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CITZENS' ANTI-CORRUPTION MANIFESTO











Citizens' Anti-Corruption Manifesto

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Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII) is the Local Chapter of Transparency International (TI). GII was launched in December 1999 as a non-partisan, non-profit civil empowerment organization focused on the delivery of essential themes necessary for the creation of a National Integrity System.

The Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC) is a unique cross-sectoral grouping of public, private and civil society organizations (CSOs) with a focus on promoting good governance and fighting corruption in Ghana. GACC was registered on March 13, 2001 under the company's code

Produced by:

Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII) & Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Abraham Lincoln's phrase "Government of the people, by the people and for the people" has long been presented as a definition of democracy. As Ghana prepares for Election 2020, the agency of citizens is accentuated. The citizens of Ghana would choose their preferred vision for the next four years by buying into the manifesto of a particular political party on December 7. However, just as democracy, manifestoes are also for the people and should therefore be by the people.

With funding support from STAR Ghana Foundation, the Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII) and Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC) launched the 'Making All Voices Count in the 2020 Anti-Corruption Agenda of Political Parties' project to provide a platform for citizens to make input in the manifestoes of Ghana's political parties on the topic of corruption. We are very grateful to STAR Ghana Foundation for buying into this project and offering more than financial support.

In compiling the Citizens' Anti-Corruption Manifesto, the GII and GACC collated the views of a wide spectrum of sub-groups within the Ghanaian society: Faith-Based Organizations, Traditional Rulers, Anti-Corruption experts, Women groups, People with Disability and other marginalized groups, Citizen Groups, Students, Civil Society Organizations and the General Public. We are very grateful to the citizens and groups that participated in the consultative meetings. We are also grateful to all those who sent us their thoughts on the subject via emails and other communication platforms.

GII will also like to thank Prof. Atsu Ayee, Dr. Abdulai Darimani, Justice Emil Short and Dr. Esther Ofei-Aboagye for taking time out of their busy schedules to review this report.

It is our hope that the political parties will study the issues identified by citizens and would be guided by the broad recommendations to fashion out their own specific approach to addressing these issues. We have presented the issues under legislative and policy cum administrative categories. We are also hopeful that the political parties will remember the Latin maxim, "Vox Populi, Vox Dei" - the voice of the people is the voice of God.

Mrs. Linda Ofori-Kwafo - Executive Director of GII Mrs. Beauty Emefa Narteh – Executive Secretary, GACC

1.0 BACKGROUND

Corruption affects development, exacerbates and causes conflict, and has been identified as one of challenges to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Therefore, anti-corruption specific targets have been included in the SDGs, under Goal 16. These targets are:

Goal 16.4 - Significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flow, strengthen the recovery and return of stolen assets and combat all forms of organized crime;

Goal 16.5 - Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms;

Goal 16.6 - Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels;

Goal 16.7- Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels; and

Goal 16.10 - Ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, under national legislation and international agreements.

Citizens indicated that it would be important if there was demonstrable commitment by political parties aspiring to form the next Government of Ghana to achieving these targets.

The policy (including legal) and institutional framework for tackling corruption exists in Ghana. For instance, the 1992 Constitution enjoins the state to "take steps to eradicate corrupt practices and abuse of power", while the citizen is under obligation to "protect and preserve public property and expose and combat misuse and waste of public funds and property". There is also the National Anti-Corruption Action Plan (NACAP), which has implementation role for all actors (Public, Private and Civil Society) with Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) as the focal point. Other state accountability institutions including Auditor General's Department, Attorney Generals Department, Economic and Organised Crime Office, Internal Audit Agency and Office of the Special Prosecutor continue to play a key role in the fight against corruption in Ghana.

In spite of the existence of the policy and institutional framework, over the past seven years, citizens, business people and experts have consistently rated the level of corruption in the country as being quite high. The popular Corruption Perception Index (CPI) by Transparency International (TI) suggests that corruption in Ghana has remained an insidious plague and continues to gain momentum despite various attempts to curb it. Ghana's score on the CPI has been dropping since it achieved its highest score of 48/100 in 2014. The score dropped to 47/100 in 2015 and even further to 43/100 in 2016. The score for 2017 was 40/100. In 2018, the score increased by a percentage point to 41/100. In the latest CPI (2019), Ghana's score remained the same – 41/100. This trend is worrying as it implies stagnation at the lower end of the table. It is worth noting that the latest score was lower than the average global score of 43/100.

^{1.} Transparency International. (2020). 2019 Corruption Perception Index. Retrieved on May 13, 2020: https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2019/press-and-downloads

Corruption remains a major issue for citizens as it affects efficient and equitable service delivery with implications for their quality of life. Corruption also erodes the trust of citizens in government as they do not observe significant improvements in the country from one government to another. The 2020 Elections should be seen as an opportunity for political parties to develop and present meaningful plans for significant anti-corruption reforms for the next four years, if elected by the people of Ghana. It is also an opportunity for citizens to share their views with political parties on the anti-corruption reforms to focus on.

There is little doubt regarding the role manifestos play in the campaigns of modern political parties. Manifestos, which are public declarations of intentions and development policies and aims, have the potential to promote issue-based political discussions. Manifesto development promotes documentation and publication of a party's commitments during the electioneering period. They serve as a record of the initiatives a party proposes to pursue if elected to power. In Ghana, manifestos are gaining acceptance and relevance in shaping the development agenda. Therefore, structured approach to mapping societal actors' interests and making inputs into Political Party manifestoes is an important step in promoting responsiveness. The key issues or problems that confront a nation captured from the perspective of citizens will promote the quality of the political debate and foster consensus about the pathways to sustainable development.

Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII) and Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC) with funding support from STAR Ghana Foundation facilitated the process of giving citizens a voice in the anti-corruption policies of the next government through the 'Making All Voices Count in the 2020 Anti-Corruption Agenda of Political Parties' project. Citizens' views were elicited through extensive consultations with interest groups and individuals and the results collated into the Citizens' Anti-Corruption Manifesto.

1.1 Objectives of the Citizens' Anti-Corruption Manifesto

The overall objective of the Citizens' Anti-Corruption Manifesto (CACM) is to make combating corruption a key election issue in 2020 and thereby improve the country's CPI scores in subsequent years. More specifically, the CACM seeks to achieve the following:

- (i) Send a strong message to political parties about the voice of citizens on the rising incidence of corruption and how they intend to address it in their manifestoes;
- (ii) Create the pathway for political parties to design and implement appropriate legal and policy/administrative reforms to tackle corruption on a more sustainable basis; and
- (iii) Increase political support and commitment in fighting corruption.

^{2.} Gyampo, R. & Debrah, E. (2013). The Youth and Party Manifestoes in Ghana. Journal of African Elections, Vol 12 (2). Retrieved online on 27th June, 2020: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/309659153_The_Youth_and_Party_Manifestos_in_Ghanaian_Politics_The_Case_of_the_2012_General_Elections

2.0 METHODOLOGY

The methodological approach for this report was solely qualitative. This was adopted to provide a comprehensive analysis of issues of the report. The study used a purposive sampling approach as it sought to elicit the views and experiences of citizens on issues associated with corruption. Data elicited from stakeholders using consultative meetings were representative of various social groups as well as the 16 regions of Ghana. The survey also conducted a desk review of documents including the Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) reports, Gaps in Anti-Corruption Legislation (a report by the Accountable Democratic Institutions and Systems Strengthening Project in 2016), Afrobarometer reports, etc. to help contextualise and compare information emerging from the citizens' consultation meetings.

The consultations were held between 27th - 28th May, 2020 with Women Groups, Disability Associations, Representatives of other Marginalized Groups, Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs), Traditional Rulers, Anti-Corruption Experts, Citizens' Groups, Students, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and the general public. The issues gathered from the consultative meetings were reviewed by experts purposively selected from specific sectors.

Consistent with the objective of consulting different citizen sub-groups, the consultative meetings were categorised into four sessions targeting four different groups, as listed below with disaggregated level of participation:

Table 1: Participants disaggregated by groups

No	Target Groups	Number of Registered Participants	Percentage (%) of Total Actual Participants
1	STAR Ghana Anti-Corruption Grant Partners	29	16%
2	Women Groups, People with Disability Groups and other Marginalized Groups	75	22%
3	3 Faith-Based Organizations and Traditional Rulers		24%
4	Citizen Groups, Students, Civil Society Organizations and the General Public		38%
	TOTAL	262	100%

Citizens' priorities have been clustered into two main categories: legislative reform priorities and administrative and policy action proposals. These are presented in the ensuing section.

3.0 CITIZENS' PROPOSED ANTI-CORRUPTION REFORMS

Citizens' corruption concerns and broad recommendations are summarized in Table One below. They have been categorised into issues that require anti-corruption legislative reform and those that could be addressed with anti-corruption policies.

Table 2: Overview of Citizens' Priorities for Anti-Corruption
Actions in Political Party Manifestos

LEGISLATIVE REFORM PRIORITIES

- 1. Financial Independence for Anti-Corruption Institutions
- 2. Transparent Political Party and Campaign Financing
- Continuity in Government Projects and Programmes
- Strengthening Transparency and Accountability in the Extractive Sector
- 5. Strengthening Assets Declaration
- 6. Strengthening Sanctions Against Proceeds from Criminal Activity
- 7. Re-Defining Corruption

ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLICY ACTION PROPOSALS

- Expediting Digitization of Public Service Activities and Records
- Promoting Responsive Service Charters in Public Institutions
- Establishment of Convenient Off-Site Complaints and Corruption-Reporting Platforms
- 4. Establishment of Right-to-Information Commission
- 5. Introduction of Anti-Corruption and Integrity Curricula in Schools
- Publicization of Witness Protection
 Provisions and Establishment of Witness
 Protection Agency
- Promoting Efficiency in Ghana's Tax Administration Regime

Table 3: Citizens' Priorities for Anti-Corruption Actions in Political Party Manifestos

A. ANTI-CORRUPTION LEGISLATIVE REFORMS **ISSUE** S/N **BROAD RECOMMENDATION** Financial Independence for 1. Adopt a special funding vehicle for **Anti-Corruption Institutions** these institutions that will ensure the Anti-corruption institutions have been automatic, timely release of funds to operationally defined to include institutions that these institutions consistent with have a role to play in education, audit, their approved budget; and their investigations and prosecution of corruption. supplementary needs are prioritized. These institutions include the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), the Attorney-General's Office, the Auditor General's Office, Office of the Special Prosecutor,

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	Economic and Organized Crime Office, Financial Intelligence Centre, the Judiciary and the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE). These anti-corruption institutions have not met citizens' expectations in the performance of their mandate. Assessment of these institutions has shown that funding has been a major challenge for them. There is the need to ensure that anti-corruption institutions are able to receive timely and adequate funding throughout the year. The focus here is on achieving actual releases of funds to these institutions, rather than just the allocations made to them in the annual budget.	
2.	Transparent Political Party Financing and Campaign Financing (i) According to Sakyi, Agomor & Appiah (2015), over the past fifteen (15) years, from 2005 to 2019, not a single political party has filed with the EC an up-to-date annual audited statement of accounts. Again, since the enactment of the Political Parties Act, Act 574, the EC has failed to prescribe a standard format to be used by the political parties in the preparation of their annual financial statements. Consequently, the political parties prepare their statements in the manner they deem fit. (ii) Citizens hold the view that there is an uncomfortable interplay between private funding of political parties and rewarding such partisan funding on attainment of office. This relationship is considered to be a major contributory factor to the incidence of corruption as elected officers must find money to refund or reward the private funding that brought them to power. (iii) Related to this, citizens are alarmed by the	(I) Citizens want the next government to ensure the enforcement of the Political Parties Act, 2000 (Act 574), particularly Section 21 which relates to the disclosure of funding sources by political parties. (ii) Citizens are asking for Act 574 to be amended to include disclosure of funding sources for candidates contesting the Presidential, Parliamentary and Local level elections (which falls under a different law). Failure to comply and false declaration should lead to the disqualification of candidates. Should a false declaration come to be known after the candidate assumes office, there should be impeachment of that elected official.

A. ANTI-CORRUPTION LEGISLATIVE REFORMS

ISSUE S/N **BROAD RECOMMENDATION** gargantuan sums of money that go into (iii) In order to curb the excessive political campaigns for elected offices without monetization of elections, citizens legal requirement for candidates and their are asking for a cap on campaign financiers to disclose their funding sources. budgets. There should be a ceiling on how much can be raised by a Citizens contend that such sums will only bring more private funds into national elections, with candidate to contest Presidential, the concomitant corruption risk. There is also a Parliamentary and Local Elections. fear that the current trend allows only the False declarations should lead to sanctions which include wealthy to access political power, and may preclude competent men and women who disqualification or impeachment could deliver results for Ghana from the should the candidate be already opportunity to serve. sworn into office **Continuity in Government Projects** It is proposed that the Presidential 3. and Programmes (Transition) Act, 2012 (Act 845) be Citizens have observed with disappointment the amended to include on-going disinclination of governments to continue projects infrastructure. The law should give and programmes started by their predecessors, time limit for the new government to which is contrary to Article 35(7) of the 1992 review such infrastructure and Constitution. Often such projects and publish its plan for continuing the programmes are abandoned in spite of the project. Should the government massive investment of the tax payer's money into decide to change the service provider these projects and programmes, leading to for the project or make any other wastage of public money. Citizens are of the view significant changes, it must be done that disinclination to continue projects and within a time limit and it must be programmes stems in part from a desire to republished. award such projects to favoured service providers who would share profits with the incumbent government. **Strengthening Transparency and** (i) The face-to-face (manual) 4. **Accountability in the Extractive Sector** processing of applications (i) Currently, applicants physically appear every exposes both the applicants and day at the offices of the Minerals Commission public officials to potential to manually register their applications. corruption. It should, therefore, be According to GII's Mining Awards Corruption substituted with an electronic Risk Assessment report (2020), applicants system of application to minimise interviewed during the research, complained or eliminate the risk. The about time and cost. Some of them reported digitization is not only consistent that they sometimes have to "see one or two with national policy but also officers" to facilitate the timely processing of eliminate the incentives for their applications so as to reduce the amount corrupt practices associated with

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	of time and cost of travelling to and from	the manual proce		

of time and cost of travelling to and from Accra.

- (ii) Insider trading within the extractive sector particularly mining creates opportunity for corrupt practices such as transfer pricing, tax avoidance and tax evasion.
- the manual processing of mining license application.

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(ii) The next government should lead the enactment of laws to regulate insider trading as part of anticorruption measure while maximising government revenue from the mining value-chain

5. Strengthening the Assets Declaration

Citizens are convinced that corruption continues to be a challenge to development in Ghana, robbing the nation of resources to undertake public works and reducing access to basic services for the most vulnerable and poor in our society. Citizens assert that building an effective assets declaration regime in Ghana will contribute to reducing corruption significantly.

The current asset declaration regime is silent on verification of assets and liabilities, and also publication, monitoring, explicit sanctioning and other related activities that would give essence to an asset declaration regime.

In order to effectively implement assets declaration in Ghana and achieve the objective of assets declaration as an anti-corruption tool, Ghana's legal regime on assets declaration should be amended to explicitly demand (public disclosure of the declared assets on assumption and exit of public office)
VERIFICATION, MONITORING,
PUBLICATION and SANCTIONING.
The lessons from the COVID-19 experience indicate that ELECTRONIC DECLARATION is a necessary part of reform.

In connection to the above is the need for political parties to commit to the passage of the Conduct of Public Officers Bill within six (6) months after January 2021, that is, if the bill is not passed before the 2020 elections. This bill risks suffering the same fate as the RTI Bill.

6. Strengthening Sanctions Against Proceeds from Criminal Activity

Citizens note that the Ghana Anti-Money Laundering Act of 2008 (Act 749) in its current state does not adequately address laundering proceeds of criminal activity. The law covers the The Ghana Anti-Money Laundering Act must be amended to take account of disguise of the origin as well as the true nature, disposition, movement or ownership of or rights with respect to property.

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A. ANTI-CORRUPTION LEGISLATIVE REPORMS				
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	disguise of the origin and location of illegal proceeds, but not the true nature, disposition, movement or ownership of or rights with respect to property as stipulated in art. 23 (1)(a)(ii) of the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC). In order to achieve the desired standards, the legal regime must be strengthened.			
7.	Re-Defining Corruption Citizens were concerned that though Section 239- 240 of Act 29 (Criminal Offenses Act) defines the scope of corruption offences, this definition still fell short of United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) & African Union (AU) Convention standards.	An amendment of Act 29 to widen the scope to include illicit enrichment, conflict of interest, bribery in the private sector and embezzlement in the private sector is required. Steps should be taken to this end.		

1. Expediting Digitization of Public Service Activities and Records	government should speed up ar
	government should speed up to

Citizens observed that electronic services had considerable potential as anti-corruption tools because they reduce human interaction, which is often a necessary condition for corruption.

ISSUE

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The government of Ghana has digitized a number of public services over the last few years including the provision of passports. Currently, a citizen could register online, make payments electronically, complete electronic forms and then obtain a date and time for biometric registration. These arrangements had reduced the hassle and inconvenience to the citizen and also introduced considerable predictability and reliability. The extension of such arrangements to other public services would save citizens time, reduce the scope for graft or being taken advantage of and ensure easier tracking of documentation.

It is recommended that the next government should speed up and extend electronic services to all ministries, departments and agencies. The priority list should be services that are in high demand by citizens.

BROAD RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that the governm-ent of Ghana expedites its digitization programme and extends electronic services to all Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs). Services that are in high demand by citizens must be prioritized.

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2. Promoting Responsive Service Charters in Public Institutions

Citizens identified the asymmetrical flow of information between service seekers (citizens) and service providers (public officials) as one of the major drivers of corruption. It appears to the public that only the service providers have the information on the delivery requirements for the public services the citizens seek. Therefore, providers are able to exploit service seekers (citizens). From the angle of the service seeker, the procedure for accessing services, the cost and turnaround time are rather opaque. The unpredictable turnaround time in particular creates uncertainty and drives service seekers to middle men, popularly called "goro" boys, who are able to leverage their contacts to deliver the required services for exorbitant fees. Many public officers and institutions have been accused of focusing on this unofficial, profitable stream to the detriment of service seekers who use the approved processes.

- (i) Institutionalisation of Service Charters for all public institutions in Ghana. These Service Charters should go beyond the rights of service seekers and the institution's mandate to include the following:
- (a) List of services offered by the institution
- (b) The procedure for obtaining each service
- (c) The cost of each service
- (d) The turnaround time for each service

In this regard, CHRAJ in collaboration with the Public Service Reform
Secretariat has over the last 2 or 3
years developed a template of Service
Charter for public institutions. This
template should be a starting point
for public institutions.

(ii) This information would empower service seekers and enhance predictability. The likelihood of service seekers turning to middlemen to obtain public services will decrease. The issue of turn-around time must be considered sacrosanct in the social contract and honoured as such. The guidelines must provide for updates of costs and processes, as will be necessary. The service charters should be made visible and conspicuous at the premises of the public institutions and related organizations. There is also the need for functional client service units to ensure the provision of the highest quality of services to citizens.

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3.	Establishment of Convenient Off-Site Complaints and Corruption-Reporting Platforms Citizens observed that a number of institutions have made attempts to provide channels for citizens' complaints and grievance-handling. These included complaint and suggestion boxes and desks, functioning client service units on their premises as well as electronic communication facilities for receiving reports about corruption, poor services and other improprieties. Best practice dictates that the corruption reporting process must be confidential. In order to encourage reporting by everybody, including people who may be less assertive, citizens indicated that it is important that functioning, reporting platforms are located off-site. Since this may be difficult logistically, institutions could turn to virtual platforms.	Electronic platforms for reporting corruption and improprieties should be encouraged. They are convenient for service seekers who would want to make such reports from their homes or more comfortable locations. Such platforms also create a faster means of reporting and responding to such complaints. Electronic corruption reporting platforms also offer confidentiality, a key requirement in anti-corruption reporting.
4.	Establishment of Right-to-Information Commission Citizens were relieved that after almost two decades of advocacy, the Right to Information (RTI) Law (Act 989) had finally been passed in 2019. The full operationalization of the law had however been deferred to 2020. Citizens are concerned that the RTI Law is an essential piece of legislation for promoting transparency and accountability in governance. While the Government is taking such preparatory steps as appointing RTI officers and providing requisite training, the establishment of the Right-to-Information Commission is outstanding. The Commission which will be critical for providing the requisite oversight must be constituted as a matter of urgency.	The Right to Information Commission, provided for in Article 40 of the Right to Information Act, 2019 (Act 989), is the mandated structure to ensure access to information and resolve related disputes, among other duties. In order to derive the benefits of this law, the Commission should be the focus of the first ninety (90) days of the next government. The government should ensure the appointment of capable commissioners and a supportive administrative structure to ensure that the Commission is fully functional.
5.	Introduction of Anti-Corruption and Integrity Curricula in Schools Citizens are concerned about the eroding values of integrity in public service and in Ghanaian	Education is a powerful tool to counter the diffusion of corrupt values in society. It is important that while citizens are being told not to

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society, generally. Public officers with sterling qualities, demonstrated integrity and incorruptible values are becoming rare and sadly corrupt practices have crept into schools and other educational establishments. Media reports about corrupt practices even amongst students are disturbing. The increasing incidence of embezzlement, misappropriation of funds, election rigging and bribery amongst student leaders is alarming.

engage in corruption, their children are educated on acceptable forms of behaviour and responsible citizenship. Young people have been identified as a virgin resource to be targeted for anti-corruption education as an investment towards a more conscientious Ghanaian society in future. An elaborate curriculum on anti-corruption and integrity must be developed for schools from the basic school to the tertiary levels.

6. Publicization of Witness Protection Provisions and Establishment of Witness Protection Agency

In 2018, Ghana passed the Witness Protection Act (Act 975). The law is meant to protect individuals who serve as witnesses in the fight against crime and corruption. Act 975 provides impetus for the Whistleblowers Act, 2006 (Act 720), which provided the framework for individuals to report corruption safely. Citizens noted that though this law was in place, the public was not sufficiently aware of its provisions and its importance.

The testimony of witnesses in criminal investigations is critical to the work of intelligence agencies, the police and other agencies tasked with maintenance of law and order. The evidence of witnesses is commonly required to prevent or prosecute crimes such as corruption, human trafficking, illicit arms dealing and money laundering. Ghanaians need to be aware of these provisions to be empowered to play their role in reducing corrupt practices.

In relation to the above, citizens indicated that the Witness Protection Law provides for the establishment of a Witness Protection Agency to administer the witness protection programme. Without the existence and effective functioning of the Agency, the programme will be unable to

It is important that the Whistleblowers Act, 2006 (Act 720) and the Witness Protection Act (Act 975) are publicized in order to assure citizens that there is sufficient protection for whistleblowers in Ghana. This assurance is required to incentivize citizens to report corruption and testify against corrupt individuals and organizations. Further, Article 20 of the Whistleblowers Act provides for the establish-ment of Whistleblowers Reward Fund to provide monetary reward to whistleblowers. This fund needs to be activated to incentivize citizens to report corruption.

A new government should take steps to ensure the establishment of the Witness Protection Agency and provide adequate human, financial and technical resources to enable it deliver on its mandate.

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	deliver on the provisions of the law. The programme is expected to protect witnesses, experts and their relatives against potential retaliation or intimidation as a result of their cooperation with law enforcement agencies. The Agency must be resourced to ensure these services. Citizens are asking the next government to establish the Witness Protection Agency within its first year.	
7-	Promoting Efficiency in Ghana's Tax Administration Regime Over the last few years, reports from the Auditor General have highlighted the inefficiency of institutions like the Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA) in collecting tax revenue due the state. Citizens were concerned about the situation, particularly as Ghana was borrowing to finance its projects and programmes. They were also concerned about reports revealing huge tax waivers for companies, some of which did not appear to be operating in strategic sectors. There is wide perception that some of these waivers have been given to friends and families of the Executive. Poor administration of tax waivers has also dogged the nation. Citizens are asking that the next government should endeavour to be more transparent with tax waivers and provide justification for tax waivers. The reports of inefficiency in collecting taxes due the state suggest that some public officials have been negligent in their duty. To ensure that the Heads of Tax Administration Institutions execute the trust reposed in them faithfully, citizens require that these organizational leaders sign rigorous performance contracts and are held to account, in line with the arrangements in the State and Public Agencies and their counterparts in the Public Services. Where performance contracting practices are already in place, they should be reviewed and strengthened to ensure excellent performance.	 (i) There should be better administration of this regime, such as prompt cancellation of tax waivers as soon as such waivers expire. Systems to promote further transparency about target-setting, institutional perform-ance and choice of tax instruments should be instituted by the new government, in line with international best practices. (ii) The lack of benchmarks for determining the performance of tax collection institutions can be a recipe for corruption, underperformance, etc. The performance of the Heads of Tax Administration Institutions must be strengthened through more rigorous performance contracting arrangements with clearer targets, rewards and sanctions. Remuneration and rewards must be clearly performance-based.