

Emmanuel GYIMAH-BOADI

Born October 2, 1953

CURRENT POSITIONS

Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon
Executive Director, Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), Accra
Executive Director, Afrobarometer

EDUCATION

Ph.D.; M.A. (University of California, Davis);
B.A. (University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana)

ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

Stanford Center for Democracy, Rule of Law and Development (Summer 2003)
US Institute of Peace Unsolicited Fellowship (1996-97)
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Fellowship (1994-95)
Salzburg Seminar Fellow (January 1995)
International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) Scholarship (1979-81)
University of Ghana Staff Development (Merit) Scholarship for Graduate Studies Abroad (1979-84)

SELECTED CONSULTANCIES

Directed and served as lead political economist/social scientist on the following research, advocacy and advisory services and programs at the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), Accra since 1998: Monitoring and other election fairness/transparency/credibility-enhancement programs in Ghana since 2000; Evaluation of Ghana's Multi-Donor Budget Support (Overseas Development Institute/DFID), 2006-7; Technical assessment of the status of good political governance and democracy in Ghana (NEPAD/African Peer Review Mechanism, 2004-5; Transitional justice and national reconciliation Ghana (OSI/OSIWA), 2002-5; Diagnostic reviews of the key institutions of accountability and anti-corruption in Ghana/Africa (FNF, USAID, Transparency International); The Ghana "Driver's of Change" analysis (ODI/DFID), 2003/4; Monitoring of governance progress in Ghana (UNECA), 2002/3; Ghana governance and anti-corruption diagnostic study (World Bank), 2000; Assessment of the effectiveness of Ghana's key institutions of democratic governance (parliament, judiciary, Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice, and Electoral Commission, (1999); Editor in Chief of CDD-Ghana's quarterly magazine, *Democracy Watch*

Selected Free Lance Consultancies

Researched and wrote report on "External Democracy Assistance to Ghana" for a FRIDE/World Movement for Democracy Global Report (2009); researched and wrote background report on the state of democracy in Ghana (Freedom House, 2009); researched and produced a policy brief: "Rethinking the African Development Agenda in the Perspective of the Global Crisis" (ECORYS, 2009); conducted desk research and wrote brief on the topic "Enhancing EU/G8/developed country support for democracy, good governance and sustained development in Africa" (Fride 2009); researched and produced a paper for a tracer study on "Building Capacity for Better Governance: University of Ghana" (DFID, 2008); researched and produced paper (with Sven Grimm) on "Regional Organizations and Incentives to Improve Governance: The APRM Experience, with particular reference to Ghana" (ODI/IRISH-AID, 2008); consultant on the Federal President of Germany's initiative, "Partnership with Africa" and co-moderator of related high-level Forum (of African and German political, business and cultural leaders), 2005-8; reviewed (with David Watson) the Bank's

activities/programs to promote governance activities in Regional Member Countries and within the NEPAD/APRM, and made recommendations for enhanced governance programming at the Bank (African Development Bank, 2007); researched analyzed and coauthored paper (with Andrew Shepherd) on policy responses to north-south disparity in Ghana - as background material for World Bank's World Development Report (World Bank/ODI, 2004); led the evaluation review exercise for Tanzania's multi-donor supported National Anti-Corruption Strategic Plan (UNDP-Tanzania, 2004); commissioned to research and write paper on technical, human and material gaps in the capacity to institutionalize good governance and human security in the West African sub-region (UNECA, 2003); commissioned to study and write report on "The Dynamics of Democratic Governance and Human Security in the West African Sub-Region" (UNECA, 2002/3); the Ghana case study on the topic: "Ethnic Structure, Inequality, and Governance of the Public Sector" (United Nations Research in Development, 2002-4); served on a four-person international panel to review the performance of Historically Black Universities in South Africa (National Research Foundation, South Africa) August-September 2001; conducted the Ghana country study on National Integrity System Indicators for the Global Forum on Fighting Corruption held at The Hague (The Netherlands) in May 2001(Transparency International) October 2000/May 2001; served as consultant to review agency-wide strategy paper on good governance (CIDA), February 2001; wrote background paper on issues of peaceful political succession and power alternation in Africa for Policy Forum on the Institutionalization of Democracy in Africa (Global Coalition for Africa), June 1999; developed draft policy guidelines for Bank Group to incorporate good governance principles into its lending and development support activities (African Development Bank, Jan-May 1999); reviewed materials and participate in the writing of papers on democracy and conflicts/poverty reduction (Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex) November 1998; part of a group of experts that reviewed OECD/DAC/UNDP/DIFID instruments for monitoring progress in good governance and participatory development (OECD, November 1998).

ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

Books and monographs

Towards a Constitution for a Democratic and Well-Governed Ghana (Accra: CDD-Ghana Constitutional Review Series No. 1, January 2009)

The Quest for the Developmental State in Africa: What has Liberal Democracy Got to With It? (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 2010)

Public Opinion, Democracy and Market Reform in Africa (with Mike Bratton and Robert Mattes) Cambridge University Press (2005).

Democratic Reform in Africa: The Quality of Progress, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, (2004)

Ghana Under PNDC Rule, Codesria, London, (1993).

Democratizing Africa: Halting Progress, Outstanding Problems, and Serious Dilemmas (The text of an Inter Faculty Lecture at the Faculty of Social Science at the University of Ghana on April 13, 2000) Universities of Ghana Press, 2001.

Governance Institutions and Values in National Development (Legon, Accra: Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research Millennium Series No. 1, March 2001)

Civil Society Organizations and Ghanaian Democratization, with Mike Oquaye and Kofi Drah, (Accra: CDD-Ghana Research Paper No. 6 September 2000)

Civil Society and Domestic Policy Environment in Ghana, with Mike Oquaye (Accra: CDD-Ghana Research Paper No. 7, September 2000)

Democratic Politics, Institutions and Politics in Contexts of Inequality, Poverty and Conflict, with Robin Luckham et. al, Working Paper 104, (Sussex: Institute of Development Studies, January 2000).

Business Associations in Ghana's Economic and Political Transition, with Elizabeth Hart (Accra: Center for Democracy and Development, 2000)

Attitudes to Democracy and Markets in Ghana (with Michael Bratton and Peter Lewis) East Lansing: Michigan State University Working Papers on Political Reform, October 1999.

Selected Journal Articles

"Another Step Ahead for Ghana," Journal of Democracy, Vol. 20, No. 2 (April 2009), pp.138-152

"Politics in Ghana Since 1957: The Quest for Freedom, National Unity and Prosperity" Ghana Studies V. 10 (2007), pp. 107-143

"Constituencies for Reform in Ghana" (with Michael Bratton and Peter Lewis) Journal of Modern Africa Studies, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2001) pp. 231- 259.

"A Peaceful Turnover in Ghana" Journal of Democracy, Vol. 12, No. 2 (April 2001), pp. 103-117

"Debating Democracy Assistance: The Cost of Doing Nothing," Journal of Democracy, Vol. 10, No. 4 (1999), pp. 119-124

"The Rebirth of African Liberalism, " Journal of Democracy, (April 1998), pp. 18-31

"Ghana's Encouraging Elections: The Challenges Ahead." Journal of Democracy, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1997), pp. 78-91.

"Self-Determination and Politics in Africa After the Cold War." Defense Intelligence Journal, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1997), pp. 97-118.

"Civil Society in Africa," Journal of Democracy Vol. 7, No. 2 (April 1996), pp. 118-132.

"Ghana's Uncertain Political Opening," Journal of Democracy, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1994), pp. 75-86.

"Notes on Ghana's Current Transition to Constitutional Rule," Africa Today, Vol. 38, No. 2 (1991), pp 5-17.

"Economic Recovery and Politics in the PNDC's Ghana," Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (November, 1990), pp. 328-343

"Populism in Ghana and Burkina Faso," (with Donald Rothchild), Current History, Vol. 88, No. 538 (May, 1989), pp. 221-224 and 241-244.

"Rawlings, Populism, and the Civil Liberties Tradition in Ghana," (with Donald Rothchild), Issue, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (Fall/Winter 1983), pp. 64-75.

"Ghana's Return to Constitutional Rule," (with Donald Rothchild), Africa Today, Vol. 28, No. 1 (1982), pp. 3-16.

Selected Book Chapter contributions

Gyimah-Boadi, E. “Country Report – Ghana.” Countries at the Crossroads 2010 (New York: Freedom House, 2010), pp. 191-209

McCauley, John F. and E. Gyimah-Boadi. **“Religious Faith and Democracy: Evidence from the Afrobarometer Surveys.”** *Afrobarometer Working Paper No. 113*. 2009

E. Gyimah-Boadi and Emmanuel Debrah, “Political Parties and Party Politics” in Baffour Agyeman-Duah ed., Ghana: Governance in the Fourth Republic (Accra: CDD-Ghana, 2008), pp. 126-154

E. Gyimah-Boadi and Marton Markovitz, “Civil Society and Governance” in Baffour Agyeman-Duah ed., Ghana: Governance in the Fourth Republic (Accra: CDD-Ghana, 2008), pp. 215-234

E. Gyimah-Boadi, “Taking Account of Past Legacies: Reflections on Military Rule in Ghana” in JRA Ayee ed., Ghana at 50 (Accra: Department of Political Science, University of Ghana and Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung, Ghana, 2007), pp.125-142

Political Parties, Elections and Patronage: Random Thoughts on Neo-Patrimonialism and African Democratization in Matthias Basedau, Gero Erdmann and Andreas Mehler eds., Votes, Money and Violence: Political Parties and Elections in Sub-Saharan Africa (Sweden, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2007) pp. 21-33

“Evolution of the Nation-State in Africa: The Period Since Independence” in The Nation of the State in Contemporary Africa, (Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2006) pp. 85-105

Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Public Sector Governance in Ghana (with Richard Asante) in Yusuf Bangura ed., Ethnic Inequalities and Public Sector Governance (Palgrave, 2006) pp. 241-260

“Ghana and South Africa, Assessing the Quality of Democracy” (with Robert Mattes) in Larry Diamond and Leonardo Morlino eds., Assessing the Quality of Democracy (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005) pp. 238-273

“Reconciliation – Comparative Perspectives” in Public Forum on Reconciling the Nation (Accra: Friedrich Ebert Foundation, 2005) pp. 11-22

“Financing Political Parties in Ghana” in Report of Conference on Towards Sustainable Democratic Institutions in Southern Africa (International IDEA, 2001)

“Ghana: the political economy of ‘successful’ ethno-regional management” in Robin Luckham et al eds. Can Democracy be Designed? (London: Zed Press, 2003) pp. 120-137

“The December 2000 Elections and Prospects for Democratic Consolidation” in JRA Ayee ed. Deepening Democracy in Ghana: Politics of the 2000 Elections (Volume One) Freedom Publications, Accra 2001 pp. 56-74.

“Ayawaso West Wuogon and Kpone Katamanso Constituencies in the December 2000 Elections” in JRA Ayee ed. Deepening Democracy in Ghana: Politics of the 2000 Elections (Volume Two) Freedom Publications, Accra 2001 pp. 67-86.

- "The Political Economy of Reform" (with Richard Jeffries) in Ernest Aryeetey, Jane Harrigan and Machiko Nissanke eds. Economic Reforms in Ghana: The Miracle & the Mirage, (Oxford: James Currey Publishers, 2000) pp. 32-50
- "Six Years of Constitutional Rule in Ghana: An Assessment and Prospects of the Executive and Legislature," in Six Years of Constitutional Rule in Ghana: 1993 - 1999 (Accra: Friedrich Ebert Foundation, 2000), pp. 1-16
- "Economic Reform and Political Liberalization in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire: A Preliminary Assessment of Implications for Nation Building" (with Cyril Daddieh) in Kidane Mengisteab and Cyril Daddieh eds, State Building and Democratization in Africa, Faith Hope and Realities, Praeger Publishers, Westport, Connecticut (1999), pp. 125-156.
- "Institutionalizing Electoral Credibility in Ghana" in The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies, Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner eds., Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder and London (1999), pp. 105-121.
- "Managing Electoral Conflicts in Africa: Lessons from Ghana" in Timothy Sisk and Andrew Reynolds Eds. Managing Electoral Conflicts in Africa, United States Institute of Peace, Washington D.C. (1998) pp. 101-118.
- "Ghana: The Challenge of Consolidating Democracy" in Richard Joseph ed., State, Conflict and Democracy in Africa, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder Co. (1999).
- "The Politics of Economic Renewal in Africa" with Nicolas van de Walle, in Benno Ndulu and Nicolas van de Walle (eds), Agenda For Africa's Economic Renewal, Overseas Development Council, Washington, D.C. /Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick (1996) pp. 211-239.
- "Explaining the Economic and Political Successes of Rawlings: The Strengths and Limitations of Public Choice Theories," in John Harriss, Colin Lewis and Janet Hunter (eds.), The New Institutional Economics and Third World Development, Routledge, London/New York (1995), pp 302-22.
- "Ghana: Adjustment, State Rehabilitation and Democratization," in T. Mkandawire and A. Olukoshi (eds.), Between Repression and Liberalization: The Politics of Structural Adjustment in Africa, Codesria, Dakar (1995), pp 217-229.
- "Associational Life, Civil Society and Democratization in Ghana," in John Harbeson, Donald Rothchild, and Naomi Chazan (eds.), Civil Society and the State in Africa, Lynne Rienner Publishers (1994), pp. 125-148
- "The Search for Economic Development and Democracy in Ghana: From Limann to Rawlings," in E. Gyimah-Boadi (ed.), Ghana Under PNDC Rule, Codesria, London (1993), pp. 1-12.
- "The PNDC and Organized Labor: The Anatomy of Political Control," with A. Essuman Johnson in E. Gyimah-Boadi (ed.), Ghana Under PNDC Rule, Codesria, London (1993), pp. 196-212.
- "Between Control and Equity: Tensions in Ghana's Transition to Constitutional Rule," in K. A. Ninsin and F. K. Drah (eds.), Ghana's Return to Constitutional Rule, Ghana Universities Press (1991), pp. 35-40.
- "State Enterprise Divestiture: Recent Ghanaian Experience," in Donald Rothchild (ed.), Ghana: The Political Economy of Recovery, Lynne Rienner Publishers (1991), pp 193-208.
- "Public Administration in Ghana," with Donald Rothchild, in V. Subramanian (ed.), Public Administration in the Third World, Greenwood Press, Westport (1990), pp. 229-257.

"Problems in Ghanaian Agriculture and Responses of Post-Colonial Regimes," in K. A. Ninsin and E. Hansen (eds.), The State, Development and Politics in Ghana, Codesria, London (1989), pp. 222-241.

"Ghana's Economic Decline and Development Strategies," with Donald Rothchild, in John Ravenhill (ed.), Africa in Economic Crisis, Macmillan Press (1986), pp. 254-85.

Book Reviews

A review of Lynne Brydon and Karen Legge, Adjusting Society: The World Bank, the IMF, and Ghana (I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1996) in Journal of Developing Areas vol. 32, no. 1(Fall 1997) pp. 137-39

A review of M. M. Huq, The Economy of Ghana: The First 25 Years, (Macmillan, London 1989), in Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 29, No. 4 (1991), pp.708-9

A review of Donald Ray, Ghana: Politics, Economics, and Society, (London: Frances Pinter, 1986), in Africa, Vol. 59, No. 2 (1989), 236-7.

Professional and other affiliations

Fellow of the Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences

Fellow of the World Academy of Art and Science

Member, Editorial Advisory Board, Journal of Democracy

Member, International Advisory Board of Development Policy Review (UK)

Member, Research Council of the International Forum for Democratic Studies (National Endowment for Democracy, USA)

Member, Editorial Board of the International Journal for Transitional Justice (South Africa)

Member, Board of the Ghana Integrity Initiative (Ghana Chapter of Transparency International)

Member, International Advisory Board of the International Center for Transitional Justice (New York)

Vice Chairman, Ntiamoah Foundation (a Ghanaian private philanthropic foundation for health and education)

Member, Technical and Advisory Committees of the Ibrahim Index of African Governance

Member, Governing Council of the Catholic Institute of Business and Technology (Accra)