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EVALUATION REPORT



**UDF-GHA-09-294 – Promoting Citizens' Participation in the
Constitutional Reform Process in Ghana**

Date: 30 December 2013

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Disclaimer

The views expressed in this report are those of the evaluators. They do not represent those of UNDEF or of any of the institutions referred to in the report.

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

(i) Background

The project ran from 1. November 2010 – 31. January 2013, with a total grant of USD 400,000. It was designed by the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), Ghana, and was implemented in six regions of Ghana, i.e. Accra, Tamale (northern region), Kumasi (Ashanti region), Koforidua (eastern region), Ho (Volta region) and Takoradi (Western Region). To mitigate the effect of the country's political polarization and ensure acceptance by different political stakeholders, IEA entered into a partnership with the Ghana Political Parties Programme (GPPP), a platform for dialogue, which brings together all the political parties represented in parliament. The target population consisted of representatives of voiceless (i.e. underrepresented) and vulnerable groups, including women, youth, children, and persons with disabilities, and of media representatives and members of parliament (MPs). As defined in the Project Document, the overall objective was to promote the participation of marginalized and vulnerable groups of citizens in the constitutional reform process in Ghana, which the country's government had initiated by establishing a Constitution Review Commission (CRC). Accordingly, DONET's strategic approach aimed for six key outcomes:

- A mechanism for full participation by women, youth and people living with disabilities in the constitutional review process is developed and fully utilized;
- Women, youth and people living with disabilities submit concrete and well-articulated recommendations, proposals papers to the IEA;
- Enhanced quality recommendations are received from the public;
- The Constitutional review is based on critical, in-depth research and analysis of relevant issues;
- Four media houses with nation-wide coverage actively promote public discourse on the Constitutional review process;
- Parliamentarians of the Committee on Constitutional, Legal & Parliamentary Affairs; and the Committee on Subsidiary Legislation advocate actively in parliament and in the media for constitutional reforms proposed by their constituencies.

(ii) Assessment of the project

The approach to provide a dedicated mechanism, which consults the country's voiceless and vulnerable people on key constitutional issues and considers their recommendations in conjunction with the results of field surveys and thematic research papers, was adequate to ensure concrete contributions from these groups to the constitutional review process. Research and review activities' were also appropriately designed, as they were based on critical, in-depth analysis. Most importantly, the involvement of and review method applied by the Coalition, the project's participatory platform for representatives of groups of marginalized people, secured the elaboration of high-quality proposals for submission to the CRC. Making individual MPs and members of relevant parliamentary commissions fully conversant with the Coalition's suggestions, CRC's recommendations and the government's position (White Paper) was the logical final step. It is therefore our view that **the overall design of the project was relevant** to ensure the full participation of marginalized and vulnerable groups of citizens in the constitutional reform process in Ghana.

Most of the scheduled activities were completed by the grantee according to plan. The project's advocacy seminars for MPs, however, missed to achieve the targeted total number of members of parliament by one third. Given that most of the participating MPs developed similar views on most of the key issues requiring constitutional reform, evaluators still consider **the project was effective**, as it improved the potential that these particular MPs will more effectively engage in parliament and in the media to support the constitutional reforms proposed by their constituencies.

IEA reserved the largest proportion of the budget (43.8%) for generating awareness among marginalized and vulnerable groups of citizens, the collection of their concerns and suggestions, and the analysis of key constitutional issues, bringing the average cost per grassroots-level beneficiary participating in zonal workshops to approximately USD 84.10. The advocacy seminars held to inform MPs, however, generated an average cost of USD 982.80 for each participant. The latter, and the observation that IEA appeared completely unaware that its weak communication performance (during a period of delayed constitutional reform process) had put UNDEF's financing of the delivery of the project's second MP advocacy seminar on content and shortcomings of CRC report and White Paper (and thus the UNDEF-funded completion of the project) at serious risk, **unfortunately spoil the otherwise positive impression of efficient project conduct.**

Most of the project's outcomes (i.e. higher than expected participation of grassroots-level beneficiaries; an average of 21 new relevant recommendations made per beneficiary workshop; the improved quality of submissions prompting MPs to declare their support) provide encouraging first signs of improved bottom-up involvement in the constitutional reform process. These changes, together with testimonials evaluators gathered from representatives of marginalized and vulnerable people indicating continued eagerness to further pursue the progress of the constitutional reform process, and the fact that 80% of the CRC's recommendations were informed by the project's input, demonstrate the **potential impact** of the project

However, there are some **shortcomings that risk limiting the sustainability** of the project's outcome. The project holder missed to anticipate that, once the grassroots-level had submitted its recommendations, the consulted representatives of women, youth and people with disabilities would expect to continue obtaining feedback on the progress of the constitutional reform process. Furthermore, only 10 of those MPs who followed the advocacy seminars were recently re-elected into parliament, which gives additional reason for concern.

(iii) Conclusions

- The fact that IEA's approach and methodology included the conduct of baseline research and the use of output indicators is highly commendable, as it enhanced the project's **relevance** and significantly facilitated the evaluators' favourable **assessment of the potential impact** on Ghana's constitutional reform process.

- The grantee's communication of the need to slow down implementation and to extend the project's duration, in order to await the publication of the

CRC's recommendations and the government's responding White Paper, as well as to overcome the unavailability of MPs during a period of election campaigning, was handled in extremely poor fashion. For the sake of **efficiency**, the grantee in future projects clearly needs to address and overcome this unsatisfactory aspect of its project management.

▪ Having failed to recognize the strong level of ownership among former participants of zonal workshops is a missed opportunity, if not obligation, to support and encourage continued coordination and concerted action by the project's beneficiaries. Such action may turn out essential to push the government for completion of the reform process, in particular as the advocacy seminars produced a smaller than expected number of trained MPs, of which only a small fraction remained in parliament post-election. At the time of the evaluators' visit, the above concerns as well as the lack of clarity about the newly elected government's priorities and about the mandate of the committee established to implement the White Paper somewhat **limited the effect and sustainability of the project's outcome**.

(iv) Recommendations

▪ The grantee's reporting often failed to use output indicator information to clarify how specific project activities contributed to the achievement of the project's outcome and objectives. **Based on our comments on relevance and impact we recommend to UNDEF** to emphasize vis-à-vis applicants not only the importance of generating comparative data (baseline vs. outcome), but to also provide guidance about its effective use. Covering project achievements systematically should also enable a grantee to improve the current assessment in qualitative terms.

▪ **Based on our comments on sustainability, we recommend to the grantee** lasting solutions for overcoming information and consultation deficits rooted in the previous exclusion of marginalized groups, which could be achieved with relatively little effort and at relatively limited expense:

- Disseminate via the IEA website the project's main outputs (recommendations of the Coalition to the CRC, research papers on key constitutional issues);
- Disseminate via the IEA website the CRC's report and the government's White Paper;
- Publish and disseminate via the IEA website an abridged version of the CRC report;
- Organise media updates / press releases on the CRC report and serialise, e.g. via press and radio, the content of the CRC report;
- Cooperate with the government's regional Information Services Departments to disseminate information on the progress of the constitutional reform process;
- Continue discourse with beneficiaries how to raise the government's awareness that the grassroots-level expects timely completion of the constitutional reform process;
- Mobilise previous MPs trainees to advocate action upon the White Paper;
- Organise a series of round tables involving relevant ministers and members of the Implementation Committee to inform and answer questions on the state of play.

II. INTRODUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT

i. The project and evaluation objectives

This report contains the evaluation of the project entitled “Promoting Citizens’ Participation in Constitutional Reform Process in Ghana”. The project ran from 1. November 2010 – 31. January 2013 (including a three-month no-cost extension), with a total grant of USD 400,000 (out of which UNDEF retained USD 25,000 for monitoring and evaluation).

The project was designed by the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), Ghana, and was implemented in six regions of Ghana, i.e. Accra, Tamale (northern region), Kumasi (Ashanti region), Koforidua (eastern region), Ho (Volta region) and Takoradi (Western Region). To mitigate the effect of the country’s political polarization and ensure acceptance by different political stakeholders, IEA entered into a partnership with the Ghana Political Parties Programme (GPPP), a platform for dialogue, which brings together all the political parties represented in parliament. As defined in the Project Document, the overall objective was to promote the participation of marginalized and vulnerable groups of citizens in the constitutional reform process in Ghana, which the country’s government had initiated by establishing a Constitution Review Commission (CRC). The target population consisted of representatives of voiceless (i.e. underrepresented) and vulnerable groups, including women, youth, children, and persons with disabilities, and of media representatives and members of parliament (MPs).

UNDEF and Transtec have agreed on a framework governing the evaluation process, set out in the Operational Manual. According to the manual, the objective of the evaluation is to “undertake in-depth analysis of UNDEF-funded projects to gain a better understanding of what constitutes a successful project which will in turn help UNDEF devise future project strategies. Evaluations also assist stakeholders to determine whether projects have been implemented in accordance with the project document and whether anticipated project outputs have been achieved”.

(ii) Evaluation methodology

The evaluation was conducted by an international expert, working with a national expert, under the terms of the framework agreement between UNDEF and Transtec. In accordance with the agreed process, the evaluation aimed to answer questions across the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) criteria of *relevance*, *effectiveness*, *efficiency*, *impact*, and *sustainability*, as well as the additional criterion of *UNDEF value added* (see Annex 1).

The evaluation took place from August – November 2013 with the fieldwork in Ghana conducted from 30 September - 04 October 2013. The evaluators reviewed available project documentation and contextual / background materials on constitutional reform issues in Ghana (Annex 2). Initial and final interviews were held at IEA's Accra office, involving IEA's Executive Director, Project Coordinator, Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Officer, and other staff. Other interviews focused on meetings and exchanges with the project's resource persons (experts) and with representatives of the target groups, to confirm the project beneficiaries' experiences and to obtain updates of their most recent activities. These

interviews and group meetings were carried out in Accra and Ho, involving 10 resource persons and 13 grassroots-level project beneficiaries from the town of Ho and the surrounding Volta region, comprising of chiefs and representatives of traditional authority, representatives of youth organisations, representatives of women's groups, representatives of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), and representatives of persons with disabilities, cooperative associations and from the lower echelons of the region's civil service.

(iii) Development context

Ghana is a multi-ethnic country, which became a constitutional democracy on independence in 1957. Despite extended periods of authoritarian and military rule, Ghana has enjoyed a period of uninterrupted democratic politics since 1992, and is rated highly on basic measures of democracy. The country has been fortunate in avoiding ethnic or religious division and benefiting from both economic growth and political stability in recent years. While there has also been a steady improvement in social indicators since 1992, the country remains poor, and is currently ranked 135th of 187 countries ranked on the UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI) for 2012. However, it's ranking places it above the average for the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa.¹

There is a high level of trust in, and commitment to, democratic institutions and the centrality of the constitution, as is demonstrated by the intense level of interest in the constitutional reform process. However, despite the country's success in the past two decades in institutionalizing competitive elections and formal democracy, in practice, most Ghanaians do not participate in political life and decision-making between elections, and have little influence on decisions, while policy-making is confined to small political elite.

As a legacy from the post-Independence years, there remains what is regarded by most observers as excessive concentration of power in the Presidency and the executive in a political system, where provisions to ensure accountability and transparency remain weak. Although elections are almost a zero-sum game, where the winner takes all the spoils, gaining monopoly control over state resources and patronage networks, the two major parties each have a chance to succeed, and thus have little interest in taking a leadership role in promoting reform.

The present system is a direct outcome of the 1992 constitution, which places few limits to executive power. Hence, given the vested interest of the leading political parties in maintaining the status quo, the constitutional reform process is viewed as the most promising means through which to mobilize broader public engagement in seeking to bring about change and enable Ghana to realize its democratic potential. The country's government had initiated the constitutional reform process by establishing a Constitution Review Commission (CRC). The project sought to promote the participation and the consideration of the concerns of Ghana's marginalized and vulnerable groups of citizens in the constitutional reform process, as despite the launch of a constitutional reform consultation, at the project's outset the CRC had failed to ensure that the voices (i.e. needs) of the marginalized and vulnerable members of Ghana's society were properly identified, coordinated and amplified.

¹ UNDP, Human Development Indicators 2012: Country Profile, Ghana.
<http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/gha.html>

III. PROJECT STRATEGY

(i) Project strategy and approach

The overall objective of the “Promoting Citizens’ Participation in Constitutional Reform Process in Ghana” project, as defined in the Project Document (UDF-GHA-09-294) in November 2010, was to promote the participation of marginalized and vulnerable groups of citizens in the constitutional reform process in Ghana, which the country’s government had initiated by establishing a Constitution Review Commission (CRC).

Accordingly, DONET’s strategic approach aimed for six key outcomes:

- A mechanism for full participation by women, youth and people living with disabilities (four representatives each) in the constitutional review process is developed and fully utilized;
- Women, youth and people living with disabilities submit (twenty) concrete and well-articulated recommendations, proposals papers to the IEA;
- Enhanced quality recommendations (at least 1,000) are received from the public;
- The Constitutional review is based on critical, in-depth research and analysis of relevant issues (10 papers);
- Four media houses with nation-wide coverage actively promote public discourse on the Constitutional review process (15 media programmes);
- Parliamentarians of the Committee on Constitutional, Legal & Parliamentary Affairs; and the Committee on Subsidiary Legislation advocate actively in parliament and in the media for constitutional reforms proposed by their constituencies (60 MPs).

According to the grantee’s initial analysis, draft proposals received by the CRC were insufficiently backed by research and analysis, which is why IEA saw the need for intervention, to lobby the government towards the consideration of drafts which include so far unrepresented constitutional amendment needs of the voiceless.

Aiming to improve the extent to which women, youth and people with disabilities find their concerns reflected in the constitutional review process, IEA specifically expected to:

- ensure full participation of citizens in the review process; in order to
- ensure citizens’ ownership and acceptance of the process and outcome of the constitutional review programme.

The mission of IEA, a public policy institute established in 1989, is to “[...] promote good governance, democracy and a free and fair market economy.” The NGO aims for “[...] the creation of an environment in which economic, social, political and legal institutions function openly and freely [which it believes] is the key to sustainable economic growth and human development.” Ultimately, IEA works towards “[...] an economically viable and democratic Ghana, [...] in which the rule of law prevails, the institutions of democracy are protected and respected and the rights and freedoms of the citizens are enjoyed by them”, which documents IEA’s motivation for and approach taken by the present UNDEF-funded project.²

² Source: <http://www.ieagh.org/index.php/about>

(ii) Logical framework

The Project Document translates IEA's programmatic approach into a structured plan of project activities and intended outcomes, including the achievement of the project's overall and specific objectives. The framework below aims to capture the project logic systematically, also attempting to eliminate confusion between activities, intended outcomes and impacts, which evaluators at times observed in the Project Document's result framework.

Project Activities & Interventions	Intended outcomes	Medium Term Impacts	Long Term Development Objectives
<u>1. Consultation, Research & Awareness Raising</u>			
<p>Conduct of field surveys in ten regions of Ghana</p> <p>Five zonal workshops for beneficiary representatives</p> <p>Ten papers on provisions related to the executive, legislature, judiciary, media, independent governance institutions (IGIs), decentralization & local government, and chieftaincy</p> <p>Radio and TV programme broadcasts; publication of articles in national newspapers</p>	<p>Women, youth and people with disabilities (4 represents each) submit (20) concrete and well-articulated recommendations, proposals, papers</p> <p>The review of the constitution is based on critical, in-depth research and analysis of relevant issues (10 papers)</p> <p>Four media houses with nation-wide coverage actively promote public discourse (15 print and on-air programme slots)</p> <p>Enhanced quality recommendations (at least 1,000) are received from the public</p>	<p>A mechanism for full participation by women, youth and people with disabilities in the constitutional review process is developed and fully utilized</p>	
<u>2. Review by Experts & Beneficiary Representatives</u>			
<p>Monthly meetings to discuss (a) issues emerging from the consultations and (b) findings of the above research papers; involving experts, beneficiary representatives & the media</p> <p>Preparation of several reports on IEA's findings from its research and consultations</p>	<p>Several reports on IEA's findings from its research and consultations prepared and submitted to the CRC</p>	<p>Generation of evidence-based critique of current and proposed constitutional provisions</p> <p>Process and outcome of the constitutional review programme owned and accepted by citizens</p>	<p>Participation of marginalized and vulnerable groups of citizens in the constitutional reform process in Ghana</p>
<u>3. Advocacy</u>			
<p>Two seminars for parliamentarians and selected members of parliamentary committees</p>	<p>60 parliamentarians and members of parliamentary committees on Constitutional, Legal & Parliamentary Affairs and Subsidiary Legislation informed on IEA report findings, CRC recommendations and the government's position (White Paper)</p>	<p>Parliamentarians advocate actively in parliament and in the media for constitutional reforms proposed by their constituencies</p>	

IV. EVALUATION FINDINGS

(i) Relevance

Baseline Situation

The project's initial assessment of the baseline situation benefited from the IEA Executive Director's CRC membership. This way of insight into the CRC's consultation process prompted the grantee's concern that the views of the marginalised and vulnerable members of Ghana's society were not going to be properly identified. The baseline findings, which were informed by data provided by the IEA's Executive Director, led the grantee to the conclusions that (a) there was poor co-ordination between the groups representing the marginalised and vulnerable people, and the political parties in relation to the constitutional review process; (b) both the number and quality of recommendations the CRC received were neither sufficient to represent the views of the marginalised and vulnerable, nor of the general public; (c) there was a lack of research and publications on constitutionally relevant issues related to executive, legislature, judiciary, independent governance institutions, decentralization, local government and chieftaincy; (d) MPs with regards to these issues were not engaging in advocacy on behalf of their constituency.

Baseline findings

- Poor co-ordination and little concerted action by women, youth, and people with disabilities in providing input into the constitution review process. Most of the input to CRC was provided by individuals and not by groups or associations.
- The 600,000 submissions received by the CRC were of poor quality, i.e. neither well argued, nor backed by evidence or experience from other countries. Just 40 of them were backed by research and only a handful of them originated from women, youth and people with disabilities.
- Critical recommendations by Ghana's citizens covered just about 5 of the 25 thematic areas considered in need of constitutional reform.

The project response

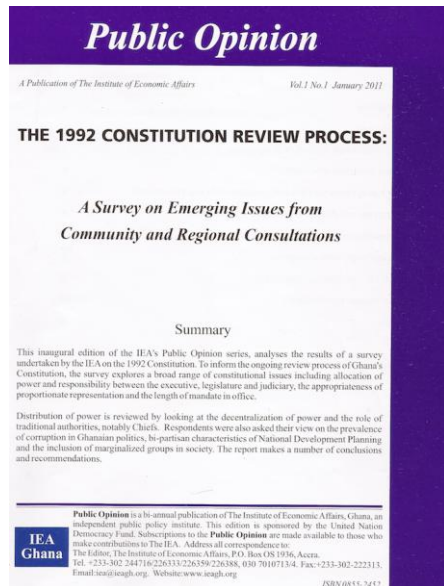
The grantee aimed to constructively complement the work and results of the CRC, by systematically collecting evidence how Ghana's population, and in particular its marginalized and vulnerable groups, felt about constitutional issues. Therefore, IEA at the outset of the project formed a Constitutional Review Coalition (further on referred to as the Coalition), which was a participatory platform accessible to representatives of groups of marginalized people, in order to discuss constitutional issues emerging from the project's above-mentioned consultative activities and to develop common positions. To overcome the lack of political bi-partisanship, lack of political will to tackle issues like corruption, failure to convince the general population that its concerns are considered by politicians and government, and to ensure acceptance by the stakeholders of the four political parties represented in Ghana's parliament, the grantee in this project also partnered with the GPPP.

Accordingly, evaluators found various examples of relevant project design, addressing the baseline aspects and involving a variety of relevant stakeholders, as mentioned above:

1. Consultation, Research and Awareness Raising

To inform the review process of Ghana's constitution, the grantee designed a *field survey*, which covered a range of key issues requiring constitutional reform, such as³:

- Allocation of power and responsibility between executive, legislature and the judiciary;
- Appropriateness of proportionate representation and the length of mandate in office;
- Aspects of distribution of power (decentralization, traditional authorities, e.g. chiefs);
- Corruption in politics;
- Bi-partisan characteristics of national development planning;
- Inclusion of marginalized groups in society.



IEA's report on the field survey on issues emerging from the community and regional consultations

and on the other hand this took into account the fact that the proceedings of the CRC consultations were very formal, while often involving high numbers of participants, which consequently led to insufficient opportunity for all of them to speak up.

Project staff travelled a week ahead of time throughout the *zonal workshop* areas to promote and inform in more detail about the opportunity for representatives of marginalised and vulnerable groups to voice their constitutional concerns. Unlike the consultative meetings of the CRC, the project's zonal workshops, which were designed to cover all regions of Ghana, were of a very informal setting and made provision for the use of local languages (interpretation). Each workshop would be chaired by a locally recognized authority (e.g. a traditional chief) and moderated by a facilitator, who would present the key issues requiring constitutional reform⁴ prior to inviting the workshop participant's submissions for each topic.

³ Source: IEA's report on the "Survey on Emerging Issues from Community and Regional Consultations"

⁴ The key issues requiring constitutional reform are based on the blueprint for constitutional review, which IEA developed as part of its Democracy Consolidation Strategy initiative in 2008.

To encourage female participation, the moderator at some point would specifically invite and only allow for submissions by women. Among the participants identified by IEA were e.g. local associations and unions the grantee previously collaborated with in the context of its Democracy Consolidation Strategy initiative, which led to the agreement on a blueprint of a roadmap for constitutional review in Ghana in 2008. In addition, efforts were made to involve regional-level civil servants, by again inviting the project's survey staff of the National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE) to the workshops.

2. Review by Experts and Beneficiary Representatives

The task of *the Coalition* was to discuss the constitutional issues that emerged from the project's survey and the zonal workshops, in order to develop common positions for later submission to the CRC. During the evaluators' interviews, former Coalition members commented on the design of and approach taken by the Coalition as follows:

- The Coalition's membership ensured a wide range of representation across Ghana's society and thus enabled professionally elaborated high-quality proposals.
- IEA ensured the preparation of comprehensive survey and workshop reports for the Coalition to work with, allowing for focused discussion of the proposals made in relation to each constitutional key issue.
- Meetings allowed for good and lively levels of interaction, and led to the production of substantial suggestions.
- The Coalition was free to consider suggestions for additional issues, if and as needed (e.g. to decouple ministers from parliament membership, measures to be undertaken if the country's Vice President resigns).

3. Advocacy

The grantee's design of the consultative process, thereafter did not just foresee conclusion and onward submission of the proposed constitutional amendments to the CRC. In addition, *seminars for members of parliament* were designed to follow the above grassroots and stakeholder level consultations, in order to present the proposed solutions to key issues to those who will be involved in the parliamentary vote about the revision of the country's constitution. Two rounds of seminars for relevant parliamentary bodies and individuals (parliamentary commission members and MPs) were foreseen, in order to prepare them for the constitutional review topic, before it becomes the subject of decision in parliament. More specifically, the seminars intended to familiarize parliamentarians with (1) the proposals made by the project to the CRC and (2) the final recommendations subsequently made by the CRC, as compared to the government's response (i.e. the governments White Paper).

(ii) Effectiveness

The final narrative report describes a generally successful project. While evaluators noted variations at the level of the planned outcome indicators, their assessment is that the project did not fall short of most of the initially targeted outcomes.

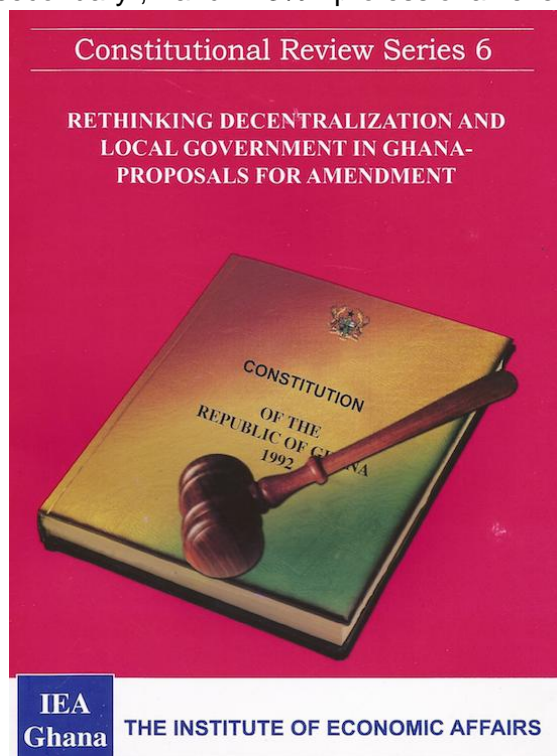
1. Consultation, Research and Awareness Raising



Women at the zonal workshop in Takoradi formulate their submissions to the review process

at the forefront of social and political activism [...]” in Ghana.⁵ The fact that a vast majority of the survey participants (i.e. citizens initially consulted by the CRC) had a sound educational background (65% obtained tertiary-, 16% secondary-, and 13% professional-level education) provides further evidence how important it was that the grantee’s organised its own consultations, which targeted specifically the marginalized and vulnerable parts of country’s society. Due to the CRC consultation process patterns, the field survey also fell short of female participation (79% of the respondents were male). Interest in the *zonal workshops*, which were held between November 2010 and February 2011 in Kumasi, Koforidua, Tamale, Ho, and Takoradi, was remarkable. Attracting representatives of women, youth, child rights, and people with disabilities, these events greatly exceeded IEA’s initial target figures (4 representatives of each of these population groups): among the 1,894 workshop participants were 560 women (29.6%), 353 youth (18.6%), 113 child rights (6%), 217 people with disabilities (11.5%) and 651 other representatives (mostly of the elderly, 34.4%). Video footage presented to evaluators provided not only reassurance that the zonal workshops involved satisfactory levels of marginalized groups, it also established impressive evidence of numerous passionate submissions made by representatives of these representatives of the Ghanaian society. The presence of sign language interpreters notably enabled also the

As foreseen in the project document, the grantee completed field surveys in 10 regions of Ghana and held 5 zonal workshops to source opinions and discuss key issues requiring constitutional reform. In terms of outreach, the 1,134 returned interview questionnaires considered by the survey analysis represented approximately 10% of the CRC’s original workshop population. While in terms of the population considered per region the *field survey’s* response was not equally or proportionally representative, its input was predominantly provided by respondents of an age younger than 35 years, and thus deemed to provide the views of those “[...] most likely to be



One of IEA’s research papers on issues requiring constitutional review, most of which were supported by UNDEF funds

⁵ Source: IEA’s report on the “Survey on Emerging Issues from Community and Regional Consultations”

participation of people with hearing disabilities.

The project's *research publications by academics and legal practitioners* on issues related to the executive, legislature, judiciary, IGIs, decentralization & local government, chieftaincy and other topics⁶ were produced and reportedly used by members both of the Coalition and the CRC. There is also evidence that the 10 scientific papers have assisted them effectively with forming views relevant for their contributions to and work on the constitutional reform process (see also component 2 below).

As far as the extent of outreach of *publications of articles in national newspapers* is concerned, evaluators have seen numerous press clippings that justify the assumption of awareness raising effects, which prompted citizens to advocate in support of (or also against) certain constitutional amendments. With regards to *Radio and TV programme broadcasts*, evaluators were not presented with evidence allowing the assessment of the project's awareness raising potential to effectively promote the public discourse. The grantee's monitoring & evaluation (M&E) efforts did regrettably not include the verification of the full extent of Radio & TV coverage. It is however still fair to assume that project achieved its target of a minimum of 15 on-air programme slots, as IEA project staff reportedly visited radio stations during the field surveys and prior to the workshops in 5 regions of Ghana in order to publicise the consultation process on air and to raise issues to be discussed, while it is known that at least 3 private radio stations (i.e. JOY FM, Peace FM and Citi FM), covered the grantee's project activities.

A Coalition member on consultation process and grassroots' input quality

"The approach of IEA of created opportunity for feeding the constitutional reform process and was characterized by its informality. The CRC had the powers of, say, a high court, which theoretically gave it even the possibility to enforce a citizen's attendance. Those technicalities and formalities were not appreciated at the grassroots level. One also needs to understand that calling a mini-consultation involving few people is insufficient. What was needed was an atmosphere in which people of similar background could discuss issues from their own respective. They needed to be accommodated to freely articulate and express their needs and concerns, without feeling the intimidation surrounding the formality of the CRC process. These inhibitions were absent in the IEA process. Assembling the marginalized, in other words the women, youth, disabled with traditional authorities such as chiefs and researchers, was done purposefully. As we worked with the reports of the zonal workshops, we really found these meetings highly resourceful."

Dr. Bashiru Koray, President, Ghana Federation of the Disabled

2. Review by Experts and Beneficiary Representatives

In interviews former Coalition members confirmed to evaluators that IEA project staff was highly effective in systematizing the submissions made by the grassroots-level in the course of the five zonal workshops. More specifically, the grantee sifted through an enormous number and diversity of proposals, in order to package them in a way that gave the

⁶ An initially planned paper on the media topic was dropped to avoid unnecessarily doubled efforts. The development of a draft media law prompted numerous publications, so that the grantee concluded that it had no added value to provide. In replacement, a paper focused on the "Emoluments of Public Office Holders" issue, which had previously caused anger in the public.

members of the Coalition a clear flavour of the views originating from the representatives of the marginalised and vulnerable parts of the Ghanaian society. Accordingly, Coalition members were appreciative of the work completed by IEA's research staff to turn this into a digestible, input the Coalition could constructively work with.

Between November 2010 and May 2011 the Coalition met altogether seven times to discuss the above-mentioned structured findings, which were summarized in five zonal workshop reports and a final, consolidated workshop report. It was on the basis of these reports, and the projects 10 research papers, all of which were again structured around IEA's matrix of key issues requiring constitutional reform, that the Coalition formed final views and made suggestions for constitutional review to the CRC.

3. Advocacy

To ensure that MPs will advocate actively in parliament and in the media for constitutional reforms proposed by their constituencies, the project plan foresaw two rounds of seminars to familiarize MPs with the proposals submitted by the project to the CRC and with the final recommendations subsequently made by the CRC, as compared to the government's response (the government's White Paper). While the first seminar, which involved approximately 30 MPs, was held as planned in March 2011, for the second seminar the project required a three-month extension (at no additional cost to UNDEF), as the schedule of the government's constitutional reform programme became the subject of significant delays. The government issued its White Paper in June 2012, while the CRC report's final version itself was only made public in August 2012. The situation was further complicated by the death of Ghana's president in July 2012, which brought the political routine of the country to a total standstill. Subsequently, both the political and legislative process were diverted into electoral issues, which – according to the grantee – made it necessary to temporarily suspend the second and final seminar for MPs. The event, which was originally planned for November 2011, was finally held with the participation of 20 MPs, in December 2012, one month before expiry of the project's approved extension period.

While the number of MPs following the seminars fell significantly short of target (approximately 40 instead of 60), there was consistency in the MPs' seminar attendance to the extent that 6 of the 10 MPs involved in the second seminar were also participants of the first seminar. According to project sources, the seminar also managed to effectively communicate the views of the Coalition, as during the workshops with a few exceptions (e.g. on a maximum limit of the number of Supreme Court Judges; the maximum number of Deputy Ministers; the possibility for parliament to remove a minister) most of the MPs developed similar views on most of the key issues requiring constitutional reform. The MPs also recommended that the constitution should be reviewed every 10 years.

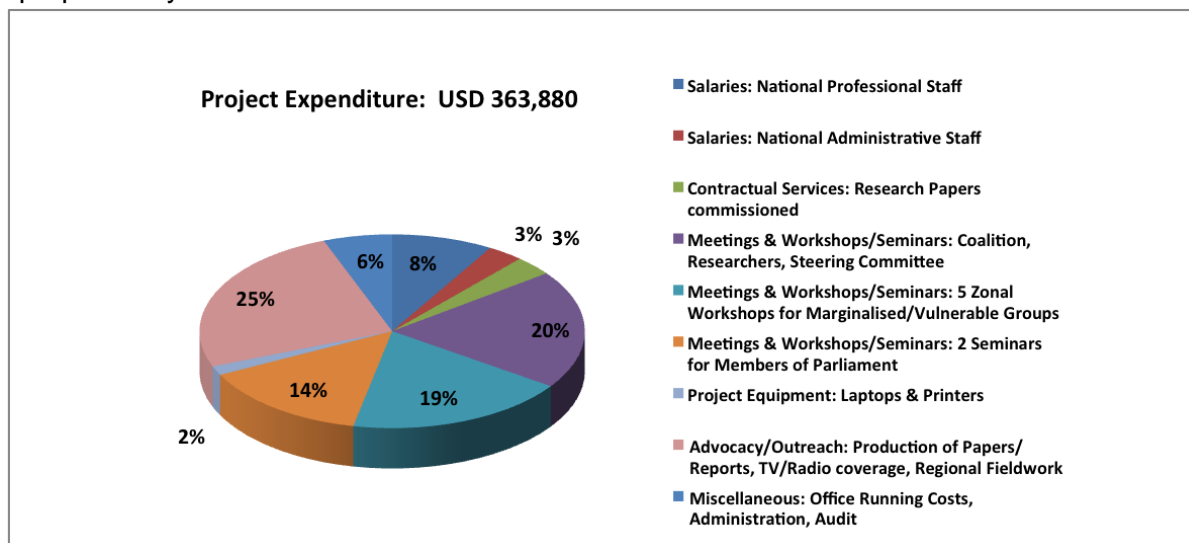
(iii) Efficiency⁷

When the schedule of the government's constitutional reform programme became the subject of unexpected delays, the grantee's ability and performance in communicating effectively and in timely fashion with UNDEF deteriorated significantly. Initially, IEA signalled the need to slow down project implementation to await and remain in sequence with the

⁷ Quantitative assessments made in this section are based on the total amount of project expenditure, which excludes the budget amount reserved for evaluation by UNDEF.

publication of the CRC's recommendations and the government's responding White Paper. However, when due to the death of Ghana's president in July 2012 the country's political and legislative process diverted into electoral issues, communication between the grantee and the funding agency reportedly broke down for several months and the notification of the need to request a project extension was handled extremely poorly by the grantee. What is unacceptable is, that the grantee justified its weak communication performance during these months with the fact that in this situation it was impossible to commit and mobilise MPs for the planned second workshop telling evaluators that "[...] there was nothing new we could have told UNDEF [...]". It appears that continued support of the funding agency was taken for granted, although such performance might well have justified UNDEF to issue a negative decision in this regard.

Activities generating awareness informing marginalized and vulnerable groups of citizens that they have the possibility to contribute with their views to the constitutional reform process in Ghana, the collection of their concerns and suggestions, and the analysis of key constitutional issues represented the project's principal focus. Accordingly, 43.8% of the budget was reserved for expenditure related to fieldwork, zonal workshops, radio and TV broadcasts in the project's target regions, and to the printing of research papers critically analysing constitutional key issues. Breaking the amount spent for these activities (USD 159,275)⁸ over the total number of 1,894 grassroots beneficiaries⁹ provides an average cost of approximately USD 84.10 per beneficiary. For the 2 seminars for parliamentarians, which were attended by 45 MPs and 8 members of e.g. the Coalition, the CRC, as well as experts and the media, however, a total amount of USD 52,090 was spent (14.3% of the budget). Considering that only 53 participants¹⁰ have benefitted from those two seminars, a relatively high average of approximately USD 982.80 per seminar participant was spent to ensure that MPs would advocate actively in parliament and in the media for constitutional reforms proposed by their constituencies¹¹.



⁸ Expenditure budgeted for project management (i.e. salaries) is not included in these percentages/amounts.

⁹ This figure is based on zonal workshop participant data the beneficiary has provided to evaluators (excluding IEA staff, event facilitators, and participants of meetings held by the Coalition, the Steering Committee and the project's researchers).

¹⁰ Figures relating to the number of participants in the seminars for parliamentarians are based on data provided to evaluators by IEA.

¹¹ The cost per individual participant shrinks to USD 911.10, would attendance numbers both seminars have been equal (actual participation in the first seminar was 36, compared to the second, which counted 17).

Spending USD 11,000 for salaries of administrative staff (Finance Officer, M&E Officer), the project's nominal staff costs amount to 3% of the total budget. Adding costs for professional staff (8.5% for IEA's Executive Director, Project Coordinator and 2 Research Assistants) and consultancy services (3.3% for research papers) the level of human resource expenditure reaches a total of 14.8%, which is commendable, given that consultancy expenditure also fed into the project's awareness raising activities. With 5.8% and 1.5% respectively, the grantee kept budget allocations for running and administrative costs, as well as for equipment (laptops, printers) low.

In summary, the weak communication of the project's management and the relatively high MP training's unit cost unfortunately spoil the evaluators' otherwise positive impression of highly efficient project conduct.

(iv) Impact

Compared to IEA's baseline findings, the project's outcome shows that considerable progress has been made towards the results the project originally aimed for:

- *Extent of involvement by women, youth, people with disabilities and political party representatives in a coordinated mechanism providing input into the constitution review process* (expected: 4 representatives each): the grantee did not only achieve target group representation levels that exceeded expectations by far (through the zonal workshops and seminars for MPs), but also provided compared to the CRC consultations for a more conducive environment, which encouraged members of marginalized and vulnerable groups to exchange and agree (to the extent possible) on key constitutional issues in a structured way.

- *Improved quantity, specificity and quality of recommendations for constitutional reform originating from women, youth, and people with disabilities* (target: 20 recommendations): according to the grantee's consolidated reporting on the 5 zonal workshops, the participating representatives of marginalized and vulnerable groups agreed on the following average numbers of recommendations across the range of constitutional issues specified with the assistance of IEA: executive (4), legislature (3), judiciary (2), decentralisation and local government (5), chieftaincy (3), directive principle of state policy (1), elections (1) and other (2). The project hence achieved improved levels of specific contributions within these thematic areas by women, youth and people with disabilities, slightly exceeding its targeted number of recommendations (+5%).

- *Improved quantity, specificity and quality of recommendations for constitutional reform originating from the general public* (target: 1,000 recommendations): IEA's field survey on the same range of constitutional issues produced structured feedback from 1,134 respondents, i.e. the project also achieved an improved level of contributions from the general public, once again exceeding its targeted number of recommendations (+13.4%).

According to the grantee, the above clearly had an *impact on the Constitution Review Committee (CRC)*: 20 of CRC's 25 recommendations for constitutional amendments were

inspired by the consultation process of the UNDEF-funded project. In addition, on the basis of interviews held with 10 resource persons and 13 grassroots project beneficiaries, evaluators have independently formed the view that the project generated first positive effects. Selected anecdotes are provided below¹². They are grouped along the key issues identified with the help of the grantee's insight into the CRC's approach to and progress with the consultation process (= baseline, cf. section on relevance), in order to demonstrate how the project contributed to an improved participation of marginalized and vulnerable groups of citizens in the constitutional reform process in Ghana. These examples demonstrate that the grantee was successful in providing a response to the baseline situation.

Poor co-ordination and little concerted action by women, youth, and people with disabilities in providing input into the constitution review process.

When evaluators met with *former participants of the zonal workshop in Ho (Volta region)*, which the grantee originally had held in January 2011, the group expressed their appreciation for the opportunity IEA had created for marginalised and vulnerable groups to ensure pluralistic participation in the Constitution's review process. The quite diverse group of 13 former participants, which comprised of chiefs and other representatives of traditional authority, as well as of representatives of youth organisations, women's groups, CSOs, Persons with Disability, Cooperative Associations and the lower echelons of civil service, unanimously was of the view that in comparison to the consultation method applied by the CRC the UNDEF-funded project's consultation process provided them with a voice that amplified their views and suggestion in an organised and structured way.

Only a handful of submissions originated from women, youth and people with disabilities.

At the same meeting a *person with walking disability*, who is obliged to rely on the use of crutches, told evaluators she made her way despite great pain, torrential rain and the necessity to organise her journey according to her special needs. Although having great difficulty walking on her crutches, one could notice that she was determined to engage in the painstaking effort she had to exert at each step. She had to come to the meeting, she said: "I needed to be here, and to be sure that what we advocated was included in the report [of the CRC]".

Other former zonal workshop participants representing *CSOs, women's groups and youth organisations* from Ho however, while being very pleased that IEA enabled them to contribute to the consultation process, also expressed to evaluators their disappointment that IEA had not kept in touch with them to follow-up with feedback about what had happened since they had made their submissions. They were unaware that meanwhile the CRC had published its recommendations, and that Ghana's president had already set up and launched an Implementation Committee to transpose the provisions of the White Paper, which the government subsequently issued in response to the recommendations of the CRC Report.

¹² In line with current development practice, an effort was made to identify recent anecdotes or to obtain, where possible, details of relevance complementing the grantee's available report documentation, to conduct an independent assessment of impact.

The above demonstrates that the grantee managed to bring about change and complement the CRC's consultations, since (1) IEA successfully developed and utilized a mechanism enabling full participation by women, youth and people with disabilities in the constitutional review process, which in turn significantly improved the potential that (2) process and outcome of the constitutional review programme will be owned and accepted by citizens. The disappointment expressed by Ho's zonal workshop participants about IEA's failure to follow-up on progress with them, particularly demonstrates the positive level of grassroots ownership the project generated. In addition, the following findings of evaluators demonstrate that the project also successfully facilitated the generation of evidence-based critique with regards to current and proposed constitutional provisions:

Submissions received by the CRC were of poor quality. They were neither well argued, nor backed by evidence or research

During the project's first seminar for **parliamentarians and selected members of parliamentary committees** entitled "Giving Voice to the Voiceless in Ghana's Constitutional Review Process" IEA in March 2011 presented MPs suggested amendments for key constitutional issues, which the representatives of marginalised and vulnerable groups had proposed in the context of zonal workshops held in 5 different regions of the country. On the basis of these submissions, which had been collated by IEA and presented in combination with related research papers prepared by the project's experts, the participating MP's agreed to jointly advocate different issues of constitutional relevance. The positions, on which they achieved common views were, among others, that (i) a president defecting from the political party he/she won the elections with, must give up office for the vice president; (ii) a vice president should be able to resign and if he does so (or if he defects from his/her political party) the successor should be nominated by the president with prior approval of the parliament; (iii) there should be a one-time approved emolument for the president, vice president, MPs and all other office holders specified under the constitution and a provision should be made for a relevant body empowered to decide on periodical adjustments in response to inflation etc.; (iv) all ministers should be appointed from outside parliament; (v) the president may not exceed the nomination of ministers beyond a certain number, unless parliament agrees upon it; (vi) there should be a maximum of two deputy ministers per ministry. The joint communiqué, which the MPs had issued following extensive discussions, demonstrates that the results of the zonal workshops and the research paper outputs greatly assisted the MPs' understanding of key issues, the formulation of their future position vis-à-vis the constitutional reform process and, accordingly, how these shaped their expectations from the findings of the CRC's future report to the government.

Critical recommendations by Ghana's citizens covered just about 5 of the 25 thematic areas considered in need of constitutional reform

In its report to the Ghanaian government 20 of the top-25 issues, for which the **Constitution Review Committee (CRC)** recommended constitutional amendments, were inspired by the consultation process of the UNDEF-funded project. This outcome underlines the extent of orientation the grantee provided to the CRC with the help of the outcome of field survey, zonal workshops and research papers publication. The project's approach visibly provoked the dearly needed formulation of critical views by the Ghanaian society, including those of respected national experts, but most importantly the particularly passionate views of the **grassroots level**, e.g. with regards to measures ensuring the separation of powers (for the legislature to become independent from and not subservient to the executive), by appointing ministers from outside parliament and by separating the positions of attorney general and minister of justice.

(v) Sustainability

In the summer of 2012, the considerably delayed publication of the CRC's recommendations and the government's subsequently published White Paper were completely overshadowed by the unexpected death of the president and the following diversion of the country's political and legislative process into electoral issues. According to most of the evaluator's interview counterparts, the constitutional reform topic during the election campaign period vanished almost completely from the agenda of the different political parties, and hence attracted no more the interest by the media and the general population. To worsen things further, the result of these elections was legally contested and Ghana's government became only operational in September 2013, following the Supreme Court's decision that the election's results were valid.

While evaluators do not dispute the project's achievements (the government's White Paper follows the CRC's report in many areas, which in turn were to a large extent informed and shaped by the project's recommendations), there are some reform topics the government has either omitted or decided to take a different position on. Based on their interviews with the grantee, its resource persons and other stakeholders, and with regards to both (a) these constitutional topics that remain the subject of concern¹³, and (b) the need to actually implement the constitutional amendments the government agreed upon¹⁴, evaluators have identified issues that risk undermining the sustainability of the project's results:

1. Absence of animation for continued grassroots-level coordination and concerted action



Evaluators' meeting with former participants of the zonal workshop in Ho (Volta Region)

Evaluators have met former zonal workshop participants from marginalized and vulnerable groups of Ghana's society, who complained that they have not received further feedback or guidance after they had made their inputs to the constitutional review mechanism, which they were told IEA had established specifically for them. Therefore most of them neither knew about the recommendations the CRC had finally issued, nor about the Implementation Committee, which Ghana's president has set up and launched to steer the transposition of the provisions of the White Paper, which the government subsequently issued in response to the recommendations of the CRC's report.

Taking into account the medium-term objective of achieving a process and outcome of the constitutional review programme, which is not only owned but also accepted by citizens, the grantee should have realized that by organizing this consultative process IEA has created an

¹³ A most prominent topic, on which opinions remain divided throughout the country, is e.g. the way in which district chief executives (DCEs) should be nominated and elected.

¹⁴ At the time of the evaluators' visit, the mandate and actual progress of the Implementation Committee's work have not been communicated, neither to the public, nor to political parties, NGOs or the scientific community.

expectation among women, youth and people with disabilities that it will play lasting key role in further disseminating relevant knowledge and information, in particular to the grass-roots level. It is regrettable that IEA and the members of the Coalition have failed to recognize the strong levels of ownership among former zonal workshop participants as an opportunity for ensuring continued support for their coordination and concerted action. Given the delays the constitution's reform process was facing and that current government priorities at the time of the evaluator's visit remained unclear, well-coordinated pressure exerted by Ghana's marginalized groups on government and political parties could have increased the likelihood of a more speedy adoption and/or consideration of the constitutional reform concerns they had expressed during the project's implementation.

2. MPs are still to become active advocates for constitutional reforms

As the parliament has not yet received legislative drafts or constitutional amendment proposals to implement the provisions of the government's White Paper (this is what stakeholders expect the Implementation Committee will issue), a debate in parliament and in the media, in which MPs could actively advocate for the constitutional reforms proposed by their constituencies has not been launched yet. However, even if those MPs formerly following the grantee's seminars would launch their advocacy campaigns today, there are a number of reasons for concern: (i) only two thirds of the number of MPs targeted by the project have actually participated in the seminars (approximately 40 instead of 60), and (ii) only 10 of the MPs who followed the seminars have been re-elected. Former members of the two parliamentary committees on constitutional, legal and parliamentary affairs, and on subsidiary legislation, who participated in the second seminar, in a joint statement expressed similar concern.

Joint statement by MPs

"As new Members of Parliament are poised to take their seats in the house, some of whom will serve on the said committees for the first time, it is imperative that another workshop be organized under the auspices of the IEA to afford such members an opportunity to deepen their appreciation of the issues contained in the documents [*i.e. the CRC report and the White Paper*], to deliberate on them and to enhance their capacity to effectively participate in the subsequent Constitutional review process."

Participants of the 2nd seminar for MPs, December 2012 (briefly before the elections)

(vi) UNDEF Value Added

According to the grantee, UNDEF's objectives to strengthen the voice of civil society and to encourage the participation of all groups in democratic processes made the donor a particularly suitable partner for IEA's ambition to ensure the participation of marginalized and vulnerable groups of citizens in the constitutional reform process in Ghana. The grantee also claimed that UNDEF's support has considerably strengthened the credibility of its purpose and of its activities vis-à-vis all stakeholders and beneficiaries involved in the project.

Furthermore, various representatives of the academia and research community as well as of the media confirmed to evaluators that, due to its focus on and generation of a specific mechanism/platform for marginalized and vulnerable groups, the grantee's project was fully complementary to a second project in support of the review of the constitution, which also

received UNDEF funding, thus adding value to the overall process. The project, which was implemented by the Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDDG), was entitled “Addressing Ghana’s Governance Deficits through Constitutional Reform” (UDF-GHA-08-229). Its objective was to obtain measurable improvements in Ghana’s constitutional and governance mechanisms by providing technical input and advocacy platforms for civil society actors to research and build a constituency for constitutional and legal reform in key governance areas.

V. CONCLUSIONS

i. The project’s approach was solidly established on the findings of baseline research and accordingly has provided opportunity for marginalized and vulnerable people to contribute with concrete proposals to a consultative process for constitutional review, and for their workshop recommendations to be considered in conjunction with both the results of field surveys and thematic research papers on key constitutional issues. It is therefore our view that the project represented a **relevant effort** to address key issues pertaining to Ghana’s constitutional reform process. Our findings related to the project’s research and review activities shows that their design was adequate perform the constitutional review on the basis of critical, in-depth analysis of relevant issues. The review method applied by the Coalition, a participatory platform of representatives of groups of marginalized people in Ghana’s society, guaranteed the elaboration of high-quality proposals directed at the CRC, while the project’s seminars were designed to make individual MPs and members of relevant parliamentary commissions fully conversant with the Coalition’s suggestions, CRC’s recommendations and the government’s position (White Paper).

ii. The project’s video footage from the zonal workshops, which provided impressive evidence of numerous passionate submissions made by women, youth and people with disabilities, and the fact that provision was made for local and sign language interpretation are just a few of the many notable aspects demonstrating the project’s successful contribution to the creation of an effective mechanism for full participation by marginalized in vulnerable people in the constitutional review process. Accordingly, the Coalition characterised the inputs from the zonal workshops as highly resourceful and there is also evidence that the project’s 10 scientific papers assisted the members of the Coalition and the CRC effectively with forming views relevant for their contributions to and work on the constitutional reform process. Regrettably, the project’s advocacy seminar missed to achieve the targeted total number of members of parliament by one third. Given that most of the MPs developed similar views on most of the key issues requiring constitutional reform, evaluators still consider **the project was effective**, as it improved the potential that these MPs will more effectively engage in parliament and in the media to support the constitutional reforms proposed by their constituencies.

iii. As a consequence of the project's intervention, first of all more women, youth, people with disabilities and political party representatives than expected by the grantee not only have provided their input to the constitution's review process. Secondly, these target groups have also exchanged and agreed in a structured way across the different zonal workshops on an average of 21 new recommendations in relation to key constitutional issues (compared to "only a handful" observed prior to the launch of the project), thus exceeding the grantee's initial targets. Thirdly, the quality of the submissions originating from these groups of marginalized and vulnerable people improved significantly, which prompted a number of MPs to support some recommendations by signing a joint communiqué. Finally, 80% of the CRC's recommendations were informed by the project's input. These first signs of improved bottom-up involvement, which were drawn from the grantee's workshop reporting, together with the testimonials evaluators have gathered among beneficiaries from the Volta region, indicating ownership and continued eagerness at grassroots-level to further pursue the progress of the country's constitutional reform process, demonstrate the **potential impact** of the project.

iv. Weak communication of the project's management and relatively high training unit costs for MPs **unfortunately spoil the otherwise positive impression of efficient project conduct**: given that IEA appeared completely unaware that its weak communication performance (during a period of delayed constitutional reform process) had put UNDEF's financing of the delivery of the project's second seminar for MPs on content and shortcomings of CRC report and White Paper and thus the UNDEF-funded completion of the project at serious risk, the grantee in future projects clearly needs to address and overcome this unsatisfactory aspect of its project management. In terms of project expenditure, the largest proportion of the budget (43.8%) was spent for activities generating awareness among marginalized and vulnerable groups of citizens, the collection of their concerns and suggestions, and the analysis of key constitutional issues. Breaking the amount spent for fieldwork, zonal workshops, radio and TV, and for the production of analytical research papers over the total number of 1,894 direct beneficiaries provides an average cost of approximately USD 84.10 per grassroots-level beneficiary. However, only 53 participants have benefitted from the seminars for MPs, which resulted in a relatively high average of approximately USD 982.80 per beneficiary spent to ensure that MPs will advocate actively for constitutional reforms in parliament and in the media.

v. Despite impressive results, eight months after the closing date evaluators have come across a number **shortcomings that risk to limit the sustainability** of the project's outcome: (1) while evaluators witnessed clear signs that the grantee's consultative mechanism generated ownership over the proposed reforms among the project's participants, the project holder missed to anticipate that, once the grassroots-level had submitted its recommendations, the consulted representatives of women, youth and people with disabilities would expect to continue obtaining feedback on the progress of the constitutional reform process. Given the delays the constitution's reform process was facing and that the new government's priorities at the time of the evaluator's visit remained unclear, it is regrettable that IEA and the members of the Coalition have failed to recognize the strong levels of ownership among former zonal workshop participants as an opportunity, if not

obligation, for the grantee to support and encourage the continued coordination and concerted action by marginalized and vulnerable groups of Ghana's society; (2) in the absence of legislative drafts, the debate in which MPs could actively advocate for constitutional reforms in parliament and media at the time of the evaluator's visit was still to take place. The fact that (a) only two thirds of the number of MPs initially targeted have actually attended the project's seminars, and that (b) only 10 of the MPs who followed these seminars were actually re-elected, give further reasons for concern.

vi. As a general note, experience shows that unexpected changes to a government's schedule of priorities or politically motivated delays with the progress of constitutional review processes are among the typical/recurring challenges, which grantees of UNDEF-funded projects have been facing over the past. Despite these kinds of issues it is, however, also a fact that UNDEF support always has significantly contributed to the improvement of the **sustainability prospects** of the constitutional reform processes, which these projects have aimed to facilitate.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

To strengthen the outcome and similar projects in the future, evaluators recommend to UNDEF and project grantees:

i. The fact that IEA's approach and methodology included the conduct of baseline research and the formulation of outcome indicators is highly commendable, as this usually enhances a project's **relevance** and significantly facilitates the **assessment of impact**. We, however, highlight that the usefulness of measuring the (likely) impact of projects, and the likely identification of remaining (and new) needs requires to go beyond the simple listing of completed outputs and their quantities. The grantee's reporting often failed to use this information to clarify how specific project activities contributed to the achievement of the project's outcome and objectives. Based on the above **we recommend to UNDEF** to emphasize vis-à-vis applicants not only the importance of generating comparative data (baseline vs. outcome), but to also provide guidance about its effective use. Covering project achievements systematically always enables a grantee to improve the current assessment in qualitative terms and thus enhances the organizations' strategic objectives. This may also help grantees to attract new donors and implementing partners for an expansion of the original project. We therefore **also suggest that UNDEF** considers that applications including solid outcome survey approaches will be given preference.

ii. Given that (a) the attendance of the seminars encouraging MPs to advocate the constitutional reforms proposed by their constituencies fell short of target, and that (b) only 10 of them actually remained active MPs following the intervening elections, there is reason for concern that the recommendations communicated by the project may be

supported to a lesser extent by MPs in parliament and in the media than expected. **Based on our observations on effectiveness, we therefore recommend to the grantee (IEA)** to follow the suggestion MPs participating prior to elections in the project's second seminar made in a joint statement, i.e. to organise a third seminar for newly elected MPs, thus providing "[...] opportunity to deepen their appreciation of the issues contained in the documents [i.e. the CRC report and the White Paper], to deliberate on them and to enhance their capacity to effectively participate in the subsequent Constitutional review process." This could e.g. be achieved through a collaboration agreement with the GPPP, which could foresee to involve previous seminar participants who should share their advocacy and lobbying skills with new, fellow colleagues, thus ensuring the projected total of 60 MPs will be in a position to address and debate the constitutional issues requiring review.

iii. In relation to our conclusion that the grantee missed to anticipate that, once the grassroots-level had submitted its recommendations, the consulted representatives of women, youth and people with disabilities would expect to continue obtaining feedback on the progress of the constitutional reform process, we believe that it is of utmost importance for democracy development projects to capitalize on the motivation emerging from marginalized and vulnerable groups to continue their engagement in coordination and concerted action. This applies in particular to the present case, as lasting solutions for overcoming information and consultation deficits rooted in the previous exclusion of marginalized groups could be achieved by IEA with relatively little effort and at relatively limited expense. **Based on our comments on sustainability, we therefore recommend to the grantee¹⁵** to:

- Disseminate via the IEA website the project's main outputs, i.e. the recommendations for constitutional amendments the Coalition made to the CRC, and the research papers issued by experts on key constitutional issues;
- Disseminate via the IEA website the CRC's report, and the government's White Paper;
- Publish and disseminate via the IEA website an abridged version of the CRC report;
- Organise media updates / press releases on the CRC report;
- Serialise, e.g. via press and radio, the content of the CRC report for the benefit of the vulnerable and marginalised community;
- Cooperate with the government's regional Information Services Departments to disseminate information on the progress of the constitutional reform process;
- Continue communication with previous zonal workshop participants to conceive ways raising the government's awareness that the grassroots-level expects the constitutional reform process to remain a priority and to progress with implementing the recommendations made;
- Mobilise the 10 previously participating MPs remaining in office to call for government to act upon the CRC Report and its own White Paper;
- Organise a series of round tables at IEA with the participation of relevant ministers and the Attorney General (a member of the Implementation Committee), to provide information and answer questions on the state of play.

¹⁵ It is particularly encouraging and therefore worth noting that some of these recommendations were made to evaluators by the project's former zonal workshop participants (i.e. representatives of women, youth and people with disabilities) themselves.

vii. Based on our observation that **grantees implementing constitutional reform projects over the past have been facing typical/recurring sustainability challenges rooted in unexpected changes to a government's schedule of priorities or politically motivated delays, we recommend as the way forward (a) to UNDEF** to maintain the flexibility of granting extensions of the project's duration, provided the project is still likely to significantly contribute to the improvement of the sustainability prospects of constitutional reform processes it aimed to facilitate, and **(b) to grantees** to scale down their ambitions to project objectives and outcomes, which are not necessarily bound to the point of completion of constitutional review processes, as these are usually determined by schedules which are outside the grantee's control, since defined by government.

IX. ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: EVALUATION QUESTIONS

DAC criterion	Evaluation Question	Related sub-questions
Relevance	To what extent was the project, as designed and implemented, suited to context and needs at the beneficiary, local, and national levels?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Were the objectives of the project in line with the needs and priorities for democratic development, given the context? ▪ Should another project strategy have been preferred rather than the one implemented to better reflect those needs, priorities, and context? Why? ▪ Were risks appropriately identified by the projects? How appropriate are/were the strategies developed to deal with identified risks? Was the project overly risk-averse?
Effectiveness	To what extent was the project, as implemented, able to achieve objectives and goals?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To what extent have the project's objectives been reached? ▪ To what extent was the project implemented as envisaged by the project document? If not, why not? ▪ Were the project activities adequate to make progress towards the project objectives? ▪ What has the project achieved? Where it failed to meet the outputs identified in the project document, why was this?
Efficiency	To what extent was there a reasonable relationship between resources expended and project impacts?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Was there a reasonable relationship between project inputs and project outputs? ▪ Did institutional arrangements promote cost-effectiveness and accountability? ▪ Was the budget designed, and then implemented, in a way that enabled the project to meet its objectives?
Impact	To what extent has the project put in place processes and procedures supporting the role of civil society in contributing to democratization, or to direct promotion of democracy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To what extent has/have the realization of the project objective(s) and project outcomes had an impact on the specific problem the project aimed to address? ▪ Have the targeted beneficiaries experienced tangible impacts? Which were positive; which were negative? ▪ To what extent has the project caused changes and effects, positive and negative, foreseen and unforeseen, on democratization? ▪ Is the project likely to have a catalytic effect? How? Why? Examples?
Sustainability	To what extent has the project, as designed and implemented, created what is likely to be a continuing impetus towards democratic development?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To what extent has the project established processes and systems that are likely to support continued impact? ▪ Are the involved parties willing and able to continue the project activities on their own (where applicable)?
UNDEF value-added	To what extent was UNDEF able to take advantage of its unique position and comparative advantage to achieve results that could not have been achieved had support come from other donors?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What was UNDEF able to accomplish, through the project, that could not as well have been achieved by alternative projects, other donors, or other stakeholders (Government, NGOs, etc). ▪ Did project design and implementing modalities exploit UNDEF's comparative advantage in the form of an explicit mandate to focus on democratization issues?

ANNEX 2: DOCUMENTS REVIEWED

UNDEF

- Final Narrative Report
- Mid-Term/Annual Progress Report
- Approved Extension Request
- Project Document
- Milestone Verification Reports
- Financial Utilization Reports

IEA

- Survey Report, Emerging Issues from Community and Regional Consultations
- Individual and consolidated reports, Zonal Workshops
- Reports and attendance lists, Advocacy Seminars for MPs
- Meeting minutes, Constitutional Review Coalition
- Images, Zonal Workshops and Advocacy Seminars
- Detailed and short matrix, Proposed Constitutional Amendments
- Joint Communiqué by MPs, first Advocacy Seminar
- Joint Statement by MPs, second Advocacy Seminar
- Research Papers by individual experts:
 - The Absence of a Ceiling on the number of Ministers and Ministries that may be appointed and created respectively
 - The Panel System at the Supreme Court: Merits and Demerits
 - Local Level Decentralization: the nature of the Local Government System and Decentralization
 - Determination of Emoluments – A Critique of Article 71 of the 1992 Constitution
 - Chiefs and Traditional Authorities and their role in the Democratic Order and Government System
 - Duplication of Functions between the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice and Economic and Organized Crime Office in the Anti-Corruption Mandates
 - An overview of other reports of the Constitution Review Commission and the Government's White Paper
 - Review of the Constitution Review Commission and the Government's White Paper: Discussions on Gender and Persons with Disability
 - Decentralization, Local Government and Traditional Institutions: Convergence between Constitutional Review Commission Report and the Government White Paper-Areas requiring reforms
 - Discussions on CRC Report and Government White Paper on the Judiciary and Independent Constitutional Bodies
 - Discussions on CRC Report and Government White Paper on the Executive and Directive Principles of State Policy
 - Proportional representation vs. winner takes it all – the way forward
 - Gender

Other sources

- 2012 Human Development Report, UNDP, 2013

ANNEX 3: SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEWS

Accra, September 30th, 2013 (all day): Grantee's Project Briefing

- Jean Mensah, Executive Director IEA
- Dr Michael Ofori-Mensah, Project Coordinator

Accra, October 1st, 2013 (am): Grantee Staff and Journalists

- Dr Ransford Gyampo, Project M&E Officer
- Dr Michael Ofori-Mensah, Project Coordinator
- Edmund Mingle, Ghanaian Times
- Samuel Agyemeng, Metro TV producer & host

Accra, October 1st, 2013 (pm): Members of the Coalition

- Atik Mohammed, Policy Advisor, People's National Convention (PNC)
- William Dowokpor, Policy Advisor, Convention People's Party (CPP)

Accra, October 2nd, 2013 (am): Members of the Coalition

- Dr Bashiru Koray, President, Ghana Federation of the Disabled (GFD) and representative of the physically challenged at the Attorney General's Office

Accra, October 2nd, 2013 (pm): Members of the Constitutional Review Commission (CRC)

- Dr Nicholas Amponsah, Senior Lecturer, Political Science Department, University of Ghana
- Gabriel Pwamang, Barrister at Law

Accra, October 3rd, 2013 (am): Research Paper authors, Vulnerable Group representatives

- Hon Ayikoi Otoo, former Attorney General
- Prof Ken Attafuah, private Legal Practitioner
- Susan Adu Amankwah, Vice Chairperson, Convention People's Party (CPP)

Ho (Volta Region), October 3rd, 2013 (pm): Former participants of Zonal Workshop

- Togbe Kornu II, Chief (traditional leader)
- Togbe Adanu Sakrefo X, Paramount Chief (traditional leader)
- Johnson Paul Gablah, National Youth Council (NYC)
- Beauty Duga, National Youth Council (NYC)
- Beatrice Bannerman, VOICE
- Orisha Afa, Community Action
- Gbongbo Doris, Women Activist, National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE)
- Gloria Agbe-Carbonu, Health Service, Ho Polyclinic
- Francisca Akpo, Asogli State (traditional leader and/or district representative)
- Patrick Debrah, Dress Maker, Coop Taiors Association
- Hayford Dzorgbenu, Mawuko Girls Senior High School
- Amegbletor Enoch, New Patriotic Party (NPP) Youth Organisation
- John Anani Agdulaye, Ghana Society for People with Disabilities (GSPD-Ho)

Accra, October 4th, 2013: Evaluator's Debriefing

- Jean Mensah, Executive Director IEA
- Dr Ransford Gyampo, Project M&E Officer

ANNEX 4: ACRONYMS

Coalition	Constitutional Review Coalition
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CRC	Constitution Review Commission
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DCE	District Chief Executive
GPPP	Ghana Political Parties Programme
HDI	Human Development Index
MPs	Members of Parliament
IEA	Institute of Economic Affairs
IGI	Independent Governance Institutions
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
NCCE	National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
UNDEF	United Nations Democracy Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USD	United States Dollar