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THE ROLE OF CUSTOMARY GOVERNANCE
SYSTEMS FOR LOCAL DEMOCRACY,
GOOD GOVERNANCE AND SERVICE DELIVERY:
THE CASE OF GHANA







THE ROLE OF CUSTOMARY GOVERNANCE SYSTEMS FOR LOCAL DEMOCRACY, GOOD GOVERNANCE AND SERVICE DELIVERY: THE CASE OF GHANA

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MARGARET SACKEY

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International IDEA Publications Office Strömsborg SE – 103 34 Stockholm Sweden

ABSTRACT

Local governance, decentralization and democracy are key components of the traditional Ghanaian institution of chieftaincy. In the past this institution engendered participatory democracy, good governance and social protection, but it is currently challenged by the formal decentralization of public administration. Although the institution has remained intact, its functions have gone through several paradigm shifts during both the colonial and post-independence eras of Ghana. While it does

not currently form part of the formal local government administration structure, it maintains an informal and sacrosanct niche in local governance. The roles of the chieftaincy institution need to be redefined and clarified within the nexus of traditions, demands of good governance and modern local democracy to enable it to provide a complementary conduit for effective and efficient local governance for development.

LOCAL DEMOCRACY, DECENTRALIZATION PROCESSES AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN GHANA: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Ghana's current system of decentralized local government is closely linked to the institution of chieftaincy, or traditional authority/administration, and can be traced to before the arrival of Europeans in Ghana in the 15th century. An overview of the current decentralized public administration process would therefore be incomplete without acknowledging the historical contribution of the chieftaincy institution to local governance and democracy.

Oseadeeyo Addo Dankwa III (2004) and Abotchie (2006) observe that the institution of chieftaincy in Ghana emerged from people's need to come together for security or protection and to have a figurehead to look up to for guidance and inspiration. In some cases that person was the one who founded the community by settling first in the area, or in others it was someone with charisma and respect among his immediate or extended family and the community at large.

To assume the office of a chief or leader of a clan or community, the person must enter into an explicit social contract by publicly swearing an oath to observe certain codes of conduct that are determined by the community. In addition, the person swears to pursue the welfare and progress of the people and refrain from any unilateral action by always consulting court elders who represent the community's clans. In return, the elders—on behalf of the clans—pledge that the community will support and collaborate with the chief as long as he complies with the rules of his office.

In original local parlance the chief is known as *odekro*, meaning 'the one who owns the community' (Ayesu 2006). As the owner, he is enjoined to protect and add value to the community. He does so through civic engagement with the local residents, mobilizing the people for productive activities and efficiently using local resources. Thus the chieftaincy institution in a way demonstrated some form of participation, accountability and responsiveness which are perceived

as basic principles and mediating values of democracy by International Institute for Democracy and Electoral (IDEA, 2002, p.14). Thus local governance was not a foreign concept to traditional Ghanaian society; it was structured and practised through the chieftaincy institution and was the foundation for social cohesion and harmony.

Chalmers vividly captured the institutional structure of chieftaincy as follows:

Every village has its headman who exercises a sort of patriarchal rule over his few inhabitants; he again, as well as his villagers, is subject to some chief, who has control over three, four, five or more villages and this chief is again subject to the chief or king of a larger group (Dankwa 2004).

By virtue of his office, the chief is expected to be disciplined and impartial in all his dealings in order to maintain the confidence of the people. As a result, successors of the original founder of a community, or any appointments to a stool or skin (chiefs are sworn into office by being placed on a stool or skin of a ram), were selected by a pseudo electoral college system in which the candidate was elected after consultations with representatives of social groups and family members. The chief would always meet with his elders to discuss community issues such as sanitation and arbitration of cases. Annual festivals, which often comprised various week-long activities, always culminated in a public gathering that included a report of the previous year's activities and those envisaged for the coming year. In effect, traditional festivals served as the platforms for review and presentation of community work plans. Based on these functions, Abdulai (2006) argues that chiefs are managers who perform their duties with resources such as royalties derived from natural resources, levies, taxes and fines. Their managerial responsibilities are akin to Mintzberg's managerial functions of figurehead, leader, liaison,

monitor, disseminator, spokesperson, entrepreneur, disturbance handler, resource allocator and negotiator in the community. The traditional institution of authority was an epitome of public administration and governance.

Other authors (Ayee 2006, Agbenorku 2010) also posit that these traditional authority structures and practices embody grassroots participatory democracy due to their:

- consultative decision-making processes;
- social accountability principles of rights and responsibilities;
- space for consultation with other professional actors and experts besides the elders when necessary;
- transparent public adjudication and disciplinary procedures regarding misuse of office or misconduct in the community; and
- social inclusion of all segments of the community.

In the 15th century, the arrival of colonialists who neither understood nor appreciated the customs of native Ghanaians, including the role of chiefs and existing social structures, progressively weakened the chieftaincy institution while simultaneously using it to their advantage. According to Abotchie (2006), the passage of various laws by the colonialists led to the gradual disappearance of the administrative and legislative functions of chiefs. Local Government (LG) Act 359 (1971) provided for the election of two-thirds of the members of District Councils, with the remaining onethird allocated to the chiefs. A later amendment in 1974 permitted chiefs to nominate (but not to represent) one-third of the members of district councils. The nebulous role of chiefs offered traditional rulers the opportunity for either negative or positive engagement in local government until the introduction of a decentralization process by a revolutionary government in 1988.

CURRENT LOCAL DEMOCRACY, DECENTRALIZATION PROCESSES AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Ahwoi (2010) points out that the current decentralization process was born out of the then-ruling military government, the Provisional National Defence Council's (PNDC) slogan of 'Power to the People' in early 1982. The guidelines spelt out a four-tier structure of regional, district, area and town/village councils; district councils were given the legislative power to make by-laws. Since the councils comprised only elected representatives, traditional authorities had no reserved positions. LG

Law 207 (1988) subsequently devolved political, fiscal and administrative power from the central government to sub-national structures. The law provided the legal framework for a decentralized process as part of a comprehensive public administration reform programme. Accordingly, it explicitly outlined the structures and related functions of all actors in local governance. Among the actors were chiefs, who had been assigned complementary and advisory (but not active) roles in local governance

In 1992, the decentralization process was enshrined in the Fourth Republican Constitution of Ghana. The primary objectives of the decentralization process included promoting local participation in governance, efficiently delivering public services and stimulating socio-economic development at the local level. To achieve these objectives, the constitution states that:

People in particular local government areas shall, as far as practicable, be afforded the opportunity to participate effectively in their governance (article 240e).

In addition, the powers and functions of local governments were clearly outlined in the following provision:

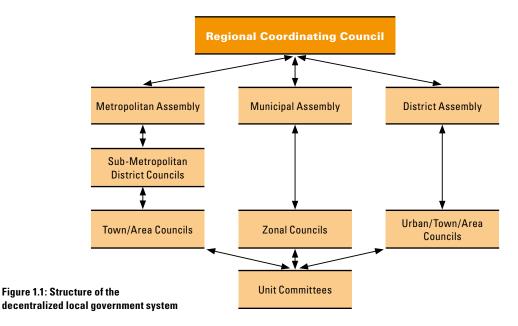
A district assembly shall be the highest political authority in the district, and shall have deliberative, legislative and executive powers' (article 241, 3).

The constitutional provisions in effect endorsed the provisions in LG Law 207. These two major legal instruments on local government, namely LG Law 207 and the 1992 constitutional provisions on decentralization, have served as the bedrock for enacting other legislation and formulating policies to enhance and consolidate decentralization and local democracy in Ghana. In addition to the laws, a number of policy guidelines related to the technical and administrative operations of assemblies have also been developed to standardize local government operations (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development 2009).

LG Law 207 provided two-way communication channels for feedback and reporting in the three- or four-tier assembly structure (excluding the regional coordinating councils or RCCs) as depicted in diagram below:

- 10 RCCs;
- 4-tier metropolitan assemblies;
- 3-tier municipal/district assemblies;
- urban/town/area/zonal councils; and
- unit committees.

THE NEW LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM ARRANGEMENTS



Functionally, the three categories of metropolitan, municipal or district assemblies form the highest political and administrative bodies with deliberative, legislative and executive authority at the local level. Classification of assemblies is based on population size. Metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies are required to have populations of 250,000, 95,000 and 75,000 people, respectively. At the apex of the assemblies in each region is an RCC, which serves as the coordinating body for all the various districts' plans in a particular region. RCCs coordinate and monitor development plans to ensure conformity with decentralization policy, legislative frameworks and national development agenda guidelines. committee members are the front-line representatives at the lowest level of the structure. However, as with LG Law 207, the constitution does not assign active and professional responsibilities to traditional authorities, nor does it allocate any elected assembly positions to traditional authorities. Assembly membership is for:

- a. members of parliament from constituencies that fall within the area of authority of the district assembly (but who do not have the right to vote);
- b. those appointed by the president in consultation with the traditional authorities and other interest groups in the district; or
- c. independent candidates not associated with any political party—political party shall not endorse, sponsor, offer a platform to or in any way cam-

paign for or against a candidate seeking election to a district assembly or any lower local government unit (article 249).

Appointments by the president under category (b) could, however, include traditional authorities. Various checks and balances have been spelt out in both the constitution and the law on the conduct and discharge of assembly members.

Both LG Act 207 and the 1992 constitution have provisions on funding of district assemblies. Funds are classified as locally generated funds, central government funds or other financial arrangements. Locally generated funds include local property rates and licences; central government funds include grants in aid, recurrent expenditure transfers, specialized transfers and a district assembly common fund (DACF); and other funds could be gifts from philanthropists. The DACF is a statutory disbursement of funds from the consolidated fund as indicated below in article 252 of the constitution:

- (1) There shall be a fund to be known as the District Assemblies Common Fund.
- (2) Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, Parliament shall annually make provision for the allocation of not less than five percent¹ of the total revenues of Ghana to the District Assemblies for development; and the amount shall be paid into the District Assemblies Common Fund in quarterly installments.

¹ This amount was increased to 7.5 per cent in 2007.

With a vision to optimize citizen participation and continuously improve local service delivery, the decentralization process was reviewed in 2010 after 20 years of implementation. The exercise led to the formulation of a new decentralization policy framework and the development of an accelerated plan of action within the existing legislative framework, which was anchored around the following thematic areas:

- political decentralization and legal issues;
- administrative decentralization:
- decentralized development planning;
- spatial planning, environmental management and natural resource management;
- local economic development;
- fiscal decentralization;
- popular participation and accountability;
- a social agenda;
- involving non-state actors in local governance; and
- harmonizing development partner interventions.

The thematic areas reiterate the original objective of the decentralization process, which was to devolve power, functions, competence and resources to the district level, including:

- local democracy through popular participation;
- social accountability through provision of services by public officials according to citizens' demands; and
- coordinating local economic and social development in harmony with the national development policy framework.

Since the review and adoption of the new policy framework, the following on-going processes are being given additional impetus:

- the functioning of an inter-ministerial committee on implementing the decentralization process;
- transferring decentralized departments to the assembly by legislative instrument (1961), with the exception of those whose establishment requires legislative amendment (which is to be eventually effected by passing the appropriate legislation);
- implementing composite budgeting, which came into being at the beginning of 2012; and

 consolidating the establishment of a Local Government Service (LGS), including the automatic transfer of staff from the central government machinery to the LGS.

Koranteng (2011), however, points out that the inadequate establishment and relatively low calibre of staff at the local levels has been a constraining factor to efficient local-level public administration. Therefore any automatic transfer of staff from public institutions to the LGS needs to be complemented by capacity building of the staff.

In summary, Ghana's current decentralization process, which began over a decade ago, has made some significant progress. Its processes are continuously being monitored and evaluated for improvement.

The interaction between institutions and actors (customary/traditional and modern) and democratic institutions and processes.

The institution of chieftaincy is fully acknowledged and enshrined in chapter 22 of the 1992 constitution as follows:

The institution of chieftaincy, together with its traditional councils as established by customary law and usage, is hereby guaranteed (article 270, 1); and

A person shall not be qualified as a chief if he has been convicted for high treason, treason, high crime or for an offence involving the security of the State, fraud, dishonesty or moral turpitude (article 275).

Perhaps the most radical provision in the constitution is the fact that traditional authorities are not permitted to engage in partisan politics. However they can hold public office or have representative and consultative roles in the central or local government, as spelt out in article 276 of the constitution:

A chief shall not take part in active party politics; and any chief wishing to do so and seeking election to Parliament shall abdicate his stool or skin.

(2) Notwithstanding clause (1) of this article and paragraph (c) of clause (3) of article 94 of this Constitution, a chief may be appointed to any public office for which he is otherwise qualified.

As a result of article 277, section 2, membership of the highest state advisory body, the Council of State, includes two representatives from the National House of Chiefs. Similarly, each RCC comprises two chiefs

from the respective Regional House of Chiefs. At the metropolitan, municipal and district levels, chiefs are required to be consulted by the president in the appointment of non-elected members of an assembly. Besides the consultation, as stated below in article 242 (d) of the constitution, a chief could also be nominated by the President to serve on the District Assembly:

(d) other members not being more than thirty percent of all the members of the District Assembly, appointed by the President in consultation with the traditional authorities and other interest groups in the district.

Thus the interaction of customary and modern democratic institutions and processes in local governance has legal backing in the current fourth Republican Constitution of Ghana, albeit this interaction is limited to an advisory capacity. Cobbah (2011) perceives these advisory and consultative roles assigned to chiefs by the constitution as an 'alienation' of traditional authorities in local governance and a challenge to the decentralization process. The author argues that it implies 'constitutional side-lining of very significant influence peddlers and opinion leaders'.

On the contrary, Ofei-Aboagye (2008) points out that district assemblies are required to work with several partners, including civil society, professional authorities and chiefs. She identifies the following four key areas in which traditional and modern institutions interact closely in the delivery of services at the local level:

- management of natural resources, including wildlife;
- provision of social amenities;
- management of peace and security; and
- development of by-laws.

It is significant that these areas of partnership—identified 20 years into the current decentralization process—are synonymous with the functions performed by traditional authorities in the period preceding the colonization of Ghana. A chief as an *odekro* is the custodian of the territory over which he presides; he is required to administer customary laws and rites in the interest of preventing the misuse of land and other natural resources, including water bodies, in the locality. Customary laws related to these resources have been strictly enforced in the interest of the community. For example, farming practices such as the clearing of

forests and the first harvesting of produce such as yams were all publicly disseminated and adhered to by the community. Agbenorku (2010) attributes the conservation of game sanctuaries in the Ashanti Region—including the monkey sanctuary—to the efforts of traditional authorities. The butterfly sanctuary in the West Akyem District is also an example of a successful venture that had the full support of the traditional authority in the area.

Some chiefs, due to education and networks, have also gone beyond their traditional roles as custodians of culture to initiate development projects. Among them are Asantehene, who established the Otumfo Education Fund, which has attained recognition and attracted national and international support. Diverse initiatives by other chiefs range from environmental conservation to health and local economic development. Several of these interventions are being implemented with civil society organizations or development partners and have been successful due to the efficient modes of communication and networks of traditional authorities. Kenvah (2010) observes that communication and dissemination of information at the local level has been (and continues to be) an important area for customary and modern local governance interaction in Ghana. Aidoo asserts that:

You cannot go to any village and ... start propagating an ideology or political programme or anything in the air, the chiefs are very important; if we are going to think about participation of all the people in Government, we have to use them from the grassroots level to the national level (Kenyah 2010).

Given the respect accorded to traditional chiefs, they are more effective than assemblymen in mobilizing communities and resources for communal activities and development programs. Although electronic media is widely used in urban areas, in rural communities, the town crier—who only acts upon directives from the chief or his representative—still holds sway. Therefore public officials would not, out of respect and custom, initiate any activity or development in an area without informing or consulting the local chief. Communitylevel activities such as sanitation, maintenance of funeral grounds and documentation of deaths are effectively managed when there is collaboration between the chief and assemblyman in the electoral area. Kannae (2010) asserts that instructions received from chiefs are more likely to be instinctively obeyed than those from the assembly, which is perceived as 'remote' government.

In the mobilization of residents, the traditional theory of kronti ne akwamu (a form of a dance and a proverbial adage of invitation of both the right and left wings in the community) demonstrates the inclusion of all segments of the society. Both the dance and the adage represent ownership and inclusion, which are the hallmarks of local democracy. A typical example is found in the Ahanta West District, where the assembly covers three traditional areas. As a result, all three traditional councils—in consultation with the president, as required in the constitution—are represented on the district assembly. According to Kenyah (2010), the transparency and cordiality of the nomination process is worthy of emulation at the assembly level, and its lower structures are worth replicating at the community level.

Other areas of interaction between customary/ traditional and modern democratic institutions and processes are in the area of promoting cultural values, adjudicating cases and promoting social ethics. Despite the 'constitutional sidelining' of chiefs, the passage and enforcement of by-laws, especially those based on customary practices, must be done with the cooperation of traditional authorities.

In compliance with article 272 of the constitution, chiefs have to:

- (b) undertake the progressive study, interpretation and codification of customary law with a view to evolving, in appropriate cases, a unified system of rules of customary law, and compiling the customary laws and lines of succession applicable to each stool or skin;
- (c) undertake an evaluation of traditional customs and usages with a view to eliminating those customs and usages that are outmoded and socially harmful;
- (d) perform such other functions, not being inconsistent with any function assigned to the House of Chiefs of a region, as Parliament may refer to it.

Since traditional authorities do not have legislative powers, the enactment of any by-law, especially with respect to customary practices at the local level, must be done in partnership with the assemblies.

The interaction between customary and modern local governance is incomplete without reference to land administration and the adjudication of cases. Throughout the country, good land administration is critical to development and involves many institutions, including district assemblies, the Lands Commission, the Office

of the Stool Lands Administrator and the Environmental Protection Council. Working closely with these agencies are private sector stakeholders and some traditional authorities. According to Mahama (2009), 78 per cent of land in Ghana is under customary title, with only 22 per cent as public holding. Part of the customary lands is stool lands that are held in trust by traditional authorities. By law, part of the revenues from such lands is paid to the traditional authority for both his office and person. Under the new decentralization policy framework, assemblies are obliged to undertake local economic development, which in most cases entails investments in land use. Assemblies are therefore obliged to work with traditional authorities in developments involving land use.

With reference to settling cases, chiefs are almost always the first point for arbitration of civil matters in rural communities, and even with criminal cases, the chiefs are by custom informed of misconduct in the community. According to the National House of Chiefs, traditional rulers serve as sources of institutional memory for information about the community, especially in land disputes and causes of protracted conflicts.

Therefore; it is evident that traditional institutions and actors (customary/traditional and modern) interact with democratic institutions and processes in the delivery of development and services at the local level in Ghana. The interactions include advisory services, collaboration in the mobilization of residents, use of resources such as land for the public good and arbitration of cases for peace and harmony in the communities. It can therefore be observed that the traditional and modern institutions cannot be divorced from each other. The solution lies in analysing the specific roles and determining the converging point of the two types of institutions.

A number of challenges have been identified with respect to customary/traditional and modern interactions with democratic institutions and processes (Ayee 2006, Cobbah 2011, Ahwoi 2010). Among the major challenges are:

- the undefined nature of the consultation required between the president and traditional authorities;
- a partisan central government working with a non-partisan local government;
- the ad hoc collaboration between traditional authorities and elected assembly members due to the absence of a defined process;

- the low calibre of some assembly members;
- apparent unfairness in the allocation of DACF to the benefit of metropolitan and municipal assemblies;
- the resistance from some personnel of the decentralized departments to be integrated into the district assemblies;
- apathy of local residents in some assembly areas;
- politicization of local governance leadership, especially in the appointment of district chief executives;
- low motivation and lack of incentives for personnel at the community levels of the decentralization structure;
- the likelihood that traditional authorities will use their position to their advantage if represented on assemblies; and
- reports of misuse of stool lands revenues.

STATE OF LOCAL DEMOCRACY (SOLD) ASSESSMENT: PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

The Institute of Local Government Studies and International IDEA initiated a collaborative pilot study known as the State of Local Democracy (SoLD) project in 2011 to assess local democracy in Ghana. An initial literature review and subsequent consultations led to the establishment of project management structures at the national and district levels. This was followed by training all personnel involved in the project at the national and local levels. The selection criteria—drawn up in consultation with stakeholders—used to identify the districts that will participate in the project took into consideration the three classifications of assemblies, geographic variations and the need to ensure nationwide coverage. The basic SoLD research instruments were thoroughly revised and adapted to the local situation in an attempt to provide a more meaningful context to the assessment methodology and to engender local ownership of the process. Findings from first-phase activities exhibit a significant connection between traditional and contemporary decentralized local governance.

In a personal interview with the President of the National House of Chiefs, Wulugu Naba Pugansoa Naa (the traditional authority title), Professor John Sebiyam Nabila, quoted a traditional proverb that posits that 'there is no bad chief, there are only bad elders'. In effect, a chief speaks and acts only after consulting with his elders; any bad word or action is therefore attributed

to his advisors. Chieftaincy in effect is founded on representation and consultation as expected in modern democracy.

Two other chiefs interviewed, including a divisional chief who is a local government official and the other a presiding member of an assembly, both agreed that the non-involvement of chiefs in partisan politics helps maintain the dignity of the institution. Their neutrality also helps in the adjudicating roles they play in the community, as most local and rural residents are reluctant to use the formal court system. They also asserted that chiefs can assist in the process of local governance by helping to enact by-laws to eliminate harmful cultural practices and promote human rights. In addition, they can enforce the laws more effectively than the formal security agencies by virtue of their offices.

With more chiefs receiving higher education than previously, traditional authorities have the potential to use their knowledge and expertise to work with assemblies to promote public- private partnerships in sustainable land use to generate employment in their communities. In the mining areas, chiefs have been involved in negotiations with companies on fulfilling their corporate social responsibilities to prevent environmental degradation.

In the area of education, for example, the role of Nana Safo Katanka of Nkwatia as chairman of the senior high school Parent Teacher Association in his town has led to immense support and commitment from parents and community members to complement services provided to the school by the assembly. Mobilization of community members in the diaspora by the chief/ presiding member to support brilliant but needy children in communities in the Akatsi area is also contributing to the human resource development in the community.

Analysis of the field data and interviews has confirmed the high esteem accorded to the traditional authorities at the local level, where they are often the first point of call in the community. Whenever the research teams complied with traditional customs, especially by reporting to the 'Odehye' in project communities to explain the objectives and methodology of the research, this resulted in greater acceptance of the project and strengthened the relationship between the assembly and the chiefs.

On the other hand, unless there is collaboration, the high esteem accorded to chiefs and the power they wield at the community level has the potential to undermine the efforts of the elected local government when the chiefs:

- rally citizens' support against the formal local government institutions;
- refuse to release lands for development;
- use revenue from stool lands for personal gain, thereby fomenting disagreements with citizens, especially youth;
- undermine the peace and harmony in the area by non-cooperation with laws;
- fail to cooperate with development partners and civil society for the public good;
- refuse to do away with abusive cultural practices;
- engage in partisan politics and incur the displeasure and mistrust of factions of society.

CONCLUSION

It is evident that the chieftaincy institution has traditionally been central to local governance and decentralized democracy processes in Ghana, as reflected in the communiqué issued by Ghanaian traditional rulers:

That the institution of chieftaincy be seen as a critical and indispensable partner in governance at the local level, that is in Metropolitan, Municipal, and District Assemblies and (traditional rulers) call for the re-arrangement of the Constitutional order to take account of the crucial role that traditional rulers play in governance (Odotei and Awedoba 2006).

Initial findings by the Ghana SoLD project have also revealed that the chieftaincy institution is still familiar to and perceived by local residents as governance at their doorstep. Especially in rural areas, chiefs are recognized as icons and administrators of community ethics, justice and security, and as custodians of

traditional values. Local democracy and governance therefore operate from the chief's residence. On the contrary, in the big towns and urban areas, urbanization and cosmopolitanism (including large, ethnically diverse migrant populations) have overshadowed the visibility of chieftaincy in most municipal and metropolitan assembly areas, thus shifting the focus to local assemblies.

In both cases, however, varied levels of interaction exist between customary and modern local governance, which could either enhance or undermine the latter, depending on how the nexus of interaction is negotiated. In order to ensure chiefs' positive involvement, legislation and policies related to local governance should explicitly spell out roles and procedures—including constitutional consultation—and the manner of fusion of any such defined roles with the new decentralization policy framework in order to promote effective local governance and development.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr Margaret Mary Sackey holds a BA (Hons) in English and Linguistics from University of Ghana, Postgraduate Diploma in Public Administration from Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration and a Hubert Humphrey Fellowship in Public Administration from Boston University, USA. She had both her Master's in International Affairs and PhD in Cultural Studies of Education from Ohio University in Athens, USA.

She is currently Head of the Department of Local Government Administration at the Institute of Local Government Studies (ILGS), Accra, Ghana. Before joining academia, she had worked as a senior public administrator at the district, regional and national levels of the Ghana Civil Service. She was involved in Ghana's public administration restructuring and decentralization implementation and the civil service per-

formance improvement programme that were directed at effective local governance and public service delivery. She was also the Executive Secretary of the Ghana National Commission on Children before joining the International Labour Organization as Country Director of two social service and livelihood improvement programmes where she worked closely with District Assemblies and Civil Society Organization including community based associations and traditional authorities. Her areas of focus are local government leadership and functional education for poverty reduction and development. She is currently managing the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) and Institute of Local Government Studies' (ILGS) collaborative pilot project using IDEA's State of Local Democracy (SoLD) methodology to assess local democracy in six districts Ghana.

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INTERNATIONAL IDEA

SE – 103 34 Stockholm

Sweden

Phone + 46 8 698 37 00

Fax + 46 8 20 24 22

E-mail: info@idea.int

Website: http://www.idea.int