Ghana 2015-16: Recommended Elections Campaigns

*Communication Solutions for Success*
SCL Commercial is a specialist in providing behavioural research methodology to the commercial worlds of advertising and marketing.

SCL Defence is a leading practitioner in behavioural conflict resolution - Information Operations or PSYOP (psychological warfare).

SCL Elections has an unrivalled track record in political campaign management. For over 25 years we have worked on more than 100 campaigns across 5 continents.

SCL Social is a behavioural research agency that seeks to replace creativity with science in addressing communication campaigns that really matter.
About SCL

SCL is a trusted behavioural research and strategic communication partner for companies, governments and international organisations worldwide. With a proven track record of over 25 years of successful project management, SCL has set itself apart from the competition by understanding and influencing target group behaviour through the application of scientific methodology.

This methodology was developed by the Behavioural Dynamics Institute (BDi), a behavioural science think tank founded in 1989 by a group of academics, based at the Royal Institute of Great Britain in London. The methodology continues to be developed through field tests and applied practice. Consequently, SCL has at its disposal the most up-to-date methods of analysis and evaluation. With a global presence and in-house experts, SCL has undertaken a full range of social and electoral projects from research on perceptions about health in various countries, to establishing election command centres including campaign staff training, to monitoring perception change.

SCL mitigates the challenges posed by operating in such a range of working environments through its selection of field researchers, who are often local staff familiar with the social and cultural intricacies of the country. Additionally, SCL’s use of local research contractors permits its staff to employ local languages and social cues to effectively relax and reassure respondents, ensuring that answers are not merely the culturally endorsed ‘right’ answers, but the true opinion of the respondent. In essence, SCL can deliver validated, reliable and accurate data to tight deadlines and to the highest standards.

It is this focus on quality data that makes SCL exceptionally well-placed to deliver communication campaigns that change not just attitudes, but behaviours. In short, SCL possesses:

- Extensive experience of operating in Sub-Saharan Africa with trained local researchers, as well as a track record of successful projects completed in other regions such as Asia, North & South America, Europe and the Caribbean.
- Highly-qualified quantitative and qualitative analysts who can deliver robust strategic programme recommendations and timely project development advice based on data centric evidence examination.
- Strong emphasis on integrating existing national, regional and international research, exploiting local knowledge, to ensure that socio-cultural nuances are accurately reflected in all research and communications outputs.
- A clear focus on providing solution-focused research in combination with audience-based measures of effectiveness, to allow clients to implement and maintain the structures required to successfully communicate with stakeholders.
- In-depth understanding of community-based communications, and the supporting infrastructure to implement these campaigns.

Introduction

This document is a synopsis of SCL Group’s key findings, and subsequent strategic recommendations, based on data obtained through SCL Group’s project ‘Ghana – Contemporary Attitudes and Behaviour’.
Background

The research element of the ‘Ghana -Contemporary Attitudes and Behaviour’ project comprised a 30,000 individual household survey in 97 constituencies across all 10 regions, 36 focus groups and 20 social network analysis maps at community level. The fieldwork was undertaken throughout the summer of 2014. SCL employed a 2-stage stratified method to sample the quantitative research component. The random sample obtained was therefore representative for the population at both national and regional level with a maximum sampling error of 3%.

Key Quantitative Findings

The following information was taken from the 30,000 individual household survey, and comprises the national level findings. A breakdown of regional findings has been completed and is detailed in both the full narrative report and in the 'Behavioural Polling' file that accompanied the presentation.

Key Issues in Contemporary Ghana

Respondents were asked to choose the single most important national and then local issue in Ghana today. At national level, the population cited ‘the level of unemployment in the country’ as the issue of highest importance (30%), with a further 12% citing the ‘worsening economic conditions’. Together this indicates widespread concerns about the state of the economy. However, there are also clear concerns about the level of infrastructure in-country, with poor levels of health, road and educational infrastructure being frequent responses; and lack of access to water also being a common concern. At a local level, infrastructure concerns become extremely important with 59% of respondents choosing infrastructure across the sectors already listed here as the single most important issue, as opposed to less than 30% choosing economic related issues.

Perceptions of the President of Ghana

Research shows that the majority of respondents rate the performance of the President as ‘very bad’ or ‘bad’ (together nearly 55% of respondents). Only 21% of respondents rate the President’s performance as ‘average’, with even fewer citing his performance as ‘good’. Finally, a mere 5% of respondents said ‘very good’. Despite the low ratings in terms of performance, the President still enjoys a certain level of personal popularity with over 60% of voters responding positively when asked. In comparison, the likely contender in 2016, Nana Akufo-Addo received an 83% positive response. In terms of his ability to solve national and local problems, the President only attracted 30% of respondents rating him in the most positive category. In terms of trust, when it came to the President, opinion was polarised – almost the same proportion of respondents trust the President as don’t trust him (around 33% for both). Nana Akufo-Addo was rated very positively by over 50% of respondents.

Perceptions of Political Parties

The New Patriotic Party (NPP) is enjoying comparatively greater support than the National Democratic Congress (NDC) on a number of levels and across all variables tested by SCL.
Starting with trust, a key driver in voting behaviour, twice as many respondents chose the response ‘not at all’ when asked how much they trusted the NDC as opposed to the NPP. Only 28% of respondents stated that they trusted the NDC ‘very much’ as opposed to 50% when asked with regard to the NPP. When it came to perceived competence in solving problems, only a quarter of people responded that the NDC is ‘very much’ competent and almost 10% more responded that they were ‘not at all’ competent. The perception of the NPP’s competency is far more positive than the perception of the NDC’s competency levels - 50% of respondents think that the NPP is ‘very much’ competent in solving local and national issues. Regarding the emotions that respondents felt towards the two main political parties, the majority of respondents said that they never feel angry with the NDC (54%), however this is in comparison to 72% with regard to the NPP. The proportion of people who are ‘very often’ or ‘somewhat’ angry with the NDC is nearly 3 times higher than anger levels towards the NPP. This pattern was repeated when enthusiasm, hopefulness and pride were tested – only 19% of people linked these emotions to the NDC as opposed to 30% who responded positively towards the NPP.

Voting Intention

SCL asked respondents how they would vote if there were to be a district election tomorrow and the results again reflected the downward trend currently affecting the NDC. For district elections, 32% of respondents stated that they would vote for the NPP whilst 22% stated that they would vote for the NDC. However, almost 45% of respondents stated that they did not know how they would vote (30%) or stated that they would not vote (15%). This shows a high level of apathy amongst the population. Although the results overall do show that the NDC is in a less-than-optimal position at this point in the electoral cycle, if the 45% can be effectively targeted in campaigns between now and the election, then it would be still possible for the NDC to be successful at district election level.

Finally, the trend away from the NDC continued when respondents were asked whom they would vote for should there be a parliamentary election tomorrow. 41% of respondents stated their intention would be to return an NPP candidate as opposed to 23% stating they would vote for the NDC. Again almost 33% responded that they either would not vote (11%) or did not know how they would vote (22%).

In conclusion, the NDC is currently in a very vulnerable position at this point in the electoral cycle; however, with effective campaign management it is still possible to turn around the situation, given the amount of time before Ghanaians go to the polls. That said, the fight-back should start immediately.

Target Audience Analysis

Following the quantitative analysis, SCL was then able to complete Target Audience Analysis (TAA).

TAA is a part of SCL’s unique methodology that identifies the most compelling ways to influence behaviour through identifying the optimal target groups, their motivations and key behavioural drivers. Once identified, SCL can develop the type of message that should be developed for each unique group in order to achieve electoral success.

To complete TAA, SCL aggregated the electoral data for the 2004, 2008, and 2012 presidential and parliamentary elections, as well as the data acquired from the survey,
focus groups and social network analysis. After combining all data sources into a single cohesive dataset through various multivariate analysis techniques, SCL identified the most important groups in terms of shaping the electoral results in Ghana. Initially, SCL identified nine groups that will be key to electoral success in Ghana in 2015’s district elections and in 2016’s parliamentary and presidential elections:

- Apathetic voters
- Undecided voters
- Swing voters
- NPP base voters
- NDC base voters
- First time voters
- Young voters (Under 25s)
- Seniors (55+)
- Unemployed voters

However, SCL found considerable overlap in terms of the parameters’ values between several groups. Therefore, based on this overlap, SCL was able to distil the original nine groups into a final list that, if targeted, would capture the full spectrum of voters across all groups.

These key groupings are:

- NDC voters
- Youth voters
- Swing voters
- Apathetic voters

A fifth key group was identified as core NPP voters, i.e. the NPP voting base, and an additional campaign plan has been developed to target this group to either minimise or neutralise their impact on election results.

Combining the quantitative findings and the TAA, SCL was able to assess the characteristics of each key group against a number of parameters in order to determine the types of messaging campaign that would have maximum success in terms of influencing voting behaviour.

Predictive Results

At the same time as analysing these key groups, SCL was able to use its bespoke analytics platform to combine the data collected through the general survey with aggregate constituency indicators to model the future vote distribution within each constituency in Ghana based on how respondents said that they would vote should there be an election tomorrow.

The results indicate that the areas where the NDC is ahead of the NPP are mainly concentrated in (or restricted to) the Northern, Upper West and Volta regions, while the NPP strongholds are concentrated in the Ashanti and Greater Accra regions. Even though the pro-NDC regions occupy a much larger landmass, the population density is considerably lower, meaning that they have limited electoral power.

The first map illustrates the predicted outcome of the 2016 election, whilst the second map illustrates the difference between the 2012 electoral results and the 2016 predicted future vote distribution.
The clear conclusion is that the NDC is in significant difficulty at this point in the electoral cycle and that they are faced with losing electoral support in constituencies spreading out geographically from the Ashanti and Greater Accra strongholds of the NPP.

Strategic Recommendations

Based on the quantitative analysis and the target audience analysis that has been undertaken, SCL has developed proposals for targeted campaigns that correspond to the key groups that have been identified as being crucial to electoral success.
The first three campaigns listed below are non-political campaigns that can be delivered through the appropriate Ministry. The final two campaigns will be targeted at the NDC- and NPP-base voters.

Throughout these campaigns, SCL will continue through its research to target key constituencies and to undertake on-going impact monitoring to ensure that each campaign is reaching and influencing its target audience.

‘Ghana Youth’ Campaign

To be implemented through the Ministry of Youth and Sports; Ministry of Education

**Target Audience:** Youth (also capturing unemployed and first-time voters).

**Objective:** To positively mobilise the youth in Ghana through community involvement, digital media, sports and cultural programmes.

This campaign will offer coaching, training and opportunities in work and life skills that would help young people enter the job market. This would be a broadly non-political campaign until 6 months before the election at which point the NDC would then harness the positivity and energy of the Ghana Youth movement and use this to their electoral advantage.

**Theme:** Action, jobs and community. This campaign is positive, youth-focused and inclusive.

**Timeline:** Start date July 2015 to December 2016.

**Description:** See page 9 for full details

‘Enjoy the Benefits’ Campaign

To be implemented through the Ministry of Health (and if appropriate in collaboration with other ministries)

**Target Audience:** Swing and Undecided Voters.

**Objective:** To influence swing and undecided voters to support the NDC by highlighting the achievements of the government in the infrastructure sector and to restore confidence that the current administration is delivering on its promises.

**Theme:** ‘Enjoy the Benefits’, ‘Built to Care’ and ‘Built for Ghana’ will be set of communication campaigns that illustrate the ways in which Ghanaians benefit from government infrastructure projects.

**Timeline:** Beginning in July 2015 and running to November 2016, with significant communications spikes on the commencement or completion of key projects.

**Description:** See page 16 for full details
‘We Are Ghana’ Campaign

To be implemented through the Ministry of Tourism, Culture, and the Creative Arts

**Target Audience**: Apathetic and Over 55s.

**Objective**: To engage with apathetic voters and instil a sense of national pride that will influence them to take an interest in their country’s political system and to be positively disposed towards the current government.

**Theme**: 'We are Ghana' – An inspirational, inclusive and patriotic campaign focused on national pride and the achievements of Ghanaians.

**Timeline**: Beginning in July 2015 and running to December 2015.

**Description**: See page 26 for full details

‘NDC Base’ Campaign

**Target Audience**: NDC Base.

**Objective**: To renew interest and participation among party supporters and generate interest in the work of the NDC amongst the party base.

**Theme**: Engagement – A positive and innovative country-wide campaign based on the themes of personal satisfaction, recognition of contributions to the NDC and, prizes/rewards derived from the gamification portal.

**Timeline**: Beginning in October 2015 and running to November 2016.

**Description**: See page 35 for full details
Ghana Youth Campaign

Problem Statement

Given the current socio-economic environment in Ghana, it is the youth who are more often than not adversely affected by the challenges currently faced in the country. The increase in the cost of living, inflation and unemployment has meant that those who are finishing, or have recently completed higher education and training courses now face a greater-than-usual challenge in entering both the job market and achieving an independent adult life.

The huge improvement in the Ghanaian education system over the past 10 years has seen 12% of Ghanaians now graduating from university as opposed to 3.3% a decade earlier. This increase in education level and training opportunities brings with it increased expectations as to what the future and the country will provide. However, the severe economic downturn currently being experienced throughout Ghana has meant that optimistic young Ghanaians are now finding themselves facing high levels of unemployment and an uncertain future. SCL’s project ‘Ghana - Health Attitudes and Behaviour’ completed in late 2014 found that, out of a representative sample of 30,000, 33.1% of under 25s were unemployed and that as a whole the under 25 years group were the highest educated, but much less well-off when compared to the national average. These are stark findings.

In addition to the increased expectations of the youth in Ghana, in part brought about by the multitude of education and training possibilities, there is also an expectation derived from Ghana’s relatively new status as an oil-producing nation. Although a number of external factors have conspired to shape the current economic climate in Ghana, there remain increasing levels of disappointment, frustration and a sense of disenfranchisement that is pervading the youth. Unemployment, healthcare and education are all key concerns for young Ghanaians, but with the current situation, they are beginning to feel let down by the government and tend to believe that the main political parties do not have their best interests at heart. The rapid devaluation of the Cedi in the last two years has only served to deepen these sentiments and is a real-time reminder of the difficulties currently faced.

However, it is clear that Ghanaian youth are still proud to be Ghanaian and proud of what their country has achieved in the preceding five decades since independence. Not least, young Ghanaians are proud to live in a peaceful stable country that is one of the best examples of development in both the region and on the continent. Ghanaian youth feel a strong sense of national identity and have strong ties to the community, traditional and religious life. SCL’s recent study highlighted how much young Ghanaians care about their country and how they would like to work together for a better future.

Ghana is a stable country and there is no reason to ever expect that this situation would change. However, in order to avoid a generation of disaffected youth, SCL is proposing to harness the positivity amongst the under 25s, and ensure that this is directed in a cohesive movement that would help build a sense of belonging and community, whilst at the same time equipping the youth with work and life skills that will carry them forward successfully into adulthood.
Objectives

SCL is proposing a programme that would promote youth engagement in their communities and with their peers, a scheme that would make today’s young Ghanaians feel empowered, a scheme that is all about taking action to build a better Ghana. The key objectives of this scheme would be:

• To mobilise Ghana’s youth in a positive way to benefit communities and the country as a whole by empowering young adults;
• To build a cohesive nationwide network of young people who would work together on community projects ensuring that they gain invaluable work and life skills;
• To develop digital platforms, events and trainings to facilitate young people’s entry to the job market and to assist them in acquiring the necessary professional skills;
• To develop and host events to energise Ghana’s youth through the promotion of community activities which also promote cohesiveness through sporting and cultural events.

Solution

SCL is proposing to support the start of a nationwide programme under the banner of ‘Ghana Youth – Be Part Of It’. This will be a grassroots-led movement that at its core is a community-level mobilisation project and a work and life skills platform. Experts in facilitating these types of schemes, SCL is fully aware that after the initial launch of such an initiative, the concept will quickly snowball, developing organically throughout the country.

From the outset of this scheme, there will be a strong emphasis on inclusivity. The youth will be encouraged to join together to organise their own events, participate in events, roadshows, even football tours involving players from the English Premier League. Given the high usage of digital media amongst Ghana’s youth ‘Ghana Youth’ will have a very heavy online presence. The tone of communications will be positive, youth-focused, inclusive and engaging. Although the youth will be encouraged and supported to organise themselves and the events, there will be a number of youth celebrities who can act as figureheads, role models and sources of inspiration, along with other credible third parties. The tone of communications will be positive, youth-focused, inclusive and engaging.

The programme will be arranged around the following components:

○ **Grassroots Events**: These will be low cost, easily accessible community betterment events that create a powerful movement and generate undeniably positive content to be pushed on Facebook—which recruits members online and will further advance the movement so that it spreads like wildfire across the country.

○ **Events Packages**: Online and printed packages will be designed so the public can easily hold their own branded Ghana Youth events.

○ **Online Events Calendar**: An online calendar will be converted to leaflet drops to show momentum of the movement.
o **Mobile Phone Optimised:** Given the rise in smartphone usage amongst the youth in Ghana, all content will be mobile optimised to speak to key online influencers.

o **National and Regional Representation:** Through the election of Youth Leaders, Ghana Youth will develop strong networks in all corners of the country to promote cohesiveness and the idea of One Ghana, One Nation.

o **Job Training Events:** These events will focus on issues that are most important to the youth and help build careers for all backgrounds. These will be advertised both online and in the local press.

o **Online Jobs Platform:** This will feature practical digital workshops to help the young prepare for interviews and advice on how to apply for jobs.

o **Online Jobs Board:** The Ghana Youth movement will partner with local employment agencies to post real jobs online and this can be filtered by job type and geographical location.

o **Football Programmes:** Building on Ghana Youth's love of football and partnering with an English Premier League organisation from an elite Category 1 Academy and with youth team champions of the FA Cup, SCL would facilitate:

  - Free football kit and football boots left over from the season;
  - Some Free coaching sessions to local schools or teams;
  - Coach Education workshops for coaches in the area;
  - Presentation on youth Development Football in England

In addition, SCL would facilitate the visit to Ghana of the following:

  - U18 team that includes 3 England U17 internationals and 1 player that is eligible to play for Ghana;
  - Youth Team manager and coach;
  - Head of coaching / FA and Coach Educator;
  - Club legend – Played over 200 Premier League games and is in the top 50 all-time Premier League top scorers

o **Local & National Small Goals Tournaments:** New form of inner city football that has never been seen in Ghana which will create huge national interest.

As part of this project, SCL would work with the relevant ministries to create a Media House team that is well positioned to help maintain all digital initiatives and oversee all significant strategy, creative and technology development support and resources to implement core infrastructure.

**Collaborative Approach**

SCL Group will work together with the Ministry of Youth and Sport as well as Ministry of Education to build on and promote the vision of the ministries in enhancing the national consciousness of the youth through effective mobilisation, empowerment, education and training.

SCL Group will provide the Ministry of Youth and Sports with communications tools based
on science to help with fulfilment of its mandate to formulate, monitor and evaluate policy implementation and to promote youth empowerment and self-development. In turn the collaboration can enhance the ministry’s work of enabling an environment for sports development, organization and promotion.

SCL is ready to build upon the success of the National Sports Council, the National Youth Council, the National Sports College, and the National Youth Employment Programme to ensure that the Ghana Youth campaign is complimentary to the current achievements of the government and grounded in the established governmental structure that seeks to provide skills, training and job opportunities for the youth.

**Timeline:** July 2015 to December 2016.

**Implementation:** The Ghana Youth Scheme would commence in July 2015 and run through to December 2016 and beyond. Activities would be tailored around school and university academic years.

There would be a small SCL management team based in-county liaising with the appropriate ministries and organisations for an initial four months of the programme, and then on a needs basis. Ghana Youth would be promoted by third party advocates, and through relevant media, widespread programme and events in initial three month period; Youth will be given informal local leadership roles; Rewards system for participation or achievement; Creation of an online jobs portal to help young people fine employment.
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<th>Ghana Youth</th>
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Examples of Artwork
‘Enjoy the Benefits’ Campaign

Problem Statement

The current administration has invested heavily in developing Ghana’s infrastructure. In a multitude of projects the government aimed at enhancing road, education and most importantly, health infrastructure. Some of the flagship programmes that the current administration has championed and funded are:

- The reconstruction, rehabilitation and modernization of the Eastern Corridor, the Western Corridor and the Central Spine continue to be at the core of the programme for the highways sub-sector.

- Establish new district hospitals and more polyclinics in each of the ten regions; the Ministry of Health and NMS Infrastructure Ltd have invested $175 million for the delivery of six new district hospitals under its programme to invigorate regional and district health care throughout Ghana; New district hospitals will be developed in Dodowa, Sekondi, Kumawu, Abetifi, Fomena and Garu-Tempane. A seventh hospital – The European Hospital in the Takoradi Metropolitan District – will be upgraded and re-equipped.

- Upgrade the Central and Volta Regional Hospitals into Teaching Hospitals to service the University of Cape Coast and the University of Health and Allied Sciences respectively.

However, SCL’s research conducted in 2014, which included a 30,000 individual household survey and nearly 40 focus groups nationwide showed clearly that the majority of the population are unaware of the level of investment by the current government or its commitment to further developing Ghana’s infrastructure and the good progress that has been made to date. Furthermore, nearly 60% of respondents in the survey cited lack of roads, health, educational and sanitation infrastructure as the single most important local level problem.

SCL Commercial found that regardless of the immense progress in developing Ghana’s infrastructure to date, there was a consistent cry of ‘broken promises’ and a strong feeling that the government was not delivering on their key promises. Substantial segments of the population were seemingly unable to make the connection between physical achievements of government and the credibility they are given by the public. Similarly, there was no connection being made between public needs and concerns and the benefits that they can derive from large infrastructure projects.

The distinct lack of popular awareness of what is being successfully undertaken by the government indicates that there is a lack of effective public communications. It is essential that the population understand just how much is being done on their behalf and that the ‘broken promises’ of which SCL heard so much are, in fact, a myth.

In order to restore confidence in the government and promote the on-going work, specifically in the area of infrastructure development, SCL proposes a nationwide communications campaign to ensure that this work does not continue unnoticed.
Objectives

• Promote and raise awareness of infrastructure projects built by the government at local, regional and national levels.
• Offer a tangible proof of government initiatives that are in progress or have recently been completed.
• Demonstrate that the Government understands and is tackling key problems such as:
  o Healthcare
  o Roads
  o Sanitation
  o Education
• Communicate at the individual level that Ghana is developing and that through this work there will be significant improvement to the lives of the Ghanaian people.

Solution

SCL proposes to partner with the Ministry of Health, and if appropriate other relevant ministries, to highlight the key infrastructure projects and successes through a communications campaign called ‘Enjoy the Benefits’. This campaign would highlight:

  o Healthcare: Focus on more hospitals, with better equipment, in more regions.
  o Road Construction: Focus on better transport routes nationwide and show the economic advantages that a better road network brings through quicker and greater access to markets.
  o Sanitation: Focus on improved access to water and safer treatment of waste.
  o Education Infrastructure: Focus on the rehabilitation of old infrastructure and new builds that offer the most modern in educational facilities.

All this would be achieved through mutually reinforcing multi-platform messaging via television, radio, newspapers, and finally, word of mouth, which would be bolstered by an extensive visual campaign across the country. The tone of the campaigns would be positive, community-orientated and persuasive.

It would be imperative to engage with and involve community and religious leaders and civil society groups. Local or community level infrastructure would be promoted through the word of mouth and local community networks. Infrastructure projects such as hospitals, schools and clinics should engage in targeted outreach programmes.

In addition to this, local community advocates will be used to spread information about the project in question, not merely its technical specifications, but also the social advantages it has for the population. Item specific promotion plans would be developed for large-scale projects; this would include dedicated project websites/art materials, public tours and incentivisation of journalists to cover progress. Particularly successful projects or those that are particularly innovative could be chosen for special promotion.

For example, the district hospital construction programme would be promoted under the ‘Built to Care’ initiative. With every new hospital built there are a number of secondary
advantages that the local population will enjoy and these too should be specifically highlighted. For each new medical facility or educational establishment the local population would also benefit from greater employment opportunities due to the new facility and greater educational and training possibilities.

This campaign would vindicate government spending, highlight the work already being done by the current administration and reframe the questions surrounding the difficult economic situation: the government is spending money, but on the projects that really matter to the population to change their lives for the better.

**Collaborative Approach**

SCL Group will work together with the Ministry of Health (and other appropriate ministries) to enhance communication on the development of Ghana’s infrastructure. The ‘Enjoy the Benefits’ campaign will add value to the work that the government is already doing in addressing health issues, building roads and boosting sanitation levels around the country. Using scientific methodologies to communications, SCL can enhance adoption and absorption of information on the programmes and achievement of government in building hospitals, developing the infrastructure, reducing malaria fatality rates and controlling other deadly diseases. SCL will help in strengthening health system communications as well as ensuring the awareness of the investments in infrastructure that the government is making.

**Timeline:** July 2015 to December 2016, with communication spikes surrounding key successes and initiatives throughout the period

**Implementation:**

- Survey of projects (local, regional, national) that might benefit from a concerted PR effort.
- Analysis of those that will carry greatest promotional weight; this based on SCL community needs analysis.
- Creation of project specific PR plans for individual major projects.
- Creation of generic project promotion packs for minor level projects.
- Recruitment of third party advocates to endorse/promote projects, the visibility of whom will be calibrated to the scope of the project and the surrounding PR effort, e.g. using a local doctor to advocate on behalf of a local clinic, but using a national celebrity to open hospitals.
- Events likely to attract media attention can be organized around the above, as can the appearance of local/national representatives as appropriate to the scale of the project.
- Journalists in specific sectors courted to provide positive free coverage.
- Library of images and stories to be built up and used as a reservoir of social proof related to the work of the government at a later point.
- Small unit established in an appropriate ministry to monitor attitudes to infrastructure implementation and provide coordination of promotion.
- The above unit may also serve as a look out agency in the event that project failures begin to damage government reputation.
## Activity Plan

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Examples of Artwork

Enjoy the benefits of Fomena Hospital

Built To Care
MINISTRY OF HEALTH
REPUBLIC OF GHANA

50% Shorter Waiting Times

135 New Medical Staff

1110 New Jobs
COMING SOON
NEW ROADS
@ Barekese

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WATER TREATMENT PLANT
@ Barekese
Expected 20th July
JUST COMPLETED
NEW SCHOOLS
@ Barekese
Available 7th November
ENJOY THE BENEFITS OF GARU HOSPITAL

PUBLIC HEALTH

DIAGNOSIS

OUTREACH

builttocareghana.com
COMING SOON
NEW ROADS
@ Barekese
Expected 20th July
‘We are Ghana’ Campaign

Problem Statement

Ghana is a regional leader in West Africa. While Ghanaians still have a great deal of national pride, there is a palpable feeling of disappointment and disinterest amongst large segments of the population. In 2014, SCL polled 30,000 individual households across the country as part of the project ‘Ghana - Health Attitudes and Behaviour’. The research revealed high levels of dissatisfaction with the current socio-economic and political climate in Ghana. A lagging economy and high unemployment levels were key drivers behind strong feelings of powerlessness, disenfranchisement, cynicism and apathy. Disappointment with the state of health infrastructure and healthcare were repeatedly cited as reasons for feeling disillusionment and apathy towards the system and the government.

Recently, the West African region as a whole has been plagued by complex economic, health and security issues that will undoubtedly challenge the region’s ability to attract tourism and investments. The Ebola outbreak, the recent crisis in Mali, the threat of Boko Haram in Nigeria and on the domestic front, the economic crisis and subsequent International Monetary Fund (IMF) assistance currently being implemented have cost the region dearly in terms of image. The effect of these problems is twofold: on the one hand, internationally, Ghana could be perceived as a less-than-optimal location to either visit or to invest in, while on the other hand, internally the country is faced with an increasingly apathetic and negative population.

Through the data already collected, SCL has identified certain characteristics of those people who feel the greatest sense of apathy and disenfranchisement. They are a relatively well-educated section of the population – younger than average – consisting of a high number of skilled workers concentrated in Greater Accra area (although a large number can also be found in Brong-Ahafo). Having identified these characteristics and other key drivers, SCL, as proven communications experts, are now in an excellent position to build a campaign to promote Ghana and to communicate with this domestic demographic.

Considering both the international and domestic situation outlined here, it is clear that Ghana would hugely benefit from a very visible injection of national pride. There has never been a better time for Ghanaians to show the world and each other what makes their country great and to take pride in their achievements. It is for this reason that SCL is proposing to tap into Ghanaian’s love for their country and countrymen with a widespread national pride campaign to enthuse and energise those who may have become jaded by the constant flow of bad news both internationally and at home.

Objectives

The West African region, Ghana especially, is in need of positive image reinforcement, which can boost investments, trade and tourism. Ghana is a regional leader and this should be highlighted in the most appropriate way. SCL proposes to that this project in order:

- To promote tourism and trade by showcasing Ghana as the stable and developed
country that it is and to promote Ghanaians as positive achievers who are proud of their country’s successes.

- Domestically, to highlight the successes that have been achieved by Ghana and its people and cultivate renewed optimism in the population about the future of Ghana.

- To build a stronger sense of community and citizenship in the context of pride in Ghana and the achievements of the state.

Solution

SCL is proposing to work in partnership with the Ministry of Tourism, Culture, & Creative Arts and the Ministry of Trade & Industry, and Culture in developing the 'We Are Ghana' campaign to highlight both individual and national successes through selected advocates. The campaign would be twofold: national and international. For the national 'We Are Ghana' campaign, it is recommended that advocates should be everyday Ghanaian citizens who have achieved a personal or social success – e.g. set up a social organisation, achieved career success, have shown leadership at a local or national level. For the international stage, celebrity advocates would be selected who have national or international following and have achieved something of international note – e.g. sporting stars, celebrities, scientists, and campaigners.

SCL will work through the ministries to promote positive stories both past and present through various media channels with a broad narrative of ‘I am Ghanaian, and this is how I have reached my goal’. All advocates will be chosen in relation to their background, so that youth leaders engage with the young, or those from a certain region engage their local population.

This campaign will be targeting church, community, traditional and local leaders through a number of formal media outlets (e.g. television, radio, billboard advertising, etc.) to ensure widespread dissemination of information. The tone of the campaign would very much depend on the specific community. For example, where people are disillusioned with government, SCL will develop a campaign that focuses on community, country and the people of Ghana including local and national heroes, celebrities and sports stars.

The proposed central components of this campaign are:

- To present local people and community groups with incredible stories to tell.
- To showcase national celebrities who can promote Ghana on the global stage.
- To screen TV shows and documentaries to be shown nationally (and internationally) and converted to a multi-platform campaign.
- To facilitate an online campaign to showcase Ghana internationally and reconnect with diaspora.

The end result of this campaign would highlight the achievements of real people that in turn would generate undeniably positive PR for the country and build a strong nationalist movement. Outside of national borders, this campaign would promote Ghana
internationally and reinforce its position as a regional leader – the place to invest, travel and work.

**Collaborative Approach**

SCL Group will work together with the Ministry of Tourism, Culture, & Creative Arts and the Ministry of Trade & Industry, and Culture to provide a firm, stable policy environment for effective mainstreaming of Ghanaian culture into all aspects of national life and to ensure the improvements of tourism and investments in Ghana. We will also work to ensure that ‘We Are Ghana’ campaign serves to implement the 15-Year National Tourism Development Plan (2013-2027) objectives and ground tourism in the national development agenda, as well as help in achieving the core objectives of the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

**Timeline:** July 2015 to Feb 2016.

**Implementation:**

- Identification and selection of advocates with suitable backgrounds.
- Production of promotional materials including but not limited to billboards, posters, TV and Radio pieces, print, and online content as needed for the campaign.
- Creation of a small support team in a relevant government department to guide and co-ordinate the campaign and advocate appearances.
# Activity Plan

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Examples of Artwork

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We Are GHANA
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We Are GHANA
‘NDC Base’ Campaign

Problem Statement

SCL’s research conducted in Summer 2014 has illustrated that the NDC party is facing a significant challenge at this point in the electoral cycle and that the NPP, especially its likely Presidential candidate Nana Akufo-Addo, is currently enjoying widespread support. The research equally showed that there is widespread disappointment with the performance of the NDC and of the current President. This sense of disillusionment and disappointment also extends to core NDC voters. The current socio-economic climate has exacted a heavy toll on everyone, but the widespread unemployment, inflation and the devaluation of the Ghana Cedi hit the traditional NDC voters hard.

Following on from the research conducted through a nationwide 30,000 individual household survey, 36 focus groups and extensive social network analysis, SCL was able to use its bespoke analytics platform to combine the data collected through the general survey with aggregate constituency indicators. This allowed SCL to model the future vote distribution within each constituency in Ghana based on how respondents said that they would vote should there be an election tomorrow.

The results indicate that the areas where the NDC is ahead of NPP are mainly concentrated in (or restricted to) the Northern, Upper West and Volta regions, while the NPP strongholds are concentrated in the Ashanti and Greater Accra regions. Even though the pro-NDC regions occupy a much larger landmass, the population density is considerably lower meaning that they have limited electoral power.

The stark conclusion is that the NDC is in significant difficulty at this point in the electoral cycle and that they are faced with losing electoral support in constituencies spreading out geographically from the Ashanti and Greater Accra NPP strongholds. Given this stark situation, it is absolutely paramount that the NDC is able to retain its base supporters, guarantee turnout and galvanise greater support for the party between now and December 2016.

SCL is proposing an exciting and innovative campaign that will allow the party to reconnect with and re-energise its key supporters at grassroots level. From the research undertaken, SCL already knows that the NDC’s key supporters are partly driven by party loyalty and positive engagement with the party. SCL’s campaign would introduce an interactive identification card for members, as well as introducing gamification as a key element of the interface between the party and membership. This would add a slice of innovation to compliment members’ normal interaction with the party. Finally, SCL would look at introducing a rewards points system that would culminate in members collecting points that could be traded for memorabilia.

It is essential that the NDC reconnects with and galvanises its base of core supporters to ensure that the NDC enjoys maximum possible turnout in the December 2016 elections.

Objectives

- To mobilise the NDC-base voters through an innovative process of reconnection
with the party at grassroots level through a gamification process.

- To initiate the development of a database that includes in-depth data on party membership through the introduction of biometric party membership cards.

**Solution**

SCL Elections is proposing to introduce a series of personal rewards for engagement with the NDC party. These rewards include an array of NDC-branded items and access to party events, social rewards that incorporate an element of measurement and recognition for particularly active members and an entertainment reward through gamification online and through smartphones to appeal to younger members. Finally, there should be an implicit satisfaction reward that members are contributing to NDC's 2016 campaign and helping the party achieve electoral success.

Specifically, SCL is proposing that this campaign consists of the following components:

- **Mobilisation and engagement through interactive voter cards and gamification.**
  This includes digital membership cards for NDC members and representatives that will enable communication through multi-channel targeted messaging and engage with the NDC base.

  This approach will assist the NDC to leverage state of the art technologies that can re-shape Ghanaian politics. Given the level of mobile phone coverage (26.9 million phone users in country) and the 18,000 broadband users and 1,500,000 Facebook users, the NDC can start to harness this growing sector to become the regional leader in digital political communications.

- **Create an NDC database of record.**
  The more data that is held on NDC members the greater potential for effectively targeting messages. With every interaction, through various media, the party would hold more and more data on an individual.

  Some of the ways that the party may want to engage with its membership could be through Facebook by integrating 'Team NDC' into this website, through direct calls to action (Surveys, Polls, Petitions), converting 'likes' on Facebook into influence and developing custom graphics and engaging content. Online activists would be given rewards usually in the form of party merchandise.

  The NDC could become THE digital party not only in Ghana, but in the region, organising through a powerful database, information dashboards for staff, and supporter grouping and rating. Empowering members with real-time statistics, custom supporter queries, and automatic A/B testing and engaging with supporters using a text/email campaign builder, call in audio, and gamification to keep them hooked.

  This type of interaction allows the party leadership to have open, meaningful dialogue with supporters and promote digital superiority by communicating where their audience is communicating and engage supporters through gamification and incentives.
SCL proposes launching a four stage digital advertising blitz that would:

- Engage supporters
- Promote content and calls to action
- Improve the image of NDC candidates among potential supporters
- Attack the opposition

The end result of this campaign would be to engage with the NDC base whilst building trust in the NDC Party and the President. Secondary successes would be an army of grassroots volunteers and activists that would be invaluable in driving on-the-ground campaigning, all the time the NDC would be collecting useable data to shape party communications.

SCL Elections will deliver this campaign through a number of channels that include online applications, websites and blogs, social media, mobile telephones and SMS services, web connected gaming and also community and party events and word of mouth through party member networks. The tone of the campaign will be positive, upbeat, engaging and will reach members throughout the country.

This campaign will be owned by the party leadership, NDC-elected representatives and prospective representatives, community and party organisers and will be endorsed by celebrity or third party enforcement.

**Timeline:** July 2015 to December 2016, with front-loaded 3 months of intense activity

**Implementation:**

- Preparation of branding and materials – pro-NDC
- Construction of ID card system including card production and back end platform
- Social media engagement and outreach plan
- Establish a reward system – particular focus on party promotion be that on line or physical
- Event planning for both youth and base
- Party auditing with subsequent training and reorganisation programme if needed.
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On-going Resonance Testing and Evaluation

The only way to make sure that a programme is effective and cost efficient is by developing and carrying out a programme impact evaluation. By testing the programme before the main phase and subsequently by undertaking regular ‘temperature checks’, it is possible to ensure necessary adjustments can be made, if required.

SCL would implement a series of impact evaluations to be undertaken at certain points throughout the duration of the scheme. Such evaluations would provide vital information about the effectiveness of the various components of the programme and would allow early adaptation of the messages and activities in order to reflect the changing public context. The information collected during the impact evaluation would play a crucial role in grounding the scheme and keeping it linked to the evolving attitudes of the target population, allowing the team to adjust the general strategies and targeting techniques to respond in real time to any movements and shifts in public opinion.

SCL can implement several types of impact evaluations (described below) to answer distinct types of research questions. The ultimate choice of the evaluation methodology would be guided by the specificities of the situation and in close consultation with the client, but it is probable that one or all of the options below would be employed:

1. **Laboratory experiments**

   Laboratory experiments are a method of testing the effect of various stimuli of the outcome behaviour such as messages / possible interventions while isolating people for outside influences before a programme is fully implemented. They are often used in psychological, economic and political research. Currently, the UK Government is using laboratory experiments to identify more efficient tax collection methods.

   This methodology is useful in Ghana for pretesting the potential effectiveness of campaign messages (or other campaign characteristics). By testing the programme messages in the laboratory environment before they are disseminated to the public, it is possible to ensure high messaging absorption, adjust the channels and contents of the massages so that to avoid unnecessary spending and therefore decrease the financial risks of the campaign.

2. **Randomized Controlled Trials – Field Experiments**

   While laboratory experiments are carried out before the message or intervention is disseminated, Randomized Controlled Trials (RCTs) are implemented after the broadcasting of a message in a pilot geographical area. While laboratory experiments are designed to test which message is likely to be the most effective, RCTs test which message was actually the most effective. The difference being that the laboratory experiments are carried out in the isolation, RCTs are carried out in communities.

   Methodologically, an RCT can be implemented by exposing the inhabitants of one district to one specific message while exposing the inhabitants of a different (yet similar) district to a different message. Once both districts are exposed to the respective messages, by collecting data on the change in behaviours in the two districts, SCL can determine the relative impact of each message in the real world. This type of testing can generate a very powerful information that would indicate how successful a programme was and which were the factors that made it successful. More importantly, based on RCT SCL can compute the Return on Investment (ROI) of different campaign messages and advise the client on what precise channels, means, content are more effective to achieve their goals.
3. **Survey evaluations**

Along with the message testing techniques described above, SCL also recommends the periodic measurement of the ‘temperature’ of the key target groups. This can be achieved by two means:

a. Repeated cross-sectional surveys, through which random samples of Ghanaian society (target groups) are surveyed a few times (we recommend a minimum number of 2 measurements) during the course of the programme to test how general opinion is evolving. During each repeated measurement a set of different individuals would be interviewed. The methodology involves asking different people the same questions — or a fixed core, and then asking specific questions to different people.

b. Panel survey, through which SCL could understand and map how individual people have changed their attitudes. The main distinction with the repeated cross sectional survey is that in the panel survey in each wave the same question is asked of the same people.

**Conclusion**

It is clear that at this point in the electoral cycle the NDC is facing numerous challenges which, if not addressed, will almost certainly lead to defeat at the polls in 2016. SCL’s research and analysis shows a growing trend of NPP support spreading across the south west of Ghana and a growing feeling of negativity towards the NDC, even in areas where the party has previously enjoyed moderate support. At present, the population are dissatisfied with the government’s performance, and the state of the economy is their primary concern, particularly youth unemployment and inflation.

These economic concerns are closely related to a growing feeling that the government has not delivered on its promises. There is widespread discontent about the state of infrastructure across the country and the state of healthcare, including health infrastructure and the NHIS. It is clear from SCL’s research that if there were to be an election tomorrow, the NDC would lose by a significant margin. However, if action is taken immediately some or all of these issues can be addressed.

Through SCL’s analysis of the quantitative data and Target Audience Analysis (TAA), SCL has succeeded in segmenting the population into key groups that will be crucial to the achievement of electoral success. An in-depth analysis of these groups, combined with SCL’s in-house campaign expertise, has identified the characteristics and parameters of each group and what motivates their behaviour. This analysis has also allowed SCL to formulate a set of campaigns that will target each of these groups and will effectively influence their voting behaviours.

These non-partisan campaigns target the key groups of youth voters, apathetic voters, NDC base voters and swing voters. For the youth, SCL proposes a campaign entitled ‘Ghana Youth – Be A Part Of It’, which would positively mobilise young...
people through community involvement, digital media, sports and cultural programmes.

The 'Enjoy the Benefits' campaign targets swing and undecided voters to increase their support for the NDC by highlighting the achievements of the government in the infrastructure sector and to restore confidence that the current administration is delivering on its promises.

The 'We Are Ghana' campaign would engage apathetic voters and instil a sense of national pride that will influence them to take an interest in their country's political system and to be positively disposed towards the current government.

Finally, the NDC Base campaign will be a positive and innovative country-wide campaign based on the themes of personal satisfaction, recognition of contributions to the NDC and prizes/rewards derived from the gamification portal. This campaign could be launched in conjunction with a covert campaign of anti-NPP communications, designed to delegitimise the NPP's leadership and diminish their credibility in the eyes of their own supporters.

These campaigns, when taken with the extensive data and insights derived from SCL's nationwide research across Ghana, constitute a real chance for the NDC to revitalise its electoral prospects ahead of the 2016 elections.

Project Team

Alexander Nix – Managing Director

Alexander Nix was educated at Eton College and Manchester University. Over the past 9 years Alexander has worked on more than 40 communication and research projects in the US, Caribbean, South America, Europe, Africa and Asia. He began his career as a financial analyst with Baring Securities in Mexico, thereafter moving to Argentina where he was co-founding partner of an ecru and telephony outsourcing business. In 2001 he returned to the UK to work for Robert Fraser & Partners LLP and then Robert Fraser Corporate Finance where, as an Assistant Director, he worked as principal and in an advisory capacity on UK M&A and transaction work. In 2003 Alexander left finance to join the SCL Group as a Director. In 2007 he directed his efforts to developing the social and governance divisions, including opening new offices in Washington DC and Delhi and growing the global staff to over 300 employees.

Kieran Ward – Senior Communications Director

Kieran started his career as a graphic designer at some of the most prestigious agencies in the UK including McCann Erickson, Publicis, Leagas Delaney and DHM, where he was Head of Design and Production. He is skilled and experienced in all areas of graphic design, from designing websites to printed brochures, brand identities to advertising campaigns. He has worked as head designer on global and award-winning campaigns for luxury phone brand Vertu, Whisky brand The Macallan and the Economist. Since joining SCL Social Kieran has matched his skills in developing creative strategies for many successful elections with logistical oversight of research projects across Africa, the Caribbean, Latin
America, Eastern Europe and the Middle East. He is passionate about marrying creativity, project management and technical understanding to deliver outstanding results.

Ceris Bailes – SCL Director of Projects

Ceris is a hugely experienced project coordinator with a range of skills encompassing project and emergency management, impact monitoring, stakeholder coordination and operational delivery. A former commissioned officer in the Royal Air Force and diplomat with the UK’s Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Ceris’ international experience in the humanitarian sector at senior management level includes working at both HQ and field level in key management roles in countries as diverse as Afghanistan, the USA, Bosnia Herzegovina, Pakistan and Democratic Republic of Congo with organisations including Merlin, Catholic Relief Services and the International Rescue Committee. Since 2013, Ceris has overseen SCL’s health and socio-political research project in Ghana, managing all aspects of the project and dividing her time between the London and Accra offices.

Dr Zsolt Kiss – Research Director

Zsolt is a political psychologist and an expert in social research. He specialises in the psychology of communication and has carried out extensive research on the induction of emotions and the effects of emotional appeals in community-based campaigns. Zsolt is an expert in quantitative and qualitative research methodology having managed numerous research projects. He was conferred a PhD in Politics from the University of Oxford where he was also employed as a researcher. He holds MA degrees in Research Design and Data Analysis in Social Sciences. Prior to his work with SCL, he held positions with TNS, Bain &Co. and the UK’s National Centre for Social Research. He has acted as communications manager and consultant for several campaigns in Eastern Europe.

References

UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Sarah Ann Connolly – Counter-Terrorism Prevention Unit

“In October 2008 the FCO appointed SCL Social to do a behavioural study in Pakistan to aid the FCO in strategic planning to counter violent jihadism. This six-month target audience analysis produced a series of strategic and operational recommendations for behavioural change communication and any future public awareness campaign strategies designed to tackle violent jihadism. I found the SCL Social team to be consummate professionals, providing in-depth and accurate information and unique solutions to complex problems. SCL Social were a joy to work with. In a difficult operating environment they were the only contractor to deliver actionable recommendations, which impacted on policy in the near term and the FCO’s strategic direction in country. I wouldn’t only recommend them, I’d work with them again in an instant.” Contact: SarahAnn.Connolly@homeoffice.x.gsi.gov.uk

Sandia National Laboratories (US Government Agency) Curtis Johnson – Project Manager

“SCL Social was commissioned to perform an in-depth behavior change study in relation to violent extremism in South and Southeast Asia. It was a multi-regional study spanning several countries in South Asia and had tight deadlines. Some of the major campaign strategies, which were produced as a result of SCL Social’s research, included working with
local Imams and other community-based organizations.

SCL Social’s team were well trained and operated with the utmost professionalism. The complexity of conducting research in different countries was well managed and the analysis and recommendations were of the highest quality. I found SCL Social easy to work and communicate with, even when the teams were in the field. Communication with them was key and it was well managed from the start. I would happily recommend SCL Social and work with them again.” Contact: cjohnso@sandia.gov

Njee Muturi, Solicitor-General of the Republic of Kenya and Former Campaign Manager, The National Alliance and Jubilee Coalition

This serves to confirm that the SCL Elections of No. 33 St. James Square, London, UK was contracted to give support to The National Alliance (TNA) Presidential election in Kenya between January 2013 to November 2013 in the areas of behavioural research, strategic advice, the development of campaign technological infrastructure and the training of personnel to manage the same. Together these served to give the party an edge in knowledge, organisation and communications to the point where TNA is the frontrunner in the forthcoming elections. We recommend the SCL Group to any organisation intent on mounting a successful campaign.

Njee Muturi, Solicitor-General of the Republic of Kenya

Case Studies

Antigua General Election 2014

Over the first six month of 2014, SCL provided consultancy support to a major political party in Antigua. During the course of what was a fraught electoral campaign, SCL deployed a small team of advisors to help a select number of party candidates. Amongst the duties of the SCL staff were advice, messaging support and event organisation. SCL also took a lead role in the development and dissemination of party literature and campaign messaging. The field team aided candidates in rallying supporters at constituency level, and the polling day drew closer implemented a robust Get Out the Vote programme to marshal all available support.

Kenya Presidential Election 2012

The Kenyan presidential Election of 2012 was amongst the largest ever undertaken by SCL. To aid its client SCL implemented a bespoke set of activities to leverage his personal popularity into support on the day of the ballot. In this case initiatives included a large electoral research study which profiled the Kenyan electorate, and on the basis of this work the segmentation of the population for targeted messaging efforts. SCL was particularly active in organising the youth section of the client’s party, introducing to Kenya for the first time, a concerted social media engagement programme. The SCL insight that the youth cohort was an underutilised asset, one that could be highly influential when mobilised, was a key factor in the client’s ultimate success.
Trinidad & Tobago 2010

With a decade of economic growth beginning to falter and a crime rate deteriorating each year Trinidad & Tobago faced a crucial election in 2010. In this context SCL was contracted by a major political party to develop a suite of messaging tools for its electoral campaign. Deploying to the field several months prior to the election, SCL began a systematic capacity building effort that improved the party’s ability to effectively fight the campaign. The early assistance of SCL allowed the party leadership to implement a number of new organisational strategies. This in combination with the messaging advice and content provided by SCL consultants based both in Trinidad and the UK allowed the client to retain a significant number of seats in the general election, and indeed in some more closely fought constituency take seats from the opposition.

Italy 2012 - Party Revival

In 2012 SCL carried out a research project on behalf of a resurgent Italian political party, last successful in the 1980s. Using Target Audience Analysis, SCL researched current and past members along with potential sympathisers to develop a reorganisation strategy that catered to the needs of both contingents. The flexible and modern organisational structure that resulted from SCL’s suggested reforms allowed the party to perform beyond its initial expectations at a time of turbulence in Italian politics. The revival of the party in the unsettled climate of Italy’s then political context was premised on the insights and understanding provided by SCL.