

The Golden Age Beckons

Ghana was the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence from the UK in 1946. Gold, cocoa and oil are the sectors that fuel its economic growth. Future goal: energy independence.

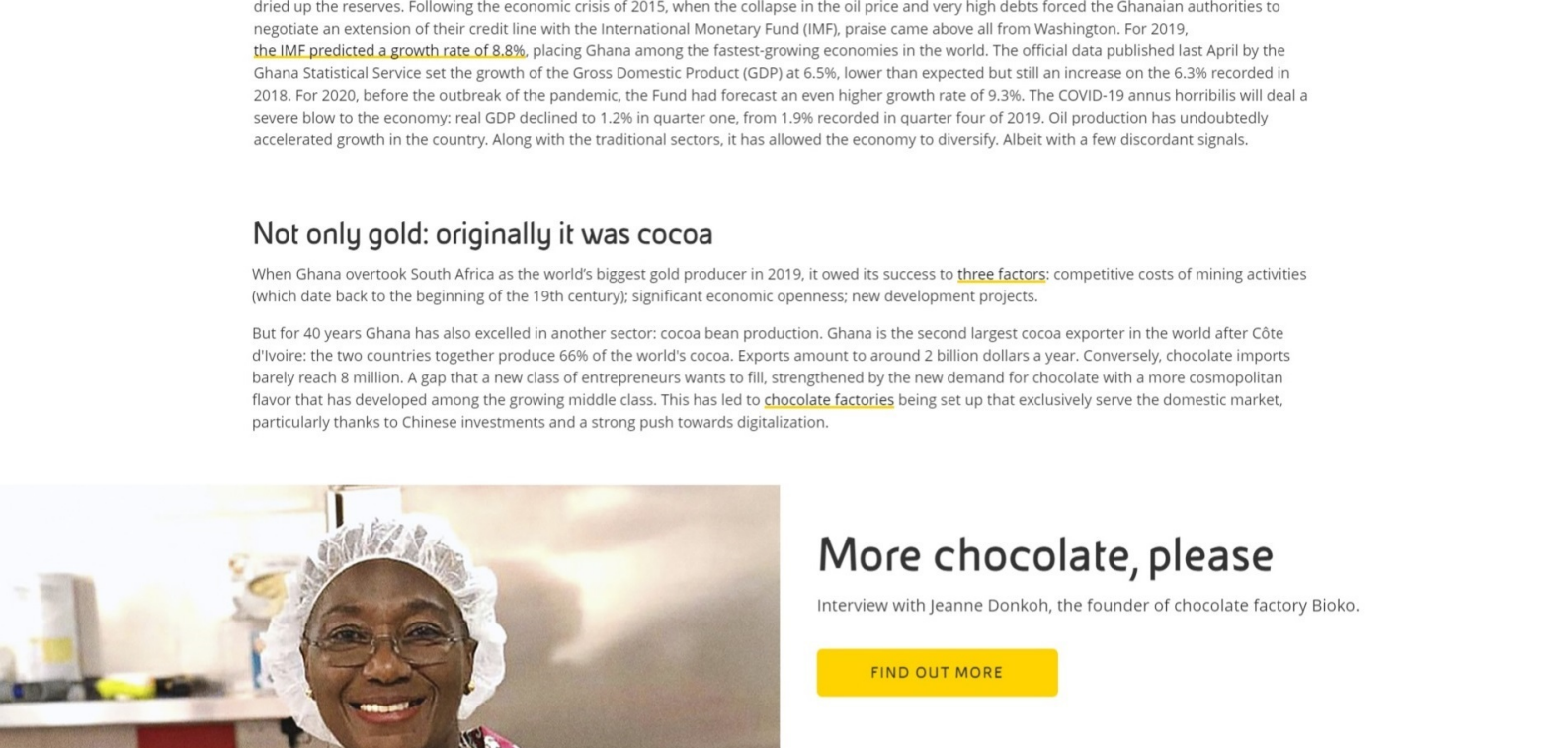
The discovery of oil and natural gas fields in 2007 gave a strong boost to the Ghanaian economy, which in a few years has established itself as one of the most dynamic and fastest growing economies in West Africa. Oil and gas exploitation has gradually reduced vulnerability to fluctuations in oil prices, decreased the country's dependence on expensive energy imports, expanded access to electricity and reduced poverty. Above all, gas has taken on a leading role in the country's economic development. Today Ghana is one of the most dynamic and fastest growing economies in West Africa. However, oil production is not the only element that has made its development possible. The government also aims to support traditional sectors, from textiles to cocoa, to diversify the structure of the economy, especially in the context of the economic crisis connected to the COVID-19 pandemic and with a growing debate on the role of renewable energy in the energy transition.

Big steps forward for the economy

Until 2007, Ghana was unaware that it was rich in oil. "We must thank the Lord for giving us this natural resource" said President Atta Mills on December 15, 2010 at the inauguration of the first oil and associated gas field 60 kilometers from the southwestern coast. Jubilee (as the oil field is known) had been identified three years earlier as having estimated reserves of 600 million barrels. It is currently producing 150,000 barrels a day. Young people, entrepreneurs, farmers: everyone is "Jubilant", says N. Ayik in his book "Big Barrels". Ghana is on the way to becoming a new oil producer in West Africa.



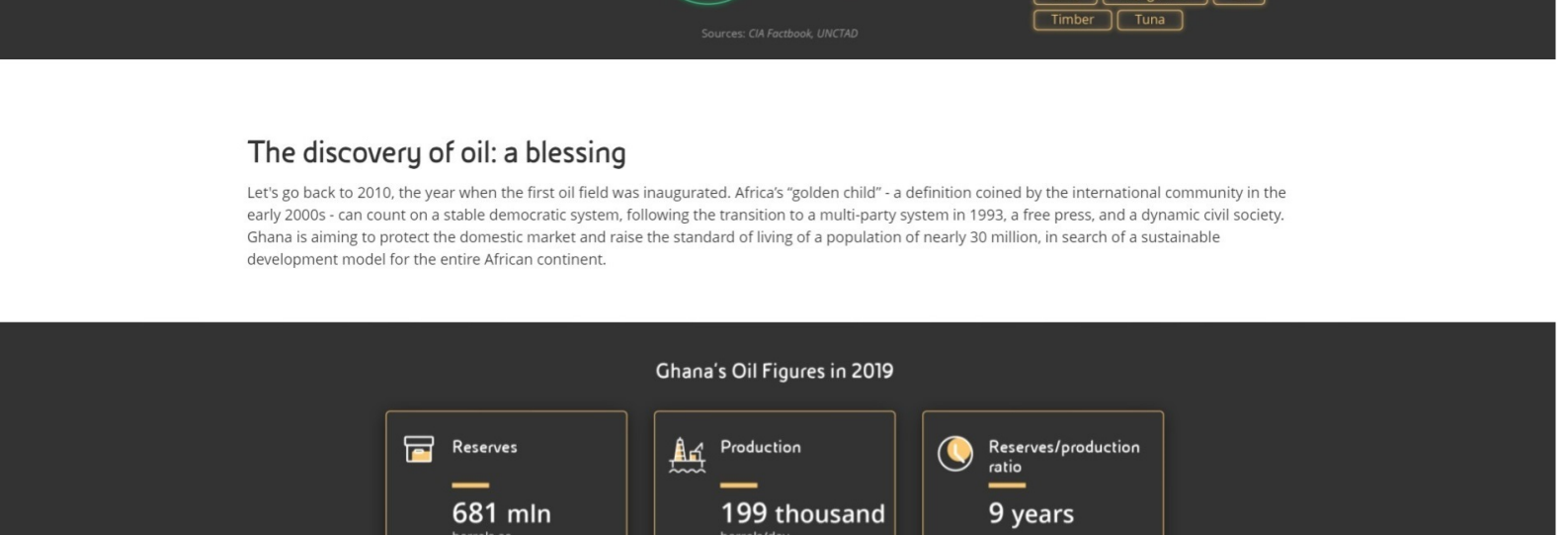
Ghana aims to transform energy into a key sector for the country's economic development but wants to avoid falling into the trap of depending on resources. The model is based on the economies of Southeast Asia that have used oil and gas to develop their manufacturing industry. The internal availability of resources allows the country to reduce its vulnerability to oil prices on the international market, guaranteeing stable supplies at affordable prices, and therefore a greater degree of energy security. According to data from the World Bank, in 1991 the country had a poverty rate of 47.4%. By 2012, poverty had fallen to 12.1%. Today it is one of the fastest growing African economies, along with Ethiopia and Côte d'Ivoire.



There has been no shortage of setbacks in the history of this transformation. After the golden twenty years, 1995-2015, an expansionary fiscal policy dried up the reserves. Following the economic crisis of 2015, when the collapse in the oil price and very high debts forced the Ghanaian authorities to negotiate an extension of their credit line with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), praise came above all from Washington. For 2019, the IMF predicted a growth rate of 8.8%, placing Ghana among the fastest-growing economies in the world. The official data published last April by the Ghana Statistical Service set the growth of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) at 6.5%, lower than expected but still an increase on the 5.3% recorded in 2018. For 2020, before the outbreak of the pandemic, the Fund had forecast an even higher growth rate of 9.3%. The COVID-19 annus horribilis will deal a severe blow to the economy: real GDP declined to 1.2% in quarter one, from 1.9% recorded in quarter four of 2019. Oil production has undoubtedly accelerated growth in the country. Along with the traditional sectors, it has allowed the economy to diversify. Albeit with a few discordant signals.

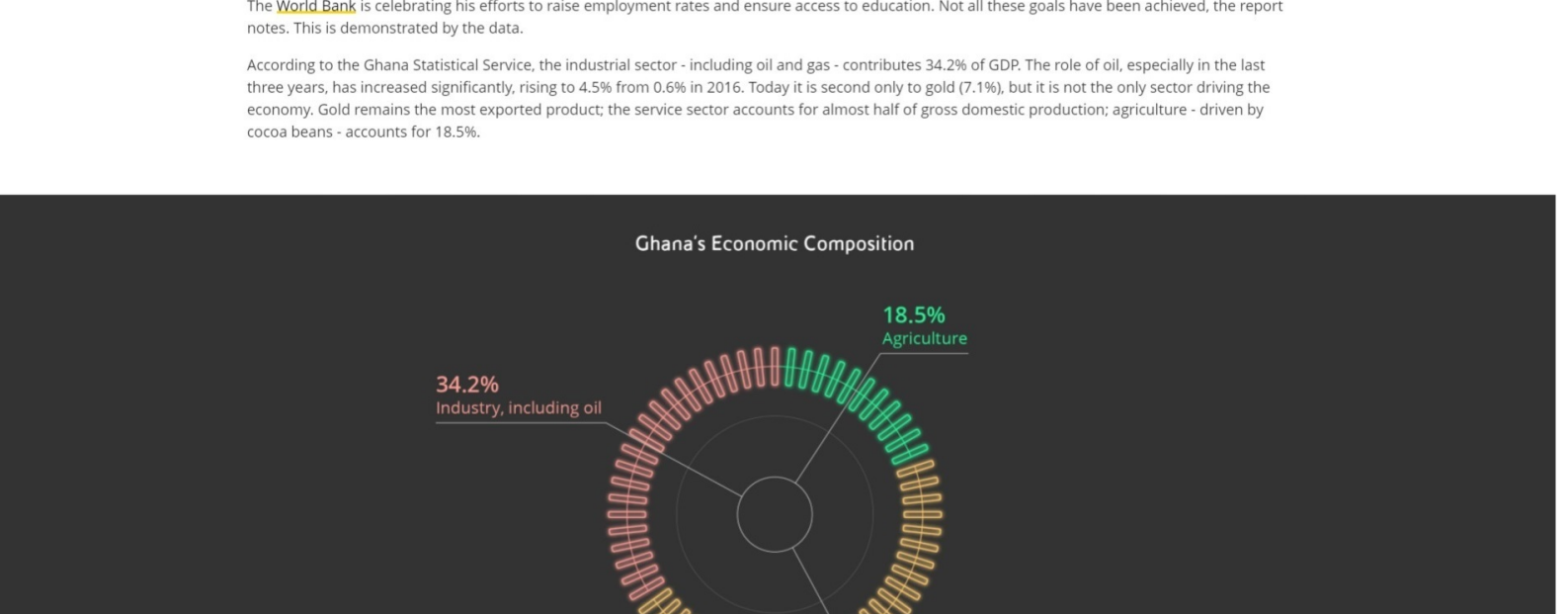
Not only gold: originally it was cocoa

When Ghana overtook South Africa as the world's biggest gold producer in 2019, it owed its success to three factors: competitive costs of mining activities (which date back to the beginning of the 19th century), significant economic openness, new development projects. But for 40 years the cocoa has been the country's main export. Cocoa beans production in Ghana is the second largest cocoa exporter in the world after Côte d'Ivoire. The two countries together produce 66% of the world's cocoa. Exports amount to around 2 billion dollars a year. Conversely, chocolate imports barely reach 8 million. A gap that a new class of entrepreneurs wants to fill, strengthened by the new demand for chocolate with a more cosmopolitan flavor that has developed among the growing middle class. This has led to chocolate factories being set up that exclusively serve the domestic market, particularly in Accra, the capital, and a strong push towards digitalization.



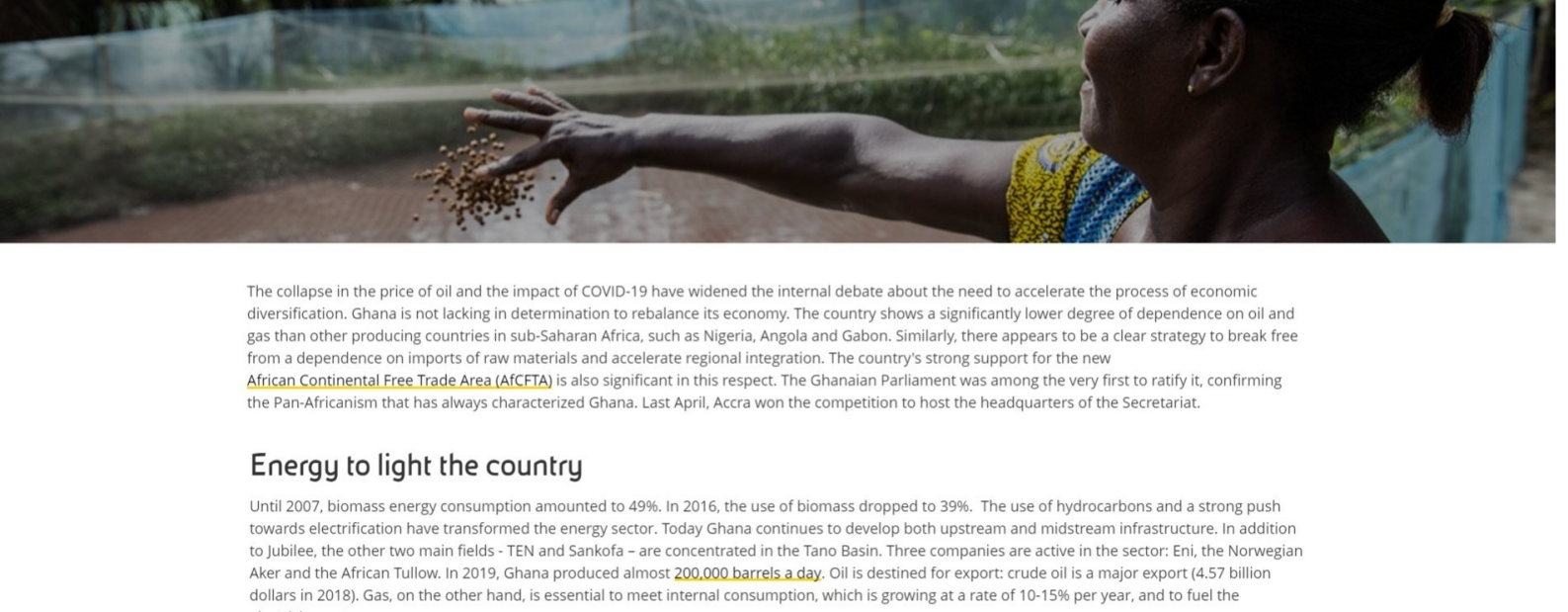
The discovery of oil: a blessing

Let's go back to 2010, the year when the first oil field was discovered in Ghana's "golden child" - a definition coined by the international community in the early 2000s - can count on a stable domestic system, following the transition to a multi-party system in 1993, a free press, and a dynamic civil society. Ghana is aiming to protect the domestic market and raise the standard of living of a population of nearly 30 million, in search of a sustainable development model for the entire African continent.

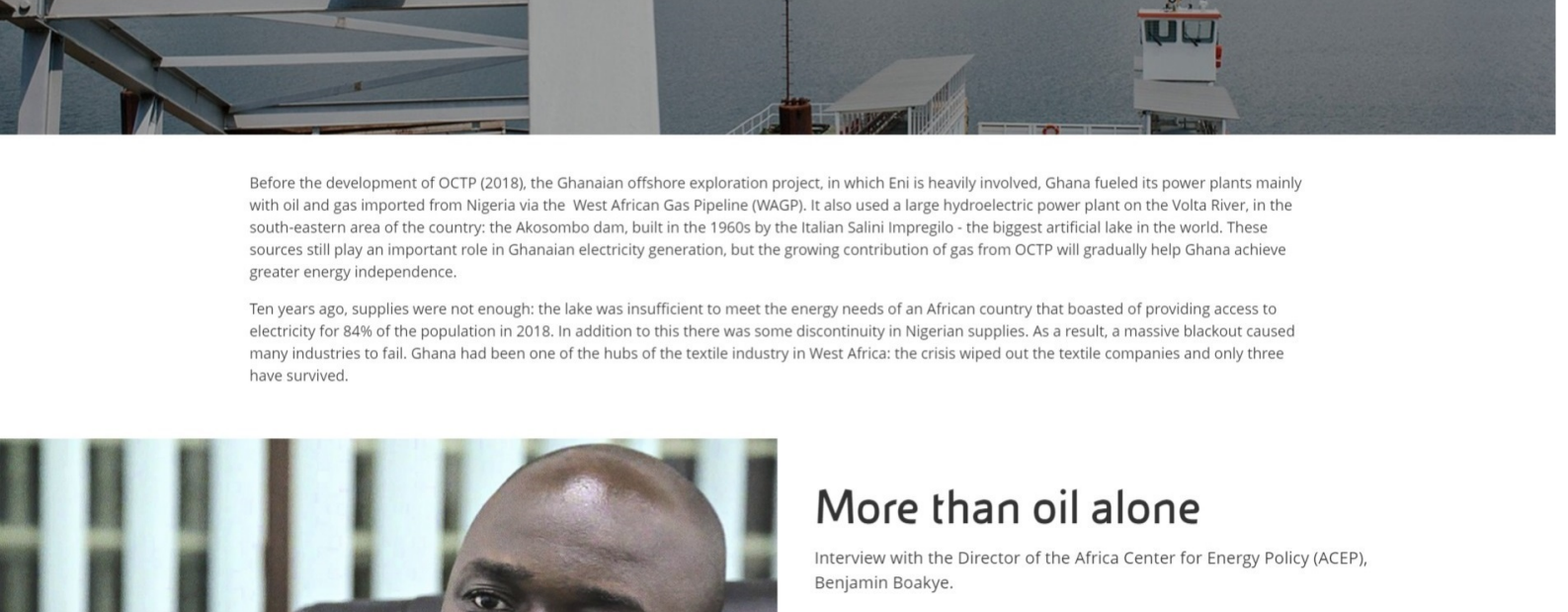


Since President Nana Akufo-Addo came to power in 2017, the development of agri-food has been central to his policy to reduce dependence on imports. The World Bank is reiterating his efforts to raise employment rates and ensure access to education. Not all these goals have been achieved, the report notes. This is demonstrated by the data.

According to the Ghana Statistical Service, the industrial sector - including oil and gas - contributes 34.2% of GDP. The role of oil, especially in the last three years, has increased significantly, rising to 4.5% from 0.6% in 2016. Today it is second only to gold (7.1%), but it is not the only sector driving the economy. Gold remains the main export product; the service sector accounts for almost half of gross domestic production; agriculture - driven by cocoa beans - accounts for 18.5%.



And agriculture should be more supported precisely by the resources generated by the oil and gas, the director of the Africa Center for Energy Policy (ACEP), Benjamin Boake, tells in an interview. The development of the oil industry risks discouraging the government-developer oil sector. In 2013, the contribution made by agriculture to the country's GDP was much higher, equal to 21.7%. Overall, the non-oil sector is still strong but has been shrinking slowly, from 6.5% in 2018 to 5.8%.



Before the development of OCTP (2018), the Ghanaian offshore exploration project, in which ENI is heavily involved, Ghana fueled its power plants mainly with oil and gas imported from Nigeria via the West African Gas Pipeline (WAGP). It also used a large hydroelectric power plant on the Volta River, in the south-eastern area of the country: the Akosombo dam, built in the 1960s by the Italian Salini Impregilo - the biggest artificial lake in the world. These sources still play an important role in Ghanaian electricity generation, but the growing contribution of gas from OCTP will gradually help Ghana achieve greater energy independence.

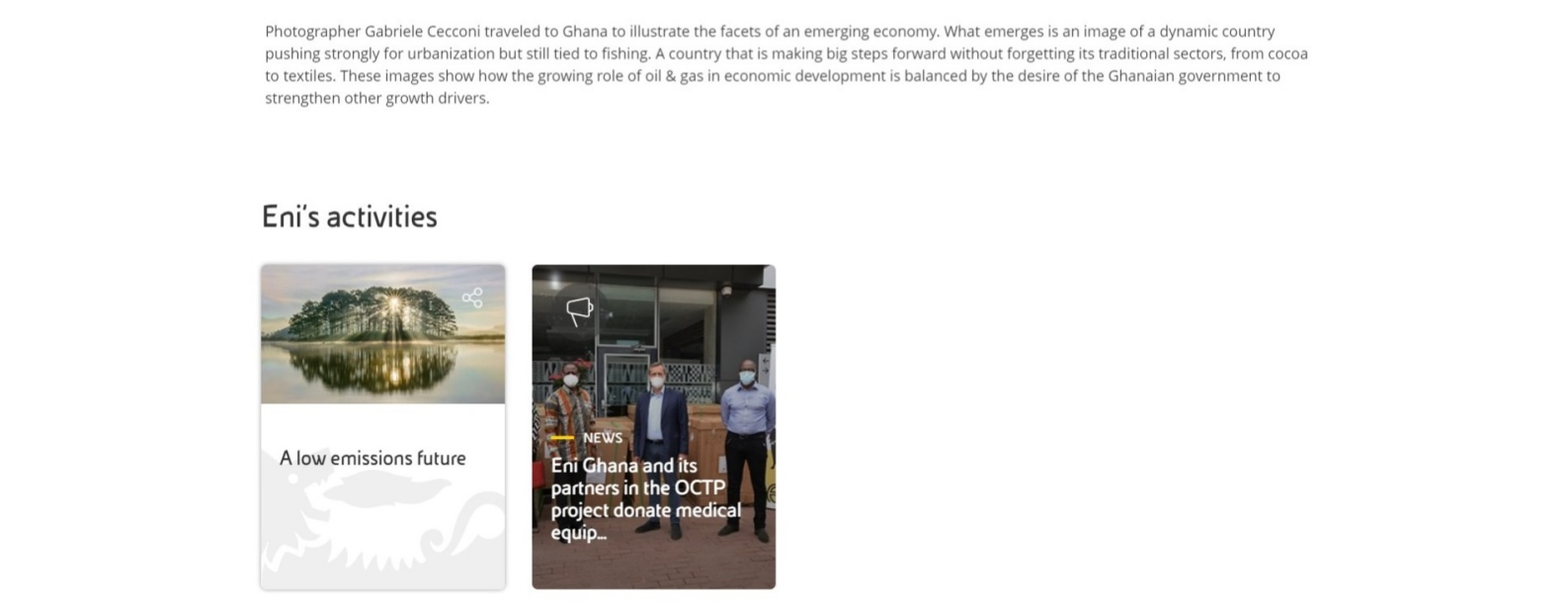
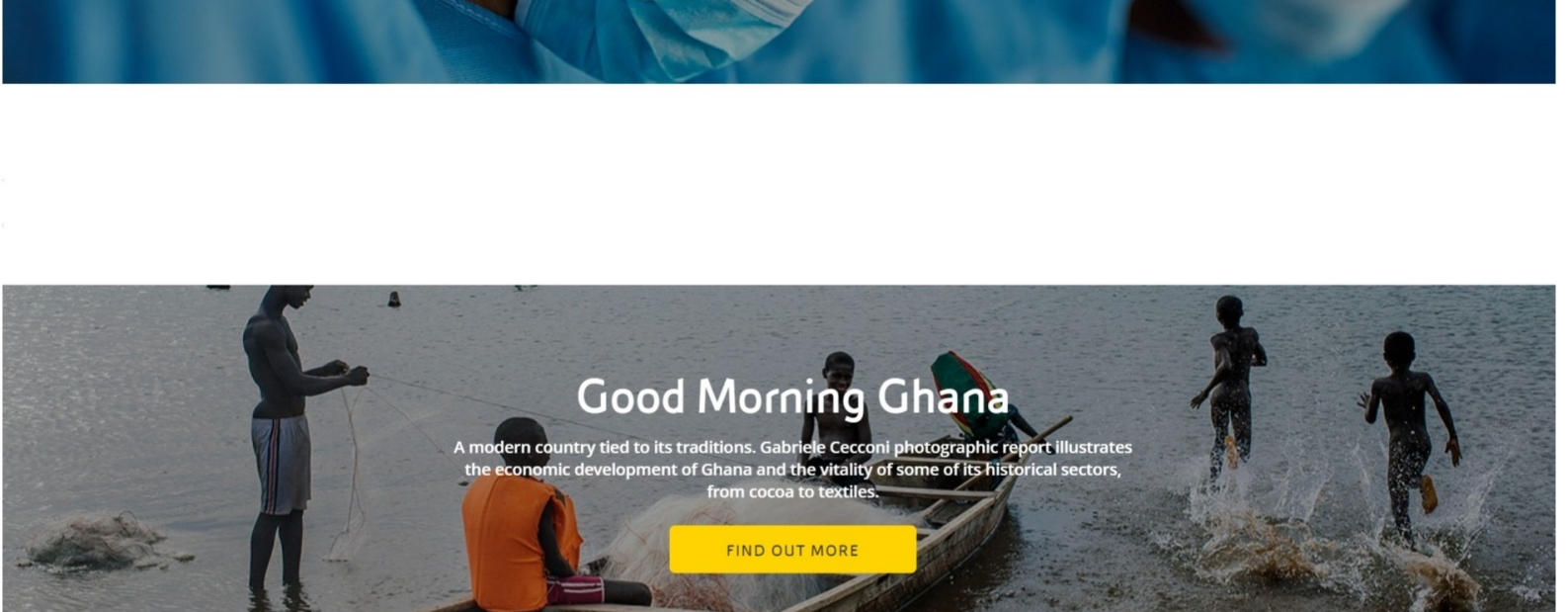
Ten years ago, supplies were not enough: the lake was insufficient to meet the energy needs of the African country that boasted of providing access to electricity to 84% of the population. In addition to there were some security issues in Nigerian supplies. As a result, a massive blackout caused many industries to fall. Ghana had been one of the hubs of the textile industry in West Africa: the crisis wiped out the textile companies and only three have survived.



The debate about the development of solar power is struggling to achieve a concrete solution. The goal of achieving an energy mix in which renewables will account for 10% initially planned for 2020, has been moved forward to 2030. The authorities may theoretically be interested in developing renewable energy projects (the General Plan for Renewable Energy was published in 2019) but, given the availability of resources, they continue to favor more profitable projects related to oil and gas. The completed construction of the Karapower 2019 to generate electricity from oil and gas is significant as it contributes to reducing the carbon footprint in the energy transition.

The impact of COVID and recovery forecasts

After three consecutive years of high-rate economic growth, in 2020 the country risks recording the lowest growth in the last 37 years, warns the IMF. The budget deficit to GDP ratio also risks expanding to 10%, the largest in six years, nullifying the effect of fiscal discipline efforts. Rising inflation, a weak currency and a restrictive monetary policy are also having an effect as the country prepares for presidential elections next December. With the collapse in the price of oil, the country's revenues have also shrunk. The energy sector has always influenced the country's economic performance and the balance of its public accounts. The recovery will have to wait until 2021, said the governor of the Bank of Ghana, Ernest Addo. But the turbulence in the oil market has not affected the activities of ENI, the only company currently carrying out exploration activities: the other energy companies are not planning to increase production.



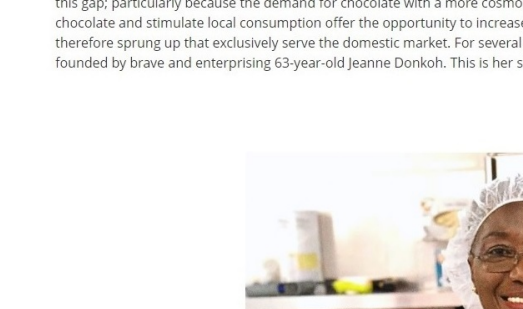
Good Morning Ghana

A modern country tied to its traditions. Gabriele Ceccotti photographic report illustrates the economic development of Ghana and the vitality of some of its historical sectors, from cocoa to textiles.

FIND OUT MORE

Photographer Gabriele Ceccotti traveled to Ghana to illustrate the facets of an emerging economy. What emerges is an image of a dynamic country pushing strongly for urbanization but still tied to fishing. A country that is making big steps forward without forgetting its traditional sectors, from cocoa to textiles. These images show how the growing role of oil & gas in economic development is balanced by the desire of the Ghanaian government to strengthen other growth drivers.

Eni's activities



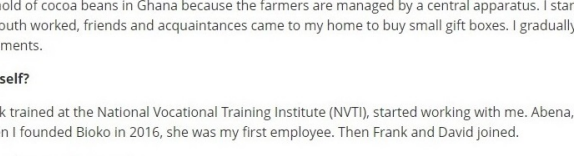
A low emissions future

Eni Ghana and its partners in the OCTP project donate medical equipment

More chocolate, please

Jeanne Donkoh is the founder of chocolate factory Biko. In her laboratory in Accra, she develops new flavors to satisfy the palate of the Ghanaians, who are not very accustomed to eating chocolate yet, despite Ghana being the biggest cocoa bean exporter. Jeanne told us her story.

This story begins in Biko, a beautiful island in Equatorial Guinea. In 1876, Tetteh Quarshie, a Ghanaian farmer, arrived here, discovered the existence of cocoa bean crops and decided to import them into his country. Today Ghana is the world's second biggest cocoa bean producer. Exports amount to around 2 billion dollars a year, while chocolate imports are much lower, barely reaching 1 million. A new class of entrepreneurs has decided to bridge this gap, particularly because the demand for chocolate with a more cosmopolitan taste is growing in Ghana. Processing cocoa beans locally to produce chocolate and stimulate local consumption offer the opportunity to increase the industry's revenues, and create new jobs. Chocolate factories have therefore sprung up that exclusively serve the domestic market, for several years now, Biko has been the name of an Accra chocolate shop. It was founded by brave and enterprising 43-year-old Jeanne Donkoh. This is her story.



Jeanne Donkoh

Four years ago you became a chocolate entrepreneur in Accra, but what did you do in your previous life?

I lived in the US, I worked as a legal assistant. Twenty years ago, my husband decided to return to Ghana. I followed him but our children still live in the US. So I came to Ghana, I looked for a new job. The legal system in Ghana is completely different from the American one, so I struggled to find my way. I took courses in hotel management and specialized in the marketing with a master's degree. My enthusiasm for the job died down after 15 years, and the desire for a change came. I was 38 and I decided to take a leap.

And what happened?

One afternoon, I was watching television when they showed a woman in Madagascar explaining how chocolate is made.

Was it love at first sight?

Exactly that. I had no idea how big the chocolate industry was. I was unaware of how important cocoa beans have always been to Ghana's exports. It took me a moment to understand the opportunity that could open up from processing our own cocoa beans to produce chocolate to be sold in the domestic market. In fact, until a few years ago, (most of the chocolates you could buy in Accra, were imported).

What has changed?

However, the government had recently begun to encourage value addition to cocoa beans. Particularly because market demand was about to explode dramatically, I went to the UK to study. I took a couple of courses to learn how to make chocolate.

How do you set up a chocolate factory from scratch?

When I got back from London, I opened my first workshop in my home. My first investment was a marble table. My aunt had a cocoa bean farm, which made my life easier.

Why?

It's quite complicated to get hold of cocoa beans in Ghana because the farmers are managed by a central apparatus. I started producing dark and white chocolate. Initially word of mouth worked, and acquaintances came to my home to buy small gift boxes. I gradually built up my courage because I received a lot of positive comments.

So you do everything yourself?

Yes, absolutely. A good working knowledge of cocoa was a must. I started working with me, Abena, a mother of one, and I made chocolate in my kitchen. When I founded Biko, she was my first employee. Then Frank and David joined.

How did you train your team in a new industry?

I wanted to give my employees a hands-on experience so they could learn to learn. I was lucky. There are many cooking schools in Ghana but very few chefs who know how to make chocolate. The Cocoa Processing Company is one of the few government companies that organize training courses.

Ghana exports cocoa beans, but Ghanaians are not used to the taste of chocolate. What do you do to educate new consumers?

We organize tasting courses, we go to schools and teach children the importance of cocoa beans for the Ghanaian economy. We organize intensive courses, especially in summer. We teach the health benefits of cocoa, whose nutritional values are almost entirely unknown. There is strong interest among the public, particularly because the government encourages people to eat chocolates made with our cocoa beans.

What kind of products do you create?

In our laboratory we make pralines, bars, and cookies. Dark, milk, white chocolate, with or without sugar. We teach our customers that the higher the % of chocolate, the less sugar has been added. We have fun with inclusions and use mostly local ingredients: like cashews. In our two stores, in the center of Accra, we sell packs of 12, 24 or 18, mainly as wedding gifts, which we can customize. Ada Sea Salt, for example, is made with 70% dark chocolate (cocoa beans, sugar, non-GMO soy lecithin, fresh vanilla) and natural fragrances. Garni & Peanut Butter is made using milk chocolate, with 50% cocoa, garni (cocoa, cocoa butter) and peanut butter.

Is everyone crazy about Biko?

We have a wide range of customers, especially young adults in their twenties or thirties. Lots of locals, several expats.

I can't help but ask you this question: what does it mean to have access to energy for your business?

Having a stable electricity supply is critical to our business. Chocolate must be kept in a temperate environment and the humid climate of Ghana, especially at certain times of the year, does not help. Unfortunately, until recently, the electricity supply was erratic and blackouts were very frequent. When I set up Biko, I had to buy a big power generator, an expense that was outside my budget. I was forced to postpone the purchase of a chocolate machine I needed. Today the power supply is more stable and less expensive, but the bill is still higher than in other countries. The result is that my products don't come cheap.

You used to live in the US and have come back to Ghana. What do you see the future holds for your country?

Ghana has a great future mainly thanks to its political stability. It is a country of young and dynamic people, with high standards and open to the world: everyone wants to improve their quality of life. I feel we have the right conditions for continued economic growth. Hope the impact of the pandemic will be temporary, and that the economy will continue to expand, perhaps at a later rate, and that more and more jobs will be created.

And for the future, what would you like?

I am currently trying to convince my children to return to Ghana. I would like them to take over the reins of my business one day. The artisan chocolate industry is booming all over the world. You need to keep your eyes peeled for future opportunities. We are thinking of expanding chocolate production to cocoa butter processing. The government is investing in the added value of cocoa, not only for export and trade, but also to allow chocolate producers to buy the raw material directly from farmers, decentralizing the distribution that is currently managed by a central body, the Ghana Cocoa Board.

More oil and alone

Ghana is aiming to diversify its economy and wants to invest the proceeds from oil & gas to provide increasing amounts of financing for education and agriculture. Interview with the Director of the Africa Center for Energy Policy (ACEP), Benjamin Boake.

The discovery of oil and natural gas fields in 2007 gave a strong boost to the Ghanaian economy, which in a few years has established itself as one of the most dynamic and fastest growing economies in West Africa. Oil and gas exploitation has gradually reduced vulnerability to fluctuations in oil prices, decreased the country's dependence on expensive energy imports, expanded access to electricity and reduced poverty. Above all, gas has taken on a leading role in the country's economic development. Today Ghana is one of the most dynamic and fastest growing economies in West Africa. However, oil production is not the only element that has made its development possible. The government also aims to support traditional sectors, from textiles to cocoa, to diversify the structure of the economy, especially in the context of the economic crisis connected to the COVID-19 pandemic and with a growing debate on the role of renewable energy in the energy transition.

Benjamin Boake

What is the impact of the pandemic crisis on the Ghanaian economy and energy predicted to be?

After three consecutive years of high-rate economic growth, at a rate of around 6.3%, the country is likely to record the lowest growth in 37 years. This is a very serious blow to the Ghanaian economy, particularly the capital budget which is heavily dependent on oil and gas revenues. The long-term revenue projections have also been seen in light of the IMF's forecast for 2020. These policies include the passage of local content policy, revenue management law and relevant institutions to facilitate effective regulation of the oil and gas sector. All these are aimed at optimizing the oil sector to benefit the rest of the country. The challenge however remains effective implementation. This is why the industry has become a top priority for the national budget even though it contributes less than 7% of GDP. Diversification is becoming increasingly urgent. Government strategy to use oil revenue to propel growth in other sectors should be improved. We have seen significant investment in the service sector, but more oil revenue is needed to support further economic decline. Some of the hard choices will include fiscal consolidation and deliberate pruning of government expenditure. Remaining wealthy will push recovery faster.

What are they?

In the short term, the forecasts indicate an 800 million dollar drop in oil revenues, initially estimated at around 1.5 billion. This is a very serious blow to the Ghanaian economy, particularly the capital budget which is heavily dependent on oil and gas revenues. The long-term revenue projections have also been seen in light of the IMF's forecast for 2020. These policies include the passage of local content policy, revenue management law and relevant institutions to facilitate effective regulation of the oil and gas sector. All these are aimed at optimizing the oil sector to benefit the rest of the country. The challenge however remains effective implementation. This is why the industry has become a top priority for the national budget even though it contributes less than 7% of GDP. Diversification is becoming increasingly urgent. Government strategy to use oil revenue to propel growth in other sectors should be improved. We have seen significant investment in the service sector, but more oil revenue is needed to support further economic decline. Some of the hard choices will include fiscal consolidation and deliberate pruning of government expenditure. Remaining wealthy will push recovery faster.

Any signs of recovery in the long run?

It is hoped that some interventions initiated by government will generate economic activities and revive growth. Government provided three-month 50% rebate of electricity for industry and domestic consumption within the same period water supply for free. The CAP policy is also intended to assist companies and business in distress to engineer their recovery from the effects of the pandemic. However, these actions may not be adequate to ensure quick recovery. A lot of hard choices will have to be made by the government in the coming years to prevent further economic decline. Some of the hard choices will include fiscal consolidation and deliberate pruning of government expenditure. Remaining wealthy will push recovery faster.

New loans?

Exactly. To bridge the gap, the Ghanaian government has procured 1 billion US dollars from the International Monetary Fund. A further 10 billion credits have been allocated by the Central Bank of Ghana, and 3 billion US dollars raised from the sale of new cocoa beans to produce chocolate to be sold in the domestic market. The government also launched a new subsidy program in the electricity sector to help people pay their bills. An operation costing 1 billion cedi (172 million US dollars). All of these adds to the public debt which will have to be redeemed.

Gas production guarantees the diversification of the energy mix, but what progress has been made in the debate on the development of solar power?

The priority of government is currently focused on optimizing the take or pay commitments on gas and power generation systems. This has constrained commitments to renewable energy. In the short to medium term the stipulations will remain the same, even though government continue to pledge on reducing Ghana's carbon footprint and implementation of its National Determined Contributions to the climate agenda. However, the challenge however remains effective implementation. This is why the industry has become a top priority for the national budget even though it contributes less than 7% of GDP. Diversification is becoming increasingly urgent. Government strategy to use oil revenue to propel growth in other sectors should be improved. We have seen significant investment in the service sector, but more oil revenue is needed to support further economic decline. Some of the hard choices will include fiscal consolidation and deliberate pruning of government expenditure. Remaining wealthy will push recovery faster.

The priorities are above all to ensure economic integration and the diversification of growth drivers, which are crucial aspects for sustainable development

Since 2010, oil and gas have been increasingly central to the national economy. It has strongly boosted economic growth but now needs to be re-evaluated, promoting diversification in a way that, with the involvement of the private sector, will support both agriculture and, in particular, education. Effort at diversification has been really laudable. Government strategy to use oil revenue to propel growth in other sectors should be improved. We have seen significant investment in the service sector, but more oil revenue is needed to support further economic decline. Some of the hard choices will include fiscal consolidation and deliberate pruning of government expenditure. Remaining wealthy will push recovery faster.

How is Ghana exploiting the wealth of resources without creating economic and social imbalances?

This remains an important question Ghana struggle to resolve. Series on policies have been initiated to increase the benefit of the economy to the sector. These policies include the passage of local content policy, revenue management law and relevant institutions to facilitate effective regulation of the oil and gas sector. All these are aimed at optimizing the oil sector to benefit the rest of the country. The challenge however remains effective implementation. This is why the industry has become a top priority for the national budget even though it contributes less than 7% of GDP. Diversification is becoming increasingly urgent. Government strategy to use oil revenue to propel growth in other sectors should be improved. We have seen significant investment in the service sector, but more oil revenue is needed to support further economic decline. Some of the hard choices will include fiscal consolidation and deliberate pruning of government expenditure. Remaining wealthy will push recovery faster.

Every year, the government pays 450 million US dollars to independent producers for electricity that is unused. How can this over-capacity problem be solved?

The problem of excess capacity can be addressed through effective policies to increase demand for electricity, even if it means pricing just below the marginal cost of the industry in the short to medium term. There have been policies in recent times to reduce investment in the power sector. Government finally started the implementation of the Cash Waiver Mechanism (CWM) this year to ensure that at least every player gets some revenue along the value chain even though revenue flow is not enough to about the cost in the sector. However, the most critical fix for the power sector remains valuations, the introduction of private capital or injection of cash by government to reduce the distribution sector. Unless the distribution sector issues are addressed, government will continue to absorb the energy sector debt. This has implication for how much revenue is available to government to address the socioeconomic challenges of the country.

A reading list for Sub-Saharan Africa

Non-fiction

- Africa: Altered States, Ordinary Miracles, Richard Dowden (PublicAffairs, 2010)
- Big Barrels: African Oil and Gas and the Quest for Prosperity, N. Ayik (Clink Street Publishing, 2017)
- History of Africa, Kevin Shillington (Routledge, 2019)
- The State of Africa, A History of the Continent Since Independence, Martin Meredith (Simon & Schuster UK, 2013)

Fiction

- Americanah, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (Alfred A. Knopf, 2013)
- Ghana Must Go, Tayeh Selassie (Penguin, 2013)
- Homegoing, Yaa Gyasi (Penguin, 2017)
- The Hundred Wells of Salaga, Ayemba Haruna Attah (Other Press, 2019)
- Things Fall Apart, Chinua Achebe (Heinemann, 1958)

