



Responding to Constituents' Demand: Survival Strategies of MP's in Ghana's 4th Republic.

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What do we know about the Accountability Relationship between Legislators and Citizens' in Africa?

- MP-Citizens accountability relationship in Africa is clientelistic.

But....

- New information from the Africa Power and Politics Program finds that citizens are **prioritizing collective 'club goods' and public goods** in Ghana.
- AND suggests that in response to these demands some incumbent MPs in Ghana overtime **have begun to turn their backs** on providing solely private goods in favor of the provision of collective 'club goods'.
- Lindberg suggests that MP's behavior is explained by electoral competition

Q. If MPs are Changing their Behavior, How are they Responding to Demands of Citizen?

Research Strategy

- Ethnographic methods: Using a most different case study method with electoral competitiveness as a key factor, we trained and attached two research assistants to follow two MPs over one month.
- RAs were tasked to identify constituents that matters most to MPs by:
 1. Estimating time allocation to various groups when MPs visit their constituency
 2. The siting of developmental projects that are under the MP's control (such as MP's Fund)
 3. The distribution of MPs personal resources to service private goods demands

Meet Our Legislators

MP-A

- Comes from an electorally safe constituency for the opposition NPP
- Since 1996, the NPP candidate has won the seat with a 49% margin
- MP-A is in his second term as MP
- In parliament, he is on 3 committees including Finance and Defence
- He is a trained teacher and businessman

MP-B

- Comes from a semi-competitive constituency 650 km from the capital
- MP in 2006 via a bye-election and reelected in 2008 for ruling NDC
- Since 2006, NDC candidate has won the seat with a 30% margin
- MP-B serves on 4 committees and is a Deputy Minister
- He is also a lawyer

How do our MPs Allocate their Resources in Support of the Re-Election Bid?

Time Resources and Image:

- MP-A wants to be seen as a rep for all, so displays no party symbols in his car. He does not drive his 4x4 Mercedes Benz to the village and prefers to take the bus because is perceived by some as profligate.
- MP-A uses most of his time to meet constituents, party executives at Parliament House and the rest at ministries to lobby for projects. **Very little time is spent on attending to formal parliamentary duties.**
- MP-B spends most of his time in his ministry in Accra where all constituents go to. He sometimes has to stay till 9pm. Over the period of the study when Parliament was in session MP-B was never seen in Parliament.

How do our MPs Allocate their Resources in Support of the Re-Election Bid? Cont.

Developmental Projects:

- MP-B used his MP's fund to provide classroom blocks and succeeded in leveraging his ministerial position to secure a commitment from a government agency to provide a school building for his constituency while on a tour with the President in his region. Similarly, he arranged with a bank in Accra to set up a loan scheme to help small-scale women entrepreneurs.
- MP-A used his MP's fund to provide scholarships for students. He also was involved in commissioning a number of projects in 12 communities including classroom blocks, toilet facilities, post office rehabilitation roofing for schools, streetlights, computer training centers, etc.

How do our MPs Allocate their Resources in Support of the Re-Election Bid? Cont.

Distribution of Private Good:

- Both MPs receive numerous calls and visits from constituents seeking personal assistance. In their constituency, MPs had as many as 20 visitors a day. MP-B was not spared this burden even on the day of the funeral of his wife.
- In terms of cash handout, MP-A gave out \$622 and MP-B \$1,143 during observation. Both MPs admit that when they are in their constituency is much harder to defer payments for personal assistance.
- **MPs and their Parties:** Both MPs rely heavily on their local party executives to represent them in their absence from the constituency. In return, they sponsor party events and even pay for utility bills of the party office.

Conclusion

1. Current research under the APPP is beginning to shed light on the accountability relationship between MPs and citizens in Ghana and for that matter Africa.
1. In response to demands by citizens for both club and private goods, some MP are turning their backs on providing solely private goods.
2. To prosecute their re-election agenda, MPs strategically allocate their resources (time, financial and development project) on a daily basis.
3. We find that the strategy of our two MPs, in spite of their differences, are not particularly different.
1. While, the data was insufficient to draw strong causal claims or inference, it is useful in generating hypotheses and inspiring future research.
2. Several questions linger on: Does electoral competitiveness matter? Do ruling party MPs and particularly MPs who double as Minister induce a higher demand for private goods?



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Africa power and politics

Institutionalising Developmental Leadership at National Level

Towards a theory of developmental
patrimonialism

Tim Kelsall

September 2011

Developmental states:

- Steer resources and rents to productive sectors (industrial policy)
- Put limits on rent-seeking and corruption among the political and bureaucratic class
- Have a long time horizon

Enabling conditions:

- Strong and visionary leadership
- Single or dominant party system
- Inclusive political bargain
- Vertically coordinated technocratic integrity

APPP key finding 1:

**Rent centralisation
mechanisms are crucial to
successful development**

Differences with conventional wisdom:

1. 'Good governance' not necessary
2. Good industrial policy is necessary

Dynamics

Correct enabling conditions.



Possibility of centralised long-horizon rent-management with coherent industrial policy.



Potential for sustainable, transformative growth

APPP key finding 2:

A diversity of institutions, including unconventional institutions, can play a role in rent-centralisation

Caveat: additional enabling conditions

- Institutionalised arrangements for political succession
- Pro-rural policy bias
- Conducive state-business relations

Disabling conditions:

- Weak leadership lacking in vision
- Winner-takes-all political system
- Vigorous political competition
- Cowed or incompetent economic technocracy
- Political succession not institutionalised
- Poor state-business relations
- Urban policy bias
- Absence of a rent-centralisation mechanism

Developmental-patrimonial states in Africa

- Have fulfilled most of the enabling conditions, incl having rent-centralisation mechanisms
- Have lacked institutionalised mechanisms for political succession

Non-developmental democratic states in Africa

- Tend to lack several enabling conditions
- May have solved the problem of political succession (competitive election, presidential term limits), but not in a way that is helpful to rent-centralisation and development

“

For today's developmental patrimonial states, the key challenge is to solve the problem of political succession and to make politics and growth more inclusive; for today's non-developmental democratic states, the key challenge is to mitigate short-termism and winner-takes all politics, permitting rent-centralisation to occur

Mitigating short-termism

- Internal party reform
- Constitutional reform
- Building an elite consensus around growth strategies
- Strengthening electoral commissions etc



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Developmental leadership and 'aid effectiveness'

What APPP research means for
donors

David Booth

EADI/DSA Conference, York, 22 Sept 2011

Disclaimers

- Not a mainstream APPP report but a spin-off, linking to a personal hobby-horse
- APPP research is not just or mainly for donors, but this paper is
- The occasion is the “4th High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness” in Busan, in November, but the issues are more chronic
- I do, however, assume a rough knowledge of the 2005 “Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness”
- Multiple influences and convergences, which I can’t acknowledge

“ Country ownership needs to be brought back to the centre of discussion ...

... posing afresh the question of how to get a constructive relationship between aid and political commitment to development goals at country level

- The current concepts of aid alignment, donor harmonisation and management for results don't provide the needed answers
- They are answers to a different question, based on the false premise that development-oriented leadership *already exists* and just needs to be nurtured

“

Aid can be harmful to
country-owned development
understood in this way ...

... because it shields incumbents from the consequences of irresponsible or short-termist actions

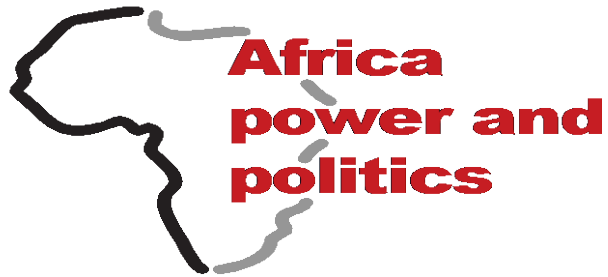
- But research, including the theory about developmental patrimonialism and the framework of the Elites, Poverty and Production programme, shows that:
 - non-developmental leadership decisions (short-termism, neglect of implementation, etc.) are the product of ...
 - *politicians' collective-action logjams* under conditions of elite fragmentation and highly competitive electoral competition
- External actors can in principle, and do to some extent in practice, help to solve otherwise fatal collective-action problems
- They could do more of that (or fund others to do it), and do less disbursement of funds

“ Treating country ownership as an outcome to be constructed suggests a different concept of development cooperation ...

... with less focus on filling resource gaps and more on assisting the right kinds of institutional change

- That means transforming development agencies ...
- ... which the agencies can't do on their own
- We need nothing less than a new politics and public discourse about development in donor countries

Thank you



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