



# Democratic governance, trust in institutions, and corruption.

Findings from Afrobarometer Round 9 survey in Ghana

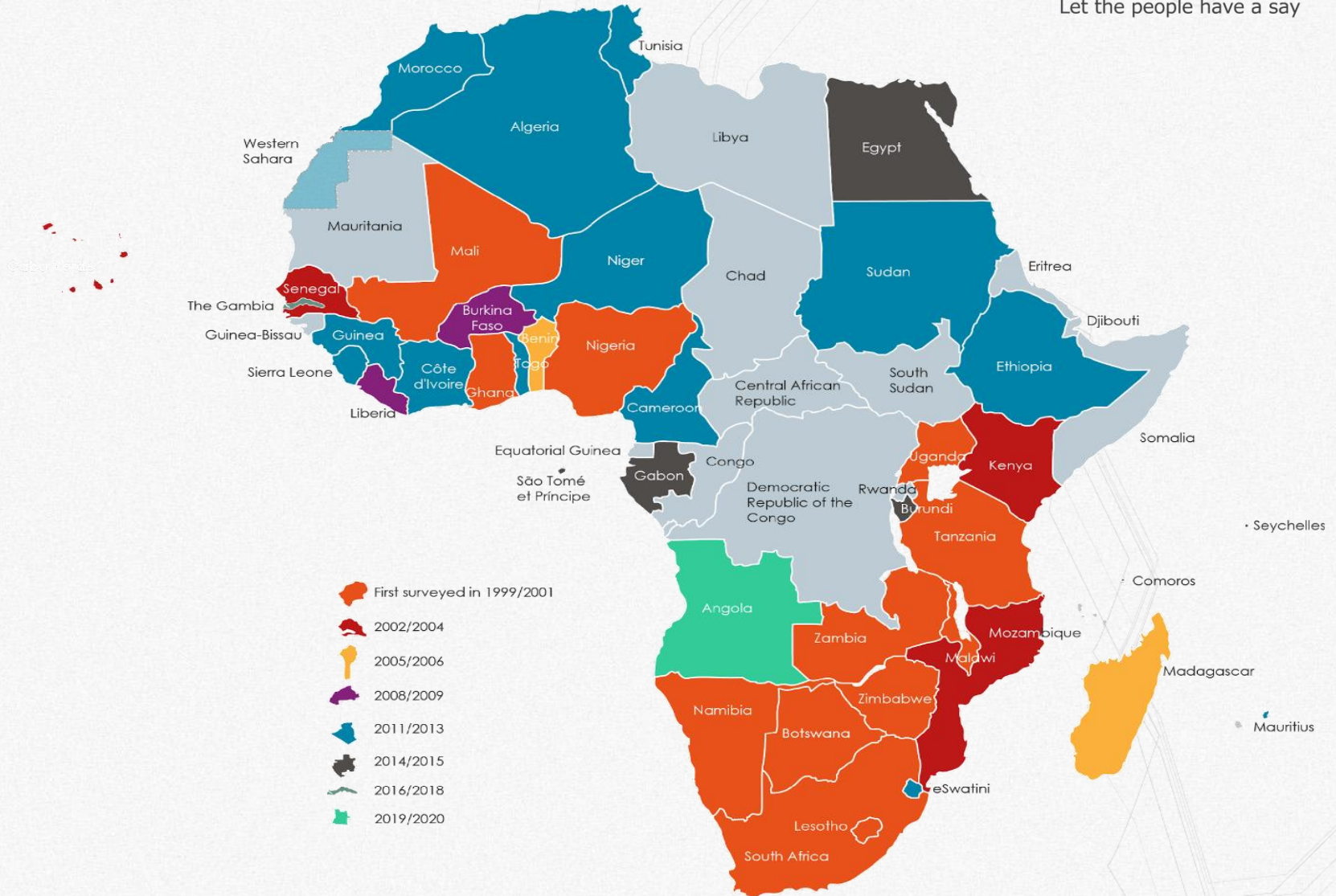


# What is Afrobarometer?



- A pan-African, non-partisan, non-profit survey research network that provides reliable data on Africans' experiences and evaluations of democracy, governance, and quality of life.
- Eight survey rounds in up to 39 African countries have been completed since 1999. Round 9 surveys (2021/2022) are currently underway.
- **Goal:** To give the public a voice in policy making by providing high-quality public opinion data to policy makers, policy advocates, civil society organizations, academics, news media, donors and investors, and ordinary Africans.
- A national partner in each country conducts the survey. In Ghana, the Afrobarometer Round 9 survey was conducted by the Center for Democratic Development.

# Where Afrobarometer works



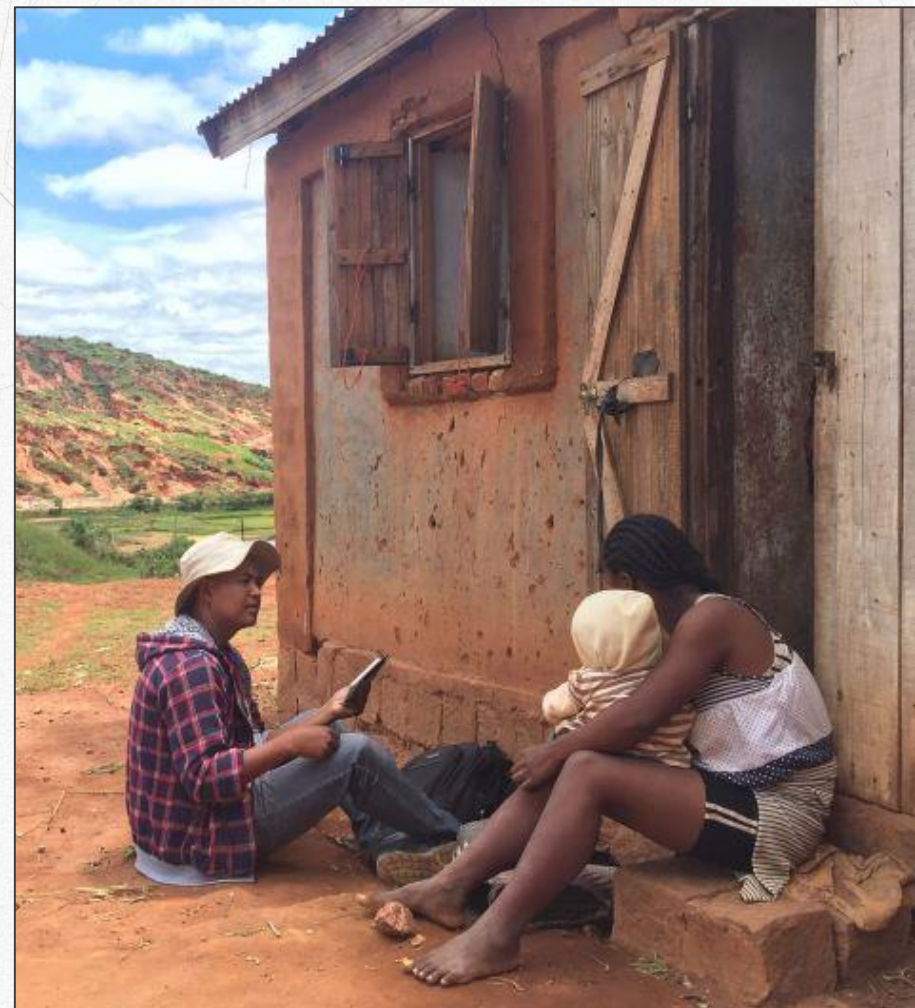
# Methodology



- Nationally representative sample of adult citizens
  - ❑ All respondents are *randomly* selected.
  - ❑ Sample is distributed across regions/states/provinces and urban/rural areas in proportion to their share in the national population.
  - ❑ Every adult citizen has an *equal* chance of being selected.
- Face-to-face interviews in the language of the respondent's choice.
- Standard questionnaire allows comparisons across countries and over time.
- Sample size in Ghana of 2,400 adult citizens yields a margin of error of +/-2 percentage points at a 95% confidence level.
- Fieldwork for Round 9 in Ghana was conducted 4-20 April 2022.

# Survey demographics

Gender	%
Men	50
Women	50
Residence	
Urban	60
Rural	40
Education	
No formal education	15
Primary	25
Secondary	41
Post-secondary	19
Religion	
Christian	78
Muslim	16
Other	6



# Survey sample distribution

Region	GSS 2021 census-regional share to total population	AB GHA R9 sample share to population
Western	7%	7%
Central	9%	9%
Greater Accra	20%	20%
Volta	5%	6%
Eastern	10%	10%
Ashanti	18%	18%
Western North	3%	3%
Ahafo	2%	2%
Bono	4%	4%
Bono East	4%	4%
Oti	2%	2%
Northern	7%	7%
Savannah	2%	2%
North East	2%	2%
Upper East	4%	4%
Upper West	3%	3%

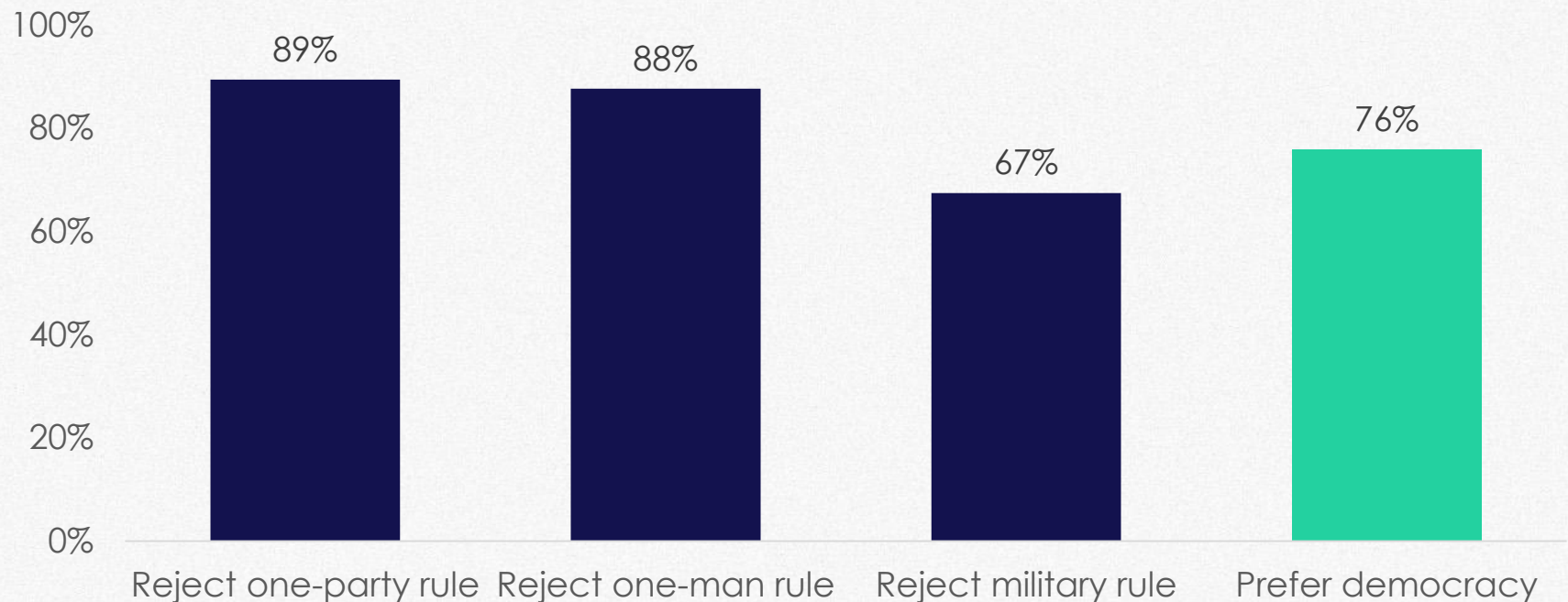
# Findings



# Aspirations for democratic governance



# Support for democracy and rejection of authoritarian alternatives | Ghana | 2022



## Respondents were asked:

*There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives: Only one political party is allowed to stand for election and hold office? The army comes in to govern the country? Elections and Parliament are abolished so that the president can decide everything?*

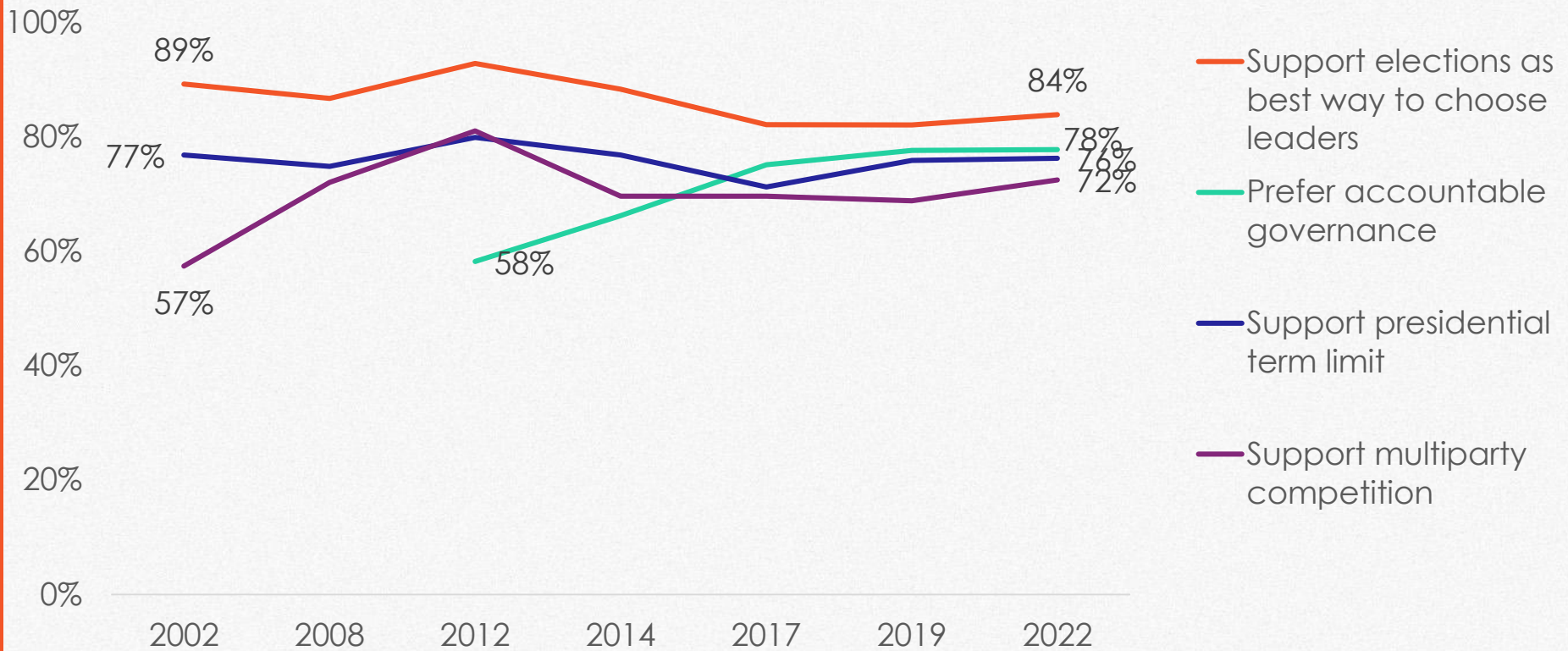
*(% who "disapprove" or "strongly disapprove")*

*Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion: Statement 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government. Statement 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable. Statement 3: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind government we have.*

*(% who support Statement 1)*

# Support for democratic norms/institutions

## | Ghana | 2002-2022



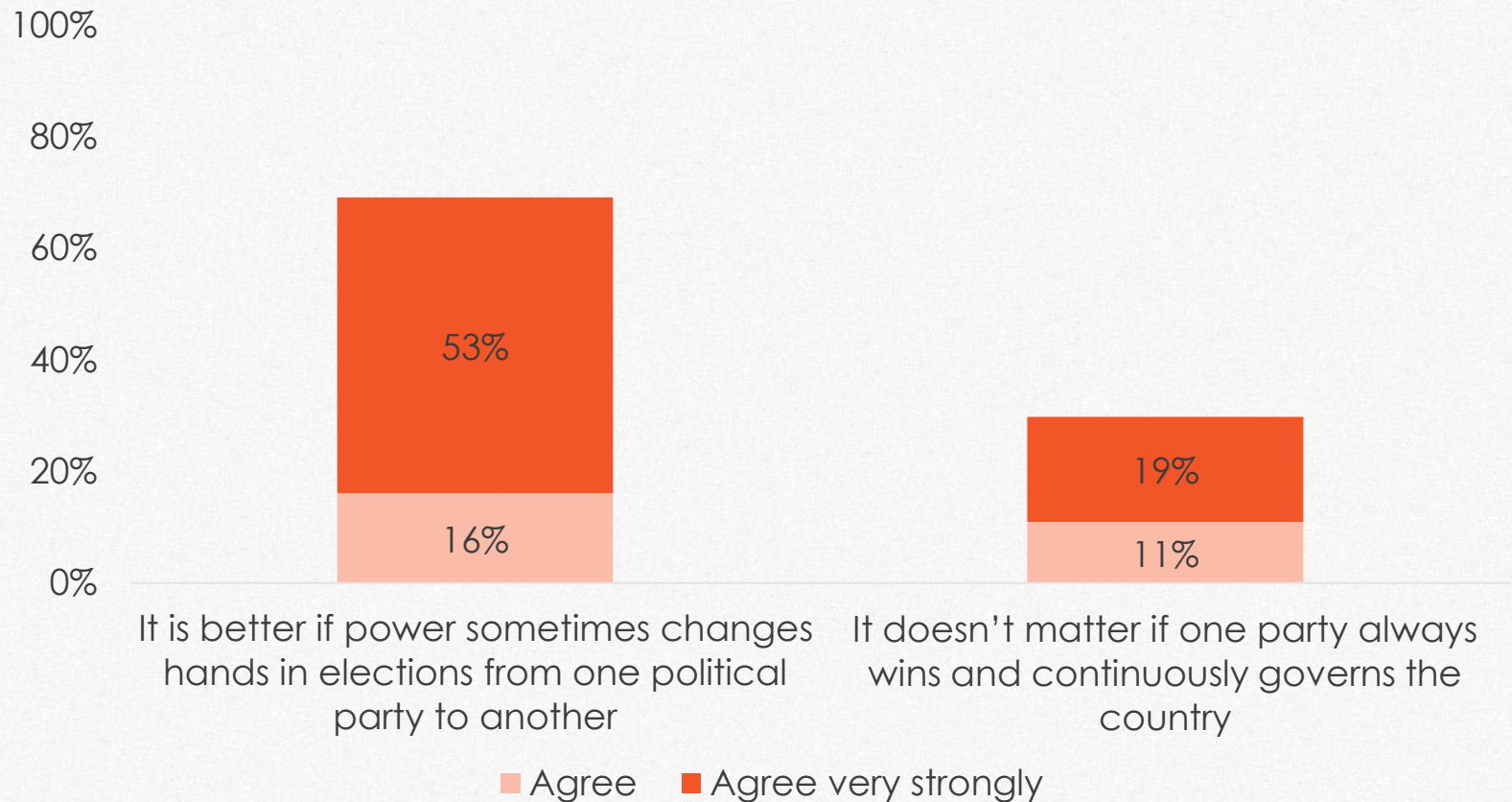
% who “agree” or “strongly agree” that we should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open, and honest elections.

% who “agree” or “strongly agree” that it is more important for citizens to be able to hold government accountable, even if that means it makes decisions more slowly.

% who “agree” or “agree very strongly” that the Constitution should limit the president to serving a maximum of two terms in office.

% who “agree” or “agree very strongly” that many political parties are needed to make sure that [citizens] have real choices in who governs them.

# Support for political party turnover | Ghana | 2022

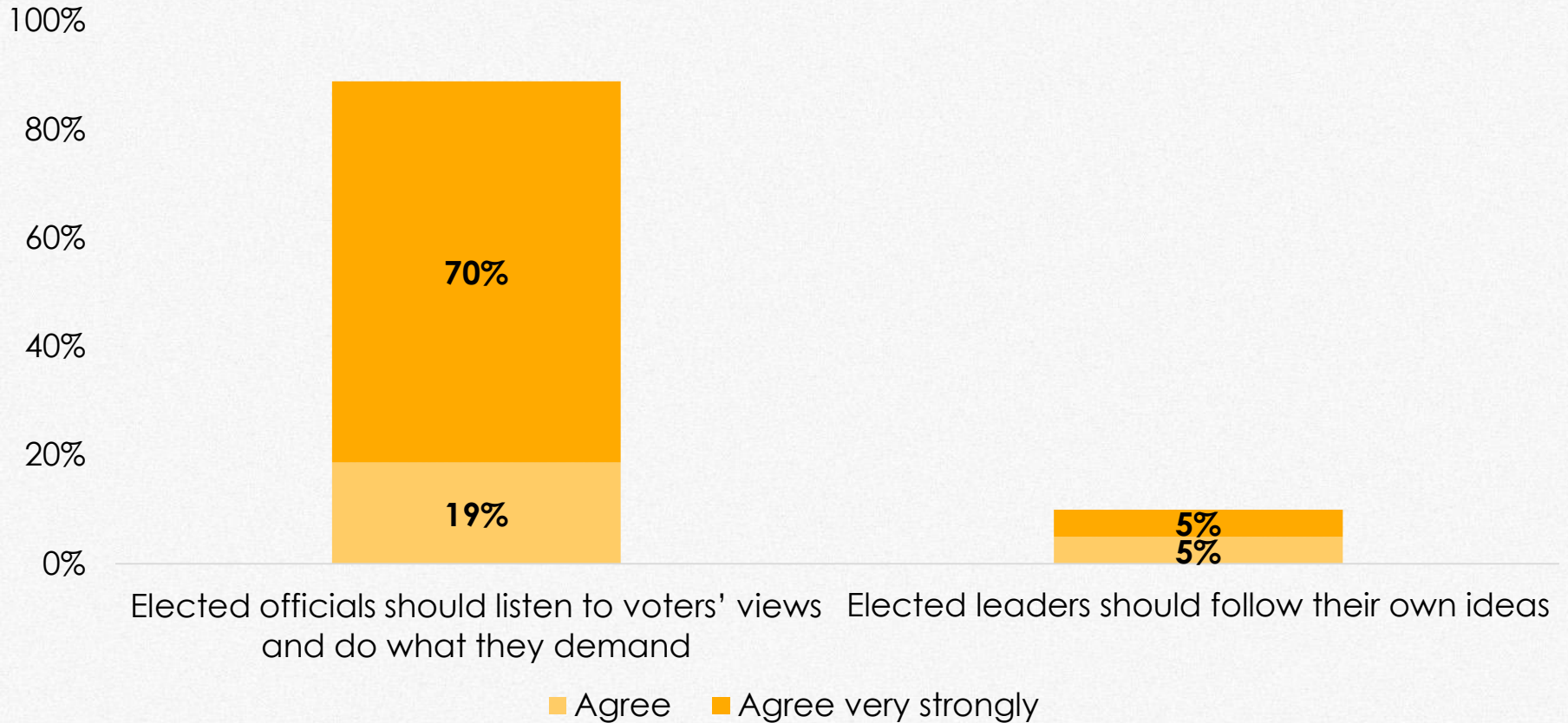


**Respondents were asked:** Which of the following statements is closest to your view?

Statement 1: In a democracy, it is better if power sometimes changes hands in elections from one political party to another. Statement 2: In a democracy, as long as a government is elected by the people in a free and fair election, it doesn't matter.

# Demand for representation of elected officials

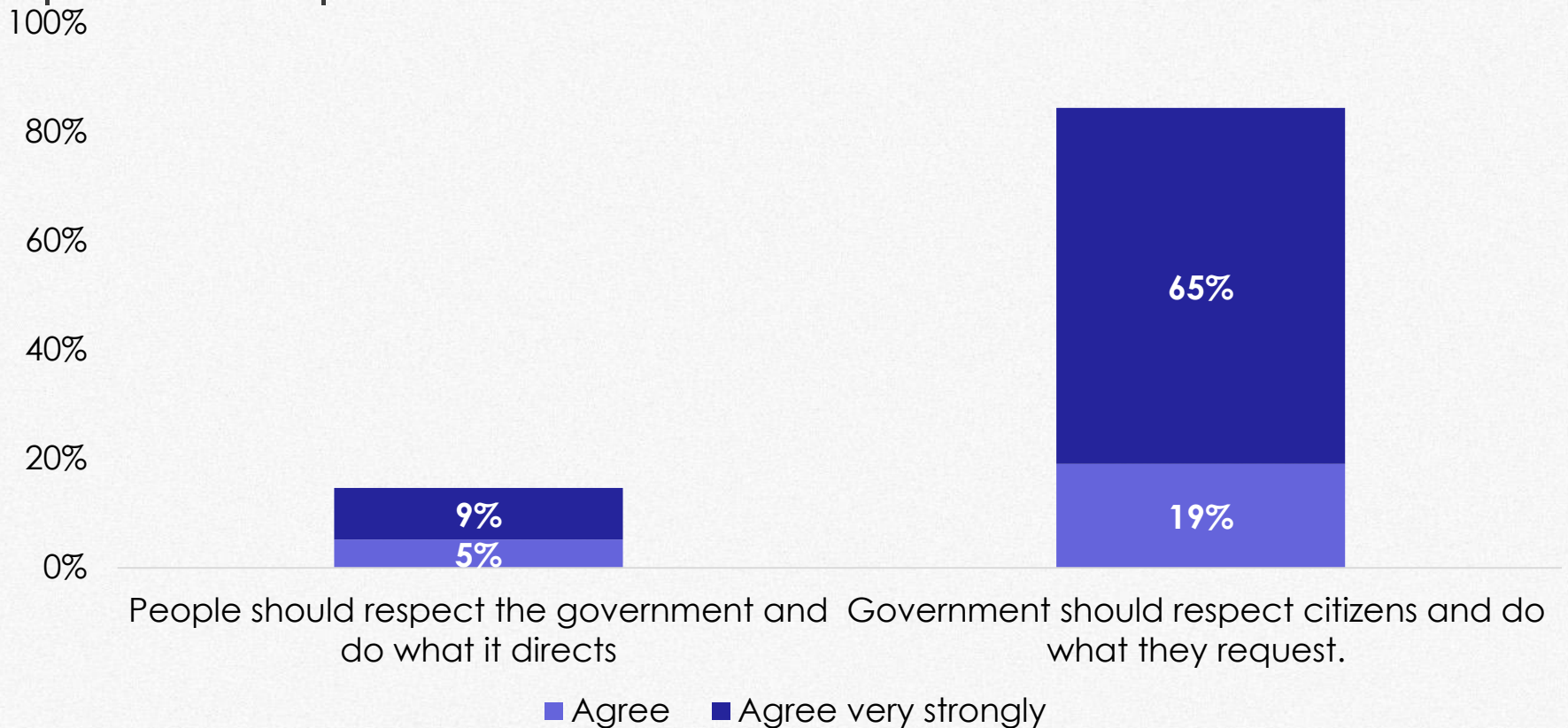
## | Ghana | 2022



**Respondents were asked:** Which of the following statements is closest to your view?  
Statement 1: Our elected officials should listen to voters' views and do what they demand.  
Statement 2: Our elected leaders should follow their own ideas in deciding what is best for the country.

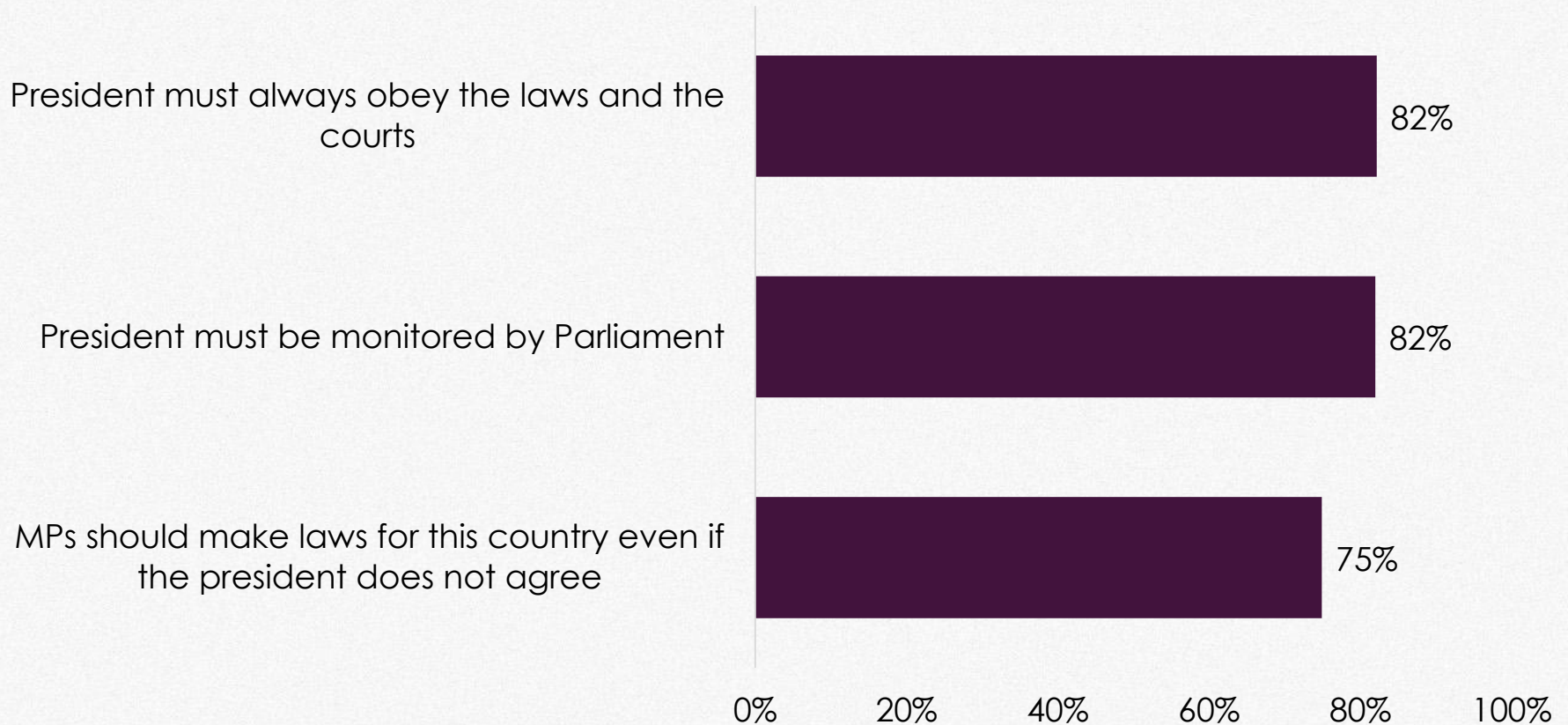
# Is government the people's employee or boss?

| Ghana | 2022



**Respondents were asked:** Which of the following statements is closest to your view?  
Statement 1: The government is like the people's boss. People should respect the government and do what it directs.  
Statement 2: The government is like the people's employee. It should respect citizens and do what they request.

# Support for oversight of the president | Ghana | 2022

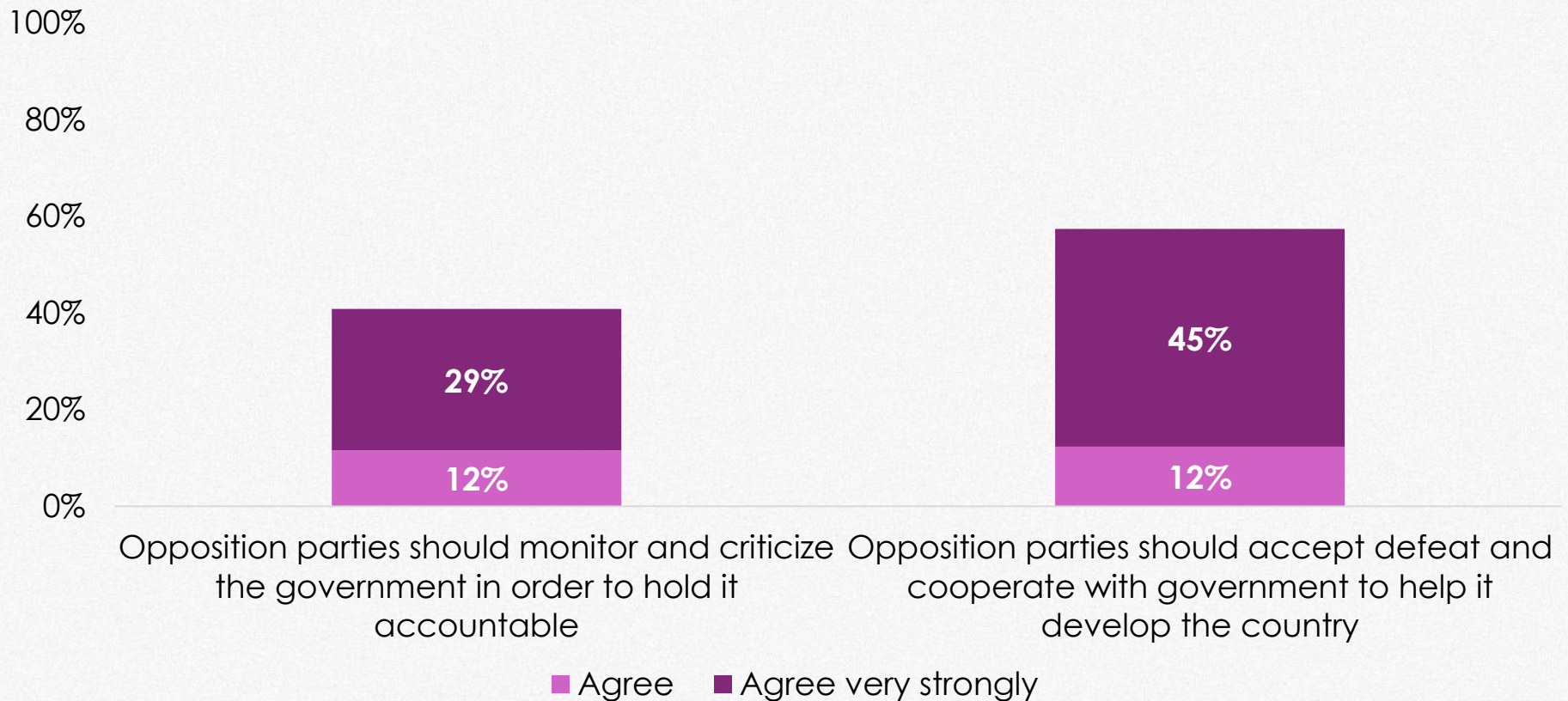


*% who “agree” or “agree very strongly” that the president must always obey the laws and the courts, even if he thinks they are wrong.*

*% who “agree” or “agree very strongly” that Parliament should ensure that the president explains to it on a regular basis how his government spends taxpayers’ money.*

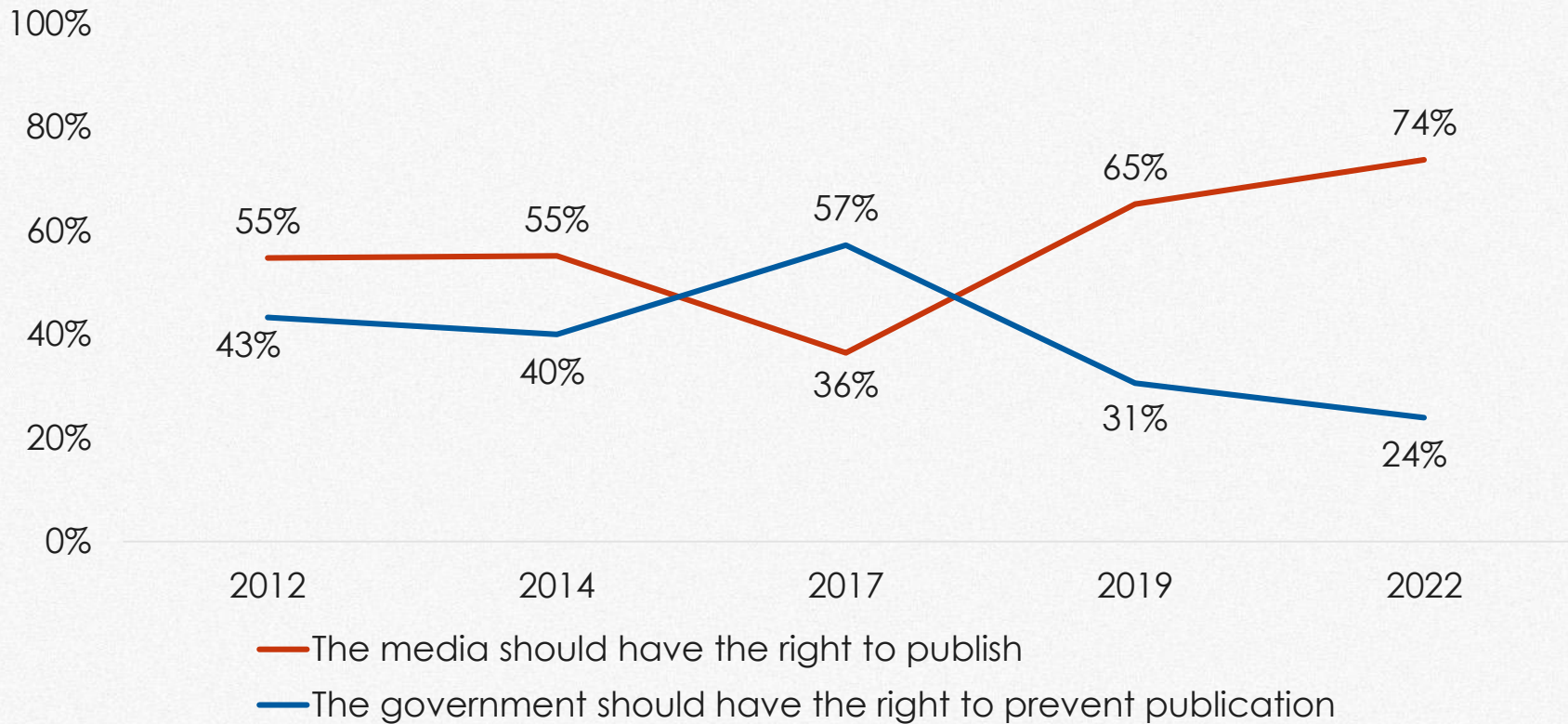
*% who “agree” or “agree very strongly” that Members of Parliament should make laws for this country, even if the president does not agree.*

# Should opposition parties hold government accountable or cooperate with it? | Ghana | 2022



**Respondents were asked:** Which of the following statements is closest to your view?  
Statement 1: After losing an election, opposition parties should monitor and criticize the government in order to hold it accountable.  
Statement 2: Once an election is over, opposition parties and politicians should accept defeat and cooperate with government to help it develop the country.

# Support for media freedom | Ghana | 2012-2022



**Respondents were asked:** Which of the following statements is closest to your view?

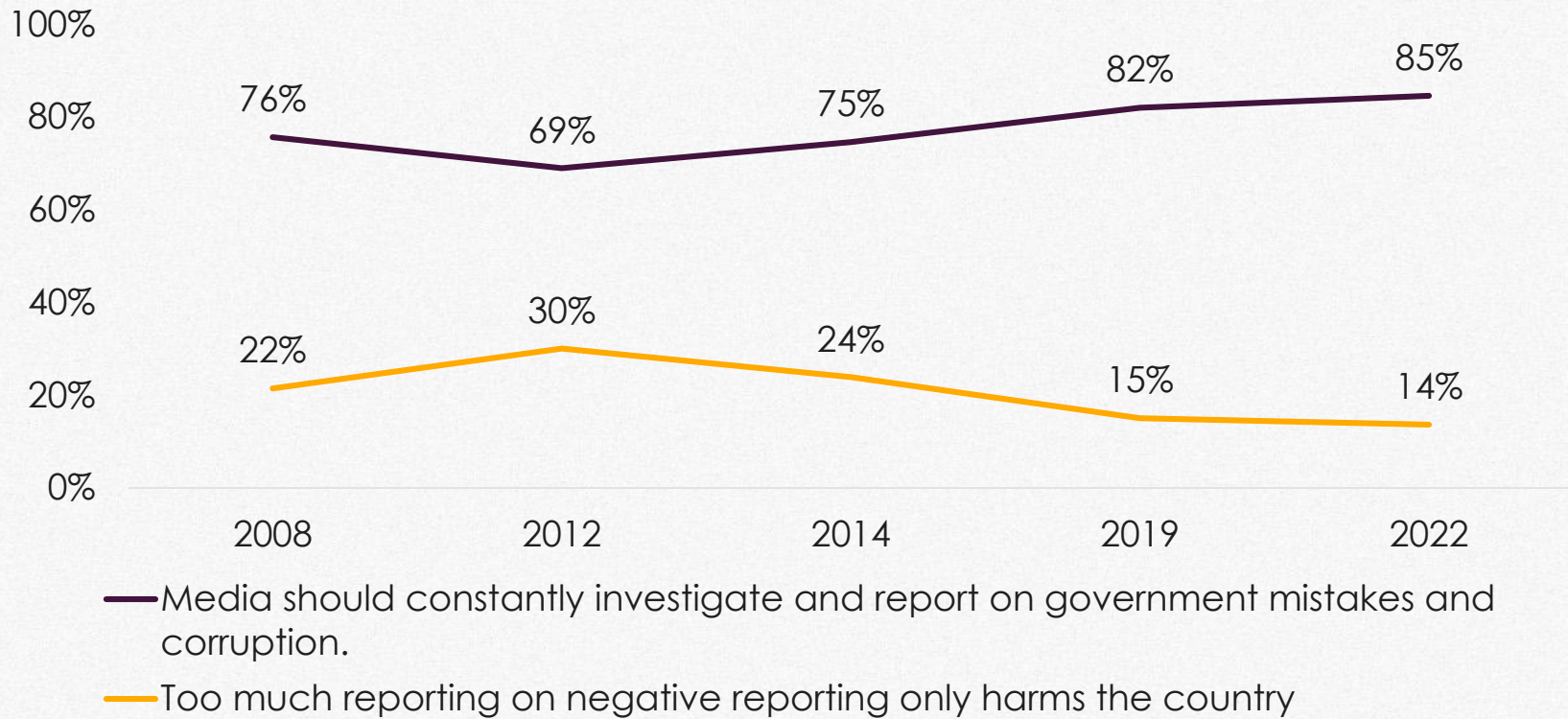
Statement 1: The media should have the right to publish any views and ideas without government control.

Statement 2: The government should have the right to prevent the media from publishing things that it disapproves of.

(% who "agree" or "strongly agree" with each statement)



# Support for the media's role as watchdog | Ghana | 2008-2022



**Respondents were asked:** Which of the following statements is closest to your views?

Statement 1: The news media should constantly investigate and report on government mistakes and corruption.

Statement 2: Too much reporting on negative events, like government mistakes and corruption, only harms the country.

(% who "agree" or "strongly agree" with each statement)

# Key findings

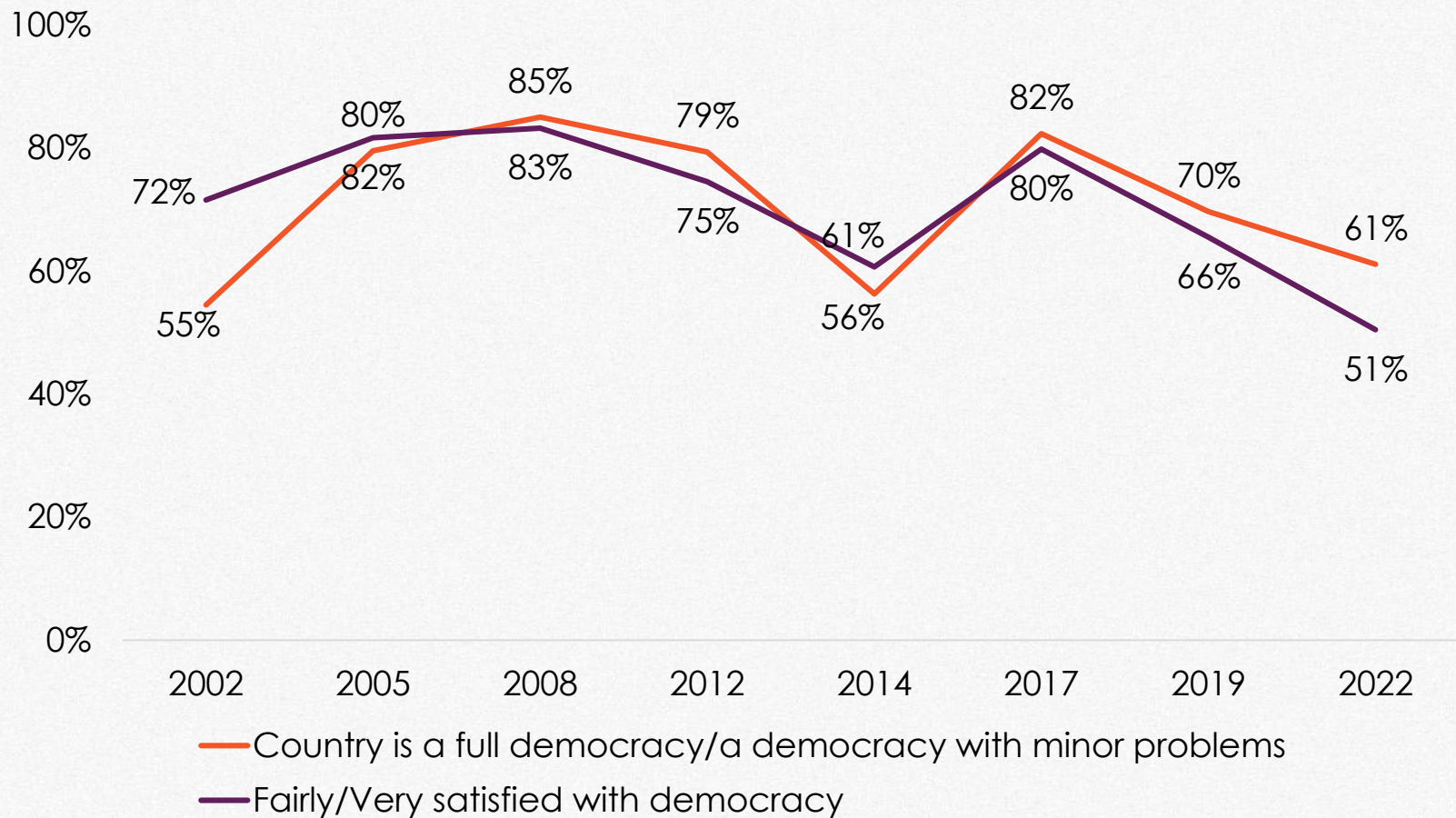


- By large majorities, Ghanaians support democracy and reject authoritarian alternatives.
- Similarly, support for democratic norms and institutions (accountable governance, honest elections, presidential term limits, and multiparty competition) has remained steady and high over the past two decades.
- Seven in 10 Ghanaians (69%) say it is better for power to sometimes change hands from one political party to another.
- A significant majority (84%) of Ghanaians believe the government is employed by the people and should respect citizens and what they demand. This includes 70% who “agree very strongly” with this view.
- Similar majorities also endorse judiciary and parliamentary oversight of government.

# Perceived supply of democratic governance

# Extent of and satisfaction with democracy | Ghana

## | 2002-2022

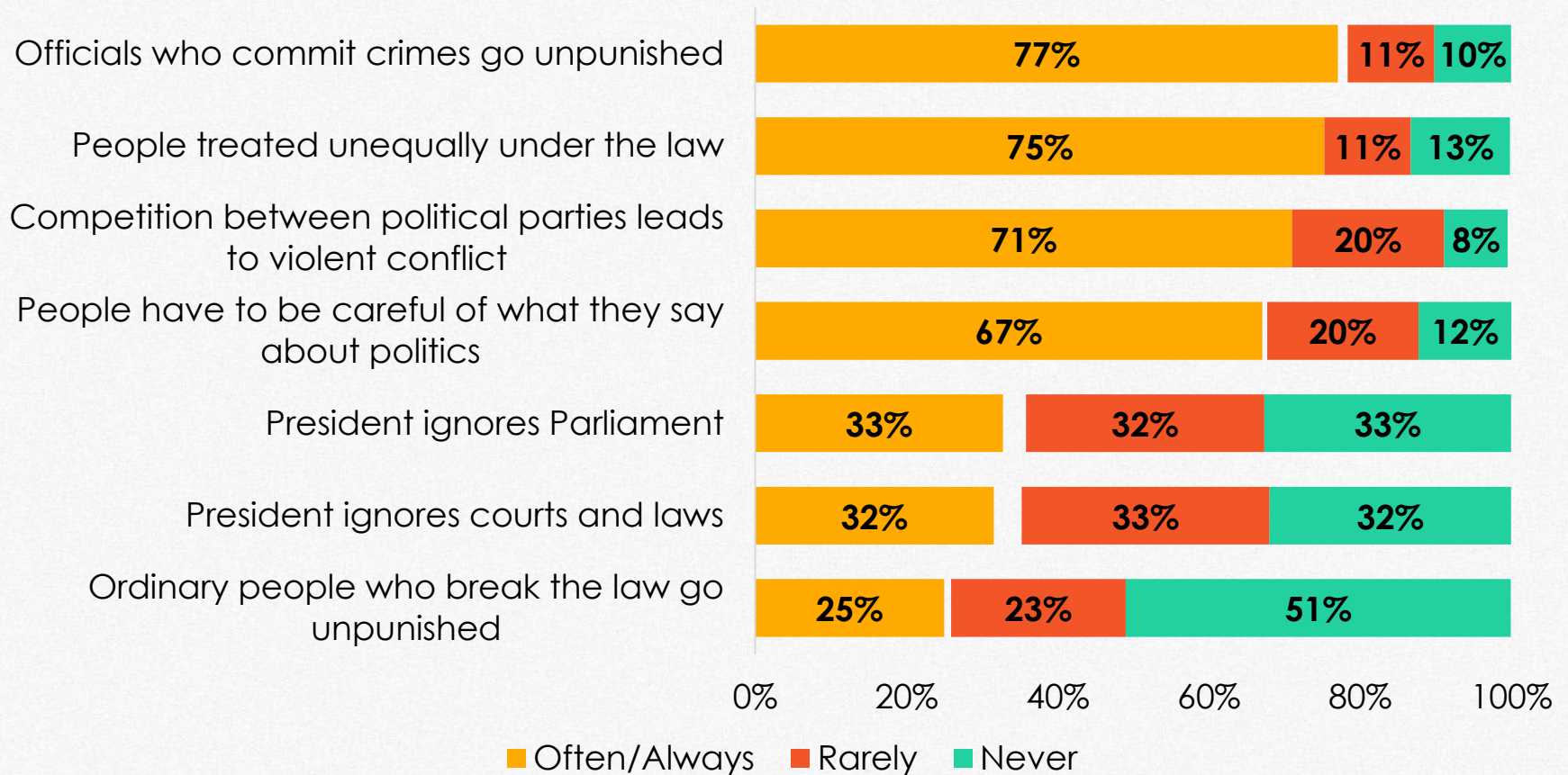


### Respondents were asked:

*In your opinion, how much of a democracy is Ghana today?*

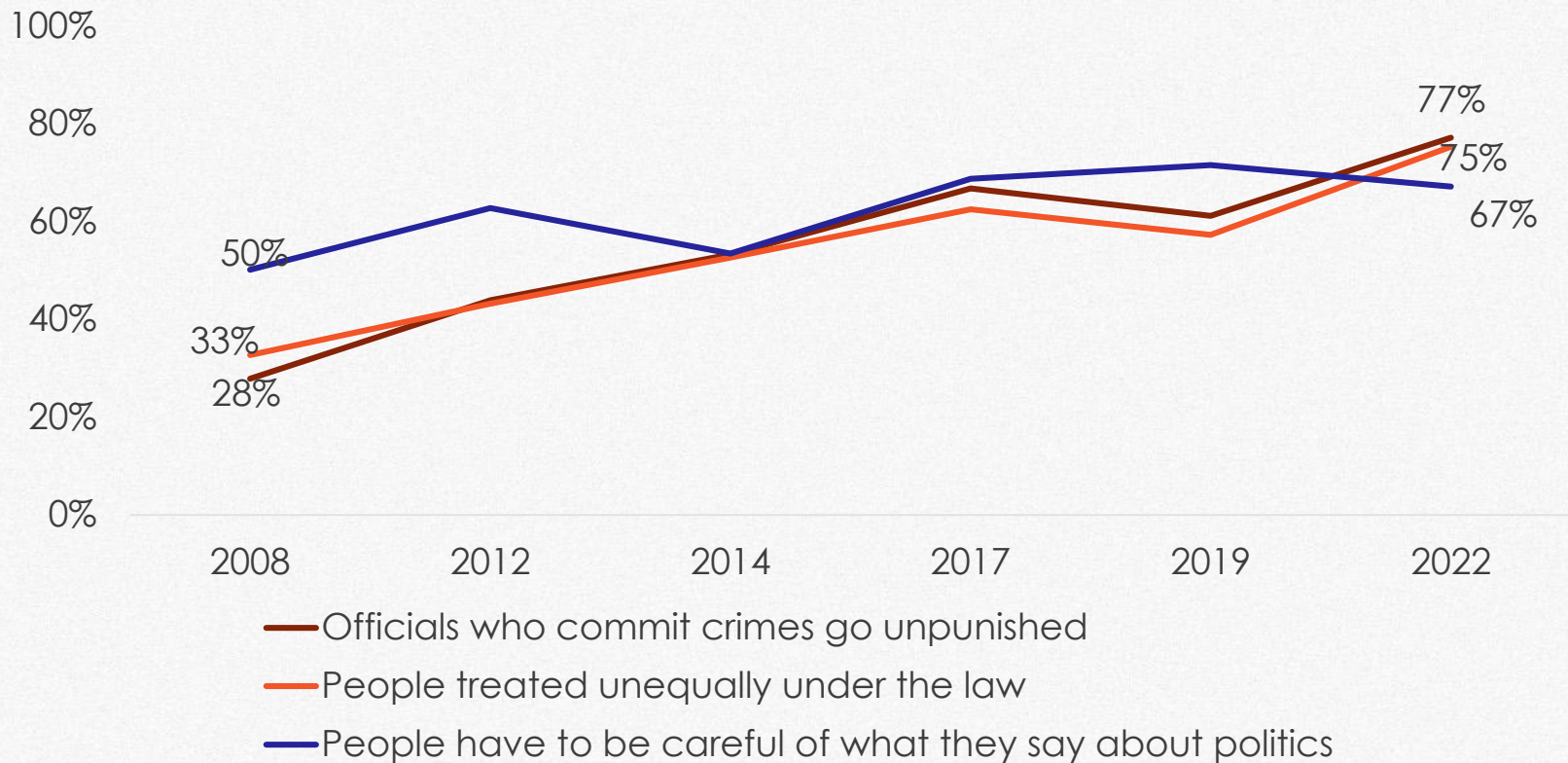
*Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Ghana?*

# Official impunity, unequal treatment, and self-censorship | Ghana | 2022



**Respondents were asked:** In your opinion, how often, in this country: Does competition between political parties lead to violent conflict? Does the president ignore the courts and laws of this country? Does the president ignore Parliament and just do what he wants? Do people have to be careful of what they say about politics? Are people treated unequally under the law? Do officials who commit crimes go unpunished? Do ordinary people who break the law go unpunished?

# Official impunity, unequal treatment, and self-censorship | Ghana | 2008-2022



**Respondents were asked:** *In your opinion, how often, in this country:*

*Do people have to be careful of what they say about politics?*

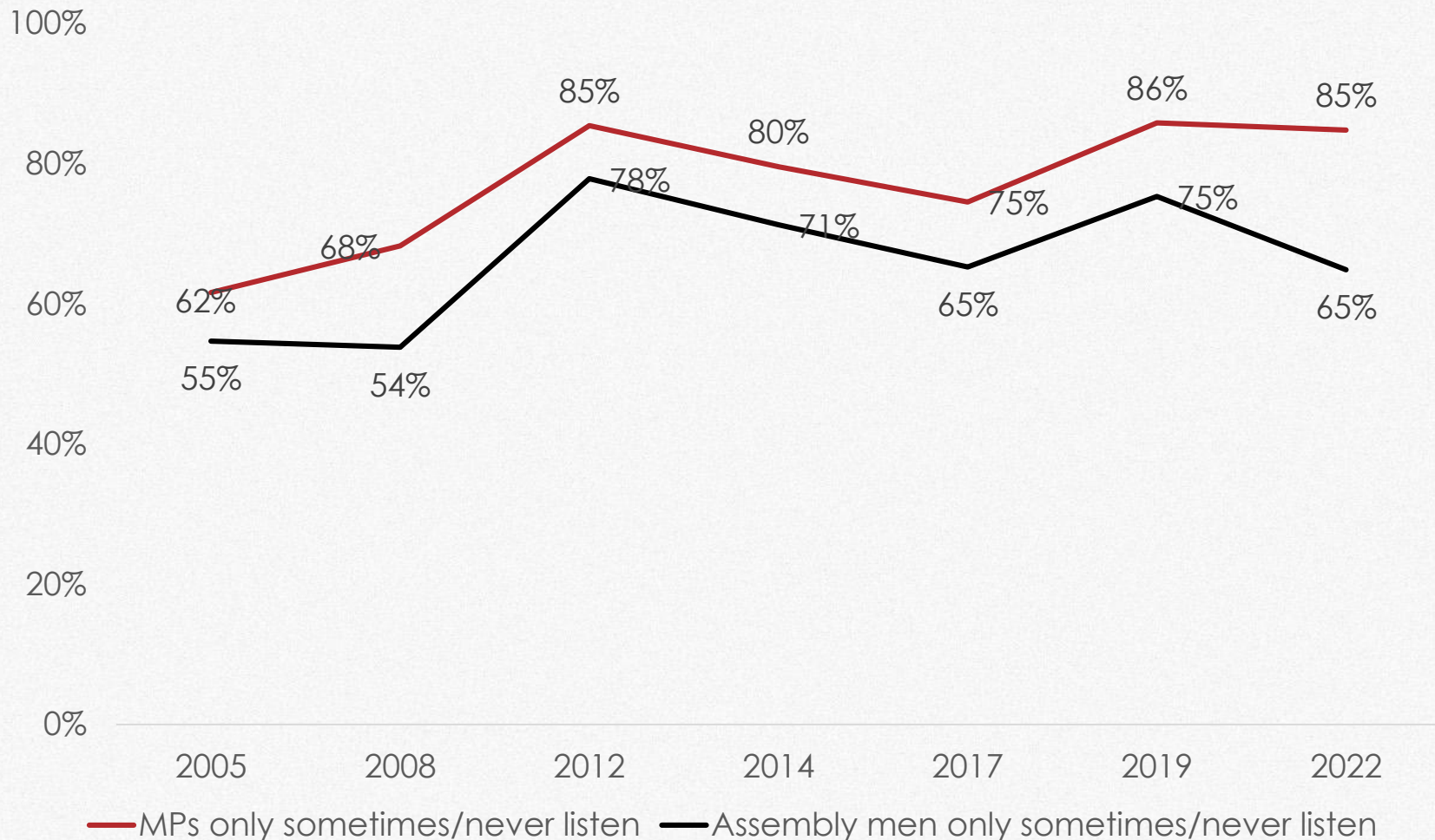
*Are people treated unequally under the law?*

*Do officials who commit crimes go unpunished?*

*(% who say "often" or "always")*

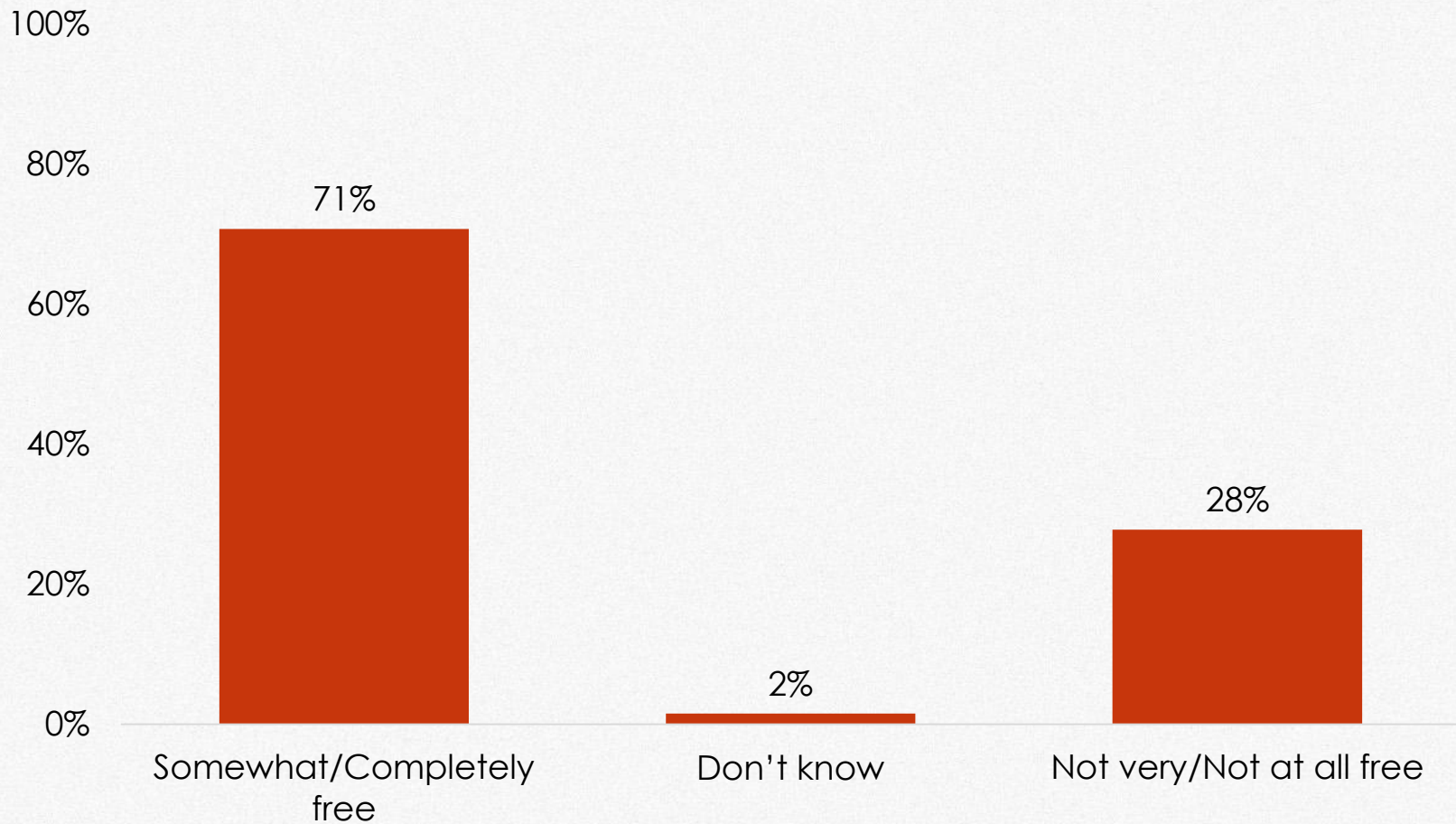
# MPs and assembly men only sometimes/never listen

## | Ghana | 2005-2022



**Respondents were asked:** How much of the time do you think the following try their best to listen to what people like you have to say? (% who say “only sometimes” or “never”)

# Level of media freedom | Ghana | 2022

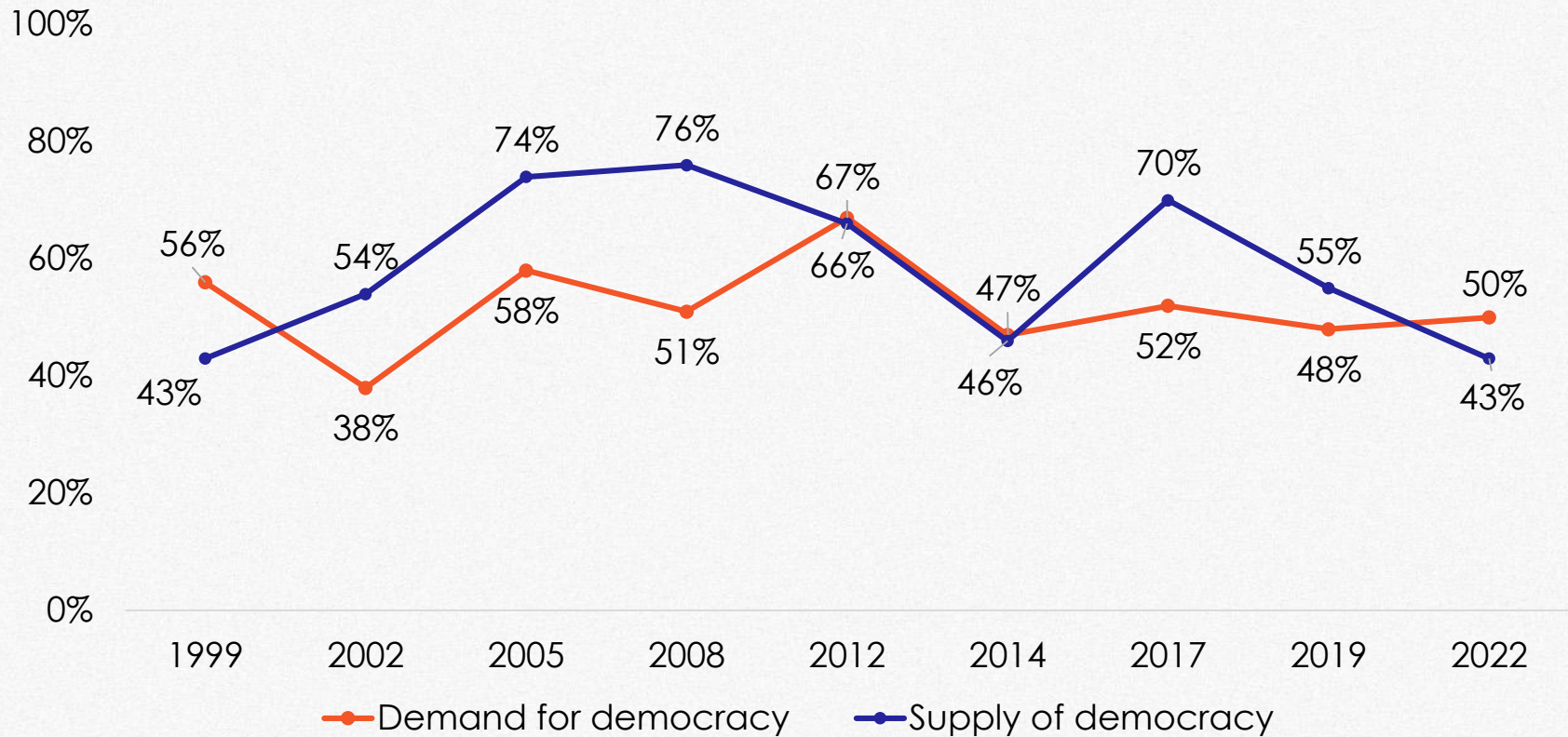


**Respondents were asked:** *In your opinion, how free is the news media in this country to report and comment on the news without censorship or interference by the government?*



# Demand for vs. supply of democracy | Ghana

## | 1999-2022



**Demand for democracy:** % of respondent who both prefer democracy and reject one-party rule, military rule, and one-man rule

**Supply of democracy:** % of respondents who both consider Ghana “a full democracy” or “a democracy with minor problems” and say they are “fairly satisfied” or “very satisfied” with the way democracy works in Ghana

# Key findings

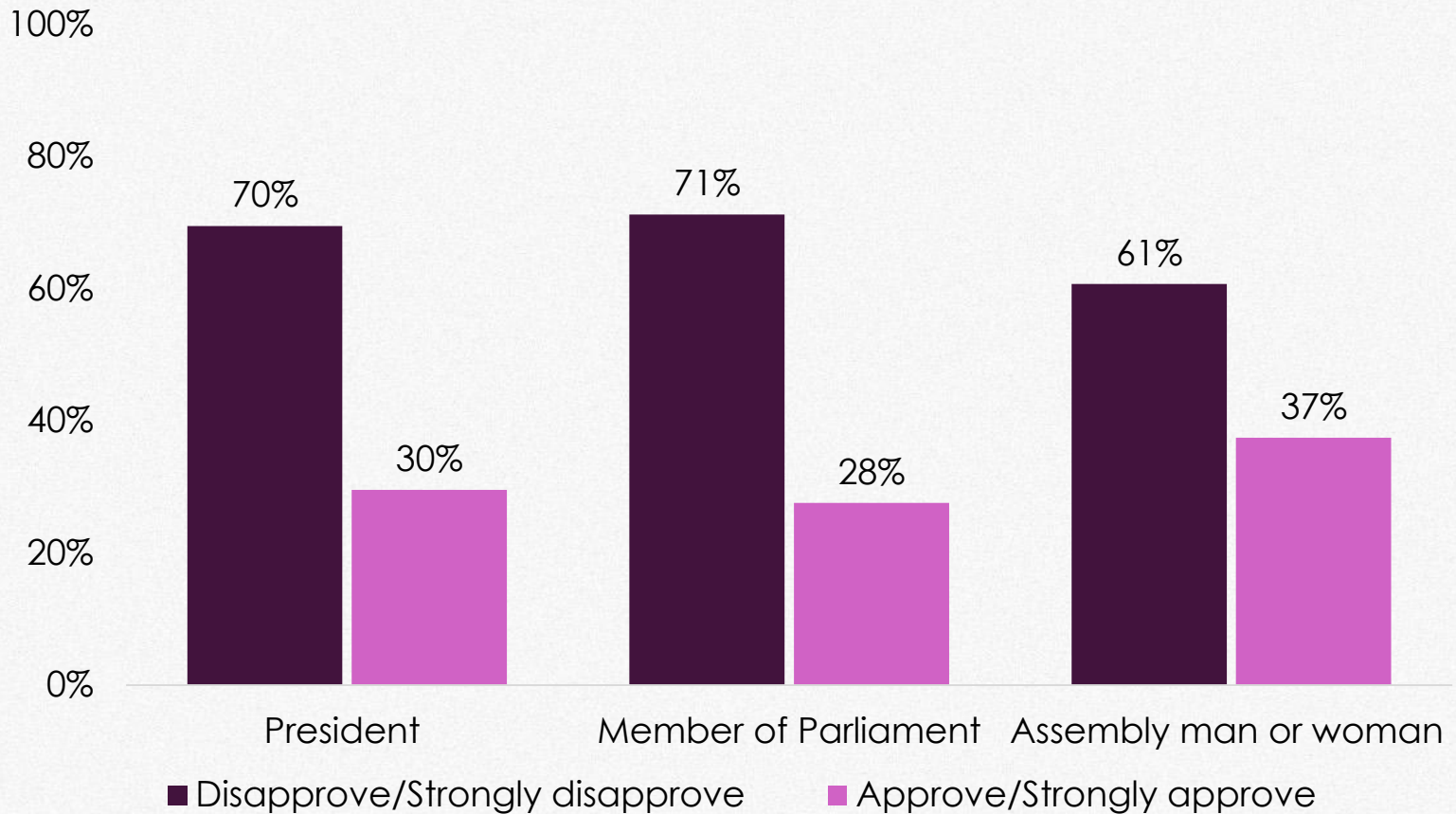


- While the demand for democracy and the perceived supply of democracy in Ghana have fluctuated over the years, satisfaction with the country's democracy has been on a downward trajectory since 2017.
- Assessments of Ghana as “a full democracy” or “a democracy with minor problems” have declined by 21 percentage points since 2017, while satisfaction with how democracy works has decreased by 29 points.
- Large majorities say that people have to be careful about what they say about politics and that political party competition often/always leads to violent conflicts, that people are treated unequally under the law, and that officials who commit crimes often/always go unpunished.
- Most Ghanaians say their assembly members and MPs “never” or “only sometimes” listen to what people have to say.

# Performance of elected leaders



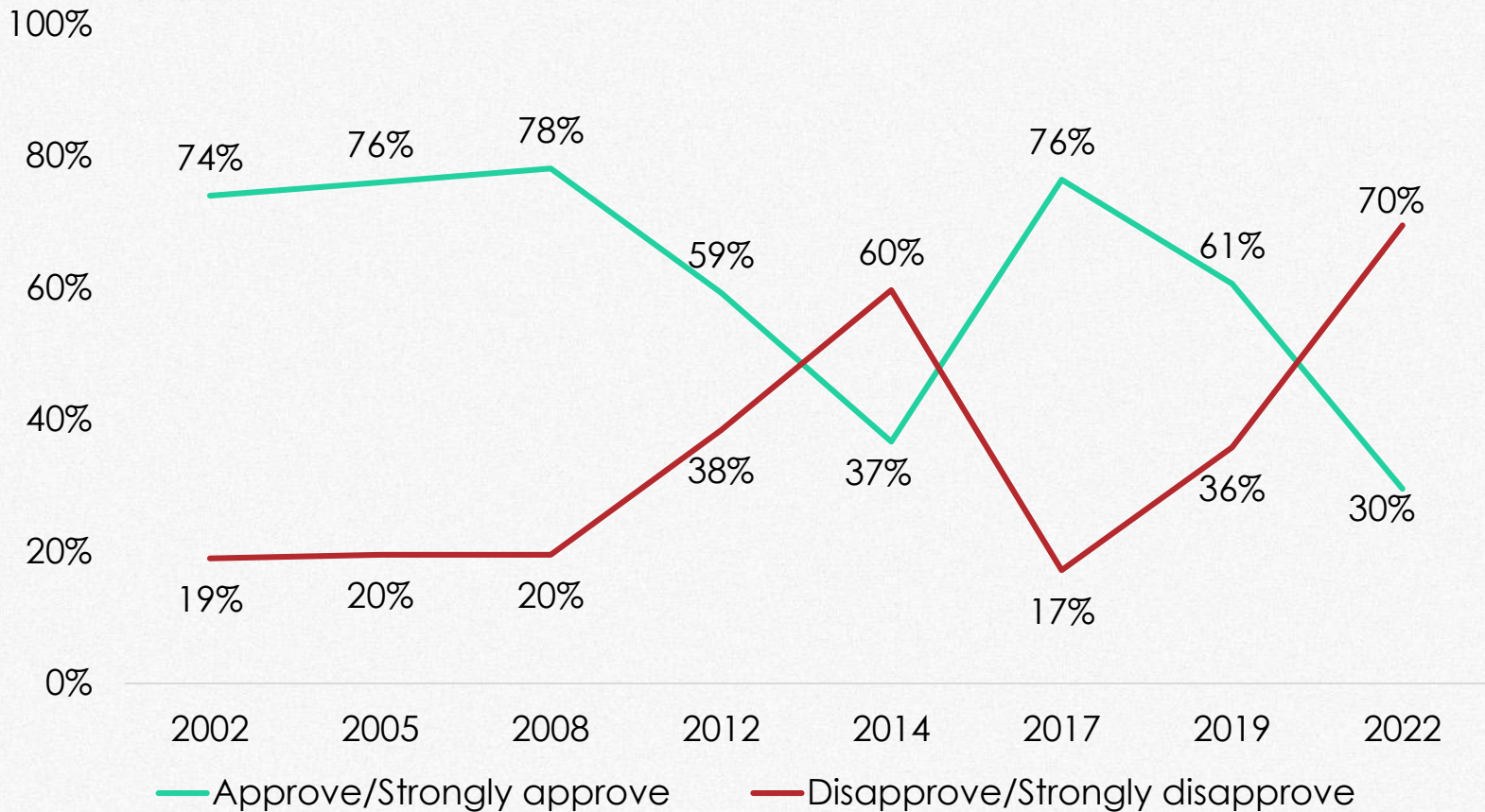
# Rating leaders' performance | Ghana | 2022



**Respondents were asked:** Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say?

# Evaluation of the president's performance

## | Ghana | 2002-2022



**Respondents were asked:** Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The president?

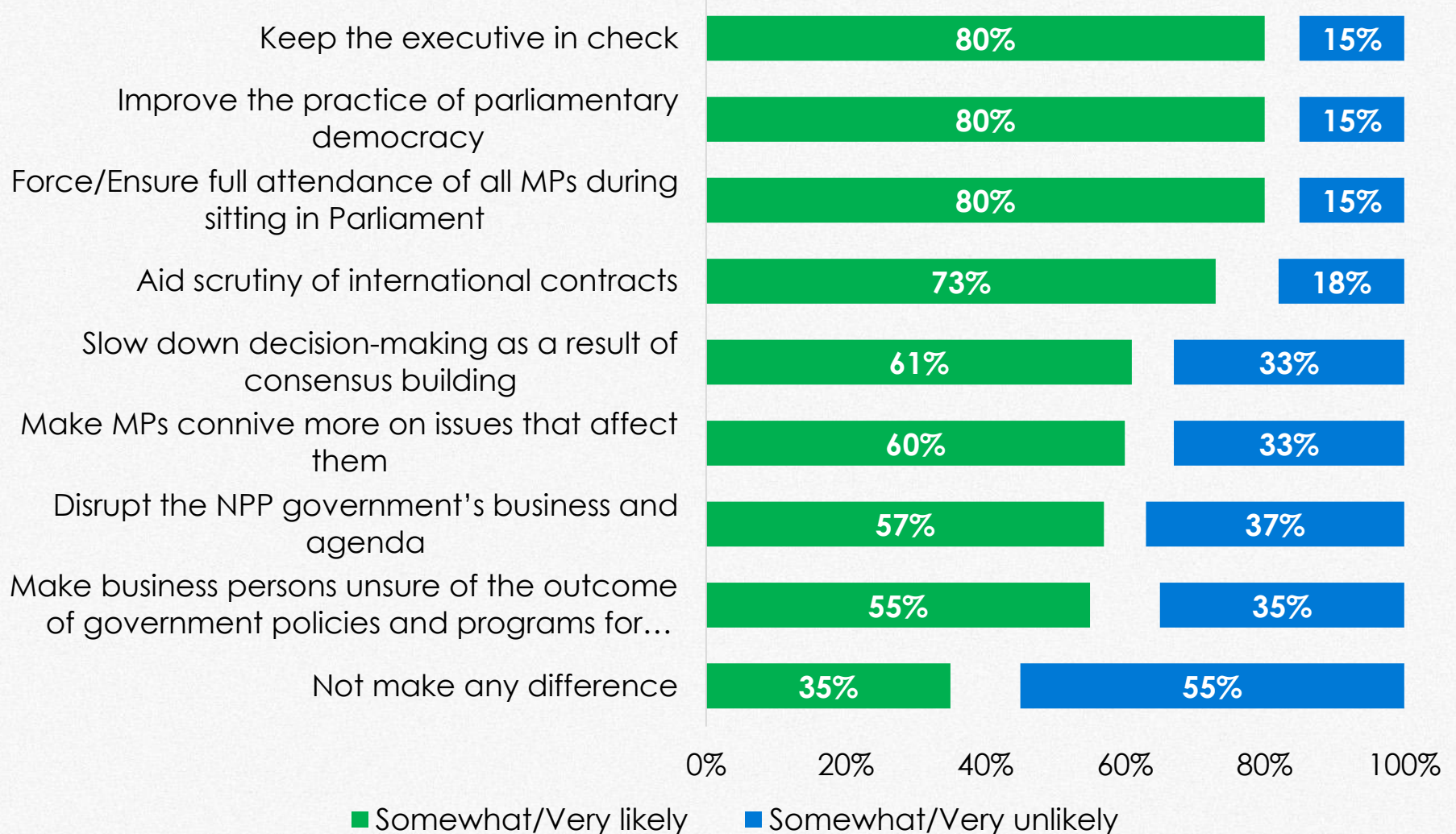
# Key findings



- Majorities of Ghanaians rate the performance of the president, their MP, and their Assembly Members as “fairly bad” or “very bad.”
- Positive ratings of the president’s performance have declined by 31 percentage points between 2019 and 2022, from 61% to 30%.

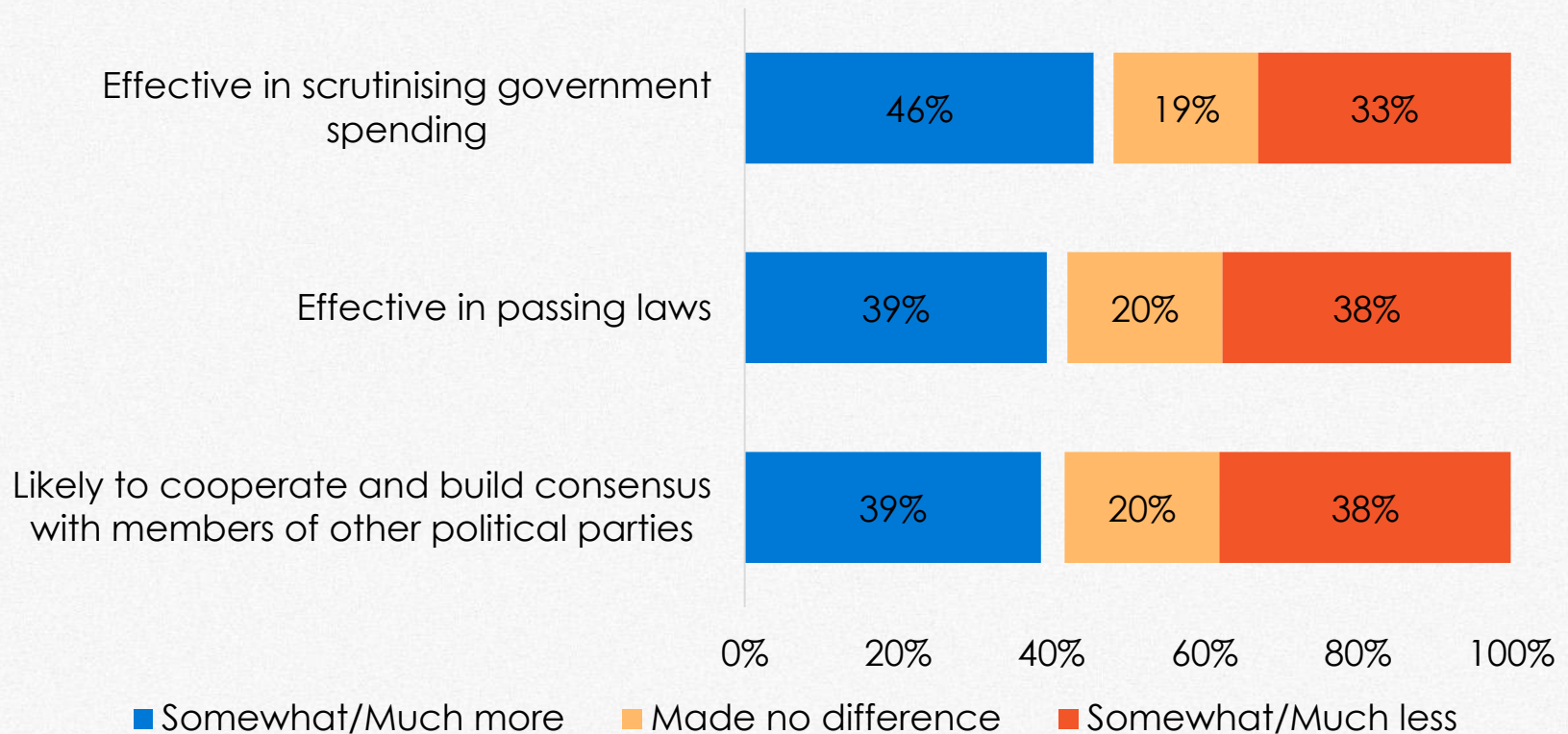
# Expectations and assessment of the 8<sup>th</sup> Parliament ('hung' Parliament)

# Expected impact of “hung” Parliament | Ghana post election survey | 2021





# Has the “hung” Parliament affected MP’s effectiveness? | Ghana | 2022



**Respondents were asked:** For each of the following, please tell me how you think the current composition of Parliament has affected how MPs work, or whether you haven't heard enough about it to say. Has the current composition of parliament made MPs:

More or less effective in passing laws?

More or less effective in scrutinising government spending?

More or less likely to cooperate and build consensus with members of other political parties?

# Key findings



- Data from the 2021 post-election survey by CDD-Ghana indicated that most Ghanaians expected the current composition of the Parliament to significantly impact some parliamentary practices/functions and the government's business/programs.
- However, the Afrobarometer 2022 survey shows that Ghanaians have mixed reviews about the impact of the current composition of Parliament.
- About half (46%) think the composition of the 8<sup>th</sup> Parliament ("hung" Parliament) has made MPs somewhat ' or ' much more' effective in scrutinizing government spending.
- But fewer think the MPs have been more effective in passing laws (39%) and are more likely to cooperate and build consensus with members of other political parties (39%).



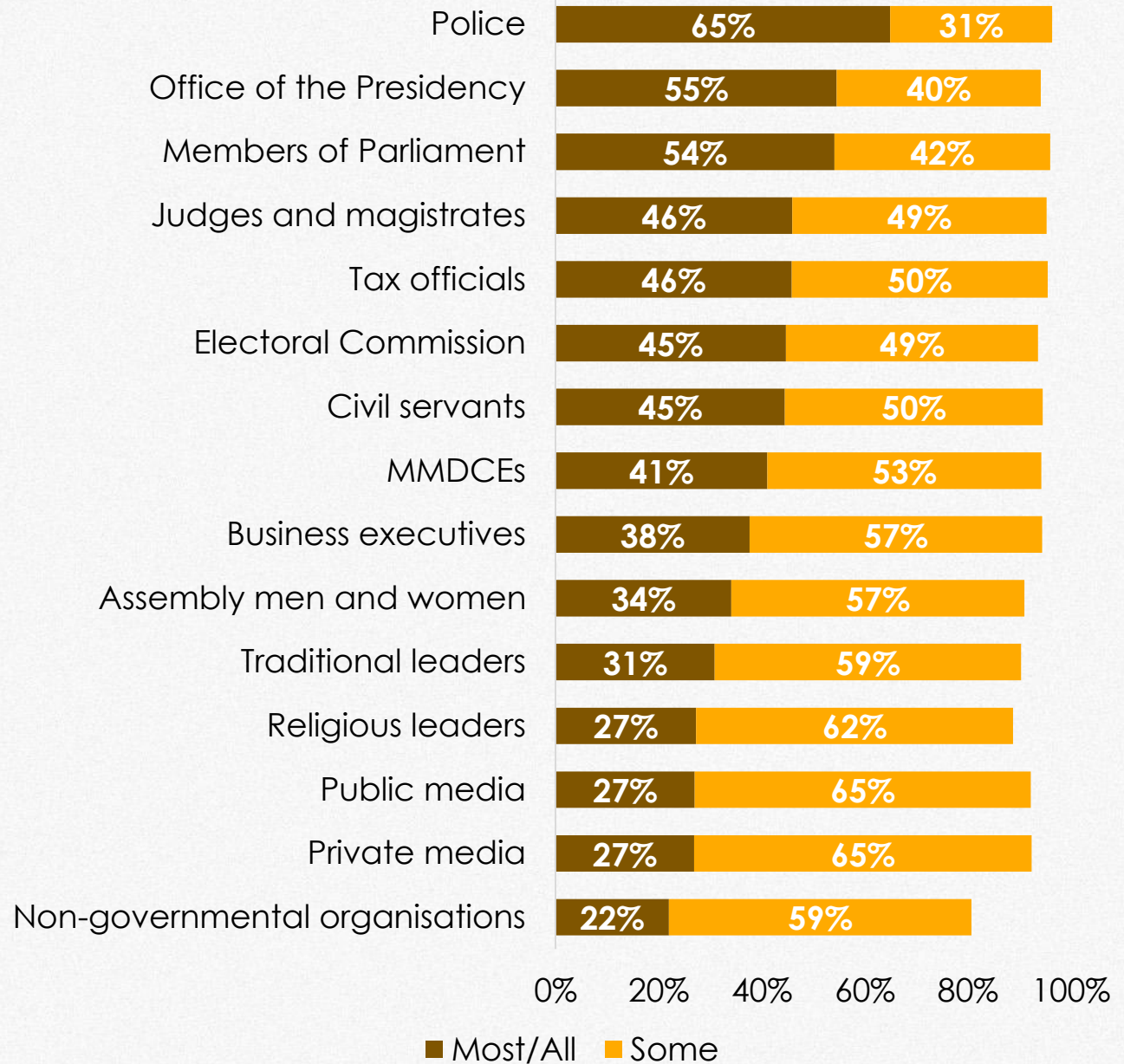
# Perceived corruption

# Who is corrupt?

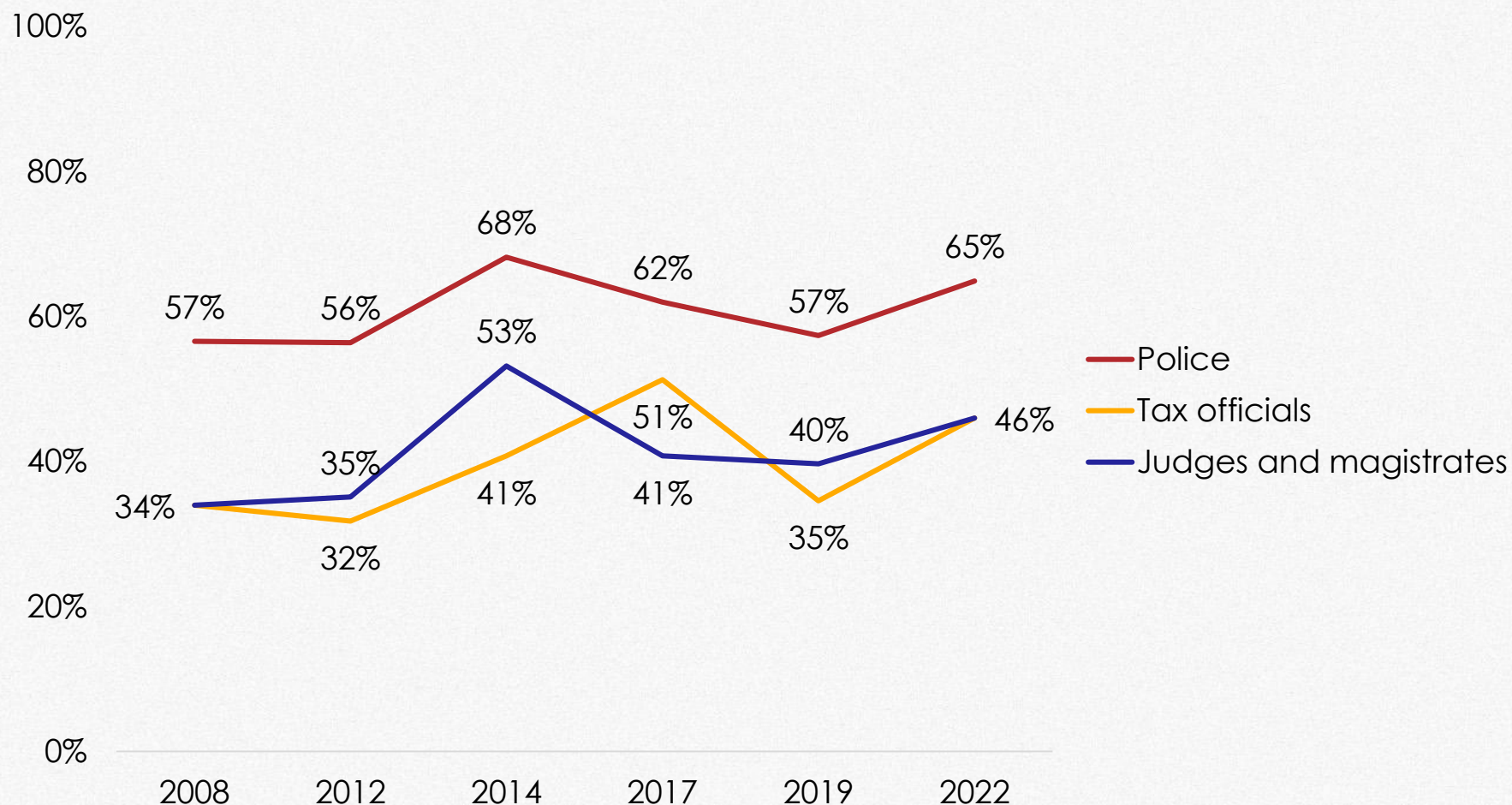
## | Ghana

## | 2022

**Respondents were asked:**  
*How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say?*

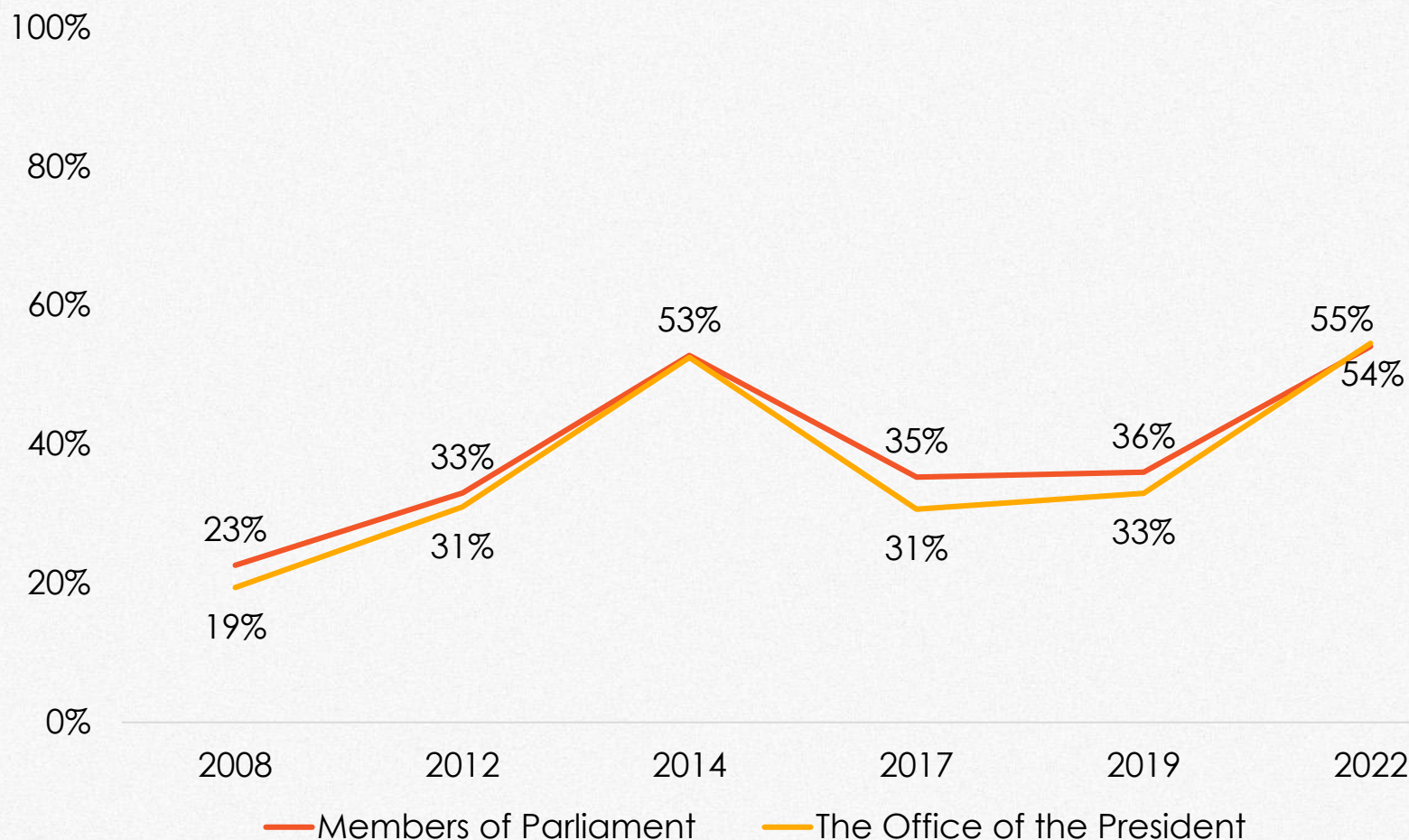


# Perceived corruption among police, judges/magistrates, and tax officials | Ghana | 2008-2022



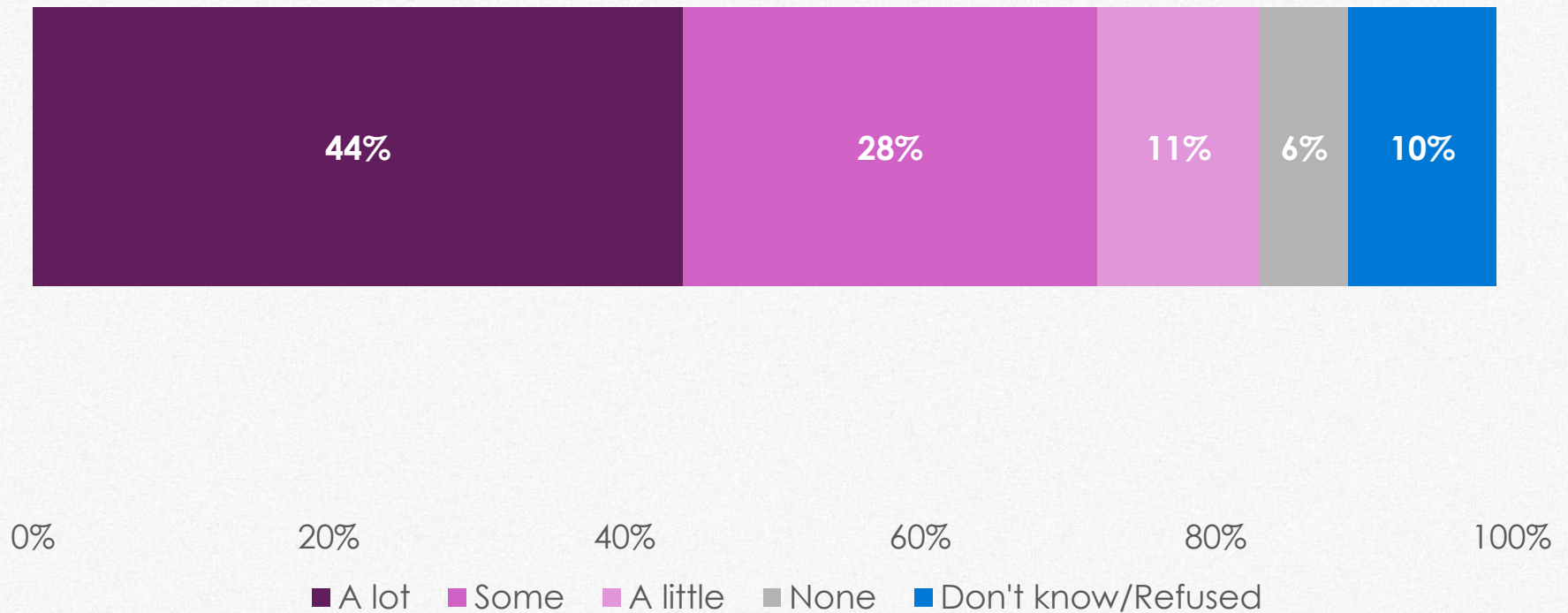
**Respondents were asked:** How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? (% who say "most" or "all")

# Perceived corruption at the presidency and among MPs | Ghana | 2008-2022



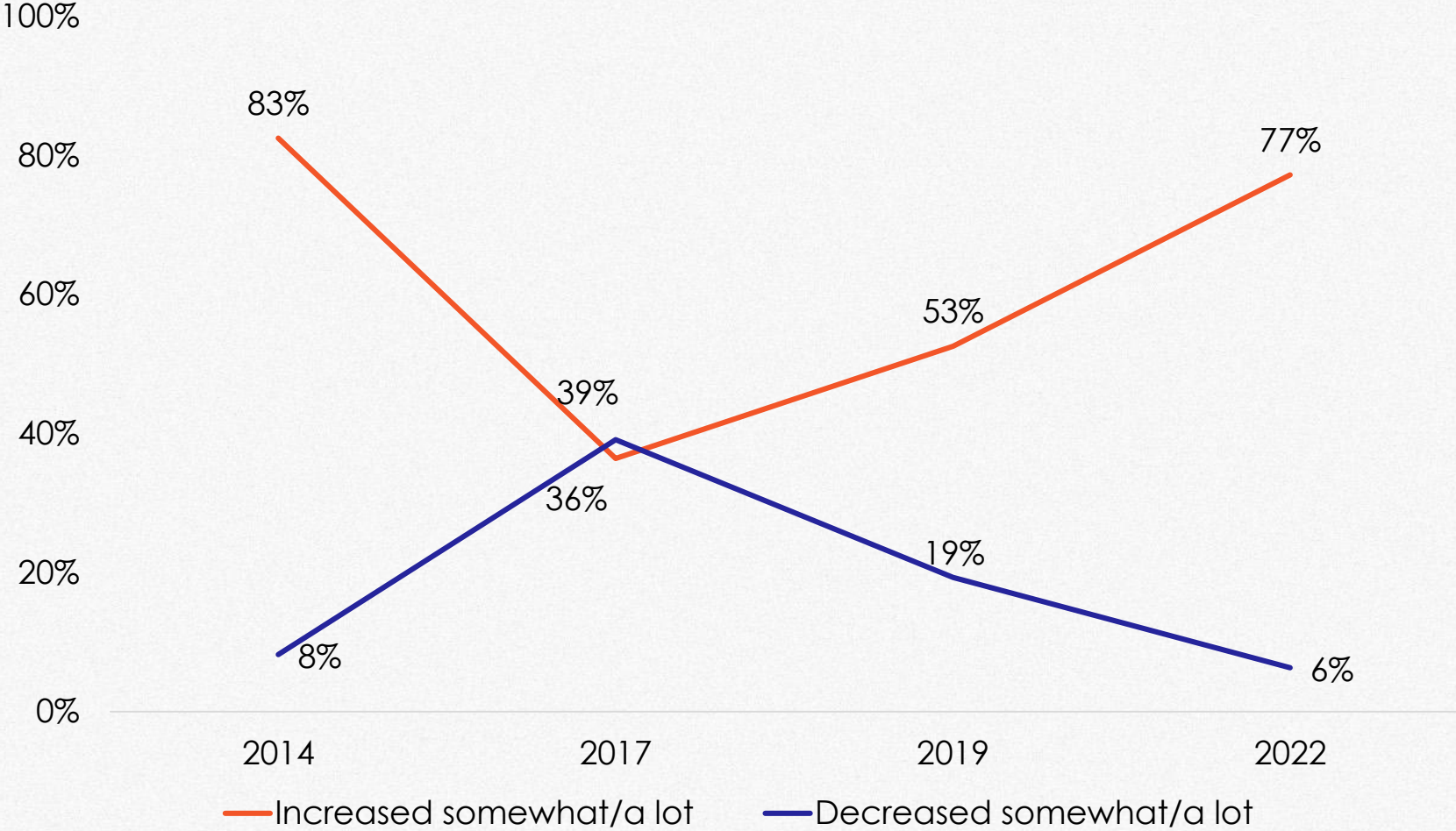
**Respondents were asked:** How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? (% who say "most" or "all")

# Pandemic-related corruption | Ghana | 2022



**Respondents were asked:** *Considering all of the funds and resources that were available to the government for combating and responding to the COVID-19 pandemic, how much do you think was lost or stolen due to corruption?*

# Level of corruption | Ghana | 2014-2022

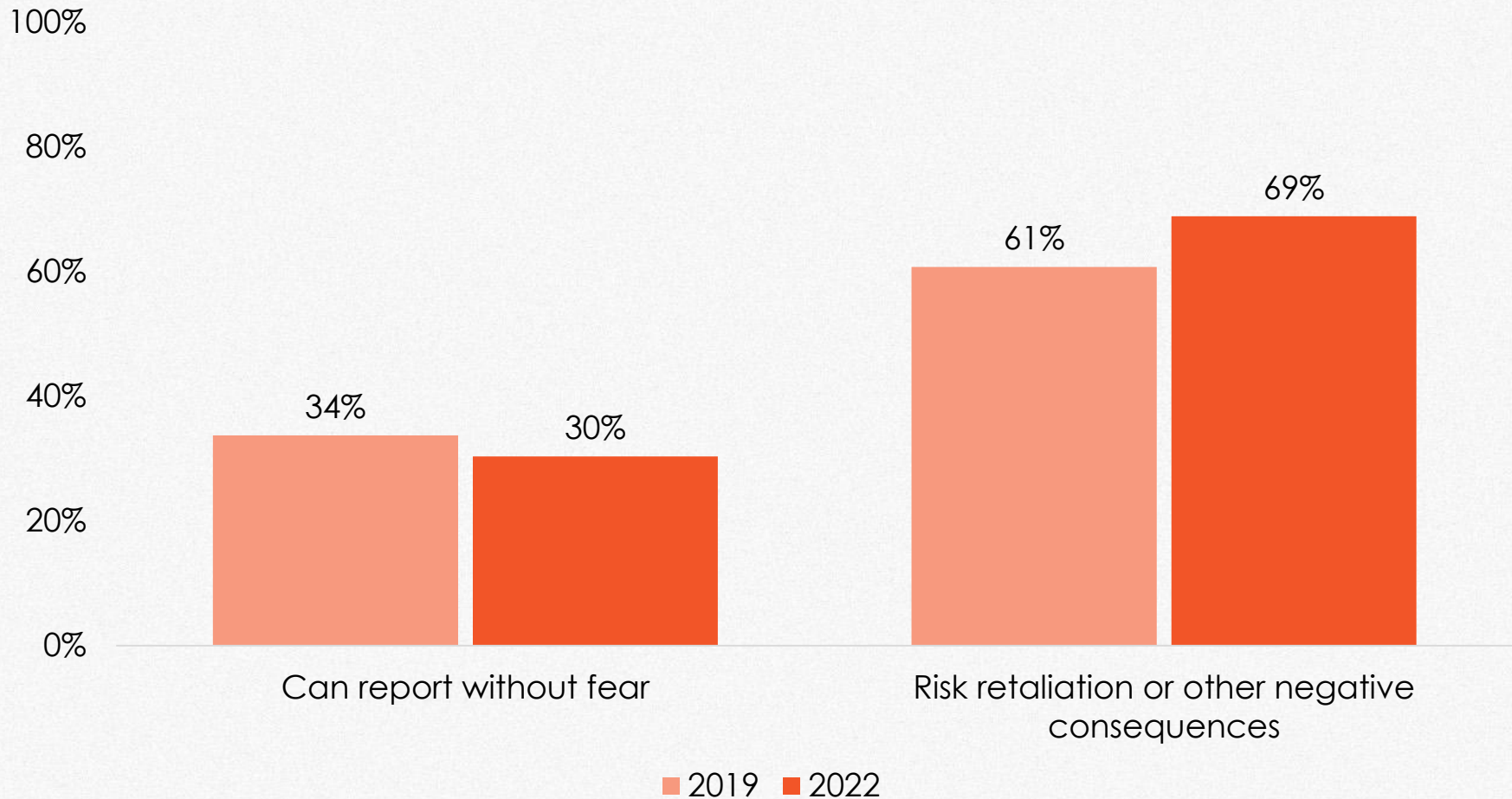


**Respondents were asked:** *In your opinion, over the past year, has the level of corruption in this country increased, decreased, or stayed the same?*



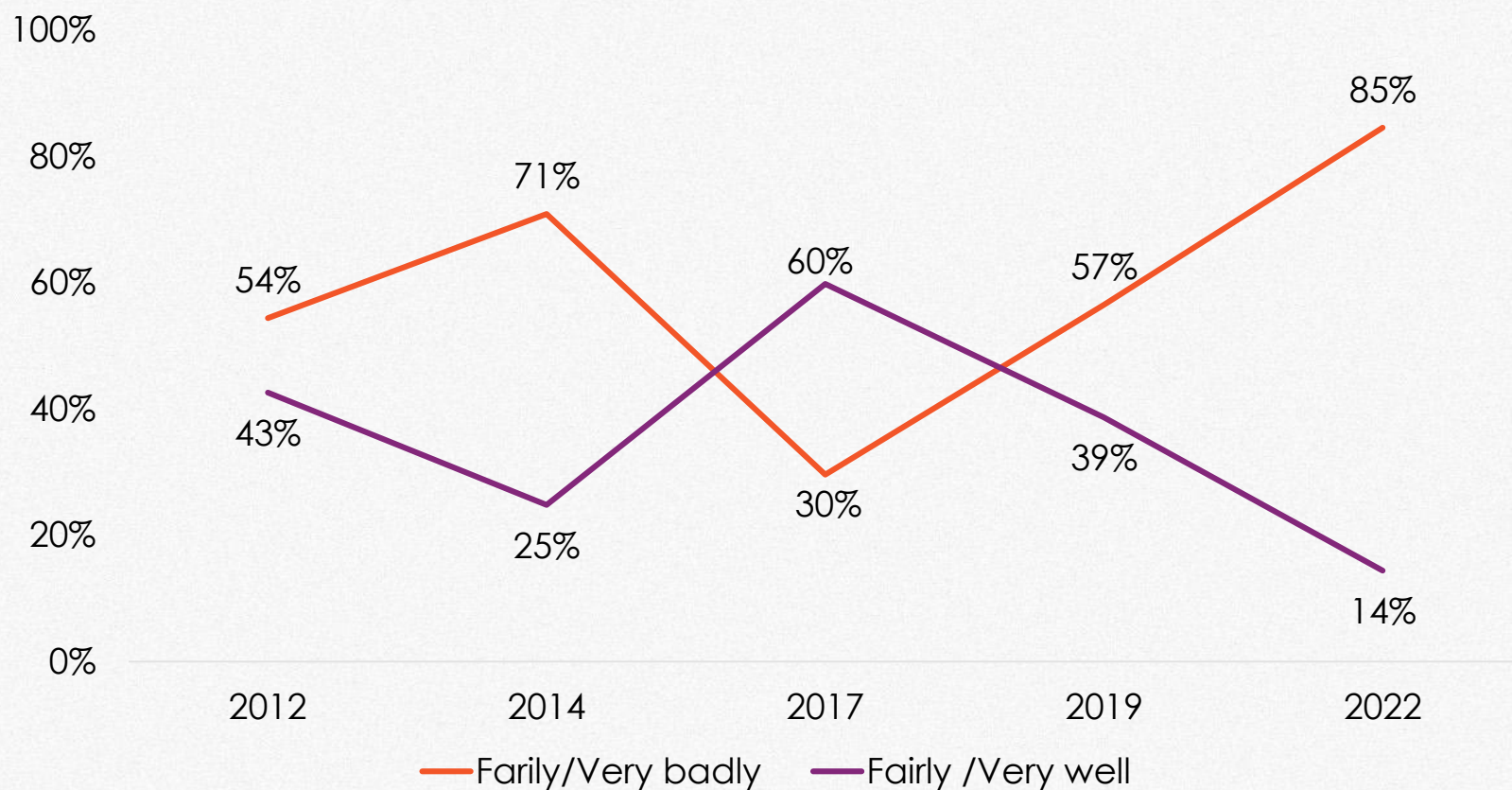
# Risk of retaliation for reporting corruption | Ghana

## | 2019-2022



**Respondents were asked:** *In this country, can ordinary people report incidents of corruption without fear, or do they risk retaliation or other negative consequences if they speak out?*

# Evaluation of government performance in fighting corruption | Ghana | 2012 -2022



**Respondents were asked:** How well or badly would you say, the current government is handling the following matters[...], or you haven't heard enough to say: Fighting corruption.

# Key findings

- Perceptions of corruption among public officials and public institutions have increased compared to 2019.
- Among key public officials, the police, the Presidency, MPs, judges and magistrates, and tax officials are most widely perceived as corrupt.
- More than three-fourths (77%) of Ghanaians say the level of corruption in the country increased “somewhat” or “a lot” over the past year, a 24-percentage-point jump compared to 2019.
- Fewer than one-third (30%) of Ghanaians believe that people can report corruption without fear of retaliation, a decline by 4 percentage points compared to 2019.



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Let the people have a say

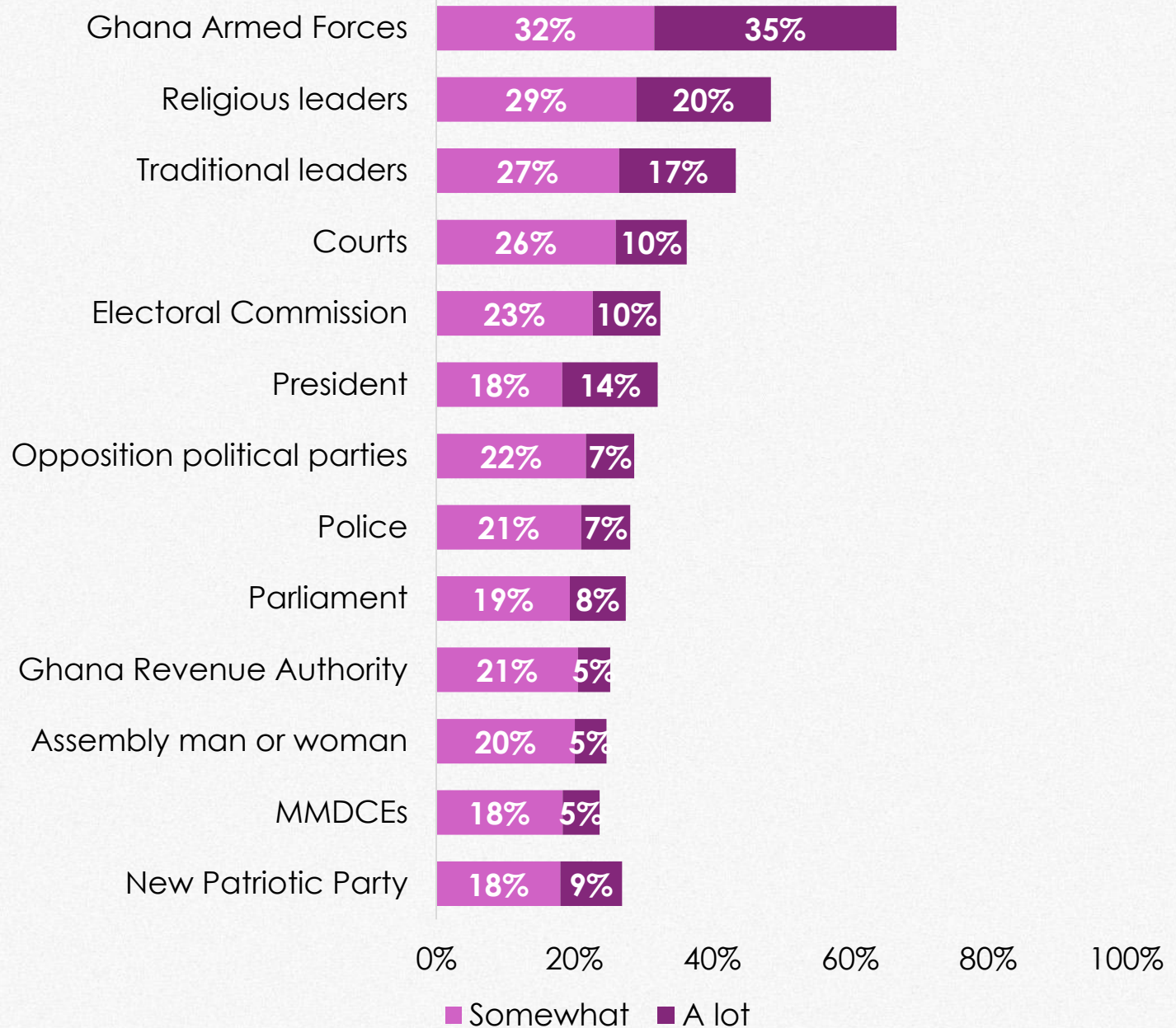
# Trust in institutions

# Trust in institutions

## | Ghana

## | 2022

**Respondents were asked:** *How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say?*



# Trends: Trust in institutions | Ghana | 2012-2022

Institution	2012	2014	2017	2019	2022	Change 2019-2022 (pct. points)	Change 2012-2022 (pct. points)
<b>Ghana Armed Forces</b>	72%	56%	75%	72%	67%	-5	-5
<b>Courts</b>	57%	44%	59%	48%	36%	-12	-21
<b>President</b>	56%	41%	73%	58%	32%	-25	-24
<b>Parliament</b>	49%	37%	58%	41%	27%	-13	-22
<b>Police</b>	42%	36%	40%	39%	28%	-11	-14
<b>Opposition political parties</b>	54%	46%	42%	37%	29%	-8	-26

*Respondents were asked: How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? (% who say "somewhat" or "a lot")*

# Key findings

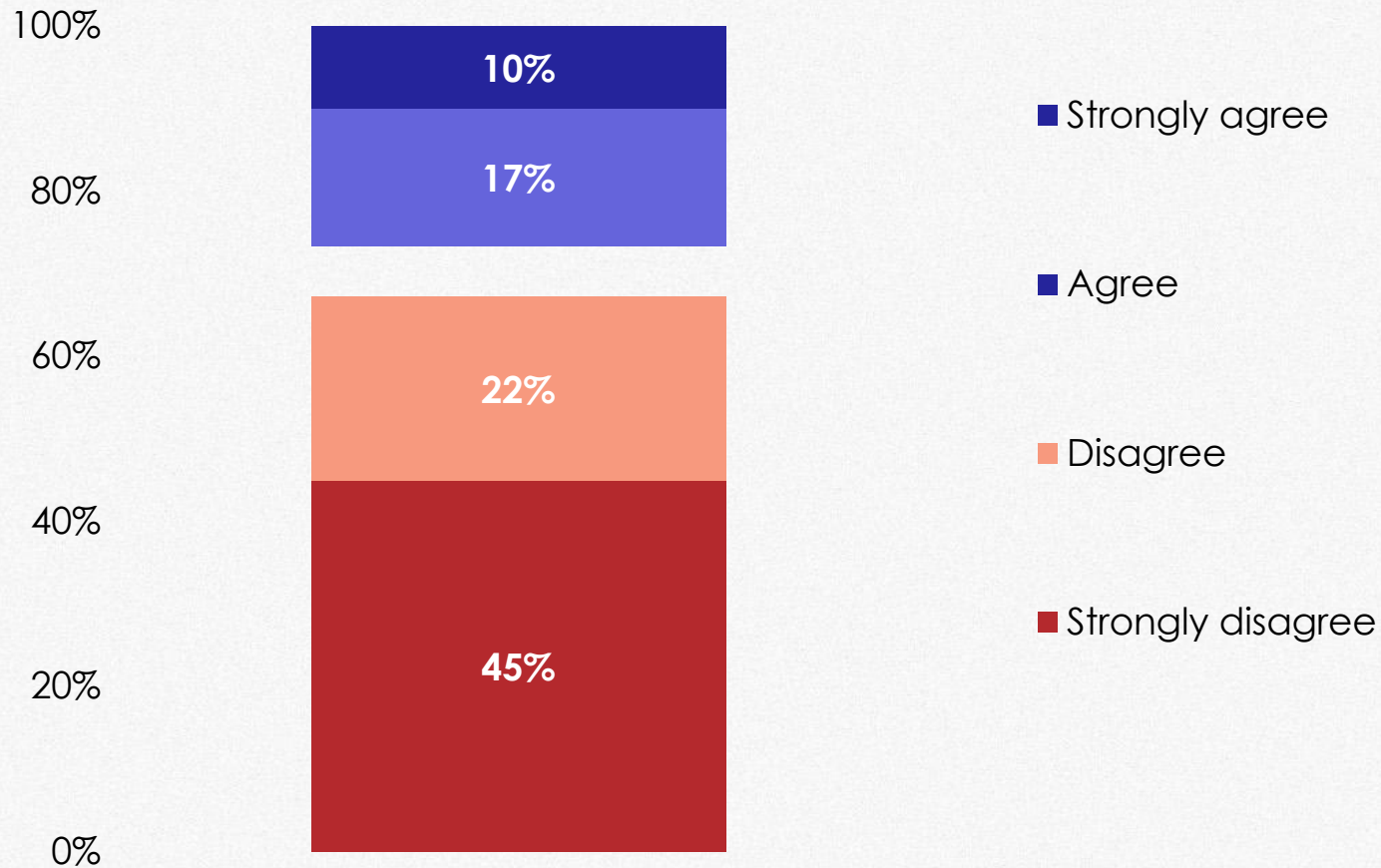


- Among key public institutions, the Ghana Armed Forces, religious leaders, traditional leaders, and the courts are the most trusted.
- Trust in institutions declined between 2019 and 2022. Notably, trust in the presidency declined by 25 percentage points.

# Views on political party financing



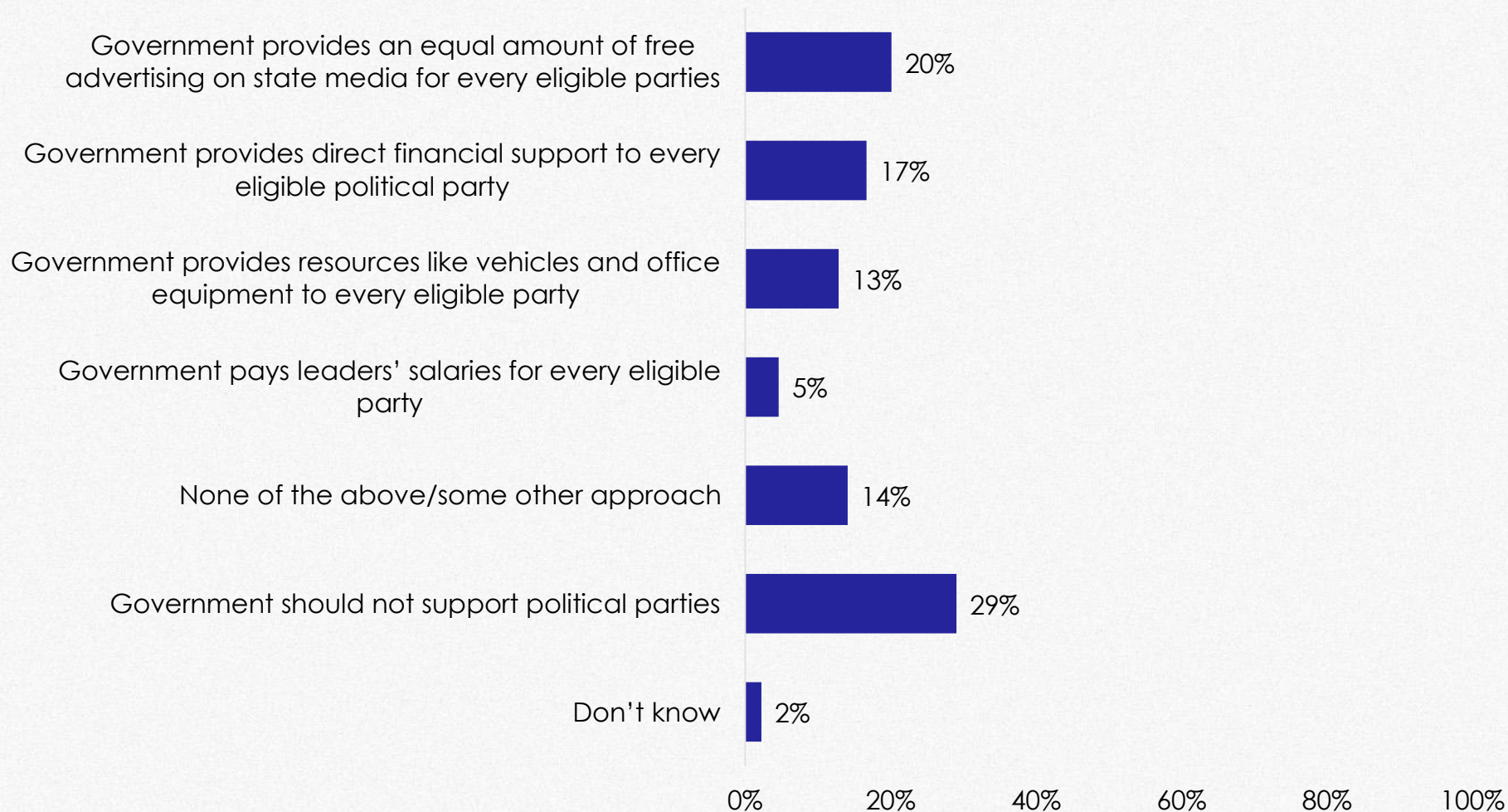
# State funding of political parties | Ghana | 2022



**Respondents were asked:** Please tell me whether you disagree or agree with the following statement: To curb the current trend in Ghanaian politics where parties and candidates spend so much money during party primaries and national elections, government should provide direct support to political parties during election campaigns.

# Best approach to financing political parties

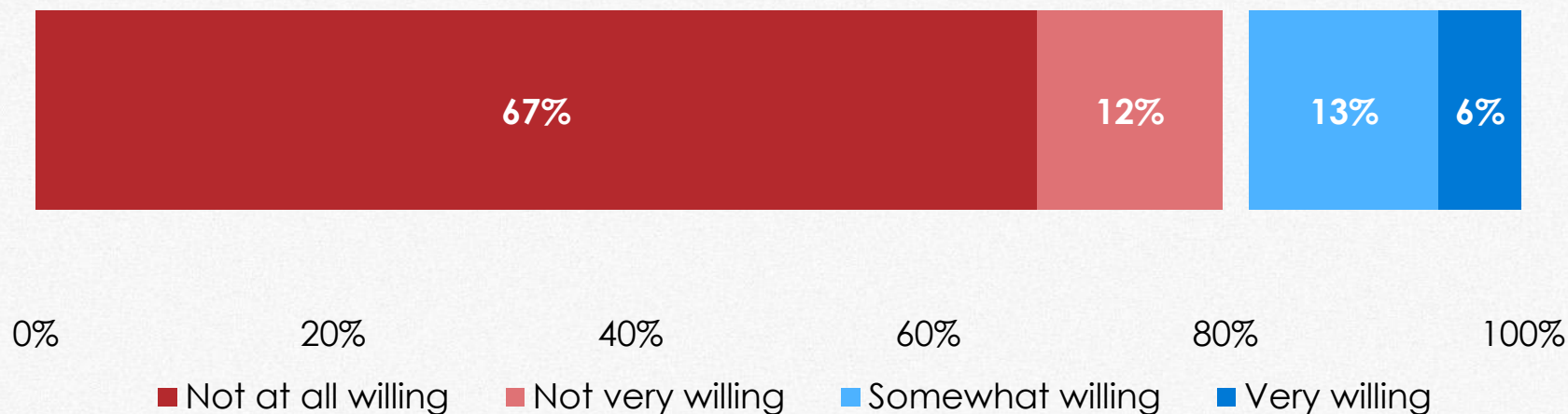
| Ghana | 2022



**Respondents were asked:** If the government provides direct support to political parties, which of the following would be the best approach

# Willingness to pay tax/levy to fund political parties

| Ghana | 2022



**Respondents were asked:** *If government decides to provide direct support to political parties, how willing are you to pay a special levy or additional tax for this purpose? (% of 'agree/strongly agree' to state funding of political parties)*

# Key findings



- Two-thirds (67%) of Ghanaians do not think the government should directly support political parties during election campaigns.
- Among the few that ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’ that the state should support political parties:
  - About one-third (36%) say the government should provide direct financial support to every eligible political party
  - A quarter (25%) want an equal amount of free advertising on state media for every eligible party
  - Two in 10 (21%) say the government should provide resources like vehicles and office equipment to every eligible party.
- However, two-thirds (67%) of citizens are unwilling to pay additional tax/levy.

- **Democratic governance:** While demand for democracy and the perceived supply of democracy in Ghana have fluctuated over the years, satisfaction with the country's democracy has been on a downward trajectory since 2017.
- **Political party financing:** a large majority of Ghanaians do not think the government should directly support political parties during election campaigns.
- **Corruption:** Perceptions of corruption among public officials and institutions have increased compared to 2019.
- **Trust:** Trust in institutions declined between 2019 and 2022. Notably, trust in the president declined by 25 percentage points.

Thank you

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