QUERY

We would like to have an overview of corruption and anti-corruption in Ghana. We would appreciate to have an analysis on corruption trends and the extent to which the anti-corruption system is working.

PURPOSE

Despite Ghana being portrayed as an example of democracy in Africa, 2013 has been a critical year for Ghana, i.e. petition court following the elections, fiscal deficit, and more corruption cases reported in the media, among others.

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SUMMARY

Since its return to democratic rule in 1993, Ghana has made progress in consolidating its democracy and is often referred to as a success story of democratisation in Africa. Several administrations since Ghana’s return to multi-party democracy have declared their commitment to curbing corruption.

As a result, the legal framework against corruption has been strengthened and efforts have been made to simplify many bureaucratic procedures in order to make the government more efficient and reduce the risks of corruption. Several anti-corruption bodies have been established since the 1990s, such as the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice, the Economic and Organised Crime Office, the Public Procurement Authority and the Policy Evaluation and Oversight Unit.

Despite these efforts, there are still important gaps in the legal framework and the country continues to face corruption challenges. For example, the Freedom of Information Law is still pending in parliament and corruption is still widespread. Patronage networks are deeply rooted and there have been several corruption scandals in public procurement in the past three years. Petty corruption also seems to be on the rise, as reflected by surveys, such as the Afrobarometer and Transparency International’s Global Corruption Barometer.
1. BACKGROUND

Since the return to democratic rule in 1993, Ghana is credited to have made progress in consolidating its democracy. It is referred to as a stable and functioning democracy, especially when compared to other political systems in Western Africa.

Governments that have taken office since 1993 have also taken steps to tackle corruption. Throughout his two terms in office (2001–2009), President John Kufuor promised to run a zero-tolerance corruption policy and established several anti-corruption bodies, such as the Office of Accountability in charge of monitoring political appointees. However, the Office released no public reports during his presidency.

His successor, former President Atta Mills (2009–2012) was also generally praised for boosting Ghana's economy, reducing poverty and fighting corruption. Mill’s government promised to take important steps towards fighting corruption, such as directing all his appointees to declare their assets within seven days instead of six months; a move that was never enforced (Global Advice Network 2013). Moreover, the government passed the Petroleum Revenue Management Bill, which seeks to bring greater transparency and accountability to the oil sector and set up the civil society Public Interest and Accountability Committee to monitor and report on Ghana’s oil revenues, with the aim of promoting transparency in revenues from the sector.

In July 2012, President Atta Mills passed away, and Vice President John Mahama assumed the presidency within hours of the announcement of the death of President Atta-Mills, as required by the 1992 Constitution. In December, the same year, John Mahama was elected and became the president. President Mahama has come under considerable criticism for his perceived reluctance to take up the fight against corruption and for not prosecuting public officials suspected of fraud. The 2012 Afrobarometer revealed that 30 per cent of the surveyed households perceive that the current government is handling the fight against corruption very badly.

2. OVERVIEW OF CORRUPTION IN GHANA

Reflecting the various governance and anti-corruption reforms undertaken by successive governments since independence, Ghana holds relatively good positions on various indices of corruption and governance when compared to other countries in Africa. Transparency International’s Corruption Perception Index 2013 ranked the country as the 8th best performer in the region with a score of 46 out 100, and the World Bank’s Worldwide Governance Control of Corruption Indicator also places the country well above the regional average, and even above the average for lower middle-income countries. In fact, Ghana's corruption rating in both of these composite indicators is comparable to the score of more economically developed countries such as Romania, Slovakia or Brazil.

However, despite being considered a regional success, recent surveys reveal that the Ghanaian citizens are sceptical with regards to the effect of the government's recent anti-corruption efforts. Transparency International’s 2010/11 Global Corruption Barometer revealed that 37 per cent of the surveyed households considered the government's efforts in fighting corruption as ineffective, while 55 per cent considered them effective. In 2013, however, the same survey revealed that the citizen’s perception changed drastically: 55 per cent of the respondents considered the government’s efforts ineffective and only 30 per cent thought they were effective. In addition, 55 per cent of the household respondents believe that the level of corruption in Ghana increased between 2010 and 2013 (Transparency International 2013a).

Furthermore, even though Ghana is perceived as less corrupt than most of the neighbouring countries in the region, evidence from several household and business surveys reveals that petty and grand (or political) corruption are still widespread in Ghana.

Although Ghana is often praised for being one of the few stable democratic regimes in the region, patronage networks still play an important role in politics and the distribution of power is restricted to the political elite. Currently, power alternates between two major parties both in terms of the executive and legislature and all top public positions tend to be filled with members from the winning party (Agbele 2011). This creates an environment conducive for the system to be played out in favour of
those in the ruling group; rent-seeking opportunities for instance are easily created and exploited to their advantage (Agbele 2011).

**Sectors and institutions vulnerable to corruption**

Many sectors of government are perceived to be vulnerable to corruption.

**Police**

According to the *Voice of the People Survey*, the police are perceived as the most corrupt institution in the country (Ghana Integrity Initiative 2011). In this survey, respondents were asked to rate different organisations in a scale from 1 (not at all corrupt) to 5 (extremely corrupt) and the police obtained an aggregated score of 4.6. The evidence from Transparency International’s Global Corruption Barometer shows that the experience of corruption with the Ghana Police Service has also increased significantly: while 59 per cent of the people with contact with the police paid a bribe between 2009 and 2010, this figure increased to 79 per cent in the 2013 survey (Transparency International 2013a).

In particular, the traffic police are known to extract unofficial fees directly from drivers, and police officials are repeatedly criticised for corruption or negligence of their duties, or for acting wrongfully with impunity (US Department of State 2012). The same source further notes that low salaries, which are sometimes not paid on time, contribute to the tendency to solicit bribes. However, with the Single Spine Salary Structure, police salaries have drastically improved in the last two years.

Political corruption is also a problem within the police service. According to the 2011 Global Integrity Report, the law enforcement agencies are not protected from political interference in practice. Likewise, appointments to the police service are not always based on professional criteria, and party loyalties or personal relationships are often considered. Moreover, some law enforcement officials, most often high-level figures reportedly enjoy protection from criminal investigations (Global Integrity 2011).

Although the police are widely perceived as one of the most corrupt institutions in the country, no law provides for an independent mechanism for citizens to complain about the police. Administrative mechanisms do exist, such as the Police Intelligence and Professional Standards Bureau, which was established to address complaints, and citizens can also complain to the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice. However, there is a general perception that the police often protect its members when complaints are made, and police officers have several times defended police action even before investigations began (Global Advice Network 2013).

**Customs administration**

Business executives surveyed by the *Global Enabling Trade Report* 2012 point out that burdensome procedures and corruption at the border are among the most problematic factors for trade in Ghana (World Economic Forum 2012). Exporting and importing require time-consuming paperwork to clear goods at the border and bribery in these processes is not uncommon.

This perception is corroborated by the 2011 Global Integrity Report. It reports that trading route checkpoints in Ghana foster corruption and have caused unnecessary hurdles. This source also states that most drivers reserve extra money for bribes to border security officials because those who refuse payments are unduly delayed or even refused further movement (Global Integrity 2011). The 2010/2011 Global Corruption Barometer also revealed that nearly a half of the surveyed households who had contact with the customs authorities between 2009 and 2010 paid a bribe (Transparency International 2011).

**Judiciary**

The judiciary in Ghana is by now based on a firm tradition of independence. The 2013 Global Competitiveness Report rates judicial independence in the country with a 4.4 on a seven-point scale where one means “heavily influenced” and seven “entirely independent” (World Economic Forum 2013). With this score, the Ghanaian judicial system ranks as one of the most independent in the region and out-performs countries like the Czech Republic, Italy, Poland, Portugal or Spain. Most sources also agree that there has been no apparent evidence of government meddling in judicial procedures, but the
use of civil libel laws against critical journalists by individual politicians remains a problem (Bertelsman Stiftung 2012).

Despite enjoying a fairly independent judiciary, scarce resources translate into a limited administrative capacity of the courts and the judiciary is largely perceived to be corrupt by citizens and business people (Global Advice Network 2013). Courts are generally slow in disposing of cases and at times face challenges in enforcing decisions. The Doing Business Report notes that enforcing a commercial contract in Ghana requires a company to go through an average of 36 administrative procedures, which takes an average of 487 days and costs an average of 23 per cent of the claim (World Bank 2013a).

Regarding bribery, the latest edition of Transparency International's Global Corruption Barometer, showed that the number of respondents admitting to paying a bribe when interacting with the judiciary more than doubled in the last three years (Transparency International 2013a). In 2010/2011, only 24 per cent of the respondents admitted paying a bribe to the judiciary, while in 2013, 57 per cent of the respondents did so. As a result, 71 per cent of the surveyed households consider the judiciary to be corrupt or extremely corrupt and many companies choose to settle cases out of court, usually with the assistance of a lawyer.

Licenses, permits and public services

Many citizens identify the process of obtaining licences and permits as corrupt. The 2013 Investment Climate Statement from the US Department of State notes that low-level government employees have been known to ask for a ‘dash’ (tip) in return for facilitating licence and permit applications. According to the same source, the government has committed itself to ensuring that public officials do not abuse their positions and demand bribes. However, companies applying for licences and permits are frequently confronted with demands for “facilitation payments” by middlemen called “guru boys”, who maintain links with officials and use them for their activities.

According to the 2012 Afrobarometer, only a very small percentage of the surveyed households stated that they often paid a bribe, gave a gift or did a favour to government officials in order to get a document or a permit. But in other government services, bribes seem to be on the rise. According to the Global Corruption Barometer, between 2009 to 2010, 24.2 per cent of households that had contact with registry and permit services paid a bribe, but this number increased to 45 per cent in 2013 (Transparency International 2013a).

Another area for corrupt practice is business inspections conducted by government officials. Inspections to ensure public health and safety standards, for example, are often carried out in an arbitrary and ad hoc manner, and bribes are paid by companies in return for favourable treatment or expedited processing.

For the education system, the percentage of bribe payers was 19.7 per cent in 2010 and 38 per cent in 2013 and petty corruption also increased in medical services going from 10 per cent to 19 per cent in the same period (Transparency International 2013a).

Tax administration

The 2011 Global Integrity Report identifies a range of problems in the Ghanaian tax system, including corruption and abuse of office, misapplication of exemption laws, political interference by the executive office, and low levels of capacity among tax collection agencies (Global Integrity 2011). Moreover, the 2009 Global Corruption Report also highlights the existence of high-ranking tax officials covering up tax evasion and conducting secret dealings (Transparency International 2009). According to Transparency International’s Global Corruption Barometer 2010/2011, a small percentage (8 per cent) of the surveyed households report to have paid a bribe to tax revenue authorities between 2009 and 2010, but in 2013 the figure went up to 21 per cent (Transparency International 2013a).

Another problem with the tax system seems to be its complexity and the fact that most Ghanaians are not familiar with tax laws; a fact that has often led taxpayers in the private sector to complain about corruption and extortion by tax officials. Although tax laws are generally administered without discrimination according to Global Integrity, complaints of corruption and harassment in relation to taxation are common and the cost of paying taxes is also high for businesses. The Doing Business
Report indicates that a medium-sized company operating in Ghana must make an average of 32 payments to the tax authorities every year and spend 224 hours preparing, filing, and paying taxes at a total tax rate of 33.5 per cent of profits (World Bank 2013a).

Transparency regarding resource allocation is also lacking: Ghana scored 54 per cent on the 2010 Open Budget Index, with reports suggesting an increasing, but still insufficient degree of transparency in the budget process according to the 2012 Countries at the Crossroads (Freedom House 2012).

The distribution of foreign aid in the country is equally opaque since the capacity of state agencies to track and monitor government expenditure of any kind, including foreign aid, is limited due to inadequate technical resources and funding.1

Extractive industry and natural resources

Ghana has large reserves of a variety of minerals. Gold, diamonds, bauxite, manganese, and salt are commercially exploited, along with substantial resources of iron ore. However, according to the Revenue Watch Institute Ghana Country Profile, transparency in the use and distribution of mineral wealth continues to be a challenge. Further, the historic oil discovery in 2007 also raised concerns over transparency of the windfall gain that was expected.

Some of these concerns were addressed when Ghana took steps to fully comply with the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) in October 2010. EITI, as an international strategic alliance between governments, private companies, civil society groups, and international organisations, has the objective of publicising and accounting for revenues and expenses that come from extractive industries, such as oil, mining and other extractive resource industries. In 2010, Ghana was declared EITI compliant.

Furthermore, in 2011, an independent body, the Public Interest and Accountability Committee (PIAC), was set up as part of the Petroleum Revenue Management Law. This committee is responsible for monitoring and reporting on Ghana’s oil revenues with the aim of promoting transparency. However, the PIAC has not been adequately funded, making it difficult for it to execute its mandate and sometimes having to depend on donors for support (Boadi 2012). According to the 2012 Freedom in the World Report there is still a lack of regulation covering the management of oil revenue and Ghana’s institutions are not strong enough to handle the cash influx in a transparent way and bribery is also common in the environmental sector, especially when dealing with inspections (Freedom House 2013).

3. Anti-Corruption Strategies and Measures

Ghana’s official Anti-corruption Strategy rests on two pillars: administrative simplification, mostly in the trade and business sector, and setting-up a strong legal and institutional anti-corruption framework. This section gives a brief overview of the efforts taken by the government in terms of administrative simplification and anti-corruption legislation, as well as by civil society and other private actors to help curb corruption in Ghana.

Administrative simplification and e-government

President Kufuor’s strategy to improve the business climate in order to attract foreign investment and foster economic growth helped combat corruption in Ghana (Transparency International 2009). After Ghana began facilitating and promoting registration, entrepreneurs reported being exposed to less corruption (Darkwa-Amanor 2007). The Ministry for Private Sector Development was created in 2000 and was mandated to coordinate efforts to strengthen the private sector and reduce bureaucratic hurdles to private investment. These various initiatives helped to streamline private sector regulations and, by reducing the complexity of the regulation, it also helped reduce opportunities for bribery and business corruption (Darkwa-Amanor 2007).

Thanks to these reforms, Ghana ranks as one of the top 10 economies in Africa for doing business and remains the easiest place to do business in West Africa. According to World Bank Data, starting a company in Ghana requires fewer days and costs

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1 According to Freedom House, foreign aid is not normally viewed as a facility for personal enrichment, but it has frequently served as a “strategic resource” that frees other state revenue for political patronage.
less than in other African countries. This also has an important positive effect on curbing corruption, since cutting back red tape is known to reduce the opportunities for bribery and facilitation payments.

The country has continued to increase the efficiency of its public services and has cut delays in property registration from six months to one. Starting a company, paying taxes and trading across borders have also been made easier. The Global Corruption Report 2009 reports that the promotion and facilitation of registering a company and passing from informal to formal business are perceived by business executives to have decreased corruption (Transparency International 2009). The administrative procedures related to obtaining various licences and permits, however, remain time-consuming and costly. Further reform efforts include government plans to increase infrastructure investment and revenue mobilisation through improved administration of the tax system with reduction in leakages and corruption.

The Government of Ghana Official Website provides companies with links to various government ministries related to investing and doing business in the country. In addition, the Ghana TradeNet (GTN) is an electronic trade portal set up to link trade operators, revenue agencies and regulatory bodies on one platform. This portal also enables companies to complete several activities related to export and import electronically. Despite efforts to simplify bureaucratic procedures, Ghana still has an excessive amount of complex bureaucratic procedures that encourage corruption (Global Advice Network 2013).

**Anti-Corruption legislation**

Ghanaian anti-corruption policy focuses on a number of legal regulations and institutions. During the last 10 years, the government of Ghana set up various anti-corruption bodies and passed relevant legislation to curb corruption. As a result, the country has made great progress in reforming its legal framework for addressing corruption and its legal framework is rated as “very strong” in the 2013 Global Integrity Report (Global Integrity 2013).

However, there are still significant gaps in implementation due to a lack of political will and implementation capacity, especially in terms of transparency and freedom of information legislation (Global Advice Network 2013).

**Criminalisation of corruption**

The Criminal Code criminalises several forms of corruption such as active and passive bribery, extortion, wilful exploitation of public office, the use of public office for private gain and bribery of foreign public officials. Direct and indirect corruption is illegal and both agent and principal are liable, while the nationality of the person who is bribing or being bribed is irrelevant. Attempting, preparing or conspiring to bribe is also illegal.

**Whistleblowing legislation**

Ghana's Whistleblower Act 2006 (720) provides for the manner in which individuals may, in the public interest, report information that relates to unlawful or other illegal conduct or corrupt practices of others. The act provides for the protection against victimisation of those who make these disclosures, and for a fund to reward individuals for doing so. However, Ghana has often been criticised for its lack of effective protection of people who choose to report incidents of corruption while no fund has been created since as required by the law. According to Global Integrity (2011), the protection of whistleblowers is not always enforced in practice and the law does not make provisions for an internal mechanism for civil servants to report cases of corruption.

Part of the Voice of the People Survey in 2011 found that only one out of five of the respondents who encountered corruption in 2010 filed a complaint. Those who did not file a complaint, gave the following explanations: “it would not have helped at all”, “it would have been a waste of time”, “did not know where to file a complaint”, “tried to make a complaint but they were frustrated” and “feared reprisals” (Ghana Integrity Initiative 2011).
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Asset declaration and conflict of interests

The Public Holder Declaration of Assets and Disqualification Act (550) is one of the main acts aimed at ensuring transparency, and accountability of officials in the public sector requires “a person who holds public office to submit to the auditor general a written declaration of all property and assets owned by or liabilities owed by him directly or indirectly”. The auditor general is mandated under the act to ensure its effective implementation and report defaulting officials to the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) for action to be taken against defaulters.

Nevertheless, the implementation of the act has been cited by all anti-corruption institutions, including the Attorney General’s Department and CHRAJ, as legislation that has been met with a myriad of implementation challenges (Iddrisu 2008). Evaluations of the implementation of the law generally revealed a lack of political will and weak enforcement, which has undermined the good intentions for which the act was promulgated (Iddrisu 2008).

Moreover, a survey conducted by the Ghana Integrity Initiative in 2007 found a general lack of knowledge on the respective provisions and the obligations placed on public officers by the act, although 86 per cent of the respondents were aware of the existence of the act (Hinneh 2012). As many as 50 per cent of the public officers who were interviewed were unaware of their obligation to declare their assets (Hinneh 2012).

Regarding conflict of interest legislation, although the Constitution prohibits public officials from being involved in situations where conflicts of interest may occur, in practice, there are no formal conflict of interest rules (Freedom House 2012). The CHRAJ has only published some non-binding guidelines.

Public procurement legislation

Former president Kufuor’s administration sought to harmonise the many public procurement guidelines used in Ghana by enacting the Public Procurement Act (663) in 2003. The act provides a comprehensive framework for developing and strengthening procurement institutions and operational processes in the context of poverty reduction, private sector development, good governance and anti-corruption. It has also brought Ghana’s public procurement policy in line with the standards across the world (Osei-Afoakwa 2013). Moreover, Ghana’s achievements in the implementation of the act have been recognised by the OECD Development Assistance Committee as an important tool for checking corruption in the country (OECD/DAC 2011).

There are still major procurement related challenges. Although, the legal framework guiding Ghana’s public procurement is among the most comprehensive in the developing world, delays in the completion of projects are common due to long procurement processes (Global Advice Network 2013). In addition, some civil society groups have called the law inadequate. Generally, the effectiveness of the procurement act could be questioned, since companies guilty of major violations of procurement regulations are in practice not prohibited from participating in future procurement bids (Global Integrity 2011).

Moreover, the lack of transparency in the tendering process, particularly for local projects, remains a problem and the procurement regime faces implementation challenges. There continue to be allegations of corruption and partisan considerations in the tender process and the Ghanaian government has in the past set aside international tender awards in the name of national interest (Global Advice Network 2013).

Some reports and anecdotal evidence also suggest that a vast majority of government procurements are still single-sourced rather than awarded through competitive bidding (Global Advice Network 2013; Freedom House 2012).

The Public Procurement Authority, created by the 2003 Public Procurement Act, has established a committee to receive and investigate complaints from individuals and institutions concerning public procurement, and has also set up entity tender committees and review boards within government ministries, departments and agencies. However, there are still reports of continuing widespread abuse in the award of contracts, particularly at the local government level (Global Advice Network 2013).

A number of ministers, such as Health Minister...
George Sipa-Yankah and another minister at the presidency, Seidu Amadu, were compelled to resign due to procurement related corruption allegations (Global Advice Networks 2013). Despite this, George Sipa-Yankah bounced back to public office in 2011 as the acting chief executive of the newly incorporated Ghana National Gas Company (GNGC), an agency of state under the Ministry of Energy (Kobbie 2011).

Business and household surveys also perceive corruption to be widespread in public procurement. The 2013 Global Competitiveness Report reveals that business executives see the diversion of public funds and favouritism of government officials towards well-connected companies and individuals when deciding upon policies and contracts as common practice (World Economic Forum 2013). The 2011 Voice of the People Survey also reveals 70 per cent of respondents think that party loyalty to the government is the factor that influences the awarding of contracts and 53 per cent think that contracts are assigned through bribes or nepotism (Ghana Integrity Initiative 2011).

Anti-corruption bodies

A number of anti-corruption bodies have been established, reflecting the declared commitment of successive administrations to fight corruption. However, various reports underline the need to strengthen the independence and capacity of the various anti-corruption bodies as they are mostly underfunded and suffer from a shortage of personnel (Global Advice Network 2013; Bertelsmann Stiftung 2012).

The Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice

The Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) forms one of Ghana’s two main anti-corruption bodies. It functions as a national human rights institution, an ombudsman and an anti-corruption agency. The CHRAJ has been investigating allegations made against the former president Kufuor over the use of state resources for private gain. Some observers see this as a sign of both genuine independence and the government’s commitment to implementing its zero-tolerance policy towards corruption (Global Advice Network 2013). The 2012 Countries at the Crossroads Report, however, points out that the CHRAJ, along with other anti-corruption bodies, face impediments that hinder its performance (Freedom House 2012). The CHRAJ cannot prosecute offenders and must refer investigations to the attorney general for prosecution. In addition, it is poorly funded and has to contend with a high rate of staff turnover. The agency is under-resourced and few prosecutions have been made since its inception in 1993. Furthermore, Freedom House 2012 notes that the CHRAJ is not free from the executive’s influence, since the executive essentially appoints the three commissioners.

The Serious Fraud Office/ Economic and Organised Crime Office

The Serious Fraud Office (SFO) was the second main anti-corruption body in Ghana. The SFO’s name was changed to Economic and Organised Crime Office (EOCO) in 2010. The EOCO is a public investigative agency that monitors, investigates and, on the authority of the attorney general, prosecutes any corrupt practices involving both private and public institutions likely to result in serious financial or economic loss to the state. In 2010, the functions of this office were expanded to include crimes such as money laundering and other organised crimes. The government's initiatives to combat money laundering have been recognised by the OECD’s Financial Action Task Force (FATF), which removed the country from its list of blacklisted nations.

The EOCO is empowered to recover proceeds from criminal activities, monitor the activities connected with the offences to detect related crimes and take measures to prevent them. However, the organisation has been criticised for lacking independence from political forces and for lacking the authority to independently prosecute suspects (Global Advice Network 2013). Just like the CHRAJ, the EOCO also faces challenges in performing its duties, such as interference from the executive. This interference is made possible by the fact that the director and the board are appointed by the executive and report to the attorney general.

Ghana Audit Service

The Ghana Audit Service (GAS) is the national supreme audit institution in Ghana, and reviews
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public sector accounts in the country. The most recent report from the GAS has been central in the documentation and disclosure of irregular public procurement practices and corruption.

The hearing of the auditor general’s report for 2005, held in November 2007, was open to the public and led to increased public debate on government spending. According to the 2011 Global Integrity Report, appointments to the auditor general tend to support its independence, although there are exceptions, and appointments may in some cases be made based on political considerations (Global Integrity 2011). Furthermore, according to the report, the government’s actions on audit reports appear unsatisfactory, particularly if they involve political figures and party loyalists, making the audit a mere formality.

Policy Evaluation and Oversight Unit

In June 2009, President Atta Mills announced the establishment of a Policy Unit at the presidency, for the effective management of government policies, programmes and projects towards the achievement of the NDC-government’s vision of “A Better Ghana”. The Policy Evaluation and Oversight Unit’s principal function is to monitor and evaluate government policies, programmes and projects that are being implemented by the ministries, departments and agencies. Its mission is to foster a more transparent, accountable and efficient government.

Other stakeholders

The early 1990s also brought about the proliferation of a relatively free and independent media, which has ever since grown and has been actively involved in advocating for more transparent governance, and exposing corrupt deals (Agbele 2011).

The Freedom of the Press Index, which assesses the degree of print, broadcast, and internet freedom in every country in the world, rates the press in Ghana as free with a total of 28 out of 100 points (Freedom House 2013).³ This index considers the legal environment in which media operate; the political influences on reporting and access to information; and the economic pressures on content and the dissemination of news.

³ It is measured in a scale from 0 to 100, where 100 stands for least free.

The number of media actors in Ghana supports Freedom House’s rating. Since the return to democratic rule in 1993 and the liberalisation of the airwaves in 1996, there have been 24 television stations, more than 137 FM radio stations, and more than 300 newspapers operating in the country (Gadzekpo 2008). The media is vibrant and its pluralism has brought about diversity as far as media sources are concerned (Agbele 2011). They have been activity engaged in exposing several corrupt cases.

The civil society in Ghana has also been very dynamic and involved in the fight against corruption. Since its emergence or re-emergence in the early 1990s, CSOs have gradually moved from minimal to greater engagement in serving as the watchdog have advocated for more transparent governance (Agbele 2011). Their activities have involved media campaigns against corruption, and educating the public on the negative effects of corruption. They are also engaged in the policy-making and legal framework process.

Although civil society and the media in Ghana have been very dynamic and critical in the country’s fight against corruption, they face severe constraints in their efforts to monitor state spending and policy implementation due to an official culture that combines poor record-keeping with a reluctance to release even the most basic government data (Freedom House 2012).

The Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC) is a cross-sector grouping of public, private and civil society organisations focusing on monitoring and evaluating the anti-corruption process. The strategic aim of the GACC is to not only monitor and evaluate the anti-corruption process, but also to lobby, educate, influence and commit the government to mainstream anti-corruption measures and on-going governance programmes.

The GACC is composed of one executive branch organisation in the field of anti-corruption, the EOCO and one legislative branch organisation, the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice. The private sector umbrella organisation is made up of the Private Enterprise Foundation, and the umbrella organisation for religious bodies, the Forum of Religious Bodies.
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There are four CSOs advancing the cause of transparency, accountability and good governance under the GACC. These are the Institute of Economic Affairs, the Centre for Democratic Development Ghana, the Ghana Journalist Association, and the Ghana Integrity Initiative.

As a part of its media and advocacy programme the GACC also collaborates with several media institutions to inform the public about the importance of fighting corruption. The scrutiny of the free media has helped to keep officials in check on a certain level, and investigative journalism has led to sometimes damning conclusions (Global Advice Network 2013).

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