching Democracy in Ghana* on 26<sup>th</sup> February 2009 at the Coconut Grove Regency Hotel. The compilation, made up of past issues of the Center's flagship publication *Democracy Watch*, spanning a ten year period (from 1998 to 2008) and arranged thematically to highlight areas of democratic progress, stagnation and reversal, was reviewed by veteran journalist and Editor-in-Chief of the *Daily Dispatch*, Ben Ephson. The book was launched by Hon. Alban Bagbin, then Majority Leader of Parliament.



The then Majority Leader of Parliament, Hon. Alban Bagbin launches “Watching Democracy in Ghana” at the Coconut Grove Hotel, Accra

## Disability Conference

The Center collaborated with the Cultural Initiatives Support Program (an EU-funded project) and the Ghana Federation of the Disabled to organize a conference on ***Culture and Disability*** to create awareness about cultural hindrances to the enjoyment of the full rights of PWDs and their stigmatization in the Ghanaian society. The conference was attended by stakeholders from the disability community, policy makers, traditional authorities, civil society organizations and the general public. Speakers at the conference included Professor Kwesi Yankah, Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University of Ghana, among others.

## Visiting Delegations

- A delegation of the Government of Benin led by the Minister for Institutional Reform and representatives of the United Nations Development Program visited the Center on 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2009 to study civic education institutions in Ghana
- A group of political scientists and academics visited the Center on 24<sup>th</sup> August to acquaint themselves with the Afrobarometer
- The Afrobarometer team met with Ryan McCannell from USAID (Washington DC) to discuss support for the Afrobarometer
- Kojo Asante and John Larvie made a presentation on elections to a Donor Sub-Group at the European Union Delegation Office on the 19<sup>th</sup> of October
- Nuala Lawlor, the new Political/Economic Relations and Public Affairs Officer of the Canadian High Commission, visited the Center to acquaint herself with governance issues in Ghana
- Edward Ampratwum and Kojo Asante made a presentation on Governance Issue in Ghana's emerging oil sector to the donor Sub-Group on Governance at the Canadian High Commission on 29<sup>th</sup> October 2009



# CDD-Ghana Publications

The Center's publications continue to serve as a reference point for national political debate and research. Commenting on **Watching Democracy in Ghana**, one of the Center's flagship publications, the Daily Graphic observes: "There is a lot to learn from it because this book is a kind of pathfinder. If we were unsure of which path we were traveling on towards our proclaimed goal of democracy, we now have a guide—**Watching Democracy in Ghana**, written and published in black and white. (DAILY GRAPHIC, 25<sup>th</sup> February, 2009). Other 2009 publications include:



**Democracy Watch:** The Center's official newsletter that tracks Ghanaian democratization, highlighting areas of progress, stagnation and retrogression.



**Critical Perspectives**  
An occasional paper that provides scholarly and insightful analysis of contemporary issues in governance and democratic development in Ghana in particular and Africa in general.



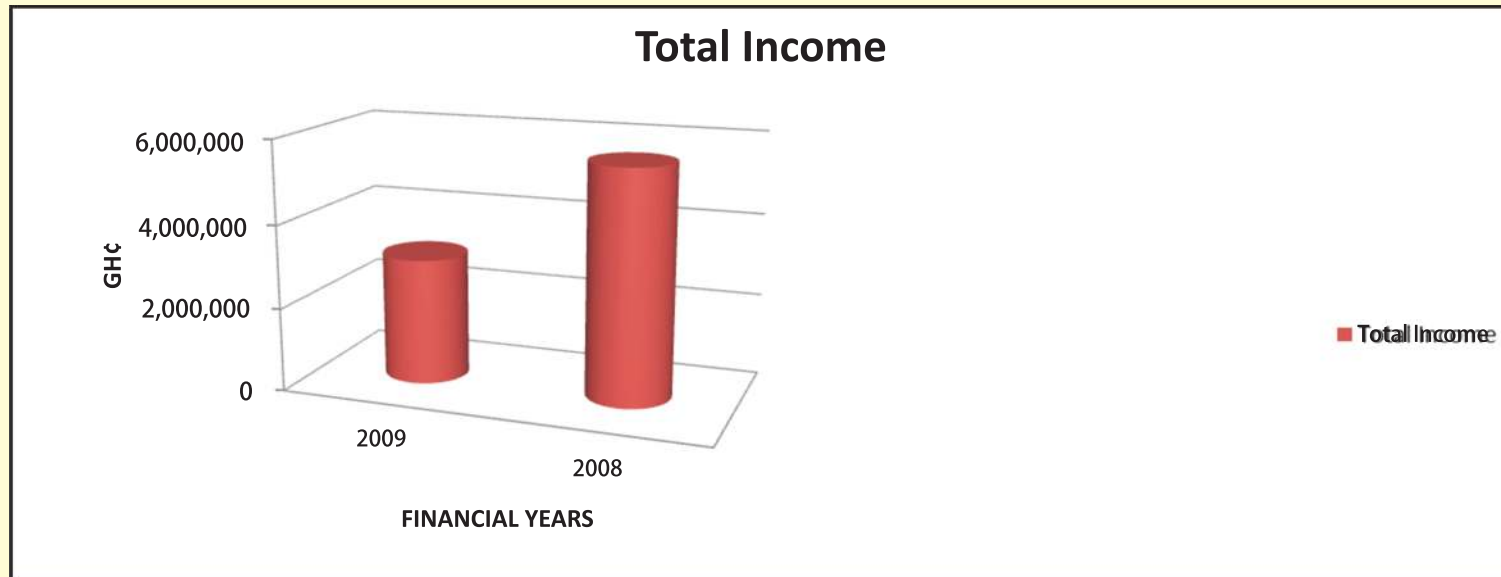
**Election Observation Reports**  
·CODEO Final Report on Ghana's 2008 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, Aug. 2009



**Briefing Papers**  
Generated from commissioned research on topical issues as well as roundtable discussions by the Center

- *CODEO Final Report on Ghana's 2008 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections* (Election Observation Reports, Aug. 2009)
- *Popular Satisfaction with Democracy Grows in Ghana (Afrobarometer R4)* (Research Paper No. 18, Oct. 2009)
- *Reflections on Ghana's Decentralization Program: Progress Stagnation or Retrogression?* (Papers from a Symposium) Oct. 2009
- *Funding of Political Parties in Ghana* (Occasional Paper No. 24, Nov. 2009) E. Gyimah-Boadi
- *Democracy Watch Vol 8, No. 27*
- *Democracy Watch Vol 8, No. 28*
- *The Challenges to Conducting Free and Fair Elections in Emerging African Democracies: The Case of Ghana* (Kronti ne Akwamu Series No. 5), Kwadwo Afari Djan

## Financial Summary

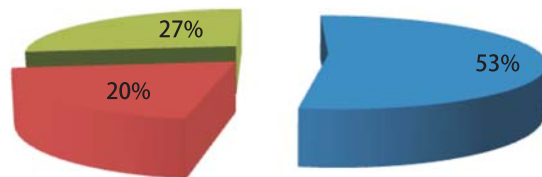


- Total income for the year 2009 is approximately half the total income for the year 2008. The substantial reduction reflects the normal level of activities outside an election year.

## Financial Summary

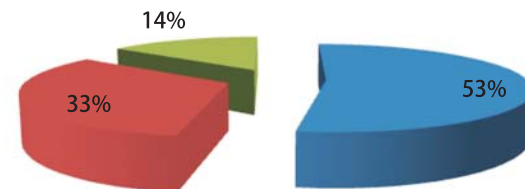
### INCOME PATTERN FOR THE YEAR 2009

■ Research Grants ■ Other Grants and Donations ■ Other Income



### INCOME PATTERN FOR THE YEAR 2008

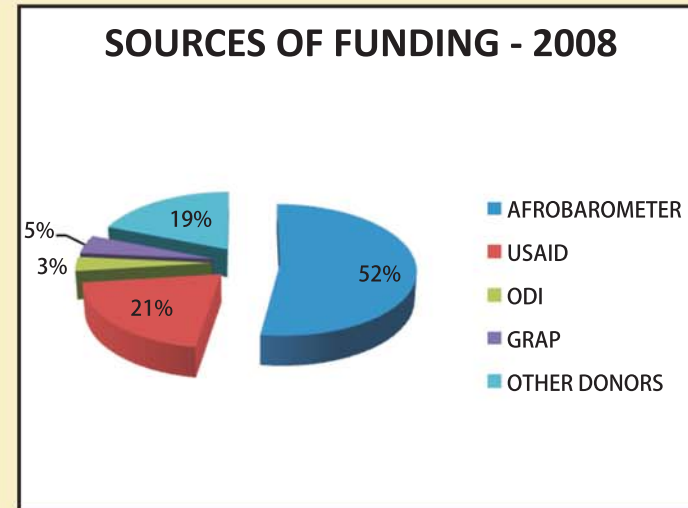
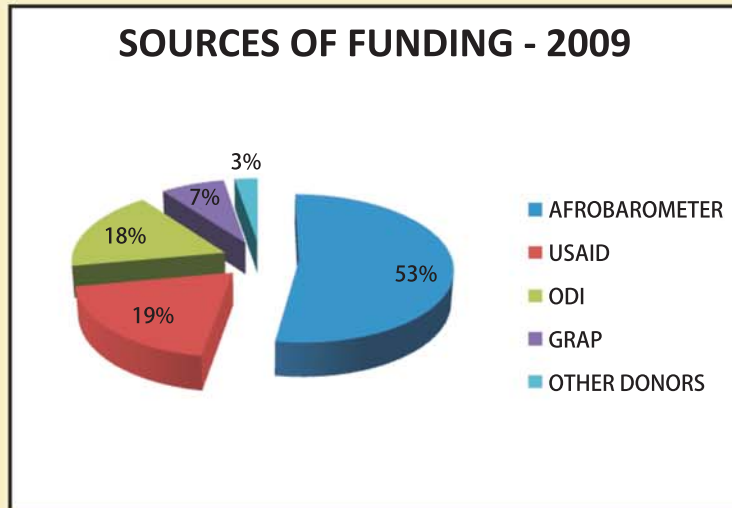
■ Research Grants ■ Other Grants and Donations  
■ Other Income



- Research Grants over the past two years have been sourced from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), the Results for Development Institute (RDI) and pooled grants for the Afrobarometer project, among others.
- The main donors for Other Grants have been the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Ghana Research and Advocacy Program (G-RAP), the German Development Co-operation (DED) and many others.

*A FULL SET OF ACCOUNTS MAY BE OBTAINED FROM THE OFFICES OF CDD-GHANA. PLEASE CONTACT NATHANIEL OKANG, HEAD OF FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION*

## Financial Summary

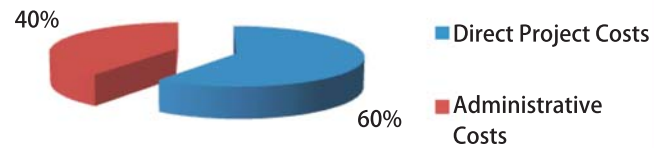


- Donor grants are the primary source of the Center's revenue. Funds for the Afrobarometer project have constituted approximately half of the Center's total income over the past two years. The Afrobarometer project is supported by pooled grants from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the Department for International Development, UK (DFID), the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), through the Michigan State University (MSU), USA.
- In 2009, grants from USAID, Accra and Overseas Development Institute (ODI) were 19% and 18% respectively, of the total funding. Ghana Research and Advocacy Program (GRAP) donated 7% of the total funding. 'Other Donors' of 3% comprised grants for different projects undertaken by the Center.

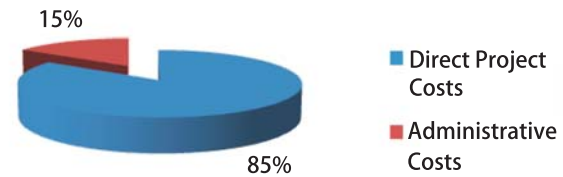
*A FULL SET OF ACCOUNTS MAY BE OBTAINED FROM THE OFFICES OF CDD-GHANA. PLEASE CONTACT NATHANIEL OKANG, HEAD OF FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION*

## Financial Summary

### EXPENDITURE PATTERN FOR THE YEAR 2009



### EXPENDITURE PATTERN FOR THE YEAR 2008



In the year 2009, administrative costs accounted for 40% of the total expenditure as compared to 15% in 2008. The administrative costs of 40% reflect the normal trend outside an election year.



**BOARD OF GOVERNORS**

Kwasi Abeasi (Chairman)  
E. Gyimah-Boadi  
Baffour Agyeman-Duah  
Audrey Gadzekpo  
Jane Naana Opoku-Agyeman  
Henry Kwasi Prempeh  
Therese Striggner Scott  
Angelina Domakyaareh  
Seth Dei  
William Asiedu Yeboah (Honorary Treasurer)

**REGISTERED OFFICE**

H/No. 95  
Nortei Ababio Loop  
North Airport Residential Area, Accra

P.O. Box LG 404  
Accra-Legon  
Email: [info@cddghana.org](mailto:info@cddghana.org)  
Tel: 0302-776142/ 784294/ 777214  
Fax: 0302-763028/9

Website: [www.cddghana.org](http://www.cddghana.org)

**AUDITORS**

KPMG  
Chartered Accountants  
13 Yiyiwa Drive  
Abelenkpe  
P.O. Box GP 242  
Accra, Ghana

**BANKERS**

Standard Chartered Bank (Ghana) Limited  
Stanbic Bank Ghana Limited

**SOLICITORS:**

J. Opoku Boateng  
124/3 Mary Dee House  
Subukwe Road, Farrar Avenue  
P.O. Box C1967  
Cantonments, Accra

DESIGN: homestudios-020 1628512

P.O. Box LG 404  
Accra-Legon  
Email: [info@cddghana.org](mailto:info@cddghana.org)  
Tel: 0302-776142/784294/777214  
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