

# 2024 ELECTION PLAYBOOK

Unpacking Political Party  
Manifestos on Energy  
and Extractives







# The 2024 Election Playbook: Unpacking Political Party Manifestos on Energy and Extractives

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Africa  
Centre for  
Energy Policy



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# About ACEP

The Africa Centre for Energy Policy (ACEP) was established in 2010 to contribute to development of alternative and innovative policy interventions through high quality research, analysis and advocacy in the energy and extractives sector in Africa. The focus of the organisation is to create strong connection between research evidence and advocacy which was limited at the time to increase transparency and accountability around energy and extractive sector governance in the region. After over a decade of existence, the organisation has established itself as a thought leader in the sector.

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We are also grateful to Oxfam in Ghana for funding this analysis, enabling us to critically examine the policies proposed by political parties and their implications for Ghana's future. We hope this report serves as a valuable resource to policymakers, civil society, and citizens, empowering them to engage in informed decision-making and hold political parties accountable for shaping Ghana's future governance.

While this report reflects our best efforts, the findings, interpretations, and conclusions may not necessarily align with the perspectives of Oxfam in Ghana, our funding partner, its members, or the entities they represent.



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# Introduction

On December 7, 2024, Ghanaians will head to the polls to determine the country's leadership for the next four years. This election presents an opportunity for citizens to reflect on the nation's progress and challenges while deciding which political vision aligns most closely with their aspirations for the future. Political parties seeking the mandate to govern present their proposed interventions in manifestos, detailing their plans to address critical issues across various sectors of the economy, including energy, health, education, infrastructure, and more.

The Africa Centre for Energy Policy (ACEP) strongly emphasises that these decisions should not be swayed merely by partisan loyalties. Instead, they must be guided by a critical and objective evaluation of the promises outlined in these manifestos. This assessment should consider the feasibility of the proposed interventions, their potential impact on addressing Ghana's pressing challenges, and their alignment with the broader national development agenda.

This document provides an in-depth analysis of the manifesto commitments of major political parties and groupings contesting Ghana's 2024 elections, specifically focusing on the energy and extractive sectors. The energy and extractive sectors are critical to Ghana's economy and development, playing a significant role in driving industrialisation, creating jobs, and generating government revenue.

The analysis focuses on the manifestos of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the New Patriotic Party (NPP), the Movement for Change, and the New Force. These parties and groupings were selected because their manifestos had been documented and made publicly available during the analysis. This ensured a consistent and transparent basis for examining their policy proposals. It is also important to note that this analysis is grounded in the text of the manifestos as written. It does not account for additional promises or policy narratives shared during campaigns, rallies, or other public gatherings.

The document is organised around ACEP's core workstreams, which include upstream and downstream oil and gas, power, minerals and mining, and climate action. Each workstream or focus area begins with a context section that outlines the prevailing challenges and opportunities within the sector. Political party commitments are then classified into thematic areas, and the analysis evaluates these commitments based on

the sector's current realities and the feasibility of the proposed interventions. Where relevant, the analysis highlights commendable initiatives and offers additional recommendations to make the proposed interventions more effective and sustainable.

ACEP's manifesto analysis is not designed to favour any political party. The organisation's objective is to safeguard Ghana's national interests by critically evaluating how proposed policies in the energy and extractive sectors address the country's developmental needs. This approach reflects ACEP's commitment to supporting informed policymaking, transparency and accountability, regardless of political affiliations. The analysis provides voters and stakeholders with clear insights into the strengths and gaps in the manifestos, equipping them with the knowledge to make decisions that align with Ghana's long-term development priorities in the energy and extractive sectors.



# The Oil & Gas Sector





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# Upstream oil and gas sector

Ghana's upstream oil and gas sector has been a key contributor to the country's economic development since the commencement of commercial production in 2010. The sector holds immense potential for revenue generation, energy security, and economic transformation. However, challenges such as declining production, underutilised natural gas resources, inefficient revenue management, and barriers to local content development persist. These issues not only limit the sector's performance but also hinder its ability to deliver long-term benefits for Ghanaians.

## 1. Dwindling production

Since Ghana began commercial production of crude oil and natural gas from the offshore Tano basin in 2010, output has experienced an increasing trend—from 24.2 million barrels in 2011 to a peak of 71.44 million barrels in 2019. Production from the basin has since dropped after 2019 by about 32% to 48.25 MMbbl in 2023. To date, the offshore Tano basin remains the only productive hydrocarbon basin in Ghana. The underlying issues giving rise to the dwindling production volumes include stagnation in exploration, dwindling reserve volumes of producing fields, and limited investment attraction in the sector. The last petroleum agreement was signed in 2018, and efforts in recent years to attract investment upstream, such as the bid and licensing round conducted in 2019, have not yielded positive results.

The current business environment focuses more on litigating and disputing existing upstream investments rather than growing reserves and accelerating field development. The ongoing strategy of conducting roadshows to promote the country's basins has proven ineffective. What is needed now is a strategy that addresses ongoing disputes with current investors to restore confidence and reform the use of discretionary power in sector decision-making. This strategy should attract local and foreign investors, minimise bureaucratic hurdles, and ensure transparency.

## 2. Gas commercialisation challenges

Gas flaring from upstream production fields is still persistent as the capacity of the current Gas Processing Plant is insufficient to handle the volumes of associated gas produced from the Jubilee and TEN fields. In 2023, about 23.1 Bcf of natural gas was flared from the Jubilee and TEN fields. Additionally, about 68.1 Bcf was reinjected into

the fields. These increasing volumes reflect an untapped potential for gas commercialisation, which could provide substantial economic and environmental benefits if adequately harnessed. Expanding the existing Atuabo Gas Processing Plant or investing in a new gas processing plant has become essential to reduce the amount of gas flared and meet increasing gas demand for power generation. However, political debate has mired this solution, leading to excessive delays. Without a clear political consensus and a concrete strategy, these benefits remain out of reach, and Ghana continues to forgo significant revenue and economic opportunities tied to natural gas processing.

### **3. Petroleum revenue management**

The Petroleum Revenue Management Act (PRMA) governs revenue management in Ghana's upstream sector, providing guidelines for the strategic investment of petroleum revenues. However, limited oversight, insufficient consultation during project planning, and the broad distribution of the Annual Budget Funding Amount (ABFA) across numerous projects have led to projects that are poorly suited to their purposes, incomplete developments, and frequent budget overruns.

### **4. Local content and local participation**

Local participation in Ghana's upstream oil and gas sector is guided by the Petroleum (Local Content and Local Participation) Regulations, 2013 (L.I. 2204), which mandate local employment, skills and technology transfer, and support for indigenous companies. Since these regulations were enacted, local engagement has increased significantly: Ghanaians employed in the upstream sector rose from 69% in 2014 to 89% in 2022. Additionally, by 2023, 97% of all contracts for products and services in the sector were awarded to indigenous and joint venture companies.

Despite this progress, the policy still faces significant challenges that limit its full potential. For example, high borrowing costs make it difficult for Ghanaian companies to participate in large-scale projects, hindering their competitiveness. Furthermore, an overemphasis on ownership has led to the issue of "fronting"—a practice where local companies act as intermediaries without gaining meaningful skills or technology, undermining the goal of knowledge transfer. The low level of activity in Ghana's oil and gas fields also means that many indigenous Ghanaian companies (IGCs) must compete intensely for limited contracts, often struggling to secure work. For Ghana to fully realise the aspirations of its Local Content Regulations, future governments must address these barriers, ensuring that local content and participation policies create economic and skill-building opportunities for Ghanaians.



Political parties must acknowledge these pressing problems and commit to providing sustainable, transparent, and practical initiatives to tackle them. The sector requires comprehensive and innovative solutions that align with the country's development goals while ensuring accountability, transparency, and optimal resource utilisation. The ensuing section analyses the political parties' upstream oil and gas sector initiatives. The analysis is conducted under four key themes:

- Investment Attraction in Oil and Gas
- Gas Commercialisation
- Oil Revenue Management
- Strengthening Local Content and Local Participation

# Upstream oil and gas – New Patriotic Party

Theme	Commitments	Comments
Investment attraction in upstream oil and gas	Commit to simplifying approval processes for appraisals and production programmes to re-energise upstream activities	Any attempt at improving regulatory processes in the upstream petroleum sector will be welcomed. However, an IOC will only seek approval for appraisal or production if a favourable environment exists for license acquisition and exploration, and the IOC will find evidence of economic reserves of hydrocarbon. Therefore, efforts to improve the approval process for appraisal and production should not be at the expense of enhancing licensing and exploration activities.
	Fully implement the Infrastructure-Led Exploration (ILX) strategy to unlock the full potential of Ghana's offshore reserves	The ILX strategy has the potential to boost production and cut development costs if applied fairly and transparently. However, the policy must be standardised and simplified to avoid excessive discretionary application, which has recently favoured or disadvantaged certain industry players.
Gas commercialisation	Partner with the private sector to build and maximise our gas processing infrastructure for power generation, ammonia for fertiliser, and gas to petrochemical liquids	The promise to involve the private sector in gas processing remains stalled and shrouded in politics and boardroom disputes. A transparent, competitive selection process with parliamentary oversight is essential to move it forward.
Oil revenue management	Review and strengthen the Petroleum Revenue Management Act to streamline government allocation of oil funds and address gaps in the law	The manifesto lacks specifics on the aspects that require review. Past attempts to review it—focusing on the Heritage Fund's use and oil revenue collateralisation—were rejected by stakeholders. Voters need clarity on the proposed changes to make informed decisions.
Strengthening local content in upstream oil and gas	Introduce a dedicated National Ghanaian Content Fund and National Data Acquisition Fund to help Ghanaian enterprises enhance their competitiveness and effectively participate in the upstream sector.	<p>The government has implemented a Local Content Fund for the past ten years without results. How different is the proposed National Ghanaian Content Fund from the existing local content fund? Additionally, the manifesto does not clarify the funding sources which has been a major problem of the Local Content Fund.</p> <p>Recently, the Petroleum Commission indicated it had signed agreements with four international firms as part of its multi-client data initiative, a risk-reward approach to seismic data acquisition, which is expected to cover all offshore basins. Given this initiative and the lack of clarity on the funding source for the National Data Acquisition Fund, its implementation looks infeasible.</p>

# Upstream oil and gas – National Democratic Congress

Theme	Commitments	Comments
<b>Investment attraction in upstream oil and gas</b>	Increase exploration activities to establish new reserves by rebuilding investor confidence through policy and regulatory clarity, consistency, predictability, transparency, and governance and attract world-class investors.	During the previous NDC administration, several oil blocks were awarded to lesser-known oil companies that ultimately failed to fulfil their mandates. Given this history, the proposed shift toward engaging world-class investors is commendable. However, the party must outline a clear strategy for attracting and securing these world-class investors.
	Innovate multi-field development systems that optimise development infrastructure and allow profitable production of otherwise marginal fields.	Optimising development infrastructure for profitable production is essential. However, this strategy must be standardised and simplified to avoid excessive discretionary application, which has recently favoured or disadvantaged certain industry players.
<b>Strengthening local content in upstream oil and gas</b>	Fully domesticate non-revenue benefits of the oil and gas industry for Ghanaians by enhancing technology transfer, supporting local businesses, and increasing local content in procurement. This includes re-establishing the National Oil Company as a centre of excellence and reviewing laws and policies to align with these goals.	The manifesto does not clarify the gaps in existing laws that require review. It is also essential to clarify the meaning of establishing the NOC as a centre of excellence as it raises pertinent questions about its current mandate and role.



# Upstream oil and gas – Movement for Change

Theme	Commitments	Comments
<b>Investment attraction in upstream oil and gas</b>	Improve the business and investment environment to attract greater investments into the upstream and downstream oil and gas sector	It is unclear what investment strategy the party seeks to implement to improve dwindling investments in the upstream and downstream oil and gas sectors.
<b>Gas commercialisation</b>	Expand investment in Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) production infrastructure and extend supply pipelines nationwide to power regional thermal systems.	There is an existing LNG terminal with the Ghana National Petroleum Corporation (GNPC) as the proposed off-taker. ACEP has suggested that the government utilises this facility to address gas supply shortfalls for power production. Additionally, the proposed pipeline extension across the country would depend on the market demand, pipeline termination points, and economic viability, which must be thoroughly assessed.

# Upstream oil and gas – The New Force

Theme	Commitments	Comments
<b>Investment attraction in upstream oil and gas</b>	Explore oil deposits to refine and store hundreds of thousands of barrels per day allowing us to accumulate billions of dollars in oil reserves and 7 trillion cubic feet of gas in a decade.	It is unclear whether the exploration strategy will be government-led exploration or private investment. It is essential to outline a comprehensive strategy detailing the steps and resources to achieve these ambitious objectives within the proposed ten-year period. This strategy should include timelines, investment plans, and technology deployment to optimise exploration and production.

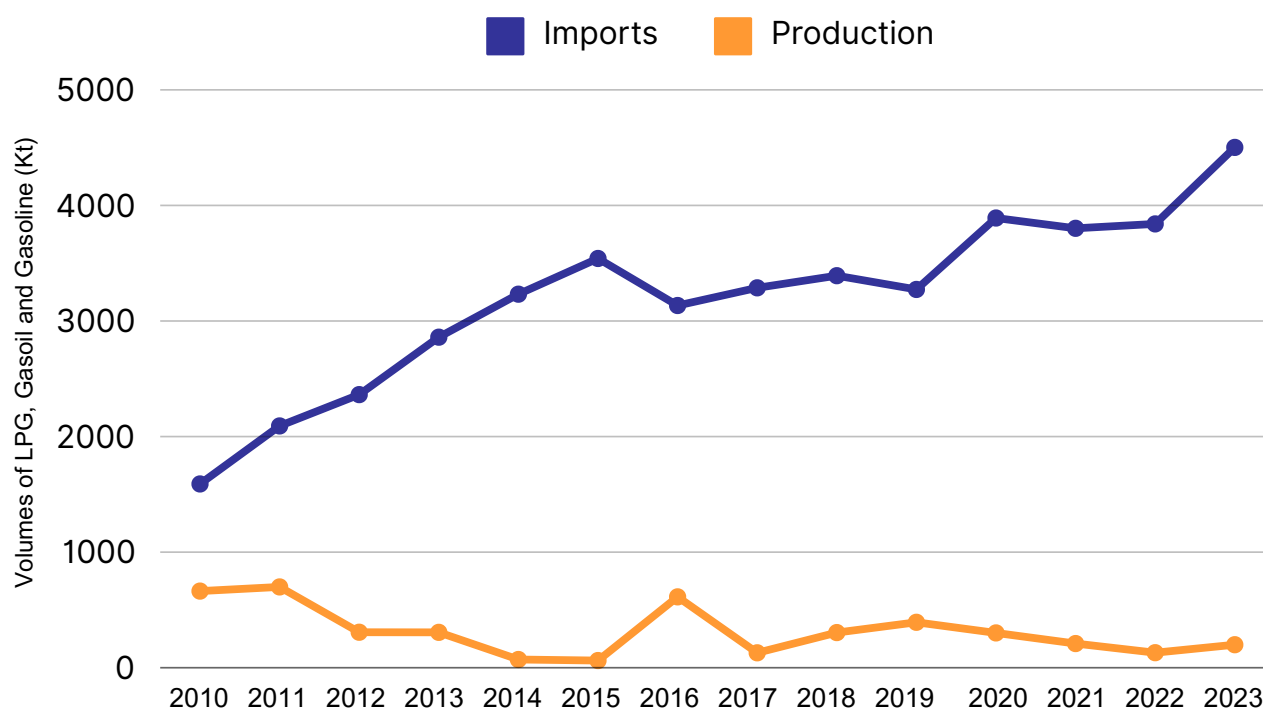
# Downstream oil and gas sector

Ghana's downstream petroleum sector faces several pressing challenges that require immediate attention and a robust commitment to reform. From fluctuating fuel prices to inefficiencies in service delivery, the sector remains a significant concern for both policymakers and citizens.

## 1. Increasing domestic production of petroleum resources

Ghana relies heavily on imported petroleum products due to its limited local refining capacity. As shown in Figure 1, local production of petroleum products has been on a downward trend, whereas that of imports is increasing, creating a wide gap between importation and production. This dependence on imports significantly strains the country's foreign exchange reserves. It also makes the downstream petroleum sector vulnerable to fluctuations in the exchange rate, leading to a steady price rise.

Figure 1: Trend of imports and domestic production of petroleum products



Source: IMF Fiscal Monitor



## 2. Promotion of LPG for clean cooking

The persistent rise in petroleum prices has hindered Ghana's efforts to achieve critical objectives, such as promoting clean cooking. Since 1999, Ghana has aimed to reduce household reliance on wood fuels by increasing LPG use, setting a goal of 50% access and use by 2015. However, because LPG access is concentrated in urban areas, the Rural LPG Promotion Program (RLPGPP) was introduced in 2015 to expand LPG usage in rural households. Meanwhile, the Cylinder Recirculation Model (CRM), introduced to improve LPG distribution, has faced opposition from LPG Marketing Companies, who are dissatisfied with its implementation.

## 3. Premix fuel issues

Unlike petrol, diesel, kerosene and LPG, premix fuel benefits from government subsidies due to its sensitivity to the rural fishing economy. It remains a critical petroleum product to the artisanal fishing industry in Ghana. The National Premix Committee and the National Premix Fuel Secretariat have instituted efforts, including restructuring Landing Beach Committees to ensure the subsidy program is effective. The National Petroleum Authority has also installed vehicle trackers on Bulk Road Vehicles to curb incidences of diversion of the product during transportation to the beneficiary communities. Despite these measures, local fisherfolk have expressed dissatisfaction with the premix fuel distribution administration, citing shortages and exorbitant price hikes.

As Ghana seeks to strengthen its energy sector and achieve its development goals, political manifestos must address these issues head-on, emphasising transparency and accountability. Effective governance, particularly in revenue assurance and the procurement of services, is essential to achieving long-term stability and sustainable growth in the sector, as demonstrated by the controversial case of Strategic Mobilization Ghana Limited (SML) and its questionable contract dealings.<sup>1</sup> To ensure that the downstream petroleum sector functions optimally, key reforms should focus on transparency in procurement processes, the proper allocation of resources, and a commitment to equitable service delivery across the country.

The manifesto analysis for the downstream focuses on the following key themes:

- Improving domestic refinery capacity
- Reducing petroleum pump prices
- Managing premix fuel supply
- Promoting LPG in Ghana

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<sup>1</sup> Africa Centre for Energy Policy (2024). Reactions to the SML Deal and Emerging Responses from Government. Available at <https://acep.africa/reactions-to-the-sml-deal-and-emerging-responses-from-government/>

# Downstream oil and gas – New Patriotic Party

Theme	Commitments	Comments
<b>Increasing domestic refinery of crude oil</b>	Implement new policies to incentivise private sector participation in the petroleum and petrochemicals hub.	Ghana has struggled for over two decades to retool its oil refinery. Instead of upgrading TOR, the government established the Petroleum Hub Development Corporation in 2020, whose functions could have been handled by existing institutions like the Freezones Authority, NPA, and GIPC. It is unclear how the new policies differ from the Petroleum Hub Concept.
<b>Reducing prices of petroleum products</b>	Expand the Gold for Oil (G4O) Programme to increase its penetration of the oil market to further reduce the forex pressure on Bank of Ghana and to further stabilise the prices of petroleum products	The G4O Programme has not eased forex pressure or stabilised fuel prices. The IMF further suggests transferring its management to commercial banks, as the Bank of Ghana's role exceeds its regulatory function. The Auditor General also flagged concerns over fiscal transparency. <b>Addressing macroeconomic issues like the falling currency is vital, as they directly affect fuel prices.</b>
<b>Premix fuel issues</b>	Collaborate with artisanal fishers to take responsibility for distributing fisheries logistics and inputs, including premix fuel, provided by the government	The current arrangement allows for Landing Beach Committees (LBCs) to be used for the distribution and sale of premix fuel under the existing National Premix Fuel Committee (NPFC) Regulations, 2016 (L. I. 2233). The LBCs have proven to be inefficient in distributing and managing premix fuel. The party must address challenges of inefficiency among LBCs to ensure equitable and transparent distribution of premix fuel.
<b>LPG promotion</b>	Partner with the private sector to build and maximise our gas processing infrastructure for power generation, ammonia for fertiliser, and gas to petrochemical liquids (LPG).	Expanding Ghana's gas processing facility could be necessary for LPG promotion as it is one of the critical products that result from the fractionation of natural gas. However, the promise to involve the private sector in gas processing remains stalled and shrouded in politics and boardroom disputes. A transparent, competitive selection process with parliamentary oversight is essential to move it forward.

# Downstream oil and gas – National Democratic Congress

Theme	Commitments	Comments
<b>Increasing domestic refinery of crude oil</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Create a Petroleum Infrastructure Master Plan to enhance fuel security and establish Ghana as a petroleum hub through infrastructure expansion and transport upgrades.</li> <li>2. Leverage private investments to revitalise Tema Oil Refinery and expand its operations</li> </ol>	Ghana has seen several master plans and strategies whose implementation has not seen the light of day. Therefore, the Master Plan, while welcoming, must have the political will to ensure its careful and transparent implementation. The party must also clarify how this would differ from the existing Petroleum Hub concept for which a corporation has already been established. It must be clear to revitalise TOR, underscoring the transparent use of private investments.
<b>Reducing prices of petroleum products</b>	Establish a guaranteed and structured foreign exchange allocation policy for the petroleum downstream sector and review the opaque Gold-for-Oil scheme to ensure sufficient and predictable supply of foreign exchange.	It is necessary to clarify how this policy would differ from the G4O Programme and its implementing institution. This is particularly relevant since the G4O program has not successfully achieved its mandate. The proposed review of the G4O Programme should address concerns about transparency from various stakeholders.
<b>Premix fuel issues</b>	Collaborate with artisanal fishers to take responsibility for distributing fisheries logistics and inputs, including premix fuel, provided by the government.	The party must address challenges of inefficiency among LBCs to ensure equitable and transparent distribution of premix fuel.
<b>LPG promotion</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Relaunching the Rural LPG Promotion Programme (RLPGPP) and ensuring a sustainable supply of LPG to Ghanaian homes.</li> <li>2. Review the Cylinder Recirculation Model through extensive stakeholder consultations for equitable access to market opportunities by all stakeholders.</li> </ol>	LPG utilisation in rural areas as a replacement for wood fuels depends on costs and accessibility. LPG does not compete favourably with wood fuels on these accounts. In the past, when cylinders were distributed, beneficiaries returned to their wood fuels and kept them as souvenirs because of these factors. There is a need to explore cost-effective and readily accessible cooking fuel options that ensure a competitive transition from wood fuels.
	Reduce tariffs on domestic LPG to make it more affordable.	In Ghana's deregulated market, the main approach to reducing the cost of LPG would be to remove some of the levies on the product. Although a welcoming approach, it requires political will for this to be achieved

# Downstream oil and gas – Movement for Change

Theme	Commitments	Comments
Increasing domestic refinery of crude oil and other petroleum infrastructure	Develop the Western region as the new Oil and Gas Processing Hub for West Africa.	The movement needs to clarify how this differs from the existing petroleum hub concept for which a corporation has already been established
	Enhance the provision of good quality petroleum infrastructure, including but not limited to storage facilities and distribution pipelines.	There must be a clear strategy to enhance investment attraction, transparency and sustainability of these proposed infrastructure projects. A key question also emerges regarding the plan to revamp the existing oil refinery.



# The Power Sector





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# Power Sector

Ghana's power sector is crucial to the country's socio-economic development. However, it faces significant structural and operational challenges that threaten its sustainability. Key issues include power generation and fuel supply constraints, persistent financial inefficiencies, and insufficient transmission and distribution infrastructure investment. These challenges, if unaddressed, will continue to undermine the sector's ability to provide reliable, affordable, and sustainable power.

## 1. Power generation and fuel supply

Ghana's power sector primarily relies on hydro and thermal sources, with renewables accounting for only about 2% of installed capacity. Diversifying the energy mix is essential for reliable, sustainable power supply and meeting clean energy targets. However, this requires competitive procurement, as some power purchase agreements and their subsequent renegotiations have raised concerns about their ability to safeguard the national interest. Additionally, the current gas supply falls short of meeting the growing demand for power generation, highlighting the need for a comprehensive review of the gas sector to optimise domestic supply.

## 2. Financial sustainability in the power sector

Ghana's power sector faces persistent financial inefficiencies and mounting debts, accumulating around \$1 billion annually. Despite notable tariff increases in recent years, operational inefficiencies, technical and commercial losses continue to undermine financial sustainability. The sector's challenges stem mainly from under-recoveries in power distribution, particularly ECG, which struggles to generate sufficient revenue to sustain the value chain. This has necessitated frequent government bailouts, diverting funds from other critical social sectors. Additionally, implementation of the Cash Waterfall Mechanism remains hindered by the under-recoveries and weak compliance by ECG. These challenges compromise the ability of other entities in the value chain to undertake critical investments and recover capital costs. Recent complaints from Independent Power Producers (IPPs) over unpaid debts, culminating in the shutdown of the Sunon Asogli Power Plant, highlight the gravity of the situation. The government must address these inefficiencies urgently to safeguard the sector's financial stability and ensure its long-term viability.

### **3. Investments in transmission and distribution**

Transmission is a critical link between power generation and distribution in Ghana's energy value chain. Disruptions in transmission networks can severely impact power distribution and electricity access, regardless of generation capacity. System failures in this subsector have been a significant factor behind nationwide power outages. The pivotal role of the transmission infrastructure in ensuring a reliable power supply underscores the urgent need for substantial investments to strengthen the network and reduce transmission losses.

Political manifestos must address these pressing contextual challenges with actionable, innovative, and sustainable strategies. The analysis of the power sector focuses on the following key themes:

- Power Generation / Renewable Energy Integration
- Ensuring Adequate Fuel for Power Generation
- Investment in Transmission Infrastructure
- Power Distribution and Financial Sustainability

# Power Sector – New Patriotic Party

Theme	Commitments	Comments
Power generation / renewable energy expansion	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Roll out an additional <b>2000MW</b> of solar power to diversify the energy mix, enhance energy security and reduce costs.</li> <li>2. Continue the government’s plans to establish a nuclear power plant to generate affordable electricity for industrial and domestic uses.</li> </ol>	The Integrated Power System Master Plan (IPSMP) notes that installing <b>competitively procured</b> intermittent renewable energy can help reduce the cost of power generation. This strategy could ensure diversification of the energy mix towards achieving the country’s target for renewable energy generation. However, its impact on tariff reduction depends on the price of energy generated and the competitiveness of procurement used. Future governments must adhere to the strategic supply plans indicated in Ghana’s IPSMP.
	Incentivise solar power users through the net metering system.	Net metering, introduced in Ghana's 2011 Renewable Energy Act and updated in 2023, has faced challenges in implementation, mainly due to distributor resistance over reduced grid electricity consumption. Political will is crucial to enforcing the scheme and advancing the renewable energy agenda.
Ensuring adequate fuel for power generation	Partner the private sector to build and maximise our gas processing infrastructure for power generation.	Gas commercialisation is vital for improving Ghana's power generation fuel supply. Private sector involvement requires a transparent, competitive process with parliamentary oversight.
	Introduce a framework that allows IPPs to buy their own fuel for power generation	One of the challenges with fuel supply is the inability of the sector to pay for fuel supply. Whatever framework is used to deal with sustainable fuel purchase must examine the inefficiencies in distribution that result in significant under-recoveries that ripple into other aspects of the power value chain.
Transmission	<b>The manifesto is silent on the transmission sector</b>	

# Power Sector – New Patriotic Party

Theme	Commitments	Comments
<b>Power distribution and financial sustainability</b>	Introduce Private Sector participation (PSP) into the retail power sector.	Private sector participation is crucial for improving efficiency in Ghana's distribution sector. However, since the failed PDS deal in 2019, the government has yet to make a concrete commitment. Future PSP arrangements must be transparent and competitive, prioritising entities with the necessary technical and financial expertise.
	Enhance regulatory oversight in the power sector by merging the PURC and Energy Commission to create a stronger, unified body for consistent policies and standards.	Strengthening regulatory oversight is crucial, but merging PURC and the Energy Commission may not resolve inefficiencies in energy sector SOEs. The focus should be on ensuring compliance with regulations across the value chain, regardless of the regulator's scope.
	Digitise the revenue platform that will apply Cash Waterfall Mechanism (CWM) sharing ratio at the point of all electricity tariff payment, to enhance liquidity within the electricity value chain, increase transparency and reduce indebtedness and achieve universal access to electricity	There is already a digitised revenue platform under the CWM. Digitising the platform does not solve the challenges with the CWM. ECG has undermined transparency by defying directives to operate a single account and signing suboptimal contracts that divert revenue. The approach also neglects inefficiencies in revenue collection, focusing instead on disbursement while collecting insufficient funds to sustain the value chain. For the CWM to function effectively, adequate funds and compliance are essential. The government must address under-recoveries and ensure ECG adheres to CWM directives.

# Power Sector – National Democratic Congress

Theme	Commitments	Comments
<b>Power generation / renewable energy expansion</b>	Implement an energy transition strategy that will augment thermal and hydropower production with nuclear and other renewable energy sources like solar, wind, biogas, waste-to-energy, and other off-grid energy systems such as mini-hydropower production (e.g., Juale, Pwalugu, and Pra)	Securing investments, ensuring effective implementation, and balancing the trade-offs between renewables and conventional energy is necessary. Addressing these requires coordinated action, regulatory reforms, and targeted incentives aligned with national priorities. The IPSMP offers a framework to balance supply needs with energy transition goals, and future governments must prioritise their strategic supply plans.
<b>Ensuring adequate fuel for power generation</b>	Introduce a framework that allows IPPs to buy their own fuel for power generation	One of the challenges in fuel supply is the inability of the power sector to pay for fuel supply. Whatever framework to deal with sustainable fuel purchase must examine the inefficiencies in distribution that result in significant under-recoveries that ripple to other aspects of the power value chain.
<b>Transmission</b>	Upgrade and expand the National Inter-Connected Transmission System in line with the national transmission plan to improve supply quality and reliability, and strengthening oversight of the West Africa Power Pool for cross-border electricity trade.	Upgrading the transmission lines will ensure efficient power transmission while reducing transmission losses to the minimum. It is crucial to ensure that these investments are competitively and transparently procured.
<b>Street lighting infrastructure</b>	Launch the LIGHT UP GHANA Project to boost the 24-hour economy by resuming universal street lighting, enhancing public safety. Also engage indigenous engineering firms for infrastructure development.	Street lighting is factored into the electricity tariffs, and it is the government's responsibility to provide adequate infrastructure to ensure public safety. Engaging indigenous firms for this purpose must be carried out transparently and competitively.

# Power Sector – National Democratic Congress

Theme	Commitments	Comments
Power distribution	Ensure massive investments in the distribution sector to enhance the capacity and improve the technical and operational efficiency of the utilities	Investments in distribution infrastructure are required to ensure supply reliability and reduce technical losses. These investments must be made with the right level of transparency.
	Create opportunities and empower local entrepreneurs to participate in the retail of electricity by installing smart boundary meters to ensure accountability and transparency	There is limited clarity on how local entrepreneurs would participate in the retail of electricity. Does this mean that local entrepreneurs would be selling power? The manifesto does not address how entrepreneurs will be integrated into existing regulatory frameworks or whether new policies will be introduced.
	Review the electricity tariff structure to ensure affordability and cost-effectiveness, standardise smart metering and lighting systems, streamline procurement processes, and promote domestic and industrial electricity use.	Ghana's tariff structure is based mainly on costs of generation, transmission, fuel, and other macroeconomic factors. Providing affordable and cost-effective tariffs would depend on our ability to secure competitively procured generation, reduce transmission losses and reduce the extent of inflation and the depreciating local currency.



# Power Sector – Movement for Change

Theme	Commitments	Comments
Generation	Introduce Mini-hydro systems with accompanying Transmission infrastructure, as a means of decentralising power generation and transmission.	Accelerating distributed renewable energy technologies is essential to reaching universal access to electricity, especially for inaccessible and non-economically viable grid extension areas. This promise must clarify the tariff arrangements and a strategy to stimulate the productive use of power in these rural areas
	Decouple thermal energy infrastructure from VRA, and introduce Public Private Partnership (PPP) into the ownership and management of all existing Government owned and controlled thermal energy systems to compete with IPPs.	There must be a clear examination of introducing PPPs in the ownership and management of government-owned generation systems. If it becomes necessary, much consideration must centre on transparency and competitiveness in selecting private partners.
Ensuring adequate fuel for power generation	Negotiate special credit lines for the supply of gas and crude from existing supply sources to optimise the use of existing thermal generation infrastructure.	A financially viable power sector with a handle on debt accumulation will allow a seamless fuel supply for power generation. While creating special credit lines for fuel supply guarantees fuel for power generation, it fails to address the root cause of the need to procure special credit lines, poor revenue performance and debt accumulation.
Transmission	Aggressively implement a programme of action to upgrade existing infrastructure, including transmission lines, substations, and distribution systems, to reduce technical losses	It is a laudable idea to upgrade existing infrastructure to reduce transmission losses and grid stability. A successful implementation depends on strong political will, transparency in procurement, and financial sustainability in the power sector, particularly distribution.

# Power Sector – Movement for Change

Theme	Commitments	Comments
Distribution	Introduce PSP into the power distribution sector and create regional power distribution enclaves managed by the Private sector.	Private sector participation is welcome. From the PDS experience, the transparency of the process to include the private sector is crucial to attracting genuine private capital and preventing political elite capture of the utility.
	Enhance revenue collection by ECG using modern technologies with AI, Blockchain technology.	Leveraging such technologies must undergo a competitive and transparent process. There is also the need to strengthen the managerial efficiency of the utility.
	Effective implementation of the Cash Waterfall mechanism among the energy sector players to promote efficiency in Power Distribution.	For the CWM to function effectively, adequate funds and compliance are essential. The government must address under-recoveries and ensure ECG adheres to CWM directives.

# The Mining Sector





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# Mining Sector

The mining sector in Ghana, a critical pillar of the economy, faces several complex challenges that threaten its sustainability and equitable development. These challenges, ranging from illegal mining practices to inefficiencies in mineral revenue governance and the limited impact of local content policies, require urgent attention in political party manifestos.

## 1. Illegal mining

Illegal mining, or ‘galamsey’, presents severe environmental challenges in Ghana's Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining (ASM) sector, including deforestation, water pollution, and health hazards. The Ghana Water Company (GWC) reports significant siltation of rivers like the Pra River, resulting in compromised raw water quality and erratic supply.<sup>2</sup> Despite various government interventions, such as the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Illegal Mining and an anti-galamsey taskforce, efforts to curb illegal mining have failed mainly due to political interference and third-party financiers. Reports by investigative bodies reveal the involvement of party officials and state actors in illegal mining operations, undermining public trust.<sup>3</sup> Additionally, the 2022 Environmental Protection (Mining in Forest Reserves) Regulation (L.I. 2462), which permits mining in forest reserves, has cast doubt on the government's commitment to resolving this crisis.

## 2. Local content

Despite Ghana's efforts through the Local Content and Local Participation Regulation (L.I. 2431), challenges persist in effectively maximising the benefits of local participation. While the laws prioritise local ownership, they often fall short of fostering actual participation and technology transfer. This focus on ownership rather than broader engagement encourages fronting, where foreign companies pose as local ones to comply with regulations, ultimately defeating the purpose of local content policies. As a result, local businesses struggle to fully capitalise on opportunities in the mining sector, and the desired long-term benefits of skill development and technology transfer remain limited.

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<sup>2</sup> Pulse Ghana (2024). Ghana Water Company blames galamsey for erratic supply in Cape Coast. Retrieved from:

<https://www.pulse.com.gh/news/local/ghana-water-company-blames-galamsey-for-erratic-supply-in-cape-coast/35t62fs>

<sup>3</sup> The Fourth Estate (2024). Forest Invasion: Companies owned by Wontumi, Kumasi mayor & others scramble to mine in Ghana's forest reserves. Retrieved from: <https://thefourthstategh.com/2024/09/forest-invasion-companies-of-wontumi-kumasi-mayor-npp-juaben-parliamentary-candidate-others-scramble-for-mining-in-ghanas-forest-reserves/>; The Conversation (2024). Ghana's artisanal miners are a law unto themselves: involving communities can help fix the problem. Retrieved from:

<https://theconversation.com/ghanas-artisanal-miners-are-a-law-unto-themselves-involving-communities-can-help-fix-the-problem-192256>

### 3. Mineral revenue governance

Ghana lacks a comprehensive framework for managing revenues from its mineral resources, leading to inefficiencies in fund allocation. Approximately 80% of mineral royalty revenue is directed into the Mineral Income Investment Fund (MIIF), which has the authority to establish special purpose vehicles (SPVs) and assign state-owned mineral rights to them. One example is the controversial Agyapa Royalties Limited, a royalty streaming company based in a tax haven, which has faced criticism due to concerns about the risks and potential mismanagement of MIIF investments. The Agyapa model has sparked broader concerns about the risky nature of investment models under the MIIF and the potential for mismanagement. Despite these concerns, the MIIF continues to hold a significant portion of mineral royalties, diverting resources from essential social needs, particularly in mining host communities. Ghana lacks a clear policy for corporate social responsibility (CSR) in mining, resulting in misaligned projects. Between 2011 and 2021, most CSR funds were spent on resettlement, focusing little on agriculture, healthcare, or infrastructure. An ACEP study found that 50% of respondents were dissatisfied with CSR efforts, citing their lack of alignment with community needs.<sup>4</sup>

### 4. Minerals development fund

The Minerals Development Fund (MDF) Act allocates 20% of mineral royalties to host mining districts, communities, and other government agencies to ensure these areas directly benefit from mineral revenues, supporting critical developmental projects. These funds have become a crucial source of development financing for local government actors in mining communities, particularly in light of delays and deductions from the District Assemblies Common Fund.<sup>5</sup> However, introducing the Earmarked Funds Capping and Realignment Act has diverted portions of the MDF to other sectors. ACEP's analysis reveals that, on average, only 12% of mineral royalties are being disbursed into the MDF, falling short of the 20% allocation and contrary to the government's 2016 manifesto promise to increase MDF disbursements to 30%. This shortfall has significantly impacted development funding at the district level, undermining the progress of decentralisation.

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<sup>4</sup> Resource Impact Dashboard (2022). Company Dynamics. Retrieved from: <https://www.resource-impact.org/en/#/details/5/environment/environmental-hazard-perception?years=2022>

<sup>5</sup> Boakye B., Ofori C. G. (2021). Challenges in District Assemblies Common Fund and Minerals Development Fund Disbursements: The Implication for Local Governance and Decentralisation. Africa Centre for Energy Policy. Available at <https://acep.africa/challenges-in-district-assemblies-common-fund-and-minerals-development-fund-disbursements/#:-:text=The%20MDF%20and%20DACF%20have,to%20deliver%20essential%20development%20plans>.

These persistent issues underline the need for a comprehensive and cohesive approach to mining sector governance. Political party manifestos must address these challenges head-on and propose robust solutions that ensure mining revenues are appropriately managed, local businesses and communities benefit equitably, and environmental safeguards are enforced. The analysis of the mining sector is done based on the following themes:

- Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining Regulation
- Addressing Illegal Mining
- Large Scale Mining
- Local Content and Value Addition
- Mineral Revenue Management

# Mining Sector – New Patriotic Party

Theme	Commitments	Comments
<b>Artisanal and small-scale mining regulation</b>	Investing in geological investigations of mineralised zones from 2025 to 2029 to derisk small-scale mining and ensuring that concessions with proven reserves earmarked for small-scale miners are 100% Ghanaian owned.	The geological data provision is useful for derisking small-scale mining operations, ensuring that miners can access viable concessions, and limiting nomadic behaviours typical of small-scale miners. It is important to resource the geological survey authority to provide leadership in this endeavour.
	Reducing withholding tax for small-scale gold exports to 1% to discourage smuggling and increase tax receipts.	While reducing withholding taxes on ASM gold theoretically dissuades smuggling, the policy is not backed by data on potential revenue leakages from the current withholding tax rate of 1.5%. A blind reduction of the current rate might hurt government tax revenue from the sector.
<b>Addressing illegal mining</b>	The proposal aims to transform small-scale mining by making geological reserves data accessible to minimise trial-and-error digging, simplifying the licensing process, and scaling up mercury-free gold catcher technology constructing settlement dams for safe discharge water management, aggregating and utilising the Reclamation Fund ensuring strict compliance with mining laws.	There are several environmental laws that deal with illegal mining. It is important to have a political will to ensure a strict application of the law. There has not been an established reclamation fund except for the requirement of companies to set aside money in secured accounts to undertake reclamation activities as stated in the Environmental Assessment Regulations. In 2022, the MLNR indicated its plans to create a reclamation fund to deal with the large tracts of degraded lands. Again, there is little evidence of the positive impact of introducing the gold catcher machine technology on addressing ASM mining environmental externalities.
<b>Large-scale mining</b>	Incentivising the large-scale mining sector, and making Ghana a high-priority exploration destination by deferring Value-Added Tax (VAT) on exploration and related activities until there is a successful find.	This initiative must be thoroughly examined to reduce its strain on government coffers. Beyond tax incentives, a stable regulatory regime (over which the government exercises significant control) and proven reserve data are essential determinants of FDI.



# Mining Sector – New Patriotic Party

Theme	Commitments	Comments
<b>Value addition and local content</b>	Establishing a Minerals Development Bank to support local businesses in the mining sector.	The structural hindrance to mining companies' competitiveness in the mining sector is the high cost of doing business in Ghana. The Association of Ghana Industries (AGI) continue to decry the alarming average year-on-year cost of doing business, which stood at 31.2% between 2021 and 2022. <sup>6</sup> Without addressing this harsh business ecosystem, a Minerals Development Bank will do little to position Ghanaian local mining companies to compete in the mining sector.
	Establishing the Precious Minerals Incubator Programme to cater for the skills development needs of local mining businesses.	This potentially helps bridge the skills gap of local Ghanaian businesses in the mining sector. It requires thorough political will to ensure its successful implementation
	Boosting State and citizens' participation in large-scale mines by encouraging large-scale mining companies to progressively list on the Ghana Stock Exchange.	Listing on the GSE might boost local equity participation in the mining sector. It is essential to address the low market capitalisation under the GSE and create an enabling environment for investment attraction.
	Completing the Local Content Value Chain by using 1D1F companies to manufacture the items reserved for supply by Ghanaians.	While this initiative is important, the prevailing challenges of the 1D1F companies, including access to funding, <sup>7</sup> must be addressed before they can be retooled as support services and technology companies for the mining sector.
<b>Mineral revenue management</b>	Continuing to leverage the Minerals Income Investment Fund (MIIF) to finance the growth of viable Ghanaian extractive resource-focused firms and projects through equipment and operations financing.	It is implausible that 80% of Ghana's mineral royalty receipts remain channelled to the Mineral Income Investment Fund to either idle or be subjected to risky investments such as the botched Agyapa Deal. The goal of financing extractive-focused projects must be achieved through a more comprehensive revenue management model in the mining sector.

<sup>6</sup> Business Ghana (2022). Ghana to lose out on AfCFTA gains due to high cost of doing business- AGI. Retrieved from: <https://www.businessghana.com/site/news/Business/264200/Ghana-to-lose-out-on-AfCFTA-gains-due-to-high-cost-of-doing-business-AGI>

<sup>7</sup> The Fourth Estate (2023). These 1D1F factories can't find raw materials, others are broke. Retrieved from: <https://thefourthstategh.com/2023/03/these-1d1f-factories-cant-find-raw-materials-others-are-broke/>

# Mining Sector – National Democratic Congress

Theme	Commitments	Comments
<b>Artisanal and small-scale mining regulation</b>	Decentralise regulatory frameworks to enhance local governance in the mining sector.	Decentralisation would speed up the licensing process in the ASM sector. However, irresponsible mining is perpetrated by licensed miners alike, who are operating outside the required environmental safeguards.
	Abolish the community mining system and instead establish Artisanal Small-scale mining Cooperatives (ASMCs).	Inadequate monitoring has turned the Community Mining Scheme into a space for illegal mining. Proposals to establish Artisanal and Small-scale Mining Cooperatives risk being a mere rebranding of the existing system unless the policy clearly outlines how it will address the challenges of the community mining scheme.
	Facilitate the setting up of mining equipment pools in each small-scale mining district, to ensure easy and affordable access to necessary mining equipment	The ASM sector has evolved beyond using rudimentary tools, in most cases, to excavators and other sophisticated tools. The challenge largely concerns mining without recourse to environmental safeguards and the increased political interest in ASM mining for political party financing.
	Set up a Ghana Gold Board (GOLDBOD) to regulate the small-scale mining sector. This board will restructure the small-scale mining sector.	The current institutional framework of the mining sector is adequate to address the challenges in the ASM sector, barring chronic monitoring shortfalls and political interests. A Ghana GOLDBOD risks being another addition to the pool of malfunctioning state agencies nationwide.
<b>Addressing illegal mining</b>	Introduce a 'RESTORE GHANA INITIATIVE' to promote local environmental recovery initiatives.	This is an essential post-mine intervention to restore depleted forest covers and polluted water bodies. It should be coupled with proactive monitoring of ASM mining operations to mitigate environmental hazards more sustainably
	Re-categorise mining in Ghana into small-scale (SSM), medium-scale (MSM), and large-scale (LSM), each with tailored regulatory, operational, environmental, and safety requirements.	Re-categorisation misses the core issues at the heart of the galamsey problem. Illegal mining operates outside any formal classification system and regulatory framework.

# Mining Sector – National Democratic Congress

Theme	Commitments	Comments
Critical minerals	Collaborate with local and foreign partners to invest in National Minerals Mapping, for mapping and developing lithium and other critical mineral deposits in Ghana.	This collaboration is a critical call to attract FDI and ensure that the country maintains a strong negotiation power in granting mining leases. The party should consider empowering the Ghana Geological Survey Authority to achieve this policy.
	Developed special regulatory policies for the development of our critical minerals to ensure improved benefit for our country.	Ghana needs a progressive, consolidated policy framework that ensures optimal benefit derivation from mineral exploration. The NDC should consider enhancing the Ghana Green Minerals Policy recently approved by Cabinet.
Industrial minerals development	Establish the Ghana Salt Development Authority (GSDA) with the mandate to regulate the development, mining and export of salt from our entire coastline.	Current mining policies do not adequately emphasise industrial minerals. Despite its revenue potential, Ghana's salt reserves have been neglected. It is essential to address the policy structure around industrial minerals before any state-owned institution is established to perform its mandate.
	Promoting the exploitation of and value addition to mineral deposits, such as limestone, kaolin, iron ore, clay, salt, lithium, aluminium sulphate, oil, and natural gas, in ways that respect the environment while ensuring sustainable development.	Though a neglected sector, industrial minerals mining can be a critical driver of economic development. These minerals are known to be crucial in the development phase of any country (the so-called early intensity of the use of development minerals). <sup>8</sup> A commitment to add value to industrial minerals is therefore welcome. There must be a clear strategy around industrial mineral optimisation in Ghana.

<sup>8</sup> World Bank (na). Industrial Minerals: A Technical Review. Retrieved from: <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/zh/623931468765895762/pdf/WTP76.pdf>

# Mining Sector – National Democratic Congress

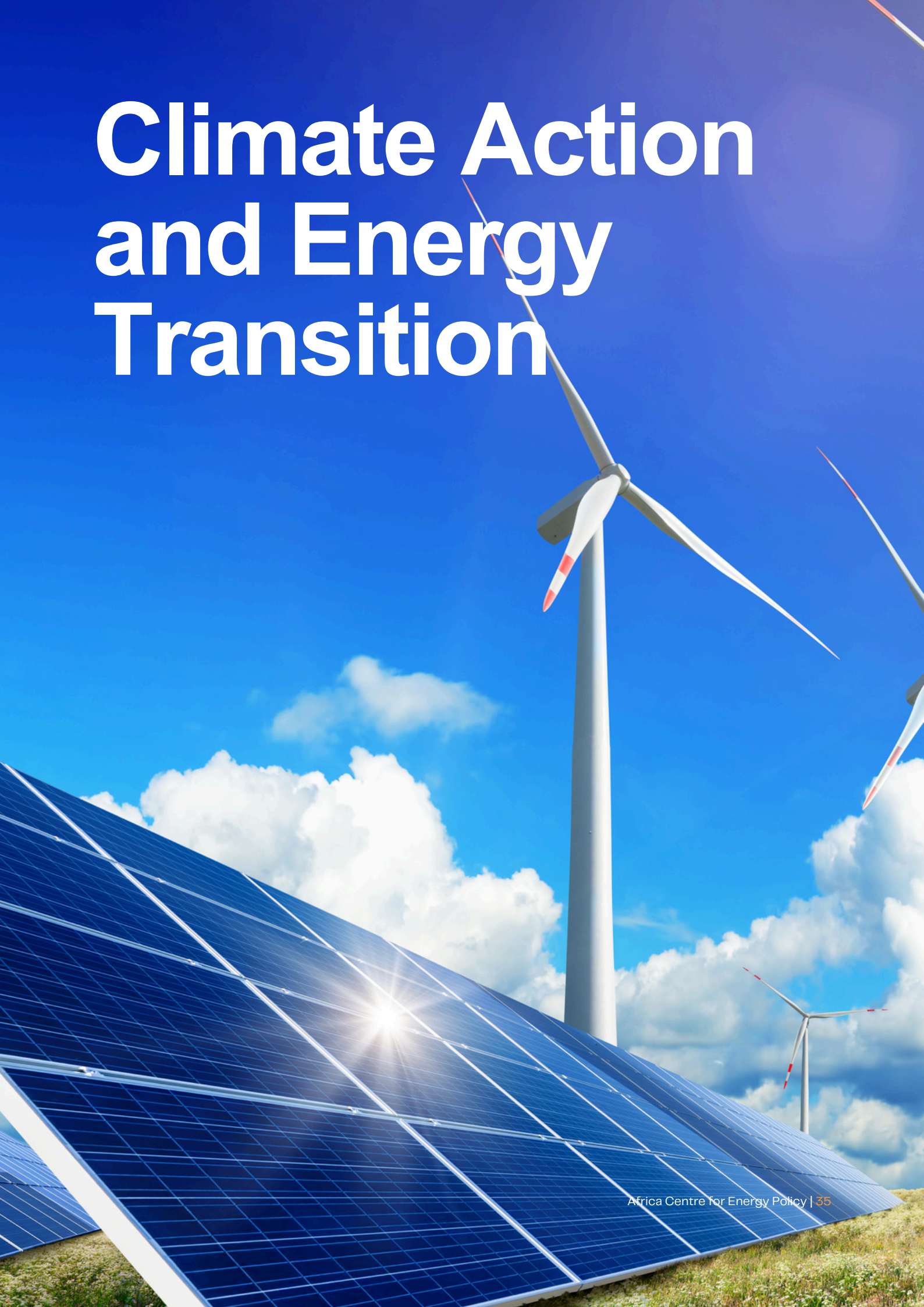
Theme	Commitments	Comments
<b>Mineral revenue management</b>	Amend and strengthen the laws and regulations governing the Minerals Income Investment Fund (MIIF) to include clear guidelines and strict transparency measures for investing mineral revenue	This call must be preceded by broad engagements to ensure the amendments affect all stakeholder concerns with the MIIF structure.
	Introduce a system of offset programmes that sets aside part of the royalties due to the government for direct leverage on infrastructure development in mining areas.	This policy must sit within a broader revenue management framework akin to the PRMA in the petroleum sector.



# Mining Sector – Movement for Change

Theme	Commitments	Comments
Addressing illegal mining	Aggressively enforce existing legislation and regulations against mining in water-bodies and forest reserves in order to avoid the pollution of water-bodies and degradation of forest reserves.	This commitment must be preceded by a repeal of the Environmental Protection (Mining in Forest Reserves) Regulation 2022 (L.I. 2462), which allowed mining in forest reserves.
	Develop and implement a new business model for dealing substantively with illegal mining (Galamsey), by facilitating the establishment of small-scale mining companies to be owned by groups of young people currently engaged in Galamsey.	Licensed and unlicensed companies and individual ASM miners perpetrate illegal, indiscriminate mining. The solution lies in enforcing the environmental safeguards dictated by ASM mining permits.
Large-scale mining	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Undertake a comprehensive review of all legislation and regulations in respect of the mandate, management and operations of institutions in the natural resource sector, and based on the review exercise, consolidate institutions with overlapping mandates, clarify regulatory functions and establish a new regime for optimising benefits from our natural resources.</li> <li>2. Review all existing contracts in the natural resource sector, with a view to optimising benefits to the country, and enhancing local content.</li> <li>3. Amend Article 257(6) to establish Traditional Authorities as co-trustees with the President regarding all mineral rights in Ghana.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Any form of review with intentions to enhance the sector is plausible. A review must be informed by broad consultation with CSO and other stakeholders to ensure effective outcomes.</li> <li>2. Existing contracts usually have stabilisation clauses that cannot be subject to abrupt reviews when they have not expired. This exercise must be cautiously pursued in order not to mar investor confidence. Besides, the challenges of local content go beyond corporate contracts. The key focus should be dealing with local businesses' limited capacity and access to finance, further exacerbated by the high cost of doing business for local mining companies that cannot be addressed by reviewing mining contracts.</li> <li>3. The manifesto is silent on how having traditional authorities as co-trustees will benefit Ghana's mining regime. It is material to note that the apathy and distrust towards politicians is shared by traditional authorities. How does this policy guarantee public trust in the mining governance?</li> </ol>
Value addition and local content	Introduce new legislation and regulations that will significantly reduce the export of raw materials from Ghana in any form, without a minimum of 60% value addition by the year 2030.	The success of any value-addition policy is intricately premised on addressing the aforementioned local content challenges. A blanket requirement to ensure 60% value addition is not feasible if a conducive business environment is not created. Furthermore, certain energy minerals require a long list of precursor minerals to produce useful end products. This would require regional integration to facilitate raw material trade within the continent. This policy must, therefore, be comprehensively thought through and designed.

# Climate Action and Energy Transition



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# Climate Action and Energy Transition

Ghana's transition to a low-carbon economy is essential to meeting its climate goals and advancing sustainable development. However, this transition faces significant challenges across critical sectors, including financing, energy, transportation, and domestic fuel production. Despite ambitious policy frameworks, gaps in implementation and systemic barriers have hindered progress.

## 1. Inadequate private sector investments in climate action

Financing is an important component of climate action. Hence, policy documents on Ghana's climate action emphasise the pivotal role of private sector investment in achieving the country's climate objectives. For example, Ghana's Renewable Energy Master Plan projected that approximately 80% of the \$5.8 billion required for its implementation would need to come from private sector contributions. Similarly, the Energy Transition Investment Plan identifies the capital market, commercial financial institutions, and individual investors as critical funding sources. Despite these plans, private sector contributions have been significantly inadequate. In 2022, private financing accounted for only 18% of total climate finance flows across Africa, with Ghana receiving a mere 2%. This financing gap underlines the urgency for the government to create a more conducive environment for private sector engagement. Measures could include offering targeted incentives, de-risking investments through guarantees, and strengthening regulatory frameworks to attract sustainable financing at scale.

## 2. Renewable energy integration

Ghana has yet to achieve its target of incorporating 10% renewable energy into its energy mix. This goal has faced challenges due to a lack of clear commitment and varying interpretations. This ambiguity has hindered coordinated efforts toward realising the target. Additionally, households and businesses have proposed the Net Metering Scheme to encourage self-generation of renewable energy. However, its implementation has been fraught with significant setbacks, mainly due to resistance from utility companies. Overcoming these obstacles requires addressing regulatory bottlenecks, fostering collaboration with utilities, and raising awareness about the benefits of renewable energy self-generation for both consumers and the national grid. By taking these steps, Ghana can accelerate its renewable energy integration and drive progress toward a more sustainable energy future.



### **3. Electric vehicle deployment**

Electric vehicles (EVs) are gaining prominence in the energy transition conversation, emerging as a sustainable alternative for vehicular transportation. However, their adoption in Ghana faces several hurdles, including limited public awareness, inadequate charging infrastructure, and high upfront costs. These barriers have slowed the pace of EV deployment despite global advancements in the sector. A key challenge lies in Ghana's tax regime for EVs. EVs attract a uniform 20% import duty, regardless of their size or type. This contrasts with Internal Combustion Engine (ICE) vehicles, categorised and taxed based on engine capacity. The Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA) does not have a mechanism to classify EVs similarly, creating a disincentive for broader adoption.

Notably, two- and three-wheeled EVs are beginning to gain traction in Ghana, presenting an opportunity to introduce more affordable and accessible electric mobility options. Strengthening the business environment for such vehicles is crucial. This could involve revising tax policies to incentivise EV imports, expanding charging networks, and providing targeted support to businesses in the sector. These steps would drive EV adoption and position Ghana as a regional leader in sustainable transportation.

### **4. Biofuel policies**

Biofuels are increasingly recognised as a vital component of blended fuels, helping to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in diesel. As Ghana seeks to expand the production and use of blended alternatives, a holistic approach to domestic biofuel production is crucial to maximise benefits while minimising reliance on imports.

Beyond their role in transportation fuels, biofuels also present significant opportunities for advancing clean cooking solutions. Ethanol-based biofuels, for instance, offer a viable alternative for clean cooking in a country where Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) penetration in rural and peri-urban areas has stalled due to high costs and limited accessibility. To fully realise the potential of biofuels, Ghana must prioritise policies that promote local production, invest in infrastructure, and create incentives for both consumers and producers.

### **5. Holistic potential for green industrialisation**

Ghana has developed a range of policies and targets to address climate action and reduce emissions. However, a significant gap lies in the country's ability to harness its industrial capacity to actively participate in clean energy value chains. This shortfall limits Ghana's potential to realise the economic benefits of the global energy transition. Ghana must adopt a strategic approach to integrate industrial development into its climate action agenda to unlock this potential. This includes building local capacity through targeted skills training, attracting foreign and domestic investment into clean energy manufacturing, and creating policies encouraging technology transfer. Additionally, aligning industrial policies with global demand for sustainable products can position Ghana as a competitive supplier in green technology markets.



# Climate Action & Energy Transition – New Patriotic Party

Theme	Commitments	Comments
Climate financing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Explore innovative climate financing and carbon trading to finance investments in agriculture and fisheries, etc.</li> <li>2. Use our annual allocation of the Readiness Fund from the Green Climate Fund to build institutional capacity of all relevant Stakeholders</li> <li>3. Strengthen the private sector to participate in the development of climate resilient projects that qualify for funding from the growing sources</li> </ol>	<p>The strategy to explore innovative climate financing investments through carbon trading, bilateral agreements and assessing financing from other funds is essential for addressing climate action. Building institutional capacity to drive a transformative, long-term climate agenda is important, particularly under initiatives like the Readiness Fund, which has provided Ghana with approximately \$5.7 million in support.</p>
	<p>Build upon the three negotiated bilateral agreements with Switzerland, Sweden and Singapore, and other carbon credit opportunities within the climate finance space, to speed up our green transition and economic growth efforts</p>	<p>In addition to building these G2G arrangements, governments must ensure that Ghana can integrate policies and incentives that prioritise local industry development and innovation. These could be strengthened by incentivising locally produced low-carbon technologies and encouraging technology transfer arrangements.</p>
Capacity building and skills development	<p>Establish Accelerated Renewable Energy Sector Skills Development Programme (AESD) to equip businesses with the critical technical skills, certifications, and support required to participate across the entire renewable energy value chain.</p>	<p>Developing the AESD is essential for skills development. It is crucial to ensure its sustainability through constant government and private sector support. Additionally, integrating the AESD into Ghana's TVET curricula would be essential to sustain the program.</p>

# Climate Action & Energy Transition – New Patriotic Party

Theme	Commitments	Comments
<b>Biofuel and waste to energy initiatives</b>	<p><b>Develop a Biofuel value chain policy</b> that considers:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. adaptation of Blend of 90% gasoline and 10% ethanol</li> <li>2. the use of locally produced ethanol for E10 Biofuel, and policies to support the cultivation of feedstock crops, establish biofuel processing facilities etc.</li> </ol>	<p>Ghana’s national energy policy emphasises promoting blended fuels. However, with over 90% of ethanol currently imported, the economic benefits flow abroad. Prioritising local ethanol production through public-private partnerships and investments in production facilities can maximise the benefits of fuel blending, industrial use, and clean cooking. Ghana’s significant feedstock potential presents an opportunity to reduce import reliance, boost rural economies, and create jobs across farming, processing, manufacturing, and distribution, fostering an inclusive energy transition.</p>
<b>Green industrialisation</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Creating technical capacity for the setting up of lithium battery plants locally</li> <li>2. Training and licensing local technicians to service and maintain Electric Vehicles and Electric vehicles infrastructure,</li> <li>3. Supporting Green Industry Start-ups by incentivising, through tax regimes, grants, and favourable regulatory frameworks, to encourage sustainable businesses such as recycling</li> </ol>	<p>The successful establishment of lithium battery plants in Ghana hinges on a coordinated industrial policy that integrates efforts across sectors, optimises investment options, and ensures raw material availability and manageable input costs to produce affordable and competitive batteries. As global advancements in battery technologies, such as sodium-ion alternatives, reduce reliance on costly raw materials, Ghana must prioritise research and development (R&amp;D) to stay competitive, drive innovation, and position Ghana as a hub for technological advancements.</p>

# Climate Action & Energy Transition – New Patriotic Party

Theme	Commitments	Comments
Electric vehicles and e-mobility	To drive the adoption of electric vehicles (EVs) in Ghana: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. establish strategic EV charging infrastructure</li> <li>2. incentivise fuel stations to add EV charging units at select locations</li> <li>3. implement the National Electric Vehicle Policy</li> <li>4. support the procurement of electric buses for public transport on inter- and intra-city routes.</li> </ol>	Electric vehicle (EV) adoption in Ghana is in its early stages, hindered by inadequate charging infrastructure, limited public awareness, insufficient incentives, and high upfront costs. However, Ghana's consumer-driven market presents an opportunity for widespread adoption if EVs become appealing and accessible. The party must leverage a favourable regulatory environment to attract private sector investment in public charging infrastructure, reducing financial strain on the state. It must also emphasise public awareness campaigns to highlight the benefits of EVs, such as cost savings, reduced emissions, and long-term environmental benefits, to drive consumer demand.
	Promote the manufacturing and assembly of EVs locally, including two and three-wheeler vehicles.	The national EV policy includes provisions encouraging the local manufacturing and assembly of two- and three-wheeler EVs. While some companies in Ghana have started producing these vehicles domestically, they face many challenges, such as high input costs, limited incentives, and restricted access to financing. The party must provide approaches to curtail these challenges

# Climate Action & Energy Transition – National Democratic Congress

Theme	Commitments	Comments
<b>Advancing clean energy deployment through the private sector</b>	Leverage private-sector investments and expertise to advance clean energy and sustainable waste management solutions by investing in waste-to-energy, solar, and wind projects; establishing plastic recycling facilities to produce exportable pellets; and developing organic waste-processing plants in partnership with the private sector to generate energy and fertiliser.	While these initiatives are important, stimulating private-sector involvement in clean energy and sustainable waste management will depend on creating a conducive environment for investment and business sustainability. Key elements include regulation that ensures compliance without stifling growth and fair taxation policies that incentivise green investments, and improved access to finance through mechanisms like green financing or loan guarantees. Additionally, ensuring a steady supply of raw materials and securing reliable market access for energy, recycled materials, and fertilisers is essential for long-term viability.
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Enact and pass a National Climate Change Law.</li> <li>2. Align national efforts and policies with international efforts to limit global warming to 1.5°C and collaborate with global partners to implement the same for sustainable development.</li> </ol>	Whereas there is no specific national climate law, it does not mean there are no legal frameworks addressing climate action and environmental sustainability in Ghana. Existing laws, such as the EPA Act and the Renewable Energy Act, and regulations targeting industries like petroleum and mining, already have provisions impacting the environment and climate. Additionally, various policy documents, including the National Climate Change Policy and the Energy Transition Framework, set targets for climate action and environmental sustainability. Future governments should focus on enforcing these existing laws and policies to drive meaningful climate action.
<b>Climate legislation and regional collaboration</b>	Enhance Ghana's participation in climate diplomacy to shape global decisions in line with national interests and reduce climate change's impact on the country's peace, security, and prosperity	Ghana actively participates in global climate diplomacy, advocating its priorities as a signatory to the Paris Agreement and a member of the Climate Vulnerable Forum. The NDC must use these platforms to offer opportunities to attract investments and challenge narratives.

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# Observations and Recommendations

Based on the preceding context and analysis of the anchor policies outlined in the publicly available manifestos of the major political parties, the following observations and recommendations are made:

## Oil and gas sector

- **The political party manifestos do not make satisfactory commitments to addressing the political and regulatory incumbrances hurting investment in oil exploration.** Until a political commitment exists to ensure rational decision-making based on the laws and the science governing the upstream petroleum business, investors will continue to divest from Ghana's resources.
- **The manifestos do not address the concerns of limited value for money caused by the thin spreading of the ABFA** on community development projects. Also, the selection of the priority areas should be decentralised to ensure each region's needs are prioritised accordingly, rather than the blanket nature of the current prioritisation.
- **The development of local refining capacity, such as reforming the Tema Oil Refinery (TOR) and expanding natural gas processing plants, should be prioritised** to fully integrate the upstream and downstream oil and gas sectors. There appears to be some consensus from the manifestos on private sector participation in TOR's financial and operational turnaround. Achieving optimal outcomes from this approach will require strict adherence to a transparent and competitive selection process for the private sector entity.

## Power sector

- **The next government should strengthen energy sector SOEs and limit political interference.** Most of the shortfalls in the energy sector are attributed to leadership inefficiencies. Unfortunately, due to the nature of the appointments of leaders to the SOEs, many of their actions and inactions are undertaken with impunity. The next government should ensure utmost transparency and efficiency in the energy sector SOEs by reducing direct government involvement in the operations of the sector utilities.



- **The manifestos do not provide actionable strategies to reduce losses in the distribution sector.** The distribution sector records losses annually, which affects the entire value chain. Although some manifesto policies point to infrastructural investments in the distribution sector, there are no clear-cut strategies for reducing these losses. The next government should implement data-driven revenue collection strategies to reduce collection losses while investing in modern infrastructure to minimise technical losses. There should also be punitive measures to deter customers from power theft and reduce commercial losses.

## Minerals and mining sector

- **The major political party manifestos fell short of addressing the unequal and opaque revenue management and benefit-sharing structure in the mining sector.** The MIIF Act should be repealed and replaced with a comprehensive revenue management framework akin to the Petroleum Revenue Management Act (PRMA).
- **The manifestos are silent on the management of the Mineral Development Fund. The MDF should be excluded from the Earmarked Capping and Realignment Act** to free MDF revenues to mitigate the socio-economic and environmental impact of mining in host communities.
- **The next government should enhance the Monitoring of and Value Addition to Industrial Minerals** to improve domestic revenue mobilisation from the quarry sector and develop critical industrial infrastructure inputs.
- **The next government should develop a CSR policy aligned with the national development agenda and guidelines on community engagement on CSR interventions** to guide mining companies' CSR investment decisions.
- **None of the manifestos addresses the root causes of the galamsey menace,** such as a repeal of the Environmental Protection (Mining in Forest Reserves) Regulation 2022 (L.I. 2462), enforcing the mining policies and taking necessary prosecutorial actions against all politically exposed individuals and chiefs that have been complicit in illegal mining.
- **The manifestos do not address the High Costs of Doing Business to improve local participation and value addition in the mining sector,** such as addressing the high cost of lending and utility expenses, which are major barriers to the growth of local businesses.

## Climate action and energy transition

- **Climate Financing and Investment Attraction:** The manifestos emphasise the significance of climate financing, particularly by encouraging private sector participation. However, they fall short in addressing critical challenges to attracting investments, such as the prohibitively high costs of funding and regulatory barriers that hinder business growth. Future administrations must create a conducive investment environment by reforming regulations, lowering financing costs, and offering incentives to attract investors to clean energy initiatives.
- **Skills Development and Integration into Education Systems:** While skills development is mentioned in the manifestos, there is a notable lack of a clear strategy to integrate such initiatives into the country's Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) curricula. Furthermore, the manifestos do not outline mechanisms to support individuals in applying and scaling up these acquired skills, particularly in clean energy technologies. A robust framework is needed to link education, skills training, and practical implementation to ensure the workforce is adequately prepared to drive and sustain clean energy innovations.
- **Clean Cooking Beyond LPG:** The manifestos continue to centre clean cooking initiatives on promoting Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG). However, LPG penetration in rural and peri-urban areas remains sluggish, limiting its impact on achieving universal access to clean cooking solutions. Future policies must prioritise diversifying clean cooking options by promoting alternative solutions, such as ethanol-based cooking technologies. This approach will complement LPG use and accelerate progress toward universal access to clean cooking, particularly in underserved communities.
- **Coherence between Energy Transition and Socio-economic Development:** The manifestos exhibit limited alignment between energy transition goals and the broader socio-economic development objectives of the country. Climate action and energy transition strategies must extend beyond reducing CO<sub>2</sub> emissions to address socio-economic priorities, such as job creation, poverty alleviation, and equitable access to energy. Future governments must ensure that climate and energy policies are explicitly designed to enhance citizens' livelihoods, fostering a transition that is not only environmentally sustainable but also socially inclusive and economically beneficial.





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ACEP is a thought leader in Africa's energy and extractives governance space, working towards improving economic transformation and inclusive sustainable development. We contribute to developing alternative and innovative policy interventions through high-quality research, analysis, and advocacy in Africa's energy and extractives sector.