

# IMANIFESTO PERFORMANCE ASSESSMENT REPORT

## Introduction

An American governor once said, “Politicians campaign in prose but govern in poetry”. When it comes to political manifestos in Ghana this dictum stands. Manifestos are meant to provide a roadmap highlighting the unique vision of different political parties for tackling major development challenges in Ghana. While political manifestos can provide tangible means for voters to assess the capabilities of parties, it is not uncommon for these documents to contain rather grandiose aspirations aiming to attract as many voters as possible. It is, however, important to separate rhetorical statements from realistic goals with more substantive policy implications. On one hand, politicians know that some of the goals stated in the manifestos are unrealistic. On the other hand, hopeless and development-hungry voters tend to believe in those goals, creating asymmetric political communication.

In light of this asymmetric political communication, IMANI presents the IMANI Manifesto Assessment (IMMA). This is an objective and independent assessment of political manifestos in Ghana. It is a political cycle analysis of the ruling party’s performance vis-a-vis their stated manifesto. It aims at helping voters to make more informed political choice ; and aims at assisting political parties to become more self-reflexive, accountable, and in turn, help them espouse more truthful and realistic political visions. Using the 2012 manifesto of the NDC (Advancing the Better Ghana Agenda) as a frontier; the IMMA will score progress made towards targets, identify gaps and recommend practical ways of bridging the gaps in key sectors; going into the 2016 elections.

## METHODOLOGY

It is important to note that the assessment of ‘Advancing the Better Ghana Agenda’ is based on the promise of delivery of outputs listed in the manifesto. It is unusual to start the outline of a methodology with a caveat but we are doing so because development-oriented assessment has moved from delivery of output to how the output impact on the development trajectory of the sector/country being assessed (i.e result-based assessment). In Ghana, political party manifestos are flooded with deliverables with little emphasis on results (widespread improvement in society as result of the effect of the delivered output on society). The ‘Advancing the Better Ghana Agenda’ is no different. However, to give the NDC government the benefit of doubt, IMMA is purely an assessment of the deliverables promised in the 2012 Manifesto.

The IMMA was developed using this 5-step procedure. The steps provide the checklist for constructing the Assessment.

1. **Setting out the Yardstick.** The promises in the manifesto are the standards based on which the performance of the NDC government is assessed. The

questions that were answered in this step are: what targets were set out under each category and sub-category? Are they fully/partially implemented? For instance, in the 'Advancing the Better Ghana Agenda' manifesto, the NDC under the Governance theme claimed to fight corruption by enacting the Freedom of Information Bill inter alia. The numeraire for the assessment of government's performance in relation to this target is an enacted Freedom of Information Bill which citizens, journalists and Civil Society Organizations use to demand accountability.

2. **Identification of themes for the formulation of the framework.** In this step, we identify key sectors and subsumed areas to construct the assessment. The NDC presented the 2012 under the following themes: Putting People First (theme 1), A Strong and Resilient Economy (theme 2), Expanding Infrastructure (theme 3), and Transparent and Accountable Governance (theme 4). Based on the themes of the 'Advancing the Better Ghana Agenda' we identified the following sectors as the key sectors to measure: Governance (assessment of the promises under theme 4), Economy (assessment of promises under theme 2), Human Capital Investment (assessment of education and capacity building promises under theme 1), Social Policy (assessment of social investment under theme 1) and Infrastructural Development (assessment of promises under theme 3).
3. **Framework:** Based on the identification of these key variables, we construct the IMANI Manifesto Assessment framework as

$$IMMA = W_1 * Gov + W_2 * Eco + W_3 * HCI + W_4 * SOC + W_5 * Infra$$

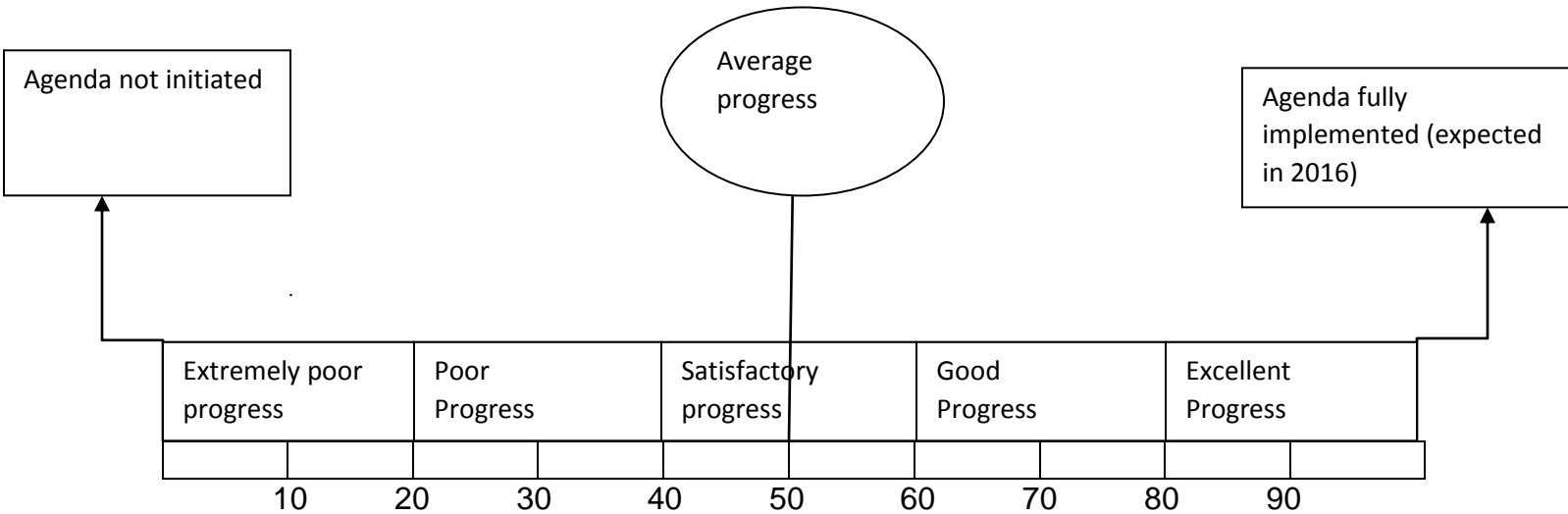
Where;  $W_{i=1,2...5}$  are assigned weights. Weight was assigned based on each sectors contribution to development and poverty alleviation. The IMANI Assessment Team (IAT) assigned 25% weight to Governance, 25% weight to Economy, 15% to Human Capital Investment, 15% to Social Policy, and 20% to Infrastructural Development. The rationale for differential weights is that the performance of the last three is directly dependent on the first 2. As such, their superior importance must manifest. Without a stable economic and political environment; no amount of investment in education, social intervention and infrastructure will put the country on a stable growth trajectory. The variable in the framework are defined as Gov= governance, Eco= Economy, HCI=Human capital Investment, SOC= Social Policy and Infra= Infrastructural Development. Substituting the weights, the framework becomes;

$$IMMA = 0.25 * Gov + 0.25 * Eco + 0.15 * HCI + 0.15 * SOC + 0.20 * Infra$$

This implies that if all promises under each theme are delivered, then we have

$$\text{IMMA} = 0.25 * 100 + 0.25 * 100 + 0.15 * 100 + 0.15 * 100 + 0.20 * 100 = 100\%$$

In the same way, if none of the promises are delivered, the government scores 0% on the IMMA framework. So the IMMA scale ranges from 0% to 100%. The In Media Res spectrum below offers interpretation of the scores.



#### 4. Scoring and Aggregation

Broad matrix was developed for all the goals under each theme and sub-themes. We scored them based on whether the goal has been implemented fully/partially or not at all. If the promise in the manifesto is fully implemented, we assign a score of 1 (i.e. 100 in percentage terms). If it is not achieved, we assign a score of zero. If project is initiated but not completed, we assign a fraction and give a reason for the assigned score. The table below gives an overview of the scoring process. Each promise under the four themes are assessed in this sense then aggregated and scaled-up to 100%. The percentage score of each theme is substituted to the IMMA framework to obtain the overall performance of the NDC government.

Theme	Section	Manifesto Promise	Is it implemented? If yes, assign 1 ; if no, assign 0; if partial, assign a fraction	Reason/Evidence for the assigned Score
Theme 1	Youth Development	A GH¢10 million Youth Jobs & Enterprise Development Fund will be set up under the direct supervision of the Presidency...	1	The YES (Youth Enterprise Support) initiative was launched in 2014 with a seed fund of 10million GHS after the President revealed in the initiative in his 2014 State of the Nation. Find more information at <a href="http://www.yes.gov.gh/faq">http://www.yes.gov.gh/faq</a>
Theme 3	Energy for Growth	Address systematically, the bottlenecks in production and transmission of power, and bring to an end the problem of infrequent power supply by the <b>end of 2013</b> ;	0	The infrequent power supply (dumsor) is worse now.
		Increase installed power generation capacity from 2,443 in 2012 to 5,000 megawatts by 2016;	0.16	Installed capacity in July 2015 is 2,846.5 (VRA, 2015). The Manifesto promises additional 2557MW by 2016 but only 403.5MW has been added. This yield a score of 0.16. The duration for the execution of the promise has not elapsed so we expect improvement in this score.
Theme 1	Primary and Junior High School	Eliminate the remaining 60% of identified 'Schools-Under-Trees';	0.63	Under the program of eliminating Schools under Trees, a total of 1,614 schools out of the 2,578 projects have been completed and handed over. The plan is to complete the remaining 964 schools under trees projects within the medium term (MoE, 2015)

## 5. Recommendation:

In the process, we defined distance to the frontiers. Thus, we identified gaps. Based on the gaps and moving forward into the 2016 elections, we have

recommended practical ways of bridging the gaps in key sectors. The section below discusses the results of the assessment in detail.

## **DISCUSSION OF ASSESSMENT RESULTS**

### **Economy (36.4%)**

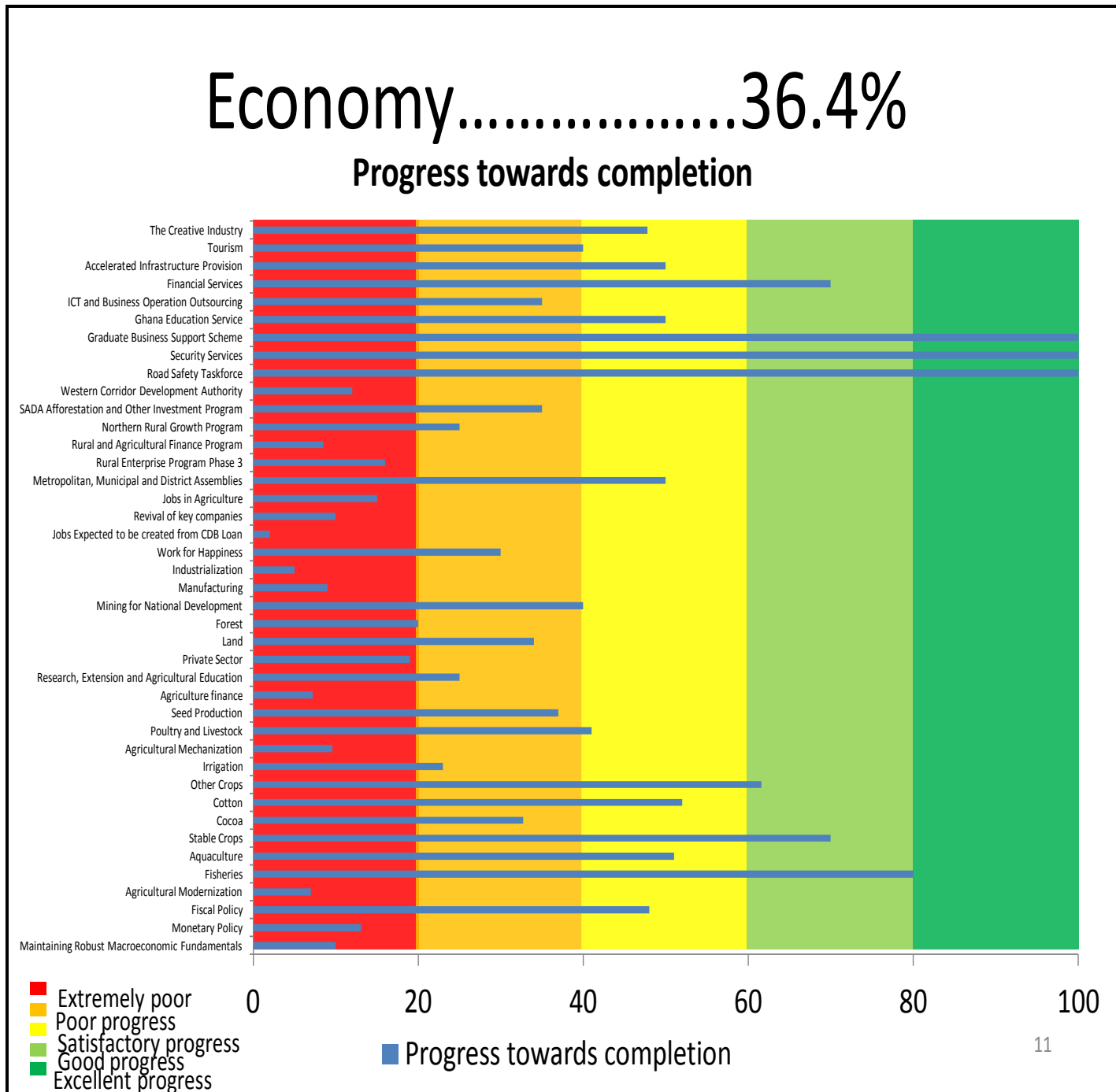
Robust economic fundamentals are essential to maintaining a stable growth trajectory. Manifesto of a political party is a benchmark for evaluating pre-election appeal as well as post-election performance<sup>1</sup>. In this context, when the NDC government pledged in 2012 to maintain a GDP growth of at least 8% per annum; maintain a single digit inflation rate; reduce fiscal deficit to 5% of GDP; increase per capita income from about \$1600 to \$2300 by 2017; and improve the international reserve to four month of import cover; it was alluring to the typical electorate. Even more appealing is the pledges of sound monetary and fiscal policy; agricultural modernization; value addition and employment creation, which will generate the preceding fundamentals. However, an assessment the pledges under this theme reveal poor status of implementation. The assessment of the promises results in a score of 36.4%, reflecting anemic economic growth, emergence of large fiscal and external imbalances, weak monetary policy, loose fiscal policy, declining manufacturing and weak net international reserves position resulting in depreciation. The figure below summarizes the post-election implementation status of all the promises under theme two, a strong and resilient economy.

Further, examination of pledges relating to robust macroeconomic fundamentals shows that none of the pledges were met. GDP growth has declined from 14.8% in 2011 to projected 3.5 in 2015. Within this period, a GDP growth of 8% was only recorded in 2012. After 2012, the annual inflation rate moved to double digit. Although the fiscal deficit has reduced from about 12% in 2012 to projected 7.3% of 2015, the target of 5% is widely missed with serious implication on the country's debt sustainability. Net international reserves cover about 3 months of import and GDP per capita is not likely to reach \$2300 as promised.

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<sup>1</sup> JINAH INSTITUTE (2013) REPORT ON IMPLEMENTATION OF POLITICAL PARTY MANIFESTO

Figure 1



### EDUCATION

An assessment of the 2012 NDC manifesto in relation to education highlights 59 activities/programmes under 12 themes. All the programs were examined to ascertain the status of implementation. The NDC pledged in 2012 to improve education by

improving early childhood development; primary, secondary and tertiary education; distance education, science and technology education; vocational and technical education; and most importantly, link industry with the educational sector. An examination of implementation of pledges with respect to education results in a score of 65.7%, interpreted as good progress within the IMMA framework. This reflects excellent progress in the implementation of promises under Distance education and open Schooling and Non-Formal Education; good progress in the implementation of promises under science and technical education, learning and teaching, and basic education; satisfactory progress in the implementation of policies under other 6 sub-themes; and poor progress in the implementation promises under vocational and technical education. Figure 2 below presents the status of implementation of the promises under education.

Distance learning and open education had the high score of 100%. This is indication that the promise has been achieved. Basic education and secondary education had a score of 64% and 48% respectively.

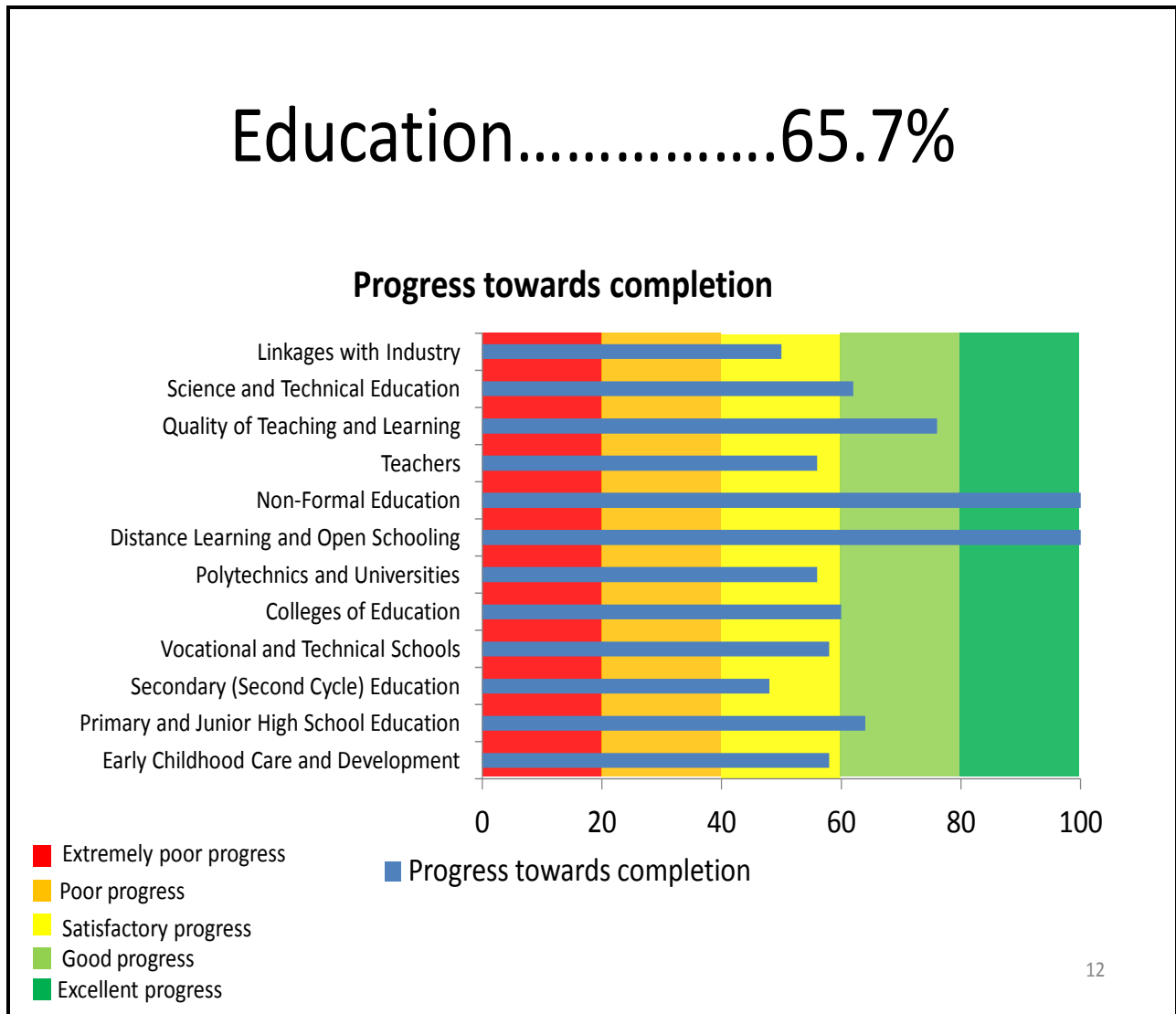
In the case of the Secondary education, the proposed construction of new 200 community SHS are well behind schedule as 50 are under construction and contract has been awarded for the next 50. However, it is interesting to note that the 200 SHS was one of the main campaigning messages against the NPP's Free SHS campaign message. The poor performance under the Secondary education has to do with the finance gap in implementing the 200 SHS. This is evident from the \$156 million secure from the World Bank under the Ghana Secondary Education Improvement Project to build 23 of the new Schools.

Quality of Teaching and Learning, Science and Technical education and Teachers theme of the manifesto has seen much activities like the distribution of free laptops, upgrading of Science labs in school and the continuous In-Service Training (INSET) which has been organized for 1,000 Mathematics and 800 Science teachers in line with Government's objective of improving the teaching of mathematics and science.

While it is commendable that 100 girls have been enrolled for the females in electronic program, the number is still limited considering that the socioeconomic circumstances of the people living in the Zongo's has not changed and this makes the implementation of this promise valid. Government must therefore move quickly to address this if indeed government is interested in addressing the economics issues in the Zongo's.

With regards to the government's promise to eliminate the remaining 60% of identified 'Schools-Under-Trees, a total of 1,614 schools out of the 2,578 projects have been completed and handed over. There are still about 970 schools under trees. In the medium term government will have to focus on delivering on the remaining schools.

Figure 2: Implementation Status in Education



With regards to the NDC’s promise to eliminate the remaining 60% of identified ‘Schools-Under-Trees, a total of 1,614 schools out of the 2,578 projects have been completed and handed over. There are still about 970 schools under trees. In the medium term, government will have to focus on delivering on the remaining schools.

In conclusion, the NDC government has delivered most of the pledges under education, which is commendable. Access to education has improved greatly under the NDC government; however, there are systemic problems which automatically lead to poor educational outcome. There are serious educational management problems: teachers are poorly supervised at the micro level as well as de-motivated in terms logistics and

remuneration. Although Ghana spends more than the AU requirement of 6% of GDP on education, OECD (2015) ranked Ghana last in the quality of mathematics and science education among 76 countries. Going into the 2016, the NDC government should focus on improving the quality of education by instituting strong educational management systems that will guarantee effective teaching in both rural and urban public schools.

## GOVERNANCE (31%)

Arguably, good governance is one of the most important factors that enable sustainable development with long term social as well as human impact. The current ruling party, the National Democratic Congress, pledged during the 2012 campaign period to use its mandate and available resources to improve governance infrastructure by resourcing parliament, implementing decentralization, fighting corruption, empowering women, improving security and combating narco-terrorism. Key to fighting corruption is the enactment of Freedom of Information and Declaration of Asset. While great gains have been made in the areas of e-governance and parliamentary infrastructure, the reality on the ground is far from meeting the expectations of the Ghanaian people, given the promises. An examination of implementation of pledges with respect to governance results in a score of 35.30%; reflecting weighted combination of strong progress in the implementation of promises under territorial integrity; satisfactory progress in the implementation of policies under governance infrastructure and public service delivery; and poor progress in the implementation promises under corruption and narcotics. Figure 3 below summarizes the progress made on the implementation of promises under the eleven sub-themes of governance.

The NDC committed itself to deepening the role of the parliament in the country's development process by providing Members of Parliament (MPs) with individual research assistants, the modernization of parliamentary infrastructure among many other things. Whilst some aspects of the promises made apropos the role of parliament in the country's development process have been fulfilled, providing research to MPs and establishing a democracy fund remain uncharted. Since the recommendations of the Constitutional Review Committee (CRC) have not been given the green light, it is understandable that a democracy fund has not been established. However, it is disappointing that government has not been able to provide research assistants to MPs as promised. Information available indicates some MPs have had to hire research assistants and pay the later by themselves. In sum, given the role of Parliament in the country's development process, it is of a great importance for information to be readily available to MPs in their undertakings. This obviously reiterates the imperative for MPs to be provided with individual research assistants to enable them make better and informed decisions.

Further, an assessment of the pledges regarding decentralization and local governance indicates that the government has little policy space for implementation of the pledges since most of the decentralization promises are linked with the entrenchment of the recommendations of the CRC. Nevertheless, the government has been able to provide infrastructure to new districts created in 2003, 2007 and 2012. Also, the NDC government has continued the street naming project and implemented the fiscal decentralization policy. Key gaps under this sub-theme are the failure of government to mainstream concept of local economic development and to replace DACF with the MP's Constituency Development Fund.

On the judicial service, the government has copiously failed. The 'Justice for All' program was never enhanced (with weekend courts) as promised. It took the investigation of the media to reveal the unacceptable time it takes for the judicial services to prosecute cases. Recently, the judicial service workers including State attorneys, circuit court judges, have had to take unto the streets to register their discontent regarding their remuneration and other related-issues.

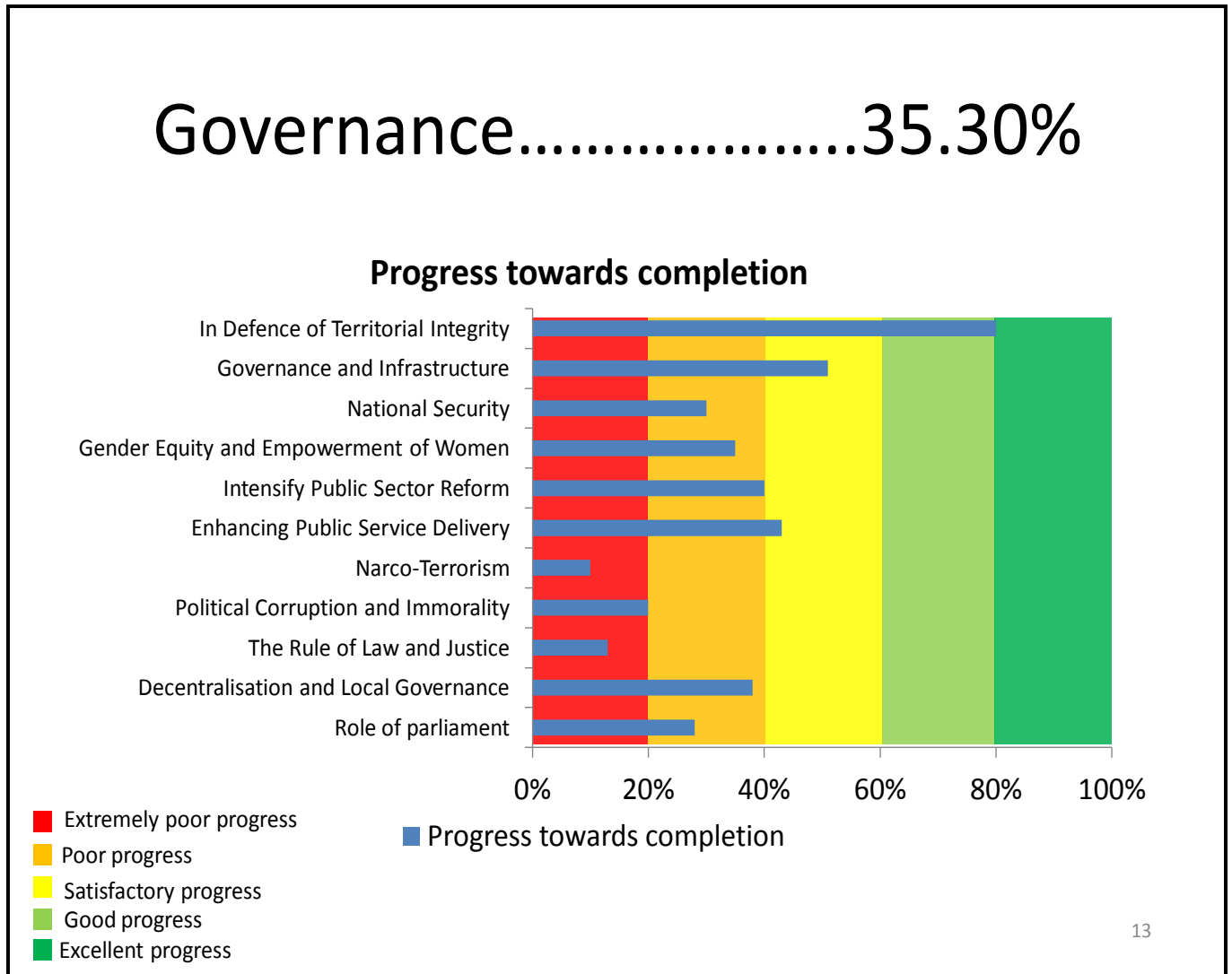
Among other things, the harmonization of their salaries and benefits, as stipulated in Sections 5 and 6 of the Legal Services Act of 1993 remain issues yet to be addressed by the government. Government is advised to enter into an all-inclusive negotiation with the necessary stakeholders within the legal sector with the aim of harmonizing and developing a comprehensive Conditions of Service document for the Judicial Service workers, as they promised in their manifesto.

Corruption remains a canker in Ghana. Over the years, crony capitalism has resulted huge political graft. The NDC promised to fight corruption and political immorality by revising the Accra re-development plan and enacting the Freedom of Information Bill. However, this government is allegedly accused of corruption (IEA Report) and has recorded unprecedented number of murky judgement debt cases. The failure of Government to enact the Freedom of Information Bill has thwarted the fight against corruption. The failure of the office of the presidency to release the final report of the Sole Judgment Debt Commissioner Justice Yaw Apau speaks to complication involved in the fight against political corruption in Ghana.

In fighting Narco-terrorism, the NDC Government has made some commendable strives in terms educating the public on issues relating to the use of **narcotic drugs** by **empowering NACOB to undertake campaigns to create awareness about the effects of drugs, encouraging collaboration between NACOB and the Food and Drugs Board among others. However, many promises regarding the fight against Narco-terrorism, including making NACOB a security agency, the pursue of the programme for the legislative conversion of NACOB into an autonomous Commission**

and the establishment of drug rehabilitation centers for treatment, rehabilitation and re-integration into society of drug addicts remain unfulfilled.

Figure 3: Implementation Status in Governance



Some promises made regarding the enhancement of public service delivery such as the implementation of the “New Approach to Public Sector Reform”, riding public sector of duplication of functions are yet to be fully addressed by the government. However, on the issue of the establishment of the Delivery Unit in the Office of the President whose objective is to coordinate the undertakings of the President, the government honored its words. The rationalization of the public service, especially issues related to the duplication of functions must be a matter of priority for the government. By rationalizing the public sector, the government will be able to better co-ordinate the activities of the sector.

The Government, through various initiatives (the Media Development Fund), has contributed to the growth and development of the media landscape. A lot more is yet to be done. The Government should take deliberate steps in the interest of the enactment of the Broadcasting Act in order to sanitize the media landscape and devoid it of polarization. The Government is also advised to encourage the National Media Commission to step its game. The government should endeavor to complete the permanent campus for the Ghana Institute of Journalism at Okponglo, Accra in order to expand and improve facilities for the training of journalists as they promised in the manifesto. This could be done by using a Public Private Partnership model.

Gender-related issues remain “unvisited” in many ways. Among all the promises made on Gender equity & empowerment of women (Address gender inequality by ensuring the expeditious enactment of the Affirmative Action Act to provide a framework for addressing historical gender related injustices; Work with political parties and Civil Society Organizations to take the provisions of the Affirmative Action Act into account in sponsoring candidates for elections; Enact legislation to cover women’s rights, including reproductive rights, more comprehensively; Ensure that all public institutions adopt gender policies, including recruitment policies, aimed at achieving a balanced human resourcing of their institutions in terms of gender; Implement the policy of gender responsive budgeting that has been adopted by the Ministry of Finance), only one – *improve women’s representation on all public Boards*, has been fully implemented.

Governance infrastructure has very much improved. As promised, the Government has provided modern technology and equipment for Parliament and the Judicial Service, thus improved the day-to-day work of Judicial Service workers as well as that of parliamentarians. E-governance infrastructure networking the Presidency and the Ministries, Departments and Agencies has also been provided. These state of the art infrastructures improve communication and loss of man-hours spent on huge tons of paper work. Prison infrastructure, however, remain in horrendous states. Some of the recent prison breaks (Kumasi Central Prisons for example) have been attributed to inhumane conditions (over -crowding, poor health care, and terrible meals) in which inmates live. Government is advised to speed up the passing of legislation on non-custodial measures, so people may not need to be kept behind bars.

On the overall, the NDC government has done fairly well in terms of governance infrastructure. However, a comprehensive review of the promises under the following sectors is crucial: **Narco-Terrorism, Political Corruption and Immorality, Gender Equity & Empowerment of Women and In Defence Of our Territorial Integrity**. The office of the President must also review its governance structures; the focal coordinating center (the Delivery Unit) must be resourced to enable it monitor the progress of works

being undertaken by the whole government machinery. The Delivery Unit must come out with plans and set review mechanisms for monitoring government programs.

### **Social Sector**

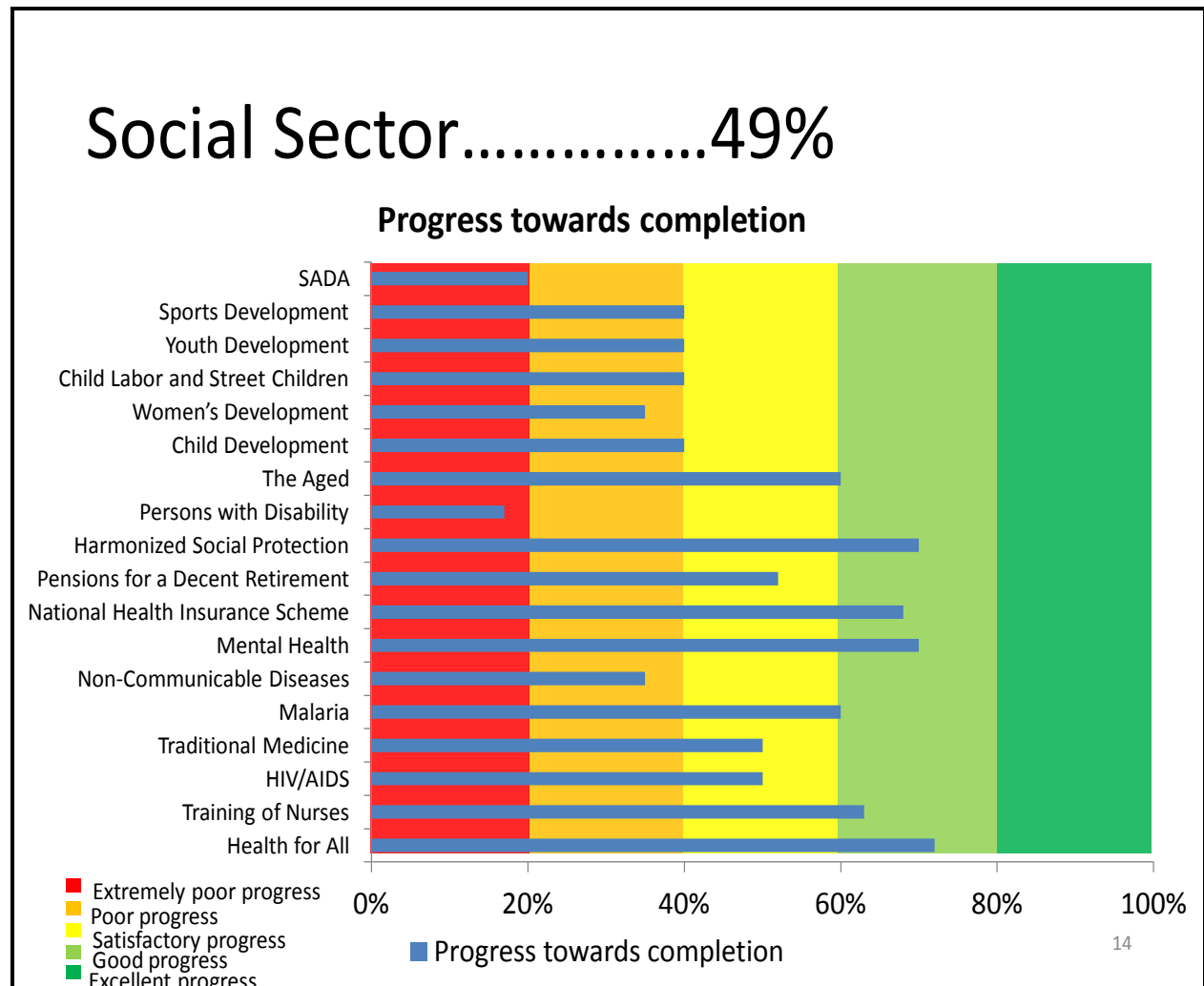
For its activities, the social sector per our assessment got a cumulative score of 49%. This falls into the satisfactory progress category. This assessment is based solely on output, and strong scores were awarded for Health for all, where there's been an increase in number of doctor and nurses per patient. Secondly, the agenda to create a Harmonized social protection is the second highest performing section mostly as a result of creation of the MoGCSP, LEAP and progress in legislative actions for disability, affirmative action, the aged, spousal's interstate bill amongst others. The other bigger gains are the NHIS which has improved coverage, expanded number of beneficiaries albeit this has been at the risk of ensuring quality service. Mental health has also been mainstreamed and given priority under the government which presents one of the highs under this sector.

The poorest performance was on disability, which hasn't received tangible inputs from the sector ministry beyond the LEAP program. SADA was ranked poorly as a result of a misalignment between what was promised and what was done. This is most likely due to a shift in focus which is expected. Progress on HIV/AIDS also received a low score on account of shortage in medicines.

Similar to other sections of the *'Advancing the Better Ghana Agenda'*, several of the goals under the health sector, social protection and other social endeavors are missing several key features of the SMART model; particularly, they are neither measurable against a specific target nor time bound. Additionally, the NDC manifesto suffers from a gross mismatch between demand and supply for several of its initiatives. For instance, what good is it to country to churn out nurses when the employment prospects upon completion are non-existent? Statistically, it improves the patient: nurse ratio, but practically, it becomes a wasted investment. Even then, in the case of Ghana, we are still a far cry from meeting the UN recommended ratio of 1:600 for doctor: patient since we're at of 1:9043 as of 2014. It's critical therefore that the goals and projects need to be coordinated in a holistic manner. An increase in number of nurses needs to be directly accompanied by increase in health facilities (public or private) to employ the nurses.

In the health sector, another perceived high score for the government is the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS). However, the vulnerability with the NHIS is its financial sustainability and we posit that, that is the most important indicator when it comes to the success of the scheme. But, what better way to win quick political votes than expand the benefits coverage at the risk of collapsing the scheme? Case in point, a May 2015 release from the society of private medical and mental practitioners ordered

its members to withdraw services to NHIS subscribers due to default in payments from the government. Other health service providers have resorted to a co-pay system whilst others run a full blown cash and carry system. The bottom line is, when I visit a hospital and present my NHIS card and I am refused treatment, then all other gains in the NHIS administration are worthless to me.



Despite challenges with policy/demand incoherence and financial challenges with the NHIS, other areas such as mental health have received much visibility and mainstreaming under the NDC government and its *Better Ghana Agenda*. Additionally, in bringing health to all, the government has pursued several infrastructural projects such as establishment and renovation of the regional hospitals in the Upper West, Upper East and Eastern regions as promised in the manifesto. Additionally, 84% of the

1600 Community-based Health Planning and Services (CHPS) compounds promised have been delivered and the government is on track to meet that indicator.

But moving forward and leading up to 2016, the ministry needs to revamp the goals on non-communicable diseases. According to the Health Ministry, the ministry is yet to collect data on cancers and the registry is yet to become functional. Similar, there's neither a baseline data nor metric on hypertension, diabetes, obesity, nor kidney failure. So, when the 'Better Ghana Agenda' says the 'NDC government intends to strengthen the Non Communicable Disease unit of the Ghana Health Service for the prevention, early detection and management of diseases', it's not clear exactly how they plan to achieve this because 'if you know neither the enemy nor yourself, you will succumb in every battle' Sun Tzu.

The social protection space has been crowded out by the Livelihood Empowerment against Poverty (LEAP) which has tentacles in every facet of social protection. In a bid to consolidate social protection programs, the government quickly created the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection. But, what's behind the name? Does the ministry truly have a harmonized database that captures beneficiaries of including LEAP, LESDEP, School Feeding Programme, Better Ghana ICT Project, Free School Uniforms? No, it does not.

Secondly as IMANI has advocated repeatedly, LEAP is not a sustainable program, and for a lower middle income country, we're not poised for running a largely socialist economy. The simplest explanation is that we ought to grow the pie before we share the pie. Therefore it's retrogressive to national development for unbridled expansion of LEAP at this time. But for a patronizing government, it's the one stop solution for all ills of the economy. LEAP presently runs emergency funds, extended coverage to include pregnant women and mothers with new born under 12 months, in addition to already granting cash hand outs to poor families with either the aged, disabled or orphaned/vulnerable children. Consequently, these cash grants have overshadowed the real need and capacity building in these sub-sectors.

What this means is that, apart from LEAP, other gains are minute. For instance, in the disability sub-sector the ministry handed out a couple thousand hearing devices and pursued a myriad of legislative and policy paper pushing in one calendar year. With the aged however, some tangible gains such as free bus rides and half price for GPRTU buses were achieved. However, the aging policy makes provisions for much more such as improved housing, and improved nutrition and wellbeing and strengthening the family and community to provide support to older persons. Similarly, the disability Act makes provisions for more substantial developments such as disability accessibility routes in infrastructure. It should be clear at this point that LEAP cannot solve it all. Moving ahead, more substantive issues need to be prioritized, pursuits that are commercially

viable or investments (including human capital) that can contribute to the wealth creation agenda of the country.

Regarding women empowerment, the Better Ghana Agenda promised 40% women in appointed positions. Limiting this to only ministerial positions, the percentage of women stands at 24%. The aesthetics and practicality of having more women occupying top positions is great; a win-win for both politicians and citizenry. Moving ahead, the NDC government has to think about solving problems from the bottom up; because, a woman who is not forced into early marriage is empowered to pursue lofty academic and educational goals. A woman not crippled under the abuse of domestic violence is empowered to reach heights both professionally and personally. Often, issues relating to education, advocacy and sensitization on the need to reform outmoded socio-cultural practices, beliefs and perceptions that promote gender discrimination are rarely reported on. It compels one to hypothesize that there's no systemic planning or monitoring of these activities and those issues have become victims of the one-off activity organized as a bare minimum in order to have something to report to a donor entity.

In a country teeming with graduates and reeking of unemployment, it's a shame that the only creativity on the part of the government is a proliferation and redundancy of training programs which are only sustainable as a result of the government blindly sinking millions of cedis into a black hole. The government created the Youth Enterprise Support (YES) initiative; but along with that, it also planned to pursue a stimulus package for youth employment in conjunction with the private sector, creation of regional youth leadership training centers, creation of district youth recreation centers and increased recruitment under the self-employment modules of the NYEP. Truth of the matter is that, these are bad investments because they can't survive without continuous government funding. There's no magic formula for job creation. If the private sector grows, its labor demands will increase. As it is, the economic realities have caused private sector to shrink its labor. Categorically speaking, no amount of GYEEDA and its cousins will solve the unemployment crisis. The government simply needs to fix the economy and the power sector.

On sports, apart from soccer, the other sports are still grossly underfunded despite a promise for development of the lesser known sporting disciplines in the country. The government is able to send 3million USD in cash on a chartered plane to Brazil during the 2014 Soccer World Cup but back home, it allocates GH¢3.3 million to be shared equally to the 33 sports associations to facilitate their activities.

The only way to sum up the developments in the policy environment in Ghana is that the state is doing too much. Too much in the sense that

1. It has crowded up the space for private sector

2. It is lacking focus and lack of prioritization
3. Because of the scattered agenda, it presents a challenge in harmonizing and synergizing.

As a result, several initiatives are suffering from being boxed in even though all the sectors are interrelated. Therefore, we're training youth for employment when businesses are shrinking and cannot feasibly absorb this group and we're training more nurses while we're not building more health centers.

Secondly, the initiatives are too focused on extended coverage without a focus on quality. So, even though NHIS is expanding, quality of service is poorer than ever. As with the youth sector as well, the government is simply interested in one set of numbers, which is how many youth are trained or beneficiaries of NYEP, without corresponding numbers of how many get permanent employment in private sector or run viable businesses or net contribution to domestic revenue.

Specifically, the government needs to focus on non-communicable diseases, tame the expansion of LEAP and NYEP, and focus on innovative and sustainable and commercially viable solutions to issues such disability, elimination of outmoded cultural practices, property rights, domestic violence, and child labor and trafficking.

## INFRASTRUCTURE

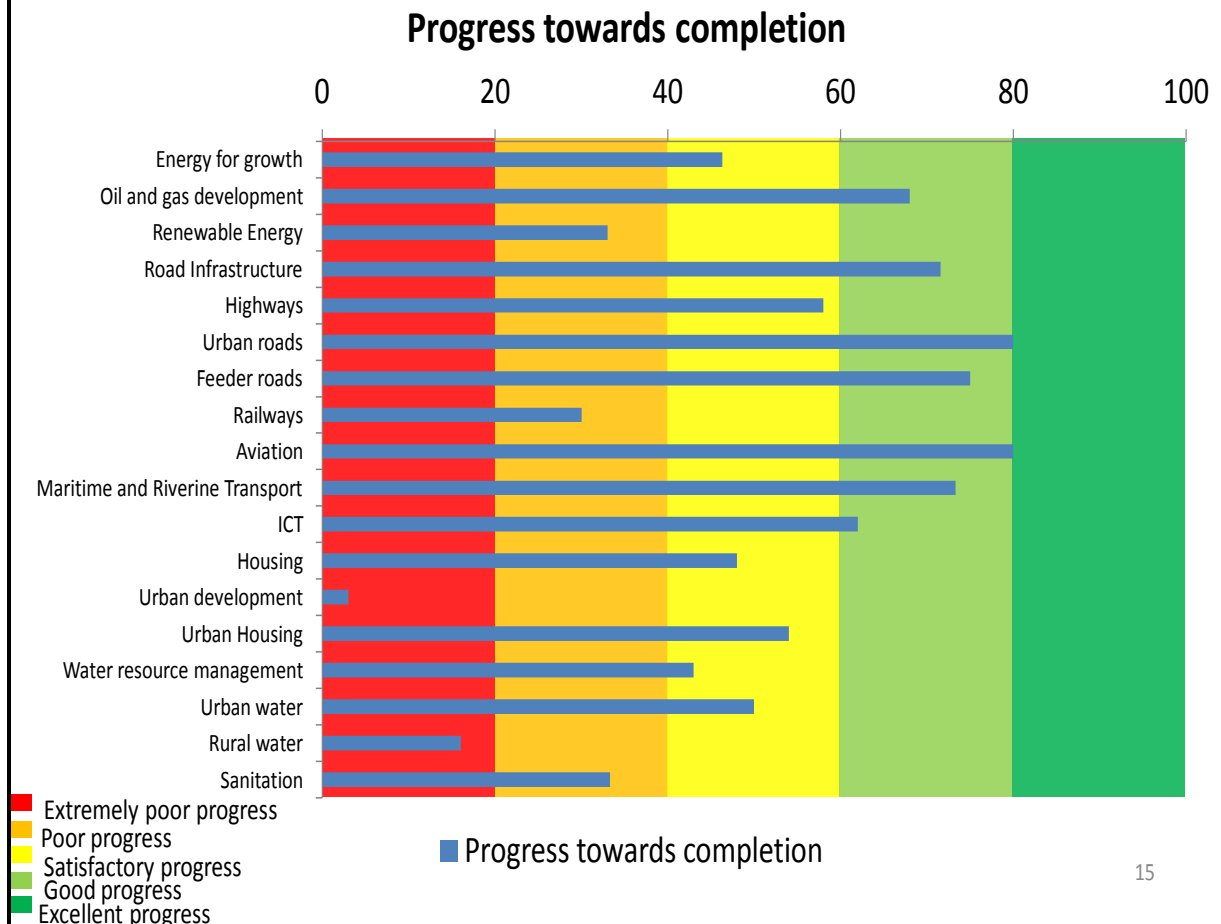
The National Democratic Congress, made several promises with regards to Infrastructural development during the 2012 election campaign. Key among them include bringing to an end the problem of infrequent power supply by the end of 2013; making the Tema Oil Refinery (TOR) technically and financially efficient with an expanded capacity; reconstruction, rehabilitation and modernization of the Eastern Corridor road; construction of the western corridor road and several other major road infrastructure; and the development and deployment of the national ICT infrastructure.

An assessment of the promises with regards to infrastructure resulted in a total score of 51.36%, signifying satisfactory progress within the assessment framework. This score reflects strong progress in the implementation of promises under Maritime and Riverine Transport, Aviation, ICT infrastructure, Oil and Gas development.

The implementation of Housing, Energy for growth were in the satisfactory performance region of progress while Slum upgrading and Prevention, rural water and housing promises performed poorly.

Figure below summarizes the progress made on the implementation of promises under the 21 sub-themes of Infrastructure development.

# Infrastructure.....51.36%



Significant work has been done under Oil and Gas Development. The passing of the local content bill; World Bank’s approval of \$ 700 million for exploration of oil and gas offshore Cape Three Points in the Western Region; investment in TOR and partnership with ARMACO to increase its capacity as well as setting up of marine police and regular inspection tours by the petroleum security coordinating has ensured a secured oil and gas industry.

Progress of work on the ICT sub section scored 45%. Development of ICT Infrastructure is encouraging with the national data center almost complete as well as implementation of the e-government project. A key issues in this sub section; human capital development in ICT has not pursued as promised in the manifesto. The National Science Park, the KNUST tech park, Innovation Fund, Ghana Science Congress among others promised which would help develop the need human resources needed for the knowledge economy has been completed. There is no clear funding allocation for implementation of these projects.

The housing deficit in Ghana is 1.7 million units, and it is expected to hit 2 million by 2018. Unfortunately, there was no clear indication of any plan with metrics to bridge this gap in the manifesto under Housing/Urban Housing sub section.

Though the government has signed PPP agreement with some foreign developers, the lack of a clear strategy on housing in the manifesto needs to be tackled. The Ghana Real Estate Development Fund which would be access to funds for local private developers to build “affordable housing units’ for Ghanaians should be passed into law. Financial allocations should also be made in the 2016 budget for early completion of all the affordable housing projects began by the previous government. The proposed National Housing Authority to oversee to the implementation of the Policy is a good way to go and parliament should pass all the necessary LIs to ensure full implementation.

The pivotal promise under this sub-section of the manifesto is to bring to an end the problem of infrequent power supply by the end of 2013. This promise has not been achieved as the load shedding program is still ongoing. Also the promise to Increase installed power generation capacity from 2,443 in 2012 to 5,000 megawatts by 2016 has seen only 18% completion progress. Moving forward, the energy to every home program and enhancement of the transmission and distribution is steadily ongoing. Funds from the MCA Ghana Compact II to be released in December this year geared towards increasing private sector investment in power generation would help strengthen the distribution sector and improving access to electricity. The key gap in this sector has to do more with technical issues because most of the plants under construction scheduled to be commissioned have been delayed. Another big hurdle is the availability of natural gas for the operation of the thermal plants to being constructed in Tema.

### **Poor performance**

Slum upgrading and Prevention (0%)

This sub section had the lowest score under the infrastructure section. The upscaling of the Ashiaman project has not been implemented. There has been no allocation in all the budgets for this project

Rural Water (16%)

Out of the 20,000 boreholes promised to be drilled nation-wide, the NDC Government has drilled only 1,115 boreholes. This represents 16% of work progress. Although a lot of boreholes have been dug and fitted with pumps at different parts of the country, the focus of this assessment was on the 20,000 boreholes promised in the manifesto.

Oil and Gas Development (68%)

Significant work has been done in this sub section hence its high score of 62%. The passing of the local content bill; World Bank’s approval of \$ 700 million for exploration of oil and gas offshore Cape Three Points in the Western Region; investment in TOR and partnership with ARMACO to increase its capacity

as well as setting up of marine police and regular inspection tours by the petroleum security coordinating has ensured a secured oil and gas industry.

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#### **Satisfactory Performance**

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#### Energy for Growth (46.3%)

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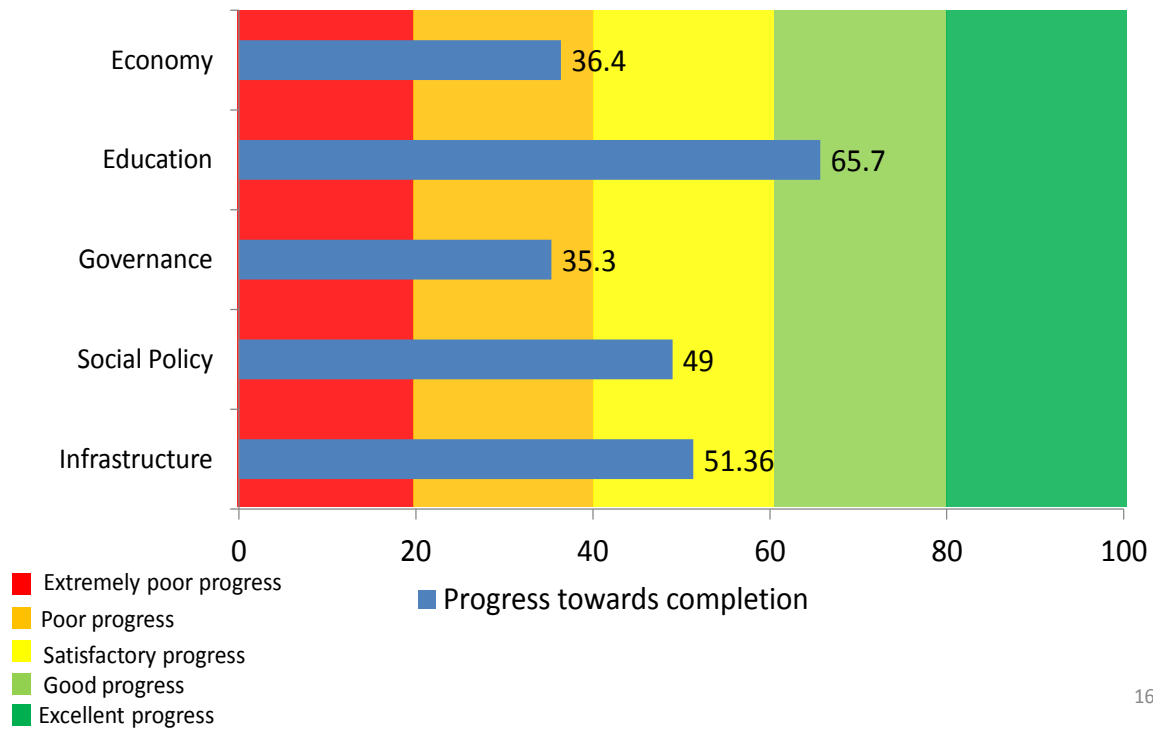
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### **Summary of Results**

# Overview of Results

## Progress towards completion



## OVERALL PERFORMANCE OF THE NDC GOVERNMENT

$$\text{IMMA} = 0.25 * 36.40 + 0.25 * 35.30 + 0.15 * 65.7 + 0.15 * 49 + 0.20 * 51.36 = 45.40\%$$

### Sensitivity Analysis

$$\text{IMMA} = 0.20 * 36.40 + 0.20 * 35.30 + 0.20 * 65.7 + 0.20 * 49 + 0.20 * 51.36 = 47.55\%$$

