



## **The Impact of Access to Welfare on Political Behavior in Ghana**

### **Project Summary**

My dissertation research examines whether Ghanaian citizens who receive access to new types of state-provided welfare benefits are likely to become more or less politically active. The Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) program has been rolled out to more than 250,000 households since its inception in 2008. LEAP is being rolled out across the country on a town-by-town basis, so many towns have individuals who meet the income, age, or disability criteria for receiving LEAP benefits, but who do not receive the benefit because their town has not yet been selected to participate.

I will request geocoded data on the location and characteristics of individuals who have been selected for LEAP from the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MoGCSP). Using the ECG-ISSER Ghana Panel Survey data, I will use propensity score matching to identify towns with similar observable characteristics to LEAP towns, but which have not yet been selected for LEAP. I will carry out a quantitative survey of individuals' political attitudes and behaviors in the treatment and comparison towns.

Power calculations indicate that a sample of 1200 individuals (120 towns with 10 respondents per town) should be sufficient to capture a 5% increase in the likelihood of attending a community meeting. I will carry out 300 surveys across 30 towns in four regions in Ghana to maximize potential variation in respondents' political affiliations. Residents of Volta Region tend to consistently support the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC), while residents of Ashanti Region consistently support the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP). Residents of Northern and Western regions swing between the two.

Data collection for this project will begin in June 2016 with a series of background interviews of LEAP officials and requests for the data needed for propensity score matching. The survey will begin in October 2016 and run until June 2017.

At the time of writing, the exchange rate between the Ghana cedi (GHC) and the US dollar (US\$) was approximately 4 to 1.

The total cost for this project is **\$54,222**. The largest cost center is personnel costs, at **\$30,850**. This includes wages for two six-person survey teams per region, working for approximately three weeks in each region. Equipment costs, which include tablets for the surveyors and gifts for all the respondents, come to **\$8820**. Travel costs, which include two flights for me from San Francisco to Accra, and transport within Ghana, come to **\$4025**. Finally, a 10% contingency fund and plans to accommodate Ghana's 16% average inflation add another **\$10,605**.



## Personnel Costs

The total cost for personnel is **\$30,850**. This covers the costs of hiring and training surveyors, entering the towns where the survey will take place, carrying out the survey, and auditing the survey data.

Each region will have two teams of six people, or 12 total. The six people include a team leader (TL), who is responsible for community entry and overall management; four surveyors, who administer the survey; and an auditor, who readministers a random sub-selection of surveys to check on data quality.

As mentioned above, I plan to interview 10 people in each town selected for the survey. The average surveyor can speak to three people in a day. Thus, a team with four surveyors can speak to up to 12 people per day. This means that a team of this size should be able to complete all the interviews in one town in one day, minimizing the likelihood they would need to stay overnight. This was how the team size was decided.

I plan to have two six-person teams per region because 12 people is a reasonable number for me to directly oversee. Every region will need to have a new set of teams trained, because Ghana's high linguistic diversity means that I will need to hire surveyors who are fluent in the local languages of each region.

There are five subcategories of costs within the personnel category.

1. **Hiring and training:** It's necessary to hire and train the surveyors before beginning the survey. I will carry out a three-day training for potential surveyors in each region, which will serve to both train them to conduct the survey, and help me to make a final set of hiring decisions as I observe them administering the survey to pilot towns. Thus, I will train approximately twice as many people as I ultimately plan to hire. Since I want 12 people total, I will train 25 people per region. The training costs include per diems of GHC 50 (US\$ 12.5) for each surveyor, and an estimated catering cost of GHC 400 (US\$ 100) per day. The total training cost for all four regions is **\$4950**.
2. **Community entry:** The team leaders will need to visit the towns in the sample before the survey begins to meet with the chiefs and get their permission to carry out the survey. Assuming each team leader can visit 2 towns per day, and there are two team leaders per region, it will take them 7.5 working days to visit the 30 towns in each region. The daily wage for the TL is GHC 100 (US\$ 25), and the per diem for food and transport is GHC 25 (US\$ 6). The total cost for community entry in all four regions is **\$1875**.



3. **Survey:** Given that a team can complete interviews in one town in one day, that there are two teams per region, and that I'm sampling 30 towns per region, it should take approximately 15 working days to complete the survey in one region. A team of four surveyors and the TL will visit each town. The daily wage for surveyors and the TL is GHC 100 (US\$ 25), and the per diem for food and transport is GHC 25 (US\$ 6). The total cost for the teams across all four regions is **\$18,750**.
4. **Audit:** The auditor will need to visit each town that is surveyed, approximately 1 - 2 days after the survey team comes, and randomly readminister 10% of completed surveys to check for accuracy. This means that they will do one survey per town. If the towns are not too far apart, they should be able to audit two towns per day. There are two auditors per region (one per team). At the rate of two towns per day, it will take them 7.5 working days to audit all 30 towns. The daily wage for the auditor is GHC 100 (US\$ 25), and the per diem for food and transport is GHC 25 (US\$ 6). The total cost for the audit in all four regions is **\$1875**.
5. **Other personnel costs:** There are several other costs associated with the survey. Based on a series of indices related to timeliness, completion of surveys, and general performance, I plan to give high-performing surveyors / TLs / auditors a bonus of GHC 200 (US\$ 50) at the end of the survey. I have also set aside GHC 4000 (US\$ 1000) for a medical assistance fund, to cover medical costs in the event that a surveyor is injured on the job. (They are required to have National Health Insurance Scheme membership, but NHIS sometimes does not cover all medical costs.) The total for other personnel costs in all four regions is **\$3400**.

## Equipment

The total cost for equipment is **\$8820**. This covers the costs of background interviews and the whole survey process.

The survey will be carried out on Android tablets running Open Data Kit (ODK) software. Computer-assisted interviewing (CAI) has larger upfront costs than using paper surveys, but is better in terms of data reliability.

There are four subcategories of costs within the equipment category.

1. **Background interviews:** I plan to carry out approximately 40 interviews with officials at MoGSCP, UNICEF, the University of Ghana, and other organizations involved in LEAP implementation. For each interview, I will need to print a consent form (GHC 1 / US\$ 0.25), and I plan to give the respondents a folder and pen from Berkeley as a token of appreciation (\$5 total). The total cost for these interviews is **\$210**.



2. **Hiring and training:** I will need to put an ad in a local newspaper in each region for two weeks to recruit surveyors (GHC 400 / US\$ 100 per paper), rent out a training facility for three days in each region (GHC 100 / US\$ 25 per day), and print copies of the survey manual and questionnaire for each of the 100 trainees (GHC 10 / US\$ 2.50 per manual). The total cost is **\$950**.
3. **Community entry:** It's customary to give local chiefs a gift of kola nuts when entering a new town (GHC 4 / US\$ 1 per bag). I'll also need to print out consent forms for the survey (GHC 1 / US\$ 0.25 per form). The total cost for these activities is **\$150**.
4. **Survey:** The survey will be done on Samsung Galaxy 7" tablets, which are available in the US for \$100 each. I will order 15 tablets (12 for the survey teams, plus three extra), and reuse the tablets across regions. Each tablet will also come with a waterproof case (\$14) and a backpack to carry it (GHC 40 / US\$ 10). Because access to electricity is unreliable, each team will also receive two solar chargers (\$25 each). I will buy two uninterruptible power supplies (UPS) for the office (GHC 400 / US\$ 100), so that the tablets can be charged overnight without concern for power surges. In case there are problems with the tablets, I will also plan to print 10% of the 1200 surveys on paper (GHC 5 / US\$ 1.25 per survey). One additional cost is a respondent gift, as it is customary to give respondents something small like a bar of laundry soap to compensate them for their time (GHC 4 / US\$ 1). Finally, I will rent a room to use as an office in each region, in order to have a space to work during the day and to store the tablets overnight (GHC 2000 / US\$ 500 per month). The total cost for the survey is **\$7510**.

## Travel

The total cost for travel is **\$4025**. This covers the costs of my travel from San Francisco to Ghana's capital Accra, within Accra, from Accra to the regional capitals of the four districts where I will work, and from the four regional capitals to the towns where the survey is implemented.

I have budgeted for two roundtrip flights from San Francisco to Accra: one from June - December 2016, and one from January - June 2017. The cost per flight is \$1600.

Within Accra, an average taxi ride from the Osu neighborhood where I stay to the university campus at Legon or the ministries downtown is approximately GHC 40 / US\$ 10. I will use taxis to travel to the background interviews.

Northern Region is too far from Accra to conveniently reach by bus, so I'll take a local flight from Accra to the Northern capital of Tamale. Starbow Airlines has flights for GHC 300 / US\$ 75.



The other three regions are sufficiently close to Accra to be reached by bus, so I plan to take the STC bus from Accra to Kumasi (Ashanti Region), Ho (Volta Region), and Takoradi (Western Region). The average bus ride costs GHC 120 / US\$ 40.

Finally, I assume that I'll spend about eight weeks in each of the four regions where I work. This covers one week in hiring, half a week in training, 1.5 weeks in community entry, 3 weeks in the survey, and two weeks to account for other obstacles that might arise (like rain or missing respondents). I assume I'll go out to visit one of the rural towns where the survey will be implemented on average once per week over those eight weeks, at the cost of GHC 40 / US\$ 10 to rent a taxi for the day.

### Financial

The total cost of the adjustments for contingency expenses and inflation is **\$10,527**. First, I have budgeted for contingency fund equal to 10% of total expenses, which comes to \$4370. Secondly, I wanted to account for Ghana's high annual inflation of 16%. This means that the cost of the expenses denominated in cedis could increase by up to GHC 24,630 / US\$ 6157 over the course of the year when I am conducting research.

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