

# World Governance Survey

## TOGO

### Introduction

For some years now, governance problems have been a concern to decision makers, international institutions, financial institutions, NGO and research centres engaged in various countries in the promotion of human development and in the struggle against poverty.

In Togo, the World Governance Survey study lasted for four months from the end of October to the end of February 2001.

The present report tackles the following points:

- Togo: political and socio-political context
- Methodological considerations
- Result presentations and analysis
- Conclusion.

## 1. Political and socio-economic context

### 1.1 General socio-economic context

Located in West Africa, Togo is a country with a length of 600 km between the sixth and the eleventh parallel of north latitude, with a coastal façade on the Atlantic ocean of about 50 km. It is surrounded in the north by Burkina Faso, in the west by Ghana, in the east by Benin. The total surface of Togo is 56827 km<sup>2</sup>. It is divided in economic regions as follows: Coastal Region (6395 km<sup>2</sup>), Region of Plateau (16800 km<sup>2</sup>), the Central Region (13470 km<sup>2</sup>), the Kara Region (11629 km<sup>2</sup>), and the Savannas Region (8533 km<sup>2</sup>).

According to the last census in 1981, the population of Togo is estimated at 2,719,567 inhabitants among which 51% women. In 1999, this population was estimated at 4,624,000 inhabitants (51.3% women) with an average of about 81 inhabitants to the km<sup>2</sup>. This average figure hides heavy disparities or differences because some areas are more populated than others.

The growth rate of the population between 1981 and 1999 was 3.1% against 2.9% between 1970 and 1981. These levels of growth are due partly to the strong growth that the urban areas are witnessing (4.7% and 4.4% for the two respective period). During this period, the growth of the population in rural areas was 2.4% and 2.3% respectively.

The Togolese population is mainly rural and very young. The under 15 years of age represent almost 50% of the total population and the under 20 almost 60%. The aged people (above 60 years) represent 5.5% of the population. In 1999, almost 67% of the population lived in rural areas. The active population represents 46% of the total population. In this population we find 68% in the primary sector (agriculture, animal breeding, forestry, fishing),

10% in the secondary sector (industries) and 22% in the tertiary sector (services: transport, insurance, and commerce). Less than 7% of this working population are salaried.

Togo is a developing country whose economy is characterised by the predominance of the rural sector and commercial activities. Like most of the sub-Saharan countries, Togo is among the less developed (since 1981) and faces development problems related partly to the low level of efficiency and effectiveness of the economic policies implemented by the government. The general diagnosis of the Togolese economy from the mid-seventies shows a decline in economic activity and a degradation of living conditions.

The analysis of the main socio-economic indicators shows the extent of the problems faced by Togo in the economic and social dimensions. In spite of the implementation of economic policies (economic planning, structural adjustment and financial stabilisation) backed by the UNDP, the World Bank, the IMF and other financial institutions, no economic take-off has been observed. In these conditions, the Togolese economy appears to be an economy:

- characterised by a low productivity with a high level of unemployment and a relatively high inflation especially since the CFA devaluation of 1994; on the 1970-1999, the annual average growth rate of the real production was 1.46% but at the same time the average growth rate of the population was 3% ;
- less diversified and less competitive; the export is dominated by four fundamental products of low added-value (cocoa, coffee, cotton and phosphate); at the same time, the imports are essentially constituted by manufactured products and services of high added value ;
- which is at a loss and indebted; on a period of 34 years from 1966 to 1999, the trade balance was positive only one time in 1974, the year when the price of phosphate was high (four times its original value); for the other years, the imports were covered at a rate between 42.1% to 90.7%; since 1978, the external debt/GDP ratio was from 80% to more than 100%; the ratio of the internal debt in relation to the GDP which used to be 0.29% in 1990 climbed to 24.5% in 1996 and then to 26.1% in 1988 and to 26.7% in 1999.

This low economic performance has negatively influenced the social environment. With a demographic growth of around 3% per year, we observe an unbalance between the national income (which grows at an average of 1.46% annually) and the needs of the population. In these conditions, the standard of living will only get worst in a context in which unemployment has reached high degree (it is estimated to more than 30% of the active population).

Today, most Togolese people are poor, excluded and marginalized. According to a UNDP study in 1995, poverty is a reality which concerns more than 60% of the population. The impact of poverty varies depending on the area and the socio-professional category; it is higher in rural than in urban areas. According to the report on Human Development in Togo in 1997, the Human Poverty Indicators (HPI) was 39.3.

## **1.2 Political, institutional context and human rights situation**

On the political field, Togo's situation is characterised by a crisis whose origins are found way back into the socio-political unrest started on October 5, 1990. The essential characteristics of the crisis are the halt in political life since that date. The popular will for change in Togo is profound and real. It has been expressed at many instances. Today, the rulers' wish to maintain the people in the yoke of dictatorship is met by the people's will for democratic change.

An objective analysis of this situation shows that all categories of actors in the political life in Togo, notably the ruling party, RPT (Gathering of Togolese People-GTP), the opposition, the civil society and the foreign countries have contributed somehow to the paralysis of the political life. The strategy goes from "guerrilla" against the institution put in place during the transition period (media occupation, attack of the Prime Minister's office, hijacking of the members of the High Council of the Republic-Parliament) to the organisation of unfair elections, to state terrorism (killing attempts against the opposition leaders, bloody repression on the populations of Lomé) and permanent violations of the constitution. At the same time, we see a politicisation of the army, as well as ethnic facts manipulation. These actions are all amplified and broadcasted by the media that are exclusively at the service of the ruling power in place.

The opposition shares some of the responsibility in the crisis that Togo has been going through since 1990; the opposition showed non-respect for the agreements (the denunciation of the June 12, 1991 Agreement and the treason of some of the leaders of the opposition) and was unable to present a united front.

The crisis prolonged because of the weakness of the civil society, insufficiently structured, in which a large proportion are not well informed on the true challenges of the political debate. The unstable democratic convictions as well as the opportunism of some associations and trade unions leaders have weakened the fight for change.

The too timid commitment of the international community represented by ECOWAS (Economic Community of West Africa States), OAU (organisation of Africa United) , EU (European Union) and the UN (United Nations) into helping the people of Togo did not favour a rapid exit of the crisis. This political crisis is doubled also by a heavy economic and social crisis.

In the judicial and institutional level, the institutions regulating the socio-political life are, to name a few, the president's office, the parliament, the government, the Constitutional Court and the Accounts Court "Cour des Comptes". The judicial system dates from 1978. The judicial power is independent from the legislative and executive powers. The constitutional court is the highest institution of the state; it is composed of the judicial chamber, the administrative chamber and the Supreme Court as the highest institution in these matters.

According to the texts of the present constitution, the judicial power is guaranteed independence from the executive one. However, in fact, justice is highly politicised. The judicial system seems to be totally subjected to the political system. The precariousness of judges, the state of dilapidation of the judicial structures and the difficult work conditions of judges allow easily for bribery and compromises. Otherwise, the non-functioning of the administrative chamber is an obstacle to the settlement of administrative conflicts.

Togo has ratified most of the international tools related to human rights and many NGO working in the area of human right were created. Despite this development, human rights violations still occur. One of the consequences of the political crisis and the persistence of human rights violations in Togo is the suspension of international economic and technical assistance from traditional partners of Togo, notably the European Union, the United States and Canada.

### **1.3 Social and cultural context**

The crisis is touching all actors of the political, economic and social life. This is manifested by the lost of public good or property sense as well as the sense of hard and good work. This explains the desertion of administrative offices, the disorganisation seen in public services and the general decrease in productivity. Togo is witnessing a facility, mediocrity and the rule of corruption at the expense of the culture of excellence. All this contributes to a devaluating the image of the Togolese, who have not only lost confidence in themselves, but have also lost the trusted of others.

## **2. Methodological considerations**

### **2.1 Survey preparation**

This step took place in the period from October 23<sup>rd</sup> to November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2000 and consisted of questionnaire preparation and experts identification. Fifty-four copies of the questionnaire were prepared and distributed to various experts that were selected from 9 categories according to their position. As shown in the table below, 42 experts responded favourably.

**Table 1**      **Number of questionnaires by group of experts**

<b>Position of expert</b>	<b>Distributed</b>	<b>Returned</b>
Government	6	4
Business	6	5
Legal	6	5
Parliament	6	5
Academia	6	5
NGOs	6	5
Civil Service	6	5
International Organisations	6	5
Other	6	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>42</b>

### **2.2 Data Collection**

The distribution of questionnaires has been easy but their collection proved to be

tedious. Some respondents feared their opinions would not be kept confidential. Nevertheless, the strategy adopted has helped a great majority of to freely express their opinions. Thirty-nice experts out of 42 have given their comments.

### 3. Presentation and analysis of results

The analysis of results is presented according to two assessments:

- The first has to do with the general appreciation of governance trough average scores and frequencies of the various indicators;
- The second has to do with evaluating the different dimensions of governance.

#### 3.1 General appreciation of governance in Togo

The general evaluation of governance in Togo is based on the perceptions expressed by the experts on the 30 questions divided into 6 dimensions:

- a. Participation in the Political Process
- b. Interest Aggregation in the Political Process
- c. Government Stewardship
- d. Policy Implementation, especially the bureaucracy
- e. Relationship Between the State and the Market
- f. Dispute Resolution, particularly the Judiciary

A distribution of the numbers of questions according to the average score resulted in the following table:

**Table 2 : Distribution of the number of the questions according to the average scores**

Average Score	5 years ago		Now	
	Number	(%)	Number	(%)
$1 \leq X < 2$	4	13	9	30
$2 \leq X < 2,5$	16	54	10	33
$2,5 \leq X < 3$	10	33	9	30
$3 \leq X < 3,5$	0	0	2	7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>

It can be observed from this table that:

- Two kinds of the questions or the aspects on the governance have not met the average score of appreciation;
- No case of the governance measures has been judged to be good 5 years ago and now.

These results related to average scores are reiterated by the frequencies analysis of the 30 specific questions covering the periods “5 years ago” and “now”. The recourse to this characteristic show two (2) levels of perception, applicable to the analysis on governance:

more than 50% of the respondents gave a low evaluation of the quality of governance and the rest, less than 50% gave a moderate to high evaluation.

**Table3 : Average scores per dimension**

		socializing	aggregating	executive	managerial	regulatory	adjudicatory
Average Score	5 years ago	2.55	2.15	2.17	2.34	2.60	2.47
	Now	2.53	1.84	2.15	2.20	2.59	2.44

### 3.2 Evaluation of the dimensions of governance

Results of the survey show an overall decrease in the quality of governance. However, the deterioration is only relatively high, thus significant, for the aggregating and managerial dimensions. Since the presidential elections that were contested in 1998 and the boycott of the legislative of 1999 by opposition parties, the state and its institutions have lost credibility and are seen by most of the citizens as not representative of their interest. This in return leads to a loss of state authority, which explains the failures in policy implementation.

On the other hand, since the events of October 1990, the country has experienced some kind of democratic openness. This has allowed the creation of many political parties, trade unions, NGO and human rights associations. This process of democratisation was also manifested by the increasing number of private newspapers on the market.

#### 3.2.1 The Socializing Dimension

The average scores and the standard deviations per question for the socializing dimension are recorded below.

**Table 4 : Summary of average scores and the standard deviation for dimension 1 and its indicators**

Question	5 years ago		Now	
	Average	Standard Deviation	Average	Standard Deviation
1	2.36	1.08	2.55	1.17
2	2.93	1.2	3.02	1.18
3	2.74	1.34	2.86	1.51
4	1.95	1.15	1.79	1.24
5	2.79	1.02	2.43	0.91
<b>Total</b>	<b>12.76</b>	<b>3.7</b>	<b>12.64</b>	<b>3.84</b>

Generally speaking, scores obtained by question are relatively close to the moderate level and without any significant variation from one expert to another between the periods “5 years ago” and “now”. In other words, the participation in the democratic process of the citizens of Togo is seen generally as moderate, with a tendency toward a decrease.

Indicators in this dimension that have seen an increase over time are those related to:

- Freedom of Expression;
- Freedom of Peaceful Association;
- Discrimination in the area of politics.

A slight deterioration is observed in the following cases:

- easy participation to the public debate on the main changes of policy;
- respect of the system of elaboration of rules.

### 3.2.2 Interest Aggregation in the Political Process

Regarding the aggregating dimension, there are two issues indicated by the survey results: the overall low quality and the deterioration of the situation for this dimension of governance over time. All average scores for individual indicators are at a low level, with a tendency to decrease.

**Table 5 : Summary of average scores and the standard deviation for dimension 2**

Question	5 years ago		Now	
	Average	Standard Deviation	Average	Standard Deviation
6	1.98	1.16	1.67	1.00
7	2.5	1.47	2.21	1.55
8	2.07	1.09	1.79	1.14
9	2.21	1.26	1.71	1.27
10	2.00	1.21	1.83	1.23
<b>Total</b>	<b>10.76</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>9.21</b>	<b>5.39</b>

### 3.2.3 Government Stewardship

On the management of the State, the average scores reveal a weak appreciation from those who answered the questions. This perception tends to slightly over time (table 6). However, three of the indicators receive a higher rating for now than for five years ago.

- the commitment of the state to ensure personal security for citizens;
- the determination of public authorities to resolve internal conflicts through peaceful means.
- the subordination of the military to a civil government.

**Table 6 : Summary of average scores and the standard deviation for dimension 3 and its indicators**

Question	5 years ago		Now	
	Average	Standard Deviation	Average	Standard Deviation
11	2.33	1.28	2.43	1.4
12	2.02	1.12	1.79	1.22
13	2.27	1.28	2.1	1.45
14	1.61	1.00	1.76	1.16
15	2.64	1.28	2.71	1.38
<b>Total</b>	<b>10.82</b>	<b>5.17</b>	<b>10.7</b>	<b>5.85</b>

### 3.2.4 Policy implementation, especially the bureaucracy

**Table 7 : Summary of average scores and the standard deviation for dimension 4 and its indicators**

Question	5 years ago		Now	
	Average	Standard Deviation	Average	Standard Deviation
16	2.95	1.29	2.79	1.35
17	2.14	1.12	1.98	1.09
18	2.07	1.05	1.95	1.01
19	2.17	1.10	2.02	1.09
20	2.38	1.01	2.29	1.07
<b>Total</b>	<b>11.71</b>	<b>4.21</b>	<b>11.02</b>	<b>4.30</b>

### 3.2.5 Relationship Between the State and the Market

The evaluation of the relationship between the state and the market has mainly remained the same over time. However, an analysis of the average scores per indicator indicate a slight rise for two of them and decreases in three cases as shown in table 8.

Cases of rise:

- the degree of transparency in giving licences;
- the need for public authorities to take into consideration in defining their policies, of the new rules concerning exchanges, the flow of technology in the world.

Cases of decrease have to do with:

- the commitment of people holding public offices in respecting the property rights;
- the fair application without discrimination of the economic rules to businesses;
- the consultation of the public and private sectors during policies development.

**Table 8 : Summary of average scores and the standard deviation for dimension 5 and its indicators**

Question	5 years ago		Now	
	Average	Standard Deviation	Average	Standard Deviation
21	2.79	1.22	2.67	1.3
22	2.83	1.23	2.76	1.25
23	2.83	1.12	2.9	1.23
24	2.07	0.89	2.02	0.98
25	2.49	0.87	2.59	1.14
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>4.04</b>	<b>12.93</b>	<b>4.43</b>



### 3.2.6 The Adjudicatory Dimension

The overall quality for this dimension, as perceived by the respondents to the survey, is moderate over the two periods of time. Nevertheless, an analysis of the different components on the basis of average scores shows a deterioration in the following cases:

- equal access to justice by the citizens;
- clarity in the decision process in the judicial system;
- degree of responsibility of judicial authorities concerning their actions (accountability).

In other words, citizens are getting less and less access to justice, the transparency of the decisions-making process in the judicial system is decreasing together with the degree of responsibility that judicial authorities show with regards to their actions. On the other hand, two of the indicators in this dimension, undergo a slight rise over time:

- the degree of integration of international legal norms in human rights into national rights;
- the existence of the non-legal process for a fair resolution of conflicts.

**Table 9 : Summary of average scores and the standard deviation for dimension 6 and its questions**

Question	5 years ago		Now	
	Average	Standard Deviation	Average	Standard Deviation
26	2.29	1.07	2.19	1.02
27	2.20	0.87	2.15	0.85
28	2.22	0.96	2.1	1.07
29	2.93	1.29	3.07	1.39
30	2.73	1.16	2.78	1.29
<b>Total</b>	12.22	3.58	12.15	4.07

## Conclusion

At the end of this study, the following conclusions can be drawn in the case of Togo:

1. The perceptions of the experts on the quality of governance are relatively low. The majority of questions have not met the average scores on the two time periods. Also, in terms of frequencies, experts have expressed a low or very low perception on more than 50% of them.
2. The analysis of governance according to dimensions reveals two levels of perception: a low rating (for the aggregating, executive and managerial dimensions) and a relatively moderate rating (for the socializing, regulatory and adjudicatory dimensions).

3. The comparison of ratings over time indicates a decrease in the quality of governance in Togo between 5 years ago and now. Nevertheless, the deterioration is not really significant apart for “the interest aggregation in the political process” and “the policies implementation, particularly bureaucracy”.

The experts’ observations seem to be a clear reflection of the socio-economic and political context of the country, characterised by a blockage in the political life, mediocrity of economic performances and the deterioration of living conditions of citizens, as well as of their moral values, norms and ethics.