

## **Enhancing Good Governance Principles and Practices in African Militaries: A Qualitative Inquiry of the Ghana Armed Forces**

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**Abstract:** The significance of incorporating good governance principles and practices into the security sector is widely recognized as crucial for enhancing the democratic culture of African nations. This study focused on examining the nature, principles, and practices of good governance within the Ghana Armed Forces, as well as identifying the barriers that hinder the pursuit of a good security governance agenda. Furthermore, strategies to overcome these obstacles were explored. To investigate this phenomenon, a qualitative methodology was employed, specifically in-depth interviews with selected personnel from the Ghana Armed Forces. Through thematic narrative analysis, three main themes emerged: the prevalence of good governance principles and practices, the challenges that impede the implementation of such an agenda, and the available strategies to overcome these challenges. This study contributes to the broader discourse on enhancing good governance in African militaries and offers insights for improving the effectiveness and integrity of military institutions across the continent.

**Keywords:** Good Governance; African Militaries; Security Sector; Principles and Practices; Ghana Armed Forces.

## **Introduction**

Ghana remains a stable and peaceful democratic country in the West African Sub-Region, standing out among its neighbors. In 1993, Ghana adopted the Fourth Republic through the enactment of the 1992 Constitution, which marked the start of another democratic journey. From 1992 to 2016, Ghana successfully conducted seven peaceful elections, witnessing power alternation three times between the two main political parties, namely the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC), in 2001, 2009, and 2017. In December 2020, the country held its eighth election, resulting in the ruling New Patriotic Party securing a second term. Undoubtedly, Ghana currently possesses a flourishing democracy that grants its citizens a wide range of rights and privileges. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have experienced a growth in number and influence, while the media enjoys the freedom to criticize the government and leadership on behalf of the people. Consequently, numerous international scholars and organizations have commended Ghana's accomplishments in democratic experimentation, presenting it as a model for other African nations to emulate (Gyimah-Boadi 2008; Whitfield and Jones 2008; Ninsin 1998).

Given its strong democratic foundations Ghana has implemented various reforms in its state institutions over the years. Successive administrations under the Fourth Republic have pursued numerous agendas to reform the public sector, aiming to restructure its systems, enhance the capacity of its workforce, and improve the effective and efficient delivery of public services. These reform efforts have also extended to the security sector, with a particular focus on the Ghana Armed Forces. Hutchful (1997) contributes to the discussion on security reform in Ghana between 1982 and 1996, identifying six stages that characterized the transformation of the Ghana Armed Forces. Initially, there was a period of politicization and the emergence of a democratic military from 1982 to 1984. This was followed by a phase of political disengagement and partial professionalization from 1984 to 1987. Subsequently, reforms and the transition to democracy occurred between 1987

and 1992. Furthermore, there was an emphasis on civilian control and restructuring of the armed forces from 1992 to 1996. Additionally, the establishment of civil-military relations within the new democratic order took place between 1992 and 1996.

Successive political administrations since 2001 have consistently pursued reforms, including within the Ghana Armed Forces, which operates under the supervision of the Ministry of Defense. Currently, the armed forces have an active personnel strength of 15,500, a significant increase from the 7,000 personnel in 2006. According to Global Fire Power (2020), Ghana ranks 106th out of 138 countries in terms of military strength. The Ghanaian Army's primary role is to ensure national defense and contribute to peacekeeping efforts within the country. It is structured into Northern and Southern Commands organized as brigades. The Navy's role is to defend Ghana's territorial waters, deter any maritime aggression, and safeguard the country's communication routes and marine resources. Meanwhile, the Air Force is responsible for air transport, offensive air operations, and participation in peacekeeping missions. The reforms undertaken by the Ghanaian armed forces have enabled them to participate in peacekeeping operations in various countries, including Côte d'Ivoire, Cambodia, Chad, Darfur, Lebanon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Sinai, Liberia, Mali, Sierra Leone, South Sudan, and Western Sahara.

Security sector reforms play a crucial role in promoting Security Sector Governance (SSG) and, more specifically, Good Security Sector Governance (GSSG). It is within this context that I aim to explore and analyze the principles and practices of good governance within the armed forces. It is important to note that security sector governance is a concept used to:

report on the exact means of operation of a country's security sector, what is regarded as good security governance is a prescriptive guide that suggests how humans and security should be supplied within a democratic atmosphere. The idea of good Security Sector Governance (SSG) encapsulates diverse values and pays specific attention to how the

various principles of good governance can be applied in the provision, management, and monitoring of security within a country. SSG as a concept demonstrates the steps and things that ought to be done to improve upon the effectiveness and accountability of the sector within a system guided by the rule of law, democratic civilian control, and respect for the rights of people (DCAF, 2015, p.3).

Hence, the fundamental principles of good governance encompass accountability, transparency, the rule of law, consensus orientation, effectiveness and efficiency, participation, equity and inclusiveness, and responsiveness (Keping, 2018). Gisselquist (2012) argues that major development institutions today unanimously recognize the importance of promoting good governance as part of their agendas. However, achieving "good governance" is a complex and multifaceted objective, as its definition varies among organizations and different actors within them.

Aning (2004) highlights that in the 1990s, there was a focus on restructuring intelligence agencies, with limited attention given to the armed forces. These reforms lacked a comprehensive plan, resulting in uneven progress. Additionally, judicial reforms were insufficient, leading to a lack of accountability for security officers and their crimes. Nevertheless, the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) has made notable strides in the past two decades, displaying a commitment to upholding the constitutional order during the Fourth Republic (Diamond, 2005). It can be argued that these advancements are attributed to the broader democratic environment. However, the specific good governance principles and practices that have been effective within the defense context in Ghana remain unclear. Thus, the central question driving this study is, "How does the GAF effectively integrate democratic governance principles and practices into its security governance framework?". Consequently, the present study aims to address the following questions: (1) What are the key principles of good governance that should be upheld in the context of African militaries? (2) How does the Ghana Armed Forces currently implement good governance principles and practices? (3) What are the challenges and

barriers faced by the Ghana (4) What are the perceived benefits and outcomes of implementing good governance principles in the Ghana Armed Forces? Therefore, this research seeks to accomplish the following: (1) To identify and analyze the key principles of good governance that are relevant and applicable to African militaries;(2) To examine the current policies, procedures, and practices related to good governance in the Ghana Armed Forces;(3) To investigate the challenges and barriers faced by the Ghana Armed Forces in implementing good governance principles and practices(4)To evaluate the perceived benefits and outcomes of adhering to good governance principles in the Ghana Armed Forces, considering factors such as accountability, transparency, and public trust;(5)To provide recommendations for enhancing good governance principles and practices within the Ghana Armed Forces and potentially other African militaries, based on the research findings.

## **Literature Review**

### **Good Governance**

While governance pertains to the concept of governing, ruling, and systems of authority, good governance emphasizes effectiveness and efficiency within contexts where democracy prevails. The former UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, provided a definition of good governance in 2000, stating that it entails "respect for human rights and the rule of law, strengthening democracy, and promoting transparency and capacity in public administration." In 1992, the World Bank also conducted research on good governance and defined it as:

The way power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. The Bank identified three distinct aspects of governance: the form of political regime, the process by which authority is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development, and the capacity of governments to design, formulate and implement policies and discharge their functions.

(World Bank,1992, p.8- 10)

In addition, in 1994, the World Bank published a report called "The World Bank's Experience," which identified four principal areas in its governance efforts: public sector management, accountability, the development of a legal framework for development, and the promotion of transparency and access to information. Building on the World Bank's initiative to link the economy with good governance, the African Development Bank (AfDB) also defined good governance in its 1999 draft policy paper as "a process that pertains to how power is exercised in managing the affairs of a nation." The AfDB's initiatives aimed at supporting good governance emphasized accountability, transparency, anti-corruption measures, citizen participation, and legal and judicial reforms. The objective of good governance is to enhance the well-being of citizens by fostering greater participation in decision-making processes, ensuring transparency, and promoting accountability. In summary, good governance is characterized by its responsiveness, transparency, effectiveness, accountability, and citizen-centered approach, advocating for a strong civil society and diverse media landscape (Huque, 2001; Minocha, 1998; Stowe, 1992).

### **Good Security Sector Governance**

Security sector reform offers an opportunity to promote good security governance. In the context of the security sector, good governance entails adhering to democratic principles and adopting a peace-building approach to security (Ball, 2004). While governance is a broad concept, good security sector governance specifically emphasizes that the security sector should uphold the same standards as any other public sector institution when it comes to serving the interests of citizens. It encompasses key elements such as accountability, transparency, adherence to the rule of law, responsiveness, participation, effectiveness, and efficiency. Good security sector governance provides a prescriptive framework that outlines how the state should ensure human and state security within a democratic society (DCAF, 2015). The concept of good security sector governance encompasses values that illustrate how principles of good governance can be applied in

the provision, management, and oversight of national security. It demonstrates methods for establishing an effective and accountable security sector that operates within a framework guided by civil principles, respects human rights, and upholds the rule of law (DCAF, 2015).

### **Theories and Models of Governance**

Various theories and models have been proposed to explain the concept of governance. Considering this, four broad theories and models will be examined. The first model, put forward by Stoker (1998), presents five propositions along with their associated dilemmas to explain governance. The second set of models and theories is presented by Mintzberg (1996) and includes the following: (1) the government-as-machine model, (2) the government-as-network model, (3) the performance-control model, (4) the virtual government model, and (5) the normative control model. The third group of models, proposed by Peters (2001), consists of the following: (1) the market model, (2) the participatory state model, (3) the flexible government model, and (4) the deregulated government model. Finally, the fourth model is the good governance model.

- **Stoker's Governance Model**

Stoker (1998) presents five key propositions that form the foundation of his governance theory. The first proposition emphasizes that governance extends beyond the government and includes institutions and actors from both the public and private sectors. The second proposition highlights the role of governance in clarifying responsibilities and boundaries concerning social and economic matters. The third proposition asserts that governance identifies power dynamics and interdependencies among institutions involved in collective actions. The fourth proposition suggests that governance operates through independent self-regulating networks of institutions and actors. The fifth and final proposition states that governance enables the government to execute ideas that may go beyond its scope and authority. Stoker also notes that each proposition is accompanied by a corresponding dilemma. The first dilemma pertains to the divergence

between decision-making processes and normative expectations. The second dilemma relates to the potential confusion and blame-shifting resulting from unclear responsibilities. The third dilemma addresses the unintended consequences that may arise due to power dependencies. The fourth dilemma concerns the challenges of accountability posed by self-governing networks. The fifth dilemma recognizes that governance may still experience failures despite the government's flexible steering of collective action. These dilemmas are seen as complementing, rather than contradicting, the five propositions of Stoker's model.

- **Mintzberg Governance Models**

Mintzberg (1996) contributes to the governance literature with his exploration of five different models. The first model, known as the "government-as-machine" model, portrays governance as a rigid system guided solely by rules, regulations, and set standards. While this model is widely studied, it has been criticized for its lack of adaptability and responsiveness to individual initiatives. The second model, the "government-as-network" model, presents government as a complex system with various relationships established to address challenges through informal communication channels. However, it acknowledges that individual projects may still operate within a web of interconnected projects. The third model, the performance control model, treats governance as a business, if different business units make up the entire organization and each unit must meet specific targets. The fourth model suggests that a virtual government model can overcome the limitations of the machine model by providing a means to deliver improved public services. In this model, all the microstructures of government are replaced by the private sector. Mintzberg's fifth model, the normative control model, places values and norms at its core, in contrast to the structure-driven models mentioned earlier. This model focuses on five essential components: selection, socialization, guidance, responsibility, and judgment. Selection emphasizes choosing individuals based on their values and attitudes rather than just credentials. Socialization aims to



foster a sense of membership within an integrated social system. Guidance relies on accepted principles and visions rather than imposed plans and targets. Responsibility is shared among all members, and leaders practice a craft style of management rooted in experience. Performance is evaluated by stakeholders who assess the organization's effectiveness.

Overall, Mintzberg's models provide diverse perspectives on governance, highlighting different approaches and factors that shape the functioning of government systems.

- **Peters Governance Models**

In his analysis of governance, Peters (2001) presents four models that shed light on various aspects of governance. These models include the market model, the participatory state model, the flexible government model, and the deregulated government model.

The market model is primarily an economic model that argues for the superiority of the private sector in providing services compared to the traditional public sector. It emphasizes the efficiency and effectiveness of market mechanisms in delivering goods and services. In contrast, the participatory state model emphasizes the importance of greater individual and collective participation in decision-making processes. This model seeks to include segments of government organizations that have been historically excluded, allowing for a more inclusive and democratic approach to governance.

The flexible government model suggests that governance should be responsive to the context in which it operates. It advocates for flexibility in the governance process to address environmental changes and meet the demands of constituents. This model highlights the need for adaptable policies that align with the evolving needs of society. Lastly, the deregulated government model emphasizes the reduction of bureaucracy within government institutions and promotes managerial independence. This model seeks to streamline government processes and empower managers to make autonomous decisions, aiming for greater efficiency and effectiveness. Peters' models provide

different perspectives on governance, offering insights into various approaches to improve the functioning of government and meet the needs of society.

- **Good Governance Model**

This study is grounded in the theory of Good Governance, which emphasizes the effective management of institutions through principles such as transparency, participation, responsiveness, accountability, consensus orientation, equity and inclusiveness, efficiency and effectiveness, and the rule of law. International institutions like the World Bank, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), African Development Bank, and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) have advocated for this concept, particularly in developing countries. The objective is to promote democracy, decentralization, accountability, transparency, the rule of law, and a development model that involves the people.

The World Bank has identified various dimensions of good governance, including political accountability, freedom of association and participation, the rule of law, an independent judiciary, access to information, efficient administrative systems, and government engagement with civil society organizations. These elements serve as criteria for aid-receiving countries seeking World Bank assistance. The OECD, UNDP, and the World Bank share similar views on the essential characteristics of good governance. The UNDP emphasizes the equal engagement of all citizens in decision-making processes, transparency, accountability, equity, and the promotion of the rule of law. It aims to ensure that local people and those most affected are heard in decision-making and resource allocation.

It is important to note that good governance is not merely a set of principles, norms, and values that regulate specific sectors or activities. It extends beyond the normative dimension and includes a descriptive dimension. The descriptive dimension refers to the policies and regulations implemented not only by national governments but also through

networks at supranational, national, regional, and local levels. This interplay of levels is known as "multi-level governance."

The discourse on good governance continues to evolve, with discussions around its definition, ethics, utility, and significance. Some scholars argue that good governance has been instrumentalized for political purposes, rather than being centered on the well-being of the people. The normative nature of good governance, focusing on values, also makes it challenging to establish a unified model that provides a comprehensive explanation of the concept.

### **Good Governance in the Security Sector**

The empirical evidence supports the relationship between several factors and good governance in the security sector. Studies have shown that institutional culture, historical context, leadership, and human resources are influential in promoting good governance. For instance, research by Paramitha, Agustia, and Soewarno (2017) indicates that organizational culture has a significant impact on good governance, which, in turn, leads to improved performance. Yosinta (2016) also found that a strong culture, coupled with participative leadership and effective management, contributes to high performance in the public sector. Leadership style was identified as a determinant of the quality of public service delivery. This suggests that a transformative cultural shift alone may not be sufficient; effective leadership and management are equally important.

Furthermore, the principles and practices of good governance in the public sector, including the security sector, have been extensively documented. Halachmi (2002) demonstrated that accountability can lead to efficiency problems, while Dubnick and Frederickson (2011) linked accountability to a lack of innovation and Christensen and Laegreid (2014) associated it with conflicting objectives. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2014) highlights that good governance is underpinned by transparent, democratic institutions and efficient and effective public services. Etzioni (2010) argues that transparency is justified by its potential to increase trust and reduce

corruption. Transparency can be achieved through mechanisms such as freedom of information laws or the use of technology for information dissemination, depending on the context (Michener, 2011; Bertot et al., 2010). Other factors associated with transparency include trust, participation, efficient administration, and reduced corruption (Pasquier, 2014; Kolstad and Wiig, 2009).

In the context of West Africa, evidence from Nigeria suggests that the reform and transformation process of the Nigerian Army, initiated during President Olusegun Obasanjo's tenure, has yielded modest achievements in establishing civilian control (Aiyede, 2015). This example illustrates the potential positive impact of governance reforms in the security sector.

Overall, empirical studies highlight the importance of factors such as institutional culture, leadership, accountability, transparency, and effective public services in promoting good governance in the security sector. These findings contribute to a better understanding of the practical implications and implementation of good governance principles in this specific context.

### **Barriers to Good Governance in the Security Sector**

Indeed, the challenges to good governance in the security sector are complex and arise from various sources. The concentration of power within the executive and the security apparatus, aimed at furthering regime security, often leads to the political elite ignoring positions that could influence security decision-making (Bryden and Chappius, 2016). This close association between the security sector and the political class can generate suspicion among both security personnel and those involved in security sector governance.

Post-conflict situations in West Africa present significant obstacles to security sector governance. Scholars argue that sustainable development, peace, and security cannot be achieved without reforming the security sector (Bryden, N'Diaye, and Olonisakin, 2008). Ineffective national armies face attacks from insurgent groups like Boko Haram,

Azawadis, Lord Resistance Army, and Al-Shabab, posing threats not only at the national level but also regionally (Bryden and Chappius, 2016).

Internal challenges within the security service itself contribute to the obstacles. There is often fear among security personnel that reforms may jeopardize their positions, status, or expertise. Reforms have frequently failed to address these concerns adequately or demonstrate the potential benefits, further exacerbating resistance to change (Bryden and Chappius, 2016). Weak governance, absence of democratic culture, weak democratic institutions, internal security threats, civil-military relations, and a lack of advanced skills are additional obstacles to good security governance in developing countries (Tadesse, 2007). In the Horn of Africa resistance to security reform can be attributed to factors such as the absence of political will and leadership, as well as organizational considerations like fear of change, institutional inertia, conflicting views, and misunderstandings.

External actors, including donors, also pose challenges to good security governance. Donors often fail to link conflict resolution with security sector reform programs, have conflicting policies in the security domain, pursue partisan political agendas, lack coordination in their efforts, and impose solutions that undermine local ownership (Tadesse, 2007).

In summary, the challenges to good governance in the security sector arise from internal factors such as concentration of power, fear of change within the security service, and post-conflict contexts, as well as external factors including donor practices and policies. Overcoming these challenges requires addressing issues of power dynamics, promoting democratic control, building strong governance structures, improving civil-military relations, enhancing skills and capacity, fostering political will and leadership, ensuring coordination among stakeholders, and promoting local ownership of security sector reforms.

### **Capacity to Overcome Barriers to Good Governance in the Security Sector**

Bryden and Chappius (2016) provide valuable insights on how to overcome challenges and promote good security governance in Africa. They emphasize the importance of building capacity to improve oversight within the security sector and relying on internal sources rather than external actors. They also highlight the need to support civil society organizations and the media, enhancing their knowledge and resources to effectively contribute to security sector governance. Public relations and information campaigns are suggested to broaden awareness and support for security sector reform. Strengthening the legislature, ensuring judicial independence, and establishing effective human rights and anti-corruption institutions are crucial elements in promoting good governance. Furthermore, legal reform projects should align the legal architecture governing security provision, control, and oversight with human rights norms and the rule of law.

Tadesse (2007), focusing on security reform and governance in the Horn of Africa, argues for addressing the political culture and adopting a demilitarized agenda for the region. Strategic and long-term reform efforts with a flexible actionable plan are recommended. The existing literature has primarily applied the concept of good governance to the political and development domains, with limited exploration of its utility in the security and defense sector, particularly in Africa. This study aims to bridge this gap by applying the good governance framework to the security sector. The conceptual framework developed acknowledges the key principles and practices of good governance within the armed forces while recognizing the challenges involved. It also considers the capacity of the armed forces to overcome these challenges and build a transparent, accountable, and effective institution that prioritizes the rule of law and delivers public services to stakeholders.

Overall, the research reviewed provides valuable guidance on addressing challenges to security governance and promoting good governance principles and practices within the security sector.

## **Materials and Methods**

- **Research Approach and Design**

The qualitative approach was chosen to study the phenomenon of good governance in the security sector, specifically within the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF). The qualitative research approach aims to gain a deep and interpretive understanding of the social world and experiences of the research participants. It seeks to explore the sense they make of their circumstances, perspectives, and histories. The qualitative approach is characterized by its focus on in-depth exploration and interpretation, allowing for a bottom-up understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. In this study, the goal was to examine the contextual factors and mechanisms that contribute to and shape the understanding of good governance principles and practices within the GAF. The study aimed to identify the challenges and barriers that affect the agenda of good security sector governance in the GAF. Additionally, an assessment was conducted to determine strategies for overcoming these barriers and achieving effective and responsible governance within the GAF.

To provide a comprehensive and detailed analysis of these issues, a case study design was employed. The case study design is well-suited for examining contemporary contextual issues and allows for the utilization of multiple sources of evidence. By adopting this design, the study aimed to provide an in-depth analysis of the theoretical interests surrounding good governance in the GAF. The choice of Ghana as the context for the study was influenced by the country's growing democratic space, which provides a typical and relevant basis for exploring the concept of good governance within the armed forces.

- **Sample and Sampling Procedure**

In the study, a total of seventeen key personnel from the Ghana Armed Forces were selected as participants. The selection process involved purposive sampling, which is a

non-random sampling technique used to identify individuals who meet specific criteria and are considered typical cases of interest to the study.

The participants were selected from different branches of the armed forces, including the Military, Navy, and Airforce, ensuring representation across these sectors. Among the participants, there were ten senior officers and seven junior officers, providing a range of perspectives and experiences within the Ghana Armed Forces.

To capture diverse insights and expertise related to good governance in the security sector, participants were purposively drawn from specific departments within the armed forces. These departments included legal, Personnel Administration, Pay Regiment, and the Intelligence Directorate. By selecting participants from these key areas, the study aimed to gather a comprehensive understanding of the factors and mechanisms influencing good governance practices within the Ghana Armed Forces.

The purposive sampling technique allowed for the intentional selection of participants who possessed the knowledge and experience relevant to the study's objectives. This approach ensured that the participants were representative of the targeted population and could provide valuable insights into the phenomenon under investigation.

- **Data Collection Instrument**

Data for the study was collected using an interview schedule that was developed based on a comprehensive review of the literature on governance in the security sector. The interview questions aimed to explore various aspects of good security governance, including the contextual factors, mechanisms, barriers, and strategies for achieving effective and responsible governance within the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF).

Initially, the interview schedule consisted of 30 open-ended questions. To ensure the validity and effectiveness of the interview schedule, a pretest study was conducted with two senior officers, one of the ranks of Major and the other of the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, from the GAF. These pretest participants provided their responses, comments, and suggestions regarding the interview questions.



The feedback received from the pretest study was used to refine and improve the interview questions. Some questions were rephrased to enhance clarity and relevance, and six additional questions were added based on the suggestions and insights provided by the pretest participants. This iterative process ensured that the final interview schedule was comprehensive and well-suited for data collection.

The final interview schedule, after incorporating the feedback from the pretest, consisted of 30 open-ended questions. These questions covered a range of themes related to good security governance, including the contextual factors influencing governance, the mechanisms of good governance (such as transparency, accountability, responsiveness, civilian control, participation, equity and inclusiveness, rule of law, and efficiency and effectiveness), barriers to the utility of good governance principles and practices, and strategies for overcoming these barriers.

By using open-ended questions, the interview schedule aimed to elicit detailed and nuanced responses from the participants, providing rich data for analysis. The inclusion of various themes and aspects of good governance ensured a comprehensive exploration of the research topic within the context of the GAF.

- **Administration Procedure**

Prior to conducting the interviews, an introductory letter was prepared and sent along with a sample of the interview questions to the Personnel Administration Department of the Ghana Armed Forces. This step was taken to seek permission and obtain approval to conduct the study within the organization. The purpose and objectives of the study were clearly communicated in the letter.

Once the necessary permissions were obtained, the selected participants were informed individually about their participation in the study. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the need to adhere to safety measures, it was decided that the participants would respond to the interview questions via email.

Participants were provided with a structured interview schedule, which contained 30 open-ended questions, and were instructed to fill it out and return it via email. The participants were given a reasonable amount of time to complete the interview schedule. The return of the filled interview schedules varied among participants. Some participants were able to complete and return to the schedules within two days, while others took four or six days. On average, participants spent four days to respond to the interview questions and return the filled interview instruments via email.

By utilizing email as a means of data collection, the study ensured the safety of both the participants and the researchers during the COVID-19 pandemic while still allowing for the collection of valuable data for analysis.

- **Ethical Assurances**

Participants in the study were provided with a comprehensive briefing on the purpose, objectives, and significance of the research. During this briefing, participants were assured that their responses would be treated with the utmost confidentiality and anonymity. They were informed that their names would not be used or disclosed in any presentations or publications of the study.

To obtain their consent to participate, participants were individually contacted either by phone or email. During these communications, they were given a clear explanation of their involvement in the study, the nature of the data collection process, and the measures taken to ensure the confidentiality and privacy of their responses. Participants were given the opportunity to ask any questions or seek clarifications before providing their consent. Considering the challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic, the means of data collection were carefully chosen to prioritize the safety and well-being of the participants. In this case, the decision to utilize email as a means of data collection was made to minimize physical contact and maintain social distancing measures. This approach allowed participants to provide their responses from the safety of their own locations.

By taking these precautions and ensuring that participants were well-informed and gave their consent, the study upheld ethical considerations and prioritized the confidentiality and safety of the participants throughout the research process.

## **Results and Discussion**

The interview data were analyzed using a thematic narrative, which is a qualitative analytical method. Four thematic areas were derived from the analysis: pervasive good governance principles and practices, barriers to good governance, and strategies to overcome the barriers.

- **Pervasive Good Governance Principles and Practices in GAF**

The first objective aimed to investigate the widespread presence of good governance principles and practices in the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF). The identified pervasive good governance principles and practices in the GAF include accountability, transparency, participation, equity and inclusiveness, responsiveness, rule of law, effectiveness and efficiency, and civil control. These principles and practices are observed and upheld within the GAF as essential elements of good governance.

- **Accountability**

The Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) has established internal anti-corruption and audit units to ensure good governance practices. Notably, the defense intelligence and the Inspector General's Department are responsible for overseeing and detecting any infractions, including corruption, within the GAF. Additionally, the Defense Financial Comptroller conducts regular audits to ensure the proper utilization of public funds. A participant in the interview emphasized the importance of regular audits carried out by individuals with the necessary skills.

While there is evidence supporting the principle of accountability as a contributing factor to good governance (Andreas, Diamond, and Plattner, 1999; Johnston, 2002), Halachmi (2002) presents contrary evidence regarding accountability, efficiency, and innovation. It is worth noting that this study was conducted within a large private sector organization,

which may differ from a typical security organization like the Armed Forces. The contextual differences could potentially explain the disparities in the evidence regarding accountability, efficiency, and innovation in different organizational settings.

- **Transparency**

Transparency is linked to accountability within the framework of good governance. As such, institutions of the state are obligated to provide sufficient and appropriate information to the institution responsible for oversight. An officer mentioned that meetings, such as those held by the Regional Security Committee (REGSEC) and Municipal Security Committee (MUSEC), facilitate information sharing among stakeholders, enabling appropriate action to be taken when necessary. At a higher level, Commanders meet with the Minister and other stakeholders at the Ministerial level. Furthermore, the defense and interior committee of parliament holds oversight responsibility for the Armed Forces.

This finding is supported by a study conducted by the United Nations Development Programme (2014), which identifies transparency, democratic institutions, efficiency, and effectiveness as essential elements of good governance. The literature also suggests that transparency contributes to improved outcomes, increased trust, and reduced corruption (Etzioni, 2010).

- **Participation**

Participation in good governance occurs on two levels: within the armed forces and through the involvement of civil actors and the public in shaping security policies. The armed forces have mechanisms in place to engage their personnel in governance processes. For instance, during the identification of systemic problems and the formulation of policy recommendations, personnel are allowed to contribute through *durbars* (gatherings) and other informal forums that facilitate decision-making. One participant mentioned that the armed forces identify systemic issues through observation, *durbars*, interviews, and informal interactions with officers and soldiers.

On the other hand, there is room for improvement regarding the participation of civil actors and the public in the pursuit of good governance. It is expected that security institutions should engage more with civil society, especially in a democratic context where the promotion of constitutionalism, rights, rule of law, and openness is essential. An officer emphasized the need to harness this aspect properly for the benefit of security institutions. However, it is worth noting that reports from civil society organizations, particularly the media, play a pivotal role in shaping policies and contributing to the good governance agenda.

- **Equity and Inclusiveness**

The issue of equity and inclusivity in the armed forces primarily focused on gender-related concerns. Participants highlighted the importance of attitudes, both within and outside the armed forces, towards the inclusion of women in military roles. The responses indicated that women have become integral members of the armed forces and participate in similar roles as their male counterparts. One officer noted the positive trend of increased female representation in the service, stating that "the number of females in the service has increased significantly." The United Nations has also advocated for a certain percentage of women to serve in UN missions, and the Ghana Armed Forces have complied with this requirement.

Ghana's commitment to integrating gender dimensions into its governance is evident through its presence among the top five countries, including Ethiopia, Nigeria, South Africa, and Uruguay, in terms of contributing female military personnel to United Nations peace operations. This achievement reflects the determination and commitment of the Ghana Armed Forces to promote gender equity and inclusivity.

- **Responsiveness**

The study examined the effectiveness and efficiency of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) in providing security for the state and its citizens. According to the participants, the armed forces positioned itself as the foremost security institution in the country. They

perceived the Army as highly proactive and taking the lead in addressing security challenges faced by Ghana.

One participant highlighted that the Army demonstrates exceptional sensitivity and proactiveness in dealing with issues that could threaten the country's security. They provided examples such as the Army's involvement in Operation Calm Life, aimed at combating armed robbery, as well as efforts to combat illegal logging, illegal mining activities ("galamsey"), and the protection of water bodies. These activities go beyond the traditional roles of the GAF, but the armed forces willingly engage in them to safeguard and protect the security of the state.

This perspective suggests that the Ghana Armed Forces actively takes initiatives to address security concerns beyond its core responsibilities, demonstrating a commitment to ensuring the safety and well-being of the country and its citizens.

- **Rule of law**

The Ghana Armed Forces operates under a comprehensive legal framework consisting of various instruments. These include the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, the Armed Forces Regulations Vol. I, II, III, and IV, as well as the Command Staff Instruction Procedure. Participants in the study emphasized that the military upholds these legal and regulatory instruments with the seriousness they deserve, and they form the basis for imposing penalties on individuals who violate the guiding principles of the GAF.

While maintaining a strong adherence to the legal framework, the armed forces also ensure a fair system of hearing for those who transgress the law. According to one officer, minor offenses are handled through measures such as extra duties, interviews, or cautioning. On the other hand, more serious cases are dealt with through a formal charge, and if the offender is found guilty, appropriate punishment is awarded.

This approach demonstrates the commitment of the Ghana Armed Forces to maintaining discipline and enforcing the rule of law within its ranks. It ensures that both minor and

severe offenses are appropriately addressed, fostering a sense of accountability, and upholding the principles that govern the conduct of military personnel.

- **Effectiveness and Efficiency**

The Ghana Armed Forces is an institution that is designed to meet the needs of society, and its effectiveness and efficiency are evident in various operations conducted both domestically and internationally. One officer highlighted the importance of regular briefings, held daily and weekly, which keep commanders informed about operational matters, administration, and coordination at all levels of command. This practice ensures that information is disseminated efficiently, contributing to the overall effectiveness of the armed forces.

In addition to internal mechanisms, the armed forces also benefit from collaboration with key institutions and bodies. The Armed Forces Council, the National Security Council, and the Ministry of Defense play vital roles in ensuring the efficiency and coordination of the army. Furthermore, the Controller and Accountant General's Department and the Auditor General's Department are involved in overseeing the proper utilization of public funds, ensuring accountability and effective financial management within the armed forces.

The existing literature also supports the notion of effective and efficient governance within the armed forces. It underscores the importance of good governance principles, such as accountability, transparency, and effective resource management, in enhancing the performance of military institutions.

- **Civil Control**

Under the current democratic system, the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) operates under civil control, with the President of Ghana serving as its Commander-in-Chief. The 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana define this arrangement. Additionally, the GAF is subject to parliamentary oversight, and its affairs are overseen by a dedicated Ministry headed by a civilian.

The officer's statement highlights that the GAF is governed by the 1992 Constitution, which establishes the legal framework for its operations. However, the day-to-day administration of personnel within the armed forces is guided by specific regulations such as the Armed Forces Regulation Vol. II, as well as Command Staff Instructions and Procedures (CSIP) that outline the administrative processes for personnel daily.

In terms of civil-military relations, civil actors play a significant role. Parliament, through the enactment of laws, and the National Security Council, through policymaking, influence the actions and operations of the armed forces. The officer's statement acknowledges that the actions and opinions of the populace indirectly influence the formulation and modification of policies related to security-civil matters or engagement. Furthermore, civil actors, particularly the media and government appointees, have an influence on policies and engagements related to security-civil matters. The media can shape public opinion and provide input on security-related issues, while government appointees contribute to policy formulation and decision-making processes.

Overall, the current democratic arrangement in Ghana establishes civil control over the Ghana Armed Forces, with the President as the Commander-in-Chief and parliamentary oversight. Civil actors, including parliament, the National Security Council, the media, and government appointees, play significant roles in influencing policies, engaging in civil-military relations, and shaping the security landscape in Ghana.

### **Barriers to the Pursuit of Good Governance in GAF**

The second objective of the study focused on identifying the barriers to achieving good security governance within the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF). The legal, policy, and doctrinal framework governing the GAF, including the 1992 Constitution, Armed Forces Regulations (AFR Vol. I, II, III, IV), and Command Staff Instruction and Procedures (CSIP), provide the foundation for its operations. However, despite this framework, several challenges were identified.



One major challenge highlighted by an officer was political interference and feedback on issues. This interference was seen in the undue political influence on recruitment, rumormongering, and the misuse of social media platforms. The officer also mentioned the lack of a common platform for feedback and the absence of soliciting views from lower ranks as challenges to good governance.

Recruitment processes within the armed forces were another area of concern. Participants noted that political interference and pressure often led to the recruitment of unqualified individuals. Nepotism, cronyism, tribalism, corruption, greed, and selfishness were reported to be prevalent issues in the recruitment process. These factors hindered the selection of suitable candidates and undermined the integrity of the recruitment system. Regarding welfare and access to basic amenities, participants pointed out that challenges, particularly in housing, persist. The provision of adequate housing for personnel remains a challenge within the armed forces.

Research on the challenges to good governance emphasizes that the concentration of power by the executive and security institutions, in the context of regime security, has allowed the political elite to neglect positions that could influence security decision-making. Additionally, the literature suggests that resistance to security reform often stems from a lack of political will and leadership.

### **Strategies to Overcome Barriers to Good Governance**

The third objective of the study focused on assessing the capacity of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) to overcome the barriers to achieving effective and responsible governance. Three strategies were suggested to address the challenges identified.

The first strategy, on a political level, involves minimizing political interference in the armed forces. Participants emphasized the need for politicians to reduce their exerted power, particularly during the recruitment process. By reducing political interference, the armed forces can operate with greater autonomy and maintain the integrity of their governance processes.

The second strategy, at the organizational level, aims to address the lack of clarity in the relationship between soldiers and their superior commanders. Participants suggested that the appointing authority should outline clear methods to evaluate how troops respond to their superior commanders and create opportunities for everyone to express their opinions. This would promote a more inclusive and participatory governance structure within the armed forces.

The third strategy involves providing adequate resources, particularly financial resources, to enable effective governance within the armed forces. Participants recognized the importance of sufficient resources for the implementation of good governance practices. This strategy encompasses both political and institutional considerations. Adequate financial resources can support the armed forces in carrying out their duties effectively and ensure that governance mechanisms are properly implemented.

The suggestion is to address political interference, improve organizational clarity, and provide resources that align with the findings of Tadesse's study on security reform and governance in the Horn of Africa. Tadesse emphasizes the need to address political culture and adopt a demilitarized agenda to overcome challenges to security governance. The study also highlights the importance of strategic, long-term planning with a flexible actionable plan for successful reform.

By implementing these strategies, the Ghana Armed Forces can enhance their capacity to overcome barriers to effective and responsible governance, improving their performance and ensuring the pursuit of good security governance.

### **Conclusion**

The study examined the application of good governance principles and practices in the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) and identified the presence of the eight key principles and practices: accountability, transparency, participation, equity and inclusiveness, responsiveness, rule of law, effectiveness and efficiency, and civil control. These

principles and practices were found to be prevalent in the functioning of the armed forces.

However, the study also identified several barriers and challenges to achieving good security governance in the GAF. Political interference was identified as a major challenge, where undue influence from politicians affected processes such as recruitment and decision-making. Another significant challenge was the need for clear channels to manage the relationship between superiors and subordinates within the armed forces, ensuring effective communication and feedback.

Furthermore, the study recognized the importance of adequate resources, particularly financial resources, to administer the affairs of the armed forces. Insufficient resources can hinder the implementation of good governance practices and affect the overall effectiveness of the armed forces.

To overcome these barriers, the study proposed strategies to enhance good security governance. These strategies include minimizing political interference by establishing clear guidelines and reducing undue influence on recruitment and decision-making processes. Improving the channels of communication and relationship between superiors and subordinates was also suggested, allowing for open feedback, and creating opportunities for all members to contribute to decision-making. Additionally, ensuring adequate resources, particularly financial resources, was identified as crucial to effectively administer the affairs of the armed forces.

In conclusion, the study emphasizes the importance of implementing and upholding good governance principles and practices in the Ghana Armed Forces. It highlights the need to address barriers such as political interference, improving communication channels, and ensuring sufficient resources. By adopting the proposed strategies, the armed forces can overcome these challenges and promote effective and responsible governance.

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