

Report on the Sixth Parliament of the Fourth Republic of Ghana



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Strengthening Transparency,
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MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF DENMARK
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About Odekro

A well-functioning democracy is built on a foundation of transparency and accountability. In our traditional tripartite system of government, the legislative arm bears primary responsibility for shining the light of scrutiny on the business of government and holding public officials to account. Yet, information with which to assess the work of the Ghanaian Parliament itself or hold MPs accountable is often lacking. While occasional assessments of individual Parliamentarians can provide useful information, a more comprehensive approach to Parliamentary monitoring can often yield deeper insights into Parliament's effectiveness.

Odekro seeks to promote transparency, accountability and democratic governance through citizen action and engagement with the Parliament of Ghana and other government agencies. The Odekro platform promotes transparency and popular participation by providing free public online access to Bills, Motions, and Parliamentary debates (Hansards). The Hansards and Parliamentary data are extracted from purchased and scanned documents, Parliamentary Clerks, and portable document formats (PDFs) published openly on the Parliament of Ghana website. Odekro uses a set of indicators to assess and measure the performance of Parliament. These indicators are derived from a series of variables and are combined into an index to measure variations in the quality, quantity, and output of legislative activity and to facilitate engagements with the public and other stakeholders.

Through our work, we aim to generate, analyze, and present relevant data in citizen-friendly forms, thereby enhancing public understanding of the workings and work of Parliament and enabling citizens to make informed assessments of the performance of individual members of Parliament (MPs) and Parliament as a whole.

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This report is dedicated to the late Emmanuel Yaw Amofa Okyere Jnr (Chief).



FOREWORD:

Introductory Notes

Mr. Nehemiah Attigah
Principal Lead, Odekro

The Sixth Parliament of the Fourth Republic of Ghana was busy and full of achievements. However, the most important Bill in relation to citizens' access to public information, the Right to Information (RTI) Bill, was not passed.

Speaking on JoyFm's Newsfile on 24th December 2016, the Editor-in-Chief of the New Crusading Guide Newspaper, Abdul Malik Kweku Baako Jnr. stated, "I will be ... disappointed if the RTI Bill is not passed by this Parliament". Abdul Malik Kweku Baako's constant references to the Hansard on the same radio program was one of the reasons we embarked on the journey to start Odekro. As my co-founder the late Emmanuel Okyere (a.k.a Chief) would say, "Why should Kweku Baako be the only person who has access to the Hansards? Everyone must have access and know what goes on in Parliament."

Eventually Lolan Sagoe-Moses, a strong supporter of the work of Odekro at the time, offered to write blog posts with a focus on key areas of Parliamentary debate. Sadly, Chief did not live to see the completion of the first report. In August 2014, he left us to be with our Maker. His legacy lives on and we will continue to utilize technology to make the work of Parliament more representative, transparent, accessible, accountable and effective.

Parliament is an indispensable institution of representative democracy that has the fundamental role of representing people to ensure public interest is paramount in all decisions that impact lives and society.

For Parliament to be truly representative, citizens must have access to information about Parliamentary proceedings. This will enhance engagement between citizens and Parliamentarians (MPs) and stimulate debate. Parliament does not belong to politicians; MPs have the honour of being chosen by us to serve, and thus everything must be done to ensure they communicate transparently with and can be scrutinized by citizens.

Information Technology is a primary enabler of greater openness, accessibility and accountability, as well as a key channel for Parliament to communicate with citizens now and in the future. Just as society is evolving, Parliament must be dynamic and open itself up to greater citizen engagement.

The Report offers civil society, media, industry and academia an authoritative baseline to assess the performance of Parliament and MPs. The aim of *“The Report on the Sixth Parliament of Ghana’s Fourth Republic”* is to fill the information and assessment gap with the necessary data to hold Parliament and MPs accountable. The Parliamentarians in the *Seventh Parliament of Ghana’s Fourth Republic* will be able to draw lessons from the findings presented therein, to improve their citizen conferred mandate.

I hope that you will find this report informative and thought-provoking. We, at Odekro, hope that you will make use of this evaluation, and subsequent ones, to hold our Parliament accountable.

I would like to thank all the Odekro team members for their dedication, energy and commitment; our partners Indigo Trust who have supported us over the years; and STAR-Ghana for funding our work on this seminal report. I would also like to thank everyone who has been involved in our engagements and research and has suggested ideas. We also thank our pioneer team members Dede Ofei, Jude Kofi Hayford and Kamal Yakubu.

This report is dedicated to the late Emmanuel Yaw Amofa Okyere Jnr. and to all citizens of The Republic of Ghana.

Terms and Meanings (Taken from Standing Orders of the Parliament of Ghana)

1st Deputy Speaker “Whenever the House is informed by the Clerk at the Table of the unavoidable absence of Mr. Speaker, the First Deputy Speaker shall perform the duties and exercise the authority of Mr. Speaker in relation to all proceedings of the house until Mr. Speaker resumes the Chair, without any further communication to the House.”¹

Bill The draft of a statute (or Act of Parliament) and includes both a private and a public Bill.”

Chief Whip The Chief whip is the member of a Political Party’s Parliamentary leadership who is responsible for enforcing attendance and voting by MPs in accordance with the Party leadership’s wishes.

Constitutional Instrument An instrument made under a power conferred by the 1992 Constitution of Ghana.

Hansard “An Official Report, entitled “Parliamentary Debates”, containing the debates of each Sitting of the House which shall be as nearly as possible verbatim. The Report shall be published in such form as Mr. Speaker may direct, and a copy of it shall be sent to each

¹ Standing Order 14(2)

member as soon as practicable after the conclusion of each Sitting.²"

Legislative Instrument An instrument made under a power delegated to a Minister or authority by Parliament.

Meeting of Parliament Any sitting or sittings of Parliament commencing when Parliament first meets after being summoned at any time and ending when Parliament is adjourned without a resumption date (sine die).

Memorandum A document detailing the terms of an agreement or deliberations between Government and a Third Party, or explaining the rationale informing a Bill. Memoranda are attached to Bills and agreements presented by the executive to Parliament for approval.

Order Paper A daily publication in the Westminster system of government, which lists the business of Parliament for that day's sitting. A separate paper is issued daily for each house of the legislature.

Quorum "The presence of at least one-third of all the Members of Parliament besides the person presiding shall be necessary to constitute a quorum of the House."³

² Standing Order 34(2)

³ Standing Order 7

Ranking "The leader of the minority group on a Committee of Parliament."⁴

Member

Select Committee "A committee of enquiry composed of a number of Members specifically named or selected which proceeds taking of evidence, deliberation, and making of reports to the House on its findings".⁵

Session A series of meetings of Parliament within a period of twelve months.

Sitting of Parliament Includes a period during which Parliament is sitting continuously without adjournment and a period during which it is in Committee.

Speaker of Parliament "There shall be a Speaker of Parliament who shall be elected by the Members of Parliament from among persons who are Members of Parliament or who are qualified to be elected as such under the Constitution."⁶

Standing Committee "A select committee appointed under article 103(1) of the Constitution to enquire into and report on such matters as may be referred to it from time to time or on a continuous basis for the duration of Parliament."⁷

Table Office "The Table Office or the Clerk's table."⁸

⁴ Standing Order 7

⁵ Standing Order 7

⁶ Standing Order 9(1)

⁷ Standing Order 7

⁸ Standing Order 7

Votes and Proceedings “The minutes of the proceedings of Parliament called Votes and Proceedings shall be a record of the attendance of Members at each sitting and all decisions of Parliament and shall be kept by the Clerk. The Votes and Proceedings shall be printed and shall be the Journal of the House.”⁹

⁹ Standing Order 34(1)

Research Methodology

Data Sources

To produce this report the authors reviewed over 398 documentary records of the Sixth Parliament of the Fourth Republic of Ghana, including issues of the Hansard, Order Papers, and records of Attendance, Votes and Proceedings, over the four-year period from 2013 to 2016. Most of these documents were downloaded from the Ghanaian Parliament's website or obtained in hardcopy form from the Parliamentary Service secretariat. Documents originally in hardcopy format were scanned and converted into PDF.

Data Mining

Files from Odekro's data cache were entered into in-house software. With the help of a predetermined algorithm [developed by Odekro], we were able to mine and extract data on a range of items relating to MPs and activity in the House, including attendance, the number of statements made on the floor by an MP, the number of amendments made to Bills, dates of the first, second and third readings of Bills, and other variables. Extracted data were then converted into Excel and Word documents as appropriate. Three Odekro data assistants verified the completeness of the data extracted by comparing them against primary documents obtained from Parliament and filling any gaps in the data.

Data Analysis

We employed a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis to draw out our findings and conclusions for this report. Our analysis of MPs' performance focused on their attendance at Parliamentary meetings, oral contributions made during Parliament's debates, written or oral questions asked of Ministers and other witnesses, and amendments proposed to Bills. In assessing Parliament's performance as a body, we examined the congruence between Parliamentary input into Bills and the content of the final Bills as enacted and signed into law, Ghana's key policy challenges over the last four

years, and the extent to which these were addressed in Parliament's representative, deliberative, and executive oversight functions.

Introduction to the Report

Report Aim

Civil society and academic performance assessments of various aspects of the executive, including local government and the public bureaucracy, have become fairly common in recent years. In contrast, there is a dearth of objective, verifiable and current information and analysis on the performance of Parliament and MPs. The aim of *“The Report on the Sixth Parliament of Ghana’s Fourth Republic”* is to fill the gap in this area, thereby providing citizens, communities, media, and civil society with the necessary data with which to hold Parliament and MPs accountable.

Report Content

In the first and second chapters we examine the degree to which Parliament uses its committees to interact with and consult citizens, civil society and other stakeholders in the performance of its duties. The third chapter extends the work of the first two chapters on the *representative* function of Parliament and also examines the *executive oversight* roles of MPs and Parliament. We examined the content of a sample of statements made in Parliament to gauge how well MPs discharged their duty as voices and agents of their constituents and articulated their constituent-communities’ concerns and needs. We also used the sample to identify principal themes and concerns voiced by MPs, the number of times each MP spoke, and the questions MPs asked of Ministers; the latter provided a basis for assessing how well they performed their executive (oversight) function. [The questions MPs addressed to Ministers enabled us to assess how well they performed their *executive oversight* function. The final chapter addresses the *legislative* role of Parliament and MPs. Here we look at MP contributions to the passage of legislation through proposed amendments to Bills. We also examine the volume and rate of passage of Bills in the Sixth Parliament as well as the policy priorities of the government and Parliament as measured by the focus of the Bills passed by Parliament, in terms of sector and subject

matter. The final section of this report presents scorecards on 270 MPs of the Sixth Parliament. Excluded are four MPs who passed away during the term of Parliament as well as MPs who were elected to replace them (each of whom served for less than a year).

We hope that our findings and conclusions will provide citizens with an objective basis to assess the performance of MPs and Parliament; help inform the debate on Parliament's role and effectiveness in Ghana's democratic and constitutional system and highlight possible areas for reform.

Citizen Expectations and the Importance of the Report

A well-functioning democracy rests on an implicit social contract between the governed and the government, in which citizens (the governed) collectively endow government with legitimacy, power and resources while government in turn assumes responsibility for the collective security and welfare of its citizens.

MPs are generally thought to owe duties simultaneously to three constituencies: the country as a whole; the electoral constituencies/communities they officially represent; and, where applicable, the political party on whose ticket they were elected. Evidence however suggests that Ghanaians generally put less weight on the legislative duties of MPs when assessing them. These legislative duties involve the introduction and passage of Bills and participation in all deliberations on matters of national and international importance. A 2012 survey report by the National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE) shows that, despite being fairly well-informed about the multiple and traditional roles of MPs, Ghanaians generally assessed the effectiveness of their MP on the basis of their ability to promote or facilitate the provision of government-funded development projects in their local areas. A number of findings also show that in determining a candidate's suitability as MP, voters focus less on his or her competence or ability to perform the

traditional legislative and oversight roles of MPs and more on the ability to channel development projects to the constituency.

Voter prioritisation of local projects provisioning above all the other responsibilities and roles of an MP presents difficulties for MPs. MPs who discharge their national legislative or oversight duties diligently, yet fall short in the area of local development project provisioning risk losing their seat, either in the ensuing party primaries or in the general election. In fact, the results of recent Parliamentary elections bear this out. MPs that were known for contributing to legislative issues but failed to meet the expectations of constituents have lost their seats. In 2008 for example, 20 MPs who are well regarded nationally, in part for their high profile legislative roles, nonetheless lost their seats presumably for failing to meet the local development expectations of their constituents. Among them were notable MPs like Christine Churcher (NPP-Cape Coast) , Dr. Benjamin Kunbuor (NPP-Nandom), Mahama Ayariga (NDC-Bawku Central), Freddie Blay (CPP-Ellembele) and Dr. Paa Kwesi Nduom (CPP-Komenda Edina Eguafo Ebeam). The 2012 Parliamentary elections also saw 15 of such MPs rejected. Among them were Samia Nkrumah (CPP-Jomoro), Michael Teye-Nyaunu (NDC-Lower Manya Krobo), John Tia Akologo (NDC-Talensi), Moses Asaga (NDC-Nabdam), Mr. Ambrose Dery (NPP-Lawra (Nandom), Dr. Kofi Asare (NPP-Akwatia) and Madam Catherine Afeku (NPP-Evuale Gwira). In short, MPs must strive to simultaneously balance their responsibilities to the nation (Parliament) and to their constituencies.

The importance of this report can be seen in a noticeable gap it seeks to fill. At the apex of our political leadership, there are ongoing advocacy projects to interrogate performance against promises made to electorates. The tracking and discussion of the promises of political parties has the potential to stretch the frontiers of accountability, as such exercises easily court public attention and interest. However, the performance of MPs, who are located in the second arm of government, is often ignored in discussions in

the public arena. Meanwhile, nearly all desired outputs and impacts emanating from political promises will need Parliamentary oversight. Therefore, what MPs do in Parliament has serious implications for the realization of political promises for the simple reason that their deliberation and action on several Bills and issues has a direct trickle-down effect on their constituents.

Research evidence shows that constituents want their MPs to deal with issues in the areas of education, health, and employment (in order of priority) (NCCE, 2012). Moreover, constituents often expect their MPs to meet these needs by offering direct personal assistance, alongside commonly shared public goods or policies. For example, constituents expect their MPs to sponsor brilliant and needy students as well as speed up the provision of educational facilities, encourage girl child education, help remove schools under trees and visit schools regularly to ascertain problems for resolution. In respect of health, constituents want their MPs to assist in the provision of health facilities, assist the needy by paying for their National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) registration, address NHIS issues in Parliament and ensure accessibility of health care. For employment, constituents want MPs to create employment opportunities for the youth, attract investors to the constituencies, facilitate loans for business ventures as well as find employment for them. The electoral fortunes of an MP frequently depend on his or her demonstrated attention to these issues.

It has been difficult to objectively assess the performance of MPs in Parliament against performance in their respective constituencies because previous assessments have not disaggregated the MPs' composite roles. Our report intends to breach this gap in knowledge by conducting objective, data-driven analysis of the performance of MPs in the Sixth Parliament in their roles as lawmakers.

How Parliament Works

Chapter 10 of the 1992 Constitution prescribes the composition, powers, procedures, responsibilities, and limitations of Parliament. Article 93 (1), which opens Chapter 10, states, "There shall be a Parliament of Ghana which shall consist of not less than one hundred and forty elected members."

Ghana's current Parliament has 275 Members. The Constitution does not prescribe a maximum number. However, the Electoral Commission is required under the Constitution to review the demarcation of constituency boundaries at periodic intervals, and if necessary alter the boundaries (at least once every 7 years, or 12 months after every census, whichever is earlier). While there is no express command or implication that such alteration of boundaries must result in an addition to the existing number of constituencies, in practice the periodic review of constituency boundaries has invariably led to the creation of additional constituencies and a corresponding increase in the number of MPs. The number of MPs was thus increased in 2004 and again in 2010.

Who Can Run for Election as an MP?

A citizen of Ghana aged 21 and above who hails from or has resided in a constituency for at least five years before an election is eligible to contest election as MP for that constituency.

The constitution prescribes certain minimum standards of character, mental competence, and conduct for prospective Parliamentarians. Individuals who are bankrupt, of unsound mind, or have been convicted of high crimes or crimes that carry sentences of at least ten

years cannot be Parliamentarians. Chiefs and members of the Civil Service, Police Service and other professional government services cannot be MPs.¹⁰

What Powers Does Parliament Have?

The legislative power of the State is reposed in Parliament. Ministries, departments and agencies of government make law through Legislative Instruments (LIs) and Constitutional bodies such as the Electoral Commission (EC) do similar through Constitutional Instruments. However, these two types of subsidiary legislation must be brought before Parliament for review before they may come into effect.

Parliament must also approve the National Budget and all international and commercial loan agreements contracted by the Government of Ghana before they can be effective. In addition, certain Presidential appointments, including appointments to the Supreme Court and as Ministers or deputy Ministers of State, must receive the prior approval of Parliament.

What are the Limits of Parliament's Powers?

It is a commonly held notion that the 1992 Constitution prevents Parliamentarians from initiating legislation. The constitutional limitation is, however, not so blanket. Article 108 of the Constitution, which contains the relevant limitation, only prevents MPs from introducing Bills which "in the opinion of the person presiding" impose or alter a tax, place

¹⁰ These professional government services include according to Article 94 (1) (b)" (is a member of) the Police Service, the Prisons Service, the Armed Forces, the Judicial Service, the Legal Service, the Civil Service, the Audit Service, the Parliamentary Service, the Statistical Service, the Fire Service, the Customs, Excise and Preventive Service, the Immigration Service, or the Internal Revenue Service; "

a charge on the consolidated account or compose or remit a debt due to the Government of Ghana, unless such Bills are introduced by, or on behalf of the President.

Technically, this provision makes it possible for MPs to introduce Bills if, in the opinion of the Speaker, the Bill does not offend any of the restrictions specified in Article 108. In practice, no Speaker in the Fourth Republic has read Article 108 liberally to permit MPs to initiate such Bills, known as Private Members Bills. The conventional wisdom on this matter, which has not been challenged either in Parliament or the Supreme Court, is that any Bill with “cost implications” runs afoul of the restrictions stated in Article 108. In effect, all Speakers, and for that matter Parliament itself, have tacitly endorsed the executive’s control of legislative initiation in Ghana.

How is Parliament Managed?

1. The first task of any Parliament is to elect a Speaker. The Speaker can be elected from amongst the MPs, as was done with the Speaker Doe Adjaho. A Speaker can also be elected from outside Parliament so long as he or she is qualified to be elected as an MP. The First Deputy Speaker, who must come from the Majority side, and the 2nd Deputy Speaker, who must come from the Minority side, are also elected to preside over Parliament, in the order of their ranking, in the Speaker’s absence.

2. The Minority and Majority in Parliament also select their respective leaders and deputies, namely the Minority and Majority Leaders and Deputy Leaders as well as the Chief and Deputy Chief Whips for each side.

Parliament is a hierarchical institution. According to Parliament’s Standing Orders, “The Speaker of Parliament shall take precedence over all other persons in Parliament; and in descending order, the order of precedence in Parliament after the Speaker shall be: First

Deputy Speaker; Second Deputy Speaker; Majority Leader; Minority Leader; Deputy Majority Leader; Deputy Minority Leader; Majority Chief Whip; Minority Chief Whip; Majority Whip; Minority Whip; Deputy Majority Whip; and Deputy Minority Whip. The leadership of Parliament is typically given the first opportunity to contribute to debates in the house.

3. Through the Committee on Selection, the leadership of Parliament determines which members should serve in its various committees, schedule Parliament's weekly working agenda, and settle any major political disputes which may arise.¹¹ After Parliament's leadership is selected, the Committee on Selection assigns MPs to various committees. Committees are the primary organs through which Parliament conducts its business.

What Rights and Privileges does an MP have?

1) Contribute to debates on the floor.

2) Propose Amendments to Bills: At the Committee stage, an MP who is a Member of the Committee considering a Bill can propose amendments to the Bill. At the Second Reading and Consideration stages, all MPs present in Parliament have the opportunity to suggest amendments to Bills.

3) Ask Questions of Ministers:

- MPs can ask any Minister a question. An MP must submit questions at least 10 sitting days before the date he or she intends to ask the question.
- MPs must submit their questions to the Speaker who decides which questions to admit.

¹¹ The leadership of Parliament is composed of the Speaker and his two Deputy Speakers, the Minority and Majority Leaders (and a deputy each) and Chief and Deputy Chief Whips

- Ministers shall respond to questions not more than three weeks after they are asked and shall be present in Parliament to answer questions for one hour on average.
- After the Minister's answer, the MP who asked the question, and any other MPs, can ask Supplementary Questions.
- Each MP can ask up to three questions for oral answer at each sitting.

4) Ask Urgent Questions during Debates: By leave of the Speaker, any MP can ask a question without giving 10 days' notice if it is "of an urgent character relating...to a matter of public importance."

5) Make Statements: Any MP may make a statement of a personal nature or of urgent public importance. Other MPs may comment on another MP's statement for up to one hour if said statement is not of a personal nature.

6) Make Five-Minute Statements: On any sitting day, up to six MPs can make statements on any subject of their choosing for up to five minutes.

7) Vote: Each MP has the right to vote for or against any Bill, loan agreement or other measure or motion before the House. MPs typically register their votes by simple voice vote - aye or nay - unless the Speaker rules that there's a lack of consensus (referred to as a division), in which case MPs vote either by headcount or by writing down their votes.

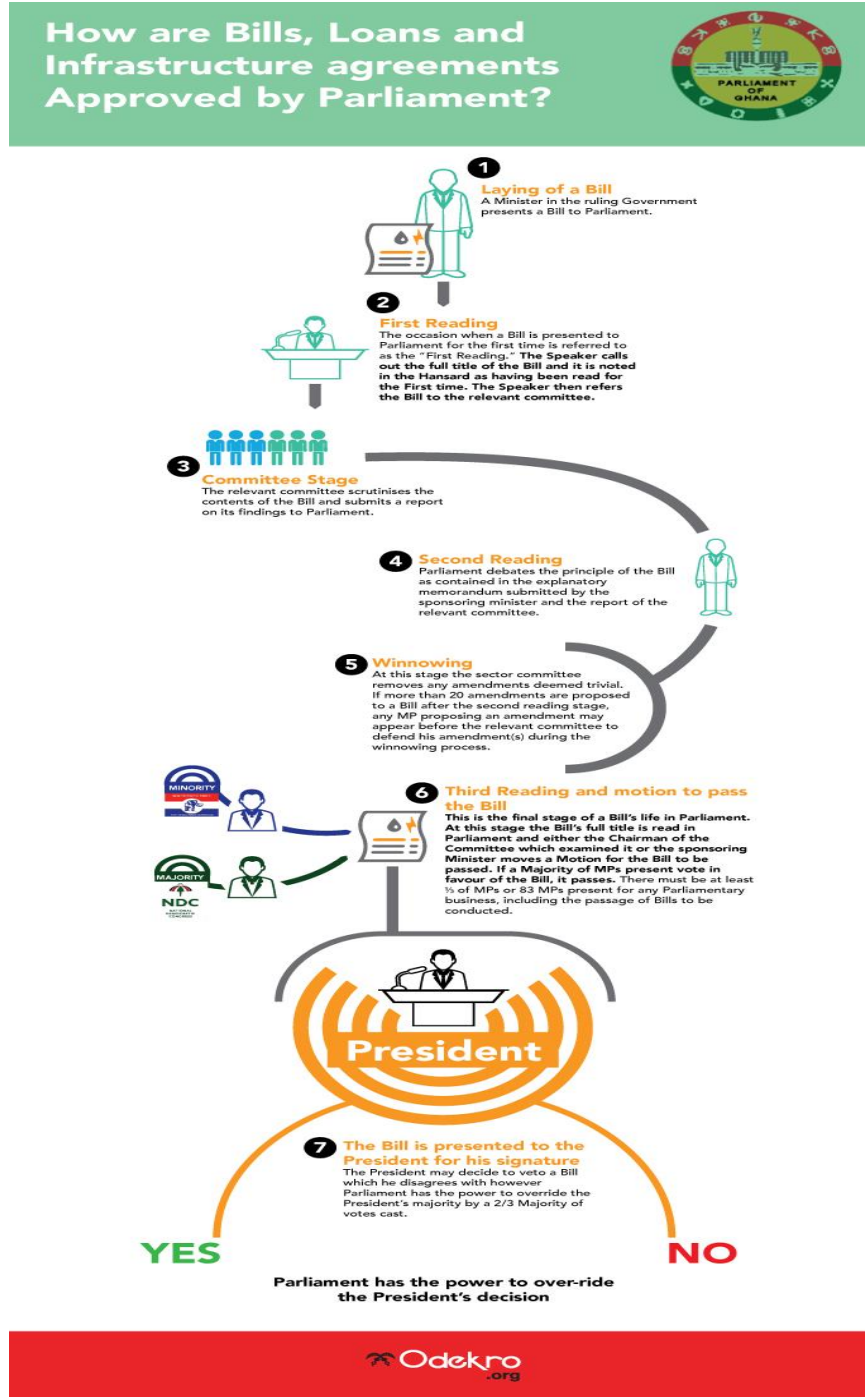
How are Bills, Loans and Infrastructure Agreements Approved by Parliament?

- a. First Reading: The occasion when a Bill is presented to Parliament for the first time is referred to as the First Reading. The Speaker calls out the full title of the Bill and

it is noted in the Hansard as having been read for the first time. The Speaker then refers the Bill to the relevant committee.

- b. Committee Stage: The relevant committee scrutinises the contents of the Bill and submits a report on its findings to Parliament. Before scrutinising the contents of Bills, committees typically solicit memoranda and advisory papers from members of the public. Interested stakeholders are then given the opportunity to present their recommendations on the Bill(s) under discussion to the committee. In some cases committees conduct working visits to apprise themselves of the practical considerations that could influence their law-making decisions.
- c. Second Reading: - Parliament debates the principle of the Bill as contained in the explanatory memorandum submitted by the sponsoring Minister and the report of the relevant committee.
- d. Winnowing: - At this stage the sector committee removes any amendments deemed trivial. If more than 20 amendments are proposed to a Bill after the second reading stage, any MP proposing an amendment may appear before the relevant committee to defend his or her amendment(s) during the winnowing process.
- e. Reading and Motion to Pass the Bill: This is the final stage of a Bill's life in Parliament. At this stage the Bill's full title is read in Parliament and either the Chairman of the Committee which examined it or the sponsoring Minister moves a Motion for the Bill to be passed. If a Majority of MPs present vote in favour of the Bill, it passes. There must be a quorum of at least one-third of MPs present for any Parliamentary business to be conducted, including the passage of Bills.

Figure 1: How are Bills, Loans and infrastructure Agreements Approved by Parliament?



Source: Order Papers of the Parliament of Ghana

A Brief Overview of the Sixth Parliament of the Fourth Republic

An overview of the Fourth Republican Parliament (1993, 1997 - Present).

Since 1993, the Fourth republic has had six Parliaments, with the following composition¹²[1](see Media Foundation For West Africa, 2016; European Union Observation Mission, 2009; Mansa, 2009; Agyemang-Duah, et al. 2006; Electoral Commission, 2005; Essuman-Johnson, 2005):

Table 1: Various Parliaments under the Fourth Republic, membership and gender distribution

Parliament	Number of MPs
January 1993-January 1997	
National Democratic Congress (NDC)	189
National Convention Party (NCP)	8
Eagle Party (EP)	1
Independent	2
Total	200
	<i>Gender: Male – 184 Female – 16</i>

¹² The figures represent number of Parliamentary seats as announced by the Electoral Commission after each December 7 voting. Changes in numbers as a result of by-elections have not been captured.

January 1997 – January 2001	
National Democratic Congress (NDC)*	133
New Patriotic Party (NPP)	61
People’s Convention Party (PCP)	5
People’s National Convention (PNC)	1
Total	200 <i>Gender: Male – 182 Female – 18</i> <i>*The NDC was in a Progressive Alliance with the Egle Party and the Democratic People’s Party; while the NPP was in a Great Alliance with the PCP.</i>
January 2001 – January 2005	
New Patriotic Party (NPP)	100
National Democratic Congress (NDC)	92
People’s National Convention (PNC)	3
Convention People’s Party (CPP)	1
Independent	4
Total	200 <i>Gender: Male – 181 Female – 19</i>

	<i>No clear majority, however the NPP formed a working majority by co-opting the PNC, CPP and Independent MPs.</i>
January 2005 – January 2009	
New Patriotic Party (NPP)	128
National Democratic Congress (NDC)	94
People’s National Convention (PNC)	4
Convention People’s Party (CPP)	3
Independent	1
Total	230 <i>Gender: Male – 205 Female – 25</i> <i>Majority 26</i>
January 2009 – January 2013	
National Democratic Congress (NDC)	115
New Patriotic Party (NPP)	108
People’s National Convention (PNC)	2
Convention People’s Party (CPP)	1
Independent	4

Total	230 <i>Gender: Male – 215 Female – 15</i> <i>No clear majority, but the NDC had a working majority after four PNC and four Independent MPs joined them.</i>
January 2013 – Present (ends in January 2017)	
National Democratic Congress (NDC)	151
New Patriotic Party (NPP)	120
People’s National Convention (PNC)	1
Independent	3
Total	275 <i>Gender: Male – 251 Female – 30</i> <i>Majority 27</i>

Source: Parliament of Ghana (<http://www.Parliament.gh/>)

Table 1 indicates that the party in control of the executive has always had a Majority in Parliament, with the exception of the 2001-2005 and 2005-2009 Parliamentary terms when the ruling party had a plurality, but not a simple majority, in Parliament.¹³ During those two terms when the number of government party MPs fell short of a majority, the

¹³ “In 1993 There was no official Parliamentary opposition as a result of the boycott of the Parliamentary elections by the NPP, the largest opposition party. The NDC entered an alliance with the NCP and Eagle Party.”

government was nonetheless able to assemble a Working Majority by co-opting Independents or third-party MPs, typically through appointing them to positions in the executive branch or supporting them to secure leadership positions in Parliament.]

What has been the nature of the relationship between the Majority and the Minority in Parliament? In general, the relationship of the Majority and Minority in Ghana's Parliaments under the Fourth Republic has been adversarial in nature. While the Majority often "blindly defend the Government" (CDD-Ghana 2008: 108, 131), the Minority generally opposes the government's legislative agenda. The authority of Ghana's Parliament has been undermined by the fact that the president of the Republic of Ghana is constitutionally mandated to appoint a majority of his Ministers from Parliament, a power successive Presidents have used to their advantage. This has given credence to the widely held view that the Ghanaian Parliament is largely an appendage of the executive arm of government, an opinion bolstered by the failure of Parliament to exercise credible oversight of government's conduct. (Gyampo 2015: 1).

The relationship between the Majority and Minority is also commonly described as partisan. (CDD-Ghana 2008: 108). While this is accurate, partisanship per se is not a problem. What is important is the extent to which such partisanship affects the quality of Parliamentary debates, laws and other measures passed by Parliament. Consequently, this study examines, among others, the quality of laws made in the Fourth Republican Parliament by assessing Parliamentary Bills and the length of time it takes Parliament to scrutinise Bills. We also examine the correlation of Bills passed to key governance sector themes, the quantity of Bills, the quality of citizen input into Bills and the focus and number of amendments.

[1] The figures represent number of Parliamentary seats as announced by the Electoral Commission after each December 7 voting. Changes in numbers as a result of by-elections have not been captured. [2] " In

1993, there was no official Parliamentary opposition as a result of the boycott of the Parliamentary elections by the NPP, the largest opposition party. The NDC entered an alliance with the NCP and Egle party

The Composition of the Current Parliament

As has been the case since the Second Parliament, the Sixth Parliament was, essentially, a two-party Parliament. The NDC, which also retained the presidency following the 2012 elections, constituted the Majority in Parliament with 151 seats in comparison to the NPP's 120. With this, the NDC was able to control the Speakership and other leadership positions in the House. For the first time in the history of Parliament, a sitting Member of Parliament, Mr. Edward Doe Adjaho (NDC-Ave-Avenor), was elected Speaker. Ebow Barton Oduro (NDC-Cape Coast) and Joe Ghartey (NPP-Esikado Ketan) were elected as his 1st and 2nd Deputy Speakers respectively. The two main parties also selected their leaders. The Majority elected Dr. Benjamin Kunbuor (NDC-Nandom) as Majority Leader. Upon his appointment as a Minister of State in 2014, he was replaced as Majority Leader by Mr. Alban Bagbin (NDC-Nadowli-Kaleo). The rest of Majority's leadership comprised Alfred Agbesi (NDC-Ashaiman) as Deputy Majority Leader, Muntaka Mohammed Mubarak (NDC-Asawase) as Chief Whip, Hajia Mary Salifu-Boforo (NDC-Savelugu) as 1st Deputy Whip, and Ibrahim Ahmed (NDC-Banda) as 2nd Deputy Whip. On the Minority side, Mr. Osei-Kyei Mensah Bonsu (NPP-Suame) was re-elected as Minority Leader, with Mr. Dominic Nitiwul (NPP-Bimbila) selected as his Deputy. Mr. Dan Botwe (NPP-Okere) was selected as Minority Chief Whip, with Irene Naa Torshie Addo (NPP-Tema West) as 1st Deputy Whip and Ignatius Baafour Awuah (NPP-Sunyani West) as 2nd Deputy Whip.

The most significant development in the composition of the Sixth Parliament's leadership was the election of Mr. Doe Adjaho as Speaker. As the first Speaker to be chosen from

amongst the membership of Parliament¹⁴, Mr. Adjaho’s election, given his prior career in active partisan politics, raised some concerns and suspicion that he would fail to discharge his duties in an impartial manner. Indeed a little over a year into his tenure, the Minority Ranking Member on the Committee for Constitutional Legal and Parliamentary Affairs claimed that “The conduct of the speaker is strange as it appears to follow a pattern that has become apparent ever since the current speaker assumed office, i.e., extreme partisanship in Parliamentary decision-making process...”. Due to the range of powers available to him, the Speaker’s leadership undoubtedly shaped the conduct of Parliamentary Business in the Sixth Parliament and is a recurring theme in our analysis.

The infographic below provides a summary of the composition of MPs in the Sixth Parliament.

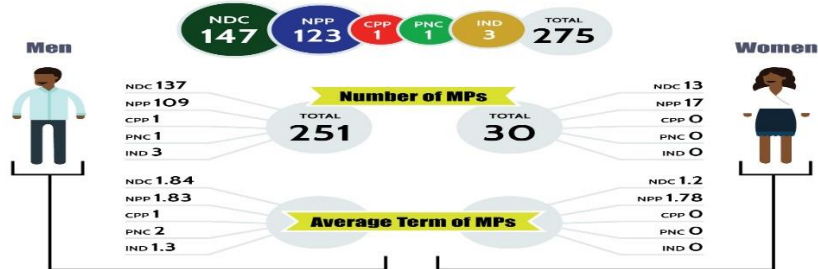
Figure 2: *The Composition of MPs in the Sixth Parliament of Ghana*

¹⁴ Mr. Doe-Adjaho vacated his seat in accordance with Article 97 (1) (b) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana: “ A member of Parliament shall vacate his seat in Parliament – if he is elected as Speaker of Parliament.

Parliament At A Glance



Total Number of MPs



Number of Rural Constituencies



TOTAL
137

Rural MPs

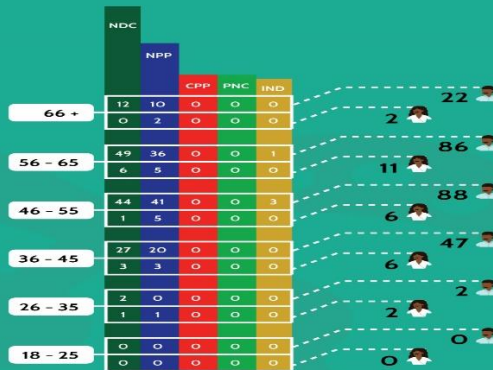
Number of Urban Constituencies



TOTAL
138

Urban MPs

MPs Age Brackets



Odekro .org

STAR Ghana

THE indigo TRUST

Source: Parliament of Ghana (<http://www.Parliament.gh/>)

[1] The figures represent number of Parliamentary seats as announced by the Electoral Commission after each December 7, 2012 voting. Changes in numbers as a result of by-elections have not been captured.

[2] " In 1993 There was no official Parliamentary opposition as a result of the boycott of the Parliamentary elections by the NPP, the largest opposition party. The NDC entered an alliance with the NCP and Egle party."

Engagement with CSOs & Stakeholders

How Effectively do MPs Engage CSOs?

The Ghanaian Parliament performs five main functions: (i) passage of laws; (ii) oversight of the executive branch and administration (iii) control of public financial management (iv) representation, where MPs represent the interest of their constituents and the nation as a whole; and (iv) deliberation, which allows Parliament to debate matters of policy for the purposes of decision making (The Parliament of Ghana, 2016).

In the performance of its functions, Parliament sometimes consults private experts, civil society organisations (CSOs)¹⁵, and other interest and stakeholder groups specifically affected by a pending action. Consulting civil society and other stakeholders so as to inform the content of legislation, deliberation and decision making in Parliament is critically important. MPs ordinarily lack the specific subject-matter expertise or knowledge required to diligently assess or evaluate the merits or possible alternatives to proposed legislation and other measures introduced by the executive. For instance, how does an MP whose professional training is in linguistics contribute meaningfully to debate and passage of legislation relating to maritime matters except by eliciting the views of industry or sector specialists or practitioners? Similarly, Parliament cannot responsibly pass legislation affecting the rights or interests of disabled citizens without seeking or obtaining the views of the disabled community.

¹⁵Civil society defined as ‘the arena in which people come together to form groups: to pursue the interests they hold in common; to tackle social/personal concerns which may be linked, but not for a source of livelihoods, profit or political power; because they care enough about something to take collective action; to ensure that those who govern are held to account’ (Azeem 2014: 7; see also Ghaus-Pasha 2004: 3)

There is no provision in the Ghanaian constitution similar to Section 57 or 59 of the South African constitution, which expressly guarantees public participation or involvement in the legislative and requires committee sittings to be held in public. Nonetheless, Ghanaian civil society and interest groups have come to expect timely and adequate opportunity to comment and contribute meaningfully to Bills and other measures before the House. In fact, “many Parliamentary committees and individual MPs have links with policy think tanks” (Stapenhurst and Alandu, n.d: 17). Given the perennial capacity and other resource constraints facing Parliament’s research department, civil society and stakeholder consultation and participation offers MPs and committees an invaluable opportunity to access expertise, knowledge and insights for improving the content of legislation.

According to a 2002 World Bank report (cited in Ghaus-Pasha 2004: 18):

“The growing focus among policy makers and citizens on the need for good governance and greater transparency has also opened doors for CSOs as players in the development business. Parliamentarians, media and other opinion leaders increasingly rely on CSOs for information and policy advice.”

The presumption is that laws that have had the benefit of broad consultation with and input from relevant stakeholders and civil society are better laws. We therefore sought to examine the extent to which Parliament consulted civil society groups and other stakeholders in the enactment of laws.

Parliamentary Committee Meetings with CSOs and Stakeholders

Out of 1500 committee meetings held by 21 Committees, our records show that only 55 meetings¹⁶, representing 3.7% of the total, involved consultations with CSOs or other

¹⁶ This is not to say that these were all the meetings committees had with CSOs. These were meetings that were contained in the data that were available. Votes and Proceedings cache as published by the Parliamentary Service of Ghana. See <http://www.Parliament.gh/publications/33>

stakeholders. Table 2 below shows 21 committees¹⁷ and the number of times they had consultations with CSOs and stakeholders.

Table 2: Committees and the number of meetings held with CSOs

Committee	No. of meetings with CSOs/Stakeholders
1. Health	7
2. Roads & Transport	6
3. Local Government & Rural Development	5
4. Food, Agriculture & Cocoa Affairs	5
5. Employment, Social Welfare & State	4
6. Education	3
7. Gender & Children	3
8. Youth, Sports & Culture	3
9. Trade, Industry & Tourism	3
10. Lands & Forestry	2
11. Poverty Reduction Strategy	2
12. Subsidiary Legislation	2
13. Joint Committee	2
14. Finance	1
15. Mines & Energy	1
16. Constitutional, Legal & Parliamentary Affairs	1
17. Defence & Interior	1
18. Communications	1

¹⁷ Parliament has about 31 select and standing committees. See <http://www.Parliament.gh/committees>

19. Government Assurance	1
20. Privileges	1
21. Business	1
Total	55

Source: Reports of various committees

The Health Committee had the most meetings with CSOs. The stakeholder or CSO meetings held by the various committees are as follows:

Health

- a. 5 June, 2013: To hold discussions with officials of the Coalition on Health.
- b. 25 July, 2014: To hold discussions with officials of World Vision.
- c. 18 December, 2013: To hold discussions with officials of STAR-Ghana.
- d. 6 February, 2014: To hold discussions with officials of the Association of Health Insurance Service Providers.
- e. 20 June, 2014: To hold discussions with representatives of the Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital Senior Staff Association (KOSSA).
- f. 25 July, 2014: To hold discussions with officials of World Vision.
- g. 25 November, 2015: To hold discussions with representatives of ISODEC and Plan Ghana on Sexual Reproductive Health Service in Ghana

Roads and Transport

- a. 7 March 2014: To hold discussions with Executive Members of the Ghana Haulage Transport Owners Association (GHATOA) on challenges resulting from the implementation of provisions relating to Axle Load under the Road Traffic Regulations, 2012 (L. I. 2180).
- b. 25 March 2014: To hold discussions with Ship Owners and Agents of Ghana.
- c. 10 July 2015: To hold discussions with stakeholders in the aviation industry on recent happenings in the industry.
- d. 28 January 2016: To hold discussions with officials of the Aviation Social
- e. 17 June 2016: To hold discussions with representative of the Consumer Unity and Trust Society (CUTS) on the need for a functional regulatory body for the road transport sector.

- f. 1 August 2016: To hold discussions with representatives of international airlines in the aviation industry in Ghana.

Local Government and Rural Development

- a. 14 March 2013: To hold discussions with officials of UNICEF and Star-Ghana on the 2013 Annual Budget of the Ministry of [...].
- b. 18 December 2013: To hold discussions with officials of the Ghana Federation of the Disabled.
- c. 15 July 2014: To hold discussions with officials of the Local Governance Network (LOGNet).
- d. 14 July 2015: To hold discussions with officials of the Centre for Local Government Advocacy (CLGA).
- e. 15 July 2015: To hold discussions with officials of the Ghana College of Physicians and Surgeons.

Food, Agriculture and Cocoa Affairs

- a. 4 March 2014: To hold discussions with officials of Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA).
- b. 7 March 2014: To hold discussions with officials of Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF) and OXFAM.
- c. 2 June 2015: To hold discussions with the National Association of Shea Farmers on a proposal for the establishment of Shea Development Authority.
- d. 4 June 2015: To hold discussions with officials of Ghana Industrial Trawlers Association.
- e. 27 July 2016: To hold discussions with officials of SEND-Ghana on a [...]

Employment, Social Welfare and State

- a. 10 July 2013: To hold discussions with officials of the Ghana Medical Association.
- b. 20 March 2014: To hold discussions with Executives of the Ship Owners and Agents Association of Ghana on operational challenges being encountered with the Ghana Shippers Authority.
- c. 3 July 2015: To hold discussions with officials of the National Council on Persons with Disability.
- d. 3 December 2015: To hold discussions with officials of the Ghana Federation of the Disabled.

Education

- a. 24 June 2014: To hold discussions with representatives of the Polytechnic Teachers' Association.
- b. 3 July 2014: To hold discussions with the Minister for Education on the strike action by the Polytechnic Teachers Association of Ghana (POTAG).
- c. 5 July 2016: To hold discussions with stakeholders on the Technical Universities Bill, 2016.

Gender and Children

- a. 25 March 2013: To hold discussions with officials of STAR Ghana.
- b. 12 November 2013: To hold discussions with officials of ABANTU for Development.
- c. 17 June 2016: To hold discussions with representative of the Consumer Unity and Trust Society (CUTS) on the need for a functional regulatory body for the road transport sector.

Youth, Sports and Culture

- a. 24 March 2013: To hold discussions with officials of STAR Ghana.
- b. 22 June 2016: To hold discussions with stakeholders on the National Youth Scheme Bill, 2016.
- c. 27 July 2016: To hold discussions with officials of SEND-Ghana

Trade, Industry and Tourism

- a. 18 December 2013: To consider the petition submitted by the Cement Producers Association of Ghana.
- b. 27 June 2014: To hold discussions with the Minister for Trade and Industry and representatives of Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA).
- c. 10 July 2014: To hold discussions with stakeholders on the recent industrial action by the Ghana Union of Traders' Associations (GUTA).

Lands and Forestry

- a. 26 June 2014: To hold discussions with the Chiefs and Opinion Leaders of Santeo on the demolition exercise at Adjei Kojo.
- b. 16 June 2016: To hold discussions with stakeholders on the Sports Bill, 2016.

Poverty Reduction Strategy

- a. 24 July 2015: To hold discussions with officials of Stop TB Partnership, Ghana.
- b. 22 June 2016: To hold discussions with representatives of the Commercial Quarry Operators Association.

Subsidiary Legislation

- a. 7 June 2013: To hold discussions with officials of Ghana Federation of the Disabled.
- b. 18 July 2013: To hold discussions with representatives of the Peasant Farmers Association of Ghana.

Joint Committee

- a. 17 March 2015: To hold discussions with stakeholders on the Chartered Institute of Taxation Bill, 2014.
- b. 4 June 2015: To hold discussions with representatives of the Ghana Broadcasters Association.

Finance

17 March 2016: To hold discussions with Members of the Volta Lake Fish Farmers' Association, Ghana.

Mines and Energy

24 February 2015: To hold discussions with representatives of the Shea Farmers Association of Ghana.

Constitutional, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs

17 March 2016: To hold discussions with Members of the Volta Lake Fish Farmers' Association, Ghana.

Defence and Interior

2 July 2015: To hold discussions with representatives of Credit Union.

Communications

4 June 2015: To hold discussions with representatives of Chiropractic and Wellness Centres.

Government Assurance

27 March 2013: To hold discussions with officials of STAR-Ghana.

Privileges

10 July 2015: To hold discussions with stakeholders in the aviation industry on recent happenings in the industry.

Business

11 February 2015: To hold discussions with representatives of Alliance for Reproductive Health Rights (ARHR).

Which CSOs Were Consulted?

The data indicates that stakeholders or groups with a special interest in a matter before a committee were the most frequently consulted (eight times) by various committees including: Committees on Roads and Transport; Lands and Forestry; Joint Committee; Youth, Sports and Culture; Education; Trade, Industry and Tourism; Privileges; and Lands and Forestry. In the CSO sector, STAR-Ghana was the most consulted (five times). It was consulted by the Committees on Local Government and Rural Development; Youth, Sports and Culture; Gender and Children; Government Assurance; and Committee on Health. Ghana Federation of the Disabled also had three consultative meetings with three committees, namely: Committees on Employment, Social Welfare and State; Subsidiary Legislation; and Local Government and Rural Development.

Each of the following CSOs were consulted twice by various Parliamentary committees: World Vision, Ship Owners and Agents Association, Consumer Unity and Trust Society (CUTS), Shea Farmers Association of Ghana, Volta Lake Fish Farmers Association, SEND-Ghana, Polytechnic Teachers Association of Ghana (POTAG) and Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA).

All the other CSOs had one meeting each with various Parliamentary committees. They include: Integrated Social Development Centre (ISODEC), Coalition on Health, Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital Senior Staff Association (KOSSA), Association of Health Insurance Service Providers, Ghana Haulage Transport Owners Association (GHATOA), UNICEF, Local Governance Network (LOGNet), Centre for Local Government Advocacy (CLGA), Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA), Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF), OXFAM, Peasant Farmers Association of Ghana, Ghana Industrial Trawlers Association, Ghana Medical Association, ABANTU for Development, Cement Producers Association of Ghana, Stop TB Partnership Ghana, Commercial Quarry Operators Association, Ghana Broadcasters Association, Alliance for Reproductive Health Rights (ARHR), Representatives of Credit Union, and Representatives of Chiropractic and Wellness Centres.

CSOs in Parliamentary Statements

Parliamentary statements from MPs provide another source of information about consultations with CSOs and stakeholders.

- i. Stakeholders were consulted 12 times for various reasons, including pre- and post-budget consultations (see government's financial policy statements for 19th February 2013, 19th November 2013, 27th November 2013 and 18th December 2014).
 - A. African Centre for Energy Policy (ACEP): six times, in relation to the Millennium Development Authority (Amendment) Bill 2014.
 - B. UNICEF: five times, including reference to a UNICEF sponsored programme called Operation end child kayayei (porters). The child porters were taken from various places in Accra to undergo training in dressmaking, hairdressing and batik/tie and dye.

- C. STAR-Ghana: four times in support of the activities of the Public Accounts Committee (PAC).
- D. Association of Ghana Industries (AGI): was referred to once in relation to Millennium Development Authority (Amendment) 2014.
- E. Ship Owners and Agents Association: consulted once on the Ghana Civil Aviation Authority (Amendment) Bill.
- F. ABANTU for Development: one consultation which was said to have proposed and launched a study into how Kayayeis accessed healthcare.

Who Initiates CSO and Stakeholder Consultations?

One question we sought to answer is whether the stakeholder or CSO consultations that happened were on the initiative of Parliament and its committees or whether the initiative came from interested CSOs and the stakeholders. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, Parliamentary committees and MPs often have links to CSOs and think tanks (Stapenhurst and Alandu, n.d: 17). Thus, it is possible that Parliamentary committees may often approach CSOs for their inputs on legislative Bills. A case in point is the Constitution (Amendment) Bill 2016 which sought to amend Article 112(4) of the 1992 Constitution to ensure effective and smooth transition by allowing for Parliamentary Elections on the first Monday of November in every election year. To gain input from stakeholders, the Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs consulted the following CSOs¹⁸ (as stated in the Committee's report):

¹⁸ As stated in the Committee report July 2016

- i. The Ghana Bar Association
- ii. Ghana Journalist Association (GJA)
- iii. Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT)
- iv. Christian Council of Ghana
- v. Office of the National Chief Imam
- vi. Centre for Democratic Development (CDD)-Ghana
- vii. Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG)
- viii. Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEC)
- ix. Civic Forum Initiative
- x. National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS)

That said, CSOs frequently push for the opportunity to contribute to Bills. As noted by Stapenhurst and Alandu (n.d: 17), CSOs and policy think tanks often “organize Parliamentary-civil society forums to facilitate public interaction on proposed policy changes” For instance, ISODEC, CEA, and the Faculty of Law at the University of Ghana organised similar consultations regarding the asset declaration and education on conflict of interest laws, and African Union/United Nations convention on corruption.

Parliament must seek public input as a matter of course, as interactions and interventions help draw attention to gaps, defects, and possible dangers in proposed laws. For instance, when the Interception of Postal Packets (IPP) Bill, also called the ‘Spy’ Bill, was introduced in Parliament, agitations from CSOs, stakeholders and individuals such as the Centre for Democratic Development (CDD), Imani Ghana, Occupy Ghana, the Ghana Bar Association, former President John Agyekum Kufuor and former Attorney General Martin Amidu led to the withdrawal of the Bill¹⁹. Some of these CSOs were later invited by the

¹⁹ See Ghanaweb. 2016. Spy Bill Withdrawn from Parliament.

Parliamentary committee to make submissions before it, and the Bill was re-laid before Parliament. It is yet to be passed into law. The Plant Breeders Bill 2013 suffered a similar fate as bodies such as Food Sovereignty Ghana (FSG)²⁰ and the Peasant Farmers Association of Ghana (PFAG) kicked against it. PFAG urged Parliament to do further consultations with farmers²¹.

With regards to consultations involving formal meetings between CSOs and committees captured in Table 2 above, we were unable to determine whether it was the committee in question that contacted the CSOs or the CSOs that took the initiative. A more routinized and structured process of public consultation and participation is recommended, in place of the ad hoc and unpredictable scheduling of current interactions.

This chapter has concerned itself with Parliamentary committees' engagements with CSOs and stakeholders. Some evidence shows that Parliament, through its committees, consults CSOs and stakeholders for inputs into Bills. Our data indicates that about 3.7% of committee meetings involved consultations with CSOs and stakeholders. We have argued that Parliamentary consultations with CSOs and stakeholders affect the quality of laws that are made by Parliament; such consultations provide Parliament with expert knowledge for the purposes of law making. Consequently, engagements with CSOs and stakeholders are crucial for the proper functioning of Parliament, especially since Parliament lacks adequate human and material resources to enable MPs to conduct their

<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Spy-Bill-withdrawn-from-Parliament-451805>

²⁰ see 'FSG criticises Plant Breeders Bill'

<http://www.ghanatrade.gov.gh/Latest-News/fsg-criticises-plant-breeders-Bill.html>

²¹ see Peasant farmers kick against Plant Breeders Bill.

<https://www.ghanabusinessnews.com/2016/05/04/peasant-farmers-kick-against-plant-breeders-Bill/>

own research. While we are unable to assess whether the CSO consultations were sufficient, we urge Parliament to make such consultations regular and part of the legislative process.

Engagement with Local Constituents

Why is it Important for MPs to Engage their Constituents and Solicit Their Input?

Parliamentarians are an important bridge between their local communities and the central government; as such constituency relations are an indispensable part of an MP's job. Frequent interaction with constituents to discuss pertinent local problems can present windows of opportunity for better policy making and targeted interventions that address real issues in people's lives.

Parliamentarians who establish two-way communication with constituents are also better positioned to explain or defend new policies, laws and challenges in prosecuting certain items on the government agenda. In fact, it is in the MP's own political interest to maintain good constituency relations, as an MP who is considered inaccessible to his constituents risks losing his or her seat.

Research also shows that "Ghanaians very much prefer to contact their MPs personally and informally or through an intermediary." Common means of contact include one-on-one in-person encounters, questioning the MP at public meetings or fora, and relaying concerns to the MP through a traditional leader or local party executives or an Assembly man or woman). Rarely used are formal channels like writing letters or addressing petitions to the MP. Parliamentarians should be perceptive to the channels mostly used by their constituents for effective cataloguing of issues for necessary action.

Effective engagement with ordinary citizens, local officials and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) at the constituency level can generate interest and enthusiasm among constituents to get involved in public affairs, thereby raising the overall level of civic activism and responsibility among Ghanaians. Between 2012 and 2014, interest in the discussion of public affairs in Ghana increased by 6.8 percentage points, from 28.3%

to 35.1%. Similarly, discussion of political matters with family and friends jumped from 19.4% to 27.6%; an increase of 8.2 percentage points. However, frequent attendance at community meetings within the period saw a marginal increase of 0.4% from 9.5% to 9.9%.

Apathy is particularly high among the youth, a phenomenon that is continentwide. A recent Afrobarometer survey (2016) shows that “on three aspects of civic engagement, a majority of young Africans are not active: membership in civic organizations (religious groups and voluntary associations), civic activism (attending community meetings and joining others to raise an issue), and contacting community or political leaders to discuss important problems.” Per the report, few people in Ghana are willing to join others to raise an issue for redress (7.7%), demonstrate or protest (0.5%) and pay taxes or fees to the government (1.4%).

Although the statistics on civic and political activism in Ghana seem low, it is also important to note that modes of civic engagement have been redefined by the rise of digital and social media platforms. Citizen mobilization initiated and organized via social media (Facebook, WhatsApp and Twitter) against corruption, judgment debts, failing public education systems, and high electricity tariffs, is gaining prominence and making elected leaders more responsive. Parliamentarians can tap into these new media to expand their engagement with constituents. The Parliamentary Select Committee on Government Assurances has adopted the use of digital tools to engage with the Ghanaian public with the aim of ensuring “a lasting participatory democracy by continually empowering the public through new media tools and technology to access relevant information concerning government activities, deepen awareness on government assurances, easily engage with political actors and also make meaningful inputs into the political system”.

Parliamentary Committees

Parliamentary committees derive their power from the 1992 Constitution of Ghana. Article 103 states that "Parliament shall appoint Standing Committees and other Committees as may be necessary for the effective discharge of its functions". The Committees possess powers, rights and privileges of a High Court in relation to:

- i. Enforcing the attendance of witnesses and examining them on oath, affirmation or otherwise;
- ii. Compelling the production of documents; and
- iii. Issuing of a commission or requesting to examine witnesses abroad.

Ghana's Parliament has three types of committees, namely standing committees, select committees, and ad-hoc committees. Clause 4 of Article 103 enjoins every MP to be a member of at least one of the standing committees. The assignment of an MP to a committee is informed by the constitution, standing orders of Parliament, regional balance, party unity and compromise between the majority and minority party ((Stapenhurst & Alandu, (undated)).

Between 2013 and 2016, the committees of Parliament whose activities we examined²² undertook various oversight and monitoring functions. The committees engaged various officials from Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs), public and private companies and public institutions to discuss pertinent issues. Some of their activities included vetting of nominees for public office, discussion of enquiry reports and Bills. In undertaking the latter, the committees utilized engagement mechanisms in the form of public hearings,

²² (Appointment, Trade, Industry & Tourism; Works & Housing; Privileges; Employment, Social Welfare & State; Health; Roads & Transport; Government Assurance; Lands & Forestry; Youth, Sports & Culture; Education; Constitutional, Legal & Parliamentary Affairs)

closed-door consultations with sector stakeholder groups and associations and public forums for more citizen involvement.

How Committees of Parliament Engage Citizens

Public Hearings

Public hearings have mostly been held during the vetting of nominees for Ministerial positions. Through these hearings, citizens get the opportunity to know more about nominees' family and professional backgrounds; leadership potential; their knowledge and understanding of the sectors within which they will be serve; and sometimes, their positions on controversial issues. Although citizens cannot ask questions at these appointment hearings, they can bring their concerns about the nominee to the Committees in writing.

A public hearing on President's nominees for political appointment is only supposed to be undertaken by the Appointments Committee. Other committees such as the Works and Housing; Employment, Social Welfare and State; and Health Committees also vetted nominees for appointments in their sector ministries.²³ Separate vetting by select committees can give MPs the opportunity to ask more pointed questions with the benefit of sector specific knowledge and information (budgets, targets, etc). It also gives the relevant committee an early opportunity to assert and exercise oversight of the designated appointee and his or her department.

Direct Stakeholder Engagement

The Committees construct two-way communication platforms to discuss issues through broad consultative sessions with key stakeholders including persons from the private and public sector as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This medium was

²³ This is what official documents obtained show. It is not clear whether this was done in a joint committee fashion or not. With specific mentions of such meetings in the select committee reports, the impression is that they did this separately from the Appointments committee.

adopted for industry related issues and specific Bills. For example, the Roads and Transport, and Trade, Industry and Tourism committees directly engaged stakeholders to discuss industrial actions in the Aviation and commerce sectors respectively. The Lands and Forestry and Youth, Sports and Culture Committees also held discussions with relevant stakeholders on Bills such as the Sports Bill (2016) and the National Youth Scheme Bill (2016).

The Health committee also received presentations by eminent individuals and groups in connection with the controversial attempt to conduct clinical trials in Ghana on a vaccine for the Ebola virus. The president of the Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, Professor Akilagpa Sawyerr, made a presentation to the Health Committee on relevant processes leading to the trial, asking important questions of concern to most Ghanaians. Experts from other public organizations such as the Food and Drugs Authority (FDA) and University of Health and Allied Sciences were invited to clarify these issues and reassure the general public on the integrity of the process and the safety of the Ebola vaccine itself.²⁴ It is instructive to note that these presentations were only organised after the vaccine trials became a controversy.

Public Forums

Public forums allow for more open, unrestricted public participation. In a bid to solicit the input of citizens with different demographic backgrounds, the Constitutional, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs Committee adopted this approach for the Constitution (Amendment) Bill (2016).²⁵

Table 3: *Committee-Citizen Engagements (2013-2016)*

²⁴ Health Committee Report on Ebola Vaccine Trials

²⁵ Health Committee Report on Ebola Vaccine Trials

Number of Committees (13)	Period of Engagement	No. of Citizen Engagements (20)
Appointments	2013-2016	5
Trade, Industry & Tourism	2016	2
Works and Housing	2013 & 2016	2
Privileges	2015	3
Employment, Social Welfare & State	2015	1
Health	2015	1
Roads & Transport	2015	1
Government Assurance	2013	N/A
Lands & Forestry	2016	1
Youth, Sports and Culture	2016	1
Education	2016	1
Joint	2015	1
Constitutional, Legal & Parliamentary Affairs	2016	1

Source: Reports of various committees

Data accessed from the Parliamentary Service, though incomplete, was sufficient to enable us assess the nature and extent of Parliament's engagement with citizens. Committee reports contained both background information and minutes of proceedings. However, the Government Assurance Committee report for 2013 only had background information. Not all current reports by the committees are publicly available and accessible. The Privileges; Employment, Social Welfare and State; Health; and Roads and Transport committees fall within this bracket. Only the Appointments Committee had complete reports from 2013 to 2016.

Statements

Though attendance at Parliamentary sittings is a good measure of an MP's commitment to the business of the House, a better measure is the extent of an MP's active participation in the business of the House, notably through contributions to debates. Contributing to discussions is the primary means through which MPs discharge their responsibilities in the areas of representation, legislation and executive oversight. MPs ask Ministers questions about the progress of development projects in their constituencies (representation), suggest and debate amendments to Bills (legislation), and scrutinize the Government's yearly budgets all through the device of speech.

Following conventional Parliamentary practice, the 1992 constitution promotes unfettered debate in the House under Article 115, as follows:

"There shall be freedom of speech, debate and proceedings in Parliament and that freedom shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament."

Only the Speaker and the Parliamentary Committee on Privilege can rule on the propriety of MPs' speech.²⁶ These protections exist to ensure MPs have as much freedom as possible to engage in vigorous debates and express their views fully. Did the MPs of the Sixth Parliament take full advantage of this privilege?

Our assessment of MP statements in Parliament shows that 255 out of 275 or 92.7% of MPs made at least one contribution to debates during their four-year tenure in office.

Unfortunately as many as 20 MPs (7.3%) did not make a single contribution to Parliamentary debates between 2012 and 2016. The 19 MPs are:

Table 4: *List of MPs who did not make a single contribution to Parliamentary debates (2012-2016)*

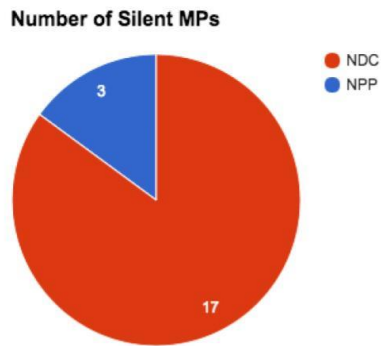
²⁶ Article 116

MP	Constituency	Party
Adjei, Kwasi Boateng	New Juaben North	NPP
Akolbire, Opam-Brown Emmanuel	Bolgatanga Central	NDC
Amankwanor, Joseph Sam	Upper West Akim	NDC
Anaman, Francis K (Wg Cdr [rtd])	Jomoro	NDC
Ashiamah, Daniel Kwesi	Buem	NDC
Asiamah, Kwabena Amankwa	Fanteakwa North	NPP
Bennam, John Jabaah	Zabzugu	NPP
Boforo, Mary Salifu (Hajia) Deputy Whip	Savelugu	NDC
Crentsil, Abeiku	Ekumfi	NDC
Dadzie, Anthony Christian	Abura-Asebu- Kwamankese	NDC
Kavianu, Jeff Tetteh	Upper Manya Krobo	NDC
Kessie, Kweku Tanikyi	Evalue Ajomoro Gwira	NDC

Laryea, Emmanuel Nii Okai	Amasaman	NDC
Mahama, Naser Toure	Ayawaso East	NDC
Mohammed, Masawud (Alhaji)	Pru West	NDC
Namoale, Nii Amasah	Dade Kotopon	NDC
Otuteye, Christian Corletey	Sege	NDC
Quaye-Kumah, Nii Oakley (Dr)	Krowor	NDC
Saaka, Joseph Akati (Alhaji)	Bole/Bamboi	NDC

Source: Hansards of the Parliament of Ghana (2013-Jan.2017)

Figure 3: Party Distribution of Silent MPs



Source: Hansards, Order Papers, Votes & Proceedings (2013-2016)

The failure of the 20 MPs to speak on the floor of the House throughout their four-year tenure is indeed worrying. We interrogate possible reasons for this situation as well as the broader trends in the volume of Parliamentary discourse of MPs.

Which Factors Affect an MP's Opportunities to Contribute to Discussions?

The modalities of Parliamentary speaking are governed by Parliament's internal regulations– the standing orders – which are ruled on by the Speaker of Parliament.

The Speaker determines who may speak, when and on what issues in Parliament. Standing Order 84 (1) states that:

“A Member desiring to speak shall rise in his place, and address the Chair only after catching Mr. Speaker's eye.”

The number of opportunities an MP has to contribute to debates will therefore depend on the member's ability to “catch the eye” of the Speaker and on the Speaker's decision to recognize such a member. A Speaker may decide not to recognize an MP senior MP also seeks to be recognized and a range of other factors, including, possibly, the

Speaker's own biases. A firm determination of the Speaker's bias or otherwise is beyond the scope of our data.

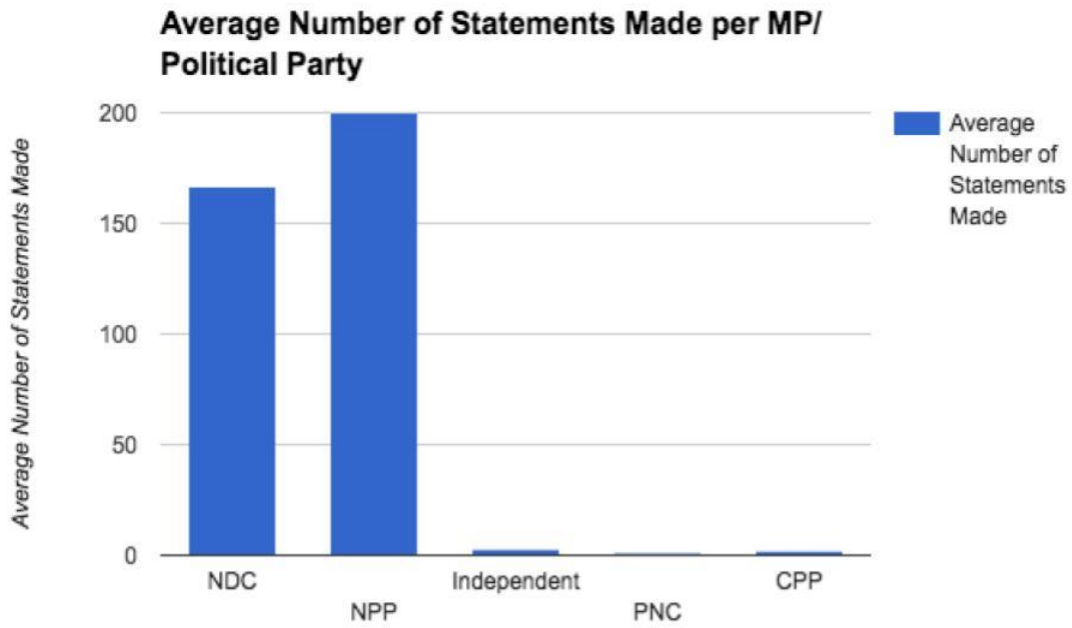
The Speaker's own exercise of discretion and fairness aside, the relative frequency with which an MP is able to catch the eye of the Speaker depends on a host of factors. Here we examine the extent to which factors such as the gender, political party affiliation, leadership or rank, and seniority (longevity) of an MP contribute to his or her ability to participate in Parliamentary discourse.

Party Affiliation

Because Speakers are nominated by and affiliated to the Majority party, the party membership of an MP could affect his or her opportunities to contribute to debates. While there is no objective data for inferring Speaker bias along party lines, our analysis of data on statements, by party, yields some interesting insights.

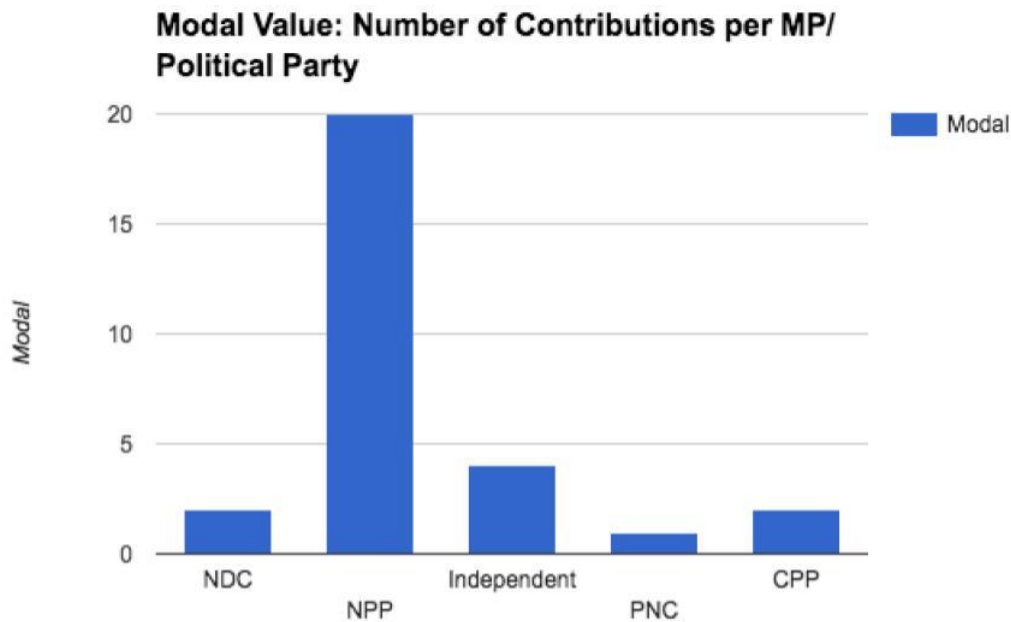
The average number of contributions MPs made varied along party lines. NPP MPs made an average of 199 statements over the four-year period, 33 statements more than NDC MPs who made 166 statements.

Figure 4: Average Number of Statements Made per MP/Political Party



The average number of statements per MP per party is affected by the number of statements of the most vocal MPs in both parties. However even when controlling for the outliers in our data set, NPP MPs were, on the whole, more vocal than NDC MPs.

Figure 5: Modal value of contributions per MP/Political Party



Source: Hansards, Order Papers, Votes & Proceedings (2013-2016)

This finding is partly explained by the fact that the NPP held the position of largest opposition party in Parliament at the time. Thus, there seems to have been a greater predisposition by its MPs to attack and expose flaws in the government's policies, programs, and proposed Bills.

Leadership Position

An MP's seniority in Parliament can also determine how often he or she is able to contribute to debates. Standing Order 8 lists the order of precedence in Parliament as:

"The Speaker of Parliament shall take precedence over all other persons in Parliament; and in descending order, the order of precedence in Parliament after the Speaker shall be:

First Deputy Speaker, Second Deputy Speaker, Majority Leader Minority Leader, Deputy Majority Leader, Deputy Minority Leader, Majority Chief Whip, Minority Chief Whip, Majority Whip, Minority Whip, Deputy Majority Whip, Deputy Minority Whip”

The Speaker of Parliament often follows this order of precedence when deciding who to grant speaking permissions to, as he did during a debate held on March 7th 2014 regarding the State of the Nation Address:

“Mr Annoh-Dompreh (NPP-Adoagyiri) 2 p.m.

Mr Speaker, but in moving ahead -- yes, the Free Senior High School that was negatively rejected, the Free Senior High School that colleagues on the other side mocked at, today, the Free Senior High School has become a cornerstone when it comes to policy in this country. Now Mr Speaker, there are some critical indices --

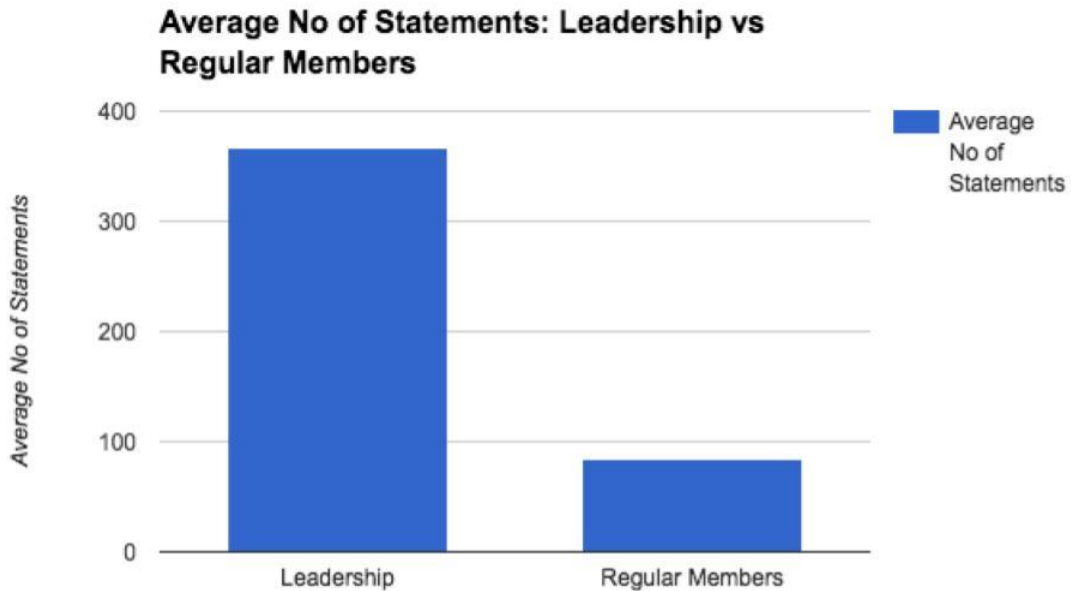
Several Hon Members -- rose –

Mr Second Deputy Speaker (Presiding) 2 p.m.

The only person I would recognise is the Hon Deputy Majority Leader. I would not recognise anybody else. I will recognise the Hon Chief Whip and the Hon Deputy Minority Leader. I would not recognise anybody else. I am given an advice that I should not recognise anybody. But I would recognise them

Our research suggests that MPs who are members of the leadership of Parliament do indeed get to speak more often than regular MPs.

Figure 6: Average Number of Statements between leadership and regular members of Parliament



Source: *Hansards, Order Papers, Votes & Proceedings (2013-2016)*

Our set of leaders include the senior leadership of Parliament (Majority Leader, Minority Leader and others) as well as Committee Chairpersons, Vice Chairpersons, Ranking Members and Deputy Ranking Members.

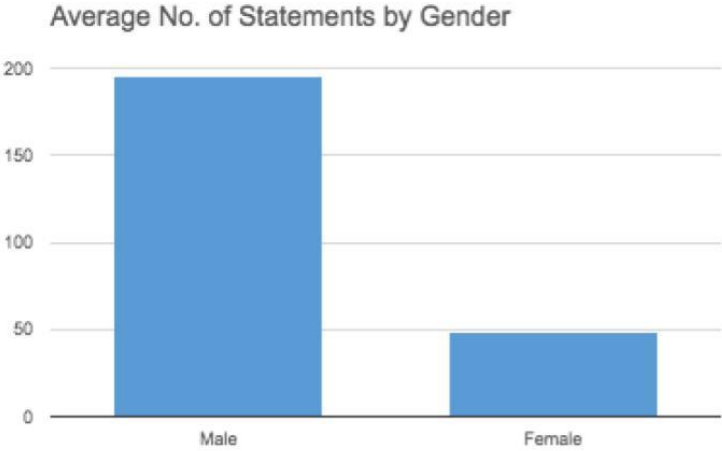
Though each MP spoke 122 times on average, a large number of MPs only spoke a handful of times. However, MPs who hold leadership positions, such as Alban Bagbin (Majority Leader) and Osei Kyei Mensah Bonsu (Minority Leader), generally spoke more frequently

and tended to dominate Parliamentary debates. For instance, Dr. Anthonoy Akoto Osei (Ranking Member, Finance Committee) spoke 4026 times over the period.

Gender

It is impossible to determine whether there is gender bias in MPs’ relative access to speaking opportunities in House debates. However, using the dataset available, we can at least describe or observe the pattern and rate of female MPs’ debate participation.

Figure 7: Average Number of Statements by Gender



Source: Hansards, Order Papers, Votes & Proceedings (2013-2016)

On average, male MPs were more outspoken than female MPs. The 30 women MPs in the House made an average of 48 statements each; 147 statements less than male MPs who averaged 195 statements. Although holding a House leadership position appears to give most MPs an advantage in “catching the eye” of the Speaker, this factor does not explain the relatively low average number of statements by women compared to men. Seven of the 30 women MPs are in leadership positions in Parliament, comprising 10% of the

Parliamentary leadership and nearly proportionate to the percentage of men MPs in Parliament (11%). Further research is therefore required to understand why women MPs do not make contributions as often as MPs who are men.

It is encouraging to note that though women may not have contributed to Parliamentary debates as often as men, almost all (29 of the 30 (96.5%)) women MPs made contributions to debates compared with 227 of the 245 men(92.6

From our analysis it is clear that the most significant factor that affects MP's participation is his or her selection for a leadership position. The order of precedence in the Standing Orders was created with the assumption that each party's chosen leaders are in the best position to represent the party's views. However, MPs are also agents of their respective constituencies and local communities, each of which is rightfully entitled to an equal opportunity to have their particular concerns aired on their behalf by their representative in Parliament. If the evidence continues to show a pattern of excessive preferential treatment of the House leadership in the allocation of speaking opportunities by the Speaker, future Parliaments or Speakers should re-examine the Standing Orders or practice and its impact with a view towards adopting a more equitable distribution of speaking opportunities among MPs.

Thematic Focus of Statements on the Floor

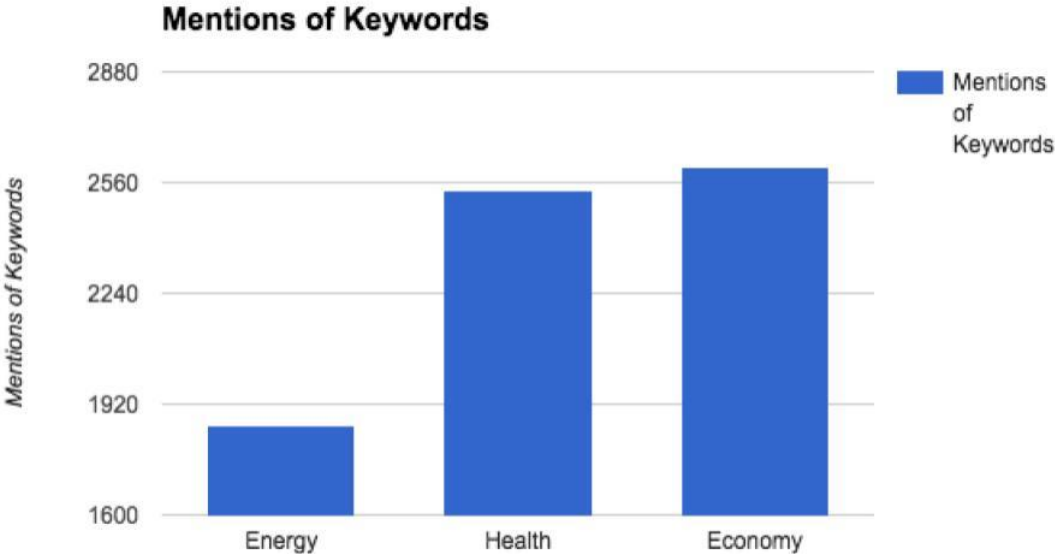
Beyond measuring rates or levels of participation in Parliament in terms of the relative outspokenness of members, we were also interested in the content of the contributions made in Parliament, in terms of the subject-matter, sectorial areas or policy themes that most engaged the attention or interest of MPs over the four-year period.

Not surprisingly, the energy crises, which dominated the political and news headlines over the last four years, featured prominently in Parliamentary debates. A keyword search of the word "dumsor" shows that it was spoken on 50 different occasions in Parliament

between July 10th 2014 and August Fourth 2016. Keywords associated with the energy crises (e.g., electricity prices, gas, power barge, power, and ECG) appeared 1,860 times in speeches made in Parliament.

Keyword searches conducted on a range of keywords concerning the economy and health returned a total of 7005 hits. The chart below highlights the key themes which appeared in Parliamentary debates:

Figure 8: Mentions of Keywords



Source: Hansards, Order Papers, Votes & Proceedings (2013-2016)

Questions

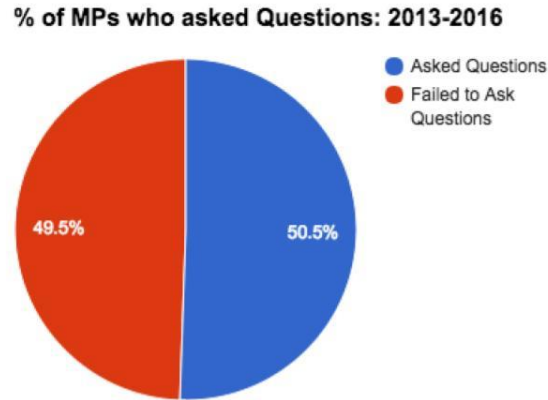
Besides contributing to debates on budgets, Bills and state of the nation addresses, MPs are also permitted to question Ministers of State on any issues they seek answers to.

As membership of the three committees that regularly question Ministers (i.e. Public Accounts Committee, the Appointments Committee and the Government Assurances Committee) is limited to the MPs on those committees, formal questions are the only opportunity every MP has to hold a Minister to account. MPs' ability to ask questions are not constrained by their level of seniority in Parliament. An MP must give notice of his question to the Table office 10 sitting (Parliamentary working) days before he or she intends to ask the question. Any MP who follows this procedure can ask any Minister of State a question so long as the question conforms to the guidelines set forth in the order papers. Ministers must then respond to questions within three weeks of receiving the question and attend a Parliamentary sitting for one hour to answer the questions in person.²⁷ A Member who did not ask questions may, nonetheless, ask a follow-up question based on the main question asked by other MPs. In short, every MP has a fair and equal chance to address a Question to a Minister of State and have it answered.

Our findings show that a total of 139 MPs or 50.5% of MPs asked Ministers a total of 578 questions over the four-year period.

²⁷ Standing Order 60.

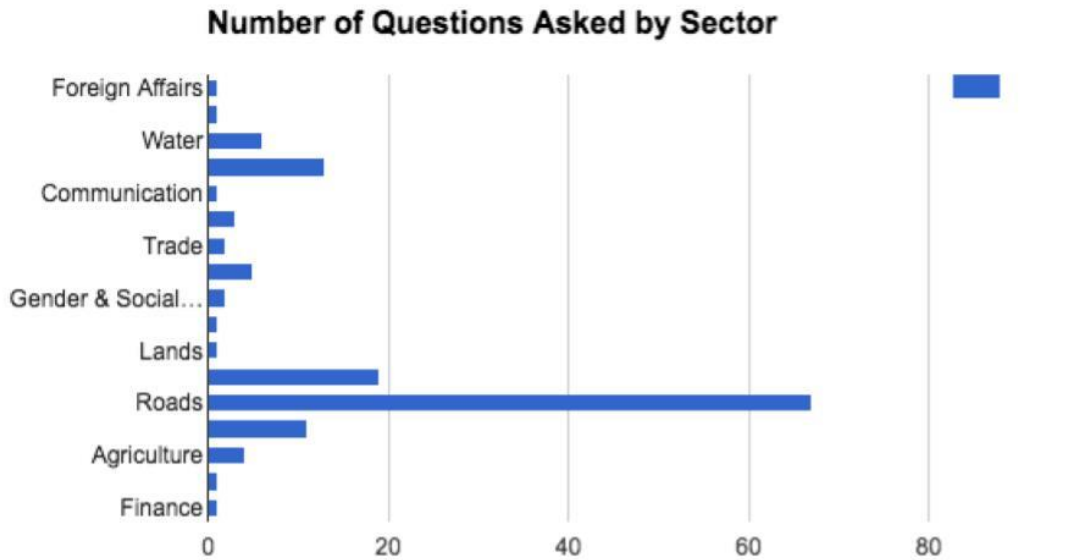
Figure 9: Percentage of MPs who asked questions



Source: Hansards, Order Papers, Votes & Proceedings (2013-2016)

Most MPs used Ministers question time to represent the local developmental needs of their constituents in Parliament. From a sample of 139 questions or 24% of the questions asked, 67 questions or 48% of the questions were about the rehabilitation or construction of roads in the MP's constituency. MPs also asked a large number of questions about the provision of healthcare facilities (19 questions), access to electricity (13), Education (11) and access to water (6).

Figure 10: Number of questions asked by sector



Source: Hansards, Order Papers, Votes & Proceedings (2013-2016)

As previously mentioned, the majority of questions asked by MPs were about local developmental challenges. Only 22 questions or 15% of the 139 questions sampled were about national or nationwide challenges such as “dumsor.” While MPs must be commended for using Ministers question time to bring the needs of their constituents to national attention, more MPs should take advantage of Ministers’ Question Time to raise issues of general national concern.

Bills

While it may be useful to measure the number, type and quality of statements and questions in Parliament, these metrics only assess Parliament's performance of its oversight and representative functions. The legislative function is one of the three primary functions of Parliament and the only function which the constitution explicitly "vests" in Parliament, subject to the provisions of the constitution.²⁸ Debates over amendments to and the eventual passage of Bills are therefore at the center of Parliament's work. To evaluate Parliament's performance of its legislative duties, we examined the focus of Bills, their duration in Parliament, correlation to key policy themes and focus and number of amendments to Bills. We also record the number of amendments successfully introduced by individual members of Parliament.

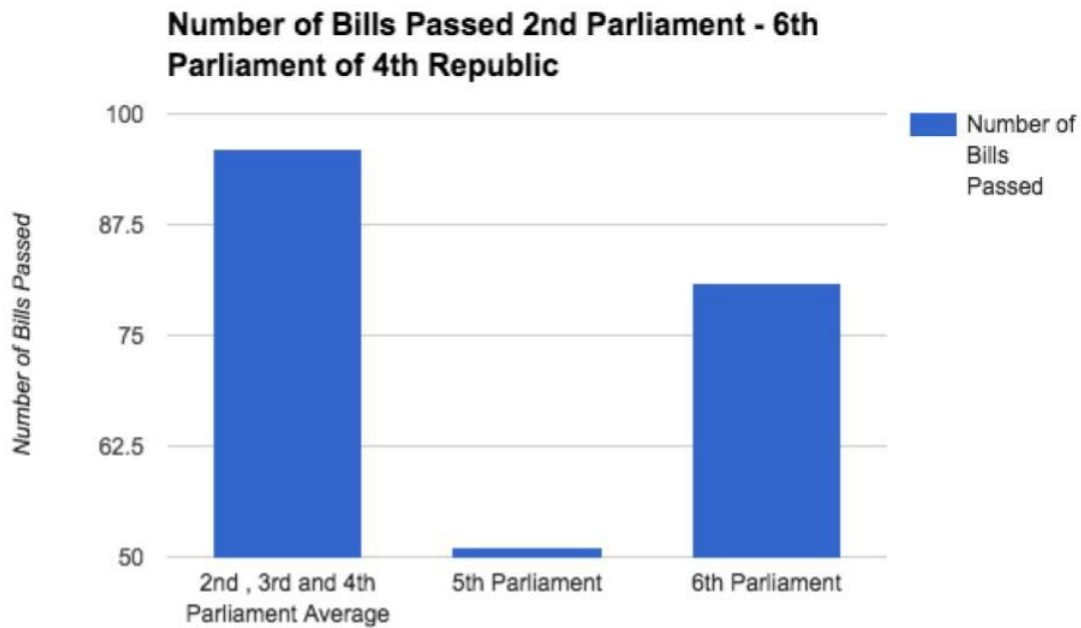
Number of Bills Passed

Over the four-year period of its existence, the Sixth Parliament examined over 87 Bills, passing 79 Bills into law with 8 Bills yet to be passed at the time of writing.²⁹ This volume and rate of Bill passage means the Sixth Parliament approved more Bills than its immediate predecessor, the 5th Parliament which approved 51 Bills over a similar period. However, the Sixth Parliament's legislative output falls short of the average of 24 Bills approved per session across the Second, Third and Fourth Parliaments (Warren, 2005). At 81 Bills, the average number of Bills approved per session in the Sixth Parliament is 20. The slight drop in average number of Bills passed may not however indicate a drop in Parliament's efficiency.

Figure 11: Number of Bills passed between Second-Sixth Parliaments of the Fourth Republic

²⁸ Article 93 (2) 1992 Constitution of Ghana.

²⁹ See Appendix XX below



Source: Hansards, Order Papers, Votes & Proceedings (2013-2016)

As previously mentioned in this report, Ghana’s Parliament has very little power to initiate Bills on its own accord. The constitution denies MPs the ability to introduce Bills or amendments that have the purpose or effect of placing a charge on public accounts or impose taxing, and further, leaves it to the judgment of “the person presiding” to decide if a legislative proposal by an MP violates that prohibition. Since the commencement of Ghana’s Fourth Republic, the party of the President has controlled at least a Working majority in Parliament. Unsurprisingly, successive Speakers, each a nominee of the ruling party, have read the constitutional restriction very restrictively to practically preclude nearly every Private Member’s Bill. In practice therefore, the executive has the exclusive power to introduce Bills into Parliament. With a simple majority and control of the leadership of Parliament, the executive Party can also determine to a large extent, the number of Bills passed and their content.

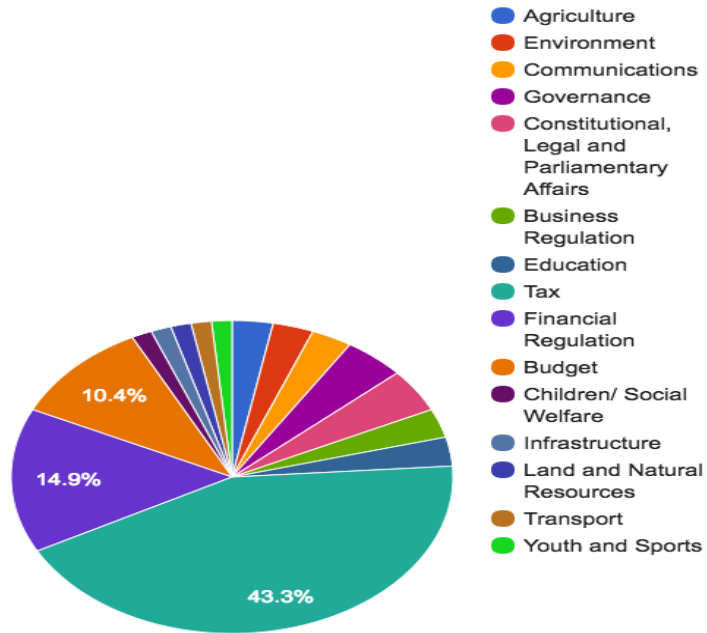
Focus of Parliamentary Bills

The executive controls Parliament's legislative agenda, therefore the assumption is that the sector and thematic focus of Bills passed should align with the key policy objectives of the government. From our analysis of the Bills passed it is clear that the government's highest priority over the past 4 years was to raise revenue to finance government expenditure and projects.

Of the 79 Bills passed, 31 Bills or 43.3% were "tax Bills", introduced to impose or revise (mostly increase) taxes, customs duties and levies. With seven Appropriation Bills introduced to approve the budget, revenue mobilization comprised 50.7% of the Sixth Parliament's legislative agenda.

Figure 12: Bills Passed 2013-2016

Sector Focus : Bills Passed 2013-2016



Source: Hansards, Order Papers, Votes & Proceedings (2013-2016)

Our findings affirm the complaints of industry and the general public that the Government has overtaxed businesses over the last four years.³⁰ Regulation of the financial sector ranked 2nd on the list of Parliament's priorities, with 10 enacted Bills (12%) falling in this category. The government introduced or amended crucial Bills such as the Public Financial Management Act 2016, Ghana Export-Import Bank Act 2016 and the Public Procurement (Amendment) Act 2015. Interior (7 Bills), Energy (6 Bills), and Trade and Industry (4) Bills were ranked 3rd, Fourth and 5th by volume of Bills passed, in that order.³¹

Duration of Bill Approval

The length of time Parliament takes to pass each Bill also provides clues about the priorities of the House. Typically, each Bill must be examined by Parliament through a systematic process of publication, two readings, scrutiny by a committee, and a final third reading and debate as described in our "How Parliament Works" section. The Constitution however makes provision for a Bill which is deemed by the relevant Parliamentary select Committee to be of an urgent nature to be read, debated and voted upon by Parliament within a day.³²

The two fastest Bills to be approved by Parliament seem to have been passed under this exception. The National Health Insurance (NHIS) (Amendment) Bill 2015 and the Special Petroleum Tax Bill, 2014 were both passed by Parliament after going through all three readings within a day. The NHIS (Amendment) Bill was passed on March 25th 2015 and the Special Petroleum Tax Bill on November 19th 2014.

Our findings confirm that the government uses Parliament primarily to raise revenue through taxation. Seven of the 10 fastest Bills passed by Parliament were Tax Bills, with an eighth being the Appropriation Bill 2013. In addition to the Special Petroleum Tax Bill

³⁰<http://www.businessghana.com/site/news/Business/137636/%20Government%20warned%20against%20excessive%20taxes>

³¹ See Chart (Above) and Table (In Appendix) for detailed list and categorization of Bills passed by Parliament.

³² Article 106 (13) , Constitution of the Republic of Ghana

2014, the Energy Sector Levies Bill, 2015, the Special Import Levy Bill, National Fiscal Stabilisation Levy Bill, Customs and Excise (Amendment) Bill 2013 and Value Added Tax (Amendment) Bill 2013 and 2015 were all passed by Parliament in six calendar days or less.

On average Parliament took 141 calendar days to pass each Bill. Tax Bills however were passed in an average of 81 days; 60 calendar days faster than all other Bills were passed.

A Bill's long "stay" in Parliament without passage is not necessarily negative. In some cases, a Bill which takes several weeks to pass through the house undergoes lengthy and detailed scrutiny and amendments.

Our analysis of 63 Bills however shows that there's a very weak correlation (0.204) between the duration of a Bill's passage and the number of amendments made on a Bill.

Table 5: Bill, Number of Amendments & Duration (days)

Bill	Number of Amendments	Duration (days)
INCOME TAX BILL, 2015 -	246	120
PUBLIC FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT BILL, 2016 -	187	40
CUSTOMS BILL, 2014 -	182	352
SECURITIES INDUSTRY BILL, 2015 -	170	367
BANKS AND SPECIALISED DEPOSIT-TAKING INSTITUTIONS BILL, 2015 -	123	426
VALUE ADDED TAX BILL, 2013 -	92	119
RIGHT TO INFORMATION BILL, 2013 -	91	
GHANA INTERNATIONAL TRADE COMMISSION BILL, 2014 -	80	602
GHANA DEPOSIT PROTECTION BILL, 2015 -	69	
GHANA INVESTMENT PROMOTION CENTRE BILL, 2013 -	69	126
CHARTERED INSTITUTE OF TAXATION BILL, 2014 -	63	553

MARITIME POLLUTION BILL, 2015 -	60	155
EXCISE DUTY BILL, 2013 -	52	190
GHANA INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENT FUND BILL, 2014 -	50	31
REVENUE ADMINISTRATION BILL, 2016 -	49	103
PETROLEUM (EXPLORATION AND PRODUCTION) BILL, 2016 -	46	62
ANTI-MONEY LAUNDERING (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2013 -	37	126
BANK OF GHANA (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2016 -	35	34
MINERALS DEVELOPMENT FUND BILL, 2014 -	33	417
NATIONAL DISASTER MANAGEMENT ORGANISATION BILL, 2015 -	32	441
IMMIGRATION SERVICE BILL, 2015	31	315
TECHNICAL UNIVERSITIES BILL, 2016 -	31	57
EXPORT TRADE, AGRICULTURAL & INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT FUND BILL, 2013 -	28	37
GHANA GEOLOGICAL SURVEY AUTHORITY BILL, 2015	24	143
TRADEMARKS (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2013 -	23	131
COMPANIES (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2016 -	22	17
GHANA EXPORT-IMPORT BANK BILL, 2015	21	120
LAND USE AND SPATIAL PLANNING BILL, 2016 -	21	40
GHANA AIDS COMMISSION BILL, 2015 -	20	476
MINERALS AND MINING (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2014 -	20	356
ENERGY SECTOR LEVIES BILL, 2015 -	19	2
GHANA CIVIL AVIATION (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2015 -	19	154
PUBLIC PROCUREMENT (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2015 -	18	238
PLANT BREEDERS BILL, 2013 -	16	Not passed
EXCISE TAX STAMP BILL, 2013 -	12	13
FISHERIES (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2014 -	11	16

INTERNAL REVENUE (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2013 -	11	15
MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2014 -	10	254
UNIVERSITY OF ENVIRONMENT AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT BILL, 2014 -	10	187
COMMUNICATIONS SERVICE TAX (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2013 -	8	1124
CUSTOMS AND EXCISE (DUTIES AND OTHER TAXES) (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2013 -	8	6
APPROPRIATION BILL, 2014 -	7	369
CUSTOMS (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2015 -	7	37
SPECIAL IMPORT LEVY BILL, 2013 -	6	5
CONDUCT OF PUBLIC OFFICERS BILL, 2013 -	5	
HAZARDOUS AND ELECTRONIC WASTE CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT BILL, 2016 -	5	30
NATIONAL PENSIONS (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2014 -	5	8
NATIONAL PETROLEUM AUTHORITY (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2015 -	5	43
NUCLEAR REGULATORY AUTHORITY BILL, 2015 -	5	42
INCOME TAX (AMENDMENT) (NO. 2) BILL, 2016 -	4	20
INCOME TAX (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2016 -	4	12
NATIONAL FISCAL STABILISATION LEVY BILL, 2013 -	3	5
SPECIAL IMPORT LEVY (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2013 -	3	5
APPROPRIATION BILL, 2013 -	2	267
ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATIONS (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2016 -	2	24
NATIONAL FISCAL STABILISATION LEVY (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2014 -	2	9
ROAD FUND (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2016	2	7
NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2015 -	1	0
SUPPLEMENTARY APPROPRIATION BILL, 2016 -	1	79
TRANSFER OF CONVICTED PERSONS (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2014 -	1	127

VALUE ADDED TAX (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2015 -	1	6
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Source: Votes & Proceedings (2013-Jan.2017)

For instance the Income Tax Bill 2015 which had 246 amendments was passed in 120 days whereas the Minerals Development Fund Bill 2014, which was amended only 33 times, took 417 days to pass. The number of amendments that are made to a Bill is therefore not a reliable predictor of the speed of a Bill's passage.

In a few cases public opposition resulted in the withdrawal and relaying of some Bills leading to delays and in some cases Parliament's failure to approve these Bills. The Interception of the Postal Packets or "Spy" Bill and the Plant Breeders Bill are two notable examples. The "Spy" Bill for instance, was [withdrawn](#) from Parliament after several lawyers, media practitioners and civil society groups opposed its approval. It was subsequently re-laid in August 2016 but was yet to be approved as at the time of writing. The Plant Breeders Bill, which went through its first reading on 12th June 2013, is also yet to be approved by Parliament.

While Parliament's decision not to pass these two Bills under pressure from the public may be commended, it should not be taken to mean that Parliament is exceptionally responsive to public and CSO pressure. The Right to Information Bill, on which CSOs have engaged Parliament under the umbrella of the Right to Information Coalition for over a decade, has still not been approved by the House. In the Sixth Parliament, it was read for the first time in 2013, withdrawn and re-laid in 2016 and is currently at the consideration stage. We examine the types of CSO and citizen pressure Parliament responds to and the most effective strategies for engaging Parliament in our chapter on CSO's engagements with Parliament.

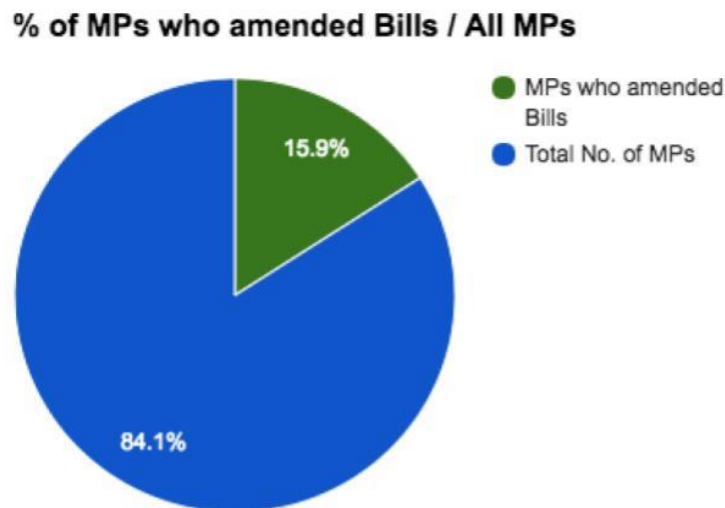
Number of Amendments

The number of Bills passed by Parliament and the speed at which they are passed may indicate the number of new policy initiatives and changes a government introduced and Parliament's efficiency in scrutinizing legislation. Those variables however do not highlight the tangible contributions each MP may or may not have made to the content of our laws.

To assess the contribution of Parliament and Parliamentarians to law making we examined the number and type of amendments MPs made to various Bills.

Only 52 MPs or 18.9% of the 275 elected MPs contributed amendments to over 81 Bills which were approved by Parliament.

Figure 13: *Percentage of MPs who amended Bills/All MPs*



Source: Hansards, Order Papers, Votes & Proceedings (2013-2016)

As is evident in Figure 2 above, the large majority of Parliamentarians in the Sixth Parliament shirked their responsibilities as legislators. It may be argued that some MPs may have proposed amendments which were not eventually admitted, however our data shows that all rejected or deferred amendments were proposed by the same 52 MPs who put forth successful amendments. Each Bill received an average of 31 amendments before passage, indicating a modest degree of scrutiny by MPs.

Leadership

A total of 27 of the 52 MPs who contributed amendments to Bills (51.9 %) were Committee Chairmen, Vice Chairmen, Ranking Members or Deputy Ranking Members. Thus, roughly half of the MPs who contributed amendments did not hold leadership positions. In general, the process of amending Bills in Parliament tends to favor leaders and members of the committee reporting on the Bills to the House.

Though this bias is not evident in the number of committee leaders who contributed amendments, it is clear when one examines the average number of amendments made by leaders compared with those made by non-leaders. Leaders of committees contributed 3.1 amendments on average while non-leaders contributed an average of 1.

The lowest number of amendments by an MP was 1 and the highest 1335 (by James Klutse Avedzi, Chairman of the Finance Committee). James Klutse Avedzi's dominance of the Bill-amendment process is not surprising since the finance committee, which he chairs, reported out over 53.4% of the Bills approved by Parliament over the four-year period. The constitution which prevents MPs from introducing Bills or making amendments to Bills which incur a charge on the consolidated account, and the predominance of "tax Bills" on the Sixth Parliament's agenda made it inevitable that the leadership of the finance committee would dominate the Bill-amendment process.

12. Conclusion

The Parliament of Ghana is arguably the weakest of the three arms of our democratic governance infrastructure. Our report provides valuable data which for the first time quantifies the nature of Parliament's work and the extent of its successes and failures. We summarise our findings below.

Improving Public and Stakeholder input into Bills.

Our findings show that about 3.7% of committee meetings involved consultations with CSOs and stakeholders. (55 consultations out of 1500 meetings recorded). This low figure points to a failure of Parliament's current methods of soliciting and encouraging input from stakeholders and the general public. The vociferous public opposition to Parliament's consideration of the "Spy Bill" and the Plant Breeders Bill by key stakeholders and CSOs was a very public example of that failure. Civil Society groups have come to expect that their submissions are considered when public policy is fashioned.

However, these groups were a) Not reached by Parliament's public notices in the Papers requesting papers, and b) either not consulted or c) felt their input was not incorporated into the contents of the respective Bills as announced to the public.

Parliament's broader engagement with the public is plagued with similar problems. Parliamentary through its committees played a largely reactive role in its engagements in the public arena. For instance Parliament only convened the Health Committee to investigate the Ebola vaccine trials after public backlash against the trials. Though the Committee's public hearings demonstrate responsiveness to the concerns of the public, a public hearing held before the trial was approved would have forestalled the

unnecessary panic that news of the trial created. Committees must be more proactive in soliciting the input of citizens when making important public decisions.

MPs' Participation in Parliamentary Deliberations

Our research suggests that the holding of a leadership position is the most important determinant of the volume of an MP's contributions to Parliamentary debates. The leadership of the house may consider revising the standing orders which compel the Speaker to give precedence to the leadership of Parliament. Members of the Parliamentary leadership already have the advantage over newer members of superior experience and knowledge of the Standing Orders. Granting them preferential rights to participate in debates magnifies those advantages. Given the high numbers of new MPs in the 7th Parliament, the leadership runs the risk of exacerbating the pattern identified in the 6th Parliament of Parliamentary leadership dominating debates. We recommend that the Speaker considers an amendment to the standing order 8 to liberalise the order of precedence in Parliament during debates.

Women's participation in Parliamentary Debates.

The Speaker in his inaugural speech highlighted our abysmal track record in the area of women's representation in Parliament. He proposed affirmative action programs to increase the numbers of women entering Parliament. Our findings show that though women don't make as many statements as men in Parliament, approximately 96% of women (29/30) in Parliament contributed to Parliamentary debates compared with 92.7% of men (226/ 245). Women in Parliament therefore perform at a comparable level to men and can be expected to do so if/when their numbers increase in Parliament.

With the benefit of these findings we hereby make the following recommendations for Parliamentary reform:

Recommendations for Parliamentary Reform

a) Engagement with CSO's and Stakeholders

1. Parliamentary committee reports are brief summaries of several discussions of a Parliamentary committee on any one issue. Assuming that committees take minutes of each committee meeting, these records are not published. It is therefore impossible to determine the thought process of Parliamentary committees and the degree to which CSOs and other Stakeholders' inputs were considered during their deliberations. We recommend that Parliament publishes the minutes of each committee meeting, subject to restrictions necessary to ensure attorney-client privilege, protect national security and so on.
2. Furthermore, we recommend that Parliament records and publishes the individual contributions of MPs to committee debates. Members of Parliament have often complained that they are often marked absent despite their contributions to committee discussions.
3. Committees (through Parliament) also fail to publish the explanatory memoranda which various CSOs and Stakeholders provide to them. Though it is possible for members of the public and stakeholders to publish these memoranda on their own websites, Parliament must as a matter of course have its own copies in a centralized electronic location and publish these on its website for free public viewing.

b) Engagements with Citizens

The "Parliament/Citizen Encounter" program proposed by the Speaker is a laudable initiative. Prior to its conceptualization and implementation

however a number of immediate steps can be taken to enhance citizens' access to MPs.

1. All MPs can be required to furnish the Parliamentary Service with their public phone numbers, e-mail addresses and social media profiles. Phone numbers and e-mail addresses are already required however a cursory examination of Parliament's website shows that many MPs in the 6th Parliament failed to provide these details. Though about 30% of Ghanaians use the internet with 13% of that number on Facebook only a very small fraction of MPs are on social media.
2. Furthermore, the meetings of Parliamentary committees, with the exception of the Public Accounts, are closed to the public by default, unless the Chairman of the committee exercises his discretion to allow deliberations of the committees. We recommend an amendment to Standing Order 213 to allow members of the general public to have access to Parliamentary committees by default, with the option to restrict access when discussions on national security and similar confidential matters are held.
3. Parliament must announce calls for public memoranda and reports from stakeholders and citizens on the radio stations with the widest coverage as well as on social media.
4. Reform the Parliamentary Service's record keeping system: We recommend that the Hansard Department and the Table Office's record keeping systems should be completely overhauled. We faced considerable difficulties in

The ground-breaking speech delivered by the Speaker of Parliament the Rt. Honourable Mike Oquaye outlined a bold agenda for Parliamentary reform. Our report has

identified, using data, many of the fundamental weaknesses with Parliament. We are also hopeful that the new Parliamentary leadership will be informed by our findings and other studies on the effectiveness of Parliament as they execute their mandate of Parliamentary leadership. The growth and progress of our democracy is contingent on a strong Parliament.

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APPENDIX:

1. Statement and Attendance Scores of MPs & Ranking

MP	CONSTITUENCY	CONTRIBUTION SCORE (60/100)	ATTENDANCE (40/100)	TOTAL	RANK
Osei, Anthony Akoto (Dr)	Old Tafo	58.74	35.38	94.12	1
Avedzi, James Klutse	Ketu North	59.22	34.17	93.39	2
Chireh, Joseph Yieleh	Wa West	57.24	34.97	92.21	3
Owusu-Ankomah, Papa	Sekondi	58.5	33.67	92.17	4
Afenyo-Markin, Alexander Kwamina	Effutu	57.96	33.07	91.03	5
Muntaka, Mohammed-Mubarak (Alhaji)	Asawase	58.2	32.16	90.36	6
Kyei-Mensah-Bonsu, Osei	Suame	59.7	30.45	90.15	7
Gyan-Baffour, George Yaw (Prof)	Wenchi	56.76	33.37	90.13	8
Ibrahim, Ahmed	Banda	54.48	35.38	89.86	9
Nitiwul, Dominic Bingab Aduna	Bimbilla	57.48	32.16	89.64	10
Awuah, Ignatius Baffour	Sunyani West	55.74	33.57	89.31	11
Puozaa, Mathias Asoma	Daffiama/Bussie/Issa	54.24	34.87	89.11	12
Amoatey, Magnus Kofi	Yilo Krobo	57	31.76	88.76	13
Prempeh, Matthew Opoku (Dr)	Manhyia South	58.98	29.35	88.33	14
Baffour, Fritz Frederic	Ablekuma South	52.5	35.68	88.18	15
Agbesi, Alfred Kwame	Ashaiman	55.98	31.56	87.54	16
Kusi, Gifty Eugenia (Mrs)	Tarkwa-Nsuaem	53.22	34.27	87.49	17
Asiamah, Isaac Kwame	Atwima-Mponua	52.26	34.67	86.93	18
Assibey-Yeboah, Mark (Dr)	New Juaben South	52.02	33.77	85.79	19
Hammond, Kobina Tahir	Adansi Asokwa	55.02	29.75	84.77	20
Amoah, Osei Bonsu	Akwapim South	50.28	34.37	84.65	21
Osei-Owusu, Joseph	Bekwai	55.5	28.64	84.14	22
Chaie, Theophilus Tetteh	Ablekuma Central	51.24	32.86	84.10	23
Bagbin, Alban SK	Nadowli/Kaleo	59.46	24.32	83.78	24
Barton-Odro, Ebo	Cape Coast North	46.5	37.19	83.69	25

Statement and Attendance Scores of MPs & Ranking

Osei, Isaac	Subin	54.48	28.94	83.42	26
Kpodo, Benjamin Komla	Ho Central	47.28	36.08	83.36	27
Asimah, Simon Edem	South Dayi	51	32.26	83.26	28
Iddrisu, Haruna	Tamale South	56.46	26.63	83.09	29
Boamah, Patrick Yaw	Okaikwei Central	43.8	38.89	82.69	30
Asafu-Adjei, Kwame	Nsuta-Kwamang Beposo	46.5	36.08	82.58	31
Titus-Glover, Daniel Nii Kwartei	Tema East	47.76	34.57	82.33	32
Agyeman-Manu, Kwaku	Dormaa Central	56.22	25.53	81.75	33
Quashigah, Richard Mawuli	Keta	50.04	31.66	81.70	34
Ghartey, Joe	Esikadu/Ketan	47.28	34.07	81.35	35
Forson, Cassiel Ato Baah	Ajumako/Enyan/Essiam	52.74	28.54	81.28	36
Amoako-Attah, Kwasi	Atiwa West	45.3	35.68	80.98	37
Anane, Richard Winfred (Dr)	Nhyiaeso	49.5	31.26	80.76	38
Appiah-Kubi, Kojo (Dr)	Atwima Kwanwoma	53.76	26.73	80.49	39
Darko-Mensah, Kwabena Okyere	Takoradi	54	26.43	80.43	40
Abubakari, Ibrahim Dey (Alhaji)	Salaga South	49.02	29.55	78.57	41
Ayariga, Mahama	Bawku Central	53.52	25.03	78.55	42
Boafo, William Ofori	Akwapim North	46.02	31.66	77.68	43
Akyea, Samuel Atta	Abuakwa South	50.52	27.14	77.66	44
Assumeng, David Tetteh	Shai-Osudoku	43.26	34.17	77.43	45
Agbodza, Kwame Governs	Adaklu	43.02	34.27	77.29	46
Quaittoo, William Agyapong	Akim Oda	42.54	34.57	77.11	47
Alhassan, Ahmed Yakubu (Dr)	Mion	51.48	25.63	77.11	48
Loh, George	North Dayi	44.04	32.96	77.00	49
Akoto, Owusu Afriyie (Dr)	Kwadaso	43.26	33.37	76.63	50
Opore-Ansah, Frederick	Suhum	55.26	21.21	76.47	51
Owusu-Bio, Benito	Atwima-Nwabiagya North	49.02	27.24	76.26	52
Botwe, Daniel	Okere	45.06	31.06	76.12	53
Owusu-Boateng, Yaw	Asene/Akroso/Manso	45.54	30.45	75.99	54
Donkor, Kwabena (Dr)	Pru East	48.24	27.54	75.78	55

Statement and Attendance Scores of MPs & Ranking

Frimpong, Kofi	Kwabre East	44.28	30.95	75.23	56
Woyome, Kobena Mensah	South Tongu	40.56	34.47	75.03	57
Baidoe-Ansah, Joe	Kwesimintsim	36.3	38.49	74.79	58
Nortsu-Kotoe, Peter	Akatsi North	38.04	36.38	74.42	59
Buah, Emmanuel Armah-Kofi	Ellebele	48.54	25.03	73.57	60
Arthur, George Kofi	Amenfi Central	42.54	30.75	73.29	61
Owusu-Aduomi, Kwabena	Ejisu	47.76	25.53	73.29	62
Agalga, James	Builsa North	50.76	22.11	72.87	63
Dauda, Collins (Alhaji)	Asutifi South	51.78	20.30	72.08	64
Mensah, Isaac Adjei	Wassa East	45.54	26.23	71.77	65
Essilfie, Gabriel Kodwo	Shama	41.52	29.75	71.27	66
Bandua, Emmanuel Kwasi	Biakoye	36.84	34.17	71.01	67
Anim, Moses	Trobu	34.32	36.58	70.90	68
Prempeh, Freda Akosua O (Ms)	Tano North	42.3	27.94	70.24	69
Gyan-Tutu, Kwasi Agyemang	Tain	40.08	30.15	70.23	70
Demordzi, Bright Edward Kodzo	Bortianor-Ngleshie Amanfro	35.82	34.37	70.19	71
Owusu, Ursula G (Ms)	Ablekuma West	44.52	25.53	70.05	72
Avoka, Cletus Apul	Zebilla	40.8	28.04	68.84	73
Gidisu, Joe Kwashie	Central Tongu	40.08	28.64	68.72	74
Kwarteng, Kwaku Agyeman	Obuasi West	38.82	29.75	68.57	75
Twum-Nuamah, Kwabena (Dr)	Berekum East	38.34	30.05	68.39	76
Fuseini, Inusah Abdulai B (Alhaji)	Tamale Central	48.54	19.80	68.34	77
Amenowode, Joseph Zaphenat	Afadzato South	38.34	29.85	68.19	78
Adam, Mutawakilu	Damongo	33.36	34.77	68.13	79
Ahi, Sampson	Bodi	41.28	26.43	67.71	80
Osei-Ameyaw, Kofi	Asuogyaman	35.34	32.06	67.40	81
Bedzrah, Emmanuel Kwasi	Ho West	36.84	30.45	67.29	82
Anyimadu-Antwi, Kwame	Asante Akim Central	42.06	25.13	67.19	83
Ablakwa, Samuel Okudzeto	North Tongu	46.02	21.11	67.13	84
Oppon-Kusi, David	Ofoase/Ayirebi	39.78	27.14	66.92	85

Statement and Attendance Scores of MPs & Ranking

Aboagye, George Kwame	Ahanta West	36.3	30.55	66.85	86
Addo, Irene Naa Torshie (Mrs)	Tema West	34.32	32.46	66.78	87
Azumah, Dominic Azimbe	Garu	39.06	27.34	66.40	88
Ayamba, Laadi Ayii (Ms)	Pusiga	37.56	28.44	66.00	89
Kunbuor, Benjamin Bewa-Nyog (Dr)	Nandom	40.8	25.03	65.83	90
Boar, Solomon Namliit	Bunkpurugu	31.32	34.37	65.69	91
Acheampong, Kwame Seth	Mpraeso	25.86	38.79	64.65	92
Agyarko, Emmanuel Kyeremanteng	Ayawaso West Wuogon	30.12	34.37	64.49	93
Cudjoe, Joseph	Effia	32.82	31.66	64.48	94
Akandoh, Kwabena Mintah	Juaboso	33.06	31.06	64.12	95
Boampong, Michael Coffie	Bia West	33.6	30.45	64.05	96
Pelpuo, Abdul-Rashid Hassan	Wa Central	44.52	18.79	63.31	97
Ussif, Mustapha	Yagaba/Kubori	30.12	33.17	63.29	98
Banda, Ben Abdallah	Offinso South	39.06	24.12	63.18	99
Mohammad, Habibu Tijani (Alhaji)	Yendi	28.86	34.07	62.93	100
Ntim, Augustine Collins	Offinso North	34.08	28.64	62.72	101
Owusu-Amankwah, Collins	Manhyia North	35.34	27.24	62.58	102
Botchwey, Shirley A (Ms)	Anyaa/Sowutuom	35.1	27.34	62.44	103
Osei, Kennedy Nyarko	Akim Swedru	25.86	36.28	62.14	104
Ibrahim, Murtala Muhammed	Nanton	39.06	22.71	61.77	105
Adagbila, Boniface Gambila	Nabdam	30.84	30.65	61.49	106
Agyen, Frank Boakye	Effiduase/Asokore	21.12	39.30	60.42	107
Quartey, Henry	Ayawaso Central	29.82	29.95	59.77	108
Bambang, Sagre (Dr)	Walewale	25.86	33.27	59.13	109
Okyere-Agyekum, Kofi	Fanteakwa South	31.86	27.14	59.00	110
Ameyaw-Cheremeh, Kwasi	Sunyani East	28.86	30.05	58.91	111
Ayine, Dominic Akuritinga (Dr)	Bolgatanga East	46.5	12.36	58.86	112
Ayeh-Paye, Samuel	Ayensuano	32.34	26.43	58.77	113
Azumah-Mensah, Juliana (Mrs)	Agotime-Ziope	30.12	27.94	58.06	114
Obeng Dappah, Esther (Ms)	Abirem	24.36	33.37	57.73	115

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Obeng-Inkoom, Charles	Agona West	24.36	33.07	57.43	116
Andoh, Foster Joseph	Hemang Lower Denkyira	23.88	33.17	57.05	117
Addo, Yaw Frimpong	Manso-Adua	24.36	32.66	57.02	118
Nyindam, Matthew	Kpandai	25.86	31.16	57.02	119
Ntow, Mathias Kwame	Aowin	28.86	28.14	57.00	120
Ahmed, Baba Jamal Mohammed	Akwatia	30.84	26.03	56.87	121
Danquah, Joseph Boakye Adu	Abuakwa North	36.06	20.20	56.26	122
Vanderpuye, Edwin Nii Lantey	Odododiodioo	31.32	24.92	56.24	123
Amoakoh, Nana	Upper Denkyira East	21.12	34.07	55.19	124
Tetteh, Hannah Serwaah (Ms)	Awutu-Senya West	41.52	13.67	55.19	125
Ricketts-Hagan, George Kweku	Cape Coast South	31.86	23.22	55.08	126
Kokofu, Henry Kwabena	Bantama	24.36	30.65	55.01	127
Bisiw, Hanna Louisa (Dr)	Tano South	34.32	20.60	54.92	128
Gyetuah, John	Amenfi West	25.86	29.05	54.91	129
Afful, Yaw	Jaman South	25.86	28.84	54.70	130
Opong-Fosu, Akwasi	Amenfi East	37.56	17.09	54.65	131
Alhassan, Mumuni	Salaga North	18.12	36.48	54.60	132
Yanwube, James Cecil	Tatale/Sanguli	19.86	34.67	54.53	133
Agyekum, Alex K	Mpohor	25.86	28.64	54.50	134
Aidoo, William Owuraku	Afigya Kwabre South	22.62	31.86	54.48	135
Adomako-Mensah, Alex	Sekyere Afram Plains	21.12	33.07	54.19	136
Cobbina, Herod	Sefwi Akontombra	25.86	27.84	53.70	137
Amoah, Robert Kwasi	Achiase	19.86	33.17	53.03	138
Marfo, Nana Amaniampong	Afigya Kwabre North	28.38	24.62	53.00	139
Kyeremeh, Alex	Techiman North	28.86	24.02	52.88	140
Brako, Kofi	Tema Central	16.92	35.78	52.70	141
Ofosu, Asamoah	Kade	21.12	31.36	52.48	142
Dery, Edward Kaale-ewola	Lambussie/Karni	22.62	29.75	52.37	143
Manu-Adabor, Francis	Ahafo Ano South East	20.88	31.06	51.94	144
Mensah, Enoch Teye	Ningo-Prampram	19.86	32.06	51.92	145

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Osei-Asare, Abena (Mrs)	Atiwa East	21.12	30.75	51.87	146
Abrah, Rosemund Comfort (Ms)	Weija/Gbawe	21.12	30.55	51.67	147
Didieye, Aboagye Emmanuel	Afram Plains North	22.62	29.05	51.67	148
Addai-Nimoh, Francis	Mampong	28.08	23.52	51.60	149
Humado, Clement Kofi	Anlo	33.6	17.99	51.59	150
Alhassan, Bashir A Fuseini (Alhaji)	Sagnarigu	32.34	18.79	51.13	151
Bukari, Joseph Nikpe	Saboba	18.12	32.36	50.48	152
Cudjoe Ghansah,C Doyoe (Mrs)	Ada	14.88	35.08	49.96	153
Heloo, Bernice Adiku (Dr [Mrs])	Hohoe	25.86	24.02	49.88	154
Gbediame, Gershon KB	Nkwanta South	18.12	31.46	49.58	155
Abongo, Albert	Bongo	22.62	26.83	49.45	156
Koomson, Mavis Hawa (Mrs)	Awutu-Senya East	19.86	29.55	49.41	157
Atta-Boafo, Daniel Kingsley	Adansi Fomena	16.92	32.36	49.28	158
Kyei-Frimpong, Kwadwo	Bosome-Freho	18.12	31.06	49.18	159
Gyamfi, Emmanuel Akwasi	Odotobri	23.88	25.03	48.91	160
Gidisu, Wisdom	Krachi East	16.92	31.16	48.08	161
Agyemang, Kwadwo Baah	Asante Akim North	18.12	29.95	48.07	162
Asante-Boateng, Kwaku	Asante Akim South	25.38	22.61	47.99	163
Addo, Grace (Ms)	Manso-Nkwanta	28.38	19.50	47.88	164
Azumah, Namoro Sanda	Chereponi	14.88	32.66	47.54	165
Azure, Noah Ben	Binduri	13.14	34.17	47.31	166
Yeboah, David Hennric	Afigya-Sekyere East	13.14	33.37	46.51	167
Boakye, Anthony Osei	Atwima-Nwabiagya South	11.94	34.47	46.41	168
Amoah, Samuel Ato	Twifo Atti Morkwa	10.2	35.98	46.18	169
Naabu, Joseph Bipoba	Yunyoo	11.94	32.96	44.90	170
Agyeman, Elizabeth (Ms)	Oforikrom	13.14	31.26	44.40	171
Acheampong, Richard	Bia East	13.14	31.16	44.30	172
Boateng Appiah, Joseph	Afram Plains South	10.2	33.97	44.17	173
Amadu, Seidu (Alhaji)	Yapei/Kusawgu	10.2	33.77	43.97	174
Adusei, Kwasi	Ahafo Ano North	14.88	28.54	43.42	175

Statement and Attendance Scores of MPs & Ranking

Appiagyei, Patricia (Ms)	Asokwa	11.94	31.46	43.40	176
Appiah-Pinkrah, Kwabena	Akrofuom	5.46	37.19	42.65	177
Majisi, John	Krachi Nchumuru	5.46	36.68	42.14	178
Napare, Dominic	Sene East	7.68	34.27	41.95	179
Alhassan, Dahamani	Tamale North	7.68	34.07	41.75	180
Aboagye-Gyedu, Kingsley	Bibiani-Anhwiaso-Bekwai	13.14	28.44	41.58	181
Darfour, Eric Kwakye	Nkawkaw	7.68	33.67	41.35	182
Nanja, Sanja	Atebubu/Amantin	7.68	33.47	41.15	183
Baani, Nelson Abudu	Daboya/Mankarigu	2.22	38.59	40.81	184
Fobih, Dominic K (Prof)	Assin South	10.2	30.45	40.65	185
Kwete, Fifi Fiavi Franklin	Ketu South	22.62	17.39	40.01	186
Ampofo, Kwame Twumasi	Sene West	2.22	37.59	39.81	187
Sabi, William Kwasi	Dormaa East	14.88	24.52	39.40	188
Arthur, Francis Kojo	Gomoa West	5.46	33.87	39.33	189
Appoh, Rachel Florence (Ms)	Gomoa Central	18.12	21.21	39.33	190
Appiah, Justice Joe	Ablekuma North		39.20	39.20	191
Asiamah, Kwabena Amankwa	Fanteakwa North		38.99	38.99	192
Oppong-Asamoah, Vincent	Dormaa West	13.14	25.43	38.57	193
Amankwanor, Joseph Sam	Upper West Akim		38.49	38.49	194
Ayeh, Benjamin Kofi	Upper Denkyira West	10.2	28.14	38.34	195
Mahama, Naser Toure	Ayawaso East		37.29	37.29	196
Azong, Alhassan	Builsa South	7.68	29.25	36.93	197
Basoah, Philip	Kumawu	7.68	29.15	36.83	198
Otuteye, Christian Corletey	Sege		36.78	36.78	199
Ahiafor, Bernard	Akatsi South		36.28	36.28	200
Oduro, Derek (Maj [Rtd])	Nkoranza North		35.98	35.98	201
Dadzie, Anthony Christian	Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese		35.88	35.88	202
Nasah, Thomas Kwesi	Gushegu		35.88	35.88	202
Ambre, Samuel	Assin North	0.24	35.48	35.72	204
Saaka, Joseph Akati (Alhaji)	Bole/Bamboi		35.68	35.68	205

Statement and Attendance Scores of MPs & Ranking

Opoku, Eric	Asunafo South	25.38	10.25	35.63	206
Mosore, Robert Nachinab Doameng	Talensi	5.46	29.55	35.01	207
Boforo, Mary Salifu (Hajia)	Savelugu		34.97	34.97	208
Namoale, Nii Amasah	Dade Kotopon		34.97	34.97	208
Kavianu, Jeff Tetteh	Upper Manya Krobo		34.87	34.87	210
Oti, John Kwabena Bless	Nkwanta North	5.46	29.25	34.71	211
Adakudugu, David	Tempane		34.37	34.37	212
Suhuyini, Wahab Wumbei	Tolon		34.17	34.17	213
Arthur, Ahmed	Okaikwei South	14.88	18.99	33.87	214
Koffie, Francis Adu-Blay	Prestea/Huni-Valley	0.24	33.37	33.61	215
Tia, Alfred Sugri (Dr)	Nalerigu/Gambaga	7.68	25.83	33.51	216
Alhassan, Sualihu Dandaawa	Karaga	0.24	33.07	33.31	217
Laliri, George Maban	Wulensi	2.22	30.85	33.07	218
Aboah, Georgina Nkrumah (Mrs)	Asikuma/Odoben/Brakwa	5.46	27.34	32.80	219
Yakah, Ernest Kofi	New Edubiase	2.22	30.45	32.67	220
Adjei, Kwasi Boateng	New Juaben North		32.66	32.66	221
Ackah, Stephen M E K	Suaman		32.56	32.56	222
Crentsil, Abeiku	Ekumfi		32.56	32.56	222
Kessie, Kweku Tanikyi	Evalue Ajomoro Gwira		32.56	32.56	222
Arthur, Stephen Nana Ato (Dr)	Komenda/Edina/Eguafo/Abrem		32.46	32.46	225
Salifu, Ameen	Wa East		32.36	32.36	226
Sorogho, Amadu Bukari (Alhaji)	Madina		32.36	32.36	226
Ennin, Edward M	Obuasi East	7.68	24.62	32.30	228
Mohammed, Masawud (Alhaji)	Pru West		32.26	32.26	229
Ofori, Joseph Kwadwo	Akan		32.16	32.16	230
Quansah, Aquinas Tawiah	Mfantseman West	11.94	20.20	32.14	231
Woyongo, Mark Owen	Navrongo Central	18.12	13.97	32.09	232
Abu, Samson	Lawra	2.22	29.65	31.87	233
Ashiaman, Daniel Kwesi	Buem		31.86	31.86	234
Terlabi, Ebenezer Okletey	Lower Manya Krobo		31.46	31.46	235

Statement and Attendance Scores of MPs & Ranking

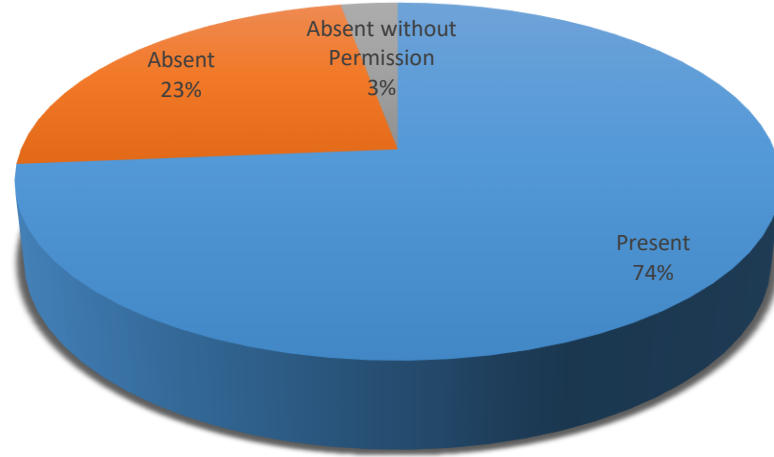
Klenam, Gifty	Lower West Akim	7.68	23.72	31.40	236
Mensah, Adjei	Techiman South		31.26	31.26	237
Adu, Johnson Kwaku	Ahafo Ano South West		31.16	31.16	238
Kunsu, Stephen	Kintampo North	5.46	25.23	30.69	239
Amadu, Moses Yahaya	Kumbungu		30.45	30.45	240
Anaman, Francis K (Wg Cdr [rtd])	Jomoro		30.35	30.35	241
Abuga, Pele	Chiana/Paga	11.94	18.39	30.33	242
Sowah, Della (Mrs)	Kpando		29.95	29.95	243
Pepera, Peter Wiafe	Abetifi	5.46	24.32	29.78	244
Andoh, Ama Pomaa (Mrs)	Juaben		29.65	29.65	245
Annoh-Dompreh, Frank	Nsawam-Adoagyiri		29.45	29.45	246
Okity-Duah, Benita Sena (Mrs)	Ledzokuku	10.2	18.99	29.19	247
Ashietey, Nii Armah	Klottey Korle	7.68	20.80	28.48	248
Sulemana, Alijata (Ms)	Sissala East		28.44	28.44	249
Derigubaa, Paul	Jirapa	0.24	28.14	28.38	250
Eduamoah, Ekow Panyin Okyere	Gomoa East	2.22	26.03	28.25	251
Siaka, Stevens	Jaman North		28.24	28.24	252
Agyekum, Emmanuel Kwadwo	Nkoranza South		27.84	27.84	253
Akolbire, Opam-Brown Emmanuel	Bolgatanga Central		27.84	27.84	253
Ashie-Moore, Emmanuel Nii	Adentan	5.46	22.01	27.47	255
Sackey, Elizabeth K T (Mrs)	Okaikwei North		27.04	27.04	256
Dahah, Joseph Benhazin	Asutifi North	2.22	24.12	26.34	257
Agyenim-Boateng, Kwaku	Berekum West		25.83	25.83	258
Ntoso, Helen Adjoa (Ms)	Krachi West	2.22	23.02	25.24	259
Sulemani, Amin Amidu	Sissala West		24.32	24.32	260
Effah-Baafi, Yaw	Kintampo South	2.22	21.91	24.13	261
Safo, Sarah Adwoa (Ms)	Dome/Kwabanya		24.12	24.12	262
Soditey, Donald Dari	Sawla/Tuna/Kalba		24.12	24.12	262
Osei-Mensah, Simon	Bosomtwe		23.02	23.02	264
Bamba, Mohammed Salisu	Ejura-Sekyedumase		22.91	22.91	265

Statement and Attendance Scores of MPs & Ranking

Sarfo-Mensah, Robert	Asunafo North		22.51	22.51	266
Laryea, Emmanuel Nii Okai	Amasaman		22.11	22.11	267
Afotey-Agbo, Joseph Nii Laryea	Kpone-Katamanso	2.22	19.40	21.62	268
Bennam, John Jabaah	Zabzugu		20.40	20.40	269
Yemoh, Daoud Anum	Domeabra/Obom		18.79	18.79	270
Ahmed, Mustapha (Maj [Rtd])(Dr) (Alh)	Ayawaso North	2.22	16.38	18.60	271
Agyapong, Ken Ohene	Assin Central		18.29	18.29	272
Quaye-Kumah, Nii Oakley (Dr)	Krowor		17.09	17.09	273
Sawyerr, Queenstar Pokua (Mrs)	Agona East		16.98	16.98	274
Aidoo, Evans Paul	Sefwi-Wiawso	0.24	11.26	11.50	275

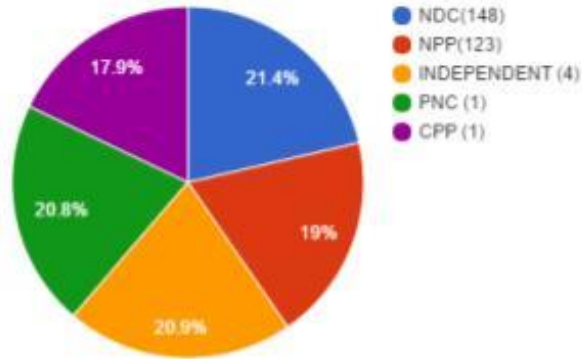
2. Attendance Rates in Ghana's Sixth Parliament

Attendance Rates in Ghana's Sixth Parliament

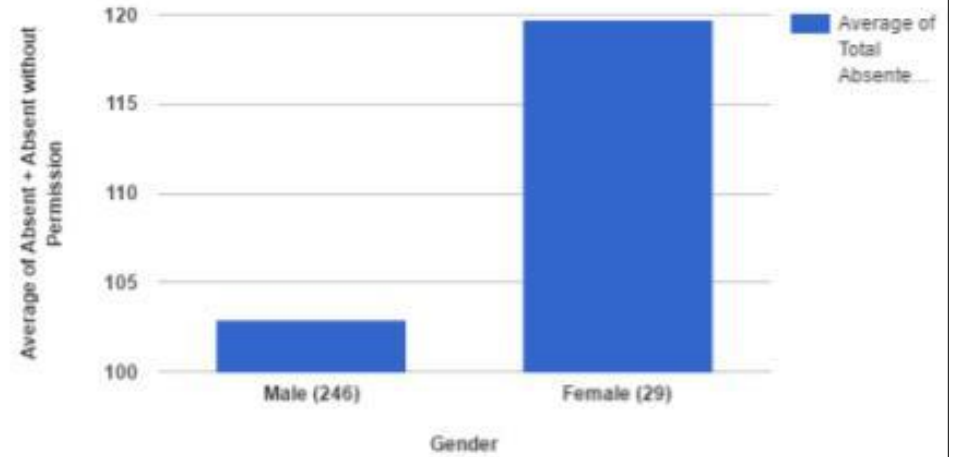


■ Present ■ Absent ■ Absent without Permission

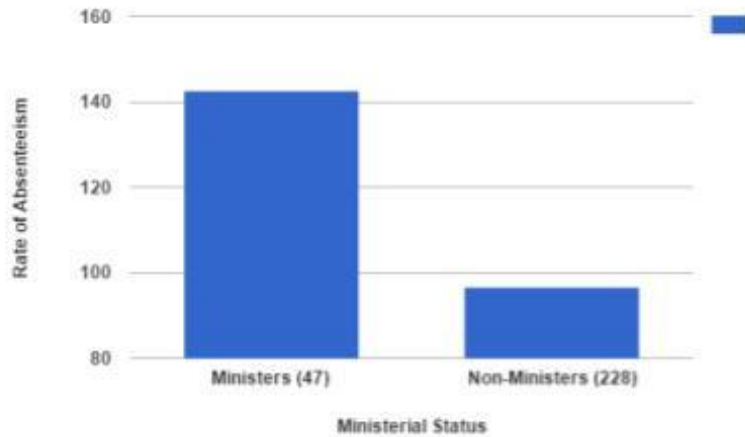
Average Absenteeism Rate across Parties



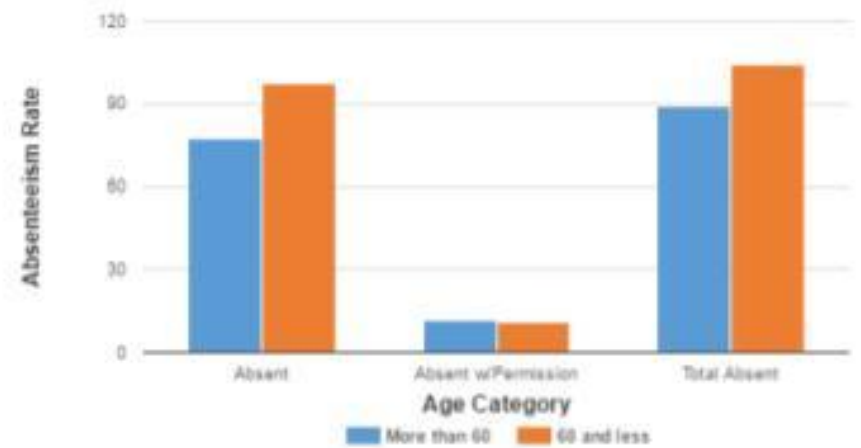
Average of Total Absenteeism vs. Gender

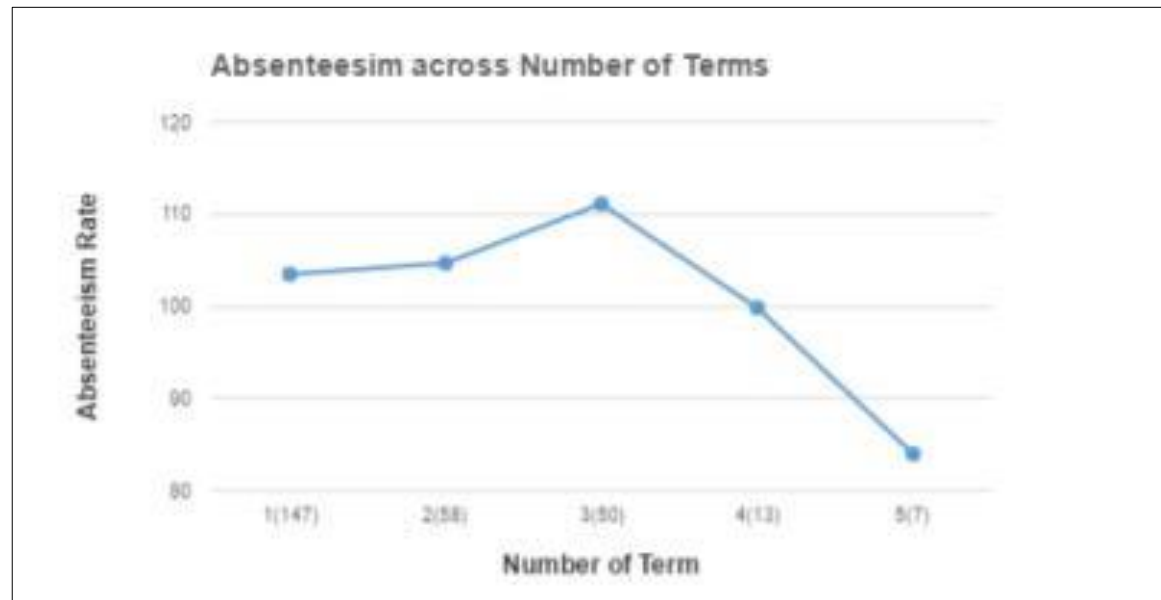


Average Absenteeism vs Ministerial Status



Absenteeism across MPs Age





NB: The full data and complete appendices are available on www.odekro.org