Founded in 2004, IMANI Centre for Policy and Education (IMANI Africa) is a think tank of considerable global repute and significance. We have carved a niche in Ghana and to a very large extent Africa’s policy environment for putting out objective, independent and constructive analysis and critiques on many issues, using tried and tested techniques that apply across different disciplines.

Through effective communication skills and the ability to work with public spirited media and civil society, we are shaping the national, regional and global agenda in order to close the “citizen participation gap” in the governance
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Greetings from Founding President & CEO
Mr. Franklin Cudjoe

On behalf of IMANI’s board, management and staff, I sincerely thank you for your support. Through your dedicated interest in our work over the years, IMANI continue to help shape public policy and narrow the citizen-governance and accountability gap locally. In 2019, we broadened our scope to undertaking critical analyses in high-valued resources with significant private sector appeal.

2020 is an election year for Ghana and if the interest and official response to our 2019 manifesto assessment and score card for the ruling government is anything to go by, then we will see an interesting wave of interest by all political parties to have IMANI be a barometre for determining the most realistic election promises.

Keep us in your thoughts, spiritually and financially in 2020.
Major Events and Collaborations

REPORT LAUNCH AND WORKSHOP: Gas Price Formation with Italian Think Tank, Feem

IMANI Centre for Policy & Education (IMANI) in collaboration with Italian based think tank Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei (FEEM) organised a high level workshop to discuss Gas utilization, Gas Pricing and Inclusive Development in Ghana. In light of the fact that Ghana is actively exploiting its gas resources which have the potential to significantly change the fuel supply dynamics in Ghana over the next fifteen years, IMANI and FEEM believe that a deeper understanding of natural gas utilisation and gas pricing is crucial in understanding linkages to broad-based development and inclusive growth in Ghana. This, we believe would provide a basis for informed discussions on gas use and gas pricing and what to look out for in dealing with various stakeholder institutions on related matters. To facilitate the discussions, research and analysis had been conducted on the topic of Gas Price Formation in Ghana by Dr. Theophilus Acheampong, Senior Fellow, IMANI and Dr. Manfred Hafner, Senior Fellow, Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei (FEEM).
On Thursday 14th February, 2019, the Ministry of Finance in a press release sent from Oslo, Norway, confirmed Aker Energy ASA’s “significant offshore resource base in Ghana and [that Aker] has committed to scale up new development in the Deepwater Tano Cape three points block (DWT/CT).”

The statement also said Aker’s announcement was “the biggest oil find in Africa, of 450-550 million barrels, with potential recoverable reserves of nearly one billion barrels.” At today’s Oil price of $65 per barrel, that field is worth at least $30 billion (bn). Given the fact that this impressive find constitutes additional oil discovered in Aker’s contract area previously held under an old Petroleum Agreement (PA) which lapsed in 2014, it is our considered view that the additional oil discovered in 2019 are essentially not covered by any of the Petroleum Agreements (PA) in force, hence those additional finds require a new Petroleum Agreement should be negotiated under the Petroleum (Exploration and Production) Act, 2016 Act 919. Were this to be done, Ghana stands to gain an estimated $9bn, through potentially 25% to 30% increased equity interest and royalties (assuming 5% royalty plus 15% carried interest plus 5% - 10% additional participating interest in block) in the short term plus any potential corporate income tax and the windfall additional oil entitlements (AOE) in the long term.

As things stand, Ghana stands to gain a paltry 14% of increased equity interest and royalties (10% interest in block + 4% royalty) amounting to $4.2 bn in the short term, representing a potential loss of $4.8 billion – that is, $9bn less $4.2 bn. On Monday 3rd March, 2019, Aker in a press statement posted on their website stated “We are pleased to announce another successful well as the operator of the DWT/CTP block.
The drilling result is another confirmation of the geological model for the area. The discovered resources from the well will further strengthen the robustness of the Pecan field development.

We will now continue the appraisal drilling campaign, while finalizing the Plan of Development to be submitted by the end of March,” says Jan Arve Haugan, CEO of Aker Energy.”

However, it would appear we may not be exacting the maximum interest with this significant find. GNPC may have sold Ghana short by allowing Aker to assume from start that these new oil discoveries automatically fall under the existing Petroleum Agreement (PA), which is erroneous. At the least, Ghana could have exercised its right to take up the 10% additional equity option in the Aker Block. The failure refusal or negligence to do this is truly startling for a developing nation which needs to make the most of its natural resources.

Mr. Kofi Bentil, Vice President - IMANI
IMANI LECTURE: Is Ghana’s Debt Sustainability Under Serious Threat After the IMF Program?

Ghana has struggled to contain its debt since independence including the unilateral and unceremonious debt repudiation in the 70s by its Military Head of State, General Acheampong. Ghana’s debt had ballooned from a negligible amount in 1960 to over USD 500 million in 1965. Coupled with other factors, the then president headed for the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1965; (the country’s perhaps 1st encounter with the Fund since it officially joined on September 20th 1957, though Ghana’s first President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah rejected that offer).

Except for Liberia (21 times), Kenya (19 times), Ghana occupies an unenviable 5th position (16 times) in the number of times assistance has been sought from the IMF (Bretton Woods) in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). As the nation’s debt towards the end of 2000 was life threatening, economic salvation was found in Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) and the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI).

The combined debt relief brought the country’s debt to less than 30% of GDP as at the end of 2006. The fiscal space that was created as a result has been dissipated rather quickly and the country has now cemented its place in the High Risk Debt Distress category.

With debt servicing absorbing more than 45% of tax revenue (Ghana being a record holder in SSA) and crowding out priority spending, whilst the country is saddled with deteriorating infrastructure (in the face of limited or non-existent fiscal space), unbalanced growth and negative out gap (reflecting lack of capital spending to boost growth from the non-oil real sector of the economy), the need to re-examine the country’s debt dynamics has become imperatively necessary.

Presenter: Professor Godfred A. Bokpin
The Sankofa-Gye-Nyame (SGN) fields, part of the broader Offshore Cape Three Points (OCTP) oil and gas fields which are being developed via an Integrated Oil and Gas Project, is expected to deliver up to 180 million standard cubic feet per day (mmscf/d) of gas over a 20 year period. The discovery, development and utilization of gas from the OCTP is crucial given the government’s plans to utilize this gas to facilitate stable supply of electricity.

After the contract was signed for the development of the SGN fields, public concerns were raised regarding the relatively high gas price ($9.8/mmbtu) agreed between the government of Ghana and the OCTP partners. The high gas price was believed to be as a result of the limited transparency in the contracting process for the OCTP contract.

The expectation is that, the high gas price will have a negative effect on electricity tariffs and thereby affect household income and industrial growth.

Research and analysis has been conducted to assess the transparency of the upstream natural gas contracting process in Ghana using internationally accepted best practice as a yardstick, and to evaluate the impact on gas price, electricity tariffs and inclusive growth.
IMANI Centre for Policy and Education, through its annual Inspirational Public-Sector Leadership Awards (IPSLA) seeks to acknowledge public institutions who aim to improve public service delivery in Ghana. IPSLA 2019 focused on measuring innovation in the public sector by the Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs) by evaluating the current innovative initiatives they have introduced to improve efficiency in public service delivery in the country.

The global push for innovation in the public sector space can be seen as a by-product of global technological advancement, as the world moves into a faster, more convenient and efficient era. Africa, and more specifically Ghana, need to end the ubiquity of poorly performing public sector bureaucracies, poor public services, and the associated bribery and corruption.

Innovation in public service delivery is contextually relevant to Ghana due to its ability to sustain the nations development needs, as well as, national agendas such as Ghana Beyond Aid. There is also evidence to suggest that innovation in public service delivery leads to efficient resource utilization, high quality public services and efficient public service management.
IPSLA 2019 measures innovation in the Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) in Ghana by adopting the methodology of the Australian Public Sector (APS) project on Public Sector Innovation under the Australian Public-Sector Innovation Indicators (APSII) Project, 2011.

At the end of this Survey, the National Health Insurance Authority (NHIA), Driver and Vehicle License Authority (DVLA), National Service Secretariat (NSS), Ministry of Energy and the Ministry of Business Development emerged as the top five institutions in Ghana that are effectively and efficiently executing their mandate of delivering services to the public innovatively.
Currently, there are vast studies on revenue management at the local government level of Ghana that can inform policy actions; however, the expenditure side has received very limited empirical studies to complement the efforts on local revenue management to inform concrete policy actions. This project then seeks to assess the expenditure regime of local government institutions in Ghana, especially in relation to own revenue generation in order to ensure that such institutions deliver services that are in the best interest of their constituents.

The project is aimed at three main objectives to enhance accountability and transparency in the expenditure of local government authorities; to increase citizens’ participation in project and programme selection, design and implementation, and to improve citizens’ demand for accountability on the use of local revenues for development. In order to achieve the objectives, the project used a framework that entailed:

1. the identification of key actors who are involved and have extensive knowledge and understanding on local government expenditure in Ghana (stakeholder mapping),
2. strategic selection of sample districts (15 MMDAs) based on the distance of MMDAs from regional capitals, the regional development belt, the FOAT score of the MMDAs, the status of the MMDAs (metropolitans, municipalities, districts) and records of expenditure mismanagement as reported by the Auditor General;

3. design of data collection instruments; and [iv] data collection involving data from local government officials and citizens including the poor, women, the aged and the disabled. The 15 MMDAs were Bawku Municipality, Bodi District, Central Gonja District, Kintampo North District, Krachi West District, Kumasi Metropolitan, Kumbungu District, Nkwanta South District, Offinso North District, Prestea Huni Valley Municipality, Sekondi Takoradi Metropolitan, Sawla-Tuna-Kalba District, Sene East District, Tamale Metropolitan and Techiman North District.

The focal period for analysis was the 2014-2017 planning period since it is the most recent period of plans completed by the MMDAs. The analysis however has implications and insight into the current planning period 2018-2021 to inform current local revenue and expenditure management.
The findings from all the MMDAs, though divergent to certain extent revealing peculiarity of revenue and expenditure anomalies of each selected MMDA, they generally indicated a similar situation of limitations in accountability and transparency in the management of local expenditure despite the Ghana Integrated Financial Management Information System (GIFMIS) in place. Local participation in expenditure planning and development projects was generally low, caused by the failure of local authorities to engage their constituents, but also, the deficiencies in the current sub-district structures (the Assembly and Unit Committee members) as well as the adamant attitude of greater number of citizens including key local members such as traditional authorities, opinion leaders and religious leaders to get involved.

This has made the demand-side accountability which serves as the basis for enhancing accountability, very weak. As a result, Internally Generated Funds (IGFs) are generally utilised in a manner that has no direct and positive relationship with service delivery.

Other issues worth noting were the mismatch between the District Medium Term Development Plans (DMTPs) and Annual Progress Reports (APRs) of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs); and the District Medium Term Development Plans (DMTPs), Annual Progress Reports (APRs), Composite budgets of MMDAs and Audit Reports having different figures for revenues and expenditure for the same period. Based on the findings gathered, the study proposed a conceptualised theory of change for local expenditure management by MMDAs in Ghana that ensures effective participation, comprehensive understanding of local members in budgeting and as well, ensures efficiency in the use of revenues for all-inclusive growth and development. The theory of change was used as the model to drive advocacy for change for the management of revenues by MMDAs in Ghana.
Cocoa has played a pivotal role in the economic development of Ghana. It provides employment across the cocoa value chain, serves as an export earner, provides interim liquidity support for the management of the foreign exchange, contributes to growth of the economy and ultimately helps reduce poverty. In spite of these benefits, the sector is bedevilled with challenges such as low yield gap, disease and pest infestation, producer incentivization vis-à-vis government deficit and dissatisfaction from cocoa farmers.

The performance of the sector has been assessed with scholars recording different results, albeit progressive. Some evidence suggests a remarkable performance of the sector, while others bemoan the limited of transparency, inefficiencies in the distribution of subsidized inputs and that the regulator is challenged in attaining its most important objective of stabilizing producer prices at levels that ensure an adequate return on farmers’ land, labour and capital. It appears to a number of stakeholders that, these objectives have not been met completely through time. Against this background, this report aims to explore the revenue management and producer pricing mechanism within Ghana’s cocoa sector.

Using a mixed methods approach for the core part of the report, a number of tools including, variance analysis, econometric analysis, survey analysis and interviews...
have been leveraged for analysing the data throughout the study, in answering the core research questions. There were four key objectives of the study:

1. to understand the current cocoa pricing mechanism;
2. to examine the nexus between cocoa prices and cocoa production in Ghana;
3. to explore the perspectives of stakeholders in the cocoa sector; and
4. to examine the revenue and expenditure management of COCOBOD.

The results suggest that the total revenue received by the sector (i.e. the Gross Free on Board (FOB) is limited (since it is predetermined), primarily driven by developments which the country has little influence over. Beyond this, various players in the value chain, make demands for an increase in their share of revenue to increase. The regulator of the sector has through time guaranteed a minimum of 70 percent of net FOB to farmers. This criterion has been met over recent times, with accompanying variances in projections for Hi-Tech and Disease and Pest Control (CODAPEC) costs amidst some inefficiencies in distribution of inputs which questions.
These under-gird some of the questions that observers of the industry have had for years; whether the farmers are receiving a fair compensation.

Again, the results suggest that, the world price of cocoa does not drive production, contrary to some conventional thoughts. Rather, the producer price which increases production. Thus, policies should aim at increasing the compensation that farmers receive. The results also indicate that majority of the income of cocoa farmers come from the sale of cocoa while a little portion comes from others food crops. This suggests that there are still areas to explore so as to diversify the income sources of farmers.

Additionally, results from the farmers' survey revealed that 94 percent of farmers are dissatisfied with the current producer price, 70 percent indicate they do not know COCOSHE and 70 percent believe that COCOBOD does not serve their interest. It is equally important to note that, regardless of the sentiments expressed by the farmers regarding the protection of their interest by COCOBOD, they are equally of the view that, COCOBOD plays a significant role in the industry, and will want the regulator to continue in this capacity. Based on these results, there is the need for more farmer engagement on policy decision making and implementation in order to change these farmer perspectives Other stakeholders in the cocoa value chain also express concerns about the corporate governance weaknesses in the sector, erratic supply of inputs, smuggling and supply of fake inputs, and the decrease in the margins of some stakeholders, at the expense of others, when the industry experiences exogenous shocks. The analysis of COCOBOD's financial data suggests that profitability, liquidity, efficiency or turnover and cash flow ratios have deteriorated over time, with marginal improvements in some areas in the 2017/18 financial year. The results of the study provide a strong basis for actions that should involve all stakeholders across the value chain with the intention of addressing the weaknesses in the sector.
As the country prepares for the general election in 2020, it is almost inevitable that, the political parties and their respective flagbearers will commence an active engagement of citizens, making commitments to arrest the myriad of challenges confronting Ghanaians, ranging from the management of the economy to improving their socio-cultural status while guaranteeing to provide security – all of which are essential needs and expectations of citizens. Against this background, it is important that, an assessment of the progress made by the current government in fulfilling the myriad of commitments it made in 2016 which secured what is considered by many as an unprecedented victory at the ballot in the 4th Republic, is conducted to gauge the level of performance. This assessment is necessary not only because it will provide citizens a tool to demand accountability from government and various political actors, it will ensure that;

1. the government will keep a tab on the commitments it may not have executed to date
2. the government will consolidate its accountability mechanisms in documenting and reporting on all initiatives that it has undertaken, particularly those it committed to in its manifesto and crucially
3. a basis is provided for a national discourse on sensitive issues which fall through the cracks during policy design and implementation
The 2019 iManifesto is a report that presents the status of implementation of the promises of the 2016 New Patriotic Party (NPP) manifesto. This is not an impact assessment report, but an assessment of the state of implementation of the NPP’s promises aimed at “creating prosperity and equal opportunities for all”. This assessment does not take into account activities, initiatives, programmes and policies which the government did not promise, but has undertaken them due to either (i) exigencies of the time, or (ii) prudent management. It is the expectation of the reviewers that, this approach will ensure that political parties and subsequently government will aim to appropriately gauge the associated risks of implementing their promises made to citizens, which could lead to a reduction in the sensationalism, associated with some commitments made by political parties. Working close to reality is KEY!

To accomplish the task, an assessment framework is developed. For consistency in measurements through time, this framework has been used in assessments for previous governments, with marginal modifications, due to (i) nature of promises made and (ii) availability of information for verifying claims of implementation. This year’s assessment is structured along five themes – which account for all the promises made by the NPP government in 2016. The themes include; Economy, Governance, Infrastructure, Human Capital Investment, and social services.

Collecting data from the 2016 NPP manifesto, all main and supplementary budgets by the government to date, annual progress reports, auditor general’s reports, reports of statutory bodies such as the public interest and accountability committee, parliamentary Hansards, websites of various Ministries, Departments and Agencies MDAs, newspapers and news portals, the results show that, the government has achieved an overall performance on executing its manifesto commitment of 48.78 percent. This is a satisfactory progress, according to the IMANI MANIFESTO ASSESSMENT (IMMA) Framework, although it sits in the lower bounds of this interpretation.
Disaggregating this performance, the NPP government scores, 54.35 percent in the delivery of its commitments on the economy, 46.21 percent on governance, and 46.44 percent on infrastructure. The government scores 39.13 percent and 43.78 percent on human capital development and social services respectively. Clearly, the aggressive strategy of the government in driving the agriculture industry is seen in its commitment to ensuring that it pushes through most of its promises to “resuscitate” the sector, with positive results registered in some value chains. It is also a progressive sign to see that, performances in the economy, education and infrastructure, are all pushing the median mark of execution. Health and information technology require significant attention. With the final budget of the government having been presented, a window of opportunity exists for further considerations to ensure these themes also see some marked improvements.

A key observation from the data is that, there appears to be an aggressive strategy by the government in ensuring that its manifesto promises are fulfilled. 70 percent of all its manifesto promises have featured in policy design with varying levels of implementation, and the IMMA score adjusts for actual performance. Manifesto promises which have seen complete implementation make up about 27 percent of the total commitments made by the NPP in 2016. It is of utmost importance to appreciate the drag that the number of promises can have on the performance of a government. To this end, political parties in Ghana capable of winning general elections must be realistic, in making commitments to citizens to ensure they can adequately perform and subsequently leverage this as a basis for securing further mandates of governance.

The quality of implementation and impact of the promises as indicated, is not the primary focus of this report. Imani Centre for Policy and Education hopes this report will be interpreted accordingly to ensure this body of work supports the public discourse of manifesto preparation and demand side accountability mechanisms.
Once again IMANI Centre for Policy & Education has been ranked as the top think tank in Ghana by Global Go To Think Tank Index Report (GGTTI) for 2019 published by the University of Pennsylvania, USA. IMANI CPE also emerged as the 3rd top think tank in Sub-Saharan Africa according to the latest GGTTI Report. This marks IMANI CPE’s 8th consecutive year as the top think tank in Ghana. In this time IMANI has consistently been ranked as one of the top 5 think tanks in Sub-Saharan Africa.
IMANI CPE also ranked 113rd out of over 8200 think tanks in the World, and 75th out of top think tanks excluding those based in the USA.
In the more granular categories compiled in the index, IMANI buttressed its position as one of the most forward thinking and influential Think Tanks in the World; This is evidenced by the following performances;

- 2019 Top Think Tanks with Annual Operating Budgets of Less Than $5 Million USD - 9th
- Think Tank to Watch in 2020 - 19th
- 2019 Think Tanks with the Most Innovative Policy Ideas/Proposals - 28th
- 2019 Think Tank with the Best Use of the Internet - 44th
- 2019 Top Education Policy Think Tanks - 53rd
- 2019 Best Use of Social Media and Networks - 52nd
- 2019 Top Domestic Economic Policy Think Tanks - 58th
Also in 2019, IMANI CPE was named as one of the two finalists of the ATLAS African Liberty award in Nairobi, Kenya. The ultimate prize was awarded to Audace Institut Afrique. The next edition of the awards will be co-hosted by IMANI Center for Policy and Education in August 2020 in Accra.
03. Publications in 2019

A Detailed Evaluation of Ghana’s Drone Purchase Agreement Between Fly Zipline Ghana Ltd and the Ministry of Health by Kobina Ata-Bedu. (MCIPS) - [READ]

Should Pension Funds Carry the Cross of Ghana’s Local Banks? - Bright Simmons - [READ]

Memo: Kelni GVG Contract Lawsuits & Matters Arising – [READ]

IMANI Alert: A Better Idea Than GAT to Recapitalise the Indigenous Banks – [READ]

Natural Gas Price Formation in Ghana: Implications for Industrial Development and Inclusive Growth – [READ]

IMANI Study: Enforcing Contracts: How to Attract More Entrepreneurs to Ghana – Part 1 of 3 (Time) – [READ]

IMANI Study: Enforcing Contracts: How to Attract More Entrepreneurs to Ghana – Part 2 of 3 (Cost) – [READ]

IMANI Study: How to Attract More Entrepreneurs to Ghana – Part 3 of 3 (Quality) - [READ]
Lessons from Ghana against expropriation of property – Franklin Cudjoe – [READ]

Report: Workshop on Natural Gas Formation in Ghana and the Implications For Industrial Development and Inclusive Growth – [READ]

An Assessment of Natural Gas Price Formation in Ghana: Implications for Industrial Development and Inclusive Growth – [READ]

Of Ineffective Anti-Snake Serum, Procurement Breaches and Public Health Safety Concerns- SIX Questions Seeking Answers. – [READ]

Still on Ineffective Anti-Snake Serum and Procurement Breaches - Evidence Finally - [READ]
IMANI's Impact on Doing Business Reforms in Ghana – [READ]

IMANI Alert: Government’s Railway Development Plans are Positively Ambitious but Costly: Here is a Better Idea – [READ]

ECONOMIC FREEDOM COUNTRY AUDIT REPORT: Ghana 2018 – [READ]

IMANI ALERT: Ghana Discovers Africa’s Biggest Oil Deposit, But May Lose Billions - [READ]

IMANI WRITES: Our $30bn Valuation of Oil Field ‘Sensible’, Energy Minister Wrong - [READ]
IMANI Alert: A Better Idea Than GAT to Recapitalise the Indigenous Banks – [READ]

IMANI ALERT: Please Stop Squandering Ghana’s Energy Assets! – [READ]

IMANI IN THE NEWS - JUNE 2019 – [READ]

INSPIRATIONAL PUBLIC-SECTOR LEADERSHIP AWARDS (IPSLA) 2019 – [READ]

PRESS STATEMENT: IMANI’s Assessment Of The PDS Debacle & Way Forward. – [READ]
IMANI Alert: A Better Idea Than GAT to Recapitalise the Indigenous Banks – [READ]

NEWS ARTICLE: SHOCKING RESULTS; Ghana Must Stop Backroom Dealings to Fix Power Crisis The Africa Report – [READ]

If Goods and People Fail to Cross Borders, Soldiers Will -Franklin Cudjoe – [READ]

Promoting Social Accountability to Enhance Spending Efficiency at Local Government Level – [READ]

Exploring the Revenue Management and Producer Pricing Mechanism Within Ghana's Cocoa Sector – [READ]

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Please email our finance team at info@imanighana.org on how to make a tax deductible donation and other forms of support. Your support has been greatly appreciated and is a key contributing factor to IMANI’s continued growth in global recognition.