

## Corruption in Ghana: A Historical Perspective Under the 4th Republic (1992-2020).

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### Abstract

Irrefutably, corruption is a long-standing phenomenon that derives its name from the Latin verb 'corrumpere,' which signifies 'to damage or spoil.' This implies that wherever there is corruption, devastation occurs. It is virtually usually provided under the guise of figurative languages and euphemisms because of its nature. For example, in Swahil contexts, corruption means "something modest" in Iran, "money for koko or water" in Ghana, or "advise yourself" and "something for the guys" in Swahil contexts. People who engage in corruption are implicitly aware of the unlawful consequences, but they utilise these euphemisms to hide, minimise, and make corrupt conduct socially acceptable (Ree, 2015). The misuse or abuse of entrusted power for private gain has been defined as corruption. In addition, systemic, individualised, grand, and minor corruptions are all distinguished. Corruption's harmful effects on Ghana, West Africa, the African continent, and the rest of the world cannot be overstated. Furthermore, Ghana's several subsequent democratically elected governments have all had their fair share of corruption. As a result, this paper examines corruption in Ghana from a historical perspective, with a focus on the period after Ghana's independence as the 4th Republic (1992-2020). Thus, thematic areas such as the analysis of each political era for the period between 1992 - 2000, the late former president Jerry John Rawlings, former President John Agyekum Kuffour for the period between 2001-2008, the late President John Evans Atta Mills for the period between 2009 - July 2011, and John Dramani Mahama for the period between July 2011 and 2016 as well as the first term of the current government which is between 2017-2020. Nonetheless, the ardent debate of this paper centered on the corruption in Ghana considering the historical perspective under the 4<sup>th</sup> Republic (1992-2020).

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### Introduction

Corruption can take several forms and involve a variety of people. These include bribes paid by private individuals or companies to governmental authorities being the most well-known forms. When corruption has become entrenched in a country, it is possible that it will spread to the civil service. There are two types of corruption at the institutional level: "bottom-up" and "top-down" corruption (Rose-Ackerman, 1999). "Bottom-up" corruption occurs when low-level officials receive bribes that they must share with their superiors. Example, roadside bribes taken by police officers. Giving a portion of their payments to superiors protects them from being fired and prosecuted if a complaint is filed. These payments become a prerequisite of employment if this system is established. The "top-down" corruption has the opposite effect. This type of corruption is caused by two factors: First, bosses may be concerned that a subordinate will criticise them. Second, if the contracts are decided at the top, but the inputs are provided by the subordinates, the superiors rely on their subordinates' cooperation to guarantee security of the offence.

There have also been instances of corporate corruption, in which officials accepted payments in exchange for divulging firm secrets (autogenic corruption) to competitors hence kill the business at time with an assurance of a better position in bribing company. In fact, corruption is described as the use of public office for private benefit, according to a widely accepted definition (World Bank, 1997). This takes into account the fact that corruption can take many forms, including bribery, human trafficking, embezzlement, and favouritism. According to the World Bank definition, there are several key requirements that must be met in order for corruption to exist. To be able to exploit public office, the corrupt official requires power. Due to the state's monopoly in certain areas, officials are able to attain this power, and they frequently have the discretion required to collect bribes as well. Differences in perceptions of the amount of corruption add to the difficulty of discovering corruption. Anti-corruption legislation has been passed in every country, defining the difference between unlawful bribes and acceptable "gifts of good will." This demonstrates that they are aware that corruption is a problem they must address, but each country has its own notion of where the line should be drawn. In certain countries, what is considered a "gift of good will" in one country is considered a corrupt

conduct in another. Despite the fact that the World Bank's definition is already somewhat wide, it still leaves out a number of dimensions of corruption. One flaw in the World Bank's definition is that it only considers one side of the medal, the bribe receiver. In reality, corruption involves two parties: the recipient of the payment and the donor. Susan Rose-Ackerman (1999) focuses on the topic of gift to describe corruption. Payments to public officials that are made illegally with the goal of receiving an advantage or avoiding an expense are said to be corrupt, according to her. This clearly demonstrates that corruption is a problem that affects not only corrupt authorities, but also businesses and individuals who accept or even give in to corrupt demands.

### **Problem Statement**

Ghana continues to be engulfed by the issue of corruption. Bribery, extortion, sextortion, nepotism, and conflict of interest are just a few of the allegations levelled against public officials. Ghanaians believe that political leaders and public officials are to blame for the country's corruption. Most individuals also believe that the country's uncertain democracy and political system of governance has contributed to corruption, since most politicians are perceived to be crooked and ham-fisted in their important duties for the country's economic growth and development (Gumah&Aziabah, 2020). Several studies have proven the rise in corruption and its deep roots, blaming it largely on Ghana's lack of honesty (Agbota et al., 2017; Asamoah& Ofosu-Mensah, 2018; Asiedu & Deffor, 2017; Haruna, 2008; Yeboah-Assiamah & Alesu-Dordzi, 2016). Other issues include the size and structure of government, the duration and quality of leadership tenure systems, recruitment and wages, the lack of press freedom and judicial strength, cultural determinants, religion and power, and the exploitation of former colonies. Furthermore, there is a significant research gap in terms of a comprehensive study of corruption in Ghana. When resources intended for the public welfare are misapplied or stolen, corruption can lead to war and conflict, prostitution, adolescent pregnancy, insecurity, illness, and death. Corruption is still a key development concern today, despite its deadly repercussions, such as cancer or a silent "Atomic Bomb." Corruption is so pervasive in Ghana that declaring any public sector entity free of it is difficult (Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII), 2016; Treisman, 2000). According to the Ghana Anti-Corruption Survey, daily publicity, and Tiger Eye undercover reports, not even the judicial, security, traditional, and civil society institutions are immune from corruption (Arimeyaw Video, 2016; GII, 2014, 2015 and 2016). An introspective study of corruption in Ghana is required, taking into account the historical context and in particular the time lines of the 4th Republic of Ghana's independence (1992-2020).

### **Objectives of the Study**

#### **General Objectives**

The general objective of this paper is to assess corruption in Ghana, taking into accounts the historical perspective with a particular reference to the 4<sup>th</sup> Republic of Ghana's independence between the years (1992-2020).

#### **Specific Objectives**

The specific objectives of the paper considered the following;

- i) To investigate the series of corruption which occurred in each of the selected regimes of the 4<sup>th</sup> Republic.
- ii) To assess how each of the democratic government in each administration dealt with corruption.
- iii) To analyse the perception the corruption index and the way forward to curb corruption in Ghana

### **Literature Review**

The paper identified and discussed the following connected subheadings in relation to the selected topic, as well as two theories.

#### **Theoretical Perspectives**

To expound on corruption in Ghana, the paper used the rational choice theory and behavioural reasoning theories.

#### **Theory of Rational Choice**

According to Tremblay, Martineau, and Pauchant (2017), corruption is a type of rational human behaviour that involves choosing between numerous right and incorrect alternatives, or between inaction and action, with the ultimate goal of maximising utility. Rest (1979), who also argued from a rational choice perspective, defined ethical decision-making as a process that entails applying moral judgement to reach an ethical decision and being motivated to act on that conclusion. He underlines that corrupt activities entail decision-making, and the decision one makes determines whether or not one is corrupt.

### **Theory of Behavioral Reasoning**

Traditional behavioural theories, such as the theory of planned behaviour (TPB), emphasise the role of attitudes, subjective standards, and perceived behavioural control in forecasting behavioural intentions and, eventually, behaviour (Ajzen, 2011; Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). The degree of favourable or negative evaluation of key ideas about a behaviour is defined as attitude toward that conduct (Ajzen, 2011). The TPB theory goes on to say that subjective norms (a person's assessment of what friends and family expect of them) have an impact on whether or not they accept or refuse to engage in a behaviour. When an individual feels compelled to give in to society pressure, the behaviour will be carried out. Finally, a person's perception of behavioural control is linked to their assessment of their own capacity to engage in the behaviour, and their confidence in their ability will impact their final decision.

### **Methodology**

The paper took a qualitative methodological approach. A study design that is descriptive represents the state of affairs of phenomena when it comes to descriptive research. As a result, the design assisted in focusing on the issue under investigation so that a comprehensive description could be provided. As its unit of analysis, the paper relied on secondary data sources. Data was gathered in this regard via surveys and complaints on alleged corrupt activities.

### **Perspective on Corruption**

Ancient philosophers frequently blamed crass materialism for corruption, and as a result, they formed an anti-wealth attitude to discourage deceit and a desire to get material gain by any means necessary. Stoic thinkers like Marcus Aurelius, for example, stressed spiritual well-being, arguing that true happiness can only be attained through surrender to fate rather than deception. Likewise, Arab-Islamic intellectuals were not anti-wealth, but they did believe in fate or kismet. It is stated in the Bible that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter heaven. Some Jewish, Hindu, and Chinese philosophies show an explicit hatred for riches. Major faiths teach against corruption by referring to God's will, natural law, and, on rare occasions, rational arguments. Corruption is widely regarded as an insidious plague that has more destructive effects on communities today than ever before. It weakens democracy and the rule of law, leads to human rights violations, distorts markets, degrades quality of life, and allows organised crime, terrorism, and other dangers to human security to thrive.

Moreover, corruption can be found in every country, big or small, rich or poor, but its impacts are most detrimental in developing countries like Ghana. Corruption disproportionately harms the poor by diverting monies intended for physical development, health care, and education, to name a few. As a result, the government's ability to deliver fundamental services is harmed, inequality and injustice are exacerbated, and growth and development are stifled. Similarly, corruption is a substantial contributor to economic underperformance and a significant impediment to poverty reduction and growth" (UNCAC, 1999; Anan, 1999).

The repercussions of corruption for an individual perpetrator are obviously dependent on whether or not he or she is found, which is dependent on the extent of enforcement of anti-deception and anti-bribery legislation, as well as the media's involvement in exposing and humiliating the criminals. The consequences for a small business owner who commits a crime are largely the same. Corruption in larger businesses, on the other hand, has far-reaching effects for stakeholders: it can lead to war and strife, prostitution, adolescent pregnancy, insecurity, disease, and even death when resources intended for the public good are misapplied or stolen. Corruption is a key development concern today, despite its terrible repercussions such as cancer or a silent "Atomic Bomb," corruption is so pervasive in Ghana that no single public sector entity is corrupt-free (Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII) 2016; Treisman, 2000).

Various attempts have undoubtedly been made at the government and non-governmental sectors levels to combat corruption in Ghana. At the state level, however, numerous governments have tried old and new tactics to combat corruption, such as laws, policies, programmes, and institutions, but they have all failed. The Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) and the Economic and Organized Crime Office (EOCO) are also among them; the Office of Accountability is another (OA). Indeed, numerous governments from all political parties have consistently failed in the battle against corruption, and have resorted to pointing fingers at one another and comparing notes on who has been more corrupt and who has taken better/effective actions to combat it. Aside from such public displays, it is clear that the various governments have been more concerned with rhetoric than with actual action. Failure to commit the necessary resources, as well as interference and politicisation of strategies, continue to stymie efforts at the state level.

In reality, Ghana's governments have discussed corruption, passed anti-corruption laws, regularly amended anti-corruption laws, established anti-corruption institutions, and even regulated the conduct of public officers at various stages of all political regimes. Regrettably, some of these are discovered to be mere political gimmicks or 'political traps' designed to catch a political opponent and 'spoil him/her' as corrupt (UNDP, 2010: World

Bank, 2012). Furthermore, non-state actors, such as civil society organisations acting alone or in collaboration with donor partners, have implemented measures and programmes such as the Public Interest Accountability Committee (PIAC), the Ghana Anti-Corruption Campaign Coalition (GACC), and Strengthening Transparency, Accountability, and Responsibility in Ghana (Star Ghana), the National Anti-Corruption Action Plan, the Ghana Corruption Perception Survey, and the Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII), as well as the mass media.

At the national and sub-national levels, their efforts have tended to focus on research, advocacy, networking, and tracking change. These initiatives, however, can only serve as a supplement to government efforts. In Ghana, however, it is common knowledge that when state initiatives fail miserably, non-state efforts suffer as a result of deliberate political involvement and sabotage (Agyeman-Duah, 2015).

### **History of Corruption in Ghana**

The history of corruption in the Ghana can be traced dates back to colonization which also forms the basis for the early fight for independence. Ghana which is specifically located in West Africa and bordered by the Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, and the Gulf of Guinea. Ghana gained independence from the British colony in 1957 and became a republic in the British Commonwealth of Nations in 1960 (Ohemeng&Anebo, 2012).

Furthermore, prior to independence, the Ghana civil service was in charge of governmental administration and was organised similarly to the British civil service. British expatriates held key posts in the civil service, drafting and implementing all policies, while indigenous civil workers held junior positions and were expected to adhere to rigid bureaucratic procedures. During this time, the Ghana civil service coexisted with an interim Public Services Commission, which was established in 1948 to provide administrative advice to the then-British Governor. Unfortunately, in terms of corruption, Ghana is beset with inefficient administrative structures that encourage it. Despite continued efforts to institutionalise the professional principles of probity, honesty, accountability, and efficiency in the public sector, the country's image remains tainted (Agbot et al., 2017).

Furthermore, in Ghana, the deluge of media stories on corruption scandals is a clear indicator of the country's collapse in the fight against corruption. (Aryee, 2018; Asiedu&Deffor, 2017; Asiedu&Deffor, 2018). The solution for preventing and minimising corruption has been described as strengthening Ghana's battle against corruption in all areas.

### **The series of corruption in the Various Regimes of the 4th Republic's.**

The paper precisely distinguished the several regimes under the fourth republic, taking into account how each administration dealt with corruption.

#### **Corruption in the Jerry John Rawlings Administration (1992-2000)**

John Rawlings, Ghana's leader since the December 31, 1981 coup until the 2000 elections, was a Flight Lieutenant in the Air Force and a militant populist when he led the first coup of June 4, 1979, that overthrew the regime of Gen. Fred Akuffo, who had, in turn, deposed his predecessor, Gen. I.K. Acheampong, in a palace coup. According to Shillington (1992), Rawlings was convinced that after one year of the Akuffo regime, nothing had been changed and the coup amounted to a "waste of time," and "it was then up to him to change not only the status quo, but also put the country back on track." Rawlings, unlike many other leaders in Ghana's history, subsequently led the country through the difficult years of economic recovery and succeeded in giving back to Ghanaians their national pride (Chazan, 1983).

Rawlings was able to marshal actions to create and sustain the vision of a better society for the Ghanaian people, from his training days in the Air Force academy to his leadership of the first coup in 1979 as head of the AFRC, handing over power to an elected president, working behind the scenes to ensure the success of democracy, and returning to lead the 31 December revolution. Many Ghanaians feel Rawlings is a man of strong emotions and convictions who is motivated by a desire for moral justice, intellect, and honesty. On the intellectual front, they argue that he is the first charismatic and powerful leader since Nkrumah (in his early days). Many Ghanaians believe that Rawlings' political and economic achievements were only achievable due to his perseverance, honesty, clear objectives, and sense of direction. A watershed moment in Ghana's political history occurred in January 1993. After presidential and parliamentary elections in late 1992, the military government gave way to the Fourth Republic. The president, parliament, cabinet, council of state, and an independent judiciary are all given equal power under the 1992 constitution. Universal suffrage is used to elect the government. When it came to corruption, Jerry John Rawlings was known as a straight shooter who never shied away from confronting corrupt people in his government. Rawlings was able to preserve and rebrand the legacy of his "revolution" as part of an ongoing battle, anchored in the democratic process and a people's revolution, as part of the transition to democratic governance. Rawlings continues to wield immense political clout in Ghana. Rawlings has remade himself as a political gadfly and elder statesman, despite the fact that the National Democratic Congress, the political party he established, continues to contest in national elections and commemorate revolution anniversaries. John Mahama, the NDC's presidential candidate, has been publicly

chastised by Rawlings for his failure to combat corruption. Rawlings sprang to prominence in April as a prominent voice in debates about corruption, democracy, and development. In Rawlings' bloody anti-corruption crusade, sloganeering trumped higher reason and the creation of robust accountability institutions, as Nigerians did in the face of a similar dilemma by establishing the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, which aims to "curb the menace of corruption that is a cog in the wheel of progress; protect national and foreign investments in the country; imbue the citizenry with the spirit of hard work and discourage ill-gotten gains." Perhaps this is due to the fact that past regimes were not democratic and had weak accountability procedures, limited freedoms, and a censored press. As Rawlings' example demonstrates, regimes do not realise how corrupt they are until they are no longer in office. Even if there are clear evidences to the contrary, Rawlings believes that none of his cronies are corrupt, but the rest of Ghanaians are. Rawlings is always seen defending his colleagues accused in corrupt practices in a menacing manner, which is un-Ghanaian. Rawlings is a common sight in law courts where some of his cronies are indicted for financial offences, possibly to intimidate and frighten the judiciary. The implication is that Rawlings does not trust the courts, views any financial crimes indictments against his colleagues as politically motivated, and, as a result, undermines the rule of law as a means to combat corruption. An example was Tsatsu Tsikata's case, the former head of Ghana's National Oil Company sentenced for five years for financial crimes, but other Ghanaians in a similar circumstance were not accorded similar attention by Rawlings. Importantly, the indictment of Tsikata, a close aide to Rawlings, means that Rawlings has been charged with financial crimes. Indeed, it was alleged that most of the state-owned businesses that Rawlings' administrations sold were opaque. Officials from Scancem, a business that formerly owned 'Ghancem,' the cement making company, were charged by a Norwegian court, which came as a shock to Ghanaians. Officials from the corporation were believed to have paid millions of dollars to Rawlings' cronies to ensure that the monopoly of cement production in Ghana remained in their hands. PV Obeng (who served as a Leading member under Rawlings' military junta Provisional National Defence Council) is said to have received the funds.

According to media reports, J. H. Mensah, chair of the National Development Planning Commission and former Senior Minister, responded to Rawlings' corruption accusations by saying, "Rawlings has no moral right to accuse the NPP government of corruption when he and the PNDC government did worse things." How come a staggering sum of US\$7 million went missing under his control if the former President is not corrupt? Rawlings owes Ghanaians an explanation for how a total of US\$7 million in cash went missing from a total of US\$10 million acquired by the Ghanaian government for the renovation of the Tema Food Processing Factory.

The payment of salary is another charge of corruption levelled against Rawlings' government. Ministers' and political appointees' wages were not made public. Despite his high-pitched sloganeering, Rawlings never made his salary public throughout his nearly two decades in leadership.

### **Corruption in the J.A. Kuffour Administration (2001-2008)**

President J.A. Kuffour's eight-year government began with one of his campaign promises: a war against corruption. Kuffour stated that his government will have "zero tolerance for corruption," which the populace agreed with. In July 2003, his administration established an Office of Accountability as a "internal conscience keeper" and an in-house system to oversee ministers' and other government appointees' daily actions. The office's fundamental shortcoming was that it did not publish annual or periodic reports, and its activities were not open to public scrutiny. The Office of Accountability, according to popular belief, contributed little to the battle against government corruption during Kuffour's presidency (IEA, 2016). President J.A. Kuffour began his first term with a zero-tolerance policy toward corruption, which he believes has become ingrained in the very fabric of Ghanaian society. That premise allowed various agencies to investigate several of the dubious former state ministers and public officials from the PNDC and NDC eras, resulting in some of them being sentenced to prison, while others are still battling for their freedom in the courts. Although they are positive steps in the right direction, they were taken too soon. Education and other improvements in our bureaucratic structure must be the starting point for permanently eradicating corruption. Identifying and punishing scapegoats will not address the situation.

Following the release of the Ghana Auditor General's Report of Ghana@50 celebration in 2008, it was discovered that a large sum of money had been spent and that individuals who had spent the money had not properly accounted for it. Other evidence discovered by the government revealed that several enterprises that provided buildings, equipment, cars, and services were not paid, despite the fact that the funds granted by Parliament for these purposes had all been spent. As a result, the government established a commission to investigate how the funds were handled. The Commission issued a report and named those it believed should be held accountable. Following that, the government attempted to prosecute these individuals, but the accused filed an objection, claiming that the government was unable to do so because the Commission of Inquiry functions in a similar capacity to a High Court. The defence petition was upheld by the Court of Appeal Judge in charge of the case, who stated that the accused persons were entitled to an appeal because the Ghana@50 Commission of



Inquiry had the same powers as the High Court (Afro-barometer, 2003-2008) <http://www.jdsurvey.net/afro/afrobarometer.jsp> and <https://www.enterprisesurveys.org/ExploreEconomies/?economyid=76&year=2007>

### **Corruption in the J. E. A. Mills Administration (2009- July 2012)**

Prof. Atta Mill was elected in 2009 on the basis of his "Better Ghana Agenda" agenda, which aimed to improve the lives of Ghanaians. It was hoped that poverty, hunger, and disease would be a thing of the past. Prof. Mills' government was beset by allegations of fraud, incompetence, and the payment of illegitimate judgement debts three and a half years into his presidency. When Late Prof. Evans Atta Mills died, Mr. John Dramani Mahama, who was Prof. Mills' Vice President, took over government.

### **Corruption in the J. D. Mahama Administration (July 2012-2016)**

President Mahama was elected to a four-and-a-half-year term. The term of Atta Mill's government will conclude in six months, and he was re-elected to serve a full four-year term. President Mahama's government, like all prior regimes, was accused of enormous corruption. During his presidency, the three major indicators of governance failure were allegedly visible: (i) the data indicating a failing economy, (ii) mass quick demonstrations against the government, and (iii) corruption scandals. The government was accused of exaggerating the cost of some public projects by a large margin and then passing the savings on to the people. There have been a number of high-profile controversies during his presidency. One such scandal is the Woyome affair, which is well-known. "It is a cruel paradox that a number of bodies set up to combat poverty and underdevelopment have themselves become avenues of corruption through which state monies allocated for development are plundered," according to the Ghana Institute of Economic Affairs. The Ghana Youth Employment and Entrepreneurial Development Agency (GYEEDA), Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA), and National Service Scheme (NSS) are all good examples" (Auditor General Reports; 2014; 2015; IEA, 2016).

### **Corruption in the Williams Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo Administration (2017-2020)**

Williams Addo Nana Dankwa After winning the presidential elections in December 2016, Akufo Addo was elected president of Ghana on January 7, 2017. He was accused of plagiarising parts of his inaugural address from former US presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush. Furthermore, Ghanaian corruption predates the Akufo-Addo administration. He is accused of not just sleeping in the fight against corruption, but at worst, also institutionalising it in Ghana, robbing many generations of Ghanaians of their ability to trust their government ever again. The president had plenty of chances to follow through on his anti-corruption commitments from the start of his first term. One of the first incidences featured Kwesi Nyantakyi, the then-president of the Ghana Football Association, who was caught on film collecting a bribe of \$65,000 from a man he mistook for a foreign investor in a sting operation. Mr. Nyantakyi would then give the investor advice on how to "look after" Ghana's president, vice president, and other officials. One of the journalists participating in the undercover probe was assassinated while leaving his family's house not long after it was published. Mr. Nyantakyi, on the other hand, was still a free man. In a separate undercover investigation, the chairman of the Public Procurement Authority, which is in charge of awarding government contracts, was caught on video admitting to setting up a private company that was receiving contracts from the very agency he was in charge of. Mr. Adjei Boateng Adjei, this individual, was awarded himself contracts that he would subsequently sell for profit to third parties. Mr. Adjei is still free.

Then, in late 2020, a case concerning the nation's Auditor General Daniel Yaw Domelevo arose, in which the president compelled him to take a vacation only to return to an office that was no longer his. Then, a desperate Akufo-Addo, a few weeks ago, finally came around to dismissing the Auditor General from office for good. Mr. Domelevo was about to retire in a few months. He is accused of corruption as Ghana's president who fights harder to safeguard his buddies' fortune than his country's prosperity. The government's executive branch has evolved into a hedge fund, with the president's campaign funders, political allies, and family members serving as its managers. Their governing philosophy is based on the win-win principle: nothing benefits the people unless it also benefits them personally. A Special Prosecutor appointed by the government has described Nana Addo's Government as the "Mother Serpent" of corruption in Ghana.

### **Corruption Perception Index**

Since Ghana's return to multi-party democracy, several administrations have declared their commitment to combating corruption; however, most of these have largely remained rhetorical gimmicks like Kuffour's "Zero Tolerance for Corruption," or cosmetic legislative reforms with large implementation gaps. This is supported by a thorough examination of a number of measures, including the Worldwide Governance Indicator (WGI) on corruption control, the Afro-barometer surveys, and the Global Integrity Reports (as shown in this section). According to WGI data on corruption control, Ghana has made some progress in the control of corruption since

the 1990s, going from a score of 39.8 in 1996 to 53.4 in 2000. However, the country's performance fell between 2002 and 2005, before rising again from 2006 to 2009. When comparing the country's total performance from 1996 to 2009, however, one may see a rise in scores from 39.8 to 59.5; the question is whether this change indicates actual or significant progress in the fight against corruption.

The president of Ghana has the authority to select the heads of significant state institutions. According to Article 144 (1), (2), and (3), the president appoints the Chief Justice, other Supreme Court members, and Justices of the Court of Appeal. Furthermore, Article 195 states that the President has the authority to designate people to hold or perform in positions in the government. As a result, after gaining office, the President has a tendency to fill jobs in the public sector with his friends. Prof. Gyimah-Boadi (2010), for example, argued that "one of the first acts of successive governments has been to dissolve the boards of state-controlled enterprises such as the Ghana Commercial Bank, and state agencies such as the Serious Fraud Office (now known as EOCO) and the Ghana Law Reform Commission so that their own loyalists can be appointed to those positions." The incompetence of some of those appointed to these boards is rarely penalised in most situations. In 2007, there was another example of procurement impropriety involving Alhaji Mohammed, the Yendi district executive, who claimed he was awarded contracts valued between \$27,000 and \$30,000. These contracts were given to him so that he could carry them out in order to raise revenue for the ruling party, which he accomplished by obtaining documents from private companies (Country Report, Transparency International, 2007). Although the Ghanaian Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) has the authority to launch investigations into alleged cases of corruption, this authority is limited, as CHRAJ can only do so after receiving complaints from an identifiable complainant. For example, in 2005, the CHRAJ launched an inquiry into one of Kuffour's serving ministers of state, Dr. Richard Anane, for reportedly delivering a large sum of money to his mistress, among other things, following a news-paper publication. The CHRAJ conducted an extensive investigation and issued a report claiming that the minister had abused his position and misled Parliament about the amount of money he had allegedly transmitted to his mistress.

### Conclusion

Finally, the information offered on the various government regimes shows that Ghana has not progressed on the majority of indicators of corruption dimensions. There appears to be a lack of government accountability as well as a strong push for job development. Despite the fact that legislative frameworks have been established, their effectiveness is hampered by inadequate execution. Although there is an increasing awareness of the public which in most cases expresses disapproval of corruption, their actions have not evolved to include additional non-violent initiatives to demand accountable governance. Despite the fact that majority of the country's existing public anticorruption institutions are genuinely committed to fighting corruption, their effectiveness is occasionally hampered by restrictions such as a lack of funds and expertise. Gyekye stated that an African's moral ideas and interpretations drive his humanity and decision-making. Ghana is a multi-ethnic, multicultural country with traditional beliefs that promote communalism and loyalty to extended families. As a result, acting ethically is communalism, and it is regarded as an obligation rather than a right. (Pertwi, 2018; Transparency International, 2014). Finally, it is obvious that no Ghanaian political administration has been able to combat corruption head on by incorporating African value-based norms into its anti-corruption policy. Nkrumah attempted it when he began preaching the importance of thinking like an African, eating what the continent produced, and forming Africa Unity. As a result, it is obvious that no other government, after Nkrumah, is concerned about the inadequacies of the anti-corruption measures put in place and is looking for better alternatives, such as African Value-based standards, as an effective anti-corruption instrument. Unfortunately, Ghana's fight against corruption is still ongoing after all these years. Governmental institutions and administrations continue to fail. As a result, a larger consortium should be formed to bring all relevant parties on board to help the country overcome this threat.

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