CAGI

Criticality Analysis of Governance Issues

Center for Economic, Governance and Political Affairs

Policy & Administration | Transparency & Accountability

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IMANI
Center for Policy & Education

April 13 – 19, 2025

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What is the Criticality Analysis ?

The output of good governance is socioeconomic development that has greater impact on the citizens. Government takes the wheels of affairs of the state on the back of the many promises made to the electorates. Yet, it is no easy task when it comes to the processes and mechanisms required for true public services delivery. It must follow policy guidelines religiously, maintain the social contract, avoid excesses and wastages, and be an accountable steward of that which it has been entrusted.

IMANI Centre for Policy and Education in a bid to monitor the processes and mechanisms for public services delivery has devised the Criticality Analysis to evaluate the key actions of the government in this pursuit. The Criticality Analysis follows the major news reports on the key governance issues categorised under the following six (6) themes:

1. Policy and administration.
2. Transparency and accountability.
3. Anti-corruption.
4. Peace, security and stability.
5. Human rights and justice.
6. International relations and development

The Criticality Analysis assesses the key governance issues by employing rigorous narrative analysis. First, we collect the key governance issues from reliable and credible news sources. A preliminary screening is conducted to filter out low-impact and non-governance related issues. The issues are then categorised under the 6 main themes. The criticality analysis is not a performance assessment of government actions.

During the assessment, critical attention is paid to the factual accuracy of the reports, relevance and timeliness, and impact and significance. In view of this, the reports are corroborated by analysing same from multiple sources and monitoring the trends and development. In addition, expert opinions on the key issues are analysed to inform the final output of the Criticality Analysis which includes our recommendations for policy and practice to enhance public service delivery and accountable stewardship

This week's special focus

The criticality analysis of key governance issues this week looks at two topical matters in the media. First is a statement made by Prof. Agyeman Badu Akosa that "Multiparty democracy has done nothing for this country" during a public lecture at the University of Education, Winneba. Second is the issue on the formation of a breakaway or new political party, the New Patriotic Front, by Dr. Amoako Baah, a political scientist and former member of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) that lost the incumbency to the National Democratic Congress (NDC) in the 2024 general elections.

CAGI dives into these two major issues because of the significance of multiparty democracy in the governance architecture of the country in the last three decades. Since the founding of the fourth republic, successive governments have been led by political parties who contested the elections and won the mandate of the people to form the government. Hence, it is important that CAGI lends urgent analysis when the subjects of multiparty democracy, and political parties are on the line.

1. Has multiparty democracy truly done "*nothing*" for Ghana?



On April 11, 2025, while addressing the members of the University of Education, Winneba community and the public in the UEW Public Lecture Series, Prof. Agyeman Badu in his incendiary speech stated:

"The last thing I want to say is that I believe sincerely, and I will say it here today, that multiparty democracy has done nothing for this country. Since 1992, the only beneficiary of the system is the political class."

He also added that:

"The professional class, the working class, [and] the underclass have all been totally marginalised…but that does not develop a country."

At the onset of his speech, he asserted that he is an avowed 'Nkrumahist'—an acolyte and believer of the ideals of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first Prime Minister (1951/2 – 1960) and President (1960 -1966). Indeed, Prof. Agyeman Badu is a member of the Convention People's Party (CPP), having contested the CPP presidential primaries for the 2008 elections, but lost to Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom.

On the substantive matter, it is not as if we have not had other systems of democracy, should we choose democracy to literally 'a people ruling themselves'. We have had two parliamentary system —under Nkrumah between 1952 and 1960, and under Busia between 1969 and 1972. We have also had two shots at presidential systems—under Nkrumah between 1960 and 1966, and under Limann's short-lived government between 1979 and 1981. Moreso, we have had more than two decades of experience under military authoritarianism—between 1966 and 1969, 1972 and 1979, 1981/2 – 1992.

It was not until 1992 that Ghanaians decided to experiment with a new type of democracy rooted in the rule of law and justice, popular representation, and freedoms of expression and association. This gave birth to multiparty democracy in the newly founded Fourth Republic under a new constitution, which has since endured the test of time.

Even as a known member of the CPP, Prof. Agyeman Badu Akosa served as Director General of the Ghana Health Service—a political appointment—under the Kufuor led NPP government between 2002 and 2006.

It has often been the case that those who revile and discredit multiparty democracy, although it offers stability in governance, fail to proffer an alternative. Whereas fortunes may not have favoured their political leadership aspirations yet, it cannot be totally ignored that they have not had their due to contribute to the political and socioeconomic development under the current multiparty political dispensation.



So, to say "multiparty democracy has done nothing for this country" is to stand against the strides made in the last three decades in our political governance—especially the endurance of our fourth republic under the rule of law—pro market policies which propels and secures private sector and business growth and enhanced social welfare services and interventions to reduce multi-dimensional poverty. Additionally, it confronts the wishes of most Ghanaians who reject authoritarian alternatives to governance in favour of freedoms and support for multiparty competition (See Afrobarometer R10 Ghana democracy scorecard).

Of course, Ghana's multiparty democracy has yet to deliver many of its promises at the dawn of the Fourth Republic. However, as democracy scholars like Dr. Osae-Kwapong rightly always posit:

"It is the only form of government that can self-correct."

This is particularly because the primary tool of accountability has been given to the people, in whose will sovereignty resides. Ghanaians have exacted this power which has resulted in four electoral turnovers—2000, 2008, 2016 and 2024. Aside from this, the presence of a vibrant and free press, an independent judiciary, and active civil society organisations complement the efforts.

Although a fledgling democracy, the trove of experiences from our own political history and other advanced democracies offer many lessons. We must acknowledge that we have not stretched enough what our fourth republican multiparty democracy offers. Therefore, just 30 years into it with all the significant strides, becomes inimical to conclude that "multiparty democracy has done nothing for this country."

Follow the trend and development of the story here:

1.Multi-party democracy has done nothing for this country – Prof Akosa - MyJoyOnline

2.Only the political class has benefited from Ghana's multi-party democracy – Prof Akosa



2. Can the New Patriotic Front (NFP) herald by Dr. Amoako Baah be a third force?

Multipartyism in the 4th Republic has been a show of strength in numbers, influence, organizational capabilities, resources, and the ability to produce and market candidates and messages that resonate with the public. In this battle for political power, many have fallen but two giant engines of Ghana's young multiparty democracy—the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP)—remain. When in opposition, either of the parties has been a formidable force, guaranteeing that the ruling party's electoral fortunes ran out after two consecutive terms.

The history of elections in the fourth republic teaches a great lesson out of which critical contextual analysis can be made in answering the question of whether the country can have a 'credible' third force—a new political party that can produce a President or an independent candidate as President. Four critical factors come up—party organisation, frequency of election participation and performance, activities in opposition, and the requirement to set up a government—but this analysis will focus on only one factor, that is, frequency of election participation and performance.

Table 1: Political parties that have contested presidential elections since 1992

		ELECTION YEARS									
PARTY	**ABB.**	**1992**	**1996**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**2012**	**2016**	**2020**	**2024**	**Total**
New Patriotic Party	NPP	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	9
People's National Convention	PNC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		8
National Independent Party	NIP	√									1
National Democratic Congress	NDC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	9
Peoples Heritage Party	PHP	√									1
Great Consolidated Pop. Party	GCPP			√			√		√	√	4
Convention People's Party	CPP			√	√	√	√	√	√	√	7
United Ghana Movement	UGM			√							1
National Reform Party	NRP			√							1
Democratic Freedom Party	DFP					√					1
Democratic People's Party	DPP					√					1
Reformed Patriotic Democrats	RPD					√					1
Progressive People's Party	PPP						√	√	√		3
United Front Party	UFP						√				1
National Democratic Party	NDP							√	√	√	3
Ghana Union Movement	GUM								√	√	2
Ghana Freedom Party	GFP								√	√	2
All People's Congress	APC								√	√	2
Liberal Party Ghana	LPG								√	√	2
Independent Candidate(s)	IND.					√	√	√	√	√	5
Total number of candidates		**5**	**3**	**7**	**4**	**8**	**8**	**7**	**12**	**13***	

Source: *Author's construct based on EC's notice of poll from 1992 to 2024*

**In the 2024 presidential election, four (4) independent candidates contested.*



There is every indication that parties have come and gone, and out of the 5 political parties that contested in the founding elections in 1992, three (3) of them—NPP, PNC and NDC—have been consistent in electoral participation, except for the 2024 elections where the PNC's was unable to file their nomination. Other political parties sprung up along the line but unfortunately they have had little to no electoral success.

Although consistency in participation is important for cementing a party's name, high electoral performance positions it as a better alternative. For instance, during the founding elections in 1992, the NPP obtained a significant 30.4% of the votes behind the NDC which positioned it at the inception of the 4th Republic as the next and better alternative. None of the remaining parties could obtain 10%. So it has been in the ensuing elections after the 1992 elections that no other party aside the duo has garnered past the 10% vote share, not even when their respective vote shares are summed up as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Percentage share of votes of parties in presidential elections since 1992

		%SHARE OF VOTES IN ELECTIONS								
PARTY	**ABB.**	**1992**	**1996**	**2000***	**2004**	**2008***	**2012**	**2016**	**2020**	**2024[1]**
New Patriotic Party	**NPP**	30.4	39.6	48.17	52.45	49.13	47.7	53.85	51.42	41.75
National Democratic Congress	**NDC**	58.3	57.3	44.54	44.64	47.92	50.7	44.4	47.8	56.42
Total % share of both NPP and NDC		**88.7**	**96.9**	**92.71**	**97.09**	**97.05**	**98.4**	**98.25**	**99.22**	**98.17**
Other Political Parties										
People's National Convention	**PNC**	6.7	3.1	2.90	1.92	0.87	0.2	0.21	0.03	
National Independent Party	**NIP**	2.8								
People's Heritage Party	**PHP**	1.8								
Great Consolidated Pop. Party	**GCPP**			1.00			0.4		0.01	0.15
Convention People's Party	**CPP**			1.80	1.00	1.34	0.2	0.24	0.05	0.20
United Ghana Movement	**UGM**			0.30						
National Reform Party	**NRP**			1.20						
Democratic Freedom Party	**DFP**					0.33				
Democratic People's Party	**DPP**					0.10				
Reformed Patriotic Democrats	**RPD**					0.08				
Progressive People's Party	**PPP**						0.6	1.0	0.02	
United Front Party	**UFP**						0.1			
National Democratic Party	**NDP**							0.16	0.02	0.04
Ghana Union Movement	**GUM**								0.42	0.15
Ghana Freedom Party	**GFP**								0.02	0.00
All People's Congress	**APC**								0.03	0.15
Liberal Party Ghana	**LPG**								0.03	0.05
Independent Candidate(s)	**IND.**					0.23	0.1	0.15	0.03	**1.09
Total % share of other parties + ind.		**11.3**	**3.1**	**7.2**	**2.92**	**2.72**	**1**	**1.76**	**0.66**	**1.83**

***Source**: Author's construct based on certified published presidential election results*

**Percentage share of votes in 2000 and 2008 are for the first round of elections*

***This is the sum of four independent candidates—Nana Kwame Bediako (0.76), Alan Kyerematen (0.28), Kofi Koranteng (0.03) and George Twum-Barima-Adu (0.02).*

[1] 2024 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS – Electoral Commission—The results of the election was based on 275 out of 276 constituencies and an update to the announcement made on December 9, 2025, which was based on 267 out of 276 constituencies.



On the contrary, both the NPP and NDC have obtained more than 90% of votes since the founding elections. Even in the 2020 presidential elections which had the highest number of candidates ever —11 on party tickets and 1 independent—the NDC and NPP together garnered over 99% of the votes. It's also obvious from Table 2 that hardly ever had an independent candidate obtained a 1% share of the votes in presidential elections beginning 2008. The shares obtained have been less encouraging to even position them as a formidable forces.

Additionally, a party's fortune in parliamentary elections gives it an upper edge to contribute to national debates. That is why even parties that are unable to contest the presidency try to contest the parliamentary elections. The NPP and the other political parties learnt a lesson boycotting the 1992 parliamentary elections and leaving it for the NDC with its 'allies'—the National Convention Party (NCP) and Every Ghana Living Everywhere (EGLE) party—and two other independent candidates as ineffective opposition in Parliament.

Table 3: Contesting parties in parliamentary elections since 1996 and number of seats won

	1996 (200)	2000 (200)	2004 (230)	2008 (230)	2012 (275)	2016 (275)	2020 (275)
Party	**Contested & Won**	**Contested & Won**	**Contested & Won**	**Contested & Won**	**Contested & Won**	**Contested & Won**	**Contested & Won**
NDC	200 & 133	200 & 92	229 & 94	229 & 116	275 & 148	275 & 106	275 & 137
NPP	180 & 61	199 & 100	226 & 128	229 & 107	275 & 123	275 & 169	275 & 137
PCP	116 & 5						
PNC	127 & 1	155 & 3	125 & 4	127 & 2	94 & 1	64 & 0	37 & 0
NCP	71 & 0						
EGLE	6 & 0	1 & 0	30 & 0				
DPP	22 & 0		30 & 0	48 & 0	16 & 0	1 & 0	
GCPP	1 & 0	3 & 0	10 & 0	2 & 0	2 & 0	10 & 0	13 & 0
CPP		188 & 1	172 & 4	205 & 1	145 & 0	222 & 0	39 & 0
NRP		173 & 0	5 & 0				
UGM		104 & 0					
DFP				107 & 0			
GNP				1 & 0			
NVP				5 & 0	4 & 0		
RPD				11 & 0			
PPP					211 & 0	163 & 0	21 & 0
NDP					155 & 0	33 & 0	41 & 0
GFP					3 & 0		0 & 0
UFP					7 & 0	6 & 0	
YPP					2 & 0		
IPP					5 & 0		
URP					4 & 0		
APC						20 & 0	7 & 0
UPP						1 & 0	5 & 0
GUM							80 & 0
LPG							29 & 0
Ind.	57 & 0	63 & 4	126 & 1	96 & 4	120 & 3	74 & 0	66 & 1

Source: Author's construct based on certified published parliamentary results



In the 2024 parliamentary elections both the NDC and the NPP contested all the 276 seats with the NDC winning 183 seats and the NPP also winning 88 seats. Four (4) seats went for independent candidates. The winner for the Ablekuma North Constituency seat is yet to be declared.

In Table 3 above, it is clear from the election results trend that smaller parties unfortunately lack the ability to contest majority of the seats and win a significant number. This inability negatively affects their power wielding credibility. Recurring poor performances and unsuccessful bids have forced parties like EGLE, UGM, NRP and many others to furl their hopes. Many of their stalwarts have relented and retired from politics to focus on private endeavours with their party structures having fallen apart. In October 2022, the Electoral Commission announced the revocation of licenses of 17 political parties which included the abovementioned parties.

The NDC and NPP reign supreme. Becoming a credible third force in Ghana's political scene is beyond admonishing electorates to boot the NDC and NPP away; or erecting bill boards that announce the coming of a new force, or stirring up emotions and connections to past glories.

Also, breaking away from any of the two major party because of their failure has insignificant effect on burgeoning the infant party's electoral success or on dwindling the parent party's electoral fortunes. As Table 2 above shows, the split and formation of the PCP and DFP from the NDC during elections 1996 and 2008 respectively had no effect on the NDC. The party won the 1996 elections and increased their vote share in the 2008 elections, even to winning the run-off election. Their contribution to the lost of power by either the NDC or the NPP is insignificant. In all cases, it has been mainly the results of Ghanaians' dissatisfaction with their economic governance rather than their internal wranglings.

Breakaway parties have often struggled to establish themselves as a force. Recent history can refer to the PCP, DFP, RPD, NDP, and the Movement for Change. In time, their party structures disintegrate.

Follow the trend and development of the story here:

- Leave NPP and join the New Patriotic Front - Dr Amoako Baah tells party members
- New Patriotic Front: Amoako Baah reveals plans for new political party to challenge NPP - Graphic Online
- NPP Guru Hints At Formation Of New Party | Peace FM Online | Despite Media
- I'm no longer a member of the NPP - Dr Amoako Baah - MyJoyOnline
- Mussa Dankwah explains key figures behind NPP's defeat in 2024 elections - MyJoyOnline

Recommendations



1. The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) should revamp education on democracy and the value of political parties in a democracy as an avenue for political representation and how political opposition in multipartyism is pertinent for public spirited debate on matters of critical importance to the people. The operationalisation of multipartyism lies in the 'creativity of party politics' and the 'moral distinctiveness of partisanship' as we have seen in our young democracy how parties craft messages and policies and vie to appeal to the public to be in the majority. These should be propagated.

2. Since parties oil the wheels of democracy, and the formation of political parties is constitutionally guaranteed in Ghana under Article 55, the proliferation of parties to enhance representation should be encouraged. Nevertheless, the formation of political parties should be well thought through. Aside from adhering to the rules and legal requirements, parties should build robust structures, invest in proximity infrastructure that will keep them in touch with the electorates, be consistent in contesting elections with the primary focus on capturing parliamentary seats, and also engage in activities while in opposition to stay relevant. With the data suggests that electoral fortunes of breakaway away parties, newly formed political parties and independent candidates are distant dreams, political parties and their members should ensure that their internal organisation and structures are democratic, tolerant to internal opposition, and quick to address grievances.

IMANI
Center for Policy & Education

IMANI Center for Policy & Education is a Think Tank of considerable local and international repute based in Ghana. Founded on the 9th of March 2004, IMANI has carved a niche in Ghana's policy environment for putting out objective, independent analysis and critique on many issues, using tried and tested techniques that apply across different disciplines.

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