C-Thesis

Good Governance and Development
- An analysis of Good Governance as tool for development

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Abstract
Good governance and development have been two dominating concepts in the debate by development oriented scholars. However, are the two concepts necessarily compatible with each other? This research will analyze and discuss good governance and its link to development in a critical study of the liberal inspired governance. It will take its basis in modernization theory and use Adrian Leftwich’s five elements as criteria for analyzing the developments in four countries in sub-Sahara Africa more specifically Togo, Ghana, Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire. These five elements will be applied to the developments in each country which all are scrutinized on the basis of data on the characteristic of good governance from UNDP, the World Bank and Freedom House. Not only will good governance as such be analyzed but in particular the link between good governance and governance. Thus, the definitions of governance will be an important at question to deal with. In all the four countries much still remains for good governance to be implemented in a way that it contributes to development. Ghana does however show some positive signs.

Keywords
Good governance, Development, West Africa.

Thanks to
A special thanks to Lennart Wohlgemuth for his extensive help and patience, despite my dyslexia, without whom, this paper could not have been done.
1.0 Introduction
This paper looks into the idea of good governance as a developmental framework, and if so whether a liberal idea like good governance can work in developing countries. To achieve that this paper is looking into good governments in four countries in sub-Saharan Africa as a tool to investigate those questions.

1.1 Research problem
For years the definition of good governance and development has been in some ways linked to each other. Without good governance, there is no development, but what does it truly mean. One of the biggest problems with good governance is that it is hard to define and understand, and it is used in many different texts often with the link governance, and to that extent has it made some confusion on what it rely means. (Leftwich, 1993) The definition of governance and the similarities to good governance shows how inter-linked they can be. A clear example of this similarities in the definitions in governance, is the World Banks and Institutions of Governance, Ottawa definitions. The World Banks definitions state that

**Governance is defined as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources. The World Bank has identified three distinct aspects of governance: (i) the form of political regime; (ii) the process by which authority is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development; and (iii) the capacity of governments to design, formulate, and implement policies and discharge functions.** (World Bank, 1994)

To compare the Institutions of Governance, Ottawa's definition of governance

**Governance comprises the institutions, processes, and conventions in a society which determine how power is exercised, how important decisions affecting society are made and how various interests are accorded a place in such decisions.** (Institutions of Governance, Ottawa, 2000)

The differences in those definitions relates to how they are formulated and in what way they work with development and governance. For example the World Bank works with development in both economic and social development, and the Institute of governance Ottawa works with understanding governance and giving their expertise, as stated in their website “the IGO’s mission is to promote and advance better governmental principles, standards and practice which underline good governance in the public sphere.” (IGO, 2018).
The bigger problem with good governance as expertise areas is that good governance was created in the western world for western democratic countries, with the base of western thinking, western institutions and so one. Does this then mean that good governance is something that every developing country should strive for? For example, good governance as Adrian Leftwich writes in “Governance, and development in the Third World” that when talking about good governance the importance of emphasizing that the concept good governance has two parallel meanings that often overlap with each other. the first and more common meaning is associated with the World Bank, and the second meaning of association is the association of western governance is more political. It concerns the involvement of administrative improvement, it also includes a persistence on competitive politics, this means that the meanings are often confused and need to be kept separated. (Leftwich, 1993). Furthermore, Leftwich says that implementations often are to an early attempt to promote political condition by aid programs in order to promote western democracy. (Leftwich, 1993). This can be seen on the World Banks website in the governance overview, stating that “Drawing on the World Bank Group’s convening power and multidisciplinary expertise, the Governance Practice provides financing, intellectual leadership, and a deep reservoir of global experience to help countries develop practical reforms to address complex governance challenges.” (World Bank, 2018)

The World bank emphasizes its wish to help development, and this is true. But If we refer to what Leftwich says about the western aid for governance purposes, is that they wants to promote western democracy, western institutions and so on.

1.2 Research Objective
This research focuses on a timely issue and on the political landscape that is existing at the moment. First, the idea Good governance and development has not been fully explored and it is not clearly confirmed that Good governance and development work together. Furthermore, the article that has been critical to good governance and its implementation for development is from 1993. During the early stage of this research, I found that there is room for improvement when it comes to criticism of good governance. Second, the implementation of good governance is mainly based upon liberal ideas, and how it truly works with developing countries is not clear. Is good governance truly helping the development in countries that do not want the changes that good governance argues for. Lastly, good governance is hard to
achieve, which makes good governance difficult to assess in the developing areas. This does not mean that good governance has lost its validity.

1.3 Research Question
• Does the good governance framework help development in developing countries
• Does good governance truly work with its basis mainly in liberal ideas

1.4 Paper structure
The second chapter will outline the theoretical and analytical framework I have chosen to analyze my findings, and present the literature review which will explain some of the literature that is used and ideas that is interesting in ideas to consider further. The third chapter explains the method I have used to find my facts and data. The fourth chapter is about the findings, the fifth chapter is about the analyzing and answers the research question and the last chapter is about the conclusion of the essay.

2.0 Theoretical and Analytical Framework
For my theoretical and analytical framework I have chosen the modernizations theory, This theory will help understanding how good governance in development could function, and the use of Adrian Leftwich conclusion on governance, democracy, and development, will help the essay to reach its conclusions.

2.1 Modernization theory
Walt Whitman Rostov stages of growth are one of the many social economic theories of the modernization theory. He introduces the stages of growth which is based on the idea that every country has the capability to modernize to become a developing country by implementing the idea of a developed country. Furthermore, Rostov model of growth presents 5 stages for a society to become a modern. Traditional stage, Pre-take off, Takeoff, Maturity and High consumption. (Rostov, 1970)

The traditional stage is the first stage where some of the underdeveloped countries are today. This is the stage where their main focus on production is on agriculture. According to Rostov, the traditional stage is “a traditional society is on whose structure is developing within limited production functions” (Rostov, 1970) meaning that a traditional country works with a limited-industry based economy. Furthermore, Rostov explains that a traditional society has
in history been connected to medieval Europe or China dynasty but this is not the case of his traditional society, traditional society is something he called pre-newton and post-newton societies. By giving a traditional society a new term, the indication of a traditional society makes it easy to understand the concept of Rostov model (Rostov, 1970).

The Pre-Take off stage is where the country is in its transitional stage from a traditional society to the take-off stage. This explains that the country is starting to move from the traditional society by investing in agriculture or infrastructure. Focus is increasingly on improving the existing industry or creating a new industry with the natural resources the country has. (Rostov, 1970). All of this will later result in the next stage of growth the take-off stage. The Takeoff stage is where the country goes from the traditional stage into a more modern stage. This stage is focused on urbanization and development of industry. This is also the stage where the economic changes are taken place, money from industry and export, is being invested into infrastructure this in return will help the country's industry more. The takeoff stage is an idea that the country's import and export and the newfound economic development will be beneficial for the whole of the population. Rostov named it “the force to make economic progress” he continued explaining that the force to make economic progress will then yield limited burst and create an enclave of modern activity which will in return expand and become a dominant part of society. (Rostov, 1970)

The Maturity stage is a continuation of the take-off stage, in this stage, the developing country sees more economic growth, but the investments shift from infrastructure into education, media, healthcare. By improving the lives of the population, the individuals of this country start to work on new opportunities and a new outlook on life, trying to make the most of their lives. With other words Rostov defines maturity “the stage in which an economic demonstrates the capacity to move beyond the original industries which powered its take-off and absorb and to apply efficiently over a very wide range of its resources” this means that by leaving the very core of what helped the country to move away from the traditional society and maturing new ideas and new industry is what this stage is about. Furthermore, it takes around 60 years before reaching the maturity stage (Rostov, 1970). The age of high consumption is the final stage of the Rostov stage of growth. This stage is when the country is in the same standard as the” western” countries, they have the same economic growth and production and better education and so on. This stage of High consumption biggest characteristic is the changes in social welfare and political changes, the citizens don’t haft to
worry about food and income in the same way they did in the earlier stages, they rather start to worry about other things like political representation and social welfare. (Rostov, 1970)

To summarize, Rostov model of growth is that its five stages, the first stage is the traditional stage where your main focus is on agriculture and food security. The second stage is the preconditions for take-off, where the focus is on the taping into new industries, starting to move the workforces from agriculture to industry. The third stage is the take-off stage where urbanization happens, and new industries are developed. Furthermore, economic development is benefiting the population. The fourth stage is the drive to maturity, this stage is where the economical investment goes from infrastructure to healthcare, education and so one. This is also the stage that takes the longest time to reach around 60 years. The fifth stage is the age of high consumption. This part when the country has reached its highest point in the development, they are now in the same standards as other “western” countries. They have good economic growth, more focus on social problems than before. The focus has shifted on what is important for them now. (Rostov, 1970)

The use of this model in this essay is to look where the countries are in this model, by determining if they are developing countries according to this model. This will also help when we look at the idea of good governance.

2.2 Adrian Leftwich conclusions
Adrian Leftwich in “Governance, democracy, and development in the third world”, presents five elements to good governance, the first is the sense of development. Adrian Leftwich states that “the general but simplistic appeal for better “governance” as a condition for development is virtuous but naïve” (Leftwich, 1993), He further explained that an independent and competed administration is not as simple as institution-building and training, but its politics that determines which kind of state that will be created. If the politics can’t generate, sustain and protect an effective and independent, capacity for governance, there will be no positive development. (Leftwich, 1993) The second conclusion as Leftwich explain

” There are good theoretical reasons why, in the prevailing conditions in many Third World countries, democracy is unlikely to be the political form which can generate such a state or system of governance: quite the opposite. Furthermore, historical evidence shows that faith in the economic and political liberalism of the minimal state as the universally appropriate means of development is deeply flawed.” (Leftwich, 1993)
He later continues by stating that there are many countries that have successfully transformed into modern economic. All of these countries have had strong and active states that have helped them to, accelerate and shape the process.

The third conclusion from Leftwich is that transformations to a strong developing state are not dependent on what regime type or policy organization but on the character and capacity of the state, even if it is not a democracy. In other words, the politics of the state has been a more important factor then governance or democracy, that expands the difference in successful or unsuccessful development. (Leftwich, 1993).

Forth, what is then required is not necessarily a democratic state, but it would be highly desirable. Thus, a developing state to the extent that the state with political and bureaucratical élite has a genuine development determination and autonomous capacity to defend, pursue and implement development goals (Leftwich, 1993). Furthermore, the cost and benefit of transformations and forms of governance is the groundwork of power, if the bureaucratical elites and political is not up for changes, the development will not happen (Leftwich, 1993). Leftwich also explains that the Worlds Banks literature on governance is not a marginal question as the World bank asserts, but a political one, as for development process express crucially the central core of politics: conflict, negations, cooperation over the use of production and distribution of resource (Leftwich, 1993)

The last conclusion is that successful development states are more likely to go for a more market-friendly strategy. Thus, to have development effects the country needs to have strategies that include far-reaching programs of economic empowerment, in order to increase the economic activity. In other words, it needs to liberate the poor. The programs can be land reforms, property rights, training, jobs creation and some imaginative forms of credit (Leftwich, 1993). This measure requires not simply less government but both better government and stronger government, to make a market-friendly strategy work. Thus, as earlier mentioned liberate the poor especially the rural poor is key. The problem that can occur is the traditional land elites and the oligarchs in the country who both oppose empowerment and often stands in the way of development and democracy, therefore it's not just the mater of governance it’s a matter of politics. Leftwich ends by saying that “this is why the current western insistence on markets and democracy as keys to development seems both ideological and naïve” (Leftwich, 1993)
To summarize the five conclusions first we have the understand that to generate strong institutions is not simple and can only be achieved thru training and programs, it can only be achieved with go politics (Leftwich, 1993) secondly he argues that the countries need to be strong and active states to help with the economic development and the belief of “the liberal state” which often means minimalist state can’t help the country's economy to develop (Leftwich, 1993). Thirdly to have a development state is not all about what regime type the country has for the chance to develop, the most important is what politics the country has. Forth, it's about how willing the elites are to let go and help the country and once again it's about what politics the country has. The last conclusion is that to get development the country needs to liberate the poor and the economic development will happen (Leftwich, 1993). Thus, this conclusion is from 1993 thus not mean its unsellable, this conclusion what the politics are in the country and how it’s used to achieve development and the critic of the world banks use of good governance may in some cases not work for some countries, and by using this conclusion as the theory of governance and institution building will create good ground to analyze the findings in this essay.

2.3 Literature review
At my disposal, there are many interesting articles, report, and books from different sources that will be used, from Adrian Leftwich to the world bank. Here will be some samples of the books and articles that will be used and why I have chosen these articles, books, and reports for this essay.

Adrian Leftwich
Adrian Leftwich conclusions will mainly be used in the analytical part. Furthermore, his article will be used in other areas as well not only the conclusion but also his paper as a whole. Some of the uses will be in the records problem and in the main body part, to increase the obtained validity. His paper is about the debate about good governance and international public policy, to showcase some of the relevance of this paper here is some examples.

Good Governance:
“There are two preliminary points to make here. First, it is important to emphasize immediately that the concept of 'good governance' has two parallel meanings, which often overlap. The first and more limited meaning is associated with the World Bank.” (Leftwich, 1993)
And;

“The second meaning, associated with Western governments, is more political. While it involves this concern for administrative improvement, it also includes an insistence on competitive democratic politics as well. The two meanings are often confused with each other, but need to be kept distinct. Second, there have of course been earlier attempts by the West to attach political conditions to aid in order to promote democracy, especially in Latin America, as in the Alliance for Progress. And even though the West may be said to have a genuine preference for liberal democracy and the advancement of civil and human rights, the fact of the matter is that, until recently, western governments, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have displayed no serious or consistent interest in promoting either good governance or democracy. Such concerns were regularly eclipsed by foreign policy considerations or overseas economic interests.” (Leftwich, 1993)

The critique of the western inspired policy of good governance is as relevant today as it was then. Lastly, the conclusion of the paper they will be the biggest analytical part of this paper, that a when true in chapter 2.0. Adrian Leftwich article is relevant and has some good points to help this research.

World bank
The World Banks definition of governance will be used in this paper as an inspiration and a tool of this research, not only will the definition be used but I will also peruse the World Bank Development Report of 2017 and World bank Data. The World Bank Development report will give this paper a better understanding of the definition and how they work with it. The data I cannot get from the report or if some data is not available, the World Bank databank will provide this paper with relevant information. Let us go over some way the used of the definition is important and the World Bank report.

Definition;
“Governance is defined as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources. The World Bank has identified three distinct aspects of governance: (i) the form of political regime; (ii) the process by which authority is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development;
and (iii) the capacity of governments to design, formulate, and implement policies and discharge functions.” (World Bank, 1994)

The Definition is important for this essay in that way that it helps and somewhat streamline and improve the research, to that extent that essay needs a definition to work with, with this definition it will help a framework to get data and help the final conclusion of this essay.

World Bank Developing report;
“Often, when policies and technical solutions fail to achieve intended outcomes, institutional failure takes the blame, and the solution usually proposed is to “improve” institutions. But many types of institutional arrangements and trajectories can enable development, as examples around the world demonstrate, whereas often many other “best practices” fail. In some cases, rapid progress comes about suddenly, seemingly unexpectedly. Because of this diversity of paths and perils, it becomes essential to uncover the underlying drivers of policy effectiveness. This Report identifies commitment, coordination, and cooperation as the three core functions of institutions that are needed to ensure that rules and resources yield the desired outcomes.” (World Bank, 2017)

The World Bank Developing report shows how to work with development in more present time, and it shows that it still has somewhat the same way of viewing the problem. By using this type of report from the world bank in the main body it will give the work more data and knowledge of the world banks work with Good governance and development.

Thomas G Weiss
The work of Thomas G Weiss in Governance, Good, and Global Governance. Will here only use some of the information in the chapter “Governance and Good Governance”, mainly by drawing from the different definitions of governance. Furthermore, on the history of good governance and some of its critics. Example from the text;
“Good governance has become a political and economic conditionality that is inseparable from debates about appropriate bilateral and multilateral financing for developing and formerly socialist bloc countries. International efforts, in recent decades, have thus supported political democratization (including elections, accountability, and human rights) and economic liberalization” (Weiss, 2000)

And;
“As Bøås has written, ‘the World Bank operationalized “bad governance” as personalization of power, lack of human rights, endemic corruption and un-elected and unaccountable governments’. And so, ‘good governance must be the natural opposite” (Weiss, 2000)

By using this text will give me more critiques from different sources and also more of the history of good governance, by using and implementing this text in the essay, creates more understanding on what good governance is a more precise definition of good governance. It also can increase the understanding of why good governance may probably not work in all of the developing countries. Furthermore, show how many definitions may be a bigger problem for the development and implementation of good governance.

Oliver P. Richmond
This book helps to understand and gives critique to liberal state building in post-conflict areas, thus it may be about how to create stable peace, with a new line of thinking in how we should maintain and help create a stable peace, and the critique of current stabilizing that is many neo-liberalism thinking. By using and applying the core principal that Oliver P. Richmond is implying with his book A post-Liberal Peace into institution building and development. It can help understand the problems with the concept of Good Governance. Oliver P. Richmond gives evidence and good ground to help this essay to create and find its conclusion. Here is what Oliver P. Richmond has to say about Liberal State Building:

“State building in both cases has not been a happy experience for the international community, whether UN, IFI or regional state-led. The liberal state was imported, and the international community pushed both in the direction of a neoliberal version of the state. In Timor, as has already been discussed, a trusteeship situation emerged from which the liberal state was to be built after 1999 by the UN and the usual range of international organizations and donors. The size of the operation was reduced after reaching the heights of its “kingdom” in Timor after the independence in 2002 but returned after the violence of 2006. In the Solomon, the collapse of the prior Townsville peace agreement, the near collapse of the state and prevalence of political violence- due partly to unequal development- led to the establishment of a regional assistance mission by the Australian and New Zealand Governments, plus the Pacific Island Forum in 2003” (Richmond, 2011)

And;

“Caution is needed in approaching, interrogating, and deploying culturally “sensitized” approaches: culture should not be re-essentialized nor necessarily perceived as a benign site
of agency. Emergent hybridity must be treated with caution, both in their liberal and local version. Yet, they are very important, as are the often ignored emotional and spiritual aspects of conflict and peacebuilding, of politics, society, and culture, as the above cases illustrate. The liberal peace system has failed to recognize the significance of these infra-political areas of peacebuilding – and of subsistence forms of peacebuilding – a failure which connects to broader theoretical and methodological failings in IR.” (Richmond, 2011)

Though, this book talks about Peacebuilding and not about good governance, it still has some important points in how we look at “The liberal state” as a standard for state building. By neglecting the cultural aspect of developing countries, a good state will not truly emerge. Furthermore, by looking in how is the theory of peacebuilding for a “post-liberal peace”, it can still be useful to look at institutions and development not with “western-eyes” and more with the country within the developing country.

Lise Rakner and Vicky Randall

The importance of Institutions is also a concern when talking about Development, - without Institutions there is no development. Lise Rakner and Vicky Randall talks about the importance and of institutions in politics in a developing world, The institutions are the link between politics and development, somewhat the rules of the game in the society(Rakner, Randall, 2011) Institutions will help create behaviors that people understand, it will help the country not to focus on the individual aspects of society, but if something happens you know what to do or to turn to. Rakner and Randall explains;

“The World Bank in the 1990 began actively to promote the role of institutions to protect rights and contract and to encourage civil society and good governance. Key in the new development scholarship and the politics of the multilateral institutions was the interest in institutions, and how institutional practices could be built and nurtured to secure accountability in new and fragile democracies in the developing world. (Rakner, Randel, 2011)

And;

“This focus on institutions has not warned over time; most recently, it has been applied to issues of conflict and security by the world bank, which notes that ‘[W]eak institutions are particularly important in explaining why violence repeats in different firms in the same countries or subnational regions” (Rakner, Randel, 2011)
The importance of institutions cannot be neglected and by drawing on the conclusions of this book will help create an understanding of its importance, but also its flaws. Furthermore, why it may sometimes not work in certain countries.

Lise Rakner
In another chapter in this book about governance, and about Good governance, Rakner explains;
“The foregoing discussion demonstrates that for, the Bretton Woods institutions, as well as for foreign ministries providing development assistance, good governance has become a concept that encompasses a large number of quantitative assessments, relating both to how power is obtained and what leaders do when in power.” (Rakner, 2011)
By using this text, a better understanding can be found of what good governance is really about, and if it is really that important anymore. Thus, it only a small example of what the text is somewhat about, it shows that this text will give the essay more material to use and analyze.

3.0 Methodological framework
This essay will use Qualitative analysis with descriptive statistics, by using a qualitative method an objective stand will help find the answers to the research questions. By using qualitative analysis the research questions will be easier to answer, for example the question on how the good governance framework helps development or not cannot simply be answered by qualitative methods but also needs to implement descriptive statistics, By implementing descriptive statistics to question increased the chance to find a more correct answer, for example, using some of the text from cap 2.2 and implementing data from the world bank can help to find the answer to the question. The choice of a qualitative analysis with descriptive statistics is that when there is a gap that one method cannot fill the other method can, this in return will create a more accurate answer to the questions. Furthermore, the qualitative analysis with descriptive statistics will also give this essay a bigger field to collect the correct information. (Bryman, 2012)
using this type of method, gives the tools to help the research to find concrete answers. the texts to be used are the ones that were sampled and discussed in cap 2.1 and data that will be provided by Freedom House, World Banka data and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Freedom house data is also being used to find out how political and social free the country in mind are. These four countries that will be scrutinized will be Togo,
Ghana, Nigeria, and Côte d'Ivoire. World Bank data will give this essay data on economic, and political institutions, the use of that data will not only give more information of the institutions in the four countries that essay will use but also the information on how well the countries are doing economically. UNDP's human development report gives the essay the necessary information about how good the development is in the country. Furthermore, the data is structurally collated by me, mainly from the information that is available on these sites and how easy it is to collect the data. By using these sites and literature and combining this with the mixed method gives the essay the necessary information needed to answer the research questions. Lastly by combining these data and text will create a better understanding of how Good governance and development work together, if we look at the data provided from the world bank and the definition of good governance from the world bank and implementing into the text we can see how it works In its truest form.

3.2 Limitations and Delimitations
Delimitations in the essay will be that we only looking at four countries, in sub-Saharan Africa, more specific West Africa, this is because the task to collecting and analyzing data from every underdevelopment country will not be that essay task. So, by delimiting the essay to four countries in West Africa is not to make the research to big. Another delimitation is only using the definition from the world bank of good governance, truly there are many definitions that could as well work with but using the definition from the original creators of the concept seems more beneficial than using a definition from another organization. (Bryman, 2012)

Limitations are that some of the data that essay requires may or may not exist for the moment, not only that it may not have been researched or it is not possible to research. Furthermore, the information of the institutions in the specific country may not be accessed in the sense that some of the countries may not be so transparent. (Bryman, 2012)

3.1 Ethical considerations
There is no ethical consideration in this paper, mainly because it’s a desk study and will not include any form of interviews or surveys.

4.0 Good Governance
To understand good governance and what you truly mean thereby you need to have to shape a more widely accepted definition of good governance. First let's look at the concept of
governance, governance as old as a human civilization to put it simple governance is the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are implemented or not implemented, and it can be used different contexts like local governance, national governance, international governance. And the government is an actor in governance since governance is the process of decision making.

More specifically good governance has 8 major characteristics its participation, consensus oriented, accountability, transparent, responsive effective and efficient, inclusive and follow the rule of law. Blow I will present those 8 major characteristics more in detail (UNESCAP, 2009)

Participation
Participation by both men and woman are a cornerstone for good governance. This could be either direct or through intermediate institutions, Needless to say, that does not necessarily mean that the most vulnerable in society would take part in the decision making in the country. (UNESCAP, 2009)

Rule of Law
good governance requires a fair legal framework that fully protects the human rights particularly those in minority. the judicial and the police needs also to be uncorrupted. (UNESCAP, 2009)

Transparency
Transparency means that the decisions that are taken and enforced are following the rules and regulation that are in place and that the decisions that are taken or the meetings that are being held in the country or by the government are freely available and directly accessible to whoever wants that information. (UNESCAP, 2009)

Responsiveness
Good governance requires that the institutions and the processes try to serve all the stakeholders within a reasonable time frame. (UNESCAP, 2009)

Consensus oriented
In society, there are several actors but many different views of how society should function and work the governments should, therefore, listen to the different interests use meditation
and reach as broad consensus as possible for the best interest of the society as a whole. (UNESCAP, 2009)

Equity and inclusiveness
In society, wellbeing depends on ensuring that all members of the society have the same opportunities this is especially true for the most vulnerable. (UNESCAP, 2009)

Effectiveness and efficiency
institutions should produce results that meet the needs of the society and will make the best of available resources Put in context if a country has a lot of coal it should mine it use it but it also has a responsibility to protect the environment. (UNESCAP, 2009)

Accountability
Accountability key in good governance not only government institutions but also private sectors and civil society organization must be accountable to the public for their actions. (UNESCAP, 2009)

4.1 Togo
Togo is a country in sub-Sahara in the western part of Africa, formerly a German and French colony, in 1960 Togo got its independence from France but in 1967 a military coup happened, and a new president was put in charge Geassingbe Eyadem. When he did in 2005 his son was put in charge Faure Geassingbe. Togo is a multi-party democracy but has more or less been a dictatorship for the past 60 years with no limited power of terms of a president with hard grip on its people. (CIA, 2019).

4.1.1 Development
In the Human development index, Togo has had a positive trend from 1990 to 2016. In the first measurement in 1990, Togo started at 0.405 and in 2017 Togo score was on 0.503. The highest score is 1.0 then you have good Human development. Togo has made progress of 0.098 in a 27 years period. (UNDP, 2018) Some of the factors that make up the Human development index, are education, Health, Inequality, Poverty, Work, and employment. Looking at the Education factor Togo from 1990 to 2017, they started in 1990 with a score at 0.31 and in 2017 has a score of 0.506 with is a positive trend in the nation and has made progress of 0.196 in 27 years progress. This is significant progress from the Human
development index in total. Togo has had to negative trends in education first in 1992 and in 2007 with the score in 1992 0.31 that in the previous year was on 0.322 and in 2007 the score was on 0.423 and in 2006 the score was on 0.437. Thus, the downfalls have not been permanent or that big. Togo can therefore be seen as a positive trend country in education. Looking at the literacy rate of adults of the age 15 and higher, Togo has made some progress in 2000 the literacy rate was 53.2 and in 2015 it had improved to 63.7 percent, an improvement of 10.5 percent in 15 years. (UNDP, 2018) For Health there are two variables that are most interesting life expectancy and health care expenses per GDP, these two factors are interesting in the sense that more money to health care will somewhat increase the life expectancy. The Life expectancy in Togo 1990 was 55.9 and in 2017 it was 60.5 In 27 years it has goon up with 5 years Health expense increased, from 2000 3.8 of their GDP and in 2015 6.6 of their GDP an increase of 2.8 of their GDP in 15 years. (UNDP, 2018) Looking at the inequality in the nation of Togo the coefficient of human inequality from 2010 to 2017 there has not been any significative improvement, the goal is to be as close to 0. Togo in 2010 had a score of 32.2 and in the year 2017 had the score of 31.5 (UNDP, 2018). Then we look at the data of population living below the income poverty line 1.90 dollar a day. We can see that 49.2 percent of the population is below that line (UNDP, 2018) The world banks poverty headcount ratio at the national poverty line (percent of the population) shows that Togo has a population of 55.1 percent living in poverty in the country. (The World Bank, 2019)

4.1.2 Freedom
According to Freedom house report Togo is a country that is partly free, Freedom House ranks Togo with a score of 43, the lowest being 0 (least free) and the highest being 100 (most free). The two major focus points is Political rights and civil liberties, do to some of the subpoints that are in political rights and civil liberties and that they are interlinked in this essay with some of the other parts like institutions and politics, not all of the subpoints in freedom house report will be discussed in this area. The areas to be discussed here are political rights and the rule of law. This will be the same in all the countries in this essay. Moving forward with the report, the focus in this part is on civil liberties. Civil liberties in Togo is on a downward trend according to freedom house, with their score going down to 29 to 28 of a score total score of 60. Togo’s performances in freedom of expressions and beliefs for example somewhere in the middle of free and not free. The freedom of press is granted by
law put the government do not uphold it, one thing that happens in 2017 was a protest against the government and any news organization that reported on the protest or posted pitchers where punished with one-month suspension, Furthermore they also disrupted mobile services and internet access when protests accrued (Freedom house, 2019). Religious freedom in the country of Togo is protected by law and is respected by the government, but if it’s a religion with a small belief status or religious association then they have to register it to the government and its often met with delays. The academic freedom in Togo is somewhat respected Academics can engage in political discussion, but in 2017 there were a protest on the University of Lomé for better resources and facilities, this led to violent action by security forces. (Freedom House, 2019). The citizens of Togo are free to talk privately about their political views, but they may be arrested or even incitement if they speak critically about government to a journalist or human right organization. In 2018 the national assembly adopted a new cybersecurity law that criminalizes the publication of false information (Freedom house, 2019).

The constitution of Togo opens up for freedom of assembly There are numerous laws that restrict is used, the police has for example used deadly violence to disperse assembly in practice. If there is an assembly that has not goon thru the necessary administration and it still occurs it can and often result with imprisonment or even worse (Freedom house, 2019). For NGOs working on human right issues and government-related work need to obtain a registration and are often subjected to suppressed activism when it comes to questions like LGBT rights, and torture. (Freedom House, 2019). Individuals in Togo have the right to travel in the country and foreign travel, but these rights are sometimes restricted by the authority’s practice and when it comes to domestic travel individuals may be stopped by police for collection of bribes. Women in Togo do not have the same freedom as men and are often put in a disadvantage when it comes to divorce, widowhood and child custody. Furthermore, Child marriage is a problem in some regions of the country and 5 percent according to the UN of the women population have undergone genital mutilation or cutting. (Freedom House, 2019).

4.1.3 Institutions
A well functioning government is key for development in any country and Togo is no exception. According to Freedom House is the function of Togo’s government not in the best shape, in their report from 2019, Togo received a score of 5 out of 12 in area function of
government. One of the problems mentioned is the legislative power. Freedom house explains that most of the legislative power is upheld by the president and the national assembly that is controlled by the rolling party do not serve as an effective check on executive authority. Also, a pattern of flawed elections have undermined the legality of both executive and legislation (Freedom House, 2019). Furthermore, corruption is a serious problem in the country, even though laws have been put forward by the national assembly to reduce corruption like money laundering and funding of terrorism, it still seems like it not be fully implemented by the highest officials. The institutions for checking corruption in the country the “High Authority for the Prevention and Fight against Corruption and Related Offenses” is appointed by the president this raising concern of the independence of this institution (Freedom House, 2019). The transparency of the government of Togo has been improved in 2016, there was a new law what's put in place this made it possible to access Government information. Even though this law was introduced the government seems not to uphold the law itself, sometimes they do not even respond to requests. The lack of transparency is showing in Togo in 2018 the French billionaire Vincent Bolloré, was indicted in France for allegedly helping president Gnassingbé to win the election in 2010 in return getting a contract for to the ports of Lomé (Freedom House, 2019). Looking at the rule of law show some pressing matters like Independence of judiciary is heavily influenced by the president, even the constitutional court is appointed by the president. This in return Limits the constitutional right to a fair trial (Freedom House, 2019).

4.1.4 Politics
The president of Togo is elected for a 5-year term and have no limits of times they can become president; the president then selects prime minister also for a 5 years term. President term limits were eliminating 2002 and are now up for debate have created protesters and violent riots in the country (Freedom House, 2019). The national assembly has 91 seats that are elected for a 5-year term and are represented in a multimember district. The latest election was scheduled for June 2018 but was postponed to December 2018 but was boycotted by 15 main opposition parties, in the hope of changing the constitution of the election system. Local territories should also have the election to elect the local authority but that hasn't happened since 1986 (Freedom House, 2019). Election to go is organized and overseen by the independent national electoral commission, this commission by law should be balanced between the ruling party and the opposition but is not always been true. The commission is now dominated by pro-government aligned UFC claiming the opposition seats and this is one
of the reasons 15 main opposition parties Boycott the election in 2018 (Freedom House, 2019).

Citizens of Togo Have the right to organize and different political parties mainly because of the multi-parties System and opposition parties are free to do their operate in the country However the dominance of the controlling party that is in all levels of government can be seen as a disadvantage for the opposite party, and in 2017 18 protests were organized by the opposition party for change of the government form was received with deadly force, and the number of opposition leaders were arrested and tortured for the participation (Freedom House, 2019). The control of the government by the president family that is basically controlling all of the government has made it hard for the opposition parties to gain support, Also as the government controls some of the more crucial institutions like the CINE and the constitution court (Freedom House, 2019). In the recent year, the military that installed the president has systematically and violently tracked down activist that is not for the government party and in 2018 and December election security forces repeatedly used live ammunition against opposition protesting killing several people (Freedom House, 2019).

4.2 Ghana
Ghana is country in West Africa with around 28 million inhabitants, It is a former British colony, and after, independence it has had a lot of military coups before Lt. Jerry Rawlings came to power in 1981 and banned all political parties After approving a new constitution in 1992 the multi-party system was however restated again. Rawlings won the first presidential election and the second one as well. He was not able to run for a third term because of the constitution. (CIA, 2019)

4.2.1 Development
Ghanas performance in the human development index from 1990 to 2017 has showed quite an improvement. At the start of 1990, Ghana’s score in the HDI was 0.455 and at the end of 2017, they had achieved a score of 0.592 which is an improvement of their score with 0.137 “points” in the span of 27 years. (UNDP, 2018)

The score of education for Ghana in the HDI from the year 1990 was 0.375 and have made good progress in that area. In 2017 Ghana had gone up to a 0.558 which is the increase of 0.183 in 27 years from 1990 to 2017. The improvement of literacy of adult is improving in Ghana Looking at data from 2000 and 2010 we can see improvement of almost 13.6 percent,
from 2000 the literacy was on a level of 57.9 percent and in 2010 in was the percent 71.5. (UNDP, 2018)

Going on with Health care the situation in Ghana is following, the Health care expenses in Ghana for the year of 2015 was 5.9 percent of the GDP a small increase from the year of 2000 when Ghana put 5.1 percent of their GDP in healthcare. Thus, the life expectancy in Ghana has improved with 6.2 years between 1990 to 2017, in 1990 the life expectancy was 56.8 and in 2017 it was 63 years. (UNDP, 2018)

inequality in Ghana is going in a negative direction with the “points” going up and not down. In 2010 Ghana had the score 24.2 and in 2017 its hade has gone up to 28.8 a 4.6 points differential. (UNDP, 2018)

In the poverty area, Ghana only has 24.4 percent of the population in poverty headcount which is the best percent of the four countries in this study (World Bank, 2019). Furthermore, in the income poverty line of 1.99 dollars, Ghana has only 12 percent under the income poverty line, a positive trend for the country. (UNDP, 2018)

4.2.2 Freedom
Ghana according to Freedom House is a country that is free with aggregate freedom score of 83. The freedom of the press is constitutionally guaranteed, and it is respected in the country of Ghana, even online news media operate freely without government restriction. Religious freedom is also constitutionally and legally protected and it's upheld by the government and protected. The academic freedom is legally guaranteed and generally uphold in its practice’s. Furthermore, individuals are free to express their personal views in political or at the sensitive topic without surveillance. The government does not restrict an individual’s expression on social media. (Freedom House, 2019). For the freedom of assembly is constitutionally guaranteed is generally respect that permits are not required for meetings or demonstrations and NGOs are also respected and they can operate freely and really play an important role with regard to government accountability and transparency. In Ghana you can move freely without any restrictions this is also guaranteed by the constitutional and respected by the government, they are also free to change the place of residence., domestic violence and rape are a serious problems but, lately, the government has taken action to combat these violations through special courts and removal of police that don't uphold the values of the police., the exploitation of children in agriculture and mining sector are however big problems but the government have taken a positive step to address human trafficking in recent years. (Freedom House, 2019).
4.2.3 Institutions
The functions of the government in Ghana are generally working well, the elected officials are generally free to sit and implement government policies, without facing influence powers. However, corruption still remains a problem despite the active media coverage and hardworking institution in the government working to reduce corruption. However the institution and the government's anti-corruption efforts have been heavily criticized by the media, opposition parties, and non-government organization. The government works for relative transparency though they are weak in the legal framework. The parliament works to pass a right to information bill to increase the transparency in the government, only that it seems like the bill was in the end not ready to be accepted by the parliament of Ghana. (Freedom House, 2019). Rule of law in the country of Ghana is widely accepted and well worked but, in some cases, however there are still problems. Like the judicial independence in Ghana, it is constitutionally legally ensured that they are independent, and the government has made great efforts of improvement although, corruption and bribery continued to possess a challenge to the system. Furthermore, constitutional protection for defendants’ rights is upheld, however, the police have been known to accept bribery in some cases when arresting civilians. Despite the equal rights under the law, woman and people who live in LGBT are still discriminated, woman for example in the rural areas don’t get the same opportunities for education and employment. The LGBT people are socially discriminated as well as same-sex activities illegal and the police are encouraged to make arrests and act violently on LGBT communities. (Freedom House, 2019).

4.2.4 Politics
The president who serves as the head of states of the government is directly elected for maximum two-four years term the elections are internationally observed; Ghana has been praised for the way they have implemented free elections. The parliament of Ghana contains 275 seats and are elected in a single-member constitution to serve a 4-year term. (Freedom House, 2019). The electoral law’s framework works fine despite the controversy in December 2016 where 13 president candidates due to irregularities with the nomination papers or failure to pay nomination fees were not able to run for president. (Freedom House, 2019). The people of Ghana have the right to participate in political parties. This is widely accepted in the country. However, a significant increase in candidate nominee fees for the 2016 election with difficult nomination process made that many presidential candidates could not run, this is a challenge for often smaller parties that don’t have the same economical support. There is a
realistic opportunity for the opposing parties to increase support and gain power through the election the 2 main parties the NPP and the NDC have shifted with the years and often resulted in a peaceful transfer of power. Citizens of Ghana are generally free with their political choices no groups influence them to make a choice that affects their own individual freedom. (Freedom House, 2019).

4.3 Nigeria
Nigeria a country that is in West Africa, another British colony that after its independence 1960 again and again fall into military rule until 1998 death of a military head of state allowed for a transition to a multi-party democracy. In 1999 a new constitution was adopted and a peaceful transition to a civil government was completed. However, the new government faces a daunting task of changing and reforming the highly corrupted petrol-based economy. Nigeria continues suffering under a longstanding ethical and religious tension (CIA, 2019).

4.3.1 Development
Nigeria’s performance in the HDI is as all the countries in this essay improving, the first time Nigeria was featured in the HDI was in 2003 that year it received a score of 0.443 and in 2017 they achieved a score of 0.532 an improvement of 0.089 in 14 years. Moving on to education Nigeria has made some progress in that area as well in 2003 they got a score of 0.411 and in 2017 a score of 0.483 an improvement of 0.072. Information about literacy is not available. (UNDP, 2018)
The health in Nigeria has made some progress, In the area of health care expenses from 2000 to 2015 investment increase by 1 percent of their GDP from 2.6 to 3.6 and the life expectancy has increased as well from 1990 to 2017 with 8 years with the life expectancy 1990 beginning 45.9 and in 2017 beginning 53.9. the most promising area for Nigeria, is their improvement in Inequality because it has gone down 6.1 points in the coefficient of human inequality in a span of 7 years. This data is from 2010 to 2017 and in 2010 Nigeria had 40.7 and now gone down to a 34.6 its still high but good improvement made by the country (UNDP, 2018).
The performance in the poverty headcount is not as good as Ghana, in fact, its high more than 46 percent of the population lives in poverty according data from 2009 and have not been updated since so the number can have gone down (World Bank, 2019). In the data about income poverty the population that makes under 1.99 dollars, that number in Nigeria is 53.5 percent of the population (UNDP, 2018).
4.3.2 Freedom
Nigeria is a country that's partly free with the aggregate freedom score of 50 out of 100. Freedom of speech and expression are constitutionally guaranteed. However, these rights are limited by laws on selection criminal deformity in publish of false news in the 12 northern states that have Sharia law's impose severe penalties for alleged press offenses. Furthermore, the government's official also restricts press freedom by publicly criticizing harassing an arresting journalist especially when they cover corruption scandals or human rights violation or violence in the country. (Freedom House, 2019). Religious freedom is constitutional and legally protected by the federal government but needless to say, the local government has placed limits of religious activities of others than the dominant fate. For example, the threat of Boko Haram has created tensions in the country, resulting in extensive clashes between Christians and moderate Muslims, and increased tensions among the religious communities. The federal government respects academic freedom, however, some state government mandates a religious institution in the elementary and secondary curriculum (Freedom House, 2019). Nigerians are free to engage in discussion on politics and other topics although expressing critical views of political leader’s sensitive subject like the military, religion or ethnicity occasionally leads to violence. (Freedom House, 2019). The Right for a peaceful assembly is a constitutional right, sometimes the federal and the state government have band public events as they see it as a threat for national security, some of those assemblies create political ethnic or religious tension. NGOs and a big part of the civil society sector and members of some organization face threats and even physical harm for speaking out against Boko Haram (Freedom House, 2019). Freedom of internal movement and foreign travel is legally guaranteed. Despite strict laws against rape domestic violence female genital mutilation or cutting these offenses still occur, and quite widespread women and girls camp some displaced person have reported the Mystics who abused by members of the military or other authorities. Nigeria's organized crime groups are heavily involved in many cases of human trafficking child paper and sex slavery and this is a big problem in the country. (Freedom House, 2019).

4.3.3 Institutions
The function of the government in Nigeria not in the best shape. Elected official generally makes and implements policies in Nigeria but their ability to do so is made difficult by corruption, conflict poor control of areas country was military groups are active. As many other countries corruption is present in Nigeria, corruption is mostly in the oil and security
sector. The President Buhari administration continues is an effort to reduce corruption increase transparency and a whistleblower policy was introduced in 2016 with the goal to reduce government corruption. In 2011 the Freedom of Information act granted the right to access public records, but non-government organizations criticize the government agencies for refusing to release information. (Freedom House, 2019). Rule of law in Nigeria is week and independent judicial is constitutionally and legally protected in the recent years and have to some degree got independence and professionalism but still with interference from corruption, lack of funding independence of the judicial is threatened. Numerous allegations of extortion and bribery by the police force has been made and the federal state has been criticized not doing anything about it. Section of illegitimate use of physical force and freedom from war an insurgent is not present in Nigeria military has been repeatedly criticized by local international human rights group killing torture and abuse in the North East and South East area in Nigeria. Despite of the law, safeguarding against ethnic discrimination many ethical minorities feels a bias by the state government in relation to other social groups in the same area including employment education and housing. (Freedom House, 2019).

4.3.4 Politics
The president is elected by popular vote and cannot sit more than 2 four-year terms. International organization act as observers of the elections and are reporting that these are generally well conducted. The members of the National Assembly consisting of 109 seats in the Senate and 360 seats in the house of representative are elected for 4-year terms. The work for a fair and even election in Nigeria has been praised by the international observers mainly because of one incident 2015 parliament and presidential election there was postponed by 6 weeks due to security concerns but the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) acted professionally on the matter. (Freedom House, 2019). Nigerians have the right to organize in different political parties at the end of 2018 the INEC reported 91 registered parties with 23 new parties for that year. Furthermore, Nigeria´s multi-party system provides an opportunity for opposing the party in power and win an election as demonstrated in 2015 when APC won majority and for the first time in Nigeria´s history there was a nonviolent transfer of power. Despite improvements in the election process and peaceful rotation of power citizens political choice has been reported to have been undermined to some extent by voting buying or intimidation. The legal frameworks provided in the country is that everyone is equal to participate in political life, but politicians often still rely on ethical loyalties (Freedom House, 2019).
4.4 Côte d'Ivoire
Côte d'Ivoire a former French colony is also situated in West Africa. It became independent in 1960. The development of cocoa products for exports and foreign investment all made Ivory Coast one of the most prominent countries in West Africa and was also one of the strongest economies until December 1999 following a military coup the first ever in Ivory Coast history overthrowing the government. A failed military coup in 2002 developed into a civil war in 2003 followed in a cease-fire after which the country slowly moved to a better future. (CIA, 2019)

4.4.1 Development
Côte d'Ivoire progress in the HDI from 1990 to 2017 is once again a positive trend for West Africa, the score Côte d'Ivoire had in 1990 was a score of 0.388 and in 2017 it had improved to 0.492 a progress of 0.104 in the scoring since the first measuring in 1990. (UNDP, 2018). In the education sector, Côte d'Ivoire has made significant progress, in 1990 their score was 0.233 and the highest score a country can get in this part is 1. Furthermore, Côte d'Ivoire has made progress and in 2017 they had a score of 0.424 which is an improvement of 0.191 between 1990 to 2017. Thus, the improvement of the education level in the country is promising, a negative trend in literacy in the adult age is shown between 2000 and 2014 with the 48.7 percent in 2000 that could read and write and in 2014 the score had gone down to 43.9 percent. Côte d'Ivoire is the only country that has had a negative trend of these four countries that are in this study if we don’t take Nigerians into a factor that did not have any data on that area. (UNDP, 2018)

The Life expectancy in Côte d'Ivoire in 2017 was 54.1 years and from the year of 1990 when the life expectancy was at the age of 52.2, Côte d'Ivoire has made some progress in improvement in health, by increasing the life extension with 1.9 years between the period of 27 years. The investment in health care has gone down between the period of 2000 and 2015 with 0.3 percent of their GDP, with an investment of 5.7 percent of their GDP in 2000 and 5.4 percent in 2015. In the Inequality area, Côte d'Ivoire have as Ghana a negative trend in 2010 Côte d'Ivoire had a score of 33.5 and in 2017, they received a score of 36.3. (UNDP,2018). Poverty in Côte d'Ivoire is high with 28.2 percent living under a poverty line of 1.99 dollars (UNDP,2018), and a total of 46.3 percent of the population living under the national poverty line (World Bank, 2019)
4.4.2 Freedom
Ivory Coast is a country that is partly free with a score of 51 out of 100 in the Freedom House reports. Free and independent media in the country has improved since the 2010. Conflict and incidents of severe violence against journalists are very rare although it's not uncommon that journalist face intimidation or cases of violence by security forces in connection with their work. Individuals are free to practice their religion which is legally guaranteed Relation between Muslim and Christian’s has been in improving over the years since the civil war but there are still tensions between those two groups. The academic freedom in the country this uphold During the 2010-11 conflict the public universities were closed and used as a military base. People are generally free to engage in political discussion and debate without fearing harassment or threat of violence by authorities or other groups. (Freedom House, 2019). Freedom of assembly in the country is constitutionally protected but in practice, the government has attempted to restrict and sometimes even forbidden peaceful gatherings sometimes demonstration has become violent often between protesters and police. NGOs domestic as well as international are free to operate in the country. The freedom of movement has improved since the end of the civil war with fewer illegal roadblock but sometimes regular shift points and acts of extortion continues in some areas of the country in particular in the West and North in gold and diamond production regions. Women in the country suffered significantly legal and economic discrimination and sexual and gender-based violence is still a quiet a big problem in the country. Child labor is still a problem in the country although the government and the international industries in the recent years had tried to reduce and remove child labor with no greater effect, this form of labor often occurs in the cocoa industry. (Freedom House, 2019).

4.4.3 Institutions
Institutions of Côte d’Ivoire are in rebuilding face, the function of government is not as good as it could be. The elected head of government and the national assembly, are affected by a parallel command and control system within the armed forces known as that Republic forces of Côte d’Ivoire FRCI which is a significant challenge for the country although they have remained calm and do nothing big at the moment civil government has very little control over the state of forces. Corruption and bribery the big problem the country that is not fixed with the additional police and the government contract operation. The government does generally do not well acting in a non-transparent manner and ordinary citizens have a difficult time to
receive information from the government. The high authority of governance and anti-corruption body in the country require public officials to submit assets declaration but this is not a very effective well enforcing institution. (Freedom House, 2019). The rule of law in the country is not well maintained, for example, the judicial is not independent and the judges highly involved in external affairs and briberies. All people are equal under the law and shall receive fast process, but these guarantees are not upheld in practice Some people spend years in prison without even atrial some cannot even afford an lawyer to defend them or guide them in legal counsel. The overall level of violence in the country has come down since the political-military crisis in 2010. Same-sex conduct is not specifically criminalized in the country, but LGBT people can face prosecution under an act called public indecency. (Freedom House, 2019).

4.4.4 Politics
The president is directly elected to a five-year term and will be subject to a two-term limit of the election of 2020, the Prime Minister is the head of the government and appointed by the president and responsible for heading the cabinet. Parliament consists of 255 seats in the lower house the nation assembly and 99 seats in the Senate. Off the 99 seats in the Senate 66 of them are indirectly elected by the National Assembly and the member of various local councils and the remainder of 33 members are appointed by the president all members five-year terms. The electoral laws and framework are not considered to be fair by the African court of human and people's right who ruled that the CEI this imbalance and often favor for the government under minding the independence of the elections. 2018 opposition parties boycotted The Senate elections because concerns about the independence of the CEI. (Freedom House, 2019).

People have the right to organizing different political parties and the constitution permits most of the party competition. The recent election has been generally free from intimidation or harassment, of the voters, however, military leaders do have a significant political influence in the country. (Freedom House, 2019).

5.0 The countries and good governance
Now we will apply the major characteristics of good governance presented above in the theoretical framework chapter on the four countries. First, let's look at Participation, Togo has freedom of assembly but with some restrictions such as permits for political protest are often delayed. They also have the right to participate in political parties however there is almost no
chance the small political parties to grow or enter the parliament. Ghana the more positive example allows freedom of expression, freedom of speech participate politically freedom of assembly. There is even a realistic chance for a small party to go to parliament. Nigeria on the other hand has a limit to freedom of expression, However you can participate in political parties and even have a fair chance going to office - freedom of assembly is in the constitutional law but not so much in practice. Côte d'Ivoire is a multi-party country and you can participate politically but there is not a big chance for a small party to gain power Freedom of assembly is accepted but widely restricted. (Freedom House, 2019)

The second major character in good governance is the rule of law, Togo’s it's not in the best shape with high corruption all through the judicial system When the president points to people for the institution of corruption raising concerns about its independence. Independence of the judicial is heavily influenced and even the constitutional court is appointed by the president. This shows that Togo is not upholding the rule of law as the president chooses the judiciary This gives no fate for justice in the country. In Ghana the fight against corruption has moved forward in a good direction, However, there is still discrimination against LGBT people, the police are encouraged to arrest and use violence against the LGBT community. Even so Ghana is the most free country of the four but has still a long way to go in some areas. Nigeria rule of law is weak where the independence of the judiciary has been questioned and some judges have been known of taking bribes. The police and military are heavily criticized by international human rights groups for killing and torture in the Northeast and Southeast areas in Nigeria. In Ivory Coast rule of law is not well maintained the judiciary is not independent and judges are highly suspected for external affairs and bribery Violence against LGBT people is a problem They are protected under the law but there are no laws against same-sex activities but there is an act called the public indecency act which the police uses to prosecute the LGBT community (Freedom House, 2019).

The third factor in good governance is Transparency, Togo’s transparency is improving, in fact, a law in 2016 made it possible to access governmental information even if it seems that the government does not to uphold it and does not even respond to request, Another example of the lack of transparency in Togo is when the French billionaire Vincent Bolloré obtained a contract for the harbors of Lomé, This was at allegedly a thank you from the president of Togo for helping him win the election in 2010. In Ghana transparency is okay although the legal framework is pretty weak and when they tried to fix the law the parliament did not prove the new law. In Nigeria the work to improve transparency and reduce corruption in the
government is ongoing and in 2016 a whistleblower program was introduced with the purpose to remove corrupt politicians. In the Côte d'Ivoire, work with transparency is not at present high on the agenda, in fact there is no transparency at all Citizens have a difficult time trying to get necessary information from the government (Freedom House, 2019).

Responsiveness In Togo you can see there is no responsiveness In Ghana there is some responsiveness as a result of the improved rule of law and transparency but in Nigeria and Ivory Coast there is no clear responsiveness (Freedom House, 2019).

Consensus orient it seems like Ghana and Nigeria uphold this part the best by trying to include everybody. However, Nigeria’s seems like they don't want anger anybody with their limitation of freedom of assembly, this is understandable in some ways between the history of the Christian and Muslims in the country and the security risk like Boko Haram. Togo in this matter and especially the president party don't want to see a change in the country the protests regarding the two terms limits law that is not part of the constitution at the moment and it has sparked violence and hate in the country. (Freedom House, 2019).

Equity and inclusiveness This part I think all the countries have something to work on for Ghana the Ivory Coast the LGBT community be included in Nigeria and Togo the inclusion of all ethnicities. but in all country’s violence against women are prevalent and the non-inclusiveness in society a problem (Freedom House, 2019).

Effectiveness and efficiency Ghana should be praised in this area they produce new laws and tackle difficult problems. The same with Nigeria to some extent, but in Côte d'Ivoire and Togo the situation is not so good, and they need to improve areas taken up in the Freedom House report (Freedom House, 2019).

Accountability With a high degree of corruption in all the countries accountability is not very high anywhere. Worst is the situation in Togo, followed by Côte d'Ivoire, and Nigeria, In most of the countries the society doesn't trust the judicial system and the high ranking officers and officials (Freedom House, 2019).

Looking at the information we have acquired we can see that no country is even close to be a good governance country. With high corruption, violence against women, child labor and inefficient institutions situations are far from ideal. The country that could be seen as the best moving towards good governance is Ghana. Based on the information about this country and how good governance 8 main characteristics are implemented the following could be said by
using the critique of Leftwich and Wessie. Weiss argues that the good governance has become more of a political and economic tool for development and in the interest of the World Bank. Furthermore, the idea of political democratization has a part to play in that area. Even if good governance is a way for underdeveloped countries to include election, accountability and human right, is it right for an international organization to use good governance in their own self-interest (Weiss, 2000). Leftwich says that the IMF and the world bank and individual aid donors in the 80s conditioned aid to structural adjustment programs including the idea of election, human rights and so on. This tool was mainly used and justified for poor and conflict ridden countries to working for an open market-friendly state. The world bank and IMF introduced two stages: stabilize and adjustment, This was for improving the countries hurt by war and way to improve them. (Leftwich, 1993)

The development in the four countries under scrutiny is improving and all of them have different backgrounds and regime type, Togo is ruled basically by one family since the 60s, Ghana is a functional democracy, Nigeria is a federal state, that has had major troubles with insurgent groups like Boko Haram. Côte d'Ivoire had more or less an elected dictator until his death in the 90s that led to a civil war and another civil war in 2010. Thus, these countries have been improving according to HDI from 1990 to 2017 with Togo improving with 0.098, Ghana with 0.183, Nigeria from 2003 to 2017 with 0,72 and Côte d'Ivoire with 0.191(UNDP, 2017). This flawless Leftwich third conclusion that it does not matter what type of regime the county has, it’s what kind of politics and policy that are implemented in the country (Leftwich, 1993). One of the questions was does, good governance framework help development in underdeveloped countries, The truth seems to be that it does not really help the country as it was expected to do, It might be universal ideas that are good for a developing country to strive for, That it does not have some impact on to the policy making in a country is however not correct Rather it seems good to have the idea of good governance as a goal and something every country should work towards. Furthermore, it should not be used as a way of implementing ideas that a country doesn’t want and are not clear on how they are supposed to work, Thus, it must be said that while the HDI and Freedom House use the definition of universal human rights in their analysis thereby making good governance more of a universal idea then a framework to implement in a specific country. It should be underlined that good governance is extremely hard to achieve even for countries that have good economic power and labeled as developed countries For an underdeveloped country it is almost impossible to achieve these standards. However, we should not forget that these
countries are in a take stage in their development as defined by Rostov as discussed in the theoretical framework chapter. (Rostov, 1970)

5.1 The liberal ide
Does, good governance truly work when as we have noted it mainly builds on liberal ideas. To answer that question, we need to look at some of the points in the international discourse for example by the World Bank such as structural adjustment and by Leftwich when he criticizes the promotion of good governance. The critic Leftwich have about the promotion of good governance is that it comes from western ideas as explained in the literature review. When it comes to good governance there are two points he makes. Firstly, good governance has two parallel meanings one is loosely associated with the World Bank, and, with western democracy and is often political and involves administrative improvements and competitive democratic politics, Secondly, according to Leftwich, there have been early attempts by west to attach political conditions to aid in order to promote democracy, especially in Latin America (Leftwich, 1993). In fact, even though the west prefers liberal democracy and advancement of human rights there has not been much interest by the World Bank and the IMF of promoting good governance and democracy which often is overlooked in the interest of economic gain (Leftwich, 1993). Furthermore, the structural adjustment program that the world bank promotes, also shows an interest in promoting western ideas. So, does, good governance truly work when it so much is based by western ideas, Well good governance is a western idea built on western values like democracy, accountability, human rights and there is no other way forward to my knowledge that is about implementing improvements in a country in so many areas. So, to implement good governance without western ideas will not work in that manner that it will change the basis of values of good governance. However, there may be ideas that are not western based that could work better than good governance in development and even achieve greater strives in areas that developing countries needs to improve in.

6.0 Conclusion
In this essay, we have tried to understand the concept of good governance and its link to development. By looking at good governance as a framework for development and even trying to understand if good governance works when it has western world bias. The answers points at that good governance as a framework for development should not be considered and that good governance should only be a way of thinking, that developing countries should
strive for good governance as a helping tool for a more stabilized country, a country that is inclusive transparent and accountable for their actions. Furthermore, we found that these four countries Togo, Ghana, Nigeria and Ivory Coast still have a long way to go to reach good governance, and sadly still have some big problems including religious and ethnicity tension, and even the discrimination of the LGBT community. Good governance is so a western world idea that only works with western values, implementing other values from other cultures or ideas may work for good governance. But looking at developments only with western eyes is a problem in the field of development studies even for the western international institutions. Therefore future research should be focusing on two areas firstly on looking into new ideas for development that is not western biased, To truly achieve development all around the world we need to look into other cultures ideas not only western ideas Secondly, another area that researchers should study is how do we reach the high standards which characterizes good governance.
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