MANIFESTO INSPECTOR

CAMPAIGN PROMISES

THE FINAL SCORE CARD FOR THE DELIVERY OF THE NPP’S 2016 MANIFESTO COMMITMENTS

IMANI
Center for Policy & Education
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU  African Union
CRC  Constitutional Review Committee
DACF  District Assemblies Common Fund
CDD  Ghana Centre For Democratic Development
CHPS  Community-based Health Planning Services
CSO  Civil Society Organization
DCE  District Chief Executive
FCUBE  Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education
GDP  Gross Domestic Product
IMMA  Manifesto Assessment Framework
IAT  IMANI Assessment Team
LEAP  Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty
LI  Legislative Instrument
MMDA  Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assembly
MoF  Ministry of Finance
MoFEP  Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
MoGCSP  Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection
MP  Member of Parliament
NACOB  Narcotics Control Board
NDC  National Democratic Congress
NHIL  National Health Insurance Levy
NHIS  National Health Insurance Scheme
NPP  New Patriotic Party
NYEP  National Youth Employment Program
OECD  Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PPP  Public Private Partnership
SMART  Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic, Time-bound
TOR  Tema Oil Refinery
UN  United Nations
VAT  Value-Added Tax
VRA  Volta River Authority
YES  Youth Enterprise Support
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

As the country prepares for the general election on December 7 2020, it is almost inevitable, that political parties and their respective flagbearers continue active engagement of citizens, making commitments to arrest the myriad of challenges confronting Ghanaians, ranging from the management of the economy to improving security.

IMANI has been assessing the performance of governments against their manifesto promises since 2008. For the NPP, the iManifesto project has provided a critical analysis of its key promises in 2015 before the 2016 election. After President Nana Addo’s government assumed office, there was an assessment of the 100 days in office and a progress (midterm) report on the performance of the NPP government in 2019.

Since the launch of the progress report on the government, a lot has happened across the world, notably the outbreak of COVID19. Together, Ghanaians supported government to fight the virus. From the initial lockdown to the wearing of nose masks, we now live in a new normal where public policy needs to address the devastating effects of the pandemic on the economy. The impact of the pandemic on the manifesto promises of the NPP are both negative and positive with a near net-neutral effect. This is because the pandemic provided an avenue for the government to actualise some manifesto promises.

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 2020 iManifesto is a report that presents the final 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 56.77 percent. This is a fair satisfactory progress, according to the IMANI MANIFESTO ASSESSMENT (IMMA) Framework. Disaggregating this performance, the NPP government scores, 57.62 percent in the delivery of its commitments on the economy, 59.2 percent on governance, and 51.71 percent on infrastructure. The government scores 55.87 percent and 58.85 percent on human capital development and social services respectively.

Clearly, the aggressive strategy of the government in driving the agriculture sector 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, especially as the outbreak of COVID19 disrupted almost all aspects of livelihood in Ghana and the world at large.

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. About 84 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 29.6 percent (151 promises), 54.9 percent (280 promises) partially fulfilled of a total 510 commitments made by the NPP in 2016 by our count.

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.
INTRODUCTION

IMANI’s iManifesto assessment of the ability of elected governments to substantially deliver on the commitments they make to their constituents have become a necessary activity on the Ghanaian electoral calendar.

The assessment in the case of successive Ghanaian governments since 2008, has taken the shape of (i) assessment of the manifesto’s ability to transform the Ghanaian economy along some baseline parameters, (ii) an interim (midterm) assessment of the winning party’s commitment to the manifesto, and (iii) a final assessment of the execution of promises over the term of the government, considering various opportunities and threats the government could have been exposed to, domestic or internationally. The final assessment provides the basis for understanding the state of key sectors of the economy, prior to an election, which corroborates the expectations of citizens.

The Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo led government has travelled three (3) years and 11 months out of four years of its time in office, pursuing various policies and reforms some of which it believed to be core to the delivery of the ‘Ghana Beyond Aid’ agenda. Over the period, IMANI has provided a critical analysis of the NPP's 2016 manifesto\(^1\), analysis of the first 100 days in office\(^2\), an interim (midterm) assessment\(^3\) of the NPP government and now the final scorecard.

The iManifesto Assessment framework has been applied on the NPP government’s performance over the period which includes the 10 months of the COVID-19 impact on Ghana. The impact of the pandemic was felt in early March 2020 after the first case of the deadly virus was confirmed in Ghana on the 12th of March 2020. The assessment tool has an automatic adjustment which addresses any form of limitation to the accuracy of the final score as a result of the pandemic. The resultant effect of the pandemic on the assessment is both negative and positive with no significant net impact on the final score.

On behalf of all the hardworking team that put this report together, IMANI presents its final assessment of the commitment of the NPP government to the delivery of its 2016 manifesto promises. The 2020 iManifesto scorecard aims to provide a final score of the performance of the government and explore how major policy initiatives carried the ordinary Ghanaian along in pursuit of their own economic advancement, with particular emphasis on delivery of sustainable jobs through a systemic approach and recovery of the economy, and improvement in governance.

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2. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WUWQTcdPQIQ
METHODOLOGY

This assessment uses a content analysis and codification approach to assess the NPP’s 2016 manifesto, "Change: An Agenda for Jobs, Creating Prosperity & Equal Opportunity for All". The assessment is based on the methodology of the previous iManifesto assessments of political parties. It is worth mentioning that the purpose of this assessment is to carry out an output-based assessment and not an impact-based assessment. In effect, the analysis covers the deliverables promised in the 2016 manifesto of the NPP. The final score is arrived at through the process outlined in the subsequent sections.

SETTING OUT THE YARDSTICK

The manifesto of the ruling party provides an objective basis for assessing the output-based performance of the promises made during the 2016 campaign. The 2016 manifesto of the NPP serves as a framework within which other promises and political communiqué are made. Adams, Ezrow, and Somer-Topcu (2011) posits that the manifesto-based policy statements of political parties roughly reflects policies that are communicated to the public through avenues such as campaign platforms, press conferences, media interviews and in party elites’ campaign speeches. In setting out the yardstick for assessment in line with the proposition of Adams Ezrow and Sumer Topcu (2011), it is important to answer the following questions;

i. What promises have been made under each category and sub-category identified in the manifesto?

ii. Are they fully or partially implemented?

For example, in the 2016 manifesto of the NPP, "Change: An Agenda for Jobs, Creating Prosperity & Equal Opportunity for All", the party under the Economy theme promised to “abolish[ing] the Special Import Levy”. To assess this promise, various policy documents such as the national budget, annual progress reports, information portals and websites of ministries, departments and agencies, parliamentary hansards, news reports, and other sources for verification. In this case, the 2017 budget captured the abolishment of the 1 percent Special Import Levy, without any further adjustments being made in subsequent budgets and economic management policies and directives of government. This then serves as the basis for scoring the performance of the government on the promise.
IDENTIFICATION OF THEMES FOR THE FORMULATION OF THE FRAMEWORK

The 2016 manifesto of the NPP has been structured based on 18 chapters. Specifically, the manifesto is structured under the following:

1. A Strong Economy Matters
2. Trade and Industry
3. Energy and Petroleum
4. Agriculture and Rural Development
5. Growing Together
6. Infrastructure
7. Natural Resources-Land, Forestry and Mining
8. Science, Technology, Innovation and Environment
9. Education
10. Health
11. Social Development
12. Governance, Corruption and Public Accountability
13. Local Government
14. Security
15. Foreign Affairs
16. Youth and Sports
17. Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts
18. Chieftaincy, Religious Affairs and Civil Society

Out of these chapters identified in “Change: An Agenda for Jobs, Creating Prosperity & Equal Opportunity for All”, we identified key sectors and subsumed areas to construct the assessment. The following sections have been identified based on the framework of the previous iManifesto reports:

i. Economy (ECO) (assessment of promises under Chapters 1, 2, 4, 17),
ii. Human Capital Investment (HCI) (assessment of promises under Chapters 9 and 10),
iii. Social Policy (assessment of promises under Chapter 11)
iv. Infrastructural Development (assessment of promises under Chapters and 8).
v. Governance (GOV) (assessment of the promises under Chapters 12, 13, 14, 15, & 18),

This assessment includes relevant contemporary policy choices that are important for sustainable development. Specifically, themes on science, technology, innovation and environment is captured as a result of their importance in line with global policy directions around sustainable development. The human capital development theme combines education and health as used in developing the World Bank’s Human Capital Index (Kraay, 2019).
THE FRAMEWORK

This year’s assessment adapts the framework used in previous IMANI Manifesto Assessment (IMMA) framework. Based on the identification of these key variables, a simple weighted average score is constructed as follows:

\[ \text{IMMA} = 0.25 \times \text{ECO} + 0.15 \times \text{HCI} + 0.15 \times \text{SOC} + 0.20 \times \text{INFRA} + 0.25 \times \text{GOV} \]

Eqn. 1

The variables in the framework are defined as GOV = governance, ECO = Economy, HCI = Human capital Investment, SOC = Social Policy and INFRA = Infrastructural Development. \( W_{i=1,2,...,5} \) are the assigned weights for each theme. The team assigns 25 percent weight for Governance, 25 percent weight for Economy, 15 percent for Human Capital Investment, 15 percent for Social Policy and 20 percent for Infrastructure Development. Weights are assigned based on the consideration of various studies including the eleven (11) dimensions of well-being as the compendium of OECD well-being indicators (OECD, 2011).

These dimensions are: Income and Wealth, Jobs and Earnings, Work-life and balance, Civic engagement and governance, Personal Security, Subjective well-being, Health Status, Social Connections, Education and Skills, Environmental quality and Housing. Moreover, the development and political economy literature is replete with empirical evidence that shows the relevance of quality of governance and a resilient economy in relation to the well-being of people (Acemoglu & Johnson, 2005; Fosu, Bates, & Hoeffler, 2006; Helliwell, Huang, Grover, & Wang, 2018). Additionally, without a stable economic and political environment; it would be virtually impossible for investment in education, health, social intervention and infrastructure to be sustained. Therefore, their superior importance must manifest.

Also, infrastructural development is vital for economic growth to translate to economic development. As such, governance and economy are of the most importance in the framework followed by Infrastructural development. This informed the determination of the weight differentials. It is difficult, however, to justify why, for instance, a particular value of 25% is chosen instead of 26% because unlike metrics such as Marginal Propensity to Consume (MPC), for example, which post-Keynesian economists have agreed to be 0.9 over the long run, empirical evidence is not conclusive on the degree of importance or weights of the selected variables. Therefore, it is vital to exercise informed discretion which we do here. Although the weights are chosen subjectively, the same weights would be used for different political parties over time in order to prevent bias against any particular party and ensure reliability of the method employed. Apart from making the weighted average method reliable by fixing the weights, it is also a valid method because it is a well-known and widely used because of its simplicity.
Substituting the weights, the framework becomes

\[ IMMA = 0.25 \times ECO + 0.15 \times HCI + 0.15 \times SOC + 0.20 \times INFRA + 0.25 \times GOV \]  

Eqn. 2

This implies that if all promises under each theme are delivered, then we have

\[ IMMA = 0.25 \times 1 + 0.25 \times 1 + 0.15 \times 1 + 0.15 \times 1 + 0.20 \times 1 = 1 \]  

Eqn. 3

In the same way, if none of the promises are delivered so that the government scores 0 for each variable, then the government scores 0% on the IMANIFESTO framework. So, the IMANIFESTO scale ranges from 0% to 100%.

The spectrum below offers interpretation of the scores. The major challenge of the study was the promises themselves. Some promises were not found to be Specific Measurable Attributable Realistic and Time bound (SMART), a phenomenon which has been evident during previous manifesto assessments. Others were also quite vague. Still, others were not ambitious enough, for instance, only promising to continue an existing intervention. This made it difficult to hold government accountable for these promises without an element of subjectivity. But the subjectivity was guided by credible data and information from various Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs), and other external sources such as news media.

**iManifesto Scoring Scale (0% to 100%)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extremely Poor Progress</th>
<th>Poor Progress</th>
<th>Satisfactory Progress</th>
<th>Good Progress</th>
<th>Excellent Progress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fail</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 1. iManifesto Scoring Scale*
SCORING AND AGGREGATION

A broad matrix has been developed for all the goals under each theme and sub-themes. We scored them based on whether the goal has been implemented fully/partially or not at all. If the promise in the manifesto is fully implemented, we assign a score of 1 (i.e. 100 in percentage terms). If it is not initiated, we assign a score of zero. If project is initiated but not fully implemented, we assign a fraction and give a reason for the assigned score. It is crucial to state that to ensure objectivity and improve accuracy, the assessment involves the use of best practice procedures to ensure reliability and validity of the scores (Neuendorf, 2016; Riff, Lacy, Fico, & Watson, 2019).

First, the evidence-base has been obtained for each promise and different team members are allowed to score the promises. This is later corroborated to obtain the final result based on the evidence available.

**Simplified Scoring Matrix**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Sub-theme</th>
<th>Manifesto Promise</th>
<th>Is it implemented? If yes, assign 1; if no, assign 0; if partial, assign a fraction</th>
<th>Reason/Evidence for the assigned Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theme 1</td>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>Achieve double digit GDP growth annually for the next four years</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>The GDP growth of Ghana has been 8.5% in 2017, 6.3% in 2018, 6.7% in 2019 and projected to be below 2.0% in 2020¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme 2</td>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>The National Asset Protection Project</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>The finance minister in 2017 mentioned government’s plans to ensure the protection of government’s assets and ensure proper inventory on the asset. The NAPP as the project to deliver on this promise and the GIIF was the designated organization to implement the project. The Ghana Asset Management Corporation was developed in 2018 and approved by cabinet in 2019. The bill is set to be presented to parliament for its passage into law in 2020.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme 3</td>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>The NPP will play an active part in the effort to create the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA).</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Under this administration Ghana successfully campaigned to host the continental secretariat of the AfCFTA, thus ensuring that Ghana will play a pivotal role in the formation of the free-trade area.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2; Simplified Scoring Matrix

LIMITATIONS OF THE METHODOLOGY

The major challenge of the study was the promises themselves. Many promises were not found to be Specific Measurable Attributable Realistic and Time bound (SMART). More specifically, some were vague. This made it difficult to hold government accountable for these promises without an element of subjectivity. Although the said subjectivity was reduced and guided by credible data and information from various Ministries Departments and Agencies (MDAs), it would have been at the barest minimum if the promises had been SMART. Another important dimension of this challenge was that promises which could have had quantifiable or ratio-scale-oriented indicators were only nominal or ordinal by nature. Thus, the assessment of those promises was limited to whether they were fulfilled or not rather than the extent to which they were fulfilled.

OVERALL PERFORMANCE OF THE NPP GOVERNMENT

The overall performance of the NPP government based on the results from the key sectors as presented in Eqn. 3 is **56.77 percent**. This depicts a satisfactory performance using the assessment framework.

\[
IMMA = 0.25 \times 0.576 + 0.25 \times 0.592 + 0.15 \times 0.588 + 0.15 \times 0.559 + 0.20 \times 0.517 = 0.5677
\]

Eqn. 3

Specifically, the NPP’s performance falls within the upper band of satisfactory progress signifying a **fair satisfactory performance**. The government is behind time in implementing majority of its promises captured in the 2016 manifesto. From the total of **510 promises**, majority of them have not been fully implemented and some have not been initiated at all. It is worth noting that this result reflects the extent of delivery of the promises and not an evaluation of the impact of the promises or the level of satisfaction of electorates. Figure 3 provides a graphical summary of the maximum number of counts and the raw counts based on the level of fulfilment, the thematic scores (in percentages) and the overall performance in percentage. Also, Figure 4 provides a graphical representation of the NPP government based on the IMMA Framework. The preceding sections provide a detailed discussion of the five (5) key sectors and the performance of the NPP government.
Figure 3. Maximum, Raw, Thematic Scores and the Overall Performance of the NPP Government

The Current Performance of the NPP Government (56.77%)

Figure 4: The Current Performance of the NPP Government
The buoyancy of the economy of Ghana depends largely on strong economic fundamentals and a reflection of the growth in the pocket of Ghanaians. The global pandemic (COVID-19) hit the shores of Ghana in early March of 2020. Prior to that, the country had felt the effect on exchange rate in February through the appreciation of the Ghana cedi. The eventual national lockdown, closure of the borders, and other health risk mitigation strategies have had significant effect on the economy as a whole. Albeit negative effects, there are some notable gains as there was a leapfrog in the area of information, communication technology (ICT) and its contribution across economic activities. As regards the general impact of the pandemic on the four-year term of the NPP, the pandemic does not impair the performance of the government but it has rather empowered the government to implement some of its promises which would have been left undone.

The overall score of the NPP government based on the assessment of the delivery of promises under the economy theme is **57.62 percent**. This depicts a performance within the upper band of satisfactory progress. The performance under the general economy, trade and industry is **52.53 percent** which is within the upper band of satisfactory progress. Additionally, the performance under agriculture is **59.54 percent** which is within the upper band of satisfactory progress. On the other hand, the performance under tourism scored **73.81 percent** which is in the upper band of good progress. A detailed discussion of the results under the two (2) sub-themes have been presented as follows.

**ECONOMY, TRADE AND INDUSTRY (52.53%)**

The results of the assessment of the manifesto promises capturing the economy, trade and industry are presented in Figure 5. A total of **87 promises** have been captured under economy, trade and industry. In total, **16 promises have been fully implemented**, **60 are partially implemented** and **11 are promises that are yet to be implemented**. Some of the notable promises that are fully implemented are the promise to enact a Fiscal Responsibility Law, to establish a Financial Stability Council, to undertake a financial sector clean-up and tax-related promises like the promise to abolish the 17.5 percent VAT on financial services. The notable promises that are partially implemented include the promise to stabilize the currency exchange rate, to implement the One District One Factory initiative and to implement the strategic anchor initiatives. The promises that are yet to be fulfilled are the promise to facilitate the passage of a Consumer Protection Law, to eliminate corruption, to reduce corporate tax rate from 25 percent to 20 percent and the promise to achieve double digit GDP growth annually for the four-year period.
The results relating to macroeconomic stability depict the highest score of 77 percent, showing that the government has significantly fulfilled its macro-economic promises. This high score is driven by the full implementation of the promises to enact the Fiscal Responsibility Law, establish the Fiscal Council and the Financial Stability Council and the execution of the financial sector clean-up. Although other promises to stabilise the currency and to formalise the economy has not been fully achieved, the government has executed a significant portion of the macroeconomic stability promises.

The government has also performed well under the export development, as well as, economic management from taxation to production pillars, with a score of 62 percent respectively. In the area of export diversification, although none of the promises have been fully implemented, a significant portion has been impartially implemented. The government promised to develop and implement a comprehensive, project-based export diversification action plan based on the national export strategy, as well as, to provide support for organisations such as the Association of Ghana Industries (AGI), Ghana Exporters Association (GEA), and the Ghana Chamber of Commerce (GCC) for export promotion activities. In the area of economic management from taxation to production, the government abolished a number of taxes during the four-year tenure. This includes abolishing the Special Import Levy, abolishing the 17.5 percent VAT on imported medicines not produced in the country, abolishing the 17.5 percent VAT on Financial Services, abolishing the 5 percent VAT on Real Estate sales, abolishing the 17.5 percent VAT on domestic airline tickets and removing import duties on raw materials and machinery for production within the context of the ECOWAS Common External Tariff (CET) Protocol. However, the government has failed in reducing the corporate tax rate from the current 25 percent to 20 percent.

Still under economic management from taxation to production, the NPP promised to eliminate corruption, especially in procurement of goods and services, which is estimated at about 1.5% of GDP annually, as well as, to plug leakages in the administration of public finances since the Auditor General’s Report has indicated that between 2012 and 2014, GH¢5.9 billion of government funds cannot be accounted for. Interestingly, in the 2018 auditor’s report, the amount of financial
misappropriations for 2018 alone is GHS5.2 billion. The calls for government to ensure the fight against corruption begins at the seat of government fell on deaf ears.\(^2\) Some of the areas that government has failed in the fight against corruption are regarding the Ghana Audit Service where the President has ordered the Auditor General to go on an accumulated leave in the midst of some high risk audits which have conflict of interest links with top government officials. Thus, currently, the audit report for 2019 has not been concluded. This sends a negative signal across the global Supreme Audit fraternity with a response from institutions like the International Organisation of Supreme Audit Institutions (INTOSAI)\(^3\). Additionally, a recent investigation regarding the Public Procurement Authority showed the suspended CEO still takes his salary and receives his benefits as if he is still at post.\(^4\) These corruption related issues suggest the country should be on a reverse gear when it comes to addressing the canker of corruption.

The other high performing areas are under economic policy objectives with a score of 58 percent and the flagship industrial development initiatives with a score of 56 percent. As regards the economic policy objectives, the NPP promised to increase the infrastructure as a percentage of GDP. Although, not up to the level of addressing the national infrastructure deficit, the government has made infrastructure sector investment increase of 156.68% in 2019 from 2018 figures.\(^5\) The government has also promised to maintain fiscal discipline, which was significantly achieved in the earlier three years. However, with the emergence of COVID-19, these gains have almost been undone. The pandemic negatively affected economic activities leading to loss of jobs and closure of some businesses.\(^6\) There were calls from civil society to ensure that government should ensure fiscal prudence and account for budget savings as a result of the pandemic, as significant expenditure on conferences for instance will not be spent.\(^7\) Currently, the debt to GDP is at dizzying heights and it is projected to be above 76 percent in 2020.\(^8\) As regards the flagship industrial development initiatives, the government has made significant progress under the initiatives such as the 1D1F and the strategic anchor initiatives, although not fully.

The low performing areas of the NPP’s 2016 manifesto under economy trade and industry are in the areas of consumer protection with a score of 15 percent; harmony in industrial relations, skills development for industry, and raw materials for industry which all recorded a score of 38 percent each. The NPP has failed to facilitate the passage of a Consumer Protection Law. This law is yet to be passed although it has been in parliament since 2007. Consumer protection issues are vital but have received less attention as the promise to pass the bill is yet to be realised. It should be noted that the bill was listed in January 2019 for consideration by the Legislature. Concerning the promise to support the Ghana Standard Authority (GSA), albeit not enough, the

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\(^2\) https://imaniafrica.org/2017/02/01/imani-report-charity-begins-home-fighting-waste-corruption-starts-presidency/

\(^3\) https://www.myjoyonline.com/news/national/domelevo-leave-directive-may-have-negative-impact-on-audit-services-independence-intosai-development-initiative/


\(^8\) https://www.myjoyonline.com/opinion/imani-alert-government-should-also-account-for-covid-19-savings-in-mid-year-budget-review/
Local Government Service (LGS) for instance has partnered with the GSA to enforce standards, promote certification and the use of weigh and measures in trade.¹⁰

TOURISM, CULTURE AND CREATIVE ARTS (73.81%)

Ghana’s tourism, culture and creative arts sector was equally a critical area of interest in the NPP manifesto. The manifesto recognized the sector’s potential to drive economic growth and prosperity given the country’s rich cultural, historical, natural and man-made attractions. The NPP promised to expand the tourism sector in its manifesto through investment, innovation, the pursuit of service excellence and meaningful partnerships. Overall, 10 promises were made with respect to Ghana’s tourism sector, four promises with regards to culture and seven promises in the creative arts industry. Some of these promises were to aggressively develop tourist sites in Ghana to bring them to international standards, establish a creative arts fund to make available revenue to modernize and develop the sector and promote Made in Ghana goods.

![Figure 6. Scores for Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts](source: Authors Construct)

Out of the 21 promises made under Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts, the government scored 73.81 percent on the iManifesto assessment tool, which signifies a ‘very good’ progress towards the delivery of the NPP’s government manifesto promises. Notable commitments to the delivery of the NPP’s promises by the tourism sector include the commencement of work on the Marine Drive Tourism Investment Project in 2019, the Back to Africa Heritage which took place in early 2018, the reopening of the Hotel Hospitality and Catering Training Institute in July 2018 and the aggressive campaign towards the patronization of Made in Ghana goods.

Regardless of this remarkable performance, Ghana ranked 115th out of 140 countries on the Travel and Tourism competitiveness index 2019\(^{11}\). Out of the indicators for this index assessment, Ghana performed poorly on the tourist service infrastructure, health and hygiene indicators. It would be more prudent for the government to develop robust measures towards the tourism sector infrastructure and hygienic services.

Also, the government’s commitment to the creative arts industry was the least compared to tourism and culture. This stems from the government’s inability to implement two of its significant promises under the creative arts industry which are the construction of modern large seating theatres in every regional capital in Ghana and the setting up of copyrights offices in Takoradi, Tamale and Kumasi. Given that the industry has been stalled with persistent issues of poor infrastructure, inadequate finance, breakdown in distribution and marketing channels and the biggest of all, copyright infringements and piracy\(^{12}\), these promises could have enhanced the performance of Ghana’s creative arts industry.

**AGRICULTURE (59.54%)**

Agriculture is a significant contributor to Ghana’s economy although dominated by small land owners. It employs about 46 percent of the country’s total labour force. Averagely, its share of GDP from 2015 to 2018 was 20.05 percent,\(^{13}\)\(^{14}\) even though the cocoa subsector alone contributes about 10 percent of the agricultural sector’s GDP. Agriculture is also a major contributor to the country’s export earnings and a relevant source of inputs to Ghana’s manufacturing sector.\(^{15}\) Regardless of the significant contribution of the agricultural sector to the Ghanaian economy, the country is still struggling to expand its agricultural export earnings beyond cocoa as well as reduce its over-dependence on imported foods.\(^{16}\)

As part of the government’s efforts to ensure the sustainability of Ghana’s agricultural sector, the NPP government declared that in its four years in power, it would modernize agriculture, improve production efficiency, achieve food security and profitability for farmers. The NPP government also indicated that it would pursue a value-addition strategy, aimed at improving agro-processing and developing new and stable markets for Ghanaian products. To this end, **54 key promises** were made under Ghana’s agricultural sector. The promises were under four themes, which consist of Improving Production Efficiency, Development of Products, Storage, Processing and Transport and Marketing. These four themes were subdivided to cover various sections in the agricultural sector and under each sub-division existed a number of key promises. The sub-sections under the improving production efficiency covered improved seeds and fertilizers, irrigation development, extension services, research, mechanization and commercial and farming

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block. Under the theme, development of products, the sub-sections covered crop production (non-traditional crops and cocoa), livestock, fisheries and poultry. There was no subdivision for the storage, processing and transport and marketing themes.

![Figure 7. Scores for Agriculture](source: Authors Construct)

The government scored **59.54 percent** in the agricultural sector using the iManifesto assessment tool, which implies satisfactory progress of the implementation of the campaign promises. A further assessment indicates that the government performed best on improved seeds and fertilizer, with a score of **88 percent**. The government has executed **74 percent of its promises in the development of cocoa**. A notable promise fulfilled by the NPP under cocoa is “ensure that farmers receive increased in producer price plus bonuses high enough to encourage them to produce more cocoa for export.” Cocoa price was maintained for three consecutive years from the 2016/2017 to 2018/2019 crop season due to the world market price volatility. Although fluctuation in the world market price still exists, cocoa producer price has been increased by 39 percent from GHS 475 (2018/2019) to GHS 660 (2020/2021).

This stems from the joint effort of the Ghanaian and Ivorian government to fix a living income differential (LID) of USD 400 per tonne of cocoa to salvage the farmers from poverty. Regardless of this, the country is yet to testify if the increase in the cocoa producer price would be enough incentive to boost production for export\(^7\). While boosting cocoa production to capture gains from the global supply chain seems desirable, a more appropriate alternative would be boosting the country’s processing and manufacturing capacity. Farmers only earn 6.6 percent of the global

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\(^7\) No available data on cocoa production for the 2019/2020 crop season to measure the impact of the increase. However cocoa production for the 2018/2019 crop season was 811,747.
supply chain and as a result, it is indispensable to enhance our processing capacity from the current 20 percent of the country’s total production.

There has also been some progress with respect to Ghana’s non-traditional exports. The government’s score towards its commitment to the development of non-traditional crops such as Cashew, shea, oil palm, grains, cassava cotton and horticulture is 67 percent. This is evidenced by the increase in earnings from non-traditional exports from USD 2.813 in 2018 to USD 2.899 in 2019 (3.10%)

This confirms the government’s significant commitments towards the country’s agricultural sector. That notwithstanding, the government scored the lowest under its irrigation, livestock and mechanization, commercial and farming blocks promises. The government for instance planned to provide a mechanism to capture the water released by the annual spillage of the Bagre dam in Burkina to use for irrigation in the north. While the government made a budgetary allocation of 84,420,000 in the 2020 budget to construct a dam that would hold spillage from the Bagre Dam and also drew attention to the conclusion of discussions with the government of Burkina Faso on ways to control the spillage in its 2020 manifesto, its impact has not been felt.

Not too long, the Bagre Dam spillage was reported to have destroyed many food crops such as rice, corn, soya bean, groundnuts and watermelon of smallholder farmers around White Volta and Upper East Region.

The government also promised to mechanize agriculture, but the 2017/2018 Ghana Census of Agriculture (GCA) revealed the limited use of modern equipment such as tractors, shellers and meat processing equipment in Ghana’s agricultural sector. According to the census, only 24.7 percent of Ghanaian holders use tractors. This is emanating from the fact that farmers in Ghana are slow to adapt to new technologies due to over-reliance on traditional methods such as the use of hoes and rainfall to support production.

Although the sector’s score signifies satisfactory progress, it is still imperative for the government to develop more aggressive measures that would ensure that other sub-sectors within Ghana’s agricultural space are developed to the level of the country’s cocoa sector.

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18 https://www.visualcapitalist.com/cocoa-a-bittersweet-supply-chain/
22 https://allafrica.com/stories/202008171018.html
23 Most holders use agricultural equipment that they do not own
HUMAN CAPITAL INVESTMENT (55.87%)

Human Capital measures the skills, capacity and attributes of labour which influence productivity. The investments in the form of education and health made into acquiring these qualities for production constitutes Human Capital Investment. Citizens are able to reach full productivity when extensive investment is made into their human capital development rendering a much healthier and more educated people. Overall, a total of 63 promises were made under Human Capital Investment, 32 under Education and 31 under Health. The NPP government had an overall score of 55.87 percent in its attempt to educate and provide healthcare to the people of Ghana. Most of the promises under this sector centred on education with the popular slogan of “Free SHS”. The impact of the pandemic on this theme is clearly evident as the government shored up investment and utilised national assets regarding health while schools were closed to prevent an outbreak of the virus in schools. Essentially, from March 2020, the pandemic led to critical government attention to health and safety of citizens and residents.

EDUCATION (55%)

Education was central to the NPP 2016 campaign with the promise of FREE SHS dominating policy issues during the election period. The NPP made 32 promises in the education sector grouped under 14 thematic areas including Kindergarten, Primary, Secondary, Technical and Vocational Education (STVE), management of schools, teachers, Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM), tertiary education, among others. Over the tenure of administration, government has been able to fully implement 8 of them while work begun on 20. Summarily, IMANI scores government 55 percent on Education.

Government's most prominent achievement in the education sector is the implementation of free Senior High School (SHS), a highly popular policy introduction. Free SHS has increased education enrolment from 800,000 in the 2016/17 academic year to 1.2 million students in the 2019/20 academic year. The policy however came along with an intermediary system of Double Track – a

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28 Ministry of Education (MoE, 2019)
shift system to contain the high enrolment. While the Free SHS addresses the financial constraints of students that impeded enrolment, the policy after three years of implementation needs critical review to ensure financial sustainability as this is a major risk. In respect of Technical and Vocational Education, the NPP promised to ensure that each region has two state-of-art institutions was not fulfilled although there were consistent mentions of this in the national budgets such as in the 2020 budget, which promised the construction of 32 modern TVET in the medium-term. With a score of 47 percent, the NPP performed satisfactorily in the area of Secondary, Technical and Vocational Education.

![Figure 8: Scores for Education](source: Authors Construct)

Two critical promises were made in respect of Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) Education. These were to aggressively promote STEM education across all levels of the education system as well as leveraging technology to popularize the teaching and learning of Mathematics in the country. Here, IMANI scored government 50 percent for its performance. It is noteworthy that the Ministry of Education reports a successful training of about 700 teachers nationwide in Senior High Schools on the use of ICT in teaching (STEM) programme. Only one of the four promises targeted at teachers was fully achieved. This was the restoration of teacher trainee allowance in the 2017/2018 academic year for the 41 public Colleges of Education nationwide. The other three unfulfilled promises were ensuring that teachers who upgraded their qualifications and skills were promoted promptly with immediate salary change, decentralization of teacher recruitment and other document processing and finally, the promise to facilitate an affordable housing scheme for teachers.

The government is yet to complete its WI-FI connectivity coverage to all the secondary schools and tertiary institutions across the country although very few schools have confirmed having WI-Fi. Promises made in the area of Arabic education received a good attention from the government. Progress was made in implementation as the promise to restore the policy, and
support Arabic/Islamic instructors with training and other incentives to motivate them to provide good training. 3,000 Arabic instructors were recruited and deployed to various Islamic schools in the country. Additionally, there are ongoing efforts at developing a curriculum for Arabic studies which will be an optional subject at JHS and SHS levels. This is to fulfil the promise of introducing Arabic as an optional language to be taught and examined at the JHS and SHS levels.

At the Tertiary level, government implemented its promise to increase the amount of loans under the Student Loan Scheme and restructure to streamline its administration to enhance recovery of the loans. The promise to establish a Manufacturing Plant at the KNUST for the production of prototypes of the inventions and creations of scientists and innovators in the country was however not met. There is an urgent need to boost the infrastructural capacity of tertiary schools in the country to accommodate the increased enrolment as a result of the FREE SHS policy.

HEALTH (56.77%)

Under the health sector, a total of 31 promises were made in 2016 by the NPP out of which eight have been fully achieved, twenty saw significant steps towards implementation and three promises remained unfulfilled. Broadly, the NPP’s promises on health were anchored on addressing disparities in the sector and rescuing the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS). Cumulatively, the government scored 56.77 percent in achieving the promises in the health sector.

Promises under the thematic area of National Health Insurance Scheme received the most attention with a rating of 95 percent. Under the period in review, the NHIS underwent significant improvements to enhance its operationalization and accessibility to the general public. The NPP’s effort at integrating technology and health insurance management protocols to tackle waste, corruption, and insurance claim fraud under the NHIS was commendable. The two technical innovations introduced to make the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) more accessible to its members while improving the Scheme’s financial management are the Mobile Membership Renewal Service and the generation of E-Receipts to track payments leading to streamlining of
the NHIS operations. These introductions are phenomenal as they will go a long way to eliminating the need for queues and delays, thus, ensuring prompt and increased access to NHIS services.

Particularly on NHIS restructuring, government successfully secured an NHIL Amendment Bill in Parliament. Relatedly, a technical team was also engaged in the restructuring process with recommendations leading to the implementation of the Reform Agenda Strategy of the NHIS. Notwithstanding all the gains under the NHIS, government ought to diversify health insurance cover by integrating and promoting private health insurance schemes as viable alternatives to the NHIS. On the other hand, the NHIS subscription coverage of the national population remains worryingly low.

The NPP remained committed to its promise of restoring trainee nurses’ allowances in full. The 2020 mid-year Budget Review reports a release of GH¢57,800,000 for the payment of nursing students’ allowance. This covers a reach of 48,200 nursing students nationwide. Also, the promise to strengthen the National Ambulance Service was met by government. The President in January 2020 commissioned and distributed 307 ambulances to help augment operations of the National Ambulance Service including training of 450 Emergency Medical Technicians (EMT). This measure will help improve delivery of emergency healthcare in the country. Government was however unable to meet its promise of working with the private sector to establish trauma centres within hospitals along the main highways in order to facilitate medical treatment of citizens in cases of accidents.

Relatedly, the Ministry of Health also collaborated with Zipline Technologies to provide rapid response to medical emergencies in hard-to-reach areas. The new service uses drones to make on-demand emergency deliveries for 148 different vaccines, blood products, and life-saving medications selected by the Ministry of Health. Each Zipline distribution center has the capacity to make up to 500 flights per day, across four distribution centers.

In respect of Health Infrastructure, although government promised to upgrade all existing District Hospitals where they exist, and establish one where they do not, not much was seen in implementation. This promise would have ensured a reduction in regional disparities in Ghana’s health sector and bring service closer to the people especially in the poor and rural areas. There has been a general public outcry on abandoning some hospitals started by previous administrations. All the same, the government has over the period undertaken the construction of some polyclinics and classroom blocks for a number Health Training Institutions. A total of 10,000 hospital beds were distributed by the Ministry of Health across hospitals in the 275 constituencies of the country. Also, efforts were made at expanding and equipping medical schools to train more medical doctors such as with the conversion of the Ho regional hospital to a Teaching Hospital and completing some expansion works at the Tamale Teaching Hospital.

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The promise to provide legislative, administrative and financial support for the implementation of the Mental Health Bill, control of non-communicable and neglected tropical diseases, organ transplantation and assisted reproduction received little attention by Government. The deployment of Mental Health Coordinators at regional and district levels started with Community Mental Health Nurses being deployed to the community level. While this measure will help decongest the national psychiatric hospitals, much more needs to be done in respect of addressing the varied challenges in the mental health sector.

Little progress was seen on the promise to establish Cancer Centres at all levels of the healthcare delivery system for screening, diagnosis, early detection. Nonetheless, the promise to include cancer under the NHIS has been achieved. The NPP pledged ambitiously to make Ghana the destination for health tourism in the ECOWAS region. Here, efforts have been made at developing Medical Tourism Policy and the scoping of 11 facilities has been conducted to assess the potentials and basic requirements for the development of medical tourism in Ghana.

COVID-19 has greatly exposed the weaknesses and vulnerabilities in our health sector. While the government can generally be commended for increasing health budget allocations as well as enhancing health policy programme implementation, more needs to be done to reduce the deepening disparities in the health sector and ensure the affordability and accessibility of quality healthcare to every Ghanaian.

33 2020 National Budget
SOCIAL SECTOR (58.85%)

In relation to the social sector, the NPP 2016 manifesto made 57 promises with targeted at the social interventions and 12 in relation to sports. Over the period of administration, the NPP has been able to implement 15 of them, started some significant work on 37 of them with 5 promises left unmet. The flagship programmes among these promises were social interventions such as Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP), the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP), Youth Employment Programme, and Microfinance and Small Loans Centre (MASLOC). The government scores 58.85 percent for the social services sector. This is a satisfactory performance for the implementation of 57 promises made by the Akuffo-Addo administration.

Figure 10: Score for Social Sector
[source: Authors Construct]

The government scored an impressive 83 percent on the implementation of LEAP. The Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty has been expanded to reach 334,084 households as at June, 2020, representing an increase of 56.8% in beneficiaries since 2016. The NPP also promised to adopt effective, accurate means-testing to target, identify and enrol properly beneficiary households and so far, the MOGCSP began a recertification of current beneficiaries of the
Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP). The exercise is part of plans to exit many of the current beneficiaries from the pro-poor social intervention.  

Similarly, NPP made a good score of 82 percent under the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP). Four of the six campaign promises here have been fully implemented such as with the training of 34,028 caterers in food safety, hygiene and child nutrition as well as the promise to rationalize and improve monitoring processes under the GSFP.

The empowerment of Women and children rights follows with a 66 percent score. Promises that were achieved here include the strengthening regulations and reforms to the adoption and foster care regime in Ghana. Early in its administration, Government worked with the District Assemblies to exempt Kayayei from market tolls and taxes imposed on them while developing a five-year strategic plan dubbed “Operation Get Off the Street Now for A Better Life” to further address the concerns of the Kayayei. Notwithstanding the above, the promise to address the root cause of migration by improving the economy of their districts of origin was not significantly addressed. Also, government showed a relatively weak performance in the implement of the Domestic Violence, Human Trafficking and Disability Acts.

Under the sub theme of “Building of a fair and inclusive society,” only three of the eleven promises made were substantially fulfilled with government performing averagely with a score of 57 percent. Not much was seen from this administration in respect of policies and programmes targeted at persons with disability (PWD). Such promises include the amendment of the Disability Act in line with the UN Convention on Disability, the improvement of special training schools for persons with disabilities, inclusive education for PWDs, and the resourcing of the National Council on Persons with Disability.

The sports sub-sector has seen some transformation after the work of the FIFA Normalization Committee, inaugurated to review, advise, and reform Ghana’s sports sector, particularly football, and the inauguration of a new Ghana Football Association executives. The NPP government made 12 promises in its 2016 manifesto to transform sports in Ghana. Between 2017 and 2020, the NPP was able to prosecute 35.83 percent of its manifesto promises under the sports sector, indicating poor performance.

The NPP promised to transform sports in Ghana by implementing the right legal frameworks and enact the comprehensive Sports Bill crafted under the Kuffour administration. In 2019, the NPP government through the Ministry of Sports embarked on a nationwide sensitization programme on the new Sports Bill passed in 2016. Two consultants were hired to submit a draft document on the Sports Legislative Instrument that seeks to effectively implement the Sports. Final consultations were concluded in 2020 and preparations are underway to submit the draft to parliament for review. Furthermore, the government established strategic partnerships with

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36. The non-inclusive designs of school structures contravene section 6 of Ghana’s disability law (Act 715), and article 9 of the UN convention on right of persons with disabilities (CRPD)
traditional leaders, MMDA’s and private landowners as part of the process of implementing its promises on the development of sports centres and enhance community participation in sports promotion. The Ministry of Sports in partnership with the Ministry for Zongo development embarked on the construction of ultra-modern sports facilities across the country. These notwithstanding, the NPP is yet to implement its promise to complete the construction of the University of Ghana Stadium, invest in Women Sports, establish sports colleges and incentivize the private sector to invest in sports in Ghana.

Infrastructure development within the context of the foregoing performance assessment focuses on four key areas mainly; **The Energy sector, Lands and Natural Resources and Information Communication and Technology and Structural Development.**

**ENERGY SECTOR (57.57%)**

Ghana’s energy sector has witnessed significant progress since 2017. The government has pursued several energy supply security strategies such as the expansion of generation capacity from 4,743MW in 2017 to 5,083MW in 2019 as a result of the completion of the Cenpower 340MW power plant, investment in other sources of supply such as solar and wind energy, and improved domestic gas production to guarantee fuel supply security. In spite of these progress, high capacity charges, high cost of take or pay commitments (US$ 600million annually)\(^40\), power sector debt, and lack of sustained electricity tariff reduction remain a challenge in the sector. The oil and gas sector has seen a major boost post-ITLOS ruling in respect of Ghana-Cote d’Ivoire maritime disputes. Production levels have soared from 58,658,063.54 barrels per annum of crude oil in 2017 to 71,439,585barrels of crude oil in 2019 from the Jubilee Field, TEN field, and SGN field. Ghana is progressively implementing laws and policies relevant to developing a sound regulatory space. The first oil and gas round was completed in July 2019.

An assessment of the process by IMANI on the contracting process highlighted several lapses in the bidding rounds such as lack of comprehensive data on the blocks, size of the acreage, and absence of adequate transparency measures in both the competitive bid rounds and direct negotiations. Major international oil companies such as ExxonMobil, BP, and China National Offshore Oil Corporation dropped out of the bid rounds. Furthermore, 10 IOC’s that initially expressed interest to participate in the competitive bid rounds opted for the blocks reserved for direct negotiation. Other developments in the sector include; appraisal activities and submission of Plan of Development (POD) for the Deep Water Tano Cape Three Points (DWT/CTP) by Aker Energy and success by Springfield SEP, in finding oil after drilling the Afina-1x well in the West Cape Three Points (WCTP) Block 2. The pandemic caused by the coronavirus, energy transition, and decarbonization policies has disrupted oil prices, resulting in 30-year low oil prices\(^41\). Thus, uncertainties in petroleum revenues could belong deep and pervasive in terms of Ghana’s total revenue in the short term.

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The New Patriotic Party made a total of 37 promises with regards to the energy sector which covers the power, oil, and gas sub-sectors. The government implemented 57.57 percent of the total promises in its four-year term. According to the iManifesto assessment framework, this is satisfactory performance.

![Figure 11: Energy Sector Score](source: Authors Construct)

The NPP government established the Energy Sector Financial Restructuring and Recovery plan to implement its promise to deliver a regular supply of cheaper electricity (end dumsor) through the least-cost fuel policy, inject liquidity into the sector and manage the energy sector debt. The ESLA Plc was contemplated in 2016 and set up in 2017 as a special purpose vehicle to raise long-term debt to resolve the debt crisis unsettling the energy sector. The ESLA Bond was issued in 2017 and paid approximately GH¢5.6billion of the SOE debt as of 29th July 2019. Furthermore, the government through Ghana National Petroleum Corporation supported the completion of the on-shore receiving facility funded by ENI Ghana, and continued work on the Takoradi-Tema interconnector to ensure a consistent supply of gas for power plants in Tema. The government also moved the Karpowership Osman Khan 450MW power ship to Takoradi to utilize gas from the SGN field would help guarantee fuel supply for power generation. Further, the NPP passed the Energy Commission (Efficiency Standards and Labelling) (Light Emitting Diode and Self-Ballasted Fluorescent Lamps) Regulations, 2017 (L.I. 2353). The government has procured 12million LED bulbs at a cost of GHC 200million to be distributed across the country as part of its commitment to enhancing energy efficiency as promised in their 2016 manifesto.

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The NPP has made good progress in the execution of the technical audits on power projects leading to savings of 13 percent on the cost of the AMERI Power Purchase Agreement, and 31 percent on the CENIT PPA. The government has converted the CENIT agreement to a Take and Pay contract, deferred 8, and terminated 2 power purchase agreements. The Energy Sector Recovery Taskforce has completed the first round of negotiation of existing PPA’s with take or pay clauses. However, an assessment of the Institute of Energy Security adduced that Ghana will gain marginally from the re-negotiated AMERI deal because the new deal offers high electricity tariffs in the long-run. The government has placed a complete moratorium on the signing of new PPA, GSA, PCOA, and LNG SPA in the near to effectively manage the excess capacity challenges.

Progress was made in the area of renewable energy with the completion of a 45kw mini-hydro project in the Tsatsadu River, and completion of the contractual agreement for the exploration of tidal, wind energy at Ada, and the commissioning of the 17MW Lawra Solar Power Project. However, the government is yet to improve the share of renewable energy in the generation mix. The share of renewable energy in the generation mix currently stands at 0.2 percent.

Nonetheless, the government is yet to consistently implement reduced electricity tariffs promise consistently. The government reduced electricity tariffs in 2018 by 17.5 percent for residential, 25 percent for special load tariffs, and 30 percent for the industry as a result of the revenue projection of power utilities. However, the government increased the electricity tariff by 11.17 percent and 5.94 percent in 2019 based on the need to improve the revenue and cover the cost of power utilities. In keeping with the government’s promise, electricity tariffs were reduced but the overall absolute reduction is less than 20 percent between 2017 and 2019. This raises questions as to the rationale behind the tariff reduction in 2018. Save for the Jubilee House and the Ministry of Energy, the government failed to deliver its promise on connecting MDA’s to solar infrastructure to reduce the cost of electricity of MDA’s. Additionally, the government is yet to implement its promise on establishing a competitive tender approach to signing PPA’s and a clear policy approach to creating a separate thermal market. The NPP government is yet to deliver its promises to extricate regulatory bodies such as the PURC and EC from political interference in the delivery of its mandate.

The conduct of the government with regards to ensuring transparency in the management of oil and gas resources suggests that they have followed the Petroleum Act, 2016 Act 919 and the Petroleum Regulation, 2018 Li 2359, other legislation and policies. The NPP made progress in amending some sections of the Petroleum Revenue Management Act 2011, Act 815 after completing stakeholder engagement and submitting the amendments to parliament in 2020.

The Accelerated Oil and Gas Capacity Programme (AOGC), commissioned in 2017, served as a

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46 The proposed amendments include the following:
1. Section 27 – Investment Rules 2, Section 16(4) – Disbursement from the Petroleum Holding Fund 3, Sections 32 and 55 - Tenure of members of Investment Advisory Committee (IAC) and PIAC 4, Section 56 - PIAC’s reporting timelines 5, Sections 8 (1), 15, 17, 48 (b), and 48 (1-3), to allow for dedicated funding from petroleum revenue for the MoF to implement petroleum revenue management obligations imposed on it by law.
conduit through which the NPP was able to deliver on its promise to invest in the education and skill of Ghanaians in the oil and gas industry. The programme has so far trained 127 people in welding and fabrication. Also, the agreement between the Petroleum Commission and Halliburton to train the engineers and geoscientists of the Commission started in October 2020. The government delivered on its promise of redeeming debts owed to Bulk Distributing Companies. The government paid all of its debt of GH₵906 million (US$158,707,852.82) owed BDC’s from 2012-2018 in 2019. The NPP government also revised its gas oil and gasoline sulphur content policy and reduced the standard sulphur content to 50ppm. Except for waived refineries, the sulphur content in fuel has dropped from over 2000ppm to 302ppm. TOR and BOST have not seen a reduction in sulphur content because of the comingling of local production with sulphur content of over 1500ppm and imports of 50ppm.

Despite the above progress, the NPP is yet to expand Tema Oil Refinery’s daily capacity and “to [guarantee] that crude oil produced in Ghana is refined here to add value to our oil and to build a petrochemical industry as an important growth pillar for the economy”. TOR has a refinery capacity of 45,000bopd and currently refines 14,000bopd on a tolling basis. Nonetheless, TOR has signed an agreement with Woodfield Energy Resources to refine 11 million barrels of crude oil, which will see the firm operation of the refinery.

The government is yet to implement its promise of guaranteeing the independence of the Ghana National Petroleum Corporation to focus on its core mandate to undertake exploration, development, production, and disposal of petroleum on behalf of the State. The Public Interest and Accountability Committee 2018 annual reports revealed that GNPC granted a credit facility of US$50 million to the Ministry of Finance. This credit according to the 2019 PIAC mid-year review is unpaid as a result of the directive from the Ministry of Finance requesting the Corporation to expunge the amount from its books, on the ground that per the Earmarked Funds Capping and Realignment Act, 2017 (Act 947), the Minister of Finance is empowered to cap all earmarked funds at twenty-five percent of tax revenues. The Ministry indicated that the Government had not retained GNPC’s flows thus far with the view to offsetting the US$50 million loan.

These activities affect the ability of GNPC to undertake its core mandate and grow into an independent oil and gas company capable of owning blocks outside Ghana like Shell and China National Offshore Oil Corporation. The government is yet to capitalize on the oil revenues allocated to rail development to construct the Accra to Kumasi and Paga rail line. The government has only undertaken feasibility studies concerning railway development in the Eastern Corridor.

The government’s inability to implement a laid down procurement plan backed by law to ensure the effective process of procuring power plants, promote rapid adoption of solar for government buildings, improve the capacity and independence of the Public Utility Regulatory Commission and Energy Commission resulted in the satisfactory performance of the government in the energy sector. The government’s ability to restructure the power market, promote green energy share in

the power market, and promote local content in the supply of solar panels can boost its performance in the future. Furthermore, for the government to see good progress in the fulfilment of its promises in the energy sector, the government must aim to the turnaround of the Western Region as an oil and gas hub, guarantee the independence of GNPC, support indigenous companies to participate in the oil and gas sector, address macro-economic challenges affecting the effective implementation of the Petroleum Price Deregulation Policy and ensure effective implementation of the Petroleum Revenue Management Act, 2011 Act 815 (amended in 2015).

**LANDS AND NATURAL RESOURCES (59.1 %)**

The lands and natural resource sector cover: forestry, minerals, and land issues. Since 2017, the government has reiterated its commitment to clamping down the operations of illegal mining and ensuring small-scale mining is operated in an environmentally friendly manner. A total of 33 promises were captured under the lands, natural resources, and forestry sub-sectors. The NPP government fulfilled 59.09 percent of the promises made under this sector.

The government delivered the pledges made on improving reforestation through the procurement of seedlings. Through the Forestry Commission, it increased the seedlings for the national plantation programme from 4.1 million seedlings to 13.3 million seedlings. The government also made progress in improving ecotourism through collaboration between the Forestry Commission and the Ministry of Tourism to designated the Shai Hills, Kakum National Park in Central Region, Ankasa Forest Reserve in Western Region, Bomfobiri Wildlife Sanctuary in the Ashanti, and Shai Hills Resource Reserve in the Greater Accra Region, as eco-tourism sites.

![Graph showing the distribution of promises fulfilled in the lands and natural resources sector](source: Author's Own Construct)

The government reported progress in implementation of sustainable water management strategies such as planting trees along the banks of rivers. The government implemented its pledges on providing high-quality seedlings to farmers, improved crop rotation, and pest management.

The government made significant progress in the area of mineral development. It initiated the "operation vanguard" programme to fight illegal mining that had destroyed water bodies and the environment. The implementation of the programme is reported to have resulted in the improvement in water quality in some mining communities, ensured small-scale mining is operated in an environmentally sustainable manner. Also, the government revived Anglo Gold Ashanti to begin operations in 2018. The government made progress in developing the mining cadastre to an online portal that ensured disclosure on mineral rights allocation. The NPP government also made progress in the implementation of the Alternative Livelihood Project to curb environmental degradation and unemployment associated mining communities. The government reports\(^{55}\) that the alternative livelihood project created 7,500-10,000 jobs between 2017 and 2019.

The government made progress in the implementation of the promises with regards to land administration implementing the first phase of the Ghana Enterprise Land Information System to streamline all land title registration and data protection. The government reportedly launched a pilot of this programme in areas like Accra, East Legon, and Dansoman.

Notwithstanding the progress made, the government is yet to develop and implement a mineral revenue management law to support transparency and accountability in the spending of mineral revenues. The government is expanding forest reserves through the national plantation programme but the mechanism for demarcating the forest reserves has not improved. The government has not supported the honey, bamboo, and rattan industry.

The government is yet to reduce the turnaround time at the land’s commission to 30 days in processing titles. Also, the government has not been able to attract investors to support the development of industrial and business parks where they are needed most. Also, the government is yet to free some public lands to support entrepreneurial development and facilitate the reduction in the cost of land.

**STRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT (51.26%)**

Ghana has recorded significant spending in the area of infrastructure in the last two decades to mitigate the pressure caused by the growing population and rapid urbanization. The investment in infrastructure has become essential to reinforce the country’s position as a central hub for trading and transportation in Sub-Saharan Africa as reflected in the cargo throughput rising from 15.99 million in 2014 to 23.13 million in 2019\(^{56}\). The size of the road network has doubled from 35,059 km between 2000 and 2017, with an accessibility index of 64 percent. However, only 30% of


the expanded road networks are paved and a significant proportion has received irregular maintenance\textsuperscript{57}. The Aviation sector has seen a major boost with the completion of the Terminal-3 of the Kotoka International Airport and the expansion of the Kumasi Airport to international status. With US$370m and US$1.9bn investments in Takoradi and Tema ports respectively and the digitization of port clearance systems, Ghana’s maritime industry is expected to record a boom of 3.7m TEU annually at the Tema Port and 525,000 TEU at the Takoradi ports\textsuperscript{58}. The country faces a housing deficit of 2million and approximately 10million Ghanaians living in unsafe homes.

The NPP made 58 promises under the broader infrastructure theme which covers \textit{transport infrastructure, housing, management of water resources, and information communication, and technology}. Between 2017 and 2020, the NPP government fulfilled \textbf{50.74 percent} of the \textbf{58 promises}, indicating satisfactory progress.

![](image)

\textbf{Figure 12: Structural Development Score}

\textit{[source: Authors Construct]}

### Road and Transportation

Significant investments in the road sector includes the construction of the Pokuase Interchange and the Tema Motorway Interchange and the commencement of work on the Obetsebi Lampetey interchange and Tamale interchange. The NPP government in fulfilling its promise of expanding


\textsuperscript{58} https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/news/ghana-boosts-maritime-logistics-capacity-major-port-upgrades
road networks completed some major roads such as the Tarkwa-Bogoso-Ayamfuri and the Agona-Elubo roads in 2017. The Cape Coast-Twifo Praso and Obuasi-Dunkwa-Ayamfuri roads also saw a major facelift. The disbursement of the first tranche of the US$2billion Sinohydro agreement opened up space for government expenditure in addressing some infrastructure deficit. The NPP promised to improve the existing transport network systems in collaboration with the private sector. Between 2017-2020, the government procured 100 new intercity buses to augment the fleet of the Metro Mass Transport Limited, trained 415 drivers through a programme by the Government Technical Training Institute, and 100 intercity buses for the State Transport Corporation. The Atousu bus terminal was completed to commence Bus Rapid Transit in Kumasi. Additionally, 72 women were trained as bus drivers and posted to commence Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) operations in Kumasi.

These notwithstanding, the government is yet to review the location of fuel stations along the highways to reduce accidents. The government is yet to deliver on this promise as fuel stations are continuously sited along the major roads in the city and highways. For example, the Atomic fuel spillage that claimed more than 70 lives in 2018 lays credence to the inefficiencies in the government’s approach to dealing with this problem. The government is yet to implement the promise of ensuring the proper road networks to improve access to health services. Bad road network continues to be a challenge affecting effective delivery of health service in areas such as Upper Denkyira and Sissala West District. Moreover, the government has not implemented its promise on ensuring timely maintenance activities on the roads.

**Ports, Aviation and Railway**

The NPP implemented its promise to fully automate and expand ports infrastructure in Takoradi and Tema, and provide capacity-building programmes to the Ghana Maritime Authority. Automation and expansion in the size of ports and harbour to a dredged depth of 16.0 have reduced transaction time and quality of service at the ports has resulted in an increase in transit traffic from 862,377 tonnes to 1,043,771 tonnes in 2017. The Meridian Port Services (MPS) investment of US$1.9billion is expected to improve the capacity of the terminal to a 3.5 twenty-foot equivalent unit (TEU), create four berths, and accommodate the modern container ship. Expansion works in the Takoradi Harbour commenced in 2019 after the government closed a deal with Ibis Tek to inject US$370 million into expanding the port to handle about 525,000 TEU annually.

The railway sector has seen a major boost since 2017 when the sector was selected as part of the priority areas for the Annual Budget Funding Amount spending from 2017 to 2021. The successes registered by the sector include the completion of the construction of the suburban railway line from Sekondi to Takoradi via Kojokrom which consist of 10.1km double track and 4.5km single-track lines, the construction of an 85km railway line from the Tema Port to link the Volta Lake via

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the Akosombo Port, feasibility studies and search for a strategic partner to develop the Eastern Corridor Rail lines. The government has implemented the removal of 17.5 percent value-added tax on domestic airlines. The recent rise in patronage for domestic flights and the rise in the number of domestic airlines from 1 in 2017 to 3 in 2019 can be attributed to the incentives provided by the government to the sector.

Despite this progress, the government is yet to deliver on its promise to construct a port at James Town and Keta. An executive instrument to delineate an area for the construction of the ports has been issued but actual work has not begun on the construction of a port for the communities. The promise of constructing an inland port at Buipe is yet to be implemented by the NPP. The government is yet to deliver on its promise of constructing the Eastern corridor rail lines that will ensure the effective utilization of the Boankra Inland Port that has been dormant since 2007. The Tema-Akosombo railway link to ease congestion at the ports has not been delivered. Furthermore, the government is yet to deliver on its promise of providing light rail systems to minimize traffic congestion in major cities. The 2019-2020 medium-term expenditure framework shows that feasibility studies on this project have commenced.

**Improved Water Infrastructure, Flood Management, and Housing**

The NPP promised to construct 25,000 boreholes and 300 small-town water supply systems, construct dams in rural areas, regulate small-scale mining to improve the quality of Ghana’s water bodies, manage refuse disposal, and combat discharge of effluence into water bodies. Under the Infrastructure for Poverty Eradication Programme, the NPP implemented its promise of constructing boreholes across the country. As of 2020, 1000 boreholes were constructed to support water supply. However, the 25,000 nationwide borehole target was missed. Between 2017 and 2020, 560 dams were being constructed under the “One Village, One Dam” policy.

Furthermore, the implementation of the “operation Vanguard” had a positive impact on water bodies, resulting in an improvement in water quality from an index of 49.3 (indicating poor quality) in 2016 to 56.0 in 2019 (indicating fairly good quality). The government also commenced work on the Damango, Yendi, and Tamale water supply projects and completed the 3km raw water line from the Vea Dam to the existing water treatment plant. The government also completed the Kpong Water Supply project and connected 7,000 homes to the Ghana Water Company Limited infrastructure. Save for the housing regeneration project that refurbished housing for security personnel and public servants, the government failed to execute affordable housing for the low-income earners. However, the 5 percent VAT on real estate sales was abolished by the government. Despite this progress, the government is yet to implement its promises of providing regular water supply to district hospitals. The government is yet to establish the National Hydrology Authority to address the perennial flooding challenges as promised in their 2016 manifesto.

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64 ibid
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, INNOVATION AND ENVIRONMENT (30%)

In the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, the importance of science, technology, and innovation in driving economic development cannot be underestimated. In Ghana, the development agenda in these areas are meant to be actualised through the Ministry of Environment, Science, Technology and Innovation. It is by no means a coincidence that the 2016 manifesto of the NPP captured science, technology, innovation and environment. The results of a total of 20 promises assessed using the IMMA framework has been presented in Figure 8. The performance is poor at 30 percent.

Since 2017, the NPP government has pursued several digital transformation programmes aimed to increase data and mobile connectivity, and digitize business and personal transactions. Key among the digital transformation is the implementation of the mobile money interoperability system, registration, introduction of the Ghana Card, and the Public Key Infrastructure Platform. The NPP in its 2016 manifesto promised to register every Ghanaian within their first year of taking office, establish an integrated warehouse of database to connect all public institutions, work with the private sector to increase broadband bandwidth and speed of connections, and establish ICT hubs to create opportunities for the private sector.

The establishment of Accra ICT parks and Rural Telephony projects have improved small and medium enterprises’ access to information and enabled more network coverage. The implementation of e-transform, e-government and the collaboration between the National Information Technology Agency and Lebara Network has improved information sharing and data security among MDA’s and MMDA’s. In 2018, the Ministry of Communication through the Ghana Investment Fund for Electronic Communication (GIFEC) established 400 telephony sites to provide voice signals to 2,000 underserved and unserved communities to bridge the digital divide. In 2019, GIFEC will deploy additional 600 telephony sites to provide voice signals to 1,800 communities where coverage is limited or non-existent due to the inability of existing license operators to expand their networks. Additionally, the rural telephony project seeks to extend mobile network services to all areas where access is currently unavailable, and where existing licensed operators are unwilling or unable to provide services for commercial or other constraints. The ultimate objective is to achieve 100 percent network coverage throughout Ghana. Despite the efforts targeted at expanding mobile communication across the country, the imposition of the 9 percent Communication Service Tax would increase the cost of accessing telecommunication services. This was later revised in 2020.

The government is yet to implement its promise on creating a National Asset Protection Project to keep track of all state assets and ensure regular audits of the assets. The Ghana Asset Management Corporation bill has been developed and approved by cabinet but has not been laid in parliament for reading, review, and passing into law. Furthermore, the NPP failed to

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register every Ghanaian in their first year of office. As of November 2020, the National Identification Authority has registered 15.55million people, printed 14.67million cards, and issued 13.85million cards\(^{68}\). Thus, the probability of registering the 30million Ghanaians by the end of their first term remains a challenge.

GOVERNANCE (59.2%%)

Great nations are built on good governance. The formulation and implementation of prudent policies within the Governance space are crucial to ensuring the active participation of the citizenry in both the economic and political activities of the nation.\(^{69}\) In the run-up to the 2016 election, the New Patriotic Party, to their credit, anchored its campaign on the back of good governance, promising to aggressively tackle corruption and ensure public accountability. It was unsurprising that under the broad theme of governance, the NPP made a total of 80 impressive promises. Out of this, 31 promises have been fully fulfilled, the party has made substantial progress with 34 of them and with almost insignificant action on 15 of the promises thereby giving them an overall score of 59.25 percent.

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\(^{68}\) [https://nia.gov.gh/](https://nia.gov.gh/)

IMANI’s assessment of government’s performance in the areas of Governance, Corruption and Public accountability is a score of 43 percent. The administration was able to successfully implement a third of its campaign promises within its tenure. Key milestones made include the passage of the Right to Information (RTI) Bill and the setting up of the Office of the Special Prosecutor. Notable of the unfulfilled promises include the establishment of an interactive website for public reporting of corrupt practices per the Whistle Blower’s Act, 2006 (Act 720), the reformation of asset declaration laws, enactment of the Municipal Finance Bill, implementation of the Representation of The People’s Law, 1992 (PNDCL 284), among others.

**CORRUPTION**

IMANI estimates that Ghana loses over GHS3 billion every year to corruption, an amount which is about 300 percent of all the aid we receive in the same period. Particularly on corruption, the party made promises targeted at ensuring public accountability and rooting out corruption at all levels. The passage of the Criminal Offences (Amendment) Bill 2020 which categorizes the offence of corruption as a felony rather than a misdemeanor is a significant achievement by the NPP. The party also promised to ensure the implementation of the recommendations of the Auditor-General and Public Accounts Committee (PAC) of Parliament. Evidenced by the national budget

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statements, Government has stepped up its consideration of the PAC recommendation in the past two years and retrieved a total of GHS97.2 million between 2018 and 2019.

The promise to supporting and providing all institutions whose mandates cover anti-corruption with enhanced financial resources to investigate and educate against corruption was largely met. Significant financial commitments were made to agencies with the mandates to combat corruption. The Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE), Ministry of Justice and Attorney General's Department, for instance, have seen nominal increments in budget allocation in the past 3 years.

On the other hand, while the Office of the Special Prosecutor (OSP) received parliamentary budget approvals of GHC180 million in 2019 and GHC188 million in 2020, only GHS 28.8 million was released by the Finance Minister. Currently, the OSP Office has limited office space, lacks the needed human resources and a seeming personal commitment to successfully prosecute corrupt officials. Though the establishment of the OSP was touted to be a major anti-corruption effort, there has not been commensurate cost savings by the office to the country as yet.

Similarly, the Ghana Audit Service which though has received adequate financial support from government has faced major set-backs. Notable is the directive from the President to the Auditor General to compulsorily go on his accumulated leave of 123 days in the midst of audits on sensitive financial matters like the US$ 1 million Kroll Deal, which was approved a day after his leave.

More, Government transactions such as the Agyapa deal, PDS contract, Ameri deal, and KelniGVG contract, among others has raised public concerns about the political commitment of central government and the effectiveness of independent anti-corruption agencies in dealing with corruption. Very worryingly, there has not been any concrete measure by Government to block weaknesses in the procurement system. These altogether may have led to Ghana's failure to improve its position on international corruption indices such as the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) ranking of 81st, 78th and 80th in 2017, 2018, and 2019 respectively.

RIGHT TO INFORMATION AND MEDIA FREEDOM

The over two-decade-old Right to Information Bill was finally passed on March 26, 2019, assented to by the President on May 21, 2019 and a seven-member board inaugurated. This achievement is immensely commendable, according to the RTI Coalition however, whilst some public institutions are denying access to information, citing excuses such as the non-existence of basic structures to aid release of information many others are completely ignoring requests made to them for information (). A parliamentary research estimates that the implementation of the Right

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73 https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Govt-released-only-GHC28m-out-of-GHC180m-allocated-to-Special-Prosecutor-Minority-813211
75 https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2019/results/gha#details
76 https://thebftonline.com/21/10/2020/president-inaugurates-governing-board-of-rti-commission/
to Information (RTI) Act, Act 989 will cost the nation GHS750 million in 5 years. This is an important financial investment for the State to make towards public accountability and transparency.

According to the Press Freedom Index, Ghana’s rank of 26/180 in 2016 has dropped to 27 and 30 in 2019 and 2020 respectively indicative of a decline in press freedom.\(^\text{77}\) By 2019, the Media Foundation for West Africa recorded more than 31 attacks on 40 journalists over an 18-month period. These attacks have often gone un-investigated and un-punished. Indeed, much more could have been done by government in promoting media freedom.

**SECURITY (72%)**

The security of the State is paramount for public safety and the promotion of law and order. Within the four years, the security services have received significant boost including logistics, accommodation and training kits to prosecute their mandate. Government has supplied for instance 1,300 vehicles, recruited over 4,000 police personnel,\(^\text{78}\) and trained 15,000 Community Police Officers,\(^\text{79}\) and constructed housing units and accommodation for the security services.

True to the NPP manifesto promise, Parliament has passed into law the Narcotics Control Commission Bill, 2019 and the Vigilantism and Related Offences Act, 2019, (Act 999). In 2020, Ghana was ranked the third most peaceful country in Africa and 43\(^{rd}\) in the world in the Global Peace Index.\(^\text{80}\) In spite of these gains, the kidnapping of three Takoradi girls, and the unresolved murders of Investigative Journalist, Ahmed Suale, law lecturer, Professor Benneh, MP for Mfantsipim, Hon. Ekow Quansah Hayford and the increasing activities and threats of separatist groups in the Volta Region, altogether raises legitimate questions of government’s effectiveness in resolving emerging security challenges.

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS (79%)**

In respect of foreign affairs, Ghana is the now host of the continental secretariat of the AfCFTA project, an enviable feat which positions Ghana as a regional hub for trade and businesses in Africa. The Year of Return, an initiative that encouraged members of the black community living in the diaspora to return to their African origin – especially visit Ghana – in commemoration of 400th anniversary of slaves landing in the US, was a great success. Government estimated that the ‘Year of Return’ activities raked in $1.9 billion into the economy.\(^\text{81}\)

**LOCAL GOVERNMENT (37%)**

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\(^\text{77}\) https://rsf.org/en/ranking
The election of Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives (MMDCEs) will be a significant boost to local governance in Ghana as Assemblies will be more empowered to meet their mandate while power devolves to the citizenry. In furtherance of this, government sought amendments to Articles 243(1) and 55(3) of the 1992 Constitution and the introduction of political party participation in local elections. It however failed to complete the scheduled national referendum due to the lack of national consensus, and now deferring the election of MMDCEs to July 2021, when this current MMDCEs tenure of office ends. The NPP also failed on its pledge to pass the Municipal Finance Bill and increase the allowances paid to assembly members.

**CHIEFTAINCY, RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS AND CIVIL SOCIETY (70.8%)**

The combined campaign promises under this subsector that have been either fully or partially implemented lead to a score of **70.83 percent**. Specifically, the government scored **81 percent** under Chieftaincy and **56 percent** under Religious Affairs and Civil Society. Prior to the 2016 election, traditional leaders complained about the non-payment of their royalties. With the implementation of the promise to ensure the prompt payment of royalties, due traditional leaders, such complaints have become a rarity.

The Ministry for Chieftaincy and Religious Affairs in collaboration with the National House of Chiefs, begun the process of digitizing records for the afforestation and greening of Ghana with the support of the Forestry Commission. This move facilitated the government’s strategy and promise of engaging traditional leaders in the protection of water bodies and conservation of the environment. The NPP government demonstrated commitment to religious organizations by reaching a consensus and beginning site work on the controversial national cathedral. On the promise of cooperating and collaborating with civil society, there have been many such collaborations across sectors to improve governance and enhance the well-being of Ghanaians.
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