PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION AS A TOOL FOR ENHANCED RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA

BY

BEATRICE ZACHIA OWUSU

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the subject

DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

At the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: PROF V GUMEDE

2022

ABSTRACT

This thesis examined the value of the people's participation as a strategy for rural-focused development programmes. The term participation is used in this thesis to refer to the involvement of locals in the processes of decision making, implementation, and sharing in the benefits of development programmes. The participation of people entails a structured procedure whereby certain groups of people or communities meant to benefit from certain development initiatives are mobilised to take the initiative and contribute towards the planning and execution process. Empirical investigations on the potential value of involving the local people in development programmes in Ghana in general have neglected in both political and scholarly endeavours. This thesis, focusing on the Northern Region of Ghana, followed an exploratory research design which is underpinned by mixed methods research to examine the value of the people's participation in development programmes. The thesis also used secondary data sources, household surveys, key informant interviews, and focus group discussions, as well as personal observations to gather data. It systematically explored how local communities are engaged and involved in programmes in which they are targeted as beneficiaries. This thesis is informed by three approaches, namely; the political economy, the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, and the transformative social policy. Quantitative data was analysed using descriptive statistics while qualitative data was analysed thematically. The thesis found that projects that had high participation levels had higher chances of success than those that had lower participation levels. The thesis therefore, concluded that the participation of beneficiaries in development projects wields much potential in making the projects a success. Both the participants in the research as well as the reviewed secondary literature confirmed that where local beneficiaries are placed at the centre of projects, both in terms of design and implementation, such projects stand a high chance to succeed and to positively impact the lives of people. The thesis also concluded, however, that while the presence of development projects in the Northern Region of Ghana has created some opportunities which can be harnessed to leverage community level development, these opportunities have not reached the level expected due to numerous challenges. These challenges include insufficient buy-in/ ownership of projects by beneficiaries, inadequate consultation of the local people by development implementers, lack of basic income sources, unemployment, landlessness, lack of education and training, lack of infrastructure, factors related to patriarchy which block women from accessing assets, poverty, and out-migration, among

others. The thesis recommends, that given the central role of agriculture, and the largely subsistence nature of projects in the study areas, government efforts may need to focus on identifying how to proactively promote agricultural development through the deployment of inclusive participation. Critical to this is ensuring voice and inclusivity of the local communities who are the targeted beneficiaries of development initiatives.

Keywords: Development projects, Ghana, livelihoods, Northern Region, participatory development, poverty.

DECLARATION

Name: Beatrice Zachia Owusu

Student number: 57641099

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy in the subject of Development Studies

Title of the study:

People's Participation as a Tool for Enhanced Rural Development in Ghana

---

I declare that the above study is the product of my own research; and that all the sources that I have quoted or referred to have been acknowledged by means of complete references.

I further declare that I submitted the study to originality checking software and that it falls within the accepted requirements for originality.

I further declare that this study has not been previously submitted, in part or in whole, for examination at any institution for another qualification.

02/09/2022

SIGNATURE DATE:

DEDICATION

The study is dedicated to Dr Samuel Yaw Annor.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My heartfelt gratitude goes to Dr Samuel Yaw Annor, Director and a Shareholder at Lister Hospital & Fertility Centre Accra- Ghana, and also the Chief Executive Officer of the National Health Insurance Authority (NHIA) for encouraging me to enrol for doctoral studies at a time when the thought was not in my plans. Thank you so much for the support, encouragement and guidance you have given me since my Master's degree and throughout my doctoral studies as you always believed in my capabilities even when I did not believe in myself.

My sincere gratitude also goes to my Supervisor, Professor Vusi Gumede. I do appreciate your time, intellectual ideas and a friendly approach to make my PhD journey an enjoyable, productive and stimulating experience. Thank you, Professor Vusi, once again for the opportunities you gave me to participate in other projects when I did not believe in myself, but you believed in me.

Special mention to Professor Du Plessis for the assistance you offered me to gain admission into this reputable university and the guidance you offered when I was exploring research topics. I would also like to thank Professor Solomon Yirenkyi Boateng, Hon Dr Samari Alhassan, Dr Peter Wandwasi, Dr Jeremy Mit, and Dr Flotman Aden for your continuous support and contributions in helping me to achieve my goals.

A special thank you to Mr Philip Osekre, Mrs Mercy Boateng Osekre, Phyllis Osekre, Michelle Osekre and Philip Osekre Jnr for accommodating me throughout my stay in South Africa and the rides across your beautiful country. Your words of encouragement and support have made this dream come to true. I did enjoy every moment I shared with you.

My final appreciation goes to my Family. Indeed, I am grateful to my wonderful Parents, my siblings, Mrs Marian Serwaa Bonsu Afenu, Mrs Owusuaa Nyarko Kwarteng, Mr Ishaq Owusu and Mr Iddrisu Mensah Bonsu for your support. A special mention to Mr Sampson Osei, PhD Candidate at Pretoria University -South Africa, Mr Hubert Quansah, Chartered Accountant and Branch Manager GCB- Bank, Mr Muniru Muktar Chartered Accountant and Head Of Customer Service Department GCB- Bank, Commodore Osei Bonsu Asante, Ministry Of Defence, and to all the members of my wonderful family and to my friends for their support and encouragement throughout this doctoral journey.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ACRONYMS

(AgSSIP)	: Agricultural Services Sub-Sector Investment Project
AU	: African Union
CBRDP	: Community Based Rural Development Project
IOL	: International Labour Organization
(MCC)	: Millennium Challenge Corporation
PAR	: Participatory Action Research
PLA	: Participatory Learning and Action
PRA	: Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRAP	: Participatory Rural Appraisal and Planning
SLF	: Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
UN	: United Nations
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme
UNDEP	: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
USA	: United States of America
WB	: World Bank

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

This thesis examines the value of people's participation as a strategy for rural-focused development programmes. Situated in the Northern Region of Ghana which is widely confirmed as an area of study that is significantly neglected in literature (Cooke, Hague, and McKay 2016), this thesis explores the value of people's participation in development projects. Development is an expansive concept which covers social, economic, political and human development. As an expansive concept, many researchers and policy-makers have examined the concept of development with a view to understand economic development (Abiona and Bello 2013; Asuru 2017). However, today, the emphasis has been broadened to not only focus on industrial and economic development as the determining factors in the transformation of society, but also on social and political development. Political development in this context refers to growth in national and political unity as well as growth in political participation by the citizens of a particular country (Bagson and Owusu 2016) whereas economic and social development is the process whereby the economic well-being and class of life in a country, community or in individuals are improved based on set goals (Bakharia 2014). While economic growth could expand the material base for the people, social and political development speaks to the improvement of people's well-being as well as their political participation in the society. There is currently significant interest in the theorisation of development to include local participation and empowerment. In an attempt to empower the local communities in the development agenda, the concept of people's participation has increased in recent development literature (Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng 2016; Hagenaars 2017; Cooke et al. 2016). This thesis builds on existing body of work using the Northern Region of Ghana as a case study.

The primary aim of participatory development is to involve the local communities in the designing, formulation, and implementation of development programmes and policies that may eventually impact their individual household livelihoods in a positive manner (Hagenaars 2017). Tied to these features are numerous methods, models, techniques and approaches that are combined to ensure rural development, subject to the aims and local conditions. The fundamental belief of such an occurrence is the people's control of the development processes. Bodin,

Sandström, and Crona (2017) posit that if a development strategy can only lead to national, economic and political stability, but does not change the lives of the ordinary people, then such a development is wrong as it does not benefit the locals in the community. A high growth performance without the participation of the locals is tantamount to economic growth without development.

In this first chapter, a background of the development challenges in Northern Ghana is provided. It also highlights the problem that informed this research. The chapter also outlines the research objectives, motivation for the study, and presents a chapter outline of this thesis.

1.2. Background to the Study

The prevalent debates on community development in previous decades focus on either 'top-down' approaches while there has not been efforts to utilise the participation of people in projects (Akinyoade, Dietz, and Uche 2017; Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng 2016). In recent decades, policy makers and development scholars have argued for the need for inclusion of local communities in development activities that concern them (Bodin, Sandström, and Crona 2017; Combrinck and Bennett 2016). Participatory development continues to be hailed as having significant potential in ensuring real development for communities, and particularly for the poor (Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng 2016; Hagenaars 2017). This thesis demonstrates the importance of participatory approaches in the development of household livelihoods by focusing on the Northern region of Ghana which happens to house some of the most rural communities in the country. The study also explores the opportunities for and constraints on the application of participatory approaches in the identified region as part of the collective and continued commitment to recommend intervention strategies towards the alleviation of livelihood challenges in the region.

Projects which do not involve the locals can generate disastrous consequences for the targeted beneficiaries. One example of note has been in Brazil which suffered the costs of "growth without development" (Todaro and Smith 2006:27). Brazil's growth performance was the best between 1960 and 1980, and yet due to its truncated social spending on health, education, pensions, and other benefits, it remained one of the states with the highest levels of social inequalities in the world. Today, most of the development definitions focus on the ability of

people to make and implement decisions (Asuru 2017; Breuer and Groshek 2017; Combrinck and Bennett 2016). Basic human needs form the basis for this conception. It is presumed that the fulfilment of the basic needs of people should come first over all the other development efforts. This fruition of development thought was promoted by the United Nations (UN) since the 1970s and supported by the World Bank in the 1990s (Cooke, Hague, and McKay 2016; Dinko 2017). A number of community development philosophies emphasise the importance of the local's participation in the decision-making of development initiatives, particularly with regards to initiation, planning, execution and evaluation.

The participatory management idea is now seen as a critical strategy or tool for ensuring progress in a society across all the sectors of the development process - in education, health, peace and conflict issues, urban-rural sector relations, in environmental conservation projects, cultural and heritage issues, in infrastructure, business development, political activities, civil society-based activities and also in the field of international relations (Abiona and Bello 2013; Diao, Kweka, and McMillan 2016). The inclusion of indigenous people in development projects has gained prominence following its intention to achieve project efficiency and sustainability. when the targeted beneficiaries are involved in the conceptualisation of projects, they will bring forward information with regard to the nature of projects that can work in their communities and cultural contexts. The local people will also recommend the implementation of projects in which they already have knowledge and traditional expertise. As a result, such projects are likely to succeed because the people have both the motivation and the expertise to contribute to the projects. The participatory approach to development has evolved over the years and still remains an important paradigm for achieving the needs and aspirations of people in communities as well as in civil society entities (Asuru 2017; Breuer and Groshek 2017). The uniqueness of the participatory management model lies in the emphasis it places on the opportunities it seeks to give to stakeholders in the operations of organisations. This approach demands that all stakeholders associated with particular activities partake in all aspects of the project management process, from setting the objectives, to the SWOT Analysis, the formulation of plans and policies for achieving the organisational objectives, and, above all, the implementation and monitoring of the plan's outcomes (Hagenaars 2017; Cooke et al. 2016). As a result of this participatory development, key success factors on development project design principles have emerged (Isaac and Matous 2017).

In Ghana, for instance, the formulation of development policies is premised on top-down approaches that fail to reinforce the virtues of knowledge of the local people which are targeted by projects and power sharing between these people and development practitioners (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014). It is in this view that this study seeks to bring participatory approaches under the spotlight due to their relevance in the realisation of rural development. Ghana however, has always been committed to the realisation of the welfare of its citizenry. Since independence in 1957, successive governments have implemented several developmental programmes and policies to accelerate economic growth to improve the livelihood conditions of its people. Examples of such programmes include: The Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (2003-2005), the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (2006-2009), Ghana Vision 2020 and Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (2009-2017). Underpinning all these phenomena is the country's dilemmas of rural poverty and unemployment. Various governments since independence have also been implementing specific developmental programmes to bridge the development gap between the north and the south. Since 1988, the country has practiced decentralisation which was grounded on the principle of grassroots participation in the development process. However, it appears the implementation of decentralisation policy in Ghana has not been effective in their efforts to incorporate the grassroots therefore reducing the success of these policies (Oteng-Ababio, Mariwah, and Kusi 2017). The extent to which participatory plans can succeed in achieving the desired transformation however depends on the ways in which the local communities participate in such programmes. The involvement of specific communities in projects that concern them is crucial and tends to have significant implications on the decision-making process in the future (Isaac and Matous 2017; Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014).

The problems associated with the centralised or top-down model of development planning and management in Ghana is the limited opportunities which it gives to its stakeholders. The model is challenged by McKay, Pirttilä, and Tarp (2015) who argue that by nature, the model polarises development, increases dependency on certain favoured sectors, generating discontent and conflicts in society through the exclusion practices, underutilising the resources of the marginalised stakeholders thereby leading to under production and massive wastage in the economy. The model also creates a general atmosphere of apathy in these population sections as locals tend to feel deprived from participating fully in the decision-making processes. Owing to

the history of 'top down' nature of rural development programmes, policies or intervention initiatives in Ghana, very little is known with regards to local participation, socio-economic development, and poverty alleviation. Thus, the situation merits an investigation. Despite Ghana's propagation of development guidelines such as the Community Based Rural Development Project (CBRDP); the Rural Enterprise Projects; the Presidential Special Initiatives and the Ghana Decent Work Programme, the situation in which rural farming communities in the northern region find themselves in remains largely unchanged (Abdullah-Kamal, 2019; Asuru, 2017). It is therefore, crucial to explore and highlight the challenges often encountered when organising communities which are dependent on development agents. Available discourses dealing with the challenges of and opportunities for participatory development are still very limited in Ghana. The situation is even worse in the northern region which happens to be the most rural in the country. People participation for empowerment forms is the core learning area of this study. The study focuses on people participation as a means to an end of development for transformation of the society in poor rural communities.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

The Republic of Ghana is popular for its good governance, political stability, and moderately stable state capacities that support the realisation of human rights (UNDP 2018; World Bank 2017). The country's steady economic growth is reported to average over seven per cent per annum since 2005 placing it in the lower-middle income country category in 2018 (UNDP. 2018). The discovery of offshore oil reserves in 2007 provoked the realisation of a double-digit growth for the year 2011 (Cooke, Hague, and Mckay, 2016). This has subsequently resulted in a rapid decrease in poverty of the population to 24.2 per cent in 2013 from 51.7 per cent in 1992 (Cooke, Hague and Mckay, 2016). This is an indication that as of 2013 Ghana had achieved the first Millennium Development Goal of reducing extreme poverty and hunger (Ostry, Berg and Tsangarides, 2014).

However, despite these positive developments, the majority of Ghanaians who are located in the rural areas still lived below the poverty line in 2018 (Temesgen and Amadou, 2018; UNDP 2018). The Northern Region has been impacted the most despite the establishment of the Department of Local Government in Ghana which focuses on the general development of the country, rural poverty and socio-economic development (Awumbila, Owusu and Teye 2014).

Taking into consideration the number of participatory projects being deployed in the northern region by development facilitators and other concerned stakeholders, there has been limited development activities in rural Ghana (Asuru 2017; Mfum-Mensah and Friedson-Ridenour 2014; Yaro and Tsikata 2013). It has been observed that the main reason for underdevelopment in the region is that rural the people in the northern region hardly become equal partners of development initiatives (Mfum-Mensah and Friedson-Ridenour 2014). There remains a tendency by central decision makers in Ghana to define and decide development strategies for the countryside. The belief is that the rural folks, the poor, and the politically weak have limited knowledge on how to influence and execute development goals (Vlaminck 2012 Mfum-Mensah et al. 2014). Such arrangements deprive the local people of a chance to determine their own future. The absence of collaboration mechanisms between community members and development agencies has been cited as one of the limiting factors of development in the region (Arkorful 2013; Asuru 2017).

This therefore, necessitates the need for a study that can explore the opportunities for and constraints on rural development programmes in the country. This study fills this research gap by exploring how inclusive participation in the Northern region of Ghana can assist in the realisation of rural development through development projects. The study focuses on rural development initiatives that have been implemented in the region in recent decades, and consequently systematically explores how rural households have been part of such programmes. A preliminary literature review by the researcher revealed that such a study does not currently exist in Ghana.

1.4. Aim of the Study

The thesis aim is to assess and evaluate the value of people's participation as an important strategy for rural focused development programmes. The intention is to argue for the importance of integrating the local people in development projects of their communities. The objectives of this thesis are listed below.

1.5. Research Objectives

The thesis seeks:

1. To identify the benefits of rural development programmes in Northern Ghana;

2. To identify the benefits of public participation in the Northern Region;
3. To identify the constraints of public participation in the Northern Region;
4. To examine the government's commitment in the promotion of the rural development process in Northern Ghana; and
5. To provide recommendations for the enhancement of people's participation in rural development projects in Northern Ghana.

1.6. Research questions

The main research question is phrased as follows: "*What is the value of people's participation in rural development programmes?*" The specific research questions include:

1. What are the benefits of rural development programmes in Northern Ghana?
2. What are the benefits of public participation in the Northern Region?
3. What are the constraints of public participation in the Northern Region?
4. What is the government's commitment in the promotion of the rural development process in Northern Ghana?
5. What are the recommendations for the enhancement of people's participation in rural development projects in Northern Ghana?

1.7. The Rationale of the Study

The thesis explores the value of people's participation in development projects. In pursuit of a holistic national development plan, rural development policies either at the district, regional or national level cannot be tasked to certain individuals without a multi-stakeholder approach that seeks to involve the local people.

The development of livelihoods in the rural communities continues to dominate development and political discourses in a developing country such as Ghana, therefore, more empirical evidence which illustrates how this development can be achieved is required. Existing studies either focus on the number of projects being deployed in Ghana (Temesgen and Amadou, 2018); livelihoods transformation (Steel, G and van Lindert, 2017); governance crisis in development (Oteng-Ababio, Mariwah, and Kusi, 2017) or the importance of agriculture in rural Ghana (Diao, 2018); poverty levels (Bagson and Owusu, 2016; Cooke, Hague, and McKay, 2016) and philanthropy (Asuru 2017). Studies focusing on the value of participation in the design and implementation of

rural development projects are either vague or do not exist. Thus, this thesis contributes to existing literature which outlines the importance of stakeholder involvement when formulating rural development plans. This study adds to existing knowledge which suggests that well targeted developmental programmes which engage stakeholders, have a direct impact on livelihoods and the reduction of poverty (Scoones, 2009; Boudreax, 2009). Therefore, this study could be government informative and contribute to the continuing process of policy dialogue and consensus-building on programmes designed to develop sustainable household livelihoods. In addition, the study could inform policy-makers (government and other key stakeholders) to passably understand the circumstances of rural communities prior to the designation of such national policies. Furthermore, it could assist relevant stakeholders in reshaping the existing participatory approaches adopted over the years by policy-makers in formulating rural development policies.

The contributions of this research study are divided into two categories, namely, theoretical and practical contributions.

The theoretical contributions of the study can be divided further into two sub-categories. The first is the interpretation of various theories. This study included the political economy, the social policy approach, and the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. The theoretical contribution can be observed in the interpretation of livelihoods frameworks and models, particularly the works of Robert Chambers and his analysis of rural development issues. The interpretation of various theoretical frameworks can be considered a theoretical contribution as the researcher's interpretation of these frameworks and the case study data collected can influence policies designed for rural development in the Northern region of Ghana. The other contribution is the study's use of the transformative social policy framework as the basis on which development projects for rural areas can be implemented. The study posits that for development projects to remain afloat in the study areas, the government and other stakeholders must implement social policy in their execution of these projects. This will provide insight into what these communities need to address poverty, patriarchy, the lack of education, and marginalization, ultimately working to ensure the long-term sustainability of development initiatives.

The focus should be placed on the five tasks of social policy identified by Mkandawire (2007) and expanded by Adesina (2015), namely, production, protection, reproduction and

redistribution, and social cohesion or nation-building. In the transformative social policy approach, the study posits that developers would reduce the political economy inherent in land access and utilization in these rural areas. This would ensure equality when accessing land, thus increasing local participation in development projects. Equal access to resources would translate to increased production as locals will have the option to participate in various development activities. This will also increase the opportunity of multiple incomes in rural households.

Most importantly, where locals have equal access to resources, social cohesion is likely to improve in these communities. Such is the soul of a community. Thus, it may be posited that in initiating development through projects in these areas, social policy should be incorporated in project designs and execution.

The practical contributions of the study emanate from both the theory and findings from the case study conducted in the Northern Region. The study established the opportunities and constraints of development projects in the region. The research findings can aid in addressing the development challenges in the study areas.

1.8. Scope of the Thesis

The thesis focuses on the diagnostic potential of participatory development to trigger rural development in Ghana. Focus is placed on how public participation could enable development projects which are deployed in the region to result in the anticipated rural, economic, social, and political development. Participatory approaches to rural development continue to gain greater thrust among development partners and donors and well as local policymakers, particularly in Ghana, for their emphasis on decentralisation through building the capacities of local communities for effective development (Pham 2018; Vlaminck 2012). It is within this scope that the thesis was conducted. Due to budgetary constraints, the thesis was limited to four districts in Northern Ghana: Sagnarigu municipality, Savulugu District, Tamale metropolis, and Kumbugu district.

1.9. Key Terms

Participation –In this thesis it refers to the involvement of locals in the processes of decision making, implementation, and sharing in the benefits of development programmes (Paul 1993).

Development – This refers to improving the quality of people's lives.

Rural development - in this context refers to a distinct approach to interventions by the state and or process of change in rural communities or any form of intervention to relieve rural communities from poverty and inequality.

Livelihood- This is understood as according to Chambers and Conway (1992:7-8), who states that "a livelihood is engagement in a number of activities which, at times, neither require a formal agreement nor are limited to a particular trade. Livelihoods may or may not involve money. Jobs invariably do. Livelihoods are self-directing. Livelihoods are based on income derived from jobs' but also on incomes derived from assets and entitlements."

Poverty - A condition of 'existence' associated with lack of income or money, lack of property, lack of employment opportunities, illiteracy, illness, short lifespan, exclusion from facilities, credit, as well as opportunities for decision-making (Chambers 1983).

Resilience – Used as referring to the ability of A1 households to cope with external stresses and disorders as a result of social, political and environmental change (Alinovi, Mane, and Romano 2010).

Sustainability – the concept of sustainability is understood as the ability to adequately make use of resources in a manner that will not deplete them and thereby render them unavailable for future use (Scoones 2009)

1.10. Chapter Layout

This thesis divided into six chapters which are briefly summarised below:

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter introduces the study and provides the background, problem statement, research questions, aim and objectives, and the rationale and significance of the study.

Chapter Two: Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents an extensive review of the literature on the subject of rural development.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

This chapter discusses the research philosophies, methodologies, and research design and also explains how data was collected for this study. The chapter also describes data analysis procedures as well as ethical consideration measures.

Chapter Four: Participatory Development in Northern Ghana

The results and research findings of the study will be presented in this chapter.

Chapter Five: Transformative Development through Popular Participation

This chapter provides an extensive discussion on the results of the study.

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter concludes the study by providing a comprehensive summary, discussion, conclusions and policy recommendations.

1.11. Conclusion

This chapter has provided details about the current study. Emphasis has been placed on demonstrating how participatory approaches could be an essential tool in strengthening participation in rural development programmes not only in the poverty-stricken agrarian north of Ghana, but across the country as a whole. The chapter presented the study's background, presented the research problem, and outlined the research objectives and questions that guided the study. In addition, the chapter introduced the research methodologies deployed in the study and the ethical considerations that were upheld.

The next chapter provides a conceptual and theoretical review of the literature related to the study.

CHAPTER TWO

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

2.1. Introduction

The chapter begins by reviewing the literature that is related to the theoretical framework within which the general development concept and participatory development are contextualised. The conceptualisation of development adopted in this study contributes towards finding solutions to the challenges faced by poor locals in developing countries, particularly in Africa. Secondly, the chapter reviews studies on the different participatory theories to develop a theoretical view on human development through participation and empowerment. An examination of participatory development techniques constitutes the third section of the literature review. In the fourth section, the literature on review on community group dimensions is presented. The aim is to find the best methods for promoting people's participation and empowerment. Ghanaian literature on participatory development is also reviewed to measure the coverage of development research across the country. The review of the Ghanaian proposals for people participation and the development situation of the northern region forms the final section of the literature review which leads to the conceptual framework and conclusion of the chapter.

2.2. The Conceptualisation of Development

It is vital to understand development as a concept before trying to understand what human development and participation constitute. The African Union (AU) Agenda 2063 is all about the urgent need to develop. The agenda envisages an African future defined by Pan-African unity, integration, prosperity, and peace (African Union 2013). Africans themselves are tasked with the responsibility of realising such a future. The broad target of this vision is to ensure that the entire African continent and its people enjoy equal development, that is, a life that is free from poverty and diseases. However, there is an on-going debate concerning what constitutes development and how it can be attained (Gumede, 2019; Mokoena, 2018; Ndhlovu, 2020). Debates also continue as to why other regions were developing faster than others. In addition, different countries and regions have their own conceptualisation of development.

In Europe, the concept first emerged as part of the region's pursuit of knowledge, both scientific and philosophical. In this region, development emerged as "part of the philosophical assumptions of the European Enlightenment" (Prah, 2006:175). This was the age of reason in which researchers and philosophers pursued knowledge in an attempt "to build a new scientifically ordered discourse of nature, authority, social existence and of virtually everything in the universe" (Lushaba, 2006:6). In the context of the United States of America (USA), the most popular definition of the concept is one first introduced by W.W. Rostov who was an adviser in both the John F Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson eras. He posited that development was a transformational practice through which the USA and other western societies advanced whilst third world countries were still in the course of evolving (Ndhlovu, 2020). This was premised on the understanding that countries' development at the periphery of the world economy could be engendered if such countries could only embrace or replicate Western technologies, social organisation, and their values. This ideology is associated with the notion of modernity.

Modernity is a procedure branded by revolution from a supposed ancient, rural agrarian society to a materialistic, industrialised, and urban culture. It is a Western hypothesis in which non-Euro-Western societies are viewed as undeveloped and custom-bound, and as a result, they are encouraged to embrace the western ways of life. This modernity is a social revolution that focuses on science and technology.

Modernity has received intense criticism from several scholars, as highlighted below. Lushaba (2006: 3), posits that third world countries, Africa in particular, "…cannot possibly develop by modernizing or becoming like the modern west." He argues that development cannot be compared to modernity or that modernity is not a suitable form of development that could bring significant results for third-world nations. Gumede (2019:51) rejects the notion of 'modernity', arguing that it "is not an appropriate form of development that Africa needs." Ziai (2013) dismisses the entire notion of modernity, citing western societies as constituting a legitimization of western-based oppressive traditions. In this view, both academics and policy-makers agreed that the type of development promoted by Western countries is not transferable to Africa, considering the continent's historical socio-economic and social realities. Therefore, there are still, ongoing debates on how best development can be reconceptualised.

Tandon (2015:145) posits that the "major challenge for the theoreticians of not only the global south but also of the marginalised peoples and sub-nationalists of the north is to provide a…. definition of development" outside the cages of the Euro-West. As it stands today, development "has been and still is the Westernisation of the world" (Latouche 1993:460) or simply "…an empty signifier [emerging from the West] that can be filled with almost any content" (Ziai 2009:198). Gumede (2019:51) defines development as "…improvements in well-being, involving socio-economic progress." Brobbey (2010:1) defines development as "the capacity of a state to achieve a higher outcome of production for the satisfaction of citizens and empowering them to issue their demands." Ndlovu-Gatheni (2012:2) considers development a "liberatory human aspiration to attain freedom from political, economic, ideological, epistemological, and social domination" There are also ongoing debates on how development should be achieved in Africa – a continent that has become an epitome of underdevelopment.

What is essential, however, to note is that development is "both a physical reality and a state of mind in which society has secured the means for obtaining a better life" (Todaro and Smith 2006:22). Development is believed to be part of the practice of ensuring people's growth in material possession and mental satisfaction. It also engenders the realisation of better living conditions by all the people (Pham, 2018). Societies use a blend of social, economic, and institutional practices as a means to generate better living conditions (Steel and van Lindert 2017). This understanding of development produces the following development objectives:

- To promote the accessibility and distribution of essential goods required for the sustenance of human life. The essential goods include food, shelter, health, and security.
- To increase living standards in terms of social aspects such as household income, education, and human values, for the improvement of individual and national well-being and self-esteem.
- To increase the range of people's economic and social choices by liberating them from subjection due to lack of knowledge and human misery whilst also reducing their reliance on other people and national states.

In this view, development is thus, less focused on human wealth than it is on well-being. Its target is to ensure sustainable human livelihoods and security (Asuru, 2017). This form of development also relies on what people are capable of doing for themselves. The principal

argument is that wealth is not necessarily the same as well-being. Dinko (2017) posits that poverty is a result of ill-being; that development is a form of wellbeing that incorporates material, physical, social welfare, safety, and liberty of choice and action.

This discussion, therefore, illustrates that development is a broader concept that includes individual, communal, administrative and financial development. The first three aspects are founded on human development since development in its conception begins within the individual (Gupta, Pouw, and Ros-Tonen, 2017). Nonetheless, this study focuses on the personal and social aspects of development.

2.3. Summary of the Definitions of Development

The definitions presented below provide an in-depth understanding of development in the context developing countries, including Ghana. The definitions assist to put into contextualise development in relation participation as a strategy to empowerment. Hagenaars (2017) and Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng (2016) suggest that human development is fundamentally about extending power to the people to enable them to have control over their future. They also suggest that participation entails the foundation of the whole phenomenon. Hagenaars (2017) defines development as a social and real-world procedure which seeks to free human potential to maximise their abilities. In this view, the poor in particular, need to effectively take part in the social, political, and economic interactions to enhance their economic progress and empowerment. Development, therefore, involves the release of human potential to facilitate control over their resources to attain basic needs (Cooke, Hague, and McKay, 2016). Development is therefore a process that can be achieved by involving the locals whom are supposed to benefit from the development initiatives.

From a people-centred development viewpoint, development is defined as:

> *…a process by which the members of a society increase their personal and institutional capacities to mobilise and manage resources to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life consistent with their own aspirations* (Korten, 1990:57).

Based on previous definition, development is therefore, a process by which people actively engage to improve their quality of life in line with their ambitions through support, mobilisation and control of existing resources to ensure equal distribution.

Burkey (1993:35) also defines development as:

> *…a process by which an individual develops self-respect, and becomes more self-confident, self-reliant, cooperative and tolerant to others through becoming aware of his/her shortcomings as well as his/her potential for positive change. This takes place through working with others, acquiring new knowledge, and active participation in the economic, social and political development of their communities.*

The definitions highlight describe development as a procedure which makes people conscious about their competences, attain knowledge and utilise this labour and knowledge collectively to meet their needs. It is also a socio-economic and political collaboration process which facilitates positive change in a society.

Development is not just about achieving human potential. It is about growing that potential and reinforcing an organisation's ability to control its resources. The main argument is that the development choice of a society should be governed by the locals without any external commands. This practice may take a while to enable the affected communities to develop such aptitude to control and mobilise the resources for their development (Diao, Kweka, and McMillan 2016). As an empowering practice, development is not only concerned with empowerment. It is about constructing institutional capacity towards sustainably improving the standard of living.

Potgieter, Van der Walt, and Wolhuter (2016) prefer that development be understood ss a process meant to achieve equitable social and economic change in the society. It should be achieved through institutionalised social arrangements, and the beneficiaries' positive attitudes. This definition concurs with Todaro and Smith (2006) and Korten (1990), who posit that development is a process of creating an impartial societal transformation through improving organisational capacities. Rippin (2016) suggests that for development to take effect, there is a strong need for prospective beneficiaries to have positive attitudes towards collective teamwork and forbearance.

According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (1990:10), development is "a process of enlarging people's choice." This process includes, among others, prospects for creativity and productivity. It also enhances the local peoples' chances to attain self-actualisation and self-respect. The concept of "enlarging the people's choice" (UNDP1990:10) informs the argument by Todaro and Smith (2006:18) that "human beings are born with certain potential capabilities and functioning". These scholars explain these 'functionings' as consisting of what one can do, such as membership, freedom of choice, and control of one's life. It also consists of the aptitudes such as freedom of choice relative to an individual's characteristics. In this view, development is about stimulating people's internal capabilities into action to benefit their lives.

All the literature reviewed for this study illustrates that the purpose of development is to generate an atmosphere in which all people can develop these capabilities. Human development focuses on expanding the same human functionings and capabilities (Díez, Etxano, and Garmendia, 2015). Human development thus reproduces human outcomes in these functionings and capabilities. It signifies a process from the beginning until the end. The other aspects of 'enlarged people's choice' that are viewed as significant include involvement, empowerment, and members. The UNDP (2000:17) espouses that "development is of the people, for the people and by the people." This implies that, a conducive environment is a crucial first step for people to realise their capabilities. The setting in which people find themselves can play a crucial role in their development.

McKay, Pirttilä and Tarp (2015) argue that people do not always need material wealth to achieve welfare, but they also need mental and emotional fulfilment. This includes respect and affection in society; a sense of purpose for existence, and a sense of communal membership for the realisation of shared objectives. This view is shared by Guijt (2014) who refers to these psychological characteristics of human development as abstract needs. Guijt (2014) identifies happiness, self-worth, and self-reliance as the abstract needs. This view is supported by Dinko (2017) who posits that development should also be about augmenting people's power to secure the tripartite fundamental values of human development, namely, life-sustenance, self-worth, and autonomy from servitude. Another ideology emerging from this discussion is that development needs to consider the capacity and empowerment of communities (Asuru, 2017). This is

important in assisting people to be self-reliant, attain the aptitude to express their needs, control resources required to improve their living conditions.

The literature review highlights that sustenance of life refers to people's ability to provide basic needs such as food, health, housing, and security for themselves. This form of development is achieved through people's realisation of self-esteem, self-respect and a feeling a sense of self-worth (Gupta et al., 2017). Gupta et al (2017) argue that development should also be based on people's well-being in addition to their self-esteem. When this is achieved, a quality of life that covers the realisation of basic human needs is also realisation. They also argue that for this to be attained, human liberty is imperative in that it creates opportunities for people to realise their potential. This is only conceivable when development can guarantee that people are free from subjection and social inequity and that their rights are respected accordingly (Hagenaars, 2017). Pham (2018) argues from the humanistic economics perspective and states that people do not live on material needs only, they need protection, love, and self-worth. They also need self-confidence, justice, purpose, and empowerment. This implies that development is not one dimensional as it focuses on humans' social and mental fulfilment and not just material growth.

Some of the definitions of 'development' as a concept discussed above focused on people's ability to make and execute decisions effectively. The development initiatives should therefore focus on capacity building and empowerment to achieve people's self-reliance. When the prospective beneficiaries of development gain self-reliance, they may mobilise their resources including those external objectively, but internalised subjectively (McKay et al., 2015). This means that even the external support given to people and communities needs to be managed, directed, and controlled by the intended beneficiaries themselves. The notion of self-reliance implies that "the expression of the individual's faith in his or her own abilities and the foundation in which genuine development can proceed" (Burkey, 1993:205). When defining self-reliance, Rahman (1993) emphasises one's self-dependence in terms of intellectual and material resources for the attainment of inner personal as:

> *...a state of mind that regards one's own mental and material resources as the primary stock to draw on in the pursuit of one's objectives, and finds emotional fulfilment not only in achieving the objectives as such but also in the very fact of having achieved them primarily by using one's resources* (Rahman 1993:154).

The definition above can be posited that development is a mental and emotional achievement that involves using human and material abilities to accomplish needs. It is all about the realisation of human emotional needs and their material growth (Dinko, 2017). It is the attainment of more self-esteem and self-reliance. People need to be enabled to have authority to control and determine their future. In this view, development does not only mean capacity building to achieve socio-economic needs, but it is political empowerment that enables people to determine their future. (Baah-Kumi & Yu-Feng, 2016). People should, therefore, be at the forefront of their societies. In this view, Gupta et al. (2017) and Pham (2018) posit that as the basic units of development, prospective project beneficiaries should not be overlooked in development programmes that are meant to address their needs. Furthermore, prospective beneficiaries should not be pressured into decisions that can potentially damage their dignity (Rippin, 2016).

In deploying development initiatives, Dinko (2017) suggests that it is always crucial first to ask the question, of whether the intended development is relevant. If it is relevant, then such development may be pursued. The next question should focus on the significance of the initiative, to whom it is directed and the aim for which the initiative is intended. It is imperative to understand that development cannot be accomplished without involving the people for which development is intended.

2.4. The Participatory Development Concept

The participation of people entails a structured procedure whereby certain groups of people or communities meant to benefit from certain development initiatives are mobilised to take the initiative and contribute towards the planning and execution process. Most people's participation occurs in groups where participants are encouraged to share their ideas, initiate and control the execution of their initiatives. The aim is to empower people.

Participation is meant to ensure that participants develop self-confidence, pride, initiative, creativity, responsibility, and cooperation. Participation is empowering when the prospective beneficiaries "learn to take charge of their own lives and solve their problems" (Burkey 1993:56). Nevertheless, this is only successful if participants are supported and participate in development projects. People need to be actively involved in all stages of the projects. They also

need to be involved in the decision-making process without restrictions. This means that participatory development involves giving the intended beneficiaries some responsibility.

The participation of people involves a willingness to contribute to the development process as this ultimately transforms their respective societies (Breuer and Groshek, 2017). The participatory concept is also about mobilising people in development initiatives with the aim of giving them power and the authority to participate in the decision-making process, the design, execution, monitoring and evaluation of development initiatives which are aimed at improving their living conditions (Cooke et al., 2016). This means that the targeted recipients of the development initiatives should be at the forefront and demand transparency at every step of the process. For beneficiaries to relate amongst themselves and take control of the development processes, formulating groups encourages joint decision-making (Dinko, 2017). In the above view, the value of the people's participation in development projects is that they enable that the projects succeed.

From the social and economic viewpoint, people need to be free to engage in any social and economic activities and this is achieved by actively participating in civil society and economic events within their communities (UNDP 2000). In political terms, people ought to participate in determining leadership structures at all levels, from the president of the country to the village head, not by simply by placing a vote in a ballot, but through active involvement in judgements that may impact their lives (Diao et al., 2016). The recurring theme in the reviewed literature is that these three dimensions of development are interrelated and ultimately need to function simultaneously to empower the community (Gupta et al., 2017). People need to participate in all forms of community life without any impediment. The emphasis in the reviewed literature revealed that people participate in development initiatives after determining whether they will "…increase or decrease people's power to control their lives?" (Potgieter et al., 2016:24). If participation increases people's power to influence their future, the resulting effect is empowering.

Participatory development, as a people-oriented approach enables prospective beneficiaries, especially those located at the grassroots level to play a leading role in projects which inherently impacts their development (Gupta et al., 2017). The Manila Declaration on People Participation and Sustainable Development posits that a people-oriented approach focuses on broadening the

political engagement, mostly at local government level (cited in Díez et al., 2015). This implies that state authorities need to strive to create a conducive environment for the participation of the locals to promote people's participation in these development programmes. The United States of America, for example, adopted the US Foreign Assistance Act in 1966 as part of its efforts to encourage optimal participation in programmes by the ordinary people of developing countries who are supposed to gain from such programmes.

People-centred development also received increased academic attention between the 1970s and the 1980s, particularly with the need to have grassroots participation in development projects to reduce poverty (Dinko, 2017). The central objective of this development approach is to generate a more socially responsible humanity free from hunger and deprivation (Bonye, Arkum, and Owusu-Sekyere, 2013). As the central component of community development, participation ought to fairly involve the people from the very first stage of a particular development programme (Abiona and Bello, 2013). The prospective beneficiaries should not just be involved in the programme simply as labourers, but rather in all stages from designing, planning, implementation, and decision-making. Where ordinary people are involved, they can learn and obtain independence and self-reliance. Prior to this period, the rural development focus was a top-down process in which the Nkrumah government conceptualised projects, designed them, chose locations of the projects, and then only invited targeted beneficiaries to support these projects (Agyekum, 2013; Asuru, 2017; Ayee, 2000).

According to Dengerink (2013), participation can be 'pseudo', manipulative or authentic. The "pseudo" type involves consultation or participation without the participant being controlled. Manipulative participation is the opposite of 'pseudo' participation. This type usually benefits those implementing the programme rather than the intended beneficiaries. Asuru (2017), protested this type of participation and defined it as the participation of local people to enhance top-down development decisions. In what they refer to as 'participation by consultation', Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng (2016), argue that sometimes people are forced to participate in projects for consultation by authorities whereby they listen to the people and ultimately describe problems and answers for them. This participation does not empower the people, but rather, it meets the goals of institutions. State institutions usually use this form of participation to legitimise the execution of their top-down development policies (Easterly, 2013). When such participation

occurs the 'targeted' beneficiaries often lack control and power to decide how development projects should be implemented.

'Authentic participation', on the other hand, is a form of involvement that is objective. It is recommended by rural development experts as ideal for the empowerment of people (Jacobson, Azeam, and Baez (2013). This type of participation is regarded as sound as it stimulates interface and collaboration between development agents and the targeted beneficiaries of the envisioned development programme. Asuru (2017), approves this form of participation, arguing that prospective beneficiaries can contribute to the decisions and implementation of development programmes through authentic involvement. This increases their confidence and ensures personal growth, and subsequently, self-reliance. In other words, when beneficiaries are enabled to openly and decisively take part in the development initiatives targeted for their welfare, they become independent and empowered.

Participatory development involves enhancing the living standards of targeted groups in society by enabling the active participation of such groups in an envisaged development programme where decisive control is shifted to the people (Diao, 2016). The meaningful involvement of the targeted recipients in development projects ensures the success of such projects. Such participation equips people with all the power they need to determine their future. For this reason, the AU Agenda 2063 leaves it in the hands of Africans to ensure that in the future development can be achieved (African Union 2013).

Participation cannot be disconnected from empowerment. Dengerink (2013), opines that the development planning practice incorporates involvement, social learning, independence, and empowerment. In other words, the first step towards empowerment is participation. Participation occurs when beneficiaries of development processes are intentionally involved in development programmes to help them attain independence (Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng, 2016). The main goal of people interested in development projects is to be empowered and self-reliant (Abiona and Bello, 2013). Effective participation of people in development decision-making processes is essential to their empowerment in that they are incorporated into the system and are part of the entire development process. This type of integration empowers people and also legitimises the development projects (Hagenaars, 2017). This ensures that the targeted beneficiaries receive the development programmes as their own and thus, take ownership of the entire development

process. Pham (2018), confirms that the participation of the people and empowerment are the crucial elements of sustainable development in that recipients achieve the power to access and mobilise resources needed to fulfil their own basic needs.

2.4.1. Typologies of Participation

The following are some of the typologies of community participation in development projects:

- Co-option: Community participation is simply a pretence, with people's representatives on official boards who are unelected and have no power.
- Passive participation (Compliance): Communities participate by being told what has been decided or already happened. Involves unilateral announcements by an administration or project management without listening to people's responses. The information belongs only to external professionals.
- Participation by consultation: Communities participate by being consulted or by answering questions. External agents define problems and information gathering processes, and so control analysis. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.
- Participation for material incentives: Communities participate by contributing resources such as labour, in return for material incentives (e.g. food, cash). It is very common to see this called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging practices when the incentives end.
- Functional participation (Cooperation): Community participation is seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals. People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined project objectives; they may be involved in decision making, but only after major decisions have already been made by external agents.
- Interactive participation (Co-learning): People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local institutions. Participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals. The process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systemic and structured learning processes. As groups take control over local decisions and

determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.

- Self-mobilisation (Collective action): People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Self-mobilisation can spread if governments and NGOs provide an enabling framework of support. Such self-initiated mobilisation may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power.

Given the discussion in this section, one may conclude that development is all about acquiring fundamental needs for existence. One also concludes that building people's capacity is extremely important in ensuring the realisation of the development. It is also important to differentiate between involvement and manipulative participation as well as genuine and authentic participation. Participation seems to be the basis for the empowerment of people and societal change. Thus, participation should be genuine and objective with transference of control to targeted participants.

2.4.2. Philosophical basis of traditional development theories

Different schools of traditional development theories have emerged in the past few decades and a range of views are reflected by different theorists. Some of the basic argument of traditional development theories including: Modernization, Marxist and dependency theories that will briefly elaborated on. First let us review the basic argument of modernization theory.

Modernization theory emerged in the late fifties and early sixties (Evans & Stephens, 1988). The theory stem from the ideas from Durkheim, Weber and Parsons who explained the transformation from traditional to modern societies in terms of population growth with its divisions of labour; personal motivation and the change of moral values and norms. According to modernization theorists, the first world industrial countries are modern and the third world countries are traditional. Development is only possible when “primitive” values and norms are replaced with modern ones (Evans & Stephes, 1988; Simpson, 1987). Contact with the modern world, whether by trade or language, will therefore incorporate and transform the primitive culture, leading the way to development (Webster, 1984: 44-51).

The basic premise of modernization theory is that development is possible, and that in order to achieve it, developing nations should copy the Western European experience, which was characterized by a set of stages in which development took place (Coetzee, 2001; Evans & Stephens, 1988:742; Alvin, 1953). There is also another theory of development viewed by Karl Marx, the well-known Marxist theorist.

Marx claims that "the country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future" (Marx, 1867: 8-9 in Evens & Stephens, 1988:743). Marxist theory, like modernization theory, sees the role of the market as the solvent that would break down traditional cultures and would allow for development to take place (Evans & Stephens, 1988: 749). As the shortcomings of both modernization and Marxist theory became more apparent, another school of thought known as dependency theory emerged to explain the weaknesses of the above theories.

The basic argument of dependency theory is that the reliance on the international market that led to the domination of transitional capital because of the unequal exchange between core and periphery, benefiting only the core (Evans & Stephens, 1988:749). Frank (1969) argued that the major causes for inequality are historical colonialism and western capitalism. Evans & Stephens (1988) noted that, in contrast with modernization theory, dependency theorists regard the state and its agents as active actors in the process of underdevelopment.

In this thesis, it is argued that even though all of the above traditional development theories give us insight in to the notion of development; all of them fail to provide an all-encompassing explanation of the concept of development especially for developing countries. Having the above traditional development theories as a background, let us explore the fundamental theory of participatory development.

2.4.3. Theories of participatory approach/humanistic approach

According to Waishbord (2001) participatory theories criticized the modernization paradigm on the ground that it promoted a top-down ethnocentric and paternalistic view of development. They argued that the strategic model proposed a conception of development associated with a western vision of progress. The top-down approach of persuasion models implicitly assumed that the

knowledge of governments and agencies was correct, and that indigenous populations went either ignorant or had incorrect beliefs (Cypher & Diethz, 1997; Weyman & Fussell, 1996).

Dissatisfaction with the above traditional development theories lead to a reexamination of the purpose of development towards a search for alternative conceptual explanations. A host of development scholars (Roodt, 2001; Pendirs, 1996; Rahman, 1993; Chambers, 1992; Conyers & Hills, 1990; Dodds, 1986) have began to answer this challenge, articulating a concept known as Participatory, or "People Centered Development". Current debates and development efforts focus on 'bottom up' planning, 'People-Centered Development' and the view that ordinary people have the capacity to manage their own development. This theory encourages the involvement of all stakeholders in the process of development (Burkey, 1993; Rahman, 1993; Oakley, 1991; Bryant & White, 1982) and will be used to the development initiatives that exist in the third world countries.

One of the most influential thinkers in recent years in the area of social and educational thought has been Paulo Freire, Freire's model proposes a change of strategy where students are on equal terms with their teachers and that is possible only in a transformational mode (Gadotti, 1994). The impact of his ideas has been felt far beyond the area of educational thought. Freire's model and participatory models in general proposed a human-centered approach that valued the importance of interpersonal channels of communication in decision-making processes at the community level (Siddiqui, 2003).

For participatory theorists and practitioners, development required sensitivity to cultural diversity as well as other specific points that were ignored by modernization theorists. The lack of such sensitivity accounted for the problems and failures of many projects (Coetzee, 2001). The main essence of participatory development theory is an active involvement of people in making decisions about implementation of processes, programs and projects, which affect them (Slocum et al. 1995). Participatory development approaches view the term "participation" as the exercise of people's power in thinking, acting, and controlling their action in a collaborative framework.

Roodt (2001) and Dodds (1986) have noted that the participatory development approach stresses the participation of the majority of the population (especially the previously excluded components such as CBOs, Women, Youth and the illiterate) in the process of development

program. This approach views development as a process which focuses on community's involvement in their own development using available resources and guiding the future development of their own community. The wishes of an individual never superimposes on those of a group. This approach emphasis concept such as: capacity building, empowerment, sustainability and self-reliance.

According to the belief of participatory development theory, the answer to the problem of successful third world development is not found in the bureaucracy and its centrally mandated development projects and programs, but rather in the community itself. This needs its capacities and ultimately its own control over both its resources and its destiny (Korten, 1986).

2.4.4. Rationale and principles of participatory approach

The rationale behind the emergence of the participatory development approach is that the participation and involvement of beneficiary groups develop and strengthen the capabilities of beneficiary groups in development initiatives. This is empowering, and leads to self-transformation and self-reliance thereby ensuring sustainability (Pendirs, 1996; Rahman, 1993; Conyers & Hills, 1990).

In this context the Chinese philosopher, Lau Tse, argues that the principles of the participatory approach includes (Dennis, 1997):

- Inclusion - of all people, or representatives of all groups who will be affected by the results of a decision or a process - for example a development project.
- Equal partnership - recognizing that every person has skill, ability and initiative and has an equal right to participate in the process, regardless of their status.
- Transparency - all participants must help to create a climate conducive to open communication and building dialogue.
- Sharing power - authority and power must be balanced evenly between all stakeholders to avoid the domination of one party.
- Sharing responsibility - similarly, all stakeholders have equal responsibility for decisions that are made, and each should have clear responsibilities within each process.

- Empowerment - participants with special skills should be encouraged to take responsibility for tasks within their specialty, but should also encourage others to also be involved to promote mutual learning and empowerment.
- Cooperation - is very important; sharing everybody's strength reduces everybody's weaknesses.

2.5. Examination of Participatory Development Theories

Reviewed literature shows that the conception and focus of development needs to shift from a narrow growth approach based on material and structural matters to one which is more people-orientated (Ndhlovu, 2020; Pham, 2018; Steel and van Lindert, 2017). This form of development aims to empower people. The change of conception from state-initiated development approaches to the involvement of people in community development was first brought to the development discourse in the 1960s and 1970s when communities were encouraged to help themselves. The emergence of a 'people-centred' development discourse was to mobilise public and private institutions to empower communities in order to assist them to be able to help themselves. The development focus changed from mere structural progression to people involvement, empowerment, and self-sufficiency during this period. This view is further emphasized by Dinko (2017), who posits that understanding the quality of life of people should involve understanding their social, spiritual, and mental development rather than mere material accumulation. Scholars such as Dengerink (2013) and Díez et al. (2015) concur that the inclusion of people in decision-making processes of matters related to their lives is currently one of the most dominant commitments by both local and international development institutions.

However, the involvement of people in development programmes as the most dominant requirement is contested by Oteng-Ababio et al. (2017). They argue that there are many countries outside the African continent where communal development was achieved without the popular participation of the communities themselves. These scholars, however, do not dismiss the central role played by non-governmental organizations and other participatory development representatives in the realisation of popular development. Therefore, this indicates that scholars who support both the participation of beneficiaries in development projects and those who oppose it agree that participation, in general, is crucial to achieving development. Diao et al.

(2016), posit that non-governmental institutions ensure that participatory development is achieved. By being closer to the people, non-governmental institutions are better placed to aid communities to detect their needs than state development workers. Diao et al. (2016), also argue that non-governmental institutions have a better understanding of the communities. As a result, their development plans tend to be accepted and supported in the communities they serve. In this view, non-governmental institutions may have a significant impact on participatory development.

Thondhlana and Cundill (2017), note that although non-governmental institutions may be dedicated to open participation, their efforts may be frustrated by some of their staff members, undermining the abilities of the targeted beneficiaries. These staff members are opposed to transferring control to the communities as they believe that the beneficiaries lack the basic skills and knowledge required to execute the project (Mubita, Libati, and Mulonda, 2017). These institutions are unable to fully support widespread participation. Thus, they deny the recipients of the projects a chance to participate in the assessment processes of their policies and practices (Mulu and Pineteh, 2016). In this view, non-governmental institutions hinder the participation of the beneficiaries which is needed for the realisation of people's empowerment.

From the discussion above, it is evident that non-governmental organisations may positively or negatively impact the participation of communities in development projects at the local level. This indicates that development agencies in communities can serve as a limiting factor in creating environmental conditions needed for people's willing participation in development projects. On the other hand, non-governmental organisations can enhance development at the community level.

The next sub-sections examine various theories on the participation of people in community development projects. The aim is to examine the relevance of the involvement of people in the realisation of people-centred development.

2.5.1. Empowerment through Participation

The concept of community development is understood by the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs as an empowering practice that emerges from a blend of the resources people have at their various levels and the government's efforts to ensure that people are aided in achieving a

better socio-economic and cultural existence. The intention is to ensure that the beneficiaries of development projects also make a meaningful contribution to their economies. This definition shows that community development is only achieved when the state and the targeted communities combine their efforts and resources to achieve a single goal. It is, therefore, the duty of the state to generate an environment that is favourable for development to be achieved.

The above definition suggests that community development involves assisting people or communities to assist themselves (Oteng-Ababio et al., 2017). This view speaks to Hagenaars's (2017) argument that community development entails aiding targeted communities to achieve self-reliance through working together and through the mobilisation of the resources readily available to the community. This view is supported by Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng (2016) as well as Guijt (2014), who posit that through community development, targeted communities aim to attain their physical goals whilst they also realise abstract achievements such as self-sufficiency, human dignity, and self-reliance. Therefore, community development is linked with human development because it eventually results in the improvements in the lives of the people (Bagson and Owusu, 2016). Firstly, it caters for the physical needs of people. Secondly, it addresses the intangible psychological characteristics of human growth. As a process of facilitating communities to take part in the expansion of their living standards by using their resources, community development is also:

> *…a conscious process where the more developed community assists small geographically contiguous communities to achieve improved social and economic living standards. This is done primarily through local efforts and community participation at all stages of goal selection, mobilisation of resources and execution of projects, thus enabling these communities to become increasingly self-reliant* (Roodt, 2001:470).

The definition of community development above shows that communities need assistance in order to achieve their goal of development and empowerment. Therefore, community development is based on helping communities identify their capabilities. It is also about mobilising communities to realise their development potential (Rippin, 2016). This is viewed reinforced by McKay et al. (2015), who notes that as a method of learning, community development could monitor and help people to take part and learn to achieve the quality of life

which they need. This shows that community development allows people to participate in problem solving activities with the aim of finding solutions to their developmental challenges. This view is supported by Asuru (2017), who posits that the learning process by community members needs to result in a change of behaviour of the community. This form of learning should be designed to change the individuals' behaviour and attitudes towards bringing change in their life.

It is the responsibility of state institutions to support communities in many ways to enable them to be self-reliant. The government, for instance, needs to create an environment that motivates communities to participate (Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng, 2016). State support, aided by local institutional capacity building, enables the launch of new organisations, builds and nurtures new organisations, and gives them participatory organisational credit. Abiona and Bello (2013), posit that for development to be sustainable, it should be rational and integrated into national, provincial and local government policies and people's aspirations. Beneficiary communities should always be the key stakeholders in community development initiatives. On the other hand, non-governmental organisations should also play a key role in ensuring that communities are provided with support and material assistance. In other words, both the state and civil society organisations are duty-bound to generate an environment conducive to community development initiatives.

The duty of the state as a useful entity in community development for empowerment is, however, disputed by Easterly (2013), who states that most community organisations either fragment or become very dependent on external assistance. This is due to the ignorance of the principle that communal projects have the potential to succeed when they do not have undue influence from outside. This suggests that the officials who run community development programmes should not command the people; instead, they should advise them on achieving their development needs. This view is also supported by Dengerink (2013), who argues that in community development, the beneficiary communities themselves need to be given considerable space to identify problems, gather the required data, analyse, and use the data to solve problems. This will enable the community to take charge of the development processes, thus getting empowered.

Community development is not an individual's activity. Rather, it is a collective activity that involves people who share challenges and development needs (Snyman, 2016). The group also

collectively participates in the activities and plans towards resolving its development challenges. As a collective occurrence, community development "… an attempt by a community collectively and on its initiative to reach certain self-set goals according to pre-established procedures in order to realise self-identified needs" (Thondhlana and Cundill, 2017:206). Community development is, thus, cooperative efforts by organised community participants seeking to achieve common objectives. In community development, members approach their tasks and challenges as a group.

Todaro and Smith (2006), opine that the development process is considered empowering when people fully participate. Community participation aims to ensure capacity building through involvement (Rippin, 2016). There should be no external forces that impose requirements on the local conditions. The local people should be allowed and assisted to learn and then make decisions on issues relating to their development. Potgieter et al. (2016), agree that the mobilisation of people to engage in development projects through social interactions instead of outside imposition can result in participants gaining self-confidence and a sense of ownership. Thus, when people realise that their participation in projects translates into some change in their lives, they gain confidence and start working towards more change. They eventually relate to the development initiative and own the outcomes.

Treurnicht (2000:67), noted that "local people are experts in their particular area, and their participation holds the key to unlock the treasure chest of indigenous knowledge." For this reason, Thondhlana and Cundill (2017:211) advise that community development workers should "not do things for people that they can do for themselves," but should rather serve as a resource at the disposal of the targeted community so that it can reach its development goal. Therefore, a community development worker must not only be a researcher and a planner for communities but also a source of knowledge and allow members to participate. In this way, members will become empowered and self-reliant.

Bonye et al. (2013) as well as Breuer and Groshek (2017) agree that developers should not approach communities with predetermined agendas but rather create learning opportunities for people to decide the tasks themselves. Therefore, developers should only offer minimal assistance when it comes to community empowerment. They should allow the people to

contribute to projects in order to be empowered. This argument suggests that community workers need to create an atmosphere favourable for knowledge acquisition and willing participation.

Dengerink (2013), agrees that targeted beneficiaries of development projects should be the key role players since they are directly affected by local situations. In this view, they should be allowed to take the initiative and to lead their development programmes. During development processes community workers need to assist the community to make rational decisions (Hagenaars, 2017). Through assistance, the communities may become inventive, discover their abilities, and learn how to be productive using the resources available.

The cultural environment is one of the key factors that can fast-track or impede community development (Mubita, Libati, and Mulonda, 2017). This occurs mostly in the countryside, where traditional leadership structures are the key entrance points into the communities (Thondhlana and Cundill, 2017). Traditional leadership may enhance or challenge community development. In patriarchal communities, community development may further be undermined by the exclusion of women thus preventing them from contributing during the decision-making process. Excluding women hinders them from taking part in opportunities that can result in empowerment through participation in community development processes. Therefore, traditional leadership and culture may undermine the impact of community development projects and women's effective participation.

2.5.2. Conscientisation People for Empowerment

Conscientisation is creating an awareness in which people become conscious of who they are and their contribution to changing the circumstances within which they live. Abiona and Bello (2013), posit that community development processes aid to generate self-awareness which could lead to the fulfilment of abstract human needs such as self-reliance. In this view, conscientisation enables people to be conscious of whom they are and what they can accomplish for themselves.

From a development angle, the creation of awareness in people is viewed as relative to their needs, the resources available to them, and opportunities available to them to enable them to improve their condition (Asuru, 2017; Berdegué, 2014). Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng (2016), posit that communities are usually cognizant of their conditions, but they require awareness creation to enable them to begin the process of regarding themselves as the most crucial force needed to

change their conditions. Thus, although communities may be aware of their conditions, they need to be aware that they are the only important agent capable of changing their conditions. In this view, Gran, (1983:157) opines that conscientisation is:

> *…the process in which men, not as recipients but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness of the sociological reality that shapes their lives and their capacity to transform that reality* (Gran, 1983:157).

Conscientisation makes people aware of their competencies and capacity to change their socio-economic circumstances. This component of self-realisation may inspire or stimulate people to shape their survival conditions. As people transform their future, they become self-actualised and empowered (Oteng-Ababio et al., 2017).

Conscientisation, therefore, may be a method that allows people to learn of the prevalent circumstances within which they find themselves (Guijt, 2014). The process of learning through analysing their conditions must be the task of the people themselves and not by outside experts. Hagenaars (2017), opines that the people may also be mobilised to radically change their living conditions through consciousness-raising. This suggests that people are not unable, but they need to be mobilised and motivated through consciousness-raising to transform their conditions. Reviewed literature, therefore, indicates that people are not ignorant. People are aware of their situation and environment. Consciousness-raising thus, assists community members to discover what they can do to take control of their future (Mulu and Pineteh, 2016). The consciousness-raising process assists people to be conscious of their ability to take part in the transformation of their conditions. The aim is to empower communities to make informed decisions on what they need to do to generate community transformation (Pham, 2018). To make informed decisions, people need guidance in gathering the information needed in implementing their development programmes. The conscientisation process is not only a practice of raising consciousness, but it is also a basic human need since it constitutes self-transformation which boosts human growth (Rippin, 2016). Conscientisation thus, concurrently addresses the emotional and social growth of human development.

Conscientisation enables people to acquire self-confidence, which may be used in managing the resources needed to change their living conditions. There is a crucial need to show them respect, value for their knowledge and judgment, appreciate participants, and encourage them to

contribute in all stages of development programmes (Snyman, 2016). Conscientisation also promotes self-actualisation (Rippin, 2016). Todaro and Smith (2006), opine that conscientisation allows the people involved in projects to be aware of who they are. Thondhlana and Cundill (2017), posit that when people are conscious, they can be both targets and tools of development to become the beneficiaries of their efforts. Therefore, people need to initiate development efforts rather than rely on external support. In a case study of the Mapayeni project, Todaro and Smith (2006) detail how a community worker assisted rural women to understand their situation and be mobilised to change it. With the help of the community worker, the women were able to identify their needs. This led to the development of a food garden by the women themselves. This shows that participants may be mobilised to become self-aware and self-actualise thus, enabling them to change their social structure. Conscientisation also enables people to choose or reject what they view as important for their life thus, resulting in their empowerment.

Reviewed literature shows that for a community to attain self-actualisation and develop a capability to choose its development strategy, first, it has to be conscious of its social limitations that impede its development. The community also has to be aware of opportunities to improve its living conditions. Ziai (2009) reports that the rural communities of the Rangpur District in Bangladesh, for instance, attained a strong sense of self-reliance after they were conscientious of their living conditions in the 1960s. This resulted in the rural community agreeing that they would not accept any grants from external sources. In India, Snyman (2016) reports that through conscientisation, the people of the Bhoomi Sena movement managed to become self-reliant to an extent that the movement's leadership could declare: "no outsider will tell us what to do" (Snyman, 2016:9). The people thus became aware and self-reliant that they improve their living conditions without any state influences.

However, participation and empowerment are compromised when awareness-raising is not linked to socio-economic benefit (Rippin, 2016). For instance, a study replicated in Kenya, South Africa and Zimbabwe by the UNDP (2000) revealed that when efforts do not meet the immediate tangible needs of the locals, the people become discouraged and disintegrated. To prevent such negative results, the UNDP recommended that when working on empowerment goals, the process needs to be combined with efforts to address the local’s immediate socio-economic needs. Conscientisation is also criticised as reputable external stakeholders may impose specific

values on the people practising conscientisation (Steel and van Lindert, 2017). Thus, conscientisation may be manipulated to force people to accept certain practices that are different from their beliefs.

The discussion in this section illustrates that conscience-raising can assist communities in being conscious of their conditions and abilities. However, the process is criticised for assuming that communities are not conscious of their conditions and, thus, need to be conscious of their conditions to change them. The other view is founded on the notion that these communities are conscious of their conditions but need to be aware that they are the most vital force needed to influence change.

2.5.3. Humanistic Approach to Empowerment

The deployment of the humanistic approach may result in the empowerment of local communities by promoting their involvement in social development activities. It can result in self-actualisation since they get the opportunity to experience a meaningful encounter with their physical, social and spiritual environment (Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng, 2016). The humanist approach requires that steps taken to ensure the realisation of development need to be conscious of the perceptions of the intended beneficiaries of these development efforts (Breuer and Groshek, 2017). Breuer and Groshek (2017) argue that since development is based on the meanings the targeted beneficiaries attach to their social connections, therefore, the locals need to construct a meaningful world. If the beneficiaries do not shape their social construct, they may feel alienated and as a result distance themselves from the projects (Dengerink 2013). Therefore, development practitioners should ensure that the consider the meanings people attach to their interactions so as to conduct meaningful programmes.

From the humanistic perspective, structural transformation may not necessarily be relevant in the realisation of participatory development because for the local communities; the structure may be viewed as something that is external (Dinko, 2017)

The humanistic approach espouses that development is not necessarily about material co-existence and growth but rather about people's means to development. It is also about the interactions of people, which eventually leads to the realisation of development within which the

people acquire self-actualisation. Therefore, people should engage in development activities they consider to be beneficial and empowering to them.

2.5.4. Empowering through People-centred Development

The concept of participatory development is also replicated in people-centred development. People-centred development advocates for the broader involvement of the locals in the development of their respective communities. It emphasises the need for development to be sustainable and for the state to play a crucial role in ensuring that community development is achieved (Asuru 2017). Breuer and Groshek (2017) point out that people-centred development is about the state's active role in ensuring that local communities develop themselves. In any meaningful development initiative, the locals need to play an active role in managing and utilising the resources. At the same time, the state needs to ensure they create an environment that encourages participation and empowerment. Broader participation places emphasis on the need for inclusion of all social groups including as women, youth, and the illiterate (Dengerink 2013).

Diao et al. (2016) posits that the development approaches can be categorised as growth-centred and people-centred. Dinko (2017) differentiates between the two approaches. For the growth-centred approach, Dinko (2017) argues that it is not the final goal of development but a method of realising the needs of local communities. Dinko (2017) posits that the people-centred development approach focuses on people's well-being at the centre and the welfare of their communities as their ecological base. Therefore, development in this context is about people and their concern for their respective communities. Development, therefore, needs to ensure the sustainability of human living and growth. The Manila Declaration on People participation and Sustainable Development states that the people-centred development approach should be founded on the premise that local communities should be in direct control of all the resources allocated towards their development (Guijt, 2014).

People-centred development is built on the participation of local communities in at attempt to educate them on capacity building, learning to identify their own needs, and thus, actively determining what they need to improve their living conditions (Dengerink, 2013). Hagenaars (2017) notes that in deploying a people-centred approach, the local people are mobilised to

participate in development initiatives as the objective is to identify the basic needs required to achieve sustainable development with the support from various stakeholders. Sandham, Chabalala, and Spaling (2019) agree that external stakeholders should not determine what the needs of people are, rather the local communities should determine their own needs. Simpson and Basta (2018) recommend that institutions engage in dialogue with the targeted beneficiaries to be effective towards satisfying the needs of people. The local communities are responsible for identifying their needs and should only be guided when they encounter any challenges in defining their need as a community.

The numerous issues emphasised in the literature are interrelated. The literature highlights various scholars' consensus that members of the communities should lead any processes meant for their benefit.

2.6. Participatory Development Methods in Community Development

This thesis examines the influence of participatory development methods on rural communities in northern Ghana. In the current section, the focus is placed on participatory research methods that researchers and institutions usually use in exploring rural development in general. These methods include the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), Participatory Action Research (PAR), and Participatory Rural Appraisal and Planning (PRAP). These participatory research methods are designed to encourage participation to empower targeted beneficiaries. Ogwang, Vanclay, and Vanden (2019:55) posit that participatory research is "a process of participatory involvement with that which is being studied." The principle of participatory research is that people being studied should also learn from the process by actively participating in the research. Halseth, Markey, Manson, and Ryser (2016) state that the participatory approach ensures people are mobilised to use their local knowledge in research to achieve change. In this view, the local communities are empowered.

Participatory research does not require that people be involved in research merely as participants, but rather their participation in research should help acquire the knowledge needed for the development of their communities (Horn and Chitekwe-Biti, 2018). Participatory research deploys a 'bottom-up' approach that centres on locally defined primacies and viewpoints. Combrinck and Bennett (2016) found the participation of the local people in research and

planning is effective as local people play a meaningful role in the search for information and planning. In the process, the people will learn and research simultaneusly. The approach is also cost-effective in time and resources since the local people gather and process information (Fieuw and Mitlin 2018).

Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) is the more prominent element of participatory research approaches that enable people to share, analyse, and act upon development information (Chambers 1994). The critical drive of the PLA is to help people analyse their conditions instead of external stakeholders influencing the decision-making process. (Asuru 2017). PLA encourages participation of local communities in the development initiatives. It offers a suitable approach for information gathering as well as the sharing of information among participants to educate them of the development challenges they encounter (Lemanski, 2017). PLA empowers people in that the participants in research can be both learners and facilitators of the development process (Lines and Makau, 2017). In the process, the local communities are responsible for any development activities in their communities.

The premise of PLA is to encourage participative practice where communities have significant influence and decision-making authority in the development projects implemented in their areas (Asuru, 2017). For this reason, there is no need to develop a standardised methodology for it. Nevertheless, some generic steps could be helpful when deploying this approach. Firstly, the objectives should be agreed upon with the target communities. Any disagreements should be resolved before any programme can be implemented. More importantly, any goals and objectives should relate to the needs of the people (Bodin, Sandström, and Crona,. 2017). Secondly, tools and approaches for the implementation of the project are chosen based on the outcome of step one.

Moreover, these should be used in a participatory manner. In most cases, this comprises sequences of fieldwork activities. The activities are usually undertaken with the assistance of a trained organiser. Any knowledge attained from such activities is triangulated (cross-checked) and is reviewed by the community for validity (Combrinck and Bennett, 2016).

One form of the PLA method is Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). PRA is defined by Chambers (1996:6) as entailing "groups of local people analysing their conditions and choosing their means of improving them "… (using) a variety of tools, such as maps and diagrams, and

support of a trained facilitator." As a cost-effective technique that development agents can use in rural communities, PRA circumvents the use of lengthy development methods. It thus saves time and helps people participate and gain an in-depth understanding of the development process. (Pimentel-Walker, 2016). PRA also can increase the consciousness of rural poverty (Chambers 1996). PRA is both participatory and empowering in that it enables people to control, scrutinise, share, and use the information while the external stakeholders remain as facilitators (Chambers, 1994).

The connection between the researcher and the participants is also emphasised by the Participatory Rural Appraisal and Planning, another participatory development mode. This method is slightly different from PAR because the participants are the researchers and the respondents (Horn and Chitekwe-Biti, 2018). The PRAP also emphasises using local knowledge in community development projects (Dinko, 2017). PRAP uses local people's ideas, insights, and vision about their general situation concerning the development initiative. Thus, the beneficiaries become researchers and development implementers themselves.

2.7. Enhancing People Participation and Empowerment

The 'facilitation method' (Watson, 2016) is another participatory development methodology that shares the same content and goal with other participatory methods. However, this methodology highlights that facilitators' impartiality serve to help encourage participants consider and articulate their needs and solutions (Thondhlana and Cundill, 2017). Participants are given a platform to decide their future through the facilitation method. During this interface, participants or development beneficiaries are steered towards self-actualisation. For the participants to practically learn about their circumstances, it is imperative to offer the space needed to develop their plans, realise new realities and draw-up conclusions on which resources they need to satisfy their development goals (Snyman 2016). The literature implies that people have plans for their development. They need a conducive environment and facilitation support to achieve such plans. When people are empowered to help themselves, they work hard to succeed (Simpson and Basta 2018). Horn and Chitekwe-Biti (2018) posit that when people take part in initiatives meant to change their lives, they usually take responsibility and eventually find solutions and gain self-wellbeing. It is thus clear from this literature review that the facilitation method creates an

environment that is favourable for social collaboration and evocative people participation. The various participatory theories and methodologies discussed above indicate that development is about empowering people through participation in development initiatives.

However, what does not emerge poignantly from the reviewed literature is that participation is the underlying principle of development. From the economic perspective, participation is an essential element required to achieve development goals. From the social perspective, participation is viewed as the foundation of any development project. Dinko (2017) argues that as an objective, participation is branded by a bottom-up development approach which is mainly motivated by the locals in need of development intervention. As a concept, participation is characterised by top-down participation, in which stakeholders such as the government are focused on achieving their goals before the communities'. With this type of participation, the local communities do not have control over their immediate futures as the government is the sole decision-making entity in the development process.

The discussion above indicates that development agents cannot attain societal transformation without integrating the internal stakeholders who stand to benefit from the development process. Development agents, therefore, need to acknowledge the input of the locals, who are often the targeted beneficiaries of these projects. The importance of respecting and engaging the locals to participate in development projects is highlighted as a fundamental element in the reviewed literature.

2.7.1. The Concepts of Rural Development

There is also no universally accepted definition of rural development. As result, different scholars and institutions define and conceptualize it in different ways. In supporting this, it is argued that the definition of rural development has advanced through time as a result of changes in the perceived mechanisms and goals of development (Anríquez and Stamoulis, 2007).

According to the World Bank (1975), rural development was seen as purely an economic issue or raising the low levels of rural income through agricultural modernization. This definition is reflective of rural development as a subset of development in the 1970s. This is because in the 1970s development was also viewed merely from the economic dimension. However, nowadays development is broadly viewed as an overall improvement of the quality of life of a human being

in terms of economic, social, economic, political, environmental, and administrative issues. Thus, the 1975 World Bank definition does not consider other important dimensions of development listed above. In other words, before the 1970s, rural development was seen to be synonymous with agricultural development. In this regard, (Johnston, 1970) argued that in the 1960s and early 1970s, intense industrialization was the main characteristic of the perceived development path. In this context, he conceptualized rural development as precisely leading into that path: conceived rural development as basically a part of structural transformation characterized by diversification of the economy away from agriculture. This process is facilitated by rapid agricultural growth, at least initially, but leads ultimately to a significant decline in the share of agriculture to total employment and output and the proportion of the rural population to the total population.

Later in the 1980s World Bank defined rural development, as a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of the rural poor, which has since been variously defined. Besides, later during the 1970s, rural development is conceptualized based on equity considerations, the focus and definition of rural development turned to the provision of social services to the rural poor. Subsequently, the 1970's rural development as a concept has been highly related to the promotion of standards of living and as a precondition for reducing rural poverty (Johnston, 1970).

More broadly than above mentioned World Bank definitions of rural development, Kata (1986) argued that rural development indicates the overall development of rural areas to improve the quality of life of the rural people. However, the author also fails to consider some important aspects/ dimensions of rural development that will be discussed later in this paper in detail.

Other scholars conceived rural development as a strategy to empower a specific group of people (particularly the marginalized group in rural areas like poor rural households, landless group of the community, and small scale farmers, to gain for themselves and their children more of what they want and need). In his words, it involves assisting the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas to demand and control more of the benefits of rural development (Chambers, 1987). This is definition clearly shows rural development as a narrow strategy that is designed to empower only the marginalized group of societies in rural areas. However, rural development may be conceptualized as a broader strategy intended to favors all groups of

people. In other words, conceptually it could be conceptualized as one of the strategies that intended is to improve the livelihood of all groups of society in general.

Compare to some of the above-discussed definitions of rural development, (Madhu, 2000) broadly defines rural development as an activity concerned with the improvement of spatial and socioeconomic environments of rural areas to enhance the ability of the individuals to cater to and sustain their well-being. In line with this definition, in very recent years rural development is conceived as the process of improving the opportunities and well-being of rural people. It is a process of change in the characteristics of rural societies. In addition to agricultural development, it involves human development and social and environmental objectives, as opposed to just economic ones. Therefore, rural development encompasses health, education, and other social services. It also uses a multi-sector approach for promoting agriculture, extracting minerals, tourism, recreation, and niche manufacturing ((IFAD), 2016).

In recent years, some scholars began to accept rural development as a subset of development. In this sense (Singh, 2009), argued that the term rural development connotes the overall development of rural areas, intending to improve the quality of life of rural people. According to him, rural development is a comprehensive and multidimensional concept, and encompasses the development of agriculture and allied activities; village and cottage industries; crafts, socioeconomic infrastructure, community services, and facilities and, above all, the human resources in rural areas. Furthermore, he conceptualized the term rural development as a process, a phenomenon, a strategy, and a discipline. As a process, it implies the engagement of individuals, communities, and nations in pursuit of their cherished goals over time. As a phenomenon, it is the result of interactions between various physical, technological, economic, socio-cultural, and institutional factors. As a strategy, it is designed to improve the economic and social well-being of a specific group of people, that is, the rural poor. As a discipline, it is multidisciplinary, representing an intersection of agricultural, social, behavioral, engineering, and management sciences. This contemporary definition and concepts of rural development are recognized in the literature as, " the contemporary 'narratives', 'definitions' or 'prescriptions' concerning rural development characteristically tend to address everything that affects rural people and the quality of their life as entities and as integral members of the larger society and, indeed, the world" (Adisa, 2014).

As discussed above there is no consensus among scholars on the definition or how to conceptualize rural development. However, like the concept of development, the definition and concepts of rural development have been continuously modified, changed and its dimensions also broadened in line with the change in concepts of development. The review result also shows that the concept of rural development is multidimensional which can be viewed in different ways as concept, process, strategy, and field of studies. As indicated above in literature, for a long time some scholars and institutions narrowly conceptualized rural development as purely an economic issue or raising the low levels of rural income through agricultural modernization. Nevertheless, nowadays it has been broadly considered as a subset of development. For instance, it is broadly defined as the development that benefits rural populations; where development is understood as the sustained improvement of the population's standards of living or welfare (Singh, 2009) and, (Anríquez and Stamoulis, 2007).

2.8. Internal Environment for People Participation and Empowerment

The reviewed literature also indicates that group dynamics are some of the factors that could impede the participation of people when improperly handled. These dynamics may include improper dominance by existing traditional leadership structures which also want to control how projects are implemented and run. They may also include political structures which introduce the political economy of affection in terms of who gets to benefit and who does not get to benefit from the proceeds of development projects. People can take part in development initiatives as individuals. However, they become more effective when they participate as a community (Asuru 2017). This view is confirmed by Burns, Hull, Lefko-Everett, and Njozela (2018) who posit that involvement is a structured and collective exercise of people's power in collective thinking. The participation of the locals is expected, where development processes are conducted by groups (Fieuw and Mitlin, 2018). The formation of groups is defined as a design of social positions in which the people share similar goals and identities to achieve a specific objective (Gupta and Vegelin, 2016). The description requires that a group of people work towards development by an organisation of community members who share the same ideology and work towards a shared objective. However, Hagenaars (2017) posits that the impact of the group's presence in the description is based more on the members' positions than their overall development. However,

this neglects the needs of other members who do not hold positions of influence in their respective groups.

Most social development initiatives occur through development groups since people's view of the world is moulded and refined in face-to-face interactions in social groups (Horn and Chitekwe-Biti 2018) such as farming cooperatives. One such example is organisations based in the Nnoboa region of Ghana (Asuru, 2017). The agrarian communities, in particular, utilise these group structures to cooperatively accomplish their common farming goals, such as obtaining credit and sharing farming labour (Ndhlovu, 2018). It indicates that community groups play a crucial role in community development. Therefore, external interference and facilitation could hinder people's intentions to participate.

Another critical factor in understanding development initiatives and participation is the impact of culture. Several studies have illustrated the role culture has played in hindering people's participation in projects that ultimately benefit them (Combrinck and Bennett, 2016; Ndhlovu, 2018). In Zimbabwe, it was determined that culture particularly constrained women and new migrants in participating in development projects (Chibwana 2016). The same was reported in Namibia (Amwaalwa, 2016). Culture, therefore, has an important bearing on the people's capacity and willingness to participate in the community. Dengerink (2013) also posit that the structure of development institutions could also impede rural development by obstructing development communication. However, it should be noted that culture is not a homogenous variable. Even the same culture has different sub-elements, and thus, its impact on participation and development depends heavily on which of those elements are chosen as intervention points and how and when they are used. The structure in a community, however, can positively or negatively impact the groups' internal participation environment. From the political economy perspective, it is argued that the distinction of class in terms of gender and ethnicity association in a community has a negative effect when inviting locals to participate in development projects. People, therefore, needed to be placed into groups that are free of such bias.

However, Abiona and Bello (2013) posit that when placing people into groups, development organisers need take steps to ensure that their inclusion criteria is not rigid as this could unfairly exclude important members of the comminity. For development initiatives to be effective, facilitators need to abide by the basic principle of ensuring that participation is voluntary,

autonomous, and inclusive (Breuer and Groshek, 2017). People should not be coerced to participate; they should participate willingly as this provides a clear insight of the communities' needs. External stakeholders should intervene in the communities' participation to advance their interest. The role of agents should be to provide the knowledge required to encourage communities to advocate for their needs. Community workers need to create a safe environment that is conducive for free membership and also encourages continuous learning. There is a need to support the vulnerable beneficiaries of development projects to organise themselves into collective groups that share the same ideologies (Combrinck and Bennett, 2016). Prospective beneficiaries may need to be organised into structures conducive to their membership and empowerment goals. Guijt (2014) notes that such mechanisms need to empower the beneficiaries to voice their interests with service providers. Therefore, participatory community groups are essential to lead to community's development goals.

However, scholars, such as Akinyoade et al. (2017), recommend that responsibility to form community groups should be placed on the community and not external stakeholders. Community groups need to emerge from the beneficiaries' initiatives and should be allowed to expand into an environment characterised by equitable opportunities for decision-making for all the group members (Breuer and Groshek 2017). Equal opportunities in decision making are also emphasised by Lemanski (2017) as one of the fundamental human rights that, when secured, may translate into development and societal change. The emerging community group may be a body of individuals with a desire for a shared goal that can meet their needs and interests, thereby generating an atmosphere that encourages co-operation among the members.

2.8.1. Interest Groups in Community Development

There is an on-going debate on what constitutes an interest group. Guijt (2014) posits that an 'interest group' is a collection of people who have common interests and work together to achieve a common goal. Scholars also debate the exact number of members constituting such a group. Fieuw and Mitlin (2018) argue that the group should consist of fifteen to twenty members to be effective. Dinko (2017) posits that a small group of eight to fifteen members can effectively gain access to and control the resources required for the development of household development. Hagenaars (2017) argues that group members should be less than ten to allow a face-to-face

communication environment. While not specific about the recommended size of a group, Horn and Chitekwe-Biti (2018) opine that the size of a group may have a bearing on the quality of interactions amongst the participants. Where groups are small, participants may have enough opportunities to interact informally and attain a sense of belonging, making the group cohesive.

Interest groups have the potential to transform communities. For example, subsistence farmers in Namibia formed a Goat Initiative Programme in 2008 to lobby for government support (Amwaalwa, 2016). In South Africa, sorghum farmers in the Sekhukhune District grouped themselves into agricultural village cooperatives to collectively access farming inputs and farming resources (Diale, 2005). In Zimbabwe, small farmers who were resettled under the country's Fast Track Land Reform Programme also formed groups through which they managed to acquire farm inputs and equipment (Ndhlovu, 2018). Interest groups thus play a key role in community development, especially in rural areas where farming is the primary source of income.

Asuru (2017) refers to a group of similar characteristics as an 'action group'. The group can be an organisation that constitutes individuals who share a common goal but are subject to certain restrictions that hinder community development. The formation of a group facilitates horizontal communication among the participants (Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng, 2016). It also gives participants the opportunity to participate in the decision-making processes concerning community projects. (Fieuw and Mitlin, 2018). It is recommended by scholars such as Horn and Chitekwe-Biti (2018) that these types of groups comprise of few members so that each member will have the platform to share their ideas. Where groups are small, participation is inclusive of all the participants. It enables participants to engage freely with one another. Lemanski (2017) posits that when the members frequently network, a liking component may emerge. Where this happens, it leads to constructive interactions in the group. This indicates that in groups where the setting is friendly, collaboration efforts improve, and the level of involvement grows. This practice of community group encourages membership and empowerment of the participants in the development process. ln Tanzania for example, Horn and Chitekwe-Biti (2018) determined that the Farmer Field School (FFS) Extension Approach improved the involvement of farmers in the decision-making process. It also inspired local innovation for sustainable agriculture in rural

areas. Wambura, Rutatora, Oygard, Shetto, and Ishumi (2007) concluded that the approach also enabled extension workers to fully assist farming communities in improving their lives.

Wambura et al. (2007) recommend the SFGs for their potential to ensure the horizontal and on an equal basis of members. In the SFGs, individual farmers team up to realise a common cause, mobilise their resources to achieve their goal, share farm duties, and unite in managing the organisation's activities. Scholars recommend these types of community groups as wielding much potential in attaining community development (Asuru 2017; Combrinck and Bennett 2016).

Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng (2016) agree that these small groups might play an essential role in other aspects of community development. Such groups could be used as the foundation by development agencies gain insight into a community's development needs. They can target such groups and mobilise them for change. However, Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng (2016) posit that studying the practices of these small groups may therefore help researchers and development agencies to gather important material about community groups' internal situations. However, they need to be independent for interest groups to operate. They should have transparency in analysing their needs, executing the planning, mobilising resources, and evaluating the development progress (Dengerink, 2013). This view is supported by Fieuw and Mitlin (2018:221), who argue that "development cannot and should not be externally managed but rather more properly, development should be but lightly guided." Dinko (2017) also notes that development workers should not influence community groups the decision-making process. They should assist and encourage these groups to make decisions independently. The assistance offered by these development agencies should be minimal to the establish a degree of control from the targeted beneficiaries' perspective.

However, Cooke et al. (2016) posit that while undue, external influence is not recommended, it is common to observe the role development agencies play during the duration of the project. The influence exerted by traditional leadership structures, the position of women in society, and observation of cultural norms and values are some of the issues that communities continue to grapple. Community groups can also contend with social and cultural environments that may negatively impact their performance in relation to the participation of community groups.

2.8.2. Community Organisational Linkage Structure in Community Development

Organisational linkage structures are comprised of representatives from different individual community interest groups. Organisational linkage structures if incorporated effectively can communicate between development agencies and rural communities (Horn and Chitekwe-Biti 2018). Lines and Makau (2017) agree that these linkage structures guarantee broader and inclusive participation of every development formation in the community. It also brings local community groups under one organisational network and connects them with other stakeholders such as local leadership structures, ward councillors, and service providers. Pimentel-Walker (2016) argues that such organisations assist in the coordination of these groups towards achieving community participation. This indicates that community organisational linkage structures add value to broader community participation.

2.8.3. Leadership in Community Development

Communication is often informal in small groups. Similarly, leadership is exercised very loosely in most instances (Ogwang et al., 2019). When the size of the group increases, interaction amongst the participants become formal complex, causing chaos. Therefore, there is always a strong need for formal and robust leadership to ensure that these groups remain focused on their need to achieve societal development. The complexities in the groups' internal environments necessitate formal and strong leadership, which eventually dominates the interaction processes. Pimentel-Walker (2016) agree that the level of relationships among members of community groups, the size of the groups, gender, and age may eventually determine leadership and sustainability in community groups. Pouw et al. (2018) contend that men often assume leadership responsibilities more than women because of patriarchal tendencies in African societies. This illustrates the influence of social and cultural aspects on leadership roles in community groups rather than people being given leadership positions based on their abilities. Mubita, Libati also addresses the impact of cultural norms, and Mulonda (2017) agree that culture and other societal norms circumscribe conventions that may discourage women from participating in the leadership of social development. Lemanski (2017) posits that African culture impedes women from participating in development leadership by restricting women's mobility to engage with the whole community.

The challenges in leadership that may arise when a strong group of members occupy leadership roles is the potential to manipulate these excluded groups thus discouraging willing participants from engaging with the rest of the community (Lines and Makau, 2017). Lack of knowledge or cultural inhibitions may prevent group members from replacing such leaders (Lemanski 2017). The participation environment may also be stifled by poor leadership styles, such as autocratic styles, where leaders make decisions without the involvement and consultation of other participants of the group (Pimentel-Walker, 2016). This emerges when self-centred group members assume leadership roles without essential management skills such as planning, delegation and inter-personal skills (Pouw and De Bruijne, 2015). However, where leaders work together with other members, the participation environment may become favourable and free for participation, thus, leading to a vibrant group and self-reliance among the participants. This indicates that community groups' leadership has an important impact on communication among members. The environment may, thus, be either negatively or positively affected depending on the leadership practices in the groups.

2.9. Rural Development Policy in Ghana

More often than not, the countryside has become an arena where governments, non-governmental organisations, and development experts' experiment with their views and approaches. Africa is maybe one of the continents where this experimentation occurs, and Ghana is no different. In this country, successive administrations since political independence in 1957 experimented with several policies and approaches to improve the lives and livelihoods of the people in the countryside. However, rural development remains a challenge. This section discusses some of the policies and development approaches that have been implemented in Ghana to improve rural areas. The section opens by explaining what public policy entails to contextualise development approaches as a public policy.

2.9.1. Defining Public Policy

The public policy stands as one of the terms that have received much attention in terms of definition. Dinko (2017:539) posits that "public policy is whatever government chooses to do or not to do". Similarly, Chinsinga (2014:2) opines that "public policy is the course of an action a government chooses in an environment from among alternatives to realise a stated objective." In

this thesis, the concept of public policy is broadly used to refer to a framework from which nations make their decisions. Such decisions include how nations allocate resources to allow for the realisation of inclusive development; that is, all population categories can benefit. Policies can be categorised as distributive, redistributive, regulatory or substantive. These serve different purposes. While distributive and redistributive policies are meant to correct uneven resource and opportunity access, regulatory policies regulate human and institutional conduct. On the other hand, substantive policy denotes the thoughtful deliberations meant to modify, improve economic development, sustain public welfare, and allocate resources spatially or temporally.

2.9.2. The Modernisation Theory

In their explanations of how Third World countries remain undeveloped, the modernists pointed at a triumvirate of interconnecting and circularly causal impediments that frustrated the development process of these countries. Such impediments included capital scarcity, inadequate technologies, and outdated social values. W.W. Rostov (an advisor in both the John F Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson governments) argued that modernising (essentially Americanizing) is the prerequisite to development (Ndhlovu, 2020). To him, development was merely process by which the USA progressed and in which countries that were not yet developed were still in the process of developing. It is assumed that the development process of those countries that were still lagging could be hastened if Western technology, capital, social organisation, and values are transferred or copied (Bayeh, 2015). Rostov recommended a dual economy model: traditional and modern sectors with the traditional sector being predominantly agricultural, underdeveloped with surplus labour reserve, which the modern sector was to exploit for the country's development. The first government of independent Ghana led by Nkrumah bought into the modernist view of development. A scientific revolution based on a move to large-scale industrial complexes, transformation and rationalisation of agriculture production and social reforms was what Ghana needed to realise its development.

2.9.3. Human political agency of rural development in Ghana

Development and politics cannot be separated because development often takes place through the political will of officials who often decide whether to lobby for particular development projects in particular areas. All the more, it can only occur when the political environment

permits. Development cannot occur with war, political instability, and political sanctions, among others. In addition, politics does not only inform policies, but it is politics that make sure that policies are implemented or not. Booth and Therkildsen (2012:27) opine that "development outcomes in poor countries depend on the political incentives facing political leaders…human agency is thus, at the centre of who gets what, at what time, and why not." Thus, development policy results from the political environment at a particular point in time. The modern State comprises three influential components, namely, the ruling elites, bureaucrats and sector actors, which interact to fast-track or slow down the development process. The political elite is usually composed of an alliance of influential individuals from various backgrounds who share a common interest in gaining and or preserving political power. This group's decisions are channelled towards creating an environment that will enable it to remain in power. Development can, therefore, only take place when relationships among the trio are reciprocated, cooperative, and synergistic (Booth and Therkildsen, 2012; Makofane and Gray, 2014). In this view, it can be argued that rural development is purely an outcome of human political agency.

It is often posited that politics and policy are a by-product of those who control power and what they seek to achieve. The same can be said about Ghana's policy. During colonialism, the country's approach to rural development was focused on transforming the agriculture sector to enable the release of more land to the people to promote the production of more cash crops to increase exports (Cullen and Coryn, 2011). Communities that had mineral deposits and also those that had fertile lands which could support cash crop production, such as coffee oil palm, were given priority in rural development efforts (Díez et al., 2015). This implies that commodities, instead of human beings, was determined of whether the area qualified to be developed or not. Following up on its commitment, in Ghana, only those rural populations located in the productive forest belt were provided education on improving agricultural production while the Northern Region, for instance, received no such education and training (Dinko, 2017). Effective agricultural practices are encouraged to enable the effective production of vegetable oils for consumption and export. The policy to manipulate the agricultural potential in rural communities became central for its potential to provide a steady source of export merchandise.

The Guggisberg administration in Ghana sought to ensure that rural areas "produced raw materials incrementally but sustainably and that ―the importance of, and urgency for, making good this lack cannot be gainsaid" (Dinko, 2017:541). In short, the colonial policy towards rural areas in Ghana was mainly exploitative and was aimed only at maximising the natural resource capability of the land, not human potential. Hence, the policy was not good for the realisation of community development.

2.9.4. Modernisation Theory and Rural Development

In acknowledgement of the challenges of the development policy of the colonial administrations, the first post-independence government under Kwame Nkrumah put in place the seven-year plan for national reconstruction development as a development framework that would be used to guide the newly independent development pursuits in the country. Rural development was considered as the basis of the accomplishment of the framework. For the Nkrumah government, rural development was imperative for two key reasons: It was the only way of increasing incomes and reducing the inequality gap that characterised cash crop and food crop producers. This effort was consistent with Nkrumah's socialist ideology and intended to create a classless society characterised by equal opportunities and shared accountabilities. Secondly, as part of establishing an accurately sovereign country, Nkrumah required to reverse the "unfortunate features of the colonial policy that most of the energies of successive administrations have been directed towards facilitating the production of agricultural goods for export and encouraging the importation of both food and manufactured goods from the metropolitan countries" (Dinko, 2017:541). Food security had the three-layered significance of empowering the rural dwellers through increased income, a lower disparity gap between cash crop and food crop farmers, and an effective tool for cutting the dependency created by the regime (Dengerink, 2013).

The Nkrumah regime pursued rural development from a poverty reduction standpoint. In contrast to previous administrations, development during Nkrumah's tenure steadily moved from commodities towards human welfare and indignity. This was in line with the seven-year development plan, which documented that:

> *government is not satisfied with the current standard of living in the rural areas, especially in the Northern and Upper Regions. Ghana cannot consider itself modern*

or progressive until standards in the villages have been raised far above what they are now (Office of the Planning Commission, 1964:63).

Investments were channelled towards the northern and coastal savannahs to increase sugarcane, vegetables, fish and groundnuts production as an import substitution measure (Office of the Planning Commission 1964). The introduction of new technologies through mechanisation and extension supports improved yields and cultivated land size. Farms owned by the State were established as centres of merit for spreading new technologies to smallholder farmers (Owusu and Afutu-Kotey, 2010).

Industrialisation became the rallying point for socio-economic progress in Ghana during Nkrumah's time. The social transformation was introduced through mass public education in rural and urban areas. Free and compulsory education was introduced while the literacy programme was pursued to eradicate illiteracy and empower the indigenous by providing them with skills (Pouw and De Bruijne, 2015). The development policy goal of the first government was to "achieve a self-sustaining economy founded on socialist production and distribution—an economy balanced between agriculture and industry, providing sufficient food for the people and supporting secondary industries based on the products of our agriculture" (Nkrumah, 1968:91).

2.9.5. The Dependency Theory Rural Development Policy in Ghana

Dependency theorists argue that the actual cause of the underdevelopment of Third World countries is the uneven historical association with the developed countries as instituted during colonialism (Vlaminck, 2012). This way of thinking about development was first brought to the spotlight by Andre Gunder Frank in 1972, stating that underdevelopment was not a natural condition but rather a direct construction of historical colonial domination of the Third World by developed countries. The development status of the so-called developed countries is the outcome of their colonial counter with others which enabled them to loot and expropriate resources from colonised territories back to their own countries. This unbalanced relationship persists today. In short, third world countries continue to sweat to provide raw materials to the industries of the developed countries, which have the types of machinery to process but do not have the resources to process. (Treurnicht, 2000). Gunder Frank branded poverty in developing countries as a direct outcome of imperialism that confines them at the bottom of the global economy. The practical

way out is to 'delink' (Amin, 2016) with the so-called developed countries and their monopoly capital and approaches to development, and then device approaches based on the context of situations and needs (Ndhlovu, 2020).

Maintaining an unbalanced relationship with developed countries, which also happen to Africa's former colonisers, only leads to the sustaining of dysfunctional economies, which are in such a way that they rely on the former colonisers. Scholars such as Frank (2005) and many others reject the modernisation standpoint and its "dual society approach to development admonishing that ―the policy recommendations to which it leads will if acted upon, serve only to intensify and perpetuate the very conditions of underdevelopment they are supposed to design to remedy" (Frank, 2005:77). Frank (2005) also reprimands the modernisation theorists for supposing that the current condition and history of third-world countries resemble the earlier stages of the developed world. This flawed supposition overlooks Africa's socio-economic and political prowess before disruption by Europe through the Berlin 1884 corridor. Frank (2005) contends that the global economy resembles a concentric circle with core and periphery. The core becomes the developed Euro-American countries while the periphery countries are the raw-material-producing expanse. This argument is supported by Green and Orton (2009), who argue that the demand for raw materials in Ghana seems to be unyielding, just like the demand for industrial goods. Therefore, Ghana is continually deprived and is trapped in a vicious cycle of underdevelopment. This generates a command system where cosmopolitan areas in Europe control the urban areas of third world countries.

To sustain themselves, the capitalist systems wear away indigenous culture by establishing and creating a disease of the want of foreign goods (Beazley and Ennew, 2006; Boudreax, 2009). As a result, the import bill remains high, thereby creating an adverse exchange system. This subsequently negatively impacts national savings and their ability to borrow funds to initiate or sustain their national development plans (Amin, 2016). Because the international economic structure is built on taking advantage of the countries at the periphery of the global economy, it is crucial that the periphery themselves unconnected – or delink - from this structure and pursue national autonomy (Ndhlovu, 2017). The theory promoted the nationalisation of foreign-owned businesses and was distrustful of foreign investments, particularly in the primary sector. It also

supported simple control in importing consumer goods to discourage the love of foreign goods while promoting self-containment.

In Ghana, the dependency theory had an exciting appeal because its descriptions could be confirmed by the broad development gap between the former colonisers and their former colonies. The theory, therefore, presented a reasonable historical description of the overriding economic inertia. Ghanaian leaders could easily display this inequality as the major problem they had to deal with. Again, the theory emerged during a time of decolonisation and, therefore, hunger for development and the desire by African leaders to do well was high. Thus, any form of thinking that seemed to be inspired by European thinking was quickly dismissed.

The dependency theory presented a better choice because it was built on justice and equity. This is also what African governments sought to achieve for their people. In contrast to the modernisation theory that viewed development as a gradual process, the dependency theory also comprised radical views rooted in the Marxist ideology. This appealed and resonated with what the revolutionary leaders in Africa wanted to achieve in the first decades of independence. In its pursuit of development, the Ghanaian policy thus drew from the dependency theory (Dinko, 2017) which was now a clear change from the modernist view which had gained dominance since independence. Under the National Redemption Council, which transformed to Supreme Military Council I and II, a 5-year development plan was launched in 1972 to develop a self-sufficient national economy steadfastly based on the country's resources, skills and culture. The government aimed to achieve this sovereign economy by empowering its citizens to take charge of the economy and ensure that it was autonomous from foreign domination (Oteng-Ababio, Mariwah, and Kusi, 2017). These efforts and pursuit were consistent with the dependency theory, which espoused that the economies of developing countries needed to be freed from external manipulation if they were to grow fast and meaningful, that is, releasing inclusive development. The plan also aimed at "minimising the strangulation hold of the balance of payments constraint (by foreign interests) on the national economic and social reconstruction effort" (Supreme Military Council, 1975:26).

The plan also sought to restructure incomes and introduce equity in access to opportunities to everything enjoyed only by the "already privileged and well-off minority" (Supreme Military Council, 1975:26). This attitude to social justice was only observable in the dependency theory.

The five-year development plan focused on developing the agricultural sector, supporting the industrial base, and promoting self-reliance on the use and consumption of domestic resources and goods (Steel and van Lindert, 2017). The government placed the development of rural areas ahead of urban areas to reverse urban-biased public investments through a National Rural Development Programme. More than 25 per cent of the budget for the development plan was allocated to the agricultural sector (Steel and van Lindert, 2017). Rural Banks were also created to ease credit access by rural dwellers (Vlaminck, 2012). Ghana's shift in the national development philosophy unfolded when dependency theory had become much popular in most countries emerging from many years of colonialism. It may, thus, be argued that Ghana's policy of development drew from the dominant development philosophy at that time. Following many years of repression, the people also easily supported government policies. Without the support of rural populations, agriculture-related policies are likely to fail all the time. The accomplishment of the Acheampong agricultural policy shows that development policy has the latent to be attained when political obligations also receive the support of citizens.

Contrary to the Nkrumah plan, which emphasised industrialisation as the driver of agriculture, the Acheampong plan considered the development of agriculture as a prerequisite for industrial development. There was a considerable policy shift in how rural agriculture was financed. Rural community banks were established to assist smallholder farmers with access to resources in Ghana. In addition, the law required Commercial Banks to lend 20 per cent of their portfolio to the agricultural sector (Dinko, 2017). The two operations: "Operation Feed Yourself" and "Operation Feed Your Industry", were mainly successful as support was given to smallholders. With this support, Ghana became food sufficient and cut back on food importation from the metropolitan countries. The policies adopted by Ghana reflect the dependency theory's campaign for sovereignty and the abating of ties with the former colonisers to engender development for the developing countries.

2.9.6. The Decentralisation of Rural Development in Ghana

Although decentralisation had started in the late 1980s, political and financial power remained firmly in the hands of powerful urban elites. The decentralisation policy assumed that there was always an automatic association between decentralisation and economic development.

Nevertheless, this hypothesis emerged to be problematic because participation in making decisions, the allocation of resources, and how public services were provided was not achieved as had been planned. As a result, instead of giving people the power to manage resources for the realisation of local development, the decentralised structure emerged extractive and did not dovetail with the needs of the people (Asuru, 2017). The key powerful components within the local structure are the central government appointee who owes an upward commitment to central government rather than downward accountability to local people. For example, in the late 1970s and mid-1980s, some key projects such as the Northern Integrated Rural Development Programme, Upper Region Rural Development Programme and the Volta Region Rural Development Programme were launched. It had been planned that the projects would be locally driven and externally funded. Nevertheless, none of these projects achieved their goals because of power imbalances. The prevailing power structure, organisational pride, and skirmishes amongst state officials and agencies weakened these initiatives.

2.9.7. Land reform

In recent years, some radical thinkers such as Amin (2014, 2016), Moyo (2016, 2018), Shivji (2017, 2019), among others, started connecting African underdevelopment with land access and utilisation. They argue that the disjointed nature of land tenure on the continent exudes insecurity and is, thus, emerges as the most significant impairment to development.

In Ghana, land reform began in the 1990s with the creation of the National Land Policy of Ghana (NLP), to "undertake tenurial reform process, which documents and recognises the registration and classification of titles and speed up title registration to cover all lands throughout Ghana" (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 1999:30). The policy aimed to reinforce individual land ownership rights and make interests in land easily tradable (Yaro and Tsikata, 2013). Under World Bank funding, the Land Administration Project (LAP) was introduced to shape and restructure the harmonisation of land policies and institutional changes that support private individual ownership. Regardless of these efforts, several studies in Ghana (see Whitehead and Tsikata, 2003; Weger, 2012) report that land tenure security has remained a matter of massive disappointment for many people. This has negative implications for inclusive development, particularly for rural areas.

2.10. Ghanaian Rural Development

In Ghana, reviewed literature shows that rural development is paramount if the country is to advance economically and improve the rural dwellers' lives (Asuru 2017; Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng 2016; Bonye et al. 2013; Dengerink, 2013). The improvement of the rural economy has been argued to have a ripple effect on employment prospects in rural areas, which is likely to decline income disparities and prevent rapid rural-urban migration, and it will eventually reduce rural poverty (Awumbila, Owusu and Teye, 2014). Some scholars supporting this argument have posited that the development of rural areas in Ghana may lead to rural landscape conservation, sustainability of indigenous cultures, and traditions (McKay, Pirttilä, and Tarp, 2015).

In realising the need for rural development, Ghana started decentralisation programs in the late 1980s to improve the livelihoods of the rural dwellers and advance some tenets of democracy such as participatory development (Mubita, Libati, and Mulonda, 2017). The decentralisation system has been praised for its ability to improve local development and ensure the participation of local people in decision-making in particular and rural development in general (Owusu and Afutu-Kotey, 2010). Therefore, it is not surprising that the decentralisation system was enshrined in Ghana's 1992 Constitution in the Local Government Act of 1993 (Act 462). The composition of local government in Ghana comprises a Metropolitan Assembly (cities with a population of over 250,000), Municipal Assembly (towns or local area with a population of over 95,000), and lastly District Assembly (a local government area or rural community with a population of over 75,000), all in attempt to improve rural development (Ferrazzi, 2006).

2.11. Government Development Initiatives in Ghana

Ghana has about four categories of development promotion initiatives: formal state initiatives, local government initiatives, local organisations and Non-Governmental Organisations initiatives, and individual, small and medium scale enterprise-level initiatives, as detailed below.

2.11.1. Formal Government initiatives

Formal government efforts towards the realisation of development in Ghana are government policies and projects executed by the State. They are in line with the country's commitment to achieving inclusive and sustainable development in rural areas. Some of the projects are sector-

based, while some cover several sectors. These projects are focused on the development and provision of infrastructure for various goals. These include education, communication, transport, health, and finances. The formal initiatives have also provided extension services, particularly in rural areas through government departments and organisations across the country. They provide tax reliefs to enterprises that will operate, particularly from rural areas, to develop those areas through infrastructure development and employment creation. Furthermore, transportation programmes have also been introduced to ensure improved and free movement linking various production sectors, including rural areas. The government is implementing all these initiatives through its various ministries. Over the years, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Tourism, among others, has been implementing several programmes and projects meant to develop rural areas that had been left behind in terms of development for many years. By these initiatives, the government seeks to generate economic development capacity in all areas, particularly in rural areas.

2.11.2. Local government initiatives

There have also been increased efforts by local governments to instigate numerous programmes in their areas of jurisdiction to support the national development agenda. Several integrated development plans are developed periodically to determine how development will continue to be pursued. These programmes include infrastructure development and capacity development, among others. However, more than not, it has been found that many of these plans fail to meet their goals to several factors related to implementation (Asuru, 2017). In addition, a number of these initiatives are not very much explicitly targeted to promote the needs of the local people. The politicisation of discourses, practices, and decisions at the local government level also has much bearing on how development programmes and decided upon and implemented.

2.11.3. Local and foreign organisations' initiatives

Local and foreign organisations have also been instrumental in starting Ghana's development initiatives. Organisations at this level operate in a broader plain and are have more independence in their operations. More often than not, faith-based and social organisations and NGOs are more widespread in development initiatives. They offer capacity building and promote micro-level savings so that the local people to obtain access to credit for their economic activities. Some of

these organisations also participate in the actual provision of micro-credits to rural dwellers with no strict collateral requirements (Asuru, 2017). Their activities include education and training, and agriculture extension support, among others.

2.11.4. Individual, small and medium scale enterprise initiatives

In Ghana, local development activity is dominated by individuals who own and run small-medium scale businesses (Awumbila, Owusu and Teye, 2014). Therefore, what is disappointing is that these small businesses are rarely reflected in the country's development plans, and their capacity to reduce poverty is not recognised as it should. Most people who own and run small businesses do not regard their activities simply as livelihood means but rather as actual businesses. When structural adjustment programmes were implemented in Ghana in the 1980s, many people were retrenched from public corporations and entities and had no other survival options outside venturing into small businesses, including farming. The informal sector is thriving in Ghana and, to a large extent, contributes significantly to development efforts. Small business owners now control most of the economic activities in Ghana's urban and rural areas (Asuru, 2017). Some of these businesses participate in "agro-processing, retailing and wholesaling, agri-business, communication services retailing and basic manufacturing activities" (Steel and van Lindert, 2017:7). Some private entities offer development services and financial resources to small businesses across the country. Nevertheless, their potential to contribute to the development agenda is broadly not recognised (Agyekum, 2013).

2.12. Development Actors in Ghana

The discussion in the previous subsection indicates various participants in the local development field in Ghana. These participants can be categorised into three main actors: international, national, and local actors.

2.12.1. International actors

International actors include global NGOs such as CARE International, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and other well-known organisations, such as the UN-Habitat for Humanity and the International Labour Organisation. The local development

initiative promoted by these organisations involves the public, private and civic sectors, emphasising informal economy operators to improve their productivity and incomes and eventually reduce their poverty. In general, this level of participants helps by formulating policies needed for the realisation of issues such as financial inclusion that can make people realise their full potential through access to funding that can enable them to carry out their activities.

2.12.2. National level actors

The national-level actors are the government itself, creating policies and an environment where development can occur (Steel and van Lindert, 2017:12). Through the central government, the country provides the necessary financial resources and infrastructure that enable development activities to be pursued much easy. Over the years, through its ministries, departments, and development partners, the government has been implementing programmes and projects meant to promote rural areas' development (Awumbila et al., 2014). A few of these projects are discussed in the current work due to their relevance to the study.

Community-Based Rural Development Project

The CBRDP project is an initiative of the Ghanaian government and International Development Agency (IDA) and focuses on alleviating poverty in rural areas and improving the incomes of rural dwellers. When it was first launched in 2004, the project aimed to (i) offer support for reinforcing the capacities of local government institutions towards the realisation of the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy; (ii) provide amenities and resources to augment farm and off-farm activities to improve the incomes of people in rural areas; (iii) develop skills and create job opportunists in rural communities by supporting rural-based businesses. About US$16,518,469.98 was spent on the CBRDP with the following results:

(i) About 138 employees from different districts were trained in procurement planning and cash flow projections. They could use these skills to prepare and implement their work plans and budgets (Asuru 2017). The training also covered staff of 450 Area Councils to make them functional. They were to receive ¢150 million each to implement projects which they prioritised as part of the plans they prepared through a learning-by-doing process.

(ii) Under the provision of infrastructure for agricultural development, about 346 km of feeder roads and farm tracks were rehabilitated to ease transportation in and out of rural areas. Some windpumps were also installed in rural areas to draw underground water for community-owned irrigation schemes in the rural areas, particularly in the Central, Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions.

(iii) About 1,137 boreholes were also drilled to provide water to about 754 rural communities in the Upper West, Upper East, Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo and Central Regions.

(iv) A total of 120 rural/community banks were also recognised by the Association of Rural Banks' (ARB) Apex bank to participate in the CBRDP micro-credit scheme. Ninety-nine rural banks signed a subsidiary Loan Agreement with ARB Bank following their accreditation.

The Rural Enterprise Project in Ghana

This programme was first initiated in 1992 and was approved by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) in 1993. The IFAD loan was implemented in 1995. In Ghana, the Ministry of Environment, Science and Technology was mandated to oversee the programme. The Ghana Regional Appropriate Technology Industrial Service, the National Board for Small Scale Industries, the Department of Feeder Roads, the Bank of Ghana, the Association of Rural Banks and a total of 15 participating rural banks worked together as implementing agencies in the project (Cooke et al., 2016). The total cost of the project was estimated at USD 9.3 million, of which IFAD funded USD 7.68 million, US$1.18 million by the Government of Ghana and US$ 0.45 million by the participating banks (Kamstra and Knippenberg, 2014). The project was intended to boost rural production employment and increase incomes to reduce poverty through the increased output by small businesses based in rural areas (Koopmans, van veluw and Wijnands, 2014). This was meant to be achieved through technology access and business advice provision, and access to financial services (Laird, 2011).

Presidential Special Initiatives (PSI)

The PSI was launched in 2001 to play a crucial role in developing rural areas, mainly concerning farming activities. The intention was to help broaden the economy, display where opportunities were in agriculture and help organise and mobilise resources, management and technical support for rural development. The initiative was introduced in five activity areas, including higher

export development for garment and textiles, salt mining, cotton production, oil palm production, cassava starch production, and distance learning (McKay, Pirttilä, and Tarp, 2015). However, the initiative was not susceptible to political interference, which made it fail even though it had managed to create some job opportunities for some people (Jacobson, Azeam, and Baez, 2013).

Ghana Decent Work Programme (DWP)

The Ghana DWP was initiative by the ILO together with the government of Ghana. The initiative sought to contribute to poverty reduction through promoting decent work in the informal economy (Agyekum, 2013). The programme started in 2003, and since March 2004, it has been receiving support from the ILO, Ghana Working out of Poverty, and the Netherlands Partnership Programme (NPP). The programme had two related constituents. The first is a policy to promote decent work into the GPRS (Ahwoi, 2010). It sought to empower social partners to influence the policy setting so that decent work could be realised and poverty could be reduced at the national level.

The second factor was envisioned to advance and test an integrated approach to poverty reduction in the informal sector at the district level (Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng, 2016). Two partner districts were identified where the project was executed to achieve this. The programme intended to empower key actors in the local economy to design and execute a local economic and social development strategy (Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng, 2016). This approach was meant to inspire cooperation between private and public shareholders of the defined zone to produce decent jobs and inspire economic activity. It is also intended to assist the joint design and execution of a shared development strategy using local resources and competitive advantage globally.

The programme assisted in establishing local private forums, which are called Sub-committees for Productive and Gainful Employment. Today, these have become legal committees of the respective local governments; and serve as rallying units for all local and social-economic development actors in the selected districts (Bonye, Arkum and Owusu-Sekyere, 2013). It also executed specific activities, such as the "creation of business information centres, the upgrading of work and production techniques with a focus on safety and health issues and increasing productive quality and services in identified priority sub-sectors, developing training manuals and reinforcing basic management skills of entrepreneurs through training programmes"

(McKay, Pirttilä and Tarp, 2015:14). It has also supported the democratic management, organisation and service delivery of Small Business Associations.

2.12.3 Local Level Actors

The local level actors appear in three categories: local government, corporate actors, and individuals. The local government is responsible for introducing mechanisms to initiate local development. Such initiatives can include the construction of infrastructures and the launching of cooperatives, among others. These initiatives will also attract other development actors to local areas. For instance, where infrastructure exists, many businesses whose success depends on such infrastructure will be attracted to the area. The local government collaborates with other actors, such as the private sector or non-governmental organisations, to develop local areas. A good example is the drilling of boreholes and the establishment of irrigation schemes, in which government work together with non-governmental actors.

Corporate organisations, such as mining companies, mobile telecommunication companies and others also carry out programmes meant to create jobs and reduce poverty in local enclaves. Some of these programmes are meant to support women and other businesses, particularly small businesses (Manful and Manful, 2014), to strengthen the livelihoods and economic base of the local people.

Local entrepreneurs and businesses are also some of the stakeholders in local development. These often initiate most of the development activities in local areas.

2.13. Participation Initiatives in Ghana

Several studies in Ghana note that cooperation has been imperative for humans and that it still holds a crucial role in rural education, natural resource conservation, and agricultural development (Akinyoade et al. 2017; Awumbila et al. 2014; Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng, 2016; Díez, Etxano, and Garmendia (2015). Literature shows that Ghanaians participated in cooperative activities long before formal cooperatives. For example, farmer co-operative is traced back to the colonial era in Ghana. Neighbouring farmers supported each other in planting, weeding, and harvesting (Dengerink 2013; McKay, Pirttilä, and Tarp, 2015). Around the 1920s, the colonial regime in the country launched formal farmer cooperatives, which were meant to

improve the quality and marketing of cocoa and provide loans to farmers (Steel and van Lindert 2017; Vlaminck, 2012). Initial success in cooperative development motivated a rapid growth of cooperatives, first in the production of cocoa, which after that extended to other crops. In 1944, the Department of Cooperatives (DOC) was formed to oversee cooperative development (Yaro and Tsikata, 2013).

After independence, the government in Ghana considered cooperatives to be crucial mechanisms for agriculture and rural development (Vlaminck, 2012). However, in the late 1980s, cooperatives controlled by the state began to disband, possibly due to mounting international pressure for structural reforms towards market liberalisation (Owusu and Afutu-Kotey, 2010). Successive regimes in the country, for that reason, assumed a more open-minded approach to the establishment of cooperatives, allowing other types of farmer engagements to emerge.

Oteng-Ababio, Mariwah, and Kusi (2017) note that since the 2000s, Ghana has had several governmental and non-profit projects which seek to promote rural-based development projects. Most of these have been agriculture-related projects. Steel and van Lindert (2017) note that from 2000 to 2007, the WB devoted more than US$9 million for the development of agricultural-based cooperatives as part of the Agricultural Services Sub-Sector Investment Project (AgSSIP). Owusu and Afutu-Kotey (2010) reveal that in 2007, the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) also approved a five-year US$547 million anti-poverty compact with Ghana, with a significant percentage of this amount allocated for the development of cooperative projects. Pouw et al. (2018) noted that the number of agriculture-related cooperative projects in Ghana is over 10,000. The rapid increase of these cooperatives is partly due to public and non-governmental organisations that consider rural cooperative action as key to achieving rural development.

The most popular cooperative in Ghana is the *nnoboa*, dominant among the people who speak Akan in Southern Ghana. Steel and van Lindert (2017) describe the *nnoboa* as a traditional practice of teamwork that involves group action and reciprocated assistance grounded on social, ethnic, and family factors. This arrangement is voluntary and informal and is transitory, with the group disbanding when the task is completed (McKay et al., 2015). Owusu and Afutu-Kotey (2010) note that the *nnoboa* system was used commonly in indigenous farming and social projects. In the 1970s, Ghana embraced the indigenous practice of mutual support in farming, the

nnoboa system, as a model for rural development (Vlaminck, 2012). In a survey conducted by Asuru (2017), it was found that people still participate in *nnoboa* programmes to (a) interchange of labour (87 per cent); (b) collectively access credit (65 per cent), and (c) to buy mechanisation and access other services (33 per cent).

In another study, Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng (2016) mentioned the presence of informal local credit schemes known as *susu* groups, which is another form of cooperative. *Susu* is an arrangement in which people may decide to frequently contribute money into a pool which is then handed to a participant (Salifu et al. 2010). Under this arrangement, members can pay back their loans by making regular contributions to the group (Vlaminck, 2012). These groups were prevalent all over the country, especially for women (Salifu et al., 2010).

Agyekum (2013) also found that farmers engaged in conserving agriculture resources in Ghana. For anonymity reasons, a cooperative, which the scholars refer to as Farmer Co-op, found that Farmer Co-op affiliated with a European organisation in 2011 to support cocoa agroforestry in Ghana as part of its sustainability objectives. Under the partnership, the European organisation would provide funding, while the responsibility of Farmer Co-op would be to mobilise farmers to plant trees on their farms and unutilised land. The partnership began in 2011.

Another participatory project reported by Altieri, Nicholls, Henao, and Lana (2015) is reducing water pollution in the Densu Basin. In this initiative, several stakeholders participate in addressing water pollution challenges. This cooperation emerged when state and private officials recognised that they might have the knowledge and expertise to implement water pollution reduction efforts. Such efforts required the familiarity, experience, and views of community members who are the beneficiaries of resource conservation. This could only be achieved by promoting the participation of community members (Bodin, Sandström, and Crona 2017).

Some studies have also focused on the value of community involvement in the education sector (Edwards 2017). It is also reported that the participation of community members has been used in Ghana's *School for Life* complementary education programme (Mfum-Mensah and Friedson-Ridenour 2014). The programme aimed to offer those above the school-going age a second chance education (Arkorful 2013). What was unique about this programme was its approach to community participation which eventually proved to be very rewarding (Edwards, 2017). The responsibility given to the community to identify and recruit people who were to be classroom

facilitators, identify children who would be enrolled, and outline a school timetable played a crucial role in sustaining the programme. Community participation was applauded for having managed to push the programme forward. The only challenge raised by scholars concerning the programme was the domination of male participation (Mfum-Mensah and Friedson-Ridenour, 2014). It was noted that community members who had the most education and training participated more often in the programme (Rouhani, 2017). With men often more educated than women due to cultural and patriarchal factors, men participated in the more formal roles of the programme and assumed more authority. This emphasises the need to understand the politics of involvement in community development programmes and how power crescendos and societal constructions often decide who should be involved and excluded.

The above discussion shows that community participation has been used in several sectors in Ghana to produce meaningful results. It has been used in the farming, agro-ecological, and education sectors. Therefore, it is essential to examine how community participation brings about more meaningful results in agrarian-based communities such as the country's northern region.

2.14. The Development in the Northern Region of Ghana

In Ghana, the Northern Region is the largest in terms of landmass (see Chapter Three), covering about 70,383 square kilometres and accounting for 29.5 per cent of the total land area in the country. The region shares boundaries with the Upper East and the Upper West Regions to the north, the Brong Ahafo and the Volta Regions to the south, two neighbouring countries, the Republic of Togo to the east and Cote d' Ivoire to the west (GSS 2010). As of 2019, the country had 30.418.000 people (UNDESA, 2019). About 29 per cent of the population in the region was below the age of 15, while those between the ages of 15 and 64 constituted 57.8 per cent (World Bank, 2018). The Ashanti Region had 4.7 million people; Brong-Ahafo had 2.3 million; 2.2 million were in the Central Region; 2.6 million in the Eastern Region, 2.3 million in the Western Region; 2. 479, 461 million in the Northern Region; and 4 million were in Greater Accra. The country's capital city is Accra, while other major cities include Tamale, Kumusi, and Sekondi-Takoradi. The northern region of Ghana is dominated by smallholder farmers, most of whom are not entrepreneurs but rather people struggling for survival (Oteng-Ababio, Mariwah, and Kusi, 2017).

2.15. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework employed for analysing participation in the current study is the matrix shown in Table 1 below. The matrix rows are explained in the design, implementation, and monitoring of the project, programme, or policy cycle. The columns highlight specific systems of involvement, who gets involved or participate in each form, the participants' motivations, what factors define the value of the involvement, and the outcomes of the involvement.

The principal value of this framework is that it is suitable for examining participation in an aid-financed project. It can also be used more generally to study participation in designing, delivering, monitoring, and evaluating service (Brandon and Fukunaya, 2014). The framework is theory-neutral. It is not built on a normative judgement about involvement or any specific supposed causal relationship. What it does is to provide a fitting specification for representing a variety of participation types.

The overall approach envisioned in using the framework in studying the role and scope of participation in the northern region of Ghana is as follows. First, an institutional analysis is imperative when trying to understand the key aspects of decision-making, the allocation of resources, or the process of service delivery. Second, the political economy that usually emerges with these processes needs to be understood to determine the power dynamics that might promote or hinder the participation of the local people in projects. Third, typology is used to detect the critical ways participation occurs at each stage of the cycle.

Table 1: Framework for Participation Analysis

Category of participation (across programme/ policy cycle	**Design, Policy-Making, Budgeting, Plan**	**Who participates and in what way?**	**What are their motives for participation?**	**To what extent are conditions for effective participation met?**	**What are the results of participation**
Design, Policy-Making, Budgeting, Plan	Seeking to influence policy decisions (advising, advocacy, lobbying and activism): political parties, professional organisations, other civil society organisations active on specific issues, the media Local advisory committees, hearings processes to set priorities and plans Programme design.				
Design, Policy-Making,	Participation in campaigns, information				

Budgeting, Plan	sharing, awareness-raising, volunteering				
Design, Policy-Making, Budgeting, Plan	Citizen charters, social monitoring, community monitoring (e.g. of expenditure, drug availability, staff attendance), boards or oversight committees, complaint-making				

Source: Adapted from Brandon and Fukunaya (2014); Cullen and Coryn (2011); Davies (2016)

For each particular aspect of participation, the following issues are identified:

1. Who is eligible to participate: The degree to which issues of gender, age, and socio-economic factors can impact the profile of participants is important to understand. Individuals with a certain level of literacy and who have some connections to local elites are more likely to gain access to participation in projects (Speer, 2012). The participants in a project may also be determined by the nature of the project or the form of participation required in that project (Gaventa and Barrett, 2012). Males are likely to be considered in projects that require intensive manual labour, while women are likely to be considered for projects that require little labour. Furthermore, better-off people are likely not to participate in community actions, such as moulding bricks, while they are likely to participate in formalised local structures.

2. Purposes of participation: The local people's reasons for participation in a programme are many and may include the anticipation of direct or indirect benefits. Some of the reasons for participation may be based on a pledge to particular values by an individual or group. People may be motivated by the perceived material benefits, such as the prospect of future employment

opportunities. Other people may participate as representatives of their communities and not out of their own will.

3. The level to which the conditions for participation can be inclusive or excluding should first evaluate to ensure that they do not hinder the targeted participants. The circumstances for participation may differ across projects and the forms of participation that might be required projects. Participation in a project's designing and planning practices is likely to achieve better results, particularly if decisions are agreed upon with the local beneficiaries of a project (Mansuri and Rao, 2012). The conditions for more beneficiary participation in a project may require the motivation of local people and the support of volunteers (Kobani, 2014). The efficacy of participation in monitoring and evaluation is based on the skills and enthusiasm of those taking part (Kamstra and Knippenberg, 2014). It is also based on the commitment of participants or representatives to be held accountable.

4. Participation results: Each project is launched to achieve particular results. The results, in some instances, may be observed through a grading system based on a particular scale of empowerment (like the Arnstein Ladder), but which may be based on other forms, such as quality of services, alignment to local needs and priorities. Understanding the challenges to people's participation needs to be based on how conditions for effective participation can be improved.

The framework is based on several studies contributed by academics and policymakers to reveal how development in the countryside can be unleashed (Abiona and Bello, 2013; Asuru, 2017; Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng, 2016; Diener, Tay, and Oishi, 2013). It exhibits the appreciation of indigenous people as adept at articulating what they need in their particular ways. The fundamental approach is that the investigator should become a listener, learner, promoter, and expediter on an equal basis with the participants. The approach raises participants' self-image, self-reliance, enthusiasm, and obligation to reflect and discover solutions to their needs (Weru, Njoroge, Wambui, Wanjiku, Mwelu, Chepchumba, Otibine, Okoyo, and Wakesho, 2017). The framework is built from the Participation Rural Appraisal (PRA) method, facilitating the participation and empowerment of marginalised groups and illiterate members of society (Watson, 2016). It posits that as people participate in various activities, they become confident and committed to finding solutions to the challenges they face in their communities.

The PRA from which this conceptual framework is developed effectively creates good working relations between communities and development agents. It also generates quality local information needed for programme planning (Tomlinson, 2017). Chambers (1994) posits that PRA is very effective in enabling rural people to share, augment, and study their local knowledge about their conditions of life. This is further supported by Reinders, Dekker, van Kesteren (2019), who note that PRA also enables the rural people to determine what they need to do to resolve their challenges. Chambers (1994) posits that PRA empowers people to perform their appraisals. The local people can analyse the data they generate, resolve their challenges, and monitor and evaluate their actions. PRA thus boosts the growth of a sense of accountability project participants.

In encouraging the appreciation of the knowledge held by the local people and promoting their involvement in projects as facilitators in development initiatives, PRA supposes that the "local people are capable of something until it is proven otherwise" (Chambers, 1994:1445). Gupta and Voegelin (2016:434) agree that PRA "recognises and respects all people's capabilities and knowledge." This view is also shared by Pouw, Rohregger, Schüring, Alatinga, Kinuthia, and Bender (2018), who posit that local people are more capable of collecting accurate data than outsiders. If given an opportunity, local people can collect and analyse data and even initiate development projects on their own (Hickey, 2015). This, therefore, implies that when the local people are given opportunities, they can transform their situation. As the local people participate in the learning processes, they should concurrently be aided to learn and be understood so that they are correctly approached and their abilities are duly accepted.

Chambers (1996:1) points out that when using PRA in community development processes, there are principles that need to be considered. These include the following:

a) Development organisers and implementers should remain as outsiders to learn from and with the local people through observation or interactions with the local people.

b) The learning process needs to be rapid, open-minded, and flexible and should not necessarily be dogmatic. It should also include inventiveness and cross-checking. PRA should always be made to be situation-specific and encourage flexibility.

c) The facilitators of development initiatives also need to learn to be on the same level as the local people and learn with and from the people. In addition, they need to engage the most vulnerable categories of society, such as the poor and women and learn their challenges.

d) Development facilitators should ensure the active participation of local people in the collection of data, its analysis, and presentation as part of the process to enhance learning and ensure ownership of the outcomes.

e) When applying PRA, "…use your own best judgement at all times" (Chambers 1994b:1255). This involves being self-aware and self-critical.

f) Organisers of development initiatives need to constantly and critically examine their behaviours and approach the local situation.

g) The information gathered in the learning process must be shared between the beneficiaries and organisers. This is to ensure that the information and the project are legitimised since it is collected, checked, and verified by the participants themselves.

These principles imply that development facilitators need to listen, learn, verify, embrace errors, and share information with the people. This implies that the environment has to be friendly to encourage people to participate in development initiatives.

In using PRA, the current study used mixed methods techniques to ensure that the study specifically benefited from the participation of local people who were under investigation (see Chapter Three). The PRA techniques that were combined included the following:

a) Observation. By deploying observation, development implementers need to watch and listen to development projects' beneficiaries carefully. The researchers should record this information more as participants rather than as outsiders (Combrinck and Bennett 2016).

b) Participatory mapping is a method in which the prospective beneficiaries draw maps until they provide comprehensive data needed for the implementation of development programmes (Chambers, 1994).

c) Transects allow villagers to take the lead in participatory mapping of an area, using the maps (Pouw and De Bruijne, 2015).

Chambers (1994) argues that transect walk is conducted using participatory maps. This eventually leads to villagers becoming guides for outsiders (Akinyoade, Dietz, and Uche, 2017). Therefore, a transect is a walk that is taken after mapping and in which the local villagers lead the process, thereby being empowered. The participatory learning practice in which the beneficiaries walk through an area, observe, ask, listen and discuss to find information that is imperative for answers and solutions (Fieuw and Mitlin, 2018).

These techniques have been deployed in numerous community development enterprises for natural resource management (Gumede and Nzama, 2020), agricultural development (Gupta and Vegelin 2016), health and nutrition (Hickey 2015), poverty alleviation (Ogwang et al., 2019), and food security (Pham, 2018). Local people are found to be proficient in implementing participatory appraisal activities with the support of development facilitators (Chambers, 1994). According to Pouw et al. (2018), this is because the rural and the poor are specialists in managing to endure challenging circumstances and know things that external development workers do not know (Chambers, 1983). This is confirmed by Combrinck and Bennett (2016), who observed that local people are experts in their particular settings. Dinko (2017) agrees that local people possess a certain amount of knowledge and wisdom that community workers must respect when engaging in community development projects.

Dengerink (2013) also agrees that the local people may possess knowledge that may be imperative for any development initiative. For instance, in the agricultural sector, particularly in Africa, farming activities such as mixed farming and inter-cropping distorted as primitive and misguided by colonial administrations are now recognised as sophisticated and appropriate (Lines and Makau 2017; Mulu and Pineteh, 2016). This shows that the local people know much about their environment and development practices than external development workers. Local people should thus, be approached as capable experts about development practices in their areas.

The conduct and approach of external facilitators are fundamental in executing PRA principles. This is usually seen when these facilitators approach local people assuming that the locals are ignorant and that there is nothing much they can assist with. This undermines the locals. Chambers (1994) posits that where facilitators have a positive attitude about the local people inconsistent with PRA principles, they would "hand over the stick" in terms of authority to allow

the local people to take charge of development initiatives that concern them. This can only be possible when facilitators approach the community members positively.

According to Breuer and Groshek (2017), PRA is Participatory Action Research (PAR) type which development workers deploy to lobby for the involvement of the socially-marginalised assemblages in problem analysis and development initiatives. Fieuw and Mitlin (2018) note that PRA is a research technique used to solicit for the participation of research subjects, but it is also an approach focused on the rapport between the participants and the researcher. The researcher and the community should be equal associates. Each of them should contribute resources to the execution of the development project (Gumede and Nzama, 2020). Preferably, the research problem in whatever development practice is embarked on should be initiated by the targeted beneficiaries who find it challenging to establish the problem themselves, thus requesting assistance from facilitators. PRA was chosen for the study as it emphasises equality in engagements between development practitioners and communities. It also equates the researchers with the prospective research participants.

2.16. The Theoretical Framework for the Study

Given the conceptual framework developed above, three popular theories are drawn to guide understanding in the study. These are the political economy, SLF, and the social policy approach. These theories show how various factors can interact to enhance or hamper the realisation of development in particular case studies.

2.16.1. The Political Economy of Development

One of the theories that show how the realisation of development depends on various factors and actors that interact is the political economy theory. The theory exposes the numerous conducts in which capitalist economic designs and market practices influence and are influenced by political power (Dzvimbo, Machokoto, and Mashizha, 2020; Hagenaars, 2017). The theory is associated with Karl Marx, who emphasised the importance of ideology and human history in all development efforts. Marx (1973) avers that an economic ideology reveals how a particular society deals with its primary economic challenges regarding what it can produce, how to produce, whom to produce, and how to reach economic growth to reduce unemployment and

poverty. This view distinguishes Marx's political economy from the economic theory. Marx's political economy does not provide straightforward explanations of the phenomenon but also seeks to expose how social relations should be considered during the development process itself. The theory shows how capitalism and communism are entirely ideologies. In his view, the theory is relevant in understanding how rural development can be initiated and how it can be assisted to progress and understand the factors that frustrate it. In this study, the theory can understand what promotes and or frustrates development in Ghana's Northern Region.

Karl Marx avers that in using the political economy theory to interpret phenomenon, it is imperative to consider both the political and economic conditions of the community or country under study – its geographical location, its population, its classes, and patterns of production, export and import, consumption, and commodity prices, among others. The theory is used in this study on the conviction that it can lead to the understanding of the "rich totality of many determinations and relations…iterations between conceptual abstractions and detailed empirical observation: [T]he concrete is concrete because it is the concentration of many determinations, hence unity of the diverse" (Marx 1973:41).

Although the political has its weaknesses just like any other theory, the theory wields much potential in revealing the role of governments in affairs that shape policy and socio-economic realities that can eventually stimulate development. The theory could provide a refined and in-depth analysis that advances conventional "economic concepts and theories to a point where the practical reality behind them (i.e., historical and social contents) become real and subject to critical attack" (Essia and Okoi, 2013:63). With the Northern Region of Ghana (the case study of this study) being primarily an agrarian community, the political economy theory could provide an opportunity to understand the "many determinations and relations" (Marx, 1973:41) that could trigger or that frustrate development. It could show how access and the utilisation of resources are controlled by the decisive – traditional leadership and the nation-state (Alder, 2009; Bayeh, 2015). Scarce resources needed to generate development in the region, such as land, are often accessed under highly politicised conditions (Chingozha and Von Fintel, 2017). Land reform, for example, always leads to societal power shifts and thereby becomes a political process, hence the relevance of the political economy theory.

Several scholars have highlighted the political economy of resource distribution in citizen-politician connections in nation-states' delivery of public goods and citizens' access to the same goods (Chabal and Daloz, 1999; Chamunogwa, 2012; Marens, 2009). These connections are regarded as systems of a trade-off between politicians and ordinary citizens (Chamunogwa, 2012). The connections are not based on the honesty of political offices, and neither are they built on legal conduits of how scarce resources are accessed, but rather, are based on the political economy of how politicians achieve their obligations to meet the expectations of their supporters (Chamunogwa, 2012). Chabal and Daloz (1999) posit that most of the channels used by politicians to distribute state resources are biased. The delivery of scarce resources by these oligarchs is chiefly done by using formal state structures, which they abuse to reward their loyal supporters in top-down engagements (Mawowa, 2013). These arrangements may also be bottom-up as the same politicians negotiate to access state resources between the state and their supporters' citizens (Marens, 2009). Milward (2000) posits that there are no straight cages between them as they may be interlinked.

Scarce resources often embody great monetary and symbolic value and are, therefore, more disposed to capture by dominant political actors. Scarce resources also provide strategic means for benefaction and, in some instances, predation by some powerful actors and their political capital (Chabal and Daloz, 1999). Several studies in Ghana show that the Northern Region and its people remain marginalised in development (Combrinck and Bennett, 2016; Akinyoade, Dietz, and Uche, 2017). It is, therefore, relevant to use the political economy theory in the study and analysis of the essential dimensions of development resource access and utilisation in the region. The political economy theory becomes crucial in understanding the numerous scopes intrinsic in development projects.

The political economy theory has its weaknesses, however. Wani and Sharma (2017:246) discard the theory arguing that: "Marx did not think about the problem of such developing countries. He talked of colonial exploitation and foreign backwardness of colonies, but he never analysed the problem of their development." Iggers (2012) theorises that Marxism faded partly due to its failure to value the significance of culture in its analysis of events. Countries disassociated themselves with Marxism when it became clear that Marx's view of the socio-economic realities of his time was not as in fact 'concrete' as he believed. Marx had predicted the evolution from

capitalism to socialism to occur instantly following the proletariat's revolution (Essia and Okoi 2013). The delay of this revolution and the end of Soviet Union domination over countries weakened Marxism as a political movement (Marens, 2009). Karl Marx did also not provide a concrete design of how socialist thought could be achieved, but just offered a theory derived from personal conceptualisations and observations of the crescendos of the capitalist system basically in Europe (Alder, 2009). As a result, the 'theory' is viewed merely as a framework than a theory. However, in the current study, Marx's political economy theory offered a more practical framework for analysing development issues in the case study area (see Chapter Five).

2.16.2. The Social Policy Approach

Social policy refers to some public actions that can either protect or harm people in a particular area (Adesina, 2007). It is defined by Mkandawire (2001:1) as "collective interventions directly affecting transformations in social welfare, social institutions and social relations… [as well as] access to adequate and secure livelihoods and income." The World Bank (2005) posits that social policy relates to a series of public policies designed to inspire social development. This can be land reform or community development projects. Viewing social policy as essential for national development, Mkandawire (2001:12) contends that it is also "…an instrument for ensuring a sense of citizenship [and] an important instrument for conflict management, which is, in turn, a prerequisite for sustained economic development…." Hall and Midgley (2009:6) view the policy as "…encompassing any planned or concerted action that affects people's lives and livelihoods." For Gumede (2018:5), social policy should include methods for change, "as in transforming social relations and institutions." Social policy is used in this study to understand that it is crucial for improving the quality of life of people in a particular area.

Social policy's centre is a commitment to improving people's quality of life in a particular area (Adesina, 2007). This view is shared by Marshal (1965), who posited that the issue of citizenship is fundamentally a matter of guaranteeing that everybody is respected as a complete and equal member of society. He also argued that citizenship could be ensured by providing people with social rights, namely, civil and political rights. These rights include public education, health care, unemployment insurance and old-age pension (Marshal, 1965). Developing on the work of Marshall, Esping- Andersen (1990: 21) add that:

"If social rights are given the same legal and practical status as property rights and if they are inviolable, and if they are granted based on citizenship rather than performance, they will entail a de-commodification of the status of individuals vis a vis the market".

Titmuss (1974:31) requires that social policy be "beneficent, redistributive and concerned with economic as well as non-economic objectives."

The discussion above suggests that for social policy results to be attained, there must be a link between social policy and economic policy. Polanyi (1946) supports this view, which posits that the economy is connected to society. Social policies are, thus, connected to economic policies, and therefore, there should be an emphasis on human development as a channel for economic development. Mkandawire (2004:20) notes:

Studies on the linkages between social policy outcomes and economic growth show that social development outcomes have beneficial effects on economic growth at both microeconomic and macroeconomic levels.

Although the debates on the indicators of social development are limited, there is substantial debate on the ordering of social policy systems. Esping-Andersen (1990) and other scholars have introduced welfare state orderings that summarise how some nations' social policy systems are organised. Reviewed literature showed that countries developed their social policy designs based on schools of thought. The United Kingdom, for instance, was inspired by the Fabian Society founded in 1884 (Titmuss, 1974). The society established a social policy model that borrowed from the data gathered in a study carried out by Booth and Rowntree (Alcock, 2012). The study revealed the prevalence of poverty in Britain in the 19th century despite the presence of Poor Laws. The study dared conventional political guesses that economic markets could improve the conditions of the poor people (Alcock, 2012).

The Fabian Society used the study results to persuade various development actors that pushed for the privatisation of welfare services. It posited that state policy mediation was crucial in providing support and protection for the poor, which markets could not do (Adesina, 2008). The social policy approach gained the support of prominent scholars such as John Maynard Keynes, who viewed the state "as [the] ultimate protector of the public good and has a duty to supplement and regulate market forces" (Alcock, May and Wright, 2012:24). In 1942, Beveridge released a

report addressing the 'five giants on the road to reconstruction' while placing the state at the centre as the driver of that process. The report proposed a national insurance system for the United Kingdom for it to be able to deal with the ravages of the 'giants', namely, want, illiteracy, disease, filth and joblessness (Beveridge, 1942). The main focus of the Beveridge report was to bring attention to the aspect of 'want' which later became the centre of the European social policy discourse.

Drawing from the recommendations by Beveridge, the British Labour Government adopted some legislations meant to deal with the ills of society. Such legislation included the National Insurance Act of 1946, the 1946 National Health Service Act, and the 1948 National Assistance Act, which ended the Poor Law and provided welfare services (Bonoli and Palier, 1995). The Beveridge Report became the premise of a welfare state because it was based on the macro-economic assessments conducted by Keynes in 1936, which envisioned the state playing a pivotal role in regulation. Social policies were also introduced in Germany under Otto von Bismarck, who launched sickness insurance in 1883, Accident Insurance in 1884 and later introduced an old-age and disability social insurance program in 1889. These Bismarckian social policies were predicated on social insurance while releasing earnings-related benefits for workers. The right to social insurance depended on one's satisfactory record of contribution to the facility, and the financing was primarily based on employer/employee contributions (Bonoli and Palier, 1995). In Germany, the social policy emerged as a powerful tool used to improve the position of the workers. Soon the social policies would also be adopted and implemented in several countries worldwide.

One of the key challenges that social policy has had was women's reproductive and nurturing roles and their central role in understanding the wellbeing of people and, subsequently, nations (Adesina, 2007; Mkandawire, 2005). As a result, there has been some dissatisfaction about how social policy remained unmindful of women's reproductive roles in society. This dissatisfaction emerged since the 1890s and the 1990s and prompted contemporary leading social policy scholars such as Adesina (2007a:45) to argue that:

> *The gendered dimensions of labour market participation and sustained employment record – and therefore retirement annuity or provident fund contributions – distinctly*

disadvantage women whose labour market participation is often interrupted by marriage and childrearing.

Adesina (2007a:45) also argues that the reconsideration of social policy "requires a strongly pro-natal approach, but it also requires social provisioning that treats women as people in their own right rather than in their procreation and nurturing roles." Given the gender awareness that social policy has tried to stimulate in modern history, Bonoli and Palier (1995) observed that some states dealt with the gendered social policy call by establishing substantial measures to improve the condition and position of women within social insurance systems. Among many others, such measures included contribution credits for the duration a person spent raising a child, the introduction of maternity leave, and the provision of free childcare services.

In Africa, social policy was organised limited due to the colonial idiosyncrasies that characterised the 1800s and 1900s. The gradual collapse of colonial subjugation saw most African states introducing nationalist ideologies for their people. These ideologies primarily focused on the "eradication of the "unholy trinity of ignorance, poverty, and disease" (Mkandawire, 2005: 13) by embracing development policies that were meant to improve their vulnerable populace. In the nationalist development, social spending on education was meant to deal with the legacy of colonialism, which had disadvantaged the indigenous people of the fright to learn and acquire education and training (Mkandawire, 2005). In addition, investment in education was targeted at dealing with the human resources needs that existed when countries gained independence. Thus, the schooling strategy across much of Africa involved targeting the youths of diverse backgrounds and identities (Garba, 2007). The envisioned outcome of this determination was to improve nation-building and social cohesion. The nationalists envisioned creating nations with mechanisms that would develop their people's social and economic capabilities while forming cohesive institutions.

The growing popularity of the social policy has led to the birth of the transformative social policy conceptual framework in recent decades. The transformative social policy conceptual framework represents a logical and organised way of thinking about social policy to enable it not to miss its functions (Adesina, 2007b). This logical way of thinking was initiated by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development in its study on Social Policy in development. The conceptualisation of social policy by use of the transformative social policy shifted focus to

the neglected dimensions of social policy, particularly in development. The social policy had relinquished its developmental direction, as had already been observed by Myrdal (1984). The transformative social policy framework, thus, is based on the mandate of reconstructing the state in its policy-making aptitude and its capacity to run the state, manage society, and outline the factors of economic activities (Adesina, 2007). In this view, the point of departure would be the acknowledgement that effective and fruitful efforts towards the building of a socially-inclusive developmental agenda would always rest on visionary agenda-setting, which can only be realised when the state plays its role as the key driver of societal survival (Adesina, 2007). , the transformative social policy conceptual framework, thus, emerged to provide a well-thought-out and strategic way of considering social policy without ignoring the other tasks of social policy that seem to have been ignored. The transformative social policy framework identifies five social policy tasks, namely, production, protection, reproduction, redistribution, and social cohesion. The framework departs from the mono-tasking of social policy, which is Eurocentric. The degree of analysis of the five functions may differ depending on the tool that one may use. It is, however, important here to highlight that some social policy interventions do not cover all the five functions outlined above. However, one key component that would lead to the actualisation of social policies is the commitment of leadership. It can be posited that visionary legislation and national Constitutions are not good enough if there is no strong leadership that will implement the legislation and enforce the constitutions. Adesina (2007:44) avers that:

> *Leadership matters; so does policy. Constructing social consensus around a developmental project is fundamental: it calls for visionary leadership that is locally grounded in Africa's realities; it calls for putting at the heart of our collective social contract social justice, equity, and the vicarious indignity that we should experience when others in our societies contend with poverty and destitution*.

Adesian (2007)'s view is confirmed by Yi and Mkandawire (2014), who, in their study on the South Korean development success, found noticeable factors of the role of leadership in organising and leading the development process. It is therefore in the presence of the leadership of the highest quality, together with the availability of sound legislation; open platforms which support the participation of the general citizenry; improved information accessibility; independent and open media; gender equality and capable institutions that the public will be able

to be provided by a country to its people. However, it is essential to point out that each of these enablers is not free from the political economy of how countries are run. More often than not, each of the enablers outlined above is affected by the impulses of politics and public resource management.

Given the above, it is clear that social policy has significant links with development. Therefore, the social policy approach is essential in the current study, which focuses on the Northern Region of Ghana, which is agrarian because social policy results are assessed using social development indicators. Such indicators would include, among many others, information about health, employment, education, and general quality of life of people in a particular location.

Midgley (1993) describes social development as one of the diverse forms of development amongst economic, political, community, self-development, human, and grassroots development. Midgley (1995: 25) defines social development as "a process of planned social change designed to promote the wellbeing of the population as a whole in conjunction with a dynamic process of economic development." Burkey (1993) describes social development as continuous change, which is developing self-confidence, a sense of cooperation, and developing awareness and skills. The two descriptions of social development outlined above compare in many respects with the definitions for social policy presented earlier, with the social policy being described as all about the collective public efforts targeted at the realisation of the protection of the social wellbeing of people within a particular place. If the definitions of social development and social policy are compared, some key similarities can be identified, mainly how the two focus on realising human welfare and the general need to improve human capabilities. Placing the individual at the centre of development efforts is theoretically imperative since it highlights that development is not merely the economic or social development of society but the growth of individuals within that society.

Several scholars concur that development as a concept is problematic. This issue has been elaborated on above and need not be repeated. Sen (1992) posits that instead of focusing on points of divergence and conflict concerning the development process, energy should instead be placed to the envisioned outcomes rather than means. In highlighting the link between social development social policy, this study focuses on the development outcomes in the Northern Region of Ghana. According to Rist (2002, 2007), development promotes the idea that

'tomorrow things will be better….' For Mkandawire (2004), development implies broadening the variety of human choices. Developing the works of Arthur Lewis, Amartya Sen contends that development is built on the view that people are the managers, recipients and judges of development, but they also happen to be directly or indirectly the primary means of all production' (Sen, 1992). Sen (1992) further observed that the improvement of living conditions needs to be undoubtedly an essential factor in the entire development project. Sen's views on development generally build on the works of classical philosophers, such as Aristotle, who argued that development should be all about the provision of conditions that enable and improve people's capacity to live prosperous lives. Aristotle is also reputable for having argued that the realisation of a prosperous life could only be made possible in the presence of quality primary goods which can enable people to make choices on what they want to be or do. This conceptualisation of development as a form of freedom emphasises human beings' abilities to lead their chosen lives. This view has been sustained by scholars such as Sen and Midgley (1994), who posits that the objective of social development in the framework of contemporary welfare is to generate social wellbeing that empowers people to be proficient to act and make their independent personal decisions. Thus, both social policy and social development represent an ambition to broaden the variety of human choices by improving and increasing their abilities to lead lives they can consider not only as valuable but also as fulfilling.

Social and economic policies are, however, inseparable. This view is supported by Polanyi (1946), who avers that economic policy is inseparably linked to the social. In contrast, some neoliberal scholars often adopt a residual approach in debating the social policy and argue that economic growth needs to come first before realising social development. Midgely (1995) supports this view and adds that social development aims to promote human wellbeing alongside a vibrant, continuing and energetic process of economic development. Midgely (1995) further posits that social development places economic and social processes as inseparably essential constituents of development. In this view, social development cannot be realised without economic development. Furthermore, economic development does not make sense if it does not bring about substantial advances in the wellbeing of the people as a whole (Midgely, 1994).

Several studies have demonstrated that the growth in GNP per capita does not necessarily have a direct relationship with improved human conditions (Alcock, May, and Wright, 2012; Baah-

Kumi and Yu-Feng, 2016; Beierle, 1999; Esping-Andersen, 2001). Countries with high GNP per capita can still record low levels in terms of the quality of life of their people. Many of their people could also still experience premature mortalities, avoidable morbidity, and high illiteracy rates. Midgely (2001) refers to such a situation as 'distorted development'. According to Bonoli and Palier (1995), sustainable growth is only possible when issues of inequality are addressed, and redistributive efforts are made in a country. In this view, dealing with poverty and susceptibility (at the centre of social policy and development) can only occur when there is interdependence between economic and social policy (see Polanyi, 1946; Adesina, 2007; Mkandawire, 2007).

Sacco (2008) associates social policy with human rights. He argues that the right to development can only be realised when all human rights are attained in a comprehensive model based on equity and social justice. This view augurs well with the pursuits of the transformative social policy framework, which seeks to achieve equality and hence the welfare for all. One way of realising equality is through equity, which is also one of the development constituents. This issue of equality appears in social policy because, by its nature, the social policy seeks to ensure that every member of the society enjoys a certain standard of living and specific opportunities (Mkandawire, 2005).

The purpose of social policy is to ensure that people within a particular community also have access to dignified lives and that their wellbeing is secured irrespective of standing, culture, gender, age and any other component that may be used against discrimination. This aspect of social justice and the quest for equality is supported by Adesina (2007), who posits that the minimum standard of living for each society member can be ensured through social policy features. These include the direct provision of social welfare by the state government through, for instance, broad-based education and health services, grants, subsidies, pensions, interventions in the labour market, land reform, and other redistributive policies. Therefore, social policy tools can be viewed as channels through which human needs can be pursued and realised. It is the crucial goal for social justice and equality. It is also the ultimate goal of development. Social policy aims to ensure the total liberation of individuals and their societies from ravages, such as poverty, but with options and liberties to pursue lives which they have reason to count worthy. Social policy tools can assist the realisation of social development and improve economic

development (Bonoli and Palier, 1995). Development can also not exist without bringing social change along with it.

The state should always be the driver of both social policy and development while the private sector is only involved to offer support to existing efforts. It should always be the state's responsibility to mobilise resources (human, natural and economic) that may be used to effect social change. This could be achieved by implementing national policies designed around social policy. Scholars such as Midgely (2002) aver that developmental welfare calls for a challenging role for the state in social welfare and promoting economic development. It is important to note that even though the state may outline the parameters of social policy, the actual deliverance of the broad range of social policy measures is not the state's duty alone but depends on the collective efforts of a broad range of other stakeholders. Esping-Andersen (2001) posits that self-provisioning and occupational welfare (related to employment) are central characteristics of social policy.

Another purpose of social policy is to bring about social cohesion. The idea of social cohesion refers to social linkages and systems and some institutionalised social relationships that promote the integration of communities (Adesina, 2008). Besides social cohesion being a required end in itself, studies have shown that communities that have higher social cohesion also have a high degree of social capital and economic wellbeing (Mazwi, Muchetu, and Chibwana, 2017). Chibwana (2016) noted that communities with a high degree of social cohesion were more flourishing than those with a low degree of social cohesion.

As a result, highly disorganised communities that are despondent and that have high rates of crime often experience low social capital as well as low levels of economic development (Chibwana, 2016). This view suggests that social cohesion is an essential economic and social development component. This view is supported by Burns, Hull, Lefko-Everett and Njozela (2018), who argue that the productive activity of social capital is noticeable in its capability to expedite synchronisation and collaboration for common benefit. This is because communities can tie together their social capital in undertaking programs and activities that can impact their living standards in that particular community. Chibwana (2016) confirms this view by arguing that social cohesion calls for investments and the mobilisation of local people around a range of

local social and economic projects. This study also explores the social cohesion dynamics that support participation in development projects in the Northern Region of Ghana.

2.15.3. The Sustainable Livelihood Framework

The SLF is one of the popular frameworks scholars and developers have used to study rural development in recent decades (Bennett, 2010; Chambers and Conway, 1992; Cousins and Scoones, 2009; Mkodzongi, 2013). This framework avoids focusing on a single aspect of individual or household livelihood tactics when evaluating development issues. It promotes the need to acknowledge other workings that also exercise their demands on the resources owned by households and communities (Moyo and Kirkby, 2001; Nhantumbo and Salomao, 2010). Farrington et al. (1999) observed that the SLF emerges from complicated reflections on the multi-dimensional sides of poverty from the global to community level; and how factors such as gender and governance impact poverty. The framework underlies that if people or communities are provided with primary assets, they will not continue to be helpless or underprivileged. The SLF emerges from sustainable livelihoods approaches.

The relevance of the SLF in the current study is that it advances the rural development practice and policy by recognising the recurring and periodic complexity of livelihood strategies. It also helps reduce resource access challenges and promotes actions that synchronise existing arrangements (Sulle and Smalley, 2015). In addition, the SLF can detect the methods of building resilient livelihoods in the face of sudden aggressive shocks (Scoones, Morongwe, Mavedzenge, Murimbarimba, and Mahenehene, 2015). The SLF identifies what households or communities "have rather than what they do not have" and seeks to strengthen households or the people's "own inventive solutions, rather than a substitute for, block or undermine them" (Moser 1998:1).

The SLF is associated with Chambers and Conway (1992), who described a livelihood as comprising:

> *…the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which*

contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term (Chambers and Conway 1992:6).

The above description significantly influenced how poverty was conceptualised before. Poverty was primarily conceptualised in terms of lack or poor production, unemployment and characterised by poverty-line thinking by the poor themselves. Chambers and Conway (1992) constructed a description that incorporated the basic ideas of capabilities (Bennett, 2010). Chambers and Conway (1992:31) detailed their policy principles in three headlines:

- Enhancing capability: When faced with change and impulsiveness, people are reflective, flexible, quick to modify, and can use several belongings and opportunities as their response mechanism.
- Improving equity: Priority concerning the access of assets must be given to the most defenceless of society, including minority groups, women, the elderly and the sick, to enable them to be better prepared to react to sudden shocks.
- Increasing social sustainability: The vulnerability of those who are poor must be minimised by reducing the external stress and shocks and providing them with safety nets.

Drawing on Chambers and Conway's (1992), many scholars identify the SLF as denoting the tools that are used to assist poor people and vulnerable communities to be able to assist themselves during shocks (Bennett, 2010; Mkodzongi, 2013; Nhantumbo and Salomao, 2010; Scoones et al. 2015). Morse and McNamara (2013) consider the SLF to recognise that people and communities always make use of different activities by which they can survive. The framework explores the numerous features that influence people or communities' abilities to generate conditions that will allow them to achieve their full potential (Werner and Odendaal, 2010). Werner and Odendaal (2010) conclude that the framework is people-centred in analysing their conditions and is vital in identifying suitable interventions.

Bennett (2010:2) posits that the livelihoods framework is centred on the linkages:

> *...between individual or household assets, the activities in which households can engage with a given asset profile, and the mediating processes (such as institutions and regulations) that administer access to assets, and to alternative activities*.

The livelihoods framework is designed for the enhancement of policies and practices which have a rural development focus (Ndhlovu, 2018; Nhantumbo and Salomao, 2010). The framework acknowledges the periodic and cyclical nature of livelihood methods, thus, helping in the riddance of access challenges and actions that harmonise existing forms and identifying ways to ensure that livelihoods are better equipped to tolerate hostile drifts or unexpected shocks. A fundamental aspect of the framework is that it sets out to institute and then focus on what people have at particular periods rather than what they do not have. It also seeks to strengthen households or the individual's creative solutions instead of blocking or undermining them (Morse and McNamara, 2013). The SLF also seeks to complement the critical issues that impact the strength of the stratagems for existence by individuals or households (Ndhlovu, 2018). These strategies include the assets that belong to households, the numerous actions they engage in to survive and meet other livelihood needs, such as the reduction of risk, and the factors that enable or restrain their access to assets and activities (Ndhlovu, 2018).

The SLF exists in several versions. However, the frameworks firstly identify the vulnerability context that defines the outside situation in which specific individuals or households are located. A vulnerability context shows the situations and actions that impact people's abilities to sustain their livelihood strategies (Moser, 1998; Ndhlovu, 2018). According to the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), the vulnerability context refers to complex or impossible situations to change or transform and must only cope with instead. There are at least five main types of assets, also known as capitals (the Asset Pentagon), namely; human (skills, education and health), social (community/family bonds), financial (savings, incomes), natural (natural resources including land and water) and physical capitals (infrastructure and tools) (Bennett 2010; Morse and McNamara, 2013; Toner, 2002). The SLF combines the practical mechanisms that conform to the definition of livelihoods and exhibits their relationship.

The following are the key features of the SLF:

- It places people's socio-economic activities at the centre of the analysis.
- It recognises management and development intervention options that go beyond traditional sectorial limits.
- It assimilates factors that affect all households, irrespective of occupation or class.
- It provides connections between home or local matters and broader concerns, including national policy.
- It is friendly and participatory and enables the cooperation of households with external development.

The SLF version in Figure 1 by McDowell (2002) is one of the many versions of the SLF. It shows that livelihood sustainability is also susceptible to external factors, which comprise trends and shocks beyond households' control. In agrarian Northern region communities of Ghana, trends may comprise land degradation, rising inputs prices, and some non-farming related trends that still impact production, such as the dilapidation of road and communication networks to areas where inputs can be purchased. Shocks may include storms and pest and disease outbreaks that impact production or damage facilities.

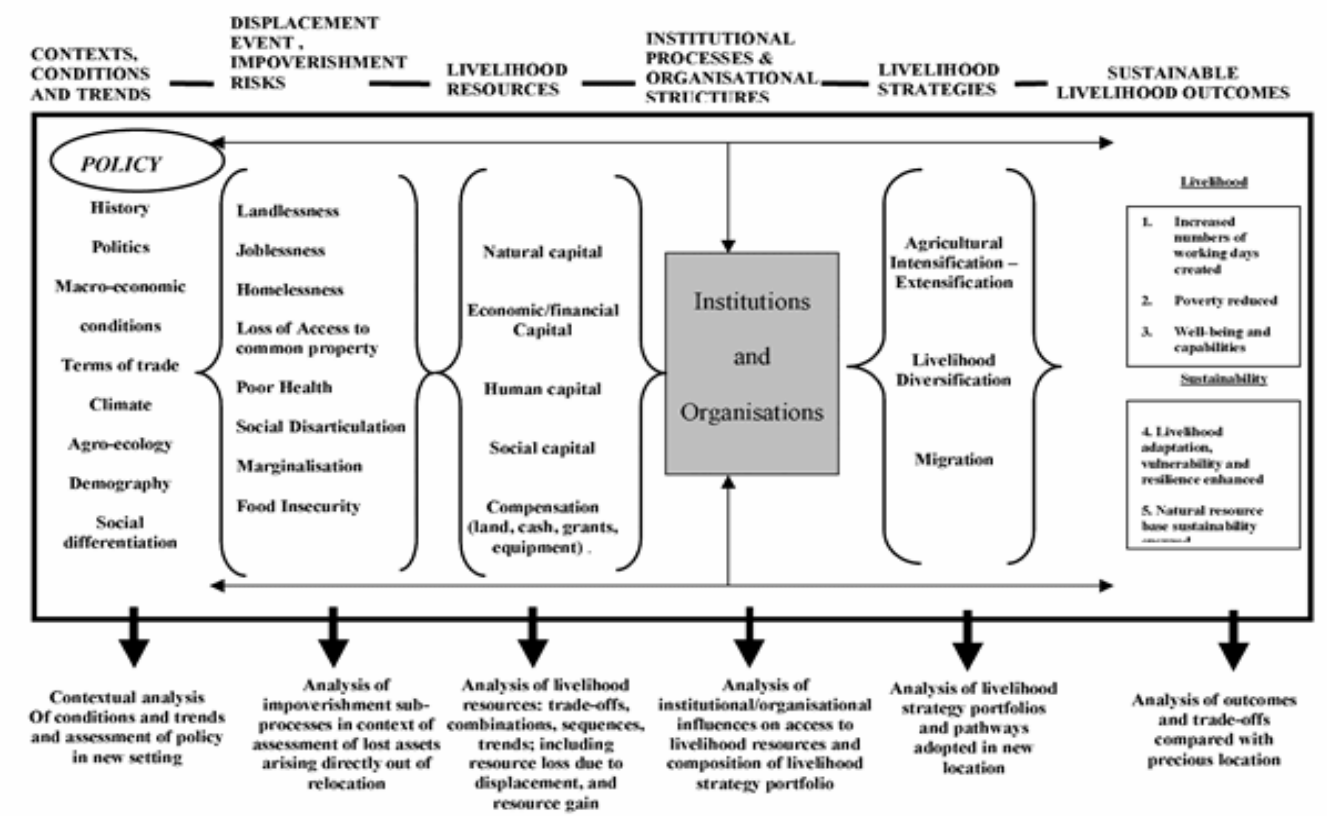

Figure 1: McDowell's Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Source: Scoones (1998:4)

Understanding how households flourish or stumble when faced with shocks, trends, and seasonality are important for development practitioners who intend to support households in dealing with their livelihood threats (Morse and McNamara 2013). Figure 1 shows that interventions may include providing social services, inputs, education and training.

Capital assets are imperative in building livelihood strategies by households and communities (Nhantumbo and Salomao, 2010). Such strategies may include households' spending options. Lastly, McDowell's framework highlights the results of livelihood tactics. A livelihood can be considered as sustainable if it can maintain or improve people's standard of living (Bennett 2010), decrease their susceptibility, and guarantee that their activities do not threaten their natural base to enable them to reserve their natural capital, which they share with other subsistence households (Toner, 2002). Households' quality of life can also be improved if the 'social capital' is sustained or improved (Ndhlovu, 2018). While household livelihoods are

maintained partly through subsistence activities, connections to the broader public are also crucial since challenges of households or communities in one location may also become challenges to other communities nearby. Thus, organisations can provide a supportive environment that comprises good, responsive public services to households. This should be done as part of an effort to defend the welfare of communities located in the proximity of a particular community.

However, McDowell's SLF is criticised for vagueness on the nature of the relationships needed between institutional processes (Werner and Odendaal, 2010) and for making straight arrows that connect factors in the framework, thereby making livelihood arrangements seem unsophisticated and linear (Bennett, 2010). Moreover, the framework presents livelihood outcomes and sustainability as simple add-ons to the framework without a clear association to anything within the framework considered a whole (Bennett, N. 2010; Morse and McNamara, 2013; Ndhlovu, 2018). In this context, other diagrammatic representations have emerged as an alternative. A discussion of these alternative frameworks is not part of this study.

2.17. Conclusion

The literature reviewed in this chapter shows that development empowers individuals and whole communities. Therefore, participation in community development may be a means to attain empowerment. Self-reliance, independence, self-esteem, a sense of belonging, and a sense of ownership are the key components and pointers of people empowerment. However, all these can only be reached when people and communities participate, particularly in collective arrangements.

Community development literature shows the importance of the role of the state and other non-governmental actors in ensuring the realisation of community development. While the critical role of these actors is highlighted, it is also pointed out that these actors must not exert undue influence on the communities they are meant to help. They only need to guide the prospective development beneficiaries rather than do things for them.

The literature also indicated that the absence of effective community organisations might undermine community development prospects in rural areas. Institutional capacity was also pointed in the literature as central to community group crescendos which have an important role

in increasing participation and empowerment. The practice of empowerment appeared to depend on community interest groups' structural dimensions. For this reason, a need for the formation of influential community interest groups in rural communities remains imperative and unavoidable. The literature also highlighted community interest groups and organisational linkage structure formations as the two types of groups necessary for the realisation of community development programmes. There are, however, scholarly debates concerning the preferred and effective sizes of these groups, although scholars pointed out that the members in these groups can range from four to about twenty per group. Social and political freedom have also been indicated as extremely important in improving the participation of community members in development projects that concern them.

The literature also showed that the Northern Region of Ghana is the least covered in terms of community participation in development projects. Being the most rural and the poorest region in Ghana (Nyantakyi-Frimpong et al. 2019), the region should have received satisfactory research and academic attention. This study will bridge the gap in Ghana’s development literature by highlighting the value of the participation of the local people in development projects.

The next chapter focuses on the research methodologies used in the study.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction

Participation is one of the most complex concepts to measure, and yet, in recent decades, participatory development has gained greater impetus in development discourses. The primary aim of the participatory development concept is to have the local people, who are the beneficiaries of projects and programs, be involved in the designing, formulation, and execution of programmes and policies that may eventually affect them and their communities. This chapter, therefore, details the various aspects that constituted the research methodology used in the study. The discussion includes the nature of the research design, the approaches used to gather and interpret data, and the ethical aspects involved in the study.

3.2. Research Design

Research design is the roadmap or practice used to identify the research question, collect data, and analyse a study (Anney, 2014). The options of research design include exploratory, explanatory, experiments and quasi-experiments. The exploratory research design is used when a researcher wants to understand a phenomenon in-depth (Alshenqeeti, 2014). It is usually used when the researcher wants to understand an issue using primary and secondary research methods. It is also known as preliminary research, which is used to elucidate the exact nature of the problem that requires a solution. It is also used to ensure that additional research is considered during research priorities and data collection. Researchers and academics recommend this design for its flexibility and ability to address a myriad of research questions (Anney 2014; Blumberg, Cooper, and Schindler 2014).

The explanatory research design is defined as a study conducted to investigate a problem that was not well researched before (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). The design does not provide conclusive results but affords researchers to understand how and why things occur (Gravetter and Forzao, 2016). It is used when the researcher wants to explain the characteristics of the population in a comprehensive manner (Anney, 2014). The design is essential for guiding the researcher's entire project.

The descriptive research design is meant to describe characteristics of the population under investigation, which the study focuses on (Leavy, 2017). The design is very effective in non-quantified topics. Most importantly, the design allows qualitative and quantitative data (McKim, 2017). However, the design cannot test or verify the research problem statistically. In addition, due to the lack of statistical tests, there is a high likelihood of bias.

Experimental research is a way to carefully plan experiments before they are conducted to be objective and valid (Sekaran and Bougie, 2014). In this design, the researcher manipulates independent variables and measures their effect on dependent variables. There are three types of experiments, namely, experimental (controlled), quasi-experimental (no manipulation of variables), and observational (non-experimental). However, this design can produce artificial results, and the results may only apply to one situation and are not useful in another.

The study was exploratory and explanatory since it used mixed methods research in data collection and analysis. The study was exploratory since it examined the livelihoods of households, in line with their participation, from a participatory perspective. This approach can be considered new, and thus, exploratory. The benefit of an exploratory study was that it improved understanding of the constraints of and opportunities for participation in development projects by households in northern Ghana and clarified some key concepts such as politics, agroecological factors, and socio-economic factors that impact these participation households.

Furthermore, one of the advantages of the exploratory design was that it was flexible and adaptable to change. This allowed the researcher to use various research techniques. The researcher was able to take different directions suggested by the data collected (Saunders et al., 2016).

3.3. Research Philosophy

Research philosophy serves as a map that details, for readers, how a particular study should be carried out (Alghamdi, 2015). It is also a commonly shared understanding by a community of researchers who have the same research interests on how particular topics should be studied (Anney, 2014). It was important for the researcher first to understand the discourse on paradigms to demonstrate understanding and provide a clear background to the chapter and ensure that appropriate approaches were used for the study (Bakharia, 2014). This is supported by Babbie

(2013) and Bahramnezhad, Shiri, Asgari and Afshar (2015), who posit that it is only through a deeper understanding and awareness of the nature of design for a study that a researcher will be able to make sound choices on how best to engage with the research participants.

There are various types of paradigms, namely positivism (and post-positivism), constructivism, interpretivism, transformative, emancipator, critical, pragmatism and deconstructivism are discussed by scholars (Blumberg, Cooper and Schindler, 2014). However, the current section discusses only three paradigms, namely positivism, interpretivism and realism, due to their relevance in the present work.

3.3.1. Positivism

Positivism or scientific research is a paradigm the origin of which is associated with the works of classical writers, including Aristotle, Francis Bacon, John Locke, Auguste Comte, and Emmanuel Kant and "reflects a deterministic philosophy in which causes probably determine effects or outcomes" (Creswell, 2018:9). It is based on the values of reason, truth and validity and an emphasis on facts which are gathered by way of directly observing phenomenon or by use of experiments, and an emphasis on data obtained through quantitative methods and statistical analysis (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2016; Shileds and Rangarjan, 2013). This paradigm is used mainly by researchers when they want to test a theory or describe an experience "through observation and measurement in order to predict and control forces that surround us" (O'Leary, 2004:5). The current study adopted positivism on the supposition that the social world can be studied in the same way as the natural world and that there is a method used to understand the social world that is value-free (Sekaran and Bougie, 2014). The researcher believed this paradigm was necessary since development studies, a multi-disciplinary subject, are also a social science.

3.3.2. Interpretivism

Another significant paradigm for this study, which is traceable to Edmund Husserl and Wilhem Dilthey, was interpretivism (Creswell, 2018). The paradigm focuses on understanding human experience from the natural environment where the participants are located (Saldana, 2015).

This, thus, signifies that reality is socially constructed (Babbie, 2013). In using this paradigm, researchers depend highly on participants' meaning and not on other sources (Rose, Spinks and Canhoto, 2015). Interpretivism is associated with qualitative data collection approaches due to its subjective nature and language emphasis (Liamputtong, 2013). Researchers who use this approach use small samples of the research participants and assess them in detail to understand the views of prominent people (Shileds and Rangarjan, 2013). The approach was helpful in the study as it was essential that the nature of participation in the northern region of Ghana be understood from the people's perspectives.

3.3.3. Realism

The realist paradigm combines aspects from both positivism and interpretivism (Leedy and Ormrod, 2015). Where positivism entails a single, concrete reality and where interpretivism involves several realities, realism constitutes multiple views about a single mind-independent reality (Creswell, 2018; Saunders et al., 2016). Unlike positivism which is value-free, or interpretivism, which is value-laden (McKim, 2017), realism is value-cognizant and is aware of human systems and the researcher (Ross and Onwuegbuzie, 2012; Tillman, Clemence and Stevens, 2011). Realism concurs with positivism on the notion that science should be empirically-based, rational and objective. It promotes those social objects may also be understood scientifically, not simply through language and discourse. On the other hand, it concurs with interpretivism that natural sciences are different from social sciences and that social reality is pre-interpreted (Creswell, and Creswell, 2018; Frels, Onwuegbuzie, Leech and Collins, 2014).

Realism espouses those fundamental structures free of human consciousness exist and that knowledge is socially created (Anney, 2014). The paradigm holds that the understanding we have regarding reality is an outcome of social conditioning, and thus, cannot be understood outside the social actors in the knowledge-driven process (Saunders et al., 2016). Realism also accepts that reality may exist out of science or observation. Within this paradigm, the purpose is the discovery of structures and mechanisms (both observable and non-observable) independent of the events they generate. The justification behind the deployment of realism was that researching from different angles contributes to understanding since reality can exist on multiple levels (McKim, 2017; Saunders et al., 2016).

3.4. Research Approaches for the Study

In every study, some elements are empirical and non-empirical, or a combination of both. The non-empirical approach involves using relevant pre-existing knowledge to understand a particular experience or event (Babbie, 2013; Creswell, 2018). In inquiries of a historical nature, this approach is primarily used. On the other hand, the empirical approach includes empirical data based on observation or experience (Babbie, 2013). The current study made use of both these approaches.

3.4.1. The Deductive and Inductive Approaches

Bryman (2012:57) advises that although the link between theory and research is not always straightforward, a study that does not connect with theory is "naive empiricism". A study can be linked to theory through either deduction, induction, or both (Guijt, 2014). Whether to use the deductive or inductive approach is determined by the researcher's desire to achieve the study and the nature of research questions to be satisfied (Bryman, 2012). Evans, Coon, and Ume (2011) note that deductive research entails testing theory through empirical observation, while an inductive investigation is one in which theory is developed from observation of empirical reality. Both approaches were used in the current study since the researcher also needed to identify the benefits derived by citizens of the northern region of Ghana from participatory projects and understand their perceptions on the impact of development projects in their region.

3.4.2. The Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches

The most important choice was whether the researcher had to adopt a qualitative or quantitative approach or a combination of both. This is because every study is recommended to be located within at least one of these approaches (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2018). The epistemological posture of the researcher influences the choice of the research approach to use in a study; the type of the research questions or problem being addressed as well, as researcher's skills and previous training as well as the resources available in terms of time and budget (Babbie, 2013; Creswell, 2018).

There is much literature on quantitative and qualitative methods, and this literature agree that initially, the quantitative approach was developed to study natural phenomena in natural sciences while the qualitative approach is used to examine social and cultural phenomena in social sciences (Liamputtong, 2013; Saldana, 2015; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2016). The quantitative approach typically uses the deductive approach while emphasising theory testing by quantification in the data collection and analysis, while the qualitative approach takes an inductive approach with a bias towards the generation of theories (Bryman, 2012).

The use of the quantitative approach to social sciences is discouraged by Schulze (2003). They argue that both the quantitative and the qualitative approaches should not be allowed to mix since their worldviews are entirely conflicting and mutually exclusive based on their different epistemological and ontological traditions.

However, the argument above is dismissed by Bryman (2012) and Tillman et al. (2011), who argue that combining these approaches does not result in a proper debate as both are unique approaches. Bryman (2012) warns that naïve polarisations only culminate in the restriction rather than the extension of knowledge. It is argued that even though the two approaches may not be used in studying the same phenomena, they can be combined for complementary purposes (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). For a fruitful combination of the two approaches to be achieved, researchers need first to have an in-depth understanding of the paradigms which underlay (Schulze, 2003).

On the other hand, irrespective of the numerous typical differences between the two approaches, Babbie (2013) and Creswell (2018) identified four basic comparisons if given adequate recognition. Firstly, it is pointed out that both qualitative and quantitative approaches use empirical observations to address research problems. However, data collection, analysis, and reporting in studies depend on the research type (Creswell, 2018; Saunders et al., 2016). Secondly, it has also been established that qualitative and quantitative studies describe their data. In addition, these approaches build explanatory opinions for their data and attempt explanations about why the phenomenon observed provided such results (Evans et al., 2011; Frels et al., 2014). Thirdly, the two approaches use mechanisms by which they minimise bias and other influences that may undermine the study's trustworthiness. Fourthly, Babbie (2013) and Johnson,

Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007) posit that these two approaches compare in that the goal of every study (whether qualitative or quantitative) is to understand human beings and the environments in which they live and evolve.

Given the above discussion, the two approaches were combined to provide a more robust and reliable research design. The researcher's conviction that a single approach would not encompass rural dwellers of the northern region of Ghana in their full complexity. This led the researcher to consider the pragmatic paradigm, the philosophical basis for mixed methods research.

3.4.3. Pragmatic Paradigm

Pragmatism emerged from the intellectual works of classical pragmatists such as George Herbert Mead, William James, Charles Sanders Peirce, John Dewey, and many others. The pragmatic rule is that the current meaning of an expression should be determined by the experiences or practical values of belief in or use of the expression in the world (Alghamdi 2015; Anney 2014; Creswell 2018; Halseth et al., 2016). The pragmatic rule is promoted in mixed methods research where scholars argue that researchers need to choose only the best combination of methods and practices that works best for answering the research questions of the study being carried out (Creswell, 2018). Pragmatism emphasises the problem to be solved than the method. Thus, pragmatic researchers use multiple approaches and multiple relevant forms of data collection to understand the problem's social and historical context (Blumberg, Cooper, and Schindler, 2014; Brace, 2018; Bracken 2012; Bryman, 2012).

The rationality of inquiry for pragmatism includes the use of induction (detection of patterns), deduction (testing of theories) and abduction (uncovering and relying on the set of explanations for understanding one’s results) (Creswell, 2018). Under pragmatism, reasoning constantly moves back and forth between induction/deduction and subjectivity/objectivity (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2012; Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, and Jackson, 2012). The general features of pragmatism are summarised below:

- Knowledge is regarded as both constructed and based on the world's reality.

- Rejects traditional dualisms (rationalism vs empiricism) and generally prefers more moderate and standard sense versions of philosophical dualisms based on how well they resolve problems.
- Endorses diversity and pluralism.
- Recognises the existence and importance of the natural or physical world and the emergent social and psychological world that includes language, culture, human institutions, and subjective thoughts.
- Takes an explicitly value-oriented approach to research that is derived from cultural values.
- Pragmatism endorses shared values such as democracy, freedom, equality and progress.

Although it can help build bridges between conflicting philosophies, it is not without weaknesses. Pragmatism may promote incremental change, for example, rather than more fundamental structural or revolutionary societal change (Njaya, 2013). Pragmatism sometimes fails to provide satisfactory answers to the question of whom the pragmatic solution is helpful (Tillman et al., 2011). The other weakness is that what is meant by worth or workability can be vague unless addressed by the researcher (Creswell, 2018). The following sub-section discusses mixed methods research.

3.4.4. Mixed Methods Research

Mixed methods research (MMR) (Babbie, 2013; Creswell, 2018); multi-methods research (Bryman, 2012) or mixed methodology research (Brannen, 2005) is defined by Evans et al. (2011) as a study in which data is gathered analysed and integrated by way of drawing inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches in a single study. This implies that qualitative data is gathered for a single study (Creswell, 2018; McKim, 2017; Tillman et al., 2011). Ostlund, Kidd, Wengstrom and Rowa-Dewar (2011) describe the MMR as one in which knowledge claims are based on pragmatic grounds. Creswell (2018) opines that data collection within the MMR research entails the collection of both numeric and as well as text information so that both quantitative and qualitative information can be represented on the final database. Bernardi, Kleim and von der Lippe (2007) posit that MMR is important in displaying the similarities and differences between specific aspects of a phenomenon. In this view, MMR is seen as an expansion of quantitative and qualitative approaches rather than a substitution (Bryman, 2012).

The MMR is viewed to improve the reliability, validity and trustworthiness of research findings (Creswell, 2018; Tillman et al., 2011).

Most MMR designs emerge from two significant types: mixed model and mixed-method designs (Creswell, 2018). The first involves mingling qualitative and quantitative approaches within or across the stages of the research process, while the second includes a quantitative phase and a qualitative phase in a comprehensive research study (Frels et al., 2014; McKim, 2017). After deciding to use MMR, researchers must determine whether the qualitative and quantitative approaches will assume equal status or whether one approach will be dominant (Creswell, 2018). A decision also needs to be made on whether the two phases will be conducted concurrently or sequentially in the study (Creswell, 2018; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2007). Such a decision should be based on the study's aims, what the researcher hopes to emphasise and whether the researcher is primarily inductive or deductive (Creswell, 2018). While the MMR presents several advantages, as already highlighted above, it also has several disadvantages; it is time-consuming and expensive (Bryman, 2012). lt is still a new and developing paradigm (Evans et al., 2011), and its guidelines are not yet fully developed; and that there is little conceptual or empirical work on the choice of design and no widely accepted set of ideas about how to integrate data analyses or establish validity (Evans et al., 2011).

The current study made use of MMR underpinned by the realist paradigm. This was part of an effort to avoid using a single method. The researcher's view was that both approaches could be combined in the same study considering the set research objectives and questions. This provided an opportunity for multiple methods, diverse worldviews, various assumptions and diverse forms of data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2018). MMR is imperative because it considers the advantages and disadvantages of qualitative and quantitative approaches in addressing the research questions (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2018). The use of the northern region of Ghana as a case study and the use of interviews (structured, semi-structured, and unstructured) is acceptable within the realist paradigm, as are statistical analyses (McKim, 2017). Bryman (2012) states that a theoretical and conceptual orientation should inform the choice of MMR of the study. Development studies can be viewed as a multi-paradigmatic science capable of studying phenomena from multiple levels and angles.

Given the above discussion, the two approaches were incorporated into the same study to improve validity, reliability, and authenticity (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2018; Evans et al., 2011; Tillman et al., 2011). This is relevant for this study, where research questions are embedded both quantitative and qualitative. This, therefore, implies that no single research method was adequate to develop multiple perspectives of the research problem and provide a comprehensive understanding of the opportunities for and constraints to participation in development projects in the northern region of Ghana.

3.5. Combining the Two Research Approaches

In the MMR, qualitative and quantitative approaches are mixed in the stages of research development. After deciding to use MMR, a decision had to be made on whether the qualitative or quantitative approach would be accorded equal status or whether only a single approach would be allowed to dominate (Creswell, 2018). A decision was made on how each method would be executed in the study, whether concurrently or sequentially. The qualitative method was given predominance due to the nature of the set out research objectives. The two approaches were integrated throughout the analytic and interpretive phases to avoid the use of sequential designs that are time-consuming (Tillman et al., 2011).

3.6. A situational Analysis of the Case Study Area

A detailed background of Ghana and then the Northern region of Ghana is presented here to provide a clear understanding of the context of rural households in the country and the region to rationalise discussion in the findings and analysis sections. That study is situated in Ghana. Ghana is a country which is located in West Africa which shares borders with Ivory Coast to the west, Burkina Faso to the north, and Togo to the east (Jackson, 2001:201). The country covers an area of 238.535 square kilometres, which has diverse geographical and ecological areas that range from coastal savannahs to tropical rainforests. As of 2019, the country has a population of 30,418,000 people (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019). About 29 per cent of the population was under the age of 15, while those between the ages of 15 and 64 constituted 57,8 per cent (World Bank, 2018). The Ashanti Region had 4,7 million people; Brong-Ahafo had 2,3 million; 2.2 million were in the Central Region; 2.6 million in the Eastern Region, 2.3 million in the Western Region; 2, 479, 461 million in the Northern Region; and 4

million were in Greater Accra. The country's capital city is Accra, while other major cities include Tamale, Kumusi, and Sekondi-Takoradi.

Ghana is typically a natural resource country and practices a mixed economy in terms of the economy. The economy is moderately digitally based, but the country also practices primary manufacturing and export. Ghana, however, experiences development challenges. About 37.9 per cent of its rural dwellers and 10.6 per cent of the urban dwellers experience poverty (Temesgen and Amadou, 2018). Ghana's urban areas offer significant employment opportunities, although mainly in the informal sector, while almost 94 per cent of rural dwellers participate in the agricultural sector (Diao, 2018). Ghana also produces high-quality cocoa, and it is the second-largest cocoa producer globally (Government of Ghana, 2018a). It is classified as a middle-income economy, and services account for 50 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product. This is followed by manufacturing which accounts for 24,1 per cent, extractive industries (5 per cent), and taxes (20,9 per cent).

The current study was conducted in the Northern Region of the country. The Northern Region (see Figure 1.) is the largest in Ghana regarding landmass. It occupies an area of about 70,383 square kilometres and accounts for 29,5 per cent of the total land area of Ghana. It shares boundaries with the Upper East and the Upper West Regions to the north, the Brong Ahafo and the Volta Regions to the south, and two neighbouring countries, the Republic of Togo to the east, and Cote d' Ivoire to the west (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019). The Northern Region had a total population of 2,479,461 in 2018. The region's population increased by 36.2 per cent between 2010 and 2018, making it one of the fastest-growing regions in the country (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019). The main economic activities in the region are agriculture, hunting, and forestry. The majority of people in the region are engaged in agriculture, and they produce crops such as yam, maize, millet, guinea corn, rice, groundnuts, beans, soya beans and cowpea. Farmers account for 71.2 per cent of the economically active population, aged 15 years and older. Less than a tenth (7.0%) of the economically active people in the region is unemployed (World Bank, 2018).

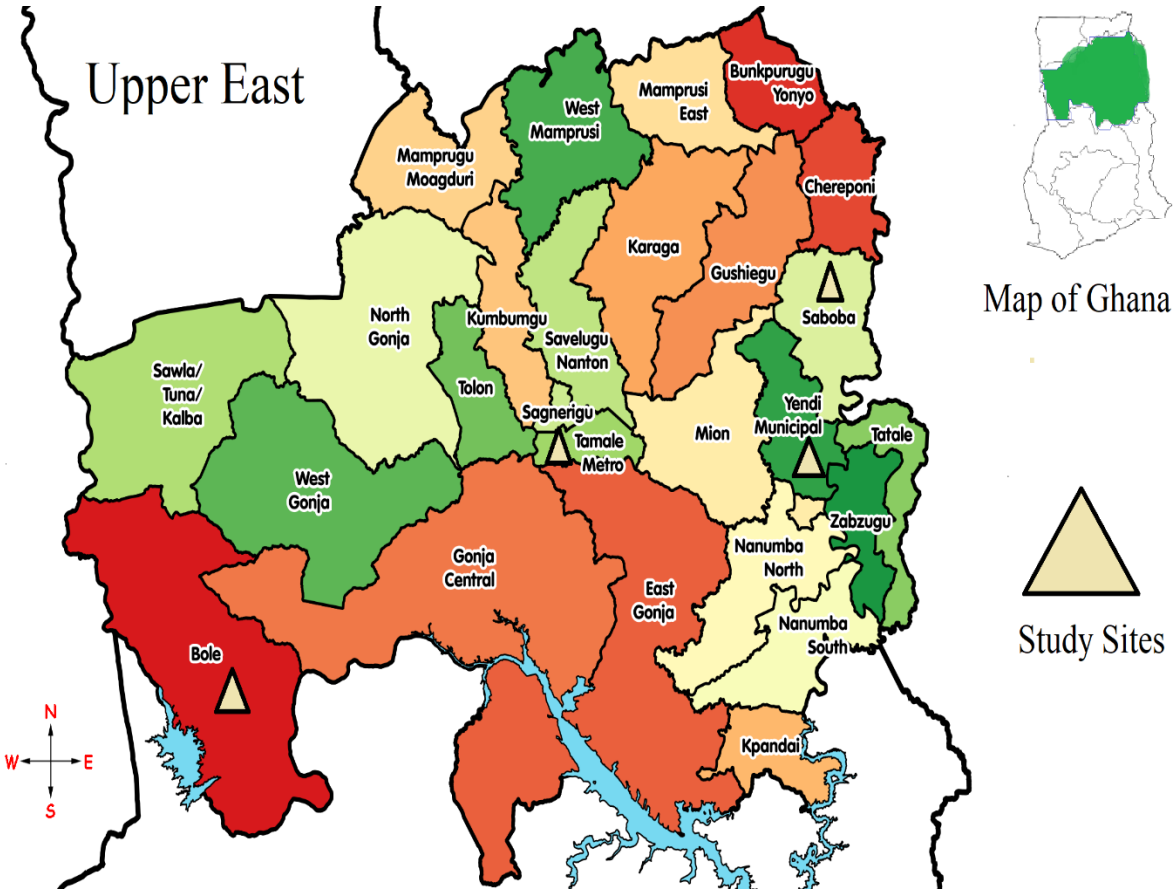

Figure 3.1. Map of Northern Region of Ghana

Source: Author, 2019

3.6.1. History of the Households in Northern Ghana

The Gonja people dominate the area, whose livelihoods have always been based on pastoralism and settled livestock (goats, cattle, and sheep) aided with some small-scale crop productions, although recurrent droughts and other natural disasters continue to frustrate their efforts. These people, until recently, mainly depended on communal rangelands for survival. They also depended on wild fruits, reeds, grasses for shelter, food, grazing, fuel, and farming instruments.

3.6.2. Soil Types

There are different types of soils in the Northern region of Ghana. It is dominated by Luvisols, which, by definition, have mixed mineralogy, high nutrient content and good drainage (Wood, 2013). Organic matter and nitrogen are mainly low in the savannah and transition zones (Moss

and Majerowicz, 2012). Available data generally support the widely accepted concept that most Ghana's soils have low fertility (Garvi-Bode and Garvi, 2013; Moss and Majerowicz, 2012; Wood, 2013).

3.6.3. Climate and Vegetation

The Northern Region of Ghana is much drier than the southern areas. This is due to its immediacy to the Sahel and the Sahara (Allen, 2012). The vegetation consists mostly of grassland, particularly savannah with clusters of drought-resistant trees such as baobabs or acacias. Between January and March is the dry season. The wet season is between July and December, with an average annual rainfall of 750 to 1050 mm (30 to 40 inches). The highest temperatures are reached at the end of the dry season, the lowest in December and January. However, the hot Harmattan wind from the Sahara blows regularly between December and February. The temperatures can vary between 14 °C (59 °F) at night and 40 °C (104 °F) during the day.

3.7. Operationalisation

In this thesis, participation was operationalised in terms of the involvement of the local communities in the identification, designing, and implementation, as well as benefiting from the proceeds of the conceived projects.

3.8. Sampling Design

Due to the expansive nature of the study area and the significant number of prospective participants, the researcher had to adopt sampling methods. The researcher decided on the number of districts and people to study (Anney, 2014). The researcher was aware that whatever the type of sampling that would be used, it would influence the quality of the results. The researcher adopted two types of sampling, namely probability and non-probability. For the probability type, simple random sampling was used to select the sample of 151 participants. from each of the four selected case studies; namely, Sagnarigu municipality, Savulugu District, Tamale metropolis, and Kumbugu, 37 participants were chosen, except in Sagnarigu municipality where 38 participants were chosen. Prospective participants were asked to choose from pieces of papers that were numbered from 1-50. After being mixed, the papers were placed

into a basket where participants could pick randomly. After the numbers were picked, only the first 37 participants were requested to participate from each case study. Those who picked papers within the selected range and yet declined to participate or were replaced by picking another paper from the basket. Thus, all participants had the same probability of being considered in the sample (n/N). The household was the sampling unit in the study. This selection of 151 household participants was based on the notion that since the unit of analysis was the household, detailed information would be acquired by this sample size. In addition, the data collected from the sample had to be integrated with the contribution of key participants and information obtained from literature reviews.

For the non-probability aspect, 12 participants comprising community leaders, project leaders and state officials were purposively selected as key informants to form part of the study. One of the community leaders, who also served as a leader of one of the projects in the area, was of great asset in linking the researcher to key informants. The number of informants was consistent with Creswell (2018), who posits that saturation in qualitative research can be reached even with 12 participants. A total of 32 also participated in four focus group discussions. Thus, a total of 194 participants took part in the current study. The selected participants were regarded as knowledgeable and informative about the phenomena under investigation (Blumberg, Cooper and Schindler, 2014).

A multi-stage stratified random sampling technique was employed to select the area to conduct the study due to the expansive nature of the study area. Firstly, the northern region was purposively selected out of all the regions in Ghana due to the region's development challenges. In the second stage, the Savelugu Nanton district was chosen on the assumption that it housed more development projects to enable the researcher to have a complete picture of participatory development in the region. Thirdly, Sagnarigu municipality, Savulugu District, Tamale metropolis, and Kumbugu were conveniently selected based on budgetary and logistical reasons. It is, however, acknowledged that while convenience sampling is easy and relatively cheaper, the sample selected may not be representative of the selected population, and the data gathered may be biased. While the researcher administered the questionnaire, interviews, and focus group discussions, she took notes on any relevant details that were significant to the study. Participants

were selected for all the data collection methods used based on availability, knowledge or engagement of a development project in the area and willingness to participate.

3.9. Data Collection Procedures

With the participatory development framework; and the realist, deductive and inductive approaches guiding the research, an understanding of the opportunities for and constraints on household participation in development programmes in the northern region of Ghana. Understanding these needed suitable research methods is discussed in the following sections. The use of the research assistants notably enhanced this process.

3.9.1. Hiring Research Assistants

The researcher hired two assistants to assist in conducting the interviews with households. The research assistants were first trained and couched by the researcher before undertaking their duties. However, the assistants did not need much training since they had previously served as assistants to other projects in the region. They generally knew about how interviews are conducted. The assistants were particularly imperative in reaching out to households and key informants in the area. Since the research assistants were also local citizens of this communal area, they were particularly informative concerning appropriate times when specific households and key informants could be interviewed. They also spoke the local language, the Gonja, which the researcher does not speak.

3.9.2. Data Collection

Data collection (both quantitative and qualitative) was from October 2018 to September 2019. This duration was viewed as long enough to observe and interview households. Data collection involved planning, implementation, and conducting the actual practical work on the field and analysing the obtained data. The researcher conducted fieldwork and engaged with households and key informants in the case study area. This generated stories about household livelihoods in the study area. Questionnaires, interviews, focus group discussions, observations and document analysis were used to gather data in the study area. This multi-method approach to data collection was part of an overall approach to improving the quality and validity of case data

through triangulation (Liamputtong, 2013; Saunders et al., 2016). The methods were allowed to complement each other, and where possible, they were used alongside each other to provide an in-depth understanding of the household livelihoods. The data collection methods used are discussed in the following sub-sections.

3.9.3. The Questionnaire

The study used a questionnaire as the primary instrument of the study. This instrument included both structured and semi-structured questions to gather facts and opinions about household participation in development projects in the study area. The questionnaire aimed to gather details about the quality of life and means of survival in the study area. This instrument was designed to allow for both structured assessments and the identification and discussion of key themes relevant to the research study. This made sorting of data and its organisation easier during the analysis and interpretation phase. The data were summarised and organised according to the following themes: demographic data of households; projects data; asset creation; income profile; household resilience; vulnerability context; and programme involvement.

The questionnaire consisted of seven sections, namely;

Section A Demographic data
Section B Projects data
Section C Asset creation
Section D Income profile
Section E Household resilience
Section F Vulnerability context
Section G Programme involvement

Section A: Demographic data

Some close and open-ended question items were used to collect demographic details of the household participants. These details included gender, age, ethnicity, occupation, education, size of household, number of children and their gender, children's employment status and the types of buildings owned by the households.

Section B: Project details

This section sought to gather details about the projects are in the case study area. Participants were required to clarify the types of projects they were affiliated with and the activities of the projects. If farming was listed as the project in which households were involved, further details were needed regarding types of crops and cultivation methods. In addition, information was also sought on whether the means of cultivation was hired or owned by the household. If hired, additional information was required regarding the expenses incurred to hire the cultivation means.

Section C: Asset creation

This section was designed to gather information on households' equipment before being involved in development projects. Such equipment included ploughs, harrows, scotch carts, wheelbarrows, hoes, shovels, tractors, lorries, and other farming equipment. Non-farming equipment was also recorded.

Section D: Income profiles

Closed and open-ended questions on income sources were asked. Households were asked to indicate whether their incomes came from employment, remittances from family members, sale of cash crops, or sale of livestock. Households were also requested to specify other types of incomes besides those listed.

Section E: Household resilience

In this section, questions were asked concerning food availability all year round. Households were also asked if they had sold any of their possessions to meet basic needs such as food, shelter, education and clothing. Probing questions were also used to get a deeper understanding of household resiliencies in the study area.

Section F: Vulnerability context

Close and open-ended questions were used in this section to gather information on opportunities for and constraints of production and participation in the case study area. A pilot study was also

undertaken for the questionnaire as a precautionary measure. A detailed discussion on the piloting of the questionnaire is presented later in the chapter.

Section G: Programme involvement

This section sought to gather details on the nature and support for participation in the study area. Questions in this section focused on whether there was consultation by state officials before implementing projects. Participants were also asked to state whether their participation made any difference to the kind of lives they lived.

The questionnaire is attached as Appendix B.

3.9.4. Key Informants

The researcher conducted interviews with key informants. Key informants were knowledgeable about the information of interest to the researcher (Babbie, 2013). Key informants assisted the researcher in better understanding the nature and benefits of the participation of households in the study area. They also helped the researcher to understand the participants, their backgrounds, behaviours, attitudes, and any language or ethnic considerations. The interview guide (a list of questions) for key informants comprises two broad sections. The first section had a total of seven questions which generally focused on gathering information on the nature of rural development programmes that were being implemented in the Northern Region. How these programmes aligned with the context of cultures and needs of the people in the region; how the government made households in the region aware of these programmes; information on targeted beneficiaries; information on farming and the models used; consultation status in the region; and also discussion on the main opportunities and challenges in the implementation and success of rural development programmes. The researcher also used several probing questions not included in the interview guide. The probing question was triggered by some of the participants' contributing information.

The second section focused on leadership matters. The main question items were meant to gather information on the nature of development projects in the region, the duration of projects; reasons

for such projects; consultation issues; and recommendations on improving the projects if participants indicated any challenges.

A copy of the interview guide used on key informants is attached as Appendix C in this study.

3.9.5. Focus Group Discussions

A focus group is described as in-depth group interviews consisting of a small group of 6-12 people selected and assembled by researchers to discuss and comment on, from personal experience, the topic that is the subject of the research under the guidance of a moderator (Babbie, 2013; Creswell, 2018). Focus group discussions were meaningful in that interaction of households would lead to new issues being identified (Sekaran and Bougie, 2014). A total of 32 participants were assembled for focus group discussions with the help of community leaders. These 32 participants were divided into four groups of eight participants each. The focus group interview guide consisted of seven questions that sought to gather information on the duration of members in the case study area; the projects they were involved in; and whether they felt satisfied with the consultation process and their level of participation in the mentioned projects. The questions also sought to gather information on the impact of projects on household livelihoods and the recommendations that participants thought could improve the projects.

In addition, the participants were also encouraged to discuss the various opportunities and challenges which they faced. Focus group discussions were important in that participants helped and reminded each other of the various issues that affected them within the projects. Some participants even gave examples of such challenges. For instance, some participants mentioned the actual names of cattle they sold to meet project needs. The focus group discussions enabled the researcher to understand some of the information flagged in household surveys. This is in line with Creswell (2018), who posits that focus group discussions enable researchers to uncover ideas and issues that may not have been considered in the study. Through the focus group interviews, the researcher was also managed to understand the challenges with the decision-making process in the cases study area projects. A focus group interview guide is attached as Appendix D.

There were, however, challenges experienced during focus group discussions. More often than not, participants spoke simultaneously, and some participants tended to be disruptive. Abdullah Kamal (2019) also noted that some participants dominated the discussion. This was also experienced in this study. The researcher always reminded the participants to wait for their turn to speak to deal with this situation. This was done respectfully so as not to hurt participants' feelings. To deal with disruptions, the researcher and the assistant had to pay attention during transcriptions to follow up on the line of discussion and argument.

3.8.6. Observations

The researcher also used observations to complement interviews. Observation is a technique by which researchers collect first-hand information on programmes, processes, or behaviours being studied (Saunders et al., 2016). By directly observing activities and operations of the households in projects, the researcher managed to develop a general view. The researcher observed households' physical settings and socio-economic livelihood processes and shot photographs. Direct observations had the advantage of providing opportunities for identifying unanticipated outcomes during the fieldwork. The researcher first developed an observation checklist to control and monitor the range of aspects that could be observed. Among others, the items on the checklist included house types, roof types, livestock, assets within development projects, assets such as cars, and portable assets such as cell phones. The development of a checklist was also crucial since the researcher had the help of a researcher assistant. Thus, as Krippendorff (2019) mentioned, the observation checklist made delegation of duties more accessible. This also enabled the researcher and assistant not to place focus on unnecessary details (Merriam and Grenier, 2019).

3.9.7. Review of Secondary Data

Data on the project participation in northern Ghana was also obtained from books, journals, and newspapers from the library and the internet. A detailed literature review on development, rural development, and social protection was conducted, including an analysis of viewpoints, policy and strategy documents, and Ghana's adaptive social protection instruments. The search for pertinent documents was conducted in academic and grey literature databases using

development, development projects, participatory development, social protection, and the socio-economic effects of development as keywords. Secondary data were used for the background description of the study area and background information. Some data were obtained from the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) linked to rural development in Ghana. The significant issues gaining pre-eminence in these sources were a participation challenge in development programmes in rural Ghana. The advantage of secondary data was that it was easy to access (Nowell and Albrecht, 2019); time-saving (Prasad, 2019), and it allowed the researcher to generate insights from previous research. Most of the research questions used in the household questionnaire, the key informant, and focus group interviews were developed based on the secondary sources that the researcher had consulted.

3.10. Piloting

A pilot study was undertaken with five households, two key informants, and two community leaders selected purposively to test the feasibility of the study (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). The selected participants were considered capable of giving the necessary feedback. The rationale of the pilot study was multiple. It was meant to check the instruments' feasibility, acceptability, wording, content, clarity, and length (Farooq and de Villiers, 2017; Saldana, 2015). Piloting also allowed the researcher to assess the appropriateness and costs related to the study of the data collection instruments (Stacks, Salwen, and Eichhorn, 2019). Piloting resulted in refining interview schedules as it was noted that most households were busy in the mornings and evenings. Piloting also allowed the researcher to foresee problems created mainly by language. Although the original scripts of the questionnaire and interview guide were in English, actual interviews were conducted either in English or *Gonja*, depending on the participants. The research assistants were fluent in both of these languages. Problems emerging from language usage were fairly resolved when they emerged in the main study. A discussion on the processes followed in dealing with language translation issues is made later in the chapter. The use of languages that participants could speak and where they were comfortable saved time and resources. However, no significant changes were made to the instruments regarding content and structure.

3.11. Data Collection Instruments Administration

The questionnaire was administered to 151 households, while the interview guide was administered to 12 key informants, and focus group discussions were conducted with 32 groups in the four. This number was considered sufficient since although the study was biased towards the qualitative approach, it also had to satisfy its quantitative requirements. Thus, while the number appears small for a quantitative study, it was deemed sufficient because the study was also qualitative. The researcher confirmed the set down procedures and protocols for conducting research. The fieldwork began after the researcher had been cleared by the University of South Africa, Department of Development Studies. Efforts to get an official clearance letter from the Department of rural development in Ghana were made, but the researcher did not respond. The researcher, therefore, relied on the approval of the community leaders and the households themselves before conducting interviews. The community leaders encouraged their subjects to take part in the study.

Together with the hired assistants, the researcher assisted in the completion of questionnaires and the conducting of the face-to-face interviews. The interviews allowed the researcher to clarify unclear questions and ensure that all questions were answered.

After presenting the data collection methods, the following section provides approaches to data analysis.

3.12. Data Analysis Procedures

There were two types of data analysis used in this study. These analyses are detailed in the sub-sections that follow. However, before that, it is essential to detail the various processes that accompanied the issue of translation and transcription since two languages, namely; English and Gonja, were used to conduct interviews.

3.12.1. Data Transcription and Translation

Transcription is defined by Stacks, Salwen, and Eichhorn (2019) as the process of developing a written account of spoken words. In qualitative studies, individual or group interviews are transcribed and are generally written word by word (verbatim) (Sheppard, 2021). The value of transcription is that it puts qualitative information into a text-based form (Saunders, Lewis, and

Thornhill, (2016). According to Merriam and Grenier (2019), data transcription allows researchers to be interested and immersed in the data they collect. In the current study, transcription commenced with the first collected interview. With the help of the hired research assistants, the researcher transcribed all the interviews. Transcription mainly was done during the evenings and the weekends since interviews were not conducted during this time. The hired research assistants possessed formal qualifications in both English and Gonja. The researcher considered these qualifications as important as this would assure the trustworthiness of the transcribed data.

Interviews that were conducted in the Gonja language required translation. The translation is defined as converting the words from one language to another (Creswell, 2018). Translation occurs where data are collected in more than one language. One of the research assistants had a formal qualification in translation. The researcher views this as a boost to the research. All interviews conducted in Gonja had to be translated to English to enable the researcher to analyse them. This was because the study would be written in English. However, translation has ethical considerations, which the researcher also had to consider. Reviewed literature identifies some of the challenges of translation. Such challenges include having bilingual people translate from the source language to the target language while retaining most of the grammatical forms of the source (O'Neil, 2019). For instance, Nowell, B. and Albrecht (2019) found that translation can be easy, but the sentence structure may translate your understanding for the monolingual target individuals because the grammar is the source, not the target. Merriam and Grenier (2019) posit that variances in words, expressions, and colloquialisms between languages may distort the sense. In addition, some translators may not be familiar with the research area, and thus, the sense of the data may be lost. Complications such as these have been a possible cause of data corruption in many cross-cultural research studies.

In the current, the translation process provoked protracted discussion between the researcher and the researcher assistants, and it proved more challenging than what the researcher had initially estimated. To deal with the challenges that emerged, the researcher gave instructions to the research assistants about inferences, wording, and phrasing and emphasised translation for meaning to smoothen conceptual equivalence (Mattick, Johnston, and de la Croix, 2018). This is referred to as decentering by scholars (Merriam and Grenier, 2019). Decentering was used to

improve quality, trustworthiness, accuracy, and satisfactoriness. Given some of the challenges related to idioms that emerged during initial interviews and translation, the researcher had to modify subsequent interviews. This was possible since the qualitative approach, which affords flexibility and adaptability, was used for the study. This action is also supported by Leavy (2017), who posits that when using decentring, from the onset, the researcher needs to be ready and open to undertaking a certain amount of revision to the original study data collection tools to make sure that the study tools are suitable for the target population. In this study, prolonged discussions were held with the research assistants and focus group participants on addressing differences noted in the translated data.

Some of the revisions made due to decentring in the study included using a range of synonyms to depict the exact meaning of study items so that they could be translated from Gonja o English. A range of synonyms was used to ensure a high level of clarity of both research and response items and that the language used was not too complicated for the target audience, particularly during focus group discussions. The researcher also used other words to correct potential errors related to grammar that may have been a result of the failure to translate to the English language and describe and simplify terms and concepts. The researcher emphasised using short and simple sentences of fewer than 16 words, reiterating nouns frequently, using the active rather than passive tense, avoiding the use of metaphors and colloquialisms, using specific rather than general terms, and ensuring that the study items used one verb rather than two.

The researcher also changed the sentence structure of some of the study items. This was important as, in some instances, a literal translation was misunderstood or misinterpreted by participants. Furthermore, a literal translation often results in poor grammatical forms of items. Most importantly, the researcher assigned one of the research participants who had formal training in translation to translate the interview guides. The translator was experienced and familiar with the Northern Region and particular communities that were being studied. Before translating, the translator was provided with a briefing on the study, including its purposes, goals, and target audience. This approach is recommended by Stacks et al. (2019), who requires translators to be provided with a detailed briefing on the study before they can be allowed to proceed with the translation. The researcher believes that these tasks eliminated some primary challenges that often accompany transcription and translation during research.

3.12.2. Quantitative Data Analysis Method Used

Data from the sampled households was first entered on each questionnaire and then entered into the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). The obtained descriptive data focused on simple statistical interpretation and analysis using frequencies and percentages. This made it easier to detect and observe patterns that emerged on the data. For example, it was easy to identify the different challenges experienced by households concerning participation.

3.12.3. Qualitative Data Analysis Method Used

Qualitative data were analysed thematically. The data was made to confirm or unconfirmed the various themes identified in the construction of the questionnaire. Thus, the researcher first organised all the details about development projects and household participation in northern Ghana to achieve this. This involved converting all primary data into categories that would be easier to understand. The categorisation was based on the researcher's judgment regarding the importance of these issues to the research. This was followed by sorting data where similar categories were identified that helped classify data into suggestive groups. Data was then interpreted in line with the themes that had been identified in the quantitative dataset. Lastly, all the data were synthesised in order to be able to make conclusions.

Observation data were analysed repetitive categories or themes in field notes. The themes were then integrated, cross-validated, and compared with the themes that had emerged from the interviews, focus groups, and literature review, after which they were synthesised in a descriptive analysis.

3.12.4. Merging and Integration Procedures

Integrating qualitative and quantitative data is the most imperative feature of MMR. The central view is that integrating two sets of data will maximise the strengths and minimise the weaknesses of each type of data (Tillman et al., 2011). According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), two data sets can be integrated through merging, connecting or embedding data. The merging of data entails combining the qualitative data (texts or images) with quantitative data in numeric form. Creswell (2018) notes that the mixing takes place at three levels: reporting results

together in a discussion section, such as reporting the quantitative statistical results first, then followed by qualitative quotes or themes that support or disprove the quantitative results; transforming one dataset (for instance, counting the occurrence of themes in a qualitative dataset) so that the transformed qualitative data can be compared with the quantitative dataset and using tables or figures that display both the quantitative and qualitative results (Creswell, 2018; Babbie, 2013). Data connecting entails analysing one dataset (for instance, a quantitative survey) and then using the results to inform the subsequent data collection (such as interviews) in qualitative research. Embedding data involves entrenching a dataset of secondary priority within a larger primary design.

In the current study, a mixed design was adopted. The integration of quantitative and qualitative data was done by merging and comparing the two sets of data and results. Creswell and Creswell (2018) have noted that when merging data in mixed design, the results may be inconsistent, and there will be a need to gather more data or revisit the databases. However, Tillman et al. (2011) recommend that the researcher may highlight the contradictions for other researchers to explore in further research in such circumstances.

3.13. Reliability and Validity

A study must produce reliable results (Babbie, 2013). This can be achieved when a well-thought-out instrument is prepared and administered. Data is considered reliable when the measurements of the same variable remain the same and when consistent results are obtained every time that same technique is applied (Leedy and Ormrod, 2015).

In the study, the following steps were taken to ensure reliability:

i. All constructs were defined according to the participatory development framework, which was considered relevant for the study.
ii. The research instruments were first pilot-tested before they could be used.
iii. The research instruments were reviewed for viability and appropriateness by the supervisor, an experienced researcher.

3.13.2. Validity

Validity of an instrument doing what it is designed to do (Ostlund et al., 2011). He adds that its synonyms include truthfulness, accuracy, and authenticity. Validity is related to soundness,

authority, authority and lawfulness (Sekaran and Bougie, 2014). In the study, the validity of the results was enhanced through extended meetings with participants and constant checks by examining the literature and comparing one's findings with other researchers. The research instruments used were also developed so that the accuracy and validity of the findings of the case study were upheld. There are four ways of achieving validity in research. The first is construct validity. This focuses on ensuring that there is always a rational relationship among variables (Bakharia, 2014). The researcher ensured that the data collection tools were constructed to highlight a relationship between variables in the study. This was ensured by first extensively reviewing the literature on participatory development. In addition, the researcher also incorporated comments in the measuring instruments in order to achieve this aspect.

The other component of validity is the theoretical validity which, in the current study, was realised through the consultation of up-to-date sources to identify germane concepts relating to participatory development. Multiple measurements such as food, asset and income frequency were used together with open and close-ended questions to increase the validity of the responses.

Content validity, which deals with whether the topics or items of instruments measure what they are intended for (Brace, 2018), was achieved by submitting the instruments to the study supervisor for checking. Instruments were also submitted to peers for review.

Finally, face validity, which refers to the judgment by the scientific community that the indicator measures the construct (Bracken, 2012), was achieved through compiling the research instruments about previous studies on participatory development in Ghana. These studies included Cooke, Hague and McKay (2016); Kamstra and Knippenberg (2014); and Moss and Majerowicz (2012).

3.13.3. Trustworthiness

The qualitative aspect of the study was achieved by satisfying four criteria as recommended by Creswell (2018), who posit that four criteria can be used for assessing the accuracy and trustworthiness of qualitative research. These are credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability.

In research, credibility refers to the extent to which a particular study is believable and suitable in terms of the degree of agreement between those being studied and the researcher (Adams, Khan, and Raeside, 2014; Blumberg, Cooper and Schindler, 2014). In other words, credibility is all about the researcher linking the results with reality to demonstrate the truth. In this study, credibility was achieved through prolonged engagement, first with literature review, then with participants during fieldwork, and lastly with key informants. Prolonged engagement allowed the researcher to build a strong relationship with the participant households, a process that afforded the researcher to obtain credible information about their nature of involvement in development projects in the region.

Transferability in research refers to the level to which qualitative study results can be generalised or transferred to other settings (Choy, 2014). Thus, it is the researcher's responsibility to ensure that the results are generalisable. In this study, transferability was ensured through purposive sampling, which ensured that only relevant participants and key informants were selected (Bracken 2012). This was also ensured by using a thick description of the case study area to locate the study.

Dependability refers to the steadiness and reliability of the study results and the extent to which research methods used are documented, allowing other researchers from outside to follow the study, audit, and critique the research process (Creswell, 2018). To achieve this aspect of the study, the researcher shared every chapter of the study with peers and with the supervisor to audit and critique it – a process called external auditing (Gravetter and Forzao, 2016). The researcher found this process to be very productive.

Lastly, conformability is a process that assumes that each researcher brings a unique viewpoint to the study. It also refers to how the study findings could be confirmed or corroborated by other researchers (Leavy, 2017). In the study, conformability was achieved through triangulation in which more than a single data collection method was used (Brits, Meiring and Becker, 2013; Bryman and Bell, 2014; Creswell, 2018).

The aspects above were pursued consistently with several ethical considerations that had to be satisfied in the study, as detailed in the next section.

3.14. Ethical Considerations in Research

Ethical issues are always important every time research is being conducted with participants. Several ethical issues, including non-maleficence, beneficence, justice, and autonomy, must always be satisfied (Bracken 2012; Gravetter and Forzao, 2016).

In research, non-maleficence requires that the study not intentionally harm (Leavy, 2017). In this study, participants were shielded from all kinds of harm; physical, psychological and social through respect (Creswell, 2018). The researcher instructed research assistants always to show respect to participants to ensure that no harm was caused in any way. The researcher recognised multiplicity, personal belief and values and accorded all participants an equal chance to participate in the study. The researcher also provided her phone number and email address to participants to report any harm caused so that suitable action could be taken. There are, however, no such cases reported yet.

Beneficence requires that what is being studied and how the study is being carried out remain beneficial. To achieve this, the researcher ensured that only information contributed by participants and supported by key participants was reported in the study. This was meant to ensure that no information not based on empirical evidence was reported.

In terms of ensuring justice, the researcher first informed all potential participants, both in word and in writing, what the study was all about and that their participation was voluntary (Chad and Jensen, 2018) and that they could terminate their participation at any time (Choy, 2014). Informed consent was necessary to ensure that participants knew about their involvement in the study. It was also important because it enabled participants to note that the study was only for academic purposes and not linked to any political party in the country. All participants were given an informed consent form to sign. A copy of the consent form is attached as Appendix A.

The rights of the participants' privacy were considered extremely important during the study as it directly translated into issues of autonomy. The researcher ensured that participants remained anonymous, with only pseudonyms used in the research study. Participants were guaranteed at the start of the study that their privacy would always be guaranteed. The assurance of secrecy worked best since participants responded more vibrantly and openly to questions and discussions. All information collected is saved on the author's computer to ensure privacy.

3.15. Experiences and Limitations of the Study

In mixed methods research, several methodological challenges arise because of the inherent complexities in mixed-method design. Given that multiple forms of data are collected and analysed, mixed methods research requires extensive time and resources (Blumberg et al., 2014). There are challenges specific to the mixed-methods design (merging quantitative and qualitative research) that include having adequate sample sizes for analyses, using comparable samples and employing a consistent unit of analysis across the databases (Brannen, 2005). The researcher used only four case studies, namely; Sagnarigu municipality, Bole, Tamale, Savulungu, and Kumbugu were conveniently selected. Financial and time constraints hampered the researcher from studying more cases of households' members of projects in the Region. This could have revealed the factors that encourage or discourage local people's participation in development projects. Notwithstanding the above, a sample of 151 household participants, 12 key informants, and 32 participants in focus groups is statistically significant and can produce credible results.

Another issue in this study was how to deal with researcher bias. Given that the issue of rural development and rural neglect evoked strong emotions among participants, the researcher had her judgments about the people's participation in projects. In addition, the research involved observing power relations within projects and for the researcher to do that without being involved was impossible. Although access to and first-hand understanding of the status and nature of the participation of the local people in projects; and their experiences were more important than researcher bias, some strategies to contain it needed to be devised. First, the researcher bias was contained by using both quantitative and qualitative data. The use of quantitative data meant that facts were reported as they are. Second, to ensure self-reflection during data collection, the researcher identified and wrote down any feelings, preconceptions and assumptions or beliefs she had about rural development and development projects in rural Ghana. This was meant to check if personal assumptions would not end up being reported as empirical evidence in the thesis

3.16. Conclusion

The use of appropriate research methodologies is one of the most critical aspects of research. Considering the complex nature of the current study, research procedures needed to be detailed. The current chapter provided detailed discussions and justifications of the research practices involved in the study. The chapter demonstrated how the PRA could bring about an in-depth understanding of the opportunities for and constraints on the participation of rural communities in community developments. The chapter discussed ethical requirements that were met as part of an effort to ensure the study's trustworthiness.

The next chapter presents the results of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

Participatory Development in Northern Ghana

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses the data that was collected in four case studies, namely; Sagnarigu municipality, Bole, Tamale, Savulungu, and Kumbugu which are located in the Northern region of Ghana. As detailed in the previous chapter, data collection was through review of secondary literature, through household questionnaires, interviews with key informants, focus group discussions, and personal observations. Due to the extensive nature of the data, this chapter focuses on data presentation and analysis while the discussion of this data is made in the next chapter. The first section focuses on the data that was found in official documents in Ghana. Focus is placed on the condition of participatory development in the Northern Region of Ghana as reported in official documents as well as other empirical secondary sources. This is then followed by a detailed thematic presentation and analysis of the data that was collected for the study in the same region. Focus of the selected aspects of the data is placed on the status of participatory development in the region. The major issues that emerged from the data as key drivers of participation included income; politics, infrastructural development; employment; education (skills training and knowledge), community involvement, health, asset attainment, and environmental effects. These issues emerged either as opportunities for or constraints of participatory development. Lastly, the chapter makes conclusions.

4.2. Development Status of the Northern Region in Ghana

The secondary documents on the issue under investigation were not difficult to find. these were available in the public domain as academic literature or were accessible through various government departments. The reviewed secondary documents included government documents, documents by the United Nations, the World Bank, the World Health Organisation as well as other surveys by local scholars and policy institutions. The aim for reviewing these documents was to find an explanation to the prevailing development status of the Northern region of Ghana which was the case study area. The reviewed official documents revealed that in terms of demographic characteristics, most of Ghana's population is located in the southern and coastal

parts of the country. The data derived from the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2019) (the only recent), shows that the total population of the NSEZ was 5,826,516. While the zone accounted for almost a quarter (23.7 per cent) of the total population of the country (24,568,823), it encompassed over 50.4 per cent of the landmass. In comparison, Greater Accra and Ashanti, with 1 per cent and 10 per cent of the land areas, housed 16 per cent and 19 per cent of the total population of Ghana respectively (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019). The majority of the people in the NSEZ live in the Northern Region (42.6 per cent) which is also confirmed to be the fastest growing region in the country (UNDP, 2018). The region accounts for 11 per cent of the national population, and by 2035, the population is expected to increase to over 23 per cent of the national population (Government of Ghana, 2018a). Apparently, the region is also confirmed as one of the poorest in the country (World Bank, 2019). This is also explained by a number of development projects being launched in the region. Most of the projects are donor funded although the government is also participating significantly (Diao, 2018).

The reviewed secondary sources agreed that the region was lagging behind, in terms of development, when compared to other regions (Government of Ghana 2018a, b; Kamstra and Knippenberg, 2014; McKay, A., Pirttilä, and Tarp, 2015). Between 1994 and 1999 for instance, only 1 per cent of all private capital flows coming through the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (US$1.5 billion) went to Northern Ghana, while the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area attracted 79 per cent (Songsore, 2011). Between 2005 and 2011, out of a total of approximately US$21 billion of inflows, the three regions of Northern Ghana attracted a mere 1.7 per cent, whereas Greater Accra attracted almost 46 per cent, and the Western and Ashanti regions attracted close to 34 per cent and 15 per cent of the total respectively as the economies of cluster continued to favour the more developed regions (Government of Ghana 2018a). This is a clear indication of the development challenge of the region – fact that motivated the current study as detailed in the previous chapters.

According to some scholars, the underdevelopment of the Northern Region is not something that is recent, but in actually fact, the problem dates back to colonial adventurism (Moss and Majerowicz, 2012; Sachs, 2013). Conceptually, the employment opportunities, infrastructure and health facilities, and well as the existence of development projects (Steel and van Lindert, 2017;

Vlaminck, 2012; Wood, 2013). Another factor often highlighted both in official and scholarly sources is the increasing soil erosion which the region suffers due to the strain of mounting population pressure, coupled with climatic changes providing lengthy dry seasons of 'inactivity' and leading to periodic hunger (Government of Ghana, 2018b; Yeboah, 2013). It is argued that these conditions have deterred investors in the region while also undermining the capacity by citizens to put their labour to productive use through various activities that are related to agriculture, in particular (Díez, et al. 2015; Government of Ghana, 2014). Scholars such as Brukum (1998), however, posit that even before British adventurism in Ghana, there were already distressing events which were leading to the displacement and exhaustion of both human and natural resources, notable among these events being the activities of the Samory and Babatu slave raiders. These conditions are, from time to time, pushed forward together to explain the Northern regions' underdevelopment and the uncertainty of life in the Northern Region of Ghana.

These conditions discouraged trade and agriculture and compelled the (post)colonial authorities to adopt development project measures with the hope of restoring peace and confidence and reversing the mass exodus to the South (Manful and Manful, 2014). These projects included farming cooperatives, road construction projects, and livestock rearing projects (Díez, et al. 2015; Government of Ghana, 2014). However, still, development remains a huge challenge in this region as investment remains low (World Bank, 2019). Between 1994 and 1999 for instance, only 1 per cent of all private capital flows coming through the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (US$1.5 billion) went to Northern Ghana, while the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area attracted 79 per cent (Songsore, 2011). Between 2005 and 2011, out of a total of approximately US$21 billion of inflows, the three regions of Northern Ghana attracted a mere 1.7 per cent, whereas Greater Accra attracted almost 46 per cent, and the Western and Ashanti regions attracted close to 34 per cent and 15 per cent of the total respectively as the economies of cluster continued to favour the more developed regions (Government of Ghana 2018a). This is a clear indication of the development challenge of the region – fact that motivated the current study as detailed in the previous chapters.

With no substantial manufacturing, and without comparative advantage in favoured cash crops, such as cocoa which received support for bringing in foreign exchange from exports, the

economy of the Northern Region could not share equitably in the growth that occurred since independence (Gatune, 2016; Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). The liberalisation of rice and cotton imports and the elimination of agricultural input subsidies for smallholders were also viewed as having led to the collapse of the once vibrant rice and cotton industries in the region (Bagson and Owusu, 2016). The latest patterns of structural transformation of the economy also seem to have, by coincidence, reinforced some of these trends. For instance, while basic commodities such as cocoa, gold, and oil constitute a small proportion of Ghana's GDP (for instance between 2006-15, the share of cocoa fluctuated between 3 to 1.9 per cent; and oil went from 6.7 per cent to 4 per cent of GDP between 2011 and 2015), these commodities play an huge role in exports – that is gold, cocoa and oil account for over three quarters of Ghana's merchandise exports – and could also be viewed to benefit disproportionately in terms of priority assigned to the products/focus areas.

In the Northern regions, agricultural livelihoods are typically subsistence in nature although commercial agriculture is increasing in some areas (Government of Ghana 2018b). Productivity is constrained by a dependence on rain (typically once a year though increasingly unpredictable in terms of amount and timing) (Dinko, 2017). This continues to negatively impact on livelihoods development in the region as the able-bodied human capital departures to other regions of which the economy of the region is based on agriculture which, by nature, requires the use of intensive labour. The lack of development activities have also impacted on the infrastructural development thereby further complicating the chance of the region to develop. The political economy of development in the region could be structured around the provision and expansion of irrigation facilities, cost-effective access to mechanisation services, and inputs so as to boost production which is sufficient to sustain livelihoods and promote social cohesion.

Due to the lack of major economic activities in most parts of the Northern Region, the political economy of development is clear. The government itself is largely biased towards those regions that contribute much to the economy (Asuru, 2017; Bagson and Owusu, 2016). Thus, while transport infrastructure is considered as critical in addressing the development gap between the north and the rest of Ghana, it is generally inadequate and dilapidated (Awumbila, Owusu, and Teye, 2014). Houssou, Aboagye, and Kolavalli (2016) note that the prevalence of poverty in Ghana seem to be correlated with proximity to roads (measured in terms of hours). The South

and West regions of the country, where poverty is below 20 per cent in most districts, have the best road networks; and, in contrast, in the North, where the average distance to the nearest road is greater, the poverty rates are significantly higher (Government of Ghana 2014). Personal observations by the researcher also revealed the absence of major roads. Most of the available roads were not tarred and seemed unsafe to use. In addition, some of the participant communities were actually inaccessible by a car. The team had to travel on foot in most cases. As expected, development projects which are donor funded and which do not have adequate resources will usually simply avoid such areas and focus on the areas which they can access easily. Where this obtains, this only complicates the plight of those inaccessible communities as they fail to access development initiatives. In some instances, communities made some cooperatives to construct their own roads so as to improve their chances of attracting donor activities. However, as would be expected, such roads were not very safe.

In recent years, inequality is reported to have increased in both the Northern and the Upper West regions over the period from 2005/06 to 2012/13, while it declined in the Greater Accra which is also the most developed region (Government of Ghana, 2018b). In addition, food security and nutritional indicators are for the most part poor in Northern Ghana (Oteng-Ababio, Mariwah, and Kusi, 2017). The World Food Programme Report (2012:61) revealed that over half a million or 3 out of every 100 households, was either seriously or temperately food insecure. The poor nutritional status of children in the North was about double the national average.

The UNDP (2018) posits that a food secure nation requires a transformative social policy change that that can only be more effective if it is accompanied by shift of resources, capacities and decisions to smallholder farmers, particularly poor communities and women who are the majority of food producers (Moyo, 2016), as well as social protection which is aimed at addressing the most direct needs of the poor and vulnerable people in the Northern Region.

The region also faces major health challenges which directly negatively impacts the human capital of the region. The three Northern regions and the Central Region, were the four most deprived regions in the country which have mortality rates above the national average (World Health Organization 2012; Government of Ghana 2018a). People living in the Northern Savannah Ecological Zone (NSEZ) are said to be facing significant challenges in access to health facilities and care (Temesgen and Amadou, 2018). Ghana's Health Sector Medium term plan

2014-17 revealed that the Upper West Region had 11 times less medical practitioners per capita when compared to Greater Accra. The Greater Accra Region was fond to be having the highest number of doctors per capita (1 doctor per 3,540 residents) and was home to 50 per cent of all the doctors in the country (UNDP 2018). Another 20 per cent of the doctors was in the Ashanti Region (Government of Ghana 2018a). At the end of 2012, 25 government hospitals in Ghana were found to be without doctors. Hiowever, this situation has improved across regions although the challenge still remains for the Northern Region (Pham, 2018). A total of eight of the hospitals which did not have doctors in 2012 were in the Northern Region (Ministry of Health, 2014). In addition, the whole NSEZ was found to have just six per cent of the specialist health professionals whilst the southern half of the country had 94 per cent (UNDP 2018). The UNDP (2018) also notes that while on average 68 per cent of women delivered with a skilled birth attendant, in the Northern Region just 37 per cent of women had access to a skilled delivery. The Government of Ghana (2018a) acknowledges that the Northern Region seem to be suffering the most from the meagrely dispersed nature of health facilities, though it has the largest population and land area in the NSEZ. This development challenge impacts on all the capital of livelihoods as described in Chapter Two and require the deployment of social policies in order to safeguard lives and the dignity of the people in the region

The poor state of infrastructure, the low levels of urbanisation and facilities (principally housing, good schools, and markets) makes it difficult to retain health and education sector staff in the Northern Region (Steel and van Lindert, 2017). The challenges for service delivery, according to the Government of Ghana (2018a), arise from the dispersed nature of the population and small settlement sizes. The minimum population threshold requisite to provide services, such as population of around 151 for the provision of primary school, is typically not reached (Ministry of Education 2014). The proportion of junior high schools to primary schools was much lower (28 per cent) than the national average (42 per cent) (UNDP 2018). It was also found that children in the Northern Region often travelled long distances to access junior high school education because more than half the primary schools do not have junior high schools attached to them (Oteng-Ababio, Mariwah, and Kusi, 2017). As a result, for all grades and subjects, the percentage of children from the Northern region who met the cut-point for proficiency was half that reaching proficiency in the other regions of the country (UNDP 2018). These outcomes significantly undermine people's capabilities to participate particularly in development projects

and employment opportunities that requirements particular levels and achievements in education. Where this obtains, this negatively impacts on communities and households to benefit from the advantages of education. Although people might knowledge the kind of development which they need even when they do not have an education, access to information and resources might require a certain level of education. Thus, an education is an important factor in development.

Further, economic opportunities were found to be very limited in the region. More than 70 per cent of the population of Northern Ghana depends on rain-fed agriculture for their food, income and livelihoods (Kamstra and Knippenberg, 2014; Steel and van Lindert, 2017; World Bank, 2017). The over-reliance on rainfall, poor feeder road connectivity from farms to market centres, and poor soil fertility together with limited access to inputs results in low agricultural productivity and incomes (UNDP 2018). Climate change is also reported as adding to the drivers of high levels of poverty and vulnerability in the region. Seasonal outmigration and hunger are high (Government of Ghana 2018a; UNDP 2018). For a period of 7-8 months in the year, most people engaging in agricultural activities in the North have no alternative or complementary means of securing their livelihoods, as infrastructure to support off season agricultural activities is underdeveloped or does not even exist (Government of Ghana 2018b). Recent Ghana Living Standards Surveys point to poverty becoming inter-generational (World Bank 2017).

The high poverty levels in the Northern region also drives the significant use of low efficiency biomass energy and unsustainable use of natural resources (Government of Ghana 2018b). The Ghana Energy Commission (2012) posits that the Northern Region had the highest proportion of households (90.5 per cent) using charcoal. While, on average, a household in Ghana consumed 434.4kg of charcoal per annum, those in the Northern Region consumed an average of 510.1kg of charcoal/annum (UNDP 2018). Further, illicit mining, charcoal burning and bush fires are undermining forest cover gains could aggravate climate change problems which will consequently sustain underdevelopment.

The review secondary resources all acknowledge that the Northern Region of Ghana is having serious development challenges. This situation is linked to the country's history of colonialism, infrastructural challenges, climate change, migration, poor education and health and poverty in general as some of the key challenges which the Northern Region faces in its development crusade. What also emerges poignantly in the literature is that there is a general lack of political

will by sitting governments to fast-track infrastructural development which could actually attract investors in the region. This confirms the argument by political economists who posit that development is only possible if it gains the support of the political powerful. As detailed in previous chapters, a number of scholars have highlighted the political economy of resource distribution in form of citizen-politician connections in the delivery of public goods by nation-states and access to the same goods by citizens (Chabal and Daloz, 1999; Chamunogwa, 2012; Marens, 2009). These political powerful people often direct investors where to invest. In most cases, they direct investors where these politicians enjoy political capital connections. These connections are regarded as systems of trade-off between politicians and ordinary citizens (Chamunogwa, 2012). The connections are not based on the honesty of political offices and neither are they built on legal conduits of how scarce resources are accessed, but rather, are based on the political economy of how politicians achieve their obligations to meet the expectations of their supporters (Chamunogwa 2012). Chabal and Daloz (1999) posit that most of the channels used by politicians to distribute state resources, livelihoods development resources, are biased. The delivery of scarce resources by these oligarchs is mainly done by use of formal state structures which they abuse to reward their loyal supporters in top-down engagements. These arrangements may also be bottom-up as the same politicians negotiate for the provision of and access to state resources between the state and their own supporters citizens (Marens, 2009). Milward (2000) posits that in actual fact, there are no straight cages between the two as they may be interlinked. Thus, until there is strong political will in Ghana which can deploy social policy approaches, development, particularly in the poorer regions and communities will remain a key challenge. Most of the development challenges that were documented in the secondary sources were also confirmed through th empirical investigations of the study in four selected communities as detailed next.

The next section focuses on the empirical data that was collected on the Northern Region by the researcher.

4.3. Descriptions and Demographic Profiles of Participants

This section describes the demographic characteristics of the participants for the study. The demographic profile characteristic that were captured by the deployed research instruments

focused on issues that impact, either positively or negatively, on participatory development. The data was collected from 151 household participants, 12 key informants (in both public and private sectors), and four focus groups. The demographic characteristics described in this section are meant to augment the key issues that emerged from the overall data. These key issues are described in the next section and then discussed in Chapter Five.

The study collected data on particular demographic characteristics due to the relevance of such characteristics in enhancing participation in development projects. Such characteristics included gender of participants, their age categories, occupation, education levels, duration of stay in a specific communal area, and household sizes. The importance of these characteristics for enhancing participation in development projects is widely supported in literature (see Dengerink, 2013; Díez et al., 2015; Gatune, 2016; Government of Ghana 2018a). While the importance of education in rural development is often contested, it is discussed because even though rural dwellers know the nature of development which they need even without an education, information and access to resources needed for such development might still require a certain level of education. Thus, education remains an important factor in development.

Gender Composition

The study collected data on the gender proportions of people who were engaged in development projects in the case study communities. As shown in Figure 2 below, a total of 70 per cent of the household participants were female while male participants accounted for only 30 per cent. Through focus group discussions, it was, however, found that most of the women who participated were representing either their husbands or their parents as they were not the registered members in the projects. Out of the key informants, six (60 per cent) were female while only four males (40 per cent) participated. There was also female domination in all focus groups. These statistics should also imply the magnitude of outmigration in the communities as men registered membership in the projects and then migrated to urban areas in the pursuit of other livelihoods development strategies. Where this obtains, it becomes a setback especially considering the agrarian nature of the Northern Region where intensive labour is needed to perform agricultural work.

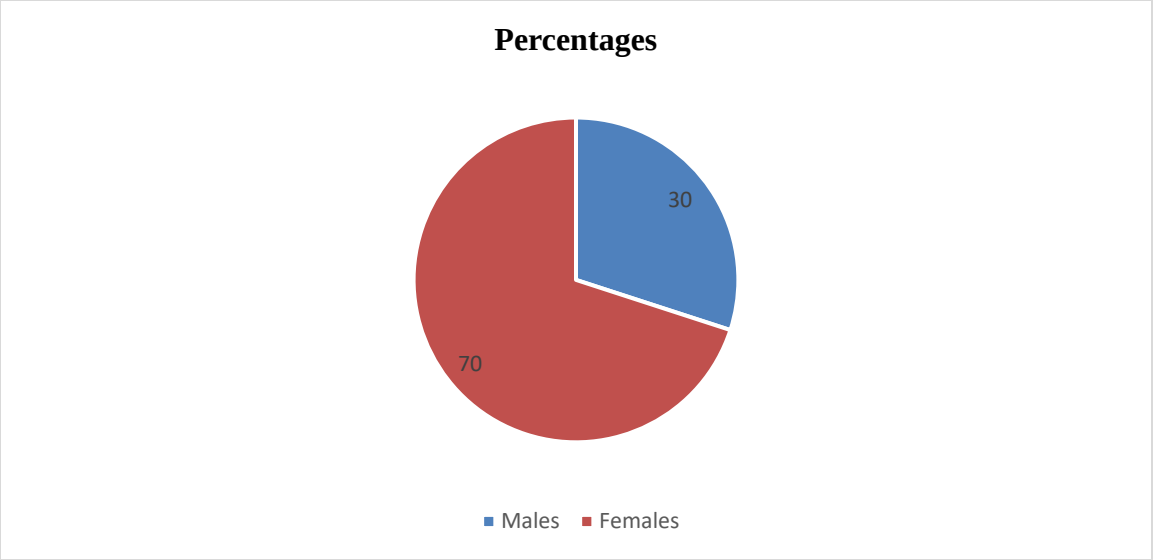

Figure 2: Gender of Household Participants

Age categories of participants

The study also gathered the age of participants with the intention to find out the age categories that were dominant in the projects. Age is important as it directly relates to the individual's capacity to produce whether in formal or in informal activities. As shown in Table 2, a total of 13.2 per cent of the household participants were between the 18-30 years age categories. A total of 32.5 per cent were between 31-40 years. This was followed by 19.8 of participants who were between 41-50 years. About 28.4 per cent of the participants were between 51-60 years while 25.1 per cent was over sixty years old. This shows that the dominant group of participants were people who were the elderly (51 years and above). Again, as argued above, this could represent a setback considering that most of the activities in the communities revolve around agriculture which itself is a labour-intensive activity. The elderly might not be able to perform optimally in these activities.

Table 2: Age categories of participants

Age group	Frequency	Percentage
18-30	20	13.2
31-40	20	13.2

41-50	30	19.8
51-60	43	28.4
61+	38	25.1
Total	**151**	**100**

The same pattern could also be said about the focus group members. However, although the study did not gather the age groups of key informants, it seems the key informant participants were much older than the household participants. On the key informants, however, the age and gender composition were not important because they participants were not chosen for their membership in projects, but rather for their knowledge about the development issues in the Region an in Ghana as a whole.

Occupation of Participants

The case study areas were basically agrarian communities. Even most of the development projects that were being launched in the region were also mostly agrarian-based. As a result, the study also sought to understand whether there were other occupations by participants outside farming. As shown in Figure 3, the study found that a staggering 84 per cent engaged in farming as an occupation. Only about sixteen per cent engaged in other occupations including driving, motor mechanics, teaching, and so forth. The larger number of focus group participants also indicated that they were based in farming and other related activities. Personal observations across the case study sites also revealed that almost every household had fields and other signs of farming activities. Key informants comprised of development practitioners located in the public and private, particularly the donor sector. Some participants were politicians in the Northern Region. Understanding the occupation was particularly important as it helped to assess the commitment of households to projects. It was the researcher's considered view that high commitment would correlate with high positive outcomes while low commitment would correlate with low outcomes. This fact was actually confirmed by the empirical data gathered as discussed in Chapter Five. The researcher observed that the 84 per cent of the participants that considered farming as an occupation often focused on their farms and fields with very little time spent on projects which some viewed as part time jobs, or at worst, as time consuming.

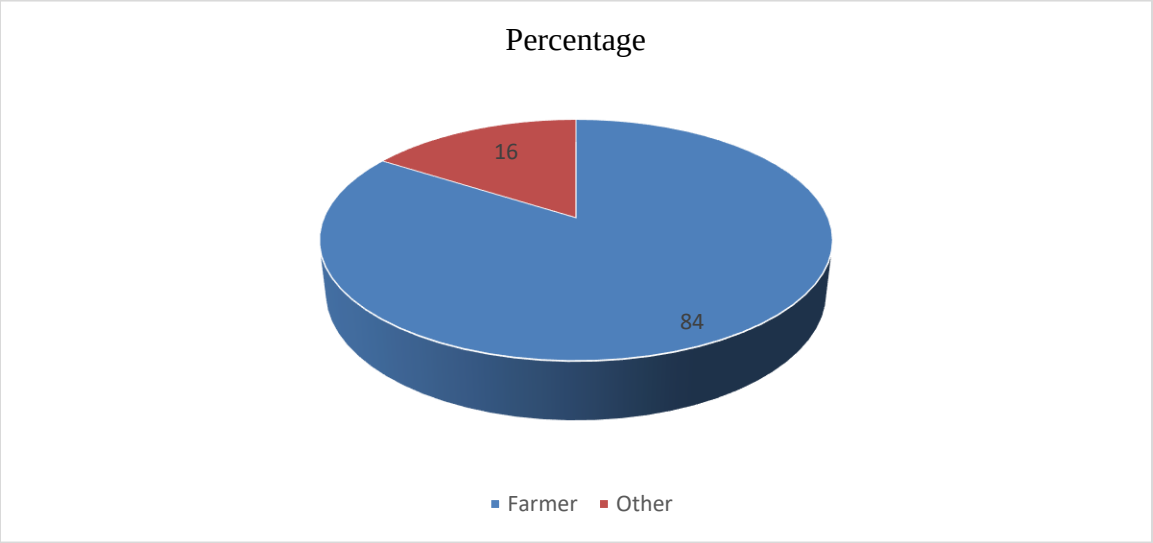

Figure 3: Occupation of participants

*Other refers to other forms of employment not linked to any community projects.

Level of education of head of household

While education is contested as an important factor of development in the context of rural areas (Pham, 2018), based on the fact that rural people know what they needed in their communities even without education, the research argues that even though rural people know what they need, access to what they need may also depend on the levels of education and training which enable to source for information and resources. In this view, the researcher also gathered data on the levels of education by household heads. Household heads were considered as that member within the household who had the membership in the projects under investigation. The study found that 69 per cent of these household heads had ended their education in primary school as shown in Table 3. This was followed by 18 per cent which had a secondary education. A total of 11 per cent had tertiary education. Two per cent had a college diploma, another two per cent had a university degree while another two per cent had other qualifications, such as farmer training.

Table 3: Level of education of head of household

Level of education	Frequency	Percentage
Primary school	104	69
Secondary school	27	18
Tertiary	11	7
Diploma	3	2
Degree	3	2
Other	3	2
Total	**151**	**100**

*Other refers to other informal trainings received by heads of households.

The researcher also found that most of the focus group participants also had primary education while a few had secondary education. There were no one with diplomas or degrees in the focus groups. This shows that primary education was the highest level of education, both for household heads and for focus group participants. The key informants consulted in the study also confirmed that the various issues with which the Northern region is faced with are related to the region's levels of education. Contrary to the view by scholars that education has little effect of the development requirement of rural areas (Gupta, Pouw, and Ros-Tonen, 2017; Pham, 2018), participants in this study revealed that education is very important and that the reason why development was lagging in case study communities was due to low levels of education. A key informant reported that:

> *As you know, education is a basic in whatever form of development efforts one can pursue. The Northern region is one of the regions that have been largely neglected in the Ghanaian tide of development. While other regions had enough schools and other forms of support, the north lack these facilities. Literacy levels are low as a result of this. As expected, projects can easily fail in this kind of situation* (Key Informant 2).

Some key informants reported that males in the Northern region had a significant opportunity of acquiring an education as compared to females. The posited that it is crucial to ensure that girls, who are tomorrow's women, are supported to get an education in the region. The importance of

education as one of the key factors f rural development is also confirmed by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2019) which requires that education be promoted in rural areas as part of the broader effort to mobilise development in those areas.

Household Sizes

Performance in projects, particularly those that focus on agricultural activities may be based on the availability of labour especially for subsistence production. As a result, the study also examined the sizes of the households that participated in the available projects. The study found that most of the households that participated were big. As shown in Figure 4, about 39.1 per cent had between 11-15 members. This was followed by 37.1 per cent which had between 6-10 members. About 18.51 per cent of the households had over 16 members while only 5.29 per cent had less than five members. Personal observations also revealed that households in the area were generally large. Some of them had more than one mother. However, the researcher also noted that most of the household members were children mostly below 15 years.

In the focus groups, one participant mentioned that she had nine children while another mentioned that she had eleven. After a probing question, the participant mentioned that:

> *These children are my wealth. There is no wealth more than children. They will take care of me in my old age. The more they are, they better they will be able to take care of me. They can also take care of each other* (Focus group participant, Sagnarigu).

One key informant also indicated that due to the patriarchal nature of the region, many people had many wives. As a result, they also had many children. It was also indicated that the large sizes of households could also be used to explain the low literacy rates as households struggle to send children to school. In retrospect, however, considering the agrarian nature of the communities, large families may be an asset in farming since there is always adequate labour for land cultivation and for watching over livestock. However, since most members were children, they may not be strong effort to provide the needed labour. Their use on farms will also be in contravention of national and international legislation that prohibit the use of child labour, such as the Ghana Children Act of 1998, the Minimum Age Convention , 1973 (No. 138), and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182) of the International Labour Organisation, among others.

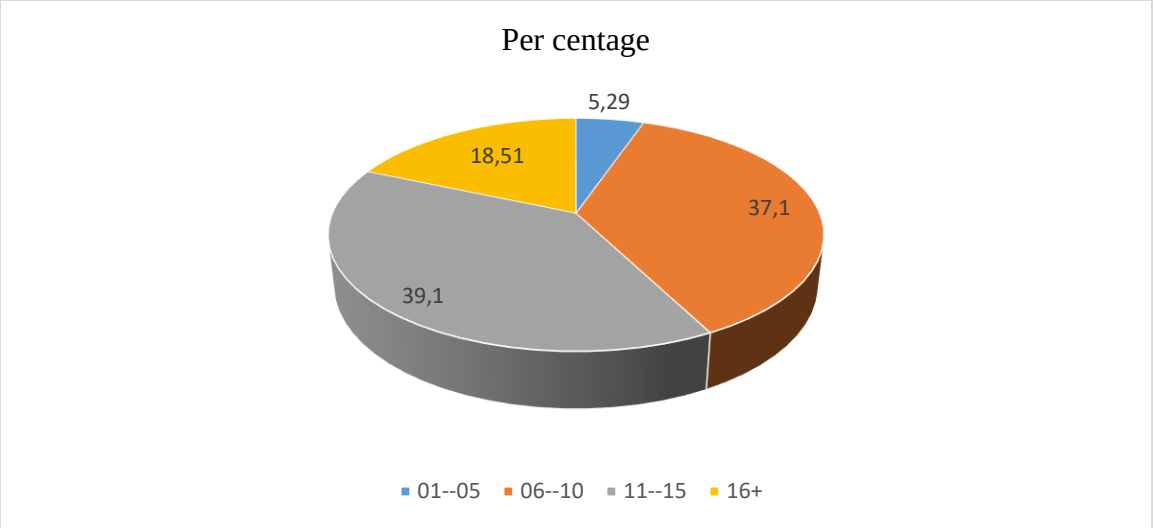

Figure 4: Household sizes

In light of the various demographic characteristics of the participants in the case study communities discussed above, the next section explores some of the major opportunities which may emerge or exploited from these demographic features. The central argument being pushed forward is that the demographic characteristics of the participants presents particular advantages which can be exploit in the realisation of development.

4.4. Development Opportunities in the Northern Region

All the data sources used in this study concurred that a huge body of project opportunities ere available. These included the World vision, MIDA Ghana, HAIFA, CCFC, ADRA, and IPA. The activities of these projects are summarised in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Projects in the community

Implementor	**Activity**
World vision	School feeding/ School uniform production
MIDA Ghana	School feeding/gardening
HAIFA	School feeding/ agriculture inputs distribution/ construction
CCFC	Sheanut processing/ mosquito net manufacturing/

ADRA	Sheep raising
IPA	borehole drilling/ poultry
RING	School feeding

The key informants revealed that while some of the projects were run by the government, most of them were being run by non-governmental organisations. Key informants also revealed that while some projects were successful, most were not performing as would be expected. One key informant mentioned that:

> *As would have been expected, donors know that these are challenged communities. The people do not have adequate skill and education to be left alone to run some of the projects whose success depend on the use of recent technologies and inputs. As a result, people fail, and the donors get disappointed and withdraw* (Key informant 3).

Key informants also noted that with women being most of the targeted beneficiaries of projects, it would be important that development practitioners' focus on how they can empower women not only with inputs and assets, but also with skills and knowledge on how best to use the provided resources. This strengthen the social policy approach stance to rural development. The issue of the lack of consideration of the needs of women farmers by development practitioners is also discussed by Hart and Aliber (2012) in the context of South Africa. These scholars argue that the political economy of the country's agricultural services makes use of a delivery approach which is based on top-down handover of technology models. This technology handover is not only devoid of participatory components, but is does not also consider the needs of women which are specifically gender-based. The technologies distributed are 'spill-over technologies', which are not even targeted at women. Hart and Aliber (2012) dismiss as unconducive for the realisation of success by farmers. This view highlight the importance of education and training as a key development factor which is not recognised by some development scholars (Pham, 2018).

In the case study areas, the researcher also observed that there were other types of projects which communities had formed on their own in a bid to improve the situation and sustain their livelihoods. These projects included baking and farming cooperatives, among others, particularly run by women. The presence of these projects indicated that households are not powerless in initiating activities that can improve their conditions. Thus, given the necessary support, these

people can make a huge contribution in steering development. Archie Mafeje (2003) once noted that the poor were not poor because they were simply poor, but because they were socially-deprived, and that they could help themselves if someone somewhere in society could support them to do so. It is this situation that has triggered the need for social policy responses to the development impasse of countries.

All the participants in this study acknowledged the importance of community projects in the realisation of development in their communities. This positive attitude towards projects is itself an asset that can be utilised by development practitioners since once projects are launched, there is support from community members. However, such projects need to be consistent with the people's needs. In the current study, a total of 84 household participants, representing 85 per cent of the household participants interviewed considered participation as very important for the success of development projects in their communities. Another 8 per cent supported participation extremely. Only 7 per cent considered participation as of little value to the success of projects (see Figure 5). This means that projects could have adequate support in the communities. Focus group participants and key informants also stressed the importance of support and participation in projects. In this view, they pointed out the importance of involving the targeted beneficiaries at every stage in order to ensure that any activities are in line with what the beneficiaries considered as valuable and not what practitioners themselves value. One participant mentioned that:

> *Our participation, both in the design and planning of projects would enable those who bring the projects to know which areas we need help and also where we have indigenous skills that we can use. With high levels of illiteracy in our communities, it would be crucial to focus on areas in which we already have some knowledge* (Focus group participant, Savulugu).

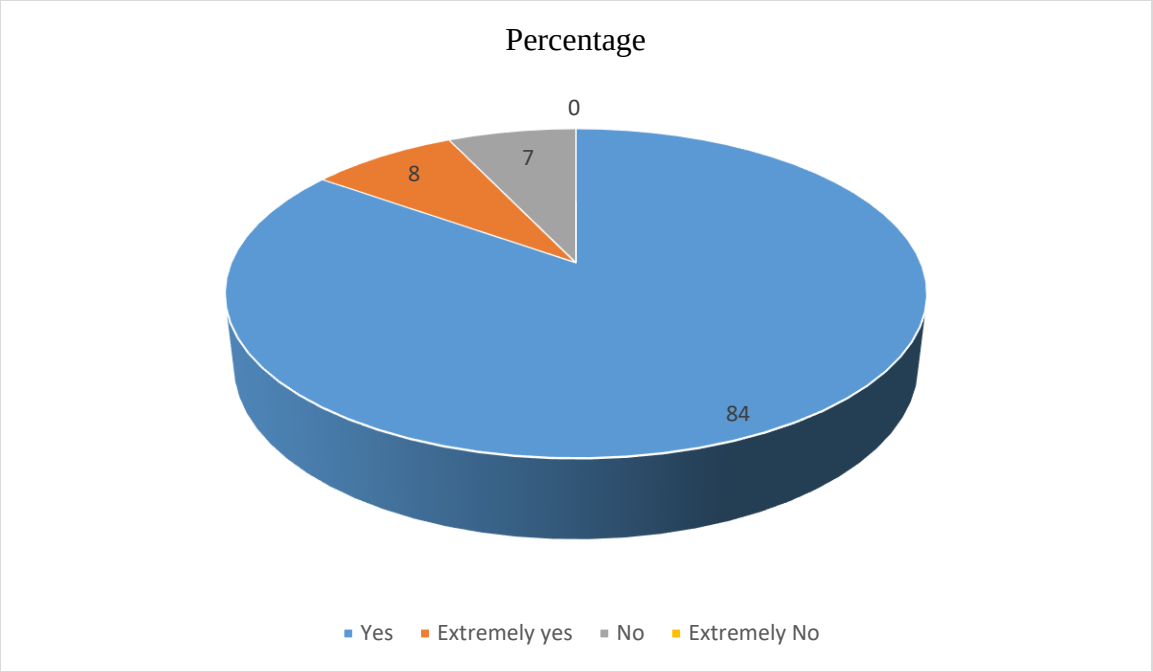

Figure 5: The value of Participation

The importance of the participation of development projects was also stressed by key informants who indicated that the success of any project that has a rural development focus is hinged on the support and participation of those it is intended to assist (Key informant 9). It was revealed that if beneficiaries feel that they are somehow at the receiving end of the project, they tend to relax and leave those who come with the project to do all the work. One informant mentioned that:

> *The surest way by development practitioners to have a project fail is to dominate processes. Beneficiaries need to be involved throughout all the stages of the project, from design, planning to implementation. Ones they feel ownership of the programme, chances are high that the project will bring about its intended results. Most of the projects I the Northern region, however, do not do this. They go there with plans and force people to go by such plans. People then fail because they do not see how they should make a contribution* (Key informant 8).

The other opportunity pointed out by participants which development practitioners can build on is the ownership of land by targeted beneficiaries in the case study communities.

4.4.1. Land Ownership

As detailed in the secondary literature and also as observed personally by the researcher, the Northern Region is basically an agrarian community (Awumbila Owusu, and Teye, 2014; Asuru, 2017; Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng, 2016). This means that most of the households engage in agricultural or agricultural-related activities for livelihoods and for incomes (Cooke et al. 2016; Dinko, 2017). In the case study areas, the current study found that all participant households owned a piece of land although the sizes of land differed. The types of lands ranged from large farms to fields and small gardens around the homestead and behind the houses.

Land ownership as an asset that could boost participation in development projects was highlighted by all data sources that were used in the current study (secondary literature, household participants, key informants, focus group discussion, and personal observations). All participants reported that owning a piece of land was the greatest opportunity that empowered them to bargain and call for government attention. This highlight the belief by participants that the government should play the central role in ensuring that communities are developed. This view is supported by social policy experts who posit that at the centre of social policy is a commitment to ensure quality of life for people in a particular territory' (Adesina, 2007) through the provision of basic services and needs. Marshal (1965) states that citizenship is fundamentally a matter of guaranteeing that everybody is respected as a full and equal member of society. This can be achieved if every citizen has equal access to basic needs. Marshal (1965) argues that the way to ensure this sense of membership is through giving people an increasing number of social rights. This also speaks to the SLA approaches which require the various capitals which communities and households already have be taken into account as part of the efforts to empower them utilise what they already have. (Nhantumbo and Salomao, 2010).

In this study, some households were multiple land owners. These households rented out some of their lands to individuals and even to certain projects that needed land. One key informant had this to say upon being asked how land facilitated participation in community development projects:

> *Land is wealth on its own. In an agrarian set up, there is no important asset than the land – the means of production. Without a land of its own, a household in the Northern Region may struggle to survive. Land ownership gives the people a sense of humanity. They use*

> *this land to lobby for assistance and to put their own labour to productive use* (Key informant 5).

Almost all the respondents (household and focus group participants, as well as key informants) in the sample expressed these and other sentiments, (although they also expressed views on the lack of tenure security on their pieces of lands). Participants also reported that even most of the development projects that were underway in their communities were those based on land, that is, those basically engaging in farming activities. Some projects processed agricultural products while others engaged in other activities which are yet still linked to farming. Land ownership in an agrarian community was viewed as a major opportunity which could both motivate and boost the participation of households in development projects. One key informant mentioned that:

> *The best possible way to assist rural community is to start on the areas where the people already have knowledge and expertise. In the North, the people are agrarian. As a result, some projects meant for the region are meant to utilise the traditional knowledge which the people already have. The people have farming knowledge. This explains the nature and activities of the projects in the region* (Key informant 5).

Participants revealed that there were many opportunities in the communities that could be used to boost project operations and thus, improve household livelihoods. Some participants indicated that projects had opened up new opportunities particularly for crop production by small-scale producers in the Northern region. All participants indicated that for a rural household, there is no valuable asset most needed than land and support such as inputs. It was reported that land created employment and other income generating opportunities. Some participants reported that their household members managed to get employment in the local projects. These viewed were also confirmed by focus group participants one of whom mentioned that:

> *With unemployment on the high in the country, some of us have managed to be employed in these development projects which hired our lands for their activities* (Focus group participant, Tamale metropolis)

In the reviewed official documents, land in the Northern Region is still being distributed by chiefs who, even after colonialism, hold the authority of managing land, including its resources (UNDP 2018). In most of the region, land is freely given out to members of a community and individuals as a livelihood development tool. This has improved the access to land by households. The next of kin are still important for endorsement of allocations (Tsikata and Seini,

2004; Yaro and Tsikata, 2013). While it is common belief that land for farming is not acquired by purchase, participants in this study revealed that they parted with livestock, some assets or even paid for their piece of land to land owners or to traditional leaders. Some households in the survey also secured land from relations or family, or through inheritance.

Some women participants also reported what could be their discrimination in land access. It was mentioned that societal rules and practices that regulated access to, use of, and rights in land effectively discriminate against women. One participant mentioned that: "*A woman's access to land was tied to that of her husband. Landed property was inherited by men through the patrilineal system and wives and daughters did not inherit land*." This view confirms the idea that land ownership opens up opportunities, not only for household livelihoods development, but also for boosting the people's confidence and hence, their willingness and ability to participate in development projects.

The establishment of socio-economic networks was also another opportunity that emerged in the data.

4.4.2. Income od participants

Income is an important economic determinant of people's wellbeing, and hence their willingness and ability to participate in development projects. This relates particularly to satisfaction and happiness. Income enables people to afford basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter (Diener, Tay and Oishi, 2013). The income referred to in the current study includes wages and savings. Findings from the current study show a mixture of responses regarding the income earned by households. However, participants reported that the presence of various development projects in their communal areas represented an important opportunity that can be worked on to improve the fortunes of the people. Participants indicated that projects had opened up new opportunities particularly for crop production by small-scale producers in their communities. Projects were recommended for the creation of employment and other income generating opportunities. Some participants reported that their household members managed to get employment in the local projects. Most participants reiterated that should adequate support be provided, projects remained important opportunities which the government and other actors can

develop to improve the conditions of the people in the Northern Region. One focus group participant mentioned that:

> *With unemployment on the high in the country, some of us have managed to be employed in these development projects* (Focus group participant, Tamale metropolis).

The study found that 63.57 per cent of the participant households obtained their incomes from cash crop sales most of which were produced under development projects support. A total of 8.6 per cent relied on livestock sales for incomes while 5.96 relied on remittances. A total of 15.91 per cent had its income from a mixed variety of activities including traditional healing, hunting, and so forth (Figure 6). This evidence shows that most of the incomes by households come from agricultural and other related activities. This confirms the findings by the UNDP (2018) which indicated that the majority of households in the Northern Region focused on crop farming.

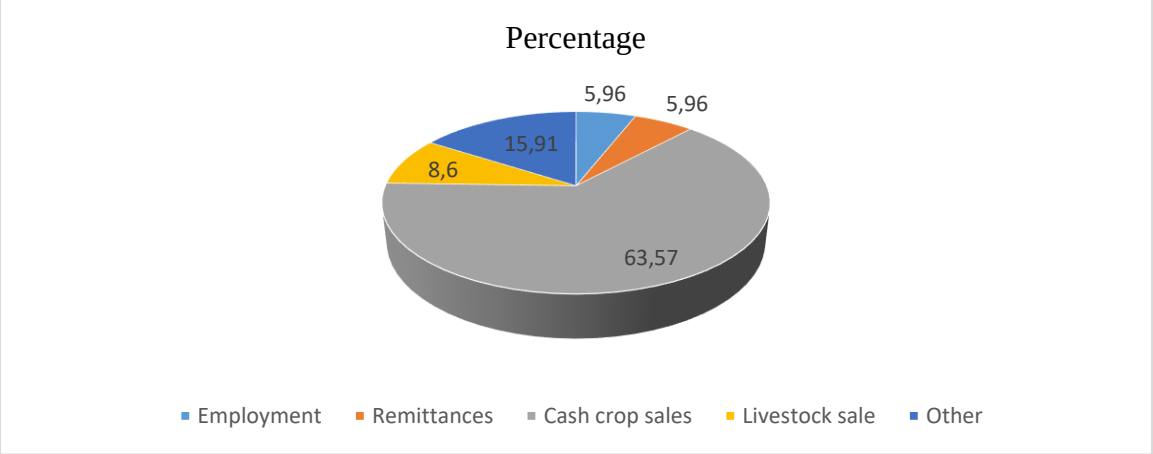

Figure 6: Sources of incomes for participants

*Other refers to other activities including hunting, traditional healing activities, etc.

The various sources of income established from household data was also confirmed by key informants, focus group participants, as well as personal observations by the researcher. One focus group participant mentioned that:

> *We are petty traders of farm products, especially crop yields in the community. We do this without any support from either government or non-governmental organisations. Even though we would have needed support to expand our businesses, earn more capital to look after our children and grandchildren to become future*

leaders, but the lack of support has left us with no hope (Focus group participant, Kumbugu).

Key informants also revealed that although households in the Northern Region have various sources of income, agricultural activities were the most dominant source. While most households also relied on the sale of livestock, almost every home produced some crops for sale. Personal observation revealed that these crops included grains such as wheat, rice, and maize; and also vegetables such as tomatoes, onions, yams, and many others. This confirmed the assertion by one key informant who mentioned that:

Basically, the Northern region in its entirety, is an agrarian community. Most of the activities in which the people are involved are agricultural related. Even in the Tamale metropolis which is an urban area, you will still find that the most thriving businesses there are those selling agricultural products. The economy indeed is largely agrarian (Key informant 6).

Opinions on the sources of incomes

There were mixed views by participants in terms of the status of their incomes. While almost all participants confirmed that their income sources had changed since the onset of various projects, some indicated that the change has been positive while others revealed that the change has been devastating. Some participants indicated that they were better off without the project which now took up most of their time to do other livelihood activities, and as a result, although they were registering with projects, they sent their children or wives to represent them. In other words, they saw no value of investing their time in the projects while there were other more valuable things they could do to sustain their livelihoods. This feeling was also supported by the loss of various productive equipment by participants since the onset of projects as indicated in the previous sections. One participant reported that:

We did not like this sort of project to begin with. However, since we wanted something that would improve our situation and our livelihoods, we had to accept it. It was imposed on us. We still even do not know how we should be going about it. We have not attachment to the project as it has caused us much loss. Personally, I used to get a household income from the sale of crops, ranging from nuts, onions, tomatoes, etc., that we grow in a family garden. With the onset of the project, everything has changed, I now rely on my sons who sent some money for food (Household participant 44).

Another participant mentioned that:

> *I used to flourish in the retail business. With the project, my attention and time has been a whole lot divided, and my source of income has been greatly affected. Now I have to rely on a number of activities which are not even connected. Sometimes I see crafts, hire out my car, etc to make a living. Times are now hard. We did not have knowledge in the project, and we plunged in it leaving behind our basic activities of survival* (Household participant 27).

Some women participants had also some specific comments on the issues that have changed their income sources. They indicated that the project they were engaged in were specifically targeted for women, and excluded men. They indicated that lack of manpower, skills, resources, and knowledge continues to undermine their incomes. One participant reported that:

> *The project is biased. It only targeted women. Where do were get the resources? Where do we get the time? Where do we get the skills? This had negatively handicapped the income sources of many households who are engaged in our project. We continue to do our farming, yes, but the produce is not getting buyers* (Household participant 12).

Some participants also indicated that prior to the projects, they basically had nothing to do, and therefore, they did not have any income. They revealed that farming on its own offered them little due to lack of resources and inputs. Engagement in the project therefore now offered them these resources. As a result, they are now able to obtain some form of income from the projects. They however, believed that much still needs to be done in order to make the projects a success story.

The study also gathered details on which resources participants thought could improve their income profiles in the face of failing projects. Participants had mixed views in this regard. Some participants indicated that they would prefer some form of training that would enable them to get employment in the formal sector. It was reported that:

> *The government and donors would have done well if they had introduced projects that focus on training us for skills that would enable us to look for employment in the public or private sector. Projects usually come and go. You cannot be in a project forever. Should our children also inherit a project? That should not be the case. Resources should therefore be books, etc that can be used to develop us and prepare us for future employment* (Household participant 03).

There were also some participants who required that projects focus on the young whose future was now at stake in the region. They indicated that it was crucial that they young people be empowered to take charge of projects. As a result, resources need to be biased towards the development of the young generation. Some participants indicated that they would need financial resources so that they can start individual businesses since projects are not properly run. It was mentioned that:

> *A project is run by many people. It is not easy to change direction if you feel this is not working for you. As a result, we continue to fail. Development actors must come and ask us what we need and how we can be assisted. This will enable them to know what kind of resources we need to move forward* (Household participant 97).

There were however, other participants who indicated that they were doing well in their projects. One participant reported that:

> *The project has brought me great relief. Life was hard before. With the project, I worked hard. Before the project I had to run up and about, and my income used to come from a number of sources. I always came in insignificant proportions. Today, my income comes from the project. I have also built a house, bought equipment, send children to school, etc. I am doing well* (Household participant 122).

There were also some participants who required the government to invest in infrastructure in order to make their projects meaningful. Participants posited that transport and communication networks as well as health facilities were extremely bad in the region. As a result, what they produce in projects do not get buyers. Participants had to wait for 'well-wishers' buyers to come and buy their products. This has continued to handicap production. Thus, they preferred that the government intervenes by providing such infrastructure in the region.

4.4.3. Access to Natural Resources

The other opportunity to make use of is the presence of natural resources that can be used to improve lives and livelihoods. Livelihood/employment was found to be the most important reasons for the exploitation of natural resources by participants. The Northern Region enjoys large arable land, although much of it is undeveloped. Known natural resources of the area include minerals, shea, *dawadawa*, sand, water bodies, and abundant sunlight. Feasibility studies have also reported the availability of high quality limestone deposits in the region (Houssou et

al., 2016; McKay, Pirttilä, and Tarp, 2015). The region is also known to have deposits of iron ore in Sheini and clay in Kukuo, Yong, Nabari, Kpaligu and Bewna (Moss and Majerowicz, 2012). The Northern Region is known to have great natural resource potential even though it is one of the poorest region of Ghana. Its economy is largely agrarian-based with the top export being shea nuts (a non-traditional export commodity). Other studies have pointed to the potential of gold mining (Sachs, 2013; Steel and van Lindert, 2017).

The Northern Region has the highest concentration of natural resources including minerals, forest reserves and water resources (UNDP 2018). It has the best climatic conditions for cassava and yam. Natural resource exploitation provides for a diversity of opportunities to individuals, families and the community at large. This study found that while some families largely depended on their use for survival, others relied solely on the incomes accruing from their exploitation. In this regard, it served as a livelihood strategy. Key informants reported that royalties paid by international or local companies for resource exploitation also provided revenues. The royalties were paid in cash or in-kind.

In the exploitation of natural resources, traditionally there is a gender division of labour. Given patrilineal inheritance and male dominance in the region (Tsikata and Seini, 2004; Weger, 2012), one would have thought that men would dominate when it comes to natural resource use. However, the study found that males and females equally took part in the exploitation of natural resources. This was confirmed by both focus group as well as household participants. If anything, it was climate change which added stress to the often-unsustainable patterns of resource use that are underway. In the Northern Region where the expected ratio of precipitation to evaporative demand is expected to decrease, rain-fed agricultural production is vulnerable to climate change (UNDP 2018). Even where erratic increases in precipitation could contribute to increase yields, it often results in crop damage linked to heavy storm events, excessive soil moisture and flooding. Similarly, livestock rearing, previously subject to traditional grazing practices, is now being affected by reduction in grazing grounds and the drying up of important water bodies.

4.5. Development Challenges in the Northern Region

The number of challenges highlighted in the reviewed secondary sources and also raised by participants in this study were problematic to the success of development projects in all case study areas of the thesis. The raised challenges have huge implications on households' capacity to participate in development projects in the communities.

4.5.1. Income and Livelihoods

Income is an imperative economic determinant of livelihoods and wellbeing. It empowers people to afford basic needs such as food, clothing, health and shelter (Diener, Tay and Oishi, 2013). The income information gathered by this study included salaries, wages, savings, investments, bonuses and/or dividends. The findings revealed a mixture of facts regarding the income and livelihoods status before development projects in the case study areas. Most of household participants indicated their income prior to projects was very little. On the other hand, most focus group participants indicated that nothing had changed since then. It was indicated by these participants that the incomes gained only assisted in meeting basic household needs and did not improve their material lot. Participants bemoaned their financial situation positing that it was too poor and of concern because they could not even manage to invest or save from their incomes. Based on their income levels and livelihoods status, participants concluded that they were dissatisfied with the capacity of projects to have a noteworthy impact on their lives. Participants generally reported that they experienced no change since their incomes earned from projects were too low. They elaborated that the wages were not enough to fully provide for them and their families. There were, however, some participants who indicated that they were satisfied with their incomes from projects even though they were expressed as being too low. This highlighted participants' grateful behaviour for earning a salary considering the economic challenges and the high unemployment not only of the Northern Region, but of Ghana as a whole. Participants from one project explained that:

> *Income from the project is too little and we basically struggle to even use it to meet basic livelihood needs: food, clothes, school fees, etc. However, even though the income is not enough to enable use to build strong livelihoods, to provide for our families, we are thankful that at least we are able to earn an income compared to*

earning nothing especially in the context of lack of jobs in the country as a whole (Household participant 134).

Food availability is one of the most important factors by which to assess the quality and resilience of livelihoods (Mansuri and Rao, 2012). Household food security is a major component of human existence. Household food security entails a situation in which all members of the household have adequate food to eat (Awumbila et al. 2014). In the current study, in terms of food shortages, as shown in Figure 7 below, the survey showed that in the year 2016, 70 per cent of the households experienced food shortages. This number increased to 75 per cent in 2017, improved slightly to 65 per cent in 2018 before shooting up to 79 per cent in 2019.

Some participants remained sanguine that their wages have the potential to improve, and consequently improve their livelihoods. Some participants reported that they were satisfied with the wages because poverty was rife in their communities and in the region as a whole. They therefore, considered themselves fortunate compared to those without any income. Some participants indicated their engagement in projects had given them an opportunity to put their labour to productive use in community development projects. They expected their participation to translate to better livelihoods in the future.

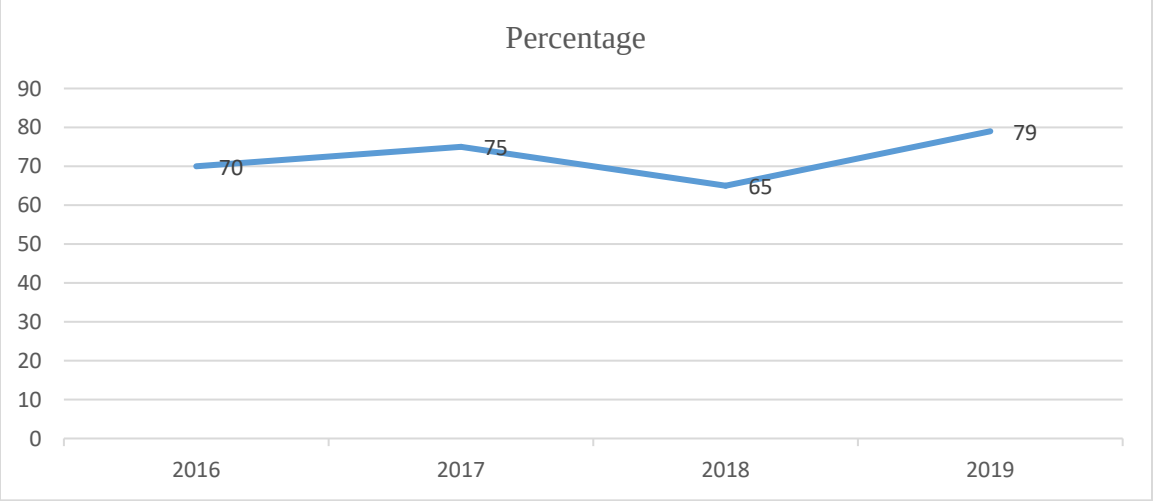

Figure 7: Food Shortages

Personal observation indicated that most of the households that reported food shortages were in rural areas. Focus group participants reported that there were food challenges almost every year due to number of reasons ranging from climate issues, input unavailability, and miscalculation in

terms of land cultivation times to lack of support and misplaced priorities. All these were said to lead to food shortages by households.

Key informants also indicated the important need to provide support to rural people in order to make sure that they access and utilise food. It was mentioned that rural people mainly rely on agricultural activities to feed themselves, and therefore, the government and other actors needed to come in particularly in drought years so as to ensure food availability.

A number of participants explained that in order to improve their livelihoods and incomes, they still continue to engage in agricultural activities outside the projects. These activities are believed to be assisting in sustaining their livelihoods and that of their households, as well as improve their wellbeing. This view is illustrated by this statement: "Besides low wages acquired from projects, we get some benefits such as free lunch, free products, and some left-over produce which we also share with our households. We also give the left-over produce to families without food in our local community" (Focus Group Participant, Kumbugu). This evidence indicates that development projects in these case study areas are a means of food security to participants and community members given that there is low income to improve both incomes and livelihoods under the current economic conditions that characterise both Ghana and the Northern Region.

A few participants indicated that their income from development projects allowed them to participate in other community cooperatives which enabled them to save or invest. This proves that not only is income crucial for meeting basic needs, it also influences saving and investment patterns of cooperative farmers (Agyekum, 2013). On the contrary, the majority of the participants revealed that they have not yet earned any wages from the projects since they started operating due to a myriad of challenges such as lack of government support, transportation, equipment, negative environmental effects, theft and vandalism. Figure 8 shows that only 16 per cent of the households were able to save money and were satisfied by their quality of livelihoods. When these participants were probed, they indicated that they were somehow managing to save money since their relatives outside the country assisted them by sending money and basics such as clothes from outside the country. They indicated that saving money would be factually impossible had it not been for the help of their relatives.

However, a staggering total of 69 per cent of the households indicated that they could not save money at all. One household participant mentioned that:

> *We work from hand to mouth. If you get a cent, the first thing to make sure is to secure a bag of mealie-meal. This is not a problem of this area. It's a national problem. Under these conditions, then, it is difficult to save or to think of any form of investment* (Household participant 77).

A total of 15 per cent of the households did not know whether they could say they were saving money or not. Some of these families revealed that they preferred keeping money in form of livestock. If they get some money, they quickly buy livestock. However, several households indicated that they had lost a considerable number of livestock in buying food, medication, and paying school fees; and therefore, did not know whether they were saving money in any way.

There were also mixed reactions by households as to whether their wealth was increasing or decreasing on the farm. Some participants reported that their wealth was increasing since they were now able to buy luxuries such as motorbikes and cellphones. However, some households reported that their wealth has been declining. In one way or the other, households categorised themselves as poor although they did not position themselves as comprising the poorest section of society. One participant mentioned that:

> *It seems we are walking backwards here in the community. I owned a lot of goats, cattle and sheep. However, ever since I joined the projects, I have sold a lot for food, for clothes, for everything. Others are getting rich, yes, but not me. I am getting poorer* (Household participant 21).

Other households indicated that they did not know if their wealth was increasing or decreasing because they continued to depend on food hand-outs from the government and NGOs. This was despite that fact that they were members of development projects in their communities.

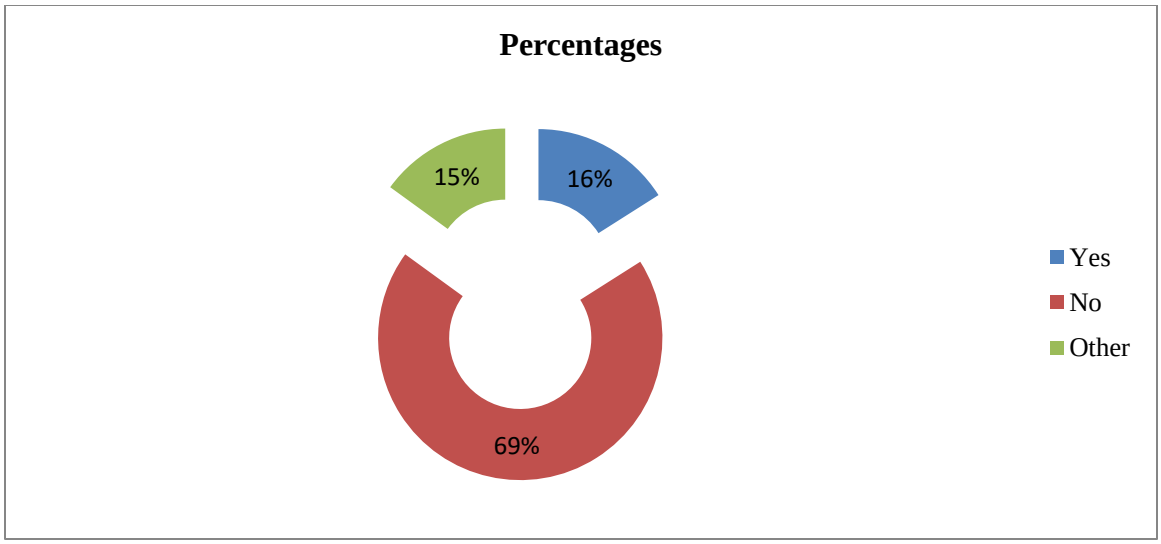

Figure 8: Household Income Satisfaction

With regard to the challenges encountered by projects and how they affected incomes and livelihoods, some participants stated that: "Road and communication networks are some of the key challenges that we have in the entire region. The roads are very bad. We are situated in a remote corner which is far from everything and this makes it a challenge for us to transport our crops or to draw attention from authorities. As a result, our products from the projects do not get competitive customers, our farm produce often rots and becomes waste and therefore, sales are low. This also impacts on our incomes and consequently, our livelihoods because the lesser the sales and profit, the lesser our incomes. We are highly dissatisfied about these circumstances" (Focus group participant, Kumbugu). This scenario is confirmed by Dorosh, Wang-You and Schmidt (2011) who states that due to the challenges of low levels of road and communication infrastructure, long average travel time, and high transaction costs for sales of agricultural inputs and outputs, agricultural productivity and poor growth levels are often experienced by development projects members.

Participants revealed dissatisfaction and frustration by these challenges since they negatively affected the production by projects. It was highlighted that these challenges accounted for projects' inability to pay their members. Participants appealed for government's assistance in order for projects to be sustainable and expand. The participants also indicated that broad financial support was important in order to improve project operations. It can be posited thatost

of the development projects in the study area are in survival mode. As a result, participants pursue additional incomes in order to survive the poverty conditions and also to be able to provide for their households. In this manner, income alone is not sufficient to contribute to a greater or overall life satisfaction.

4.5.2. Employment in Projects and Wellbeing

The other theme that emerged from the data was employment and its impact of household wellbeing, and hence their capacity or willingness to participate in community development projects. Employment is viewed as highly linked to wellbeing and self-confidence (Diener, Tay, and Oishi, 2013). Employment empowers people not only financially, but also as a source of social support and status in the society in which they interact (Dengerink, 2013). The reviewed literature indicated that the extent of engagement in employment and the pattern of economic production inform the standard of living (Brandon and Fukunaya, 2014; Chinsinga, 2014). In the Northern Region as a whole, in 2014, 73.2 per cent of the population aged 15 years and older was found to be economically active. Unemployment was above the national average, especially in rural areas. About 91.4 per cent of persons 15 years and older were employed in urban areas as compared to 88 per cent in the rural areas. The unemployment rate among females was also higher (11.2 per cent compared to 10.5 per cent for males). Males (76.3 per cent) were more likely to be economically active than females (70.3 per cent) (UNDP, 2018).

The study found that some participants had previously worked for various organisations. The men from most projects reported that they previously in the industries in the cities where they engaged as general labour. Women had most worked in farms on a part-time basis. Most participants, however, complained about their previous employment which they often associated with exploitation. The previous exploitation of participants indicates that most of the job opportunities were in vulnerable employment. According to Speer (2012), vulnerable workers do not have formal work arrangements and, are therefore more likely to lack decent working conditions and adequate social security. Vulnerable jobs are also characterised by inadequate earnings, low productivity, and difficult conditions of work that undermine workers' fundamental rights, and do not allow workers to live a life of human dignity (ILO, 2000).

Given the very large numbers of people in the Northern Region who are engaged in variety of livelihood activities, non-standard jobs and engagement in the informal sector or self-employment, it is important to look at the full range of livelihood practices to identify threats and opportunities to make livelihoods and coping and adaptive strategies more sustainable. The concept of livelihoods is much broader than jobs or employment. It comprises all the ways that people bring together their assets, capabilities, and activities to support themselves and their families or communities. In addition to the generation of income, livelihoods encompass any reliable ways that people access food, shelter, health care, education, safe water and sanitation, security, and protection.

Some participants in this study (who did not represent family members), although they viewed themselves as full-time members in their respective projects, they, however, combined their engagement with other income generating activities since they indicated that the projects did not offer them enough. They often engaged in vendor activities at work and sold chips, sweets, drinks, and other various products to their colleagues at work in the projects. This highlights the diversified nature of livelihoods in the area as members pursue a number of opportunities. One participant mentioned that:

> *I'm so grateful to be taking part in this community development project. I was unemployed for four years before joining the project. To me it is a privilege to have a job especially when many people cannot find jobs and when even those who have jobs are losing them* (Household participant 23).

However, although participants appreciated employment in the projects, they still indicated that they did not get adequate payments to enable them to improve their wellbeing. Some participants indicated that they would prefer some form of training that would enable them to get employment in the formal sector. It was reported that:

> *The government and donors would have done well if they had introduced projects that focus on training us for skills that would enable us to look for employment in the public or private sector. Projects usually come and go. You cannot be in a project forever. Should our children also inherit a project? That should not be the case. Resources should therefore be books, etc that can be used to develop us and prepare us for future employment* (Household participant 19).

There were also some participants who required that projects focus on the young whose future was now at stake in the region. They indicated that it was crucial that they young people be

empowered to take charge of projects. As a result, resources needed to be biased towards the development of the young generation. Reviewed literature also indicated that it would be important for development projects to focus on the economic empowerment for women and youths. To achieve this, the UNDP (2018) posits that research is needed on the extent of involvement and impact in development projects. However, the study found that initiatives were not always aligned to local level needs and priorities, or present in the areas of greatest need, but more importantly, were not always sustainable either. Some participants indicated that they would need financial resources so that they can start individual businesses since projects are not properly run. It was mentioned that:

> *A project is run by many people. It is not easy to change direction if you feel this is not working for you. As a result, we continue to fail. Development actors must come and ask us what we need and how we can be assisted. This will enable them to know what kind of resources we need to move forward* (Household participant *17*).

There were however, other participants who indicated that they were doing well in their projects. One participant reported that:

> *The project has brought me great relief. Life was hard before. With the project, I worked hard. Before the project I had to run up and about, and my income used to come from a number of sources. I always came in insignificant proportions. Today, my income comes from the project. I have also built a house, bought equipment, send children to school, etc. I am doing well* (Household participant 31).

There were also some participants who required the government to invest in infrastructure in order to make their projects meaningful. Participants posited that transport and communication networks as well as health facilities were extremely bad in the region. As a result, what they produce in projects do not get buyers. Participants had to wait for 'well-wishers' buyers to come and buy their products. This has continued to handicap production. Thus, they prefer that the government intervenes by providing such infrastructure in the region.

4.5.3. Education and Training

The other theme established in the study was education and training as a challenge in the case study area. Education empowers people to be able evaluate their own decisions before they can apply them. Education also helps people to source for information which they can use to improve

their own livelihoods. In the current era where the world is knit by the internet, people are able to source for various types of information (Abiona and Bello, 2013; Anney, 2014). Education also ensures that people have the skills that are needed for survival in the contemporary world (Asuru, 2017; Bagson and Owusu, 2016). It has been found that most people in the Northern Region have limited education particularly women (UNDP, 2018). The problem of lower education levels and skills in the region could be used to understand the engagement and the level of contribution by the inhabitants of the region in development projects.

The Ghanaian National Youth Policy also identifies access to quality education and inadequate or inappropriate training for the job market as one of the several challenges facing the youth (Ministry of Youth and Sports, 2010) and a basic driver of youth unemployment and underemployment in the country. Skills training in Ghana is provided through formal institutions such as private and public schools and vocational training institutes and through the informal apprenticeship system (Killick, 2010). In 2009, the Northern Region had a total of 27 public and private technical and vocational (TVET) institutions while the Upper East and Upper West regions each had a minimum of 16. The majority of the TVET institutions in the three regions are co-educational. All the institutions in the Upper East and Upper West regions, for which the Ministry of Education has information, are either women only institutions or co-educational. In the Northern Region 18 out of the 27 institutions are also either women only or co-educational. Only about 4 per cent of the youth in the Northern Region are estimated to have undergone formal skills training (UNDP, 2018). Young women were found to be less likely to be or have ever been enrolled in a vocational or technical institution. These statistics are not surprising considering the findings by FAO (2012) that girls were often compelled by socio-economic and patriarchal obligations to drop out of school at an earlier stage than boys. About 11 per cent of the youth in the Northern Region were either acquiring or have acquired some skills through informal apprenticeship training (UNDP, 2018). Young women in the Volta, Brong Ahafo and Upper East regions were also found to be more likely to have had some skills training compared to those in the Northern and Upper West regions. The academic qualification requirements are likely to be a barrier for entry into formal apprenticeship schemes for young girls (given their higher dropout rates), but also for young boys. This could explain why they are more likely to be found in the informal training schemes (UNDP, 2018).

Reviewed official documents underscore the central role and importance of focusing on the expansion of people's capabilities and opportunities and ensuring that 'no one is left behind' as part of empowering them to take part in development projects (FAO, 1996; Government of Ghana, 2018a; Ministry of Youth and Sports, 2010). The reviewed documents also stress the importance of ensuring sustainable livelihoods while moving towards strengthening capabilities and skills and capabilities for economic transformation. In the context of the Northern Region, skill deficits, as a result of disparities in equitable access to education, undermine the potential for local people to benefit from emerging economic opportunities (Government of Ghana, 2018a).

Given the central role of agriculture, and the largely subsistence nature of production in the region, government efforts in recent years have been focused on identifying how to proactively promote inclusive and gender equity enhancing agricultural development through training (Government of Ghana, 2018a; UND, 2018). Out-grower schemes and large-scale commercial agriculture have been observed as having particular structural vulnerabilities for the people of the region (Oteng-Ababio, Mariwah, and Kusi, 2017). Critical to all of this is ensuing voice and empowerment. Tackling traditional norms and practices is particularly important to ensure that social, political economic inclusion does not take place on unequal terms for women and vulnerable groups or communities.

In the findings of this study, it was found that the education and training of participants was very low (see Table 3). A number of participants described the impact of lack of education on their capacity to be productive in the projects in the following words:

> *Most of the members in the project in which I am part of are not educated. We are just people who are just trying to find ways of survival. No one knows when we can get more information or support. Education would have enabled us to look for such information, but we cannot. We feel powerless* (Household participant 17).

> *Participants that have educated people such as teachers as part of the membership are doing well. These people have knowledge and also know where go for information. This makes them successful while some of us continue to sink deeper in to poverty* (Household participant 46).

> *The problem is that most of the people in this area are not educated. Those who receive an education quickly move out to settle in town where there is development. We it is us who remain. When projects come, they find us the uneducated. We*

> *struggle to participate. Some of the people who come here do not speak our language. We do not speak English and we fail to communicate to them what would work for us. They bring other people to translate and we wonder if those people really communicate what we want* (Household participant 07).

The lack of education and training was also bemoaned by key informants who revealed that while some of the development projects in the region were run by the government, most of them were being run by non-governmental organisations. They also mentioned that while some projects were successful, most were not performing as would be expected. One key informant mentioned that:

> *As would have been expected, donors know that these are challenged communities. People do not adequate skill and education to be left alone to run the projects. As a result, people fail, and the donors get disappointed and withdraw* (Key informant 03).

Another participant reported that:

> *…because of lack of education and sensitisation about projects, there was no serious mobilisation. There was also no proper monitoring and supervision. Thus, while the projects had good intentions, these issues made the projects to fail. This has deepened poverty in the communities as a result. Most of us have you our own resources and time to try and invest in the projects so that they do not fail. This did not improve the situation. The projects were go, but the supervision and monitoring was extremely poor* (Focus group participant, Savulugu).

The overall information contributed by participants is that education and training levels are very low in the case study. This data is support by reviewed official documents which reveal that the Northern Region has the majority of deprived districts in the country and educational performance of students, on average, remains significantly poorer in comparison to the other regions.

4.5.4. Infrastructural Transformation

The other key challenge identified by the study was the problem of infrastructure in the Northern Region and in the case study areas. The availability of infrastructure is essential for human wellbeing. Health, communication, education, and transport infrastructure is very basic in empowering people to take charge of their own lives and mobilise their willingness to cooperate

and participate in development projects. In the absence of these, it is very simple for projects to fail (Awumbila et al. 2014). In the Northern Region, and in Ghana as a whole where these infrastructures are not adequately available, any development find it difficult to develop and to sustain themselves. Reviewed literature posits that it is crucial for the Ghanaian government make infrastructure available as part of its continued commitment to have its citizens participate enough in development projects which are meant to improve their own lives (Ahwoi, 2010; Asuru, 2017). It is the duty of the state to make sure that infrastructure is available for the public to use. No businesses should be expected to make their own roads for use, for example. Thus, if the state could assist with the provision of infrastructure, small business will find it easier to conduct business.

There is increasing acknowledgement that sustainable improvements in human development need to be buttressed by structural transformation and improvements in productive infrastructure. This is especially so in the case of the Northern Region given that historically the region has a larger infrastructure deficit than the rest of the country (Agyekum, 2013). The development of infrastructure should, therefore, be at the centre of efforts for speeded up growth, poverty reduction and sustained development in the region. This commitment is also captured in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), with Goal 9 focused on the need to "Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster development" (Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform, 2015).

Infrastructural development for transport (roads, water, rail and air) and communication can help to reduce unit costs of moving goods and persons and contribute to enhanced intra-zonal, north south and zonal-Sahelian country trade, and contribute to improving investment and service delivery in the entire zone. Improved penetration of telephony has been noted to have positive economic outcomes in Africa (Andrianaivo and Kpodar, 2011). Mobile telephones enable financial inclusion by reducing the cost of financial intermediation and contributes to the emergence of branchless banking services (World Bank, 2017). In the context of agriculture, important infrastructure needed for transformation include warehouses, pack-houses with cooling facilities, processing centres with adequate water and sanitation facilities and irrigation. Irrigation is important because of the uni-modal rainfall pattern and increasing erratic nature of rainfall in the North. Better supply of non-fossil energy can increase the productivity of industry and households, and enhance the quality of life, especially of rural women (UNDP, 2018).

Expanded infrastructure for potable water reduces time spent to find water, improves sanitation and reduces health risks for households.

Access to healthcare and good health outcomes were also highlighted in the literature as key for ensuring the development of human capabilities (Ministry of Health, 2014). The 2012 Ghana Health Service Assessment report identified inadequate facilities, poor staffing in health facilities coupled with a mal-distribution or incongruous mix of relevant health staff at the health facilities, as being the key challenges for healthcare delivery in the North (UNDP, 2018). Ghana has made substantial progress in healthcare delivery, but it faces critical tailbacks in the area of health infrastructure, particularly hospitals, in the northern part of the country (UNDP, 2018). In addition, a major challenge facing quality healthcare delivery in the Northern Region are the low doctor and nurse to population ratios (Ministry of Health, 2014).

All the case study areas had no major transport network. The main modes of transport in Ghana are road, rail, water, and air. Participants also lamented the conditions of transport networks in the region. The following quotations summarise the views by participants with regard to transport networks in their communities:

> *One of the issues some donors continue to avoid this area is about how to get up here. The roads are bad. It's worse during rains. The community members sometimes come together to try and improve the roads for personal use. But this is beyond what we can afford. The roads get worse* (Household participant 44).

> *There are no roads here. Which roads to talk about. If you buy a car, be prepared to fix it all the time. You spend most of the time under the car fixing than you spend inside it. The roads are terrible* (Household participant 79).

> *Sometimes we have to go to other communities to learn how they are faring in their own projects. But when it is raining for instance, we cannot not go because the roads re bad. This hampers our ability to learn from others to participate effectively in the projects in which we are members* (Household participant 87).

One key informant also pointed out that "*the poor road in most communities in the region is a serious barrier to development in these communities* (Key informant 5). For the most part, in Ghana, it is reported that gaps in road infrastructure are not only in areas with low population density and low economic activity such as the Northern Region, but also in areas where there are water ways such as in the Volta region (UNDP, 2018). Another informant commented that:

> *Despite noteworthy progress in improving road infrastructure, the road and transportation networks mostly run south to north; and at border towns are in deplorable condition. Connectivity within the zone is a huge challenge* (Key informant 2).

Another informant mentioned that:

> *Given poor road connections, low levels of urbanization, inadequate public facilities, markets and related infrastructure, it is very hard to charm private investment or to sustain the provision of social services, such as healthcare and education, which are critical for enhancing human development outcomes not only in the Northern Region, but in Ghana as a whole. Similarly, in the lack of investments to enhance people's capabilities and opportunities, investments in transformational sectors of the economy would likely result in only low skill and insecure livelihoods for the region's inhabitants, reinforcing the vicious cycle under way* (Key informant 06).

Investment in roads in these areas is important in attracting investment. The central government remains the major provider of infrastructure and public services, particularly economic services such as roads and electricity (Wood, 2013). District assemblies are yet to assume full responsibility in Infrastructure Service Provision (ISP) delivery despite the ISP law which grants sub-national government structures high autonomy in tariffs, user charges, cost recovery policy regime as well as transfers (UNDP, 2018). The inability of district assemblies to assume responsibility for the various basic services is partly due to limited human and material resources as well as the apparent unwillingness of central government to cede power and resources in certain areas (Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng, 2016). This situation impact of the welfare of the people in the region and the overall development.

4.5.5. Land Tenure/User Rights Challenges

The Northern Region is widely described in Ghanaian literature as an agrarian community (Beierle, 1999; Booth and Therkildsen, 2012; Botes and Van Rensburg, 2000). Property ownership, such as land has the capacity to empower people to gain self-confidence and hence their willingness and availability to actively participate in development projects. This view is supported by Brobbey (2010) who posit that people who own property are likely to take interest in participating in matters that are intended for development, be it communal or individual. However, one of the challenges identified by this study was land tenure/user rights challenges. This was also confirmed by the participants. Reviewed documents indicated that with the

introduction of colonial rule in Ghana, government and chiefs in most parts of the country including in the Northern Region gained part of the rights to management of lands and its resources. However, in the Northern region, just like in the Upper East and Upper West regions and parts of northern Volta, societal rules and practices that regulate access to use of, and rights in land effectively discriminate against women (Bagson and Owusu, 2016). A woman's access to land is tied to that of her husband. Landed property is inherited by men through the patrilineal system and wives and daughters do not inherit landed property (Cooke, Hague, and McKay, 2016). This is a matter of concern since most of the project members who participated in this study were women (70 per cent).

It was also revealed that policies related to the land tenure system, such as those being executed by the Customary Land Secretariat, which at first aimed at streamlining the purchase and renting of land, have not always achieved their intended aims (Cullen and Coryn, 2011). The constitutional powers given to chiefs appear to have enabled them to commercialize land or to lease it to investors without any necessary accountability, with varying implications for the welfare of locals. Chiefs were, on occasion, noted to be selling land at the expense of family and community (Dengerink, 2013). With land being increasingly commoditised, community members have to pay 'rent' for land use under the new phase of customary land management system, limiting access by individuals and populations that are unable to pay. Inheritance rights over land under customary land tenure regimes also appear to no longer serve as guarantees to access land among land owning families (Tsikata and Seini, 2004). Marginalised groups such as disadvantaged women, poor indigenes, and migrants who rely on land for their survival are becoming increasingly removed from their livelihoods as land is traded in the capital market (Songsore, 2011). The negative consequences of these situations are the widening poverty gap as livelihoods options for poor households become limited.

In this study most female participants indicated that they did not own land. This was despite the value which these participants placed on land as summarised in the following quotations:

> *For a rural household, there is no valuable asset most needed than land. With land you have everything needed to survive in the rural area* (Household participant 121).

> *With land, you can do many things to survive. You can work on the land and it can reward you. You can allow others to use your land for a payment. Land is investment* (Household participant 127).

> *Ever since I got my own piece of land, life has never been the same. I can work for myself to survive. I also have got a voice to decide what must happen in the community because my piece of land is my voice* (Household participant 144).

Focus group participants also revealed that land ownership empowered them to take part in a number of activities that were meant for community development. It was also mentioned that even donors who come to the communities consider people with land seriously as such people are considered to commit themselves to rural development. One participant mentioned that:

> *The project that recruited me is was involved in vegetable production. You needed to have a piece of land in order to qualify as a member. Members use their lands to produce under leadership of the project. If you did not have land, you would not qualify* (Focus group participant, Savulugu).

One key informant, however, had a concern regarding how projects engage community members and how they use their land. This informant stated that:

> *However, more often than not, local communities and even project members most likely receive little direct benefit from the utilization of their land pieces. This is known as the local resource curse. Rather than the local people being empowered, they become vulnerable to rent-seeking practices, including speculation, and unfair compensation. This increases the imperative for improving public participation by these communities, in order to achieve greater social justice through just mitigation of adverse impacts and more equitable distribution of project benefits* (Key informant 05).

Personal observations by the researcher also indicated that land was at the centre of most development projects in the case study areas. Land tenure challenges undermined both the participation and value which participants placed in projects. While most women highlighted the importance of land, most of them indicated that the land they worked on belonged to their husbands or parents. This situation leads to the next challenge that was identified by the study.

4.5.6. Patriarchal Challenges

In the current human development debate, paying particular attention on gender dimensions is very crucial (Calfat and Rivas, 2008; FAO, 2012). In agriculture and economic development interventions, there are discussions about hypothetically different priorities and differential impacts. One reason why land ownership is important for this study is the growing evidence between asset accumulation and decreasing levels of poverty (Potgieter, et al 2016; Pouw and

Janvier, 2014). In particular, there is a negative relationship between the risk of rural poverty and land access (Pham, 2018). This is because land has both direct benefits (from growing crops, or fodder or trees) and indirect benefits (land can serve as collateral for credit or can be sold during crisis). In the Northern Region, as elsewhere in Ghana, patriarchy is largely viewed as the dominant social orientation (Houssou, et al. 2016). In view of the various negative effects of this social arrangement for women as detailed in reviewed literature (Kamstra and Knippenberg, 2014; McKay, Pirttilä, and Tarp, 2015; Manful and Manful, 2014), there is the need for a reorientation of governance systems with the aim of repositioning women as equal partners in development. According to the UNDP (2018), land access is one of the most important issues particularly where land has been highly commoditized. Where this has happened, most women fail to acquire land as they do not have money to acquire it, even if the culture (male dominated) allows it. It is also posited that active and meaningful participation of youth, women, local farmers, persons with disabilities, and other excluded groups of people is very critical if human development is to be equitable and sustainable (UNDP, 2013). Gender is also treated as a cross-cutting issue in reviewed participatory development literature (Rippin, 2016; Saravia et al. 2013; Speer, 2012).

Land access by men alone cannot be assumed to benefit women and children equitably (Agarwal, 2003). According to Agarwal (2003), empirical evidence shows systematic gender inequalities in access to basic necessities within regions. The relationship between gender and poverty remains a complex and controversial one because of the different shapes and forms gender inequalities and poverty take depending on the economic, social and ideological context (Abiona and Bello, 2013).

In this study, most of the women participants did not own land out rightly. They practices their agricultural activities on family lands. Most of them also participated in the study on behalf of other people who assigned them to participate. Some of the participants did not see not having land on their own right as a problem as such. One participant stated that: "*I think the issue of who owns the land we have as a family is not a problem with me. It family land. My husband's land is my land. We do everything together. If one of us has an idea, we talk about it. If it's good we pursue it for the benefit of our family* (Household participant 139). Another participant mentioned that:

> *This thing of women and men being equal and women causing trouble in families because they want to be equal has already destroyed some families here in the community. I think the focus should be placed on how best can family members cooperate rather than split them apart in the name of being equal. If being equal disrupts marriage, what is the use of it then?* (Household participant 140).

Most of the participants, however, detailed the patriarchal nature of their communities as one of the major challenges which undermine their capacity to take part and make meaningful contributions to development projects. Women participants indicated that they performed a variety of tasks, ranging from agricultural work (on their own and husband's farms) to raising livestock (local chickens, guinea fowl and other small animals) and care of the household and family.

Women participated in projects that grew some crops more such as soya and groundnut. They also participated in projects that reared different animals such as ruminants and guinea fowl versus cattle reared by men. Key informant interviews indicated that women's biggest challenges outside development projects seemed to lie in accessing harvesting technologies, irrigation and veterinary care. It was advised that: "*Access to solar pumps for irrigation and focused measures to improve productivity would free up women's time for other activities and help to reduce their time-poverty*" (Key Informant 04). Informants indicated that there has not been much focus on technologies that women could use particularly in rural areas such as the Northern Region. According to Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng (2016), the technologies that women deploy are undeveloped compared to what is in use for crops grown by men (rice, maize).

The following quotations summarise participants' views about the patriarchal nature of their communities and the conditions within which they operate:

> *In order to engage in the project that I am part of, one needed to have land. So my husband needs to have the land always available for use when the rains come. We had a serious challenge when I needed a piece of it for the project* (Household participant 17).

> *Not having personal land is a problem for most women. Men want to use land for cash crops. They do not take these projects seriously because they most fail here. So, men do not have time for them. So, a result, we struggle to get their support* (Household participant 31).

Land is at the centre of most projects in our community. But because of land issues, many women fail to participate. This is a huge challenge (Household participant 42).

Women also indicated that they even struggled with land cultivation as men always had other priorities. The study found that a staggering 96.02 per cent of the households used ox-draught power, 1.32 per cent used tractors, while 0.98 used the hand and hoe method. The other 1.68 could not be classified (Figure 9).

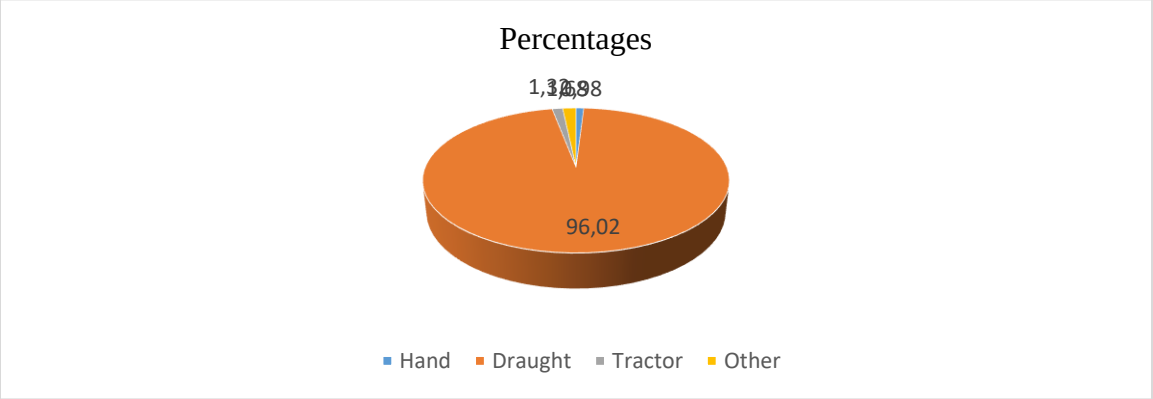

Figure 9: Cultivation method

Most of the households (60 per cent) hired their source of cultivation as shown in Figure 10. This situation was an added disadvantage for women who were engaging in community projects as they did not have the resources to hire cultivation methods. It was stated that men "controlled the few resources owned by the households decided what to do with them" (Focus group participant, Savulugu)

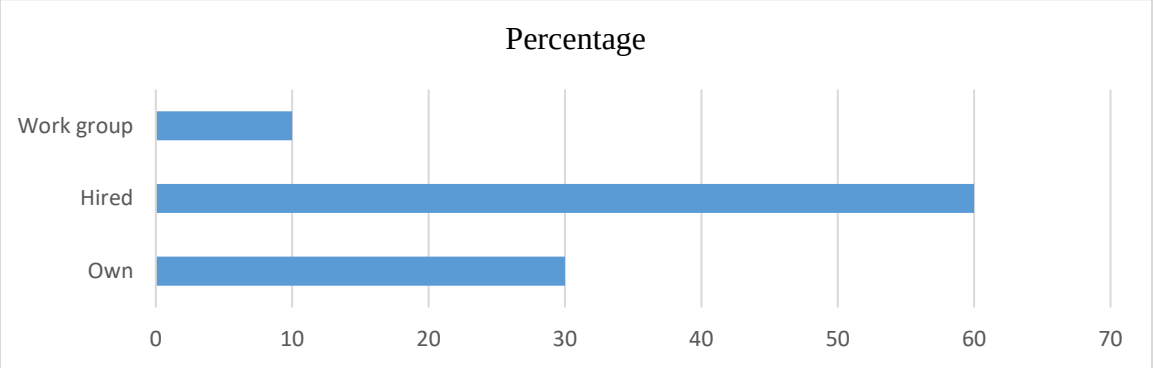

Figure 10: Source of cultivation

The challenge concerning cultivation was also raised by one focus group participant who mentioned that:

> *Land cultivation is one of our serious challenges. If your do not have what to use to cultivate your land and cultivate it in time, then it means that your production performance will be low. Most of us do not have resources. We rely on hiring. Hiring is not safe because usually, people will let you hire when the moisture is already gone. When it's raining, they will be busy in their own fields. When the moisture is gone, then they come to your field* (Focus group participant, Savulugu).

Hiring the method of cultivation itself has its own challenges because households need to have for pay for the service. One participant mentioned that:

> *But now everything about farming right from land cultivation to harvesting have to do with money and so if this is absent, makes it very difficult especially for deprive communities like here* (Focus group participant, Sagnarigu).

Focus group participants also confirmed the land cultivation challenges experienced in the community. They stated that some of them had formed some work groups to help each other. When they were probed to clarify, it was mentioned that the work group put their money together and hired some cultivation services as a group. This made cultivation easier, albeit, not much cheaper. Some participants linked these challenges to the nature of projects as well as the appendage role which they are made to accept by planners. They posited that an active role as equal partners would enable them to identify the challenges and opportunities that can help in the proper design and operation of project. The participant mentioned that:

> *By involving us early in the projects, it would be easier for development practitioners to identify challenges and create solutions. It would also help them to know our exact needs. This would enable to be meaningful to us, and improve our lives. Our involvement at every stage of the project would be very important* (Focus group participant, Tamale metropolis).

Poverty was also mentioned as one of the basic challenges which continues to hold down the Northern Region in terms of development. This view lead to the next challenge identified in the study.

4.5.7. The Challenge of Poverty

According to the UNDP (2018), the Northern Region has long had the highest poverty headcount ratios in Ghana, exceeding the national average by huge margins. Many districts are reported to be having poverty headcount ratios of over 80 per cent (UNDP 2018). Since independence, chronic and deepening poverty appeared to be entrenched in the Northern Region except for a brief period of self-reliance when the state effectively turned inwards (Ahwoi, 2010). Although the state faced severe crisis, the self-reliance period ushered in the 'golden age' for the North given the benefits of 'Operation Feed Yourself' and 'Operation Feed Your Industries' (Government of Ghana, 2018a). This turned out to be a period of economic boom in rice production with Southern capital moving into the zone to invest in the then profitable rice industry (Houssou, Ohene, Aboagye, and Kolavalli, 2016). Maize and industrial crops such as jute for the bast fibre industry, cotton for the textile industry and shea nuts for exports all received a boost. Jobs were available for the young, particularly in the rice industry (UNDP 2018).

However, even as almost all of Ghana's regions (including the Northern region) experienced significant poverty reduction between 2005/6 and 2012/13, the gap between urban and rural areas, and between the historically more marginalized and more rural North and more urbanised South, increased (Government of Ghana, 2018b). Rural poverty in the Northern Region is now estimated to be as much as four times as high as urban poverty compared to being twice as high in the 1990s (Cooke et. al, 2016). Even as there are areas with significant levels of poverty in other regions (including Greater Accra), the three Northern Region has long had the highest poverty headcount ratios (UNDP, 2018). Inequality also increased in the Northern region over the period from 2005/06 to 2012/13, while it fell in Greater Accra, the most developed region (Government of Ghana, 2018a).

Food security and nutritional indicators are also reported to be poor in Northern Ghana (Government of Ghana, 2018a). The World Food Programme Report (2012:61) found that more than 680,000 people, or 3 out of every 100 households, was either severely or moderately food insecure. The poor nutritional status of children in the North was found to be about double the national average. The UNDP (2018) view that a food secure nation requires transformative change that will be more effective if accompanied by shift of resources, capacities and decisions

to smallholder farmers, poor communities and women, as well as social protection aimed at addressing the most immediate needs of the poor and vulnerable is a propos for the North.

In the current study, the poverty of the case study area was first measured using roof types of buildings owned by participants. As shown in Figure 11, 72.18 per cent of the households had ordinary thatch shelters. This was followed by 16.55 per cent which had building with zinc roofs. A total of 7.94 per cent had tiled roofs while 3.33 per cent had other types of roofs including tent roofs, plastic, and so forth. Key informants also reported what they referred as the poverty of the region. They indicated the nature of household infrastructure as a sign of poverty when compared to other regions in the country.

Focus group discussions and key informants also revealed that most households owned thatch-roofed buildings.

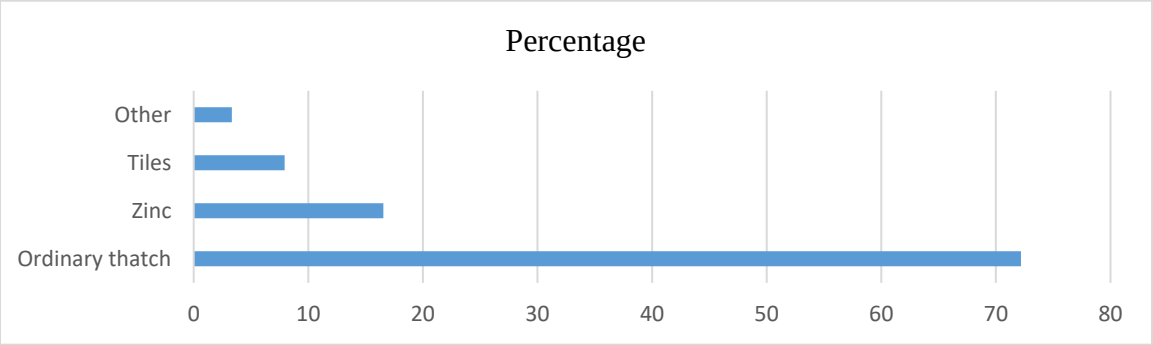

Figure 11: Roof types of buildings owned by participants

*Other refers to other types of roofs such as tent, plastic, and so forth.

The study also measured how participants measured wealth. There were various perceptions of wealth by participants. However, none of the participants mentioned money as a sign of wealth. Assets, livestock, and resilient livelihoods were rather listed as a sign of wealth. The assets that were listed by participants included tractors, brick houses, cars, and motorcycles. These were viewed as a sign of wealth by 30 per cent of the participants. A total of 27 per cent viewed brick houses, toilets, and other types of building as a sign of wealth. A staggering 40 per cent, however, considered food availability as the major sign of wealth. About three per cent of the participants mentioned the number of wives, children, and education as a sign of wealth. In

Ghana, consumption expenditure related to basic calorie and non-food items are used to calculate the poverty line and the incidence of poverty. However, this form of measurement is contrary to how participants measured both poverty and wealth in this study. Participants viewed poverty as multidimensional having both income and non-income dimensions.

In view of the above views on what poverty and wealth constitute, participants were investigated on whether their conditions were changing as a result of their involvement in development projects. Figure 12 below shows that only 16 per cent of the households were able to save money and were satisfied by their quality of lives. However, when these participants were probed, they indicated that they were managing to save money since their relatives outside the country assisted them by sending money and basics such as clothes from outside the country. They indicated that saving money would be factually impossible had it not been for the help of their relatives. However, a staggering total of 69 per cent of the households indicated that they could not save money at all. One household participant mentioned that:

> *We work from hand to mouth. If you get a cent, the first thing to make sure is to secure a bag of mealie-meal. This is not a problem of this area. It's a national problem. Under these conditions, then, it is difficult to save or to think of any form of investment* (Household participant).

A total of 15 per cent of the households did not know whether they could say they were saving money or not. Some of these families revealed that they preferred keeping money in form of livestock. If they get some money, they quickly buy livestock. However, several households indicated that they had lost a considerable number of livestock in buying food, medication, and paying school fees; and therefore, did not know whether they were saving money in any way.

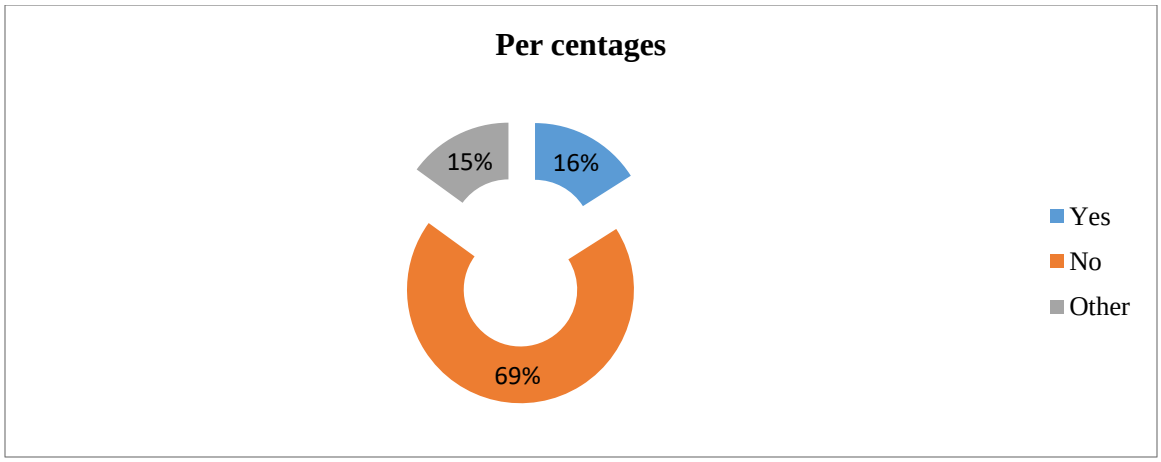

Figure 12: Household Satisfaction

The UNDP (2018) found that poverty was found to be characterised not only by inadequate food consumption and clothing, but also by the lack of physical and financial assets, inadequate or non-existent supportive social networks and exclusion. The lack of assets such as land and livestock and ill health were highlighted in focus group discussions as the characteristics of the chronic poor across the communities.

There were, however, mixed reactions by households as to whether their wealth was increasing or decreasing on the farm. Some participants reported that their wealth was increasing since they were now able to buy luxuries such as motorbikes and cellphones. However, some households reported that their wealth has been declining. In one way or the other, households categorised themselves as poor although they did not position themselves as comprising the poorest section of society. One participant mentioned that:

> *It seems we are walking backwards here in the community. I owned a lot of goats, cattle and sheep. However, ever since I joined the projects, I have sold a lot for food, for clothes, for everything. Others are getting rich, yes, but not me. I am getting poorer* (Household participant).

Other households indicated that they did not know if their wealth was increasing or decreasing because they continued to depend on food hand-outs from the government and NGOs. Since the year 2016, households had received assistance on basics particularly food. As shown in Table 5, all the participant 151 households received assistance in form of food, school fees, and clothing in the year 2015 from various organisations. In the year 2016, a total of 147 continued to receive

the same kind of assistance. In 2017, 138 households received food aid, school fees support, and water from donor organisations. In the following year, all the 151 households received some form of aid on basics particularly food. In 2019, a total 149 households were also provided with food, school fees, clothing (particularly uniforms), and water in form of boreholes.

Table 5: Households assistance

Year	Programme	Number of Households	Item description
2015	MIDA Action Aid World Vision	151	Food School fees Clothing
2016	CARD World Vision	147	Food, School fees, Clothing, boreholes
2017	RING CCFC IPA	138	Food School fees Clothing
2018	MIDA Action Aid World Vision	151	Food School fees Clothing boreholes
2019	MIDA Action Aid World Vision	149	Food School fees Clothing boreholes

The increased donor activities to assist with basic needs in the case study was confirmed by both focus groups and key informants. Focus groups revealed that had it not been for donor organisation who provided for particularly in schools, but also for households, the situation was going to be worse in the region. It was revealed that most households were not able to produce food that was sufficient. Food reserves run dry very early during the year, and households have to start busying. One focus group participant mentioned that:

> *Food is the number one challenge for most households. In a community where food reserves quickly run dry, most of us who cannot afford to buy on the market suffer most. Donors usually come at our rescue. The government seem to be taking no interest* (Focus group participant, Savulugu).

Participants also indicated that they were struggling within projects. This view was also supported by focus group participants. One participant mentioned that:

> *People in rural areas are pulling pretty hard. What happens is that when projects come, we throw ourselves in them with all the strength that we have as we view it as our potential way out of poverty. We even pump in our resources into the projects.*

> *When the projects does not deliver or when it fails, we feel a great punch. This is different to projects deployed in urban areas. The projects there are centred on producing hard cash. It is easy to see if you are not getting a profit. You can then quit fast. It is not so in the rural areas* (Focus group participant, Kumbugu).

When asked to give an overview comment on household resilience, one key informant mentioned that:

> *The discourse today needs to be centred on whether projects are achieving their goals or not. In my view, most of the projects are run-away projects. By this I mean that they fail to deliver. The projects are in themselves some shock especially with regard to resilience issues. It is a shock the people are struggling to recover from. The people are still receiving food parcels, cooking and so forth. This on its own indicates that the resiliencies of households in the face of this shock has been undermined a great lot (*Key informant 04).

The food challenge in the region is acknowledged by the UNDP (2018) which recommends that given the subsistence nature of the economy and the very high levels of hunger and malnutrition in the zone, productive investments need to be complemented by social policy and the promotion of productive inclusion (through a focus on capabilities, skills, protections and opportunities). This view is supported by Hagenaars (2017) and Houssou et al (2016) who argue that in particular, there is need to ensure the participation and involvement of small farmers to ensure income and food security in the context of the agricultural transformation. Further, Koopmans et al (2014) aver that the participation of local people need to be linked to industry through agro-processing and services to diversify the productive base of the region's economy; and measures for efficient management of the region's natural resources, particularly water and land, are needed to ensure sustainability. However, participants in the Tamale metropolis reported little donor activities for basics such as food. They indicated that the support they were getting from donors were mainly for school fees and uniforms.

Table 6 also shows that all the participant households had sold a combined total of 122 herds of cattle to purchase food, medication, clothes, and pay school fees. They also had a combined total of 144 sheep, 19 camels, 83 goats, 1201 poultry to meet the same needs. Two households had sold pieces of land to purchase food and medication. In terms of farm equipment, households had sold a total of 7 ploughs, 14 harrows, 4 scotch cart, 9 wheelbarrows, 89 hoes/shovels, and at least

one tractor or lorry for purchase food, pay school fees, and purchase medication. Households had also sold non-farm equipment including 61 motorbikes, 12 radios/televisions, 6 mobile phones, and 27 other items to access basic needs such as food, clothes, and medication.

Focus group participants also revealed that a number of livestock, farm equipment and non-farm equipment had also been sold by households to meet food, medication, clothes and educational requirements. One participant mentioned that:

> *Time and again, we are forced to sell some of the things we have in order to access medication, food or pay schools for our children. Sometimes you are even forced to sell the only cow you have. You cannot the children die. Food is important* (Focus group participant, Kumbugu).

Another participant also reported that:

> *When my wife got sick, I had to sell part of our piece of land so that can see a private doctor. The land was the only property that would enable us to raise the needed money. There was a buyer available. So, we gave it away. We had no choice. But sometimes we regret although it's now too late. The land is already gone* (Focus group participant, Sagnarigu).

Table 6: Items sold to meet basic needs

Item	**Quantity**	**Reason**
Livestock		Food purchases
Cattle	122	School fees
Sheep	144	Buy clothes
Camels	19	Medication
Goats	83	Borehole drilling
Poultry	1201	School fees
Land	2	Food Medication
Farm equipment		Medication
Plough	7	Purchase food
Harrow	14	Build houses
Scotch cart	4	Buy clothes
Wheelbarrow	9	
Hoe/Shovel	89	
Lorry/Tractor	1	
Non-farm equipment		Food purchases
Motorbikes	61	School fees
Radio/Television	12	Marriage
Mobile phone	6	Input purchase

Other	27	Land cultivation Property purchase

The interviewed key informants also confirmed the sale of personal property by households in order to meet basic needs, including food, medication, shelter, water and education. A key informant mentioned that:

> *One of the challenges facing households is the sale of the only little that they have so as to survive. Unless there is strong political will to assist these households, they will never be able to stand on their own. These households work very hard, but at the end loss everything. They lack even basic such as water. Sometimes a household has to pay a cow or two in order to have a well dug in the home. Since cattle are a sign of wealth, what it means is that the household would have parted with wealth in order to acquire a basic – water* (Key informant 7).

The central modalities for food acquisition are cash purchase, own production, fishing, hunting, gathering, or via getting food on credit or as gifts. Of these, cash purchases and own production were the two major sources as also confirmed by the UNDP (2018). In this view, own production or access to key food groups through livelihood activities initiated by projects can provide for some resilience.

4.5.8. Administration, Voice and Accountability

The right of communities and local people to participate in local matters is provided for in the 1992 Constitution. Chapter 20, clause 240, 2 (e) states that "to ensure the accountability of local authorities, people in particular, local government areas shall be afforded the opportunity to participate effectively in their governance." Citizens resident in a district are expected to select 70 per cent of members of their assembly as a practical expression of this constitutional clause. The remaining 30 per cent is appointed by the president in consultation with traditional authorities and other interest groups in the districts. In addition, Clause 41 (g) also enjoins every citizen to contribute to the development of the community where (s)he lives. Likewise, the Local Government Act 462 (1993) sufficiently provides for citizens to contribute to the administration of their localities through such opportunities as election of district assembly membership, power of revocation of the mandate of member of district assembly, petition, referendum, establishment of complaints committees, and access to information among others. In

addition, as required by the bottom-up planning process of the National Development Planning System (Act 480, 1994), local communities are expected to participate in the preparation of sub-district or local plans through public hearing sessions where the views expressed are incorporated.

In the 2014 NGHDR Field Survey, 77.7 per cent of households in the Northern Region were reported volunteering or helping in community development initiatives. The degree of participation and accountability varied for traditional governance systems. The findings of the 2014 survey found that traditional institutions could be further demystified and opened up for participation of vulnerable community members. With respect to the western governance system, the survey found that vulnerable community members would be better placed to engage duty bearers on accountability when they have the capacity and necessary empowerment to do so.

In this study, participants had different views with regard to their levels of participation in development projects as well as different feelings with regard to satisfaction. Figure 13 shows that a total of 66 per cent of the households were satisfied with the level of their involvement in and consultation by development projects. Another seven per cent was even very satisfied. A total of 27 per cent was, however, not satisfied. There was no household that was very dissatisfied. Focus group participants, however, indicated that they were very dissatisfied about how development projects were being conducted in their communities. It was revealed that most of the projects came into the community with their programmes and present them to community members. One participant mentioned that:

> *The form of participation that is there is us having to register and operate as members. Outside that we have no say in anything. The programme is with the officials. They show us what needs to be done and when* (Focus group participant, Tamale metropolis).

Another participant also mentioned that:

> *The projects are imposed on us. This is so because we are in need, we just had to participate although our commitments was likely to be very low. We did not even understand the concepts of these projects, and this continues to frustrate the existence of projects* (Focus group participant, Kumbugu).

One angry participant mentioned that:

The projects did not come to solve our problems, but rather to use us to make a lot of money for the owners of these projects. We knew this from the start, and hence we did not full support, and their failure of the projects (Focus group participant, Kumbugu).

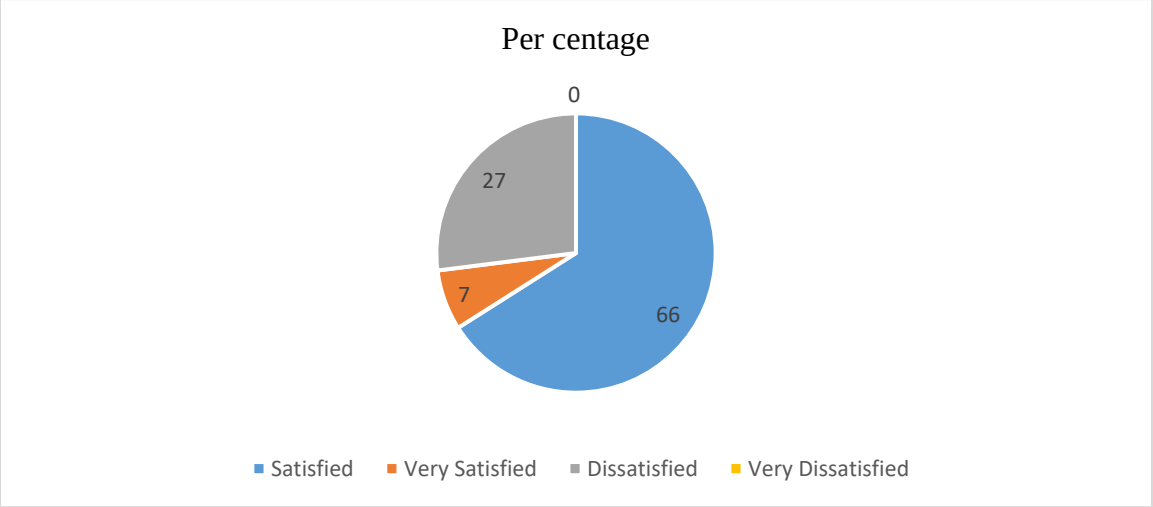

Figure 13: Household Satisfaction on Involvement

There were also mixed views by participants in terms of the benefits of the projects. While almost all participants confirmed that their income sources had changed since the onset of various projects, some indicated that the change has been positive while others revealed that the change has been devastating. Some participants indicated that they were better off without the project. This feeling was also supported by the loss of various productive equipment by participants since the onset of projects as indicated in the previous sections. One participant reported that:

We did not like this sort of project to begin with. However, since we wanted something that would improve our situation and our livelihoods, we had to accept it. It was imposed on us. We still even do not know how we should be going about it. We have not attachment to the project as it has caused us much loss. Personally, I used to get a household income from the sale of crops, ranging from nuts, onions, tomatoes, etc that we grow in a family garden. With the onset of the project, everything has changed, I now rely on my sons who sent some money for food (Household participant 14).

Another participant mentioned that:

> *I used to flourish in the retail business. With the project, my attention and time has been a whole lot divided, and my source of income has been greatly affected. Now I have to rely on a number of activities which are not even connected. Sometimes I see crafts, hire out my car, etc to make a living. Times are now hard. We did not have knowledge in the project, and we plunged in it leaving behind our basic activities of survival* (Household participant 22).

Some women participants had also some specific comments on the issues that have changed their income sources. They indicated that the project they were engaged in were specifically targeted for women, and excluded men. They indicated that lack of manpower, skills, resources, and knowledge continues to undermine their incomes. One participant reported that:

> *The project is biased. It only targeted women. Where do were get the resources? Where do we get the time? Where do we get the skills? This had negatively handicapped the income sources of many households who are engaged in our project. We continue to do our farming, yes, but the produce is not getting buyers* (Household participant 33).

Some participants also indicated that prior to the projects, they basically had nothing to do, and therefore, they did not have any income. They revealed that farming on its own offered them little due to lack of resources and inputs. Engagement in the project therefore now offered them these resources. As a result, they are now able to obtain some form of income from the projects. They however, believed that much still needs to be done in order to make the projects a success story.

Other participants had slightly different views concerning the projects and the role of beneficiaries in the communities. A participant reported that:

> *Also, because of lack of education and sensitisation about projects, there was no serious mobilisation. There was also no proper monitoring and supervision. Thus, while the projects had good intentions, these issues made the projects to fail. This has deepened poverty in the communities as a result. Most of us have you our own resources and time to try and invest in the projects so that they do not fail. This did not improve the situation. The projects were go, but the supervision and monitoring was extremely poor* (Focus group participant, Savulugu).

Women participants had also some views which were based on gender lenses. One women participant mentioned that:

> *Some of the projects were bias. These were meant for specific groups, such as women. And because our husbands did not feel to be part of the projects, they did not give us support to make the projects successful. This further worsened our plight* (Focus group participant, Tamale metropolis).

Participants, however, revealed that there were some opportunities in the communities that could be used to boost project operations and thus, improve participation and hence, household livelihoods. Some participants indicated that projects had opened up new opportunities particularly for crop production by small-scale producers in the Northern region. Participants indicated that for a rural household, there is no valuable asset most needed than land and support such as inputs. Another opportunity reported by households was the creation of employment and other income generating opportunities. Some participants reported that their household members managed to get employment in the local projects. These views were also confirmed by focus group participants. One participant mentioned that:

> *With unemployment on the high in the country, some of us have managed to be employed in these development projects* (Focus group participant, Tamale metropolis)

UNDP (2018) found that the Northern Region had the highest rate of youth unemployment with close to 4 out of every 10 youth being unemployed. The lack of jobs and economic opportunities encourages young people to migrate in large numbers to the South. This situation leads to the next challenge identified in the study.

4.5.9. Out-Migration

Ghana's population is characterised by high motion (Government of Ghana, 2018a). Migration is a key strategy for coping with livelihood challenges (Guijt, 2014). In Ghana, migration has long been used as a livelihood diversification strategy. It involves the movement of people from the rural areas to towns and cities in Ghana (Key informant 4). The high population growth rate in Ghana over the past 30 years is thought to have encouraged migration by generally increasing the domestic supply of labour and putting pressure on the available cultivable land (Government of Ghana, 2018a). Effectively urban-biased policies have thrown up terms of trade that are unfavourable for agriculture and rural areas and have widened the rural-urban income

differentials (Hagenaars, 2017). Awumbila, Owusu, and Teye (2014) found that income differentials were an important determinant of migration in Ghana.

In terms of the factors related to individual characteristics, Abiona and Bello (2013) reports that the background of the rural-urban migrant population in the Northern Region, an indeed in Ghana as a whole, is mixed, and that education enables migrants to take advantage of employment opportunities offered in urban areas. However, other determining factors, such as the dwindling esteem of farm work, the social defamation and stigma associated with rural living, and the lack of appropriate jobs and social amenities are thought to have similar effects on both educated and uneducated individuals (Anríquez and Stamoulis, 2007; Bagson and Owusu, 2016). The Northern Region is reported to be experiencing a significant negative net migration while the Greater Accra, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo regions experience positive net migration (in-migration higher than out-migration) (Bagson and Owusu, 2016).

The Northern Region has long been a region of internal out-migration with a somewhat different set of dynamics. Historically, the British recognised that the Southern forest regions wielded the strongest potential for development due to its mineral resource base, its agro-ecological conditions for cocoa cash crops, and the relative proximity of these regions to the coast. Thus, they promoted the Northern Region a source of labour for Southern industries and agriculture (Berdegué, 2014; Dinko, 2017). It also reported that traditionally, north-south migration was mainly male-dominated, long-term, and long-distance (Dinko, 2017). However, a new dominant north-south migration stream emerged since the 1980s involving female youths moving autonomously of their families, mostly towards the cities of Accra and Kumasi, most often as seasonal migrants (Houssou et al. 2016). This sort of migration of young female migrants circulating between Northern Ghana and Accra, where they tend to work as street vendors or head porters has been shown to stem from poverty, a lack of education and employment opportunities, and the need to accumulate wealth in preparation for marriage (Laird, 2011). These findings were also confirmed by women participants in the current study who revealed that the vending business enabled them to "*make ends meet. It allows us women to acquire certain things we need without turning to our husbands all the time*" (Household participant 39).

The UNDP (2018) found that remittances to the Northern Region typically contribute to consumption, although depending upon the amounts, may also contribute to investment.

Government of Ghana (2018a) found that about 52 per cent of migrant remittances are meant for consumption purposes while about 44 per cent are used for investment purposes. The Northern Region is a net receiver of remittances. However, it is projected that only one in four internal migrants transfers money back to the household and that these transfers are generally low (Vlaminck, 2012).

In the current study, a total of 5.96 per cent of household participants revealed that they relied on remittances for survival. A participant in Kumbugu mentioned that:

> *We migrate here to be petty traders of farm products, especially crop yields. We do this without any support from either government or non-governmental organisations. Even though we would have needed support to expand our businesses, earn more capital to look after our children and grandchildren to become future leaders, but the lack of support has left us with no hope. So, we come here in town to sell and take care of families back home* (Household participant 29).

One key informant mentioned that:

> *Basically, the Northern region in its entirety, is an agrarian community. Most of the activities in which the people are involved are agricultural related. Even in the Tamale metropolis which is an urban area, you will still find that the most thriving businesses there are those selling agricultural products. The economy indeed is largely agrarian* (Key informant 06).

However, most participants indicated that out-migration continued to frustrate the establishment of development projects in the case study areas. It revealed that most of the projects in the area required able-bodied people of which most of them had migrated to towns. One participant explained that:

> *It makes the projects fail. We are old and we have a lot of other responsibilities. We have families to look after. We also do not know how best to engage in these projects. Younger members would do better* (Household participant 07).

Key informants pointed out that the Northern Region is inhabited by over a third of the poor people in Ghana and that the income gap between north and south had widened. One informant stated that: "*The sustained reliance of farmers on rainfed agriculture is a major contributory factor to out-migration and poor livelihoods in the region* (Key informant 4). Another informant pointed out that the agrarian nature of the North represents "*the significant economic potential of*

the zone which can be leveraged for socioeconomic transformation and poverty reduction" (Key informant 05).

The UNDP (2018) states that the Ghanaian economy needs to generate job opportunities for the large numbers of people joining the labour force particularly in the Northern Region. "This is already a challenge for the zone, as evidenced by the significant levels of out-migration of young people leaving seasonally and otherwise in search of jobs" (UNDP, 2018:19). Another key informant added that "*although the region has comparatively larger family sizes, given the high rates of out migration, development projects will continue to face challenges as there will not be people to participate*" (Key informant 09). According to Steel and van Lindert (2017), nurturing socio-economic transformation could assist in addressing the demographic transition and distress out-migration patterns by improving wellbeing and security and enhancing the creation of economic opportunities in the region.

Overall, migration was highlighted in reviewed official documents and confirmed by participants as one of the fundamental challenges which the region faced and which required not simply the intervention of development projects, but the intervention of the national government itself.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter presented the data that was collected in four communal areas, namely; Sagnarigu, Savulugu, Tamale metropolis, and Kumbugu which are located in the Northern region of Ghana. The data was focused on the impact and value of development projects on the livelihoods of households in the areas. The data shows that there are numerous development projects in the case study communities. However, the findings revealed that although there are a number of opportunities opened up by projects, the challenges which these projects face outweigh the opportunities they bring about. Due to these challenges, the livelihoods of households have been deteriorating in recent years rather than improving. One of the key issues which emerges from the data is that the participation of the beneficiaries of development projects in the case study areas has been very minimal due to lack of meaningful cooperation between projects management and the targeted beneficiaries. It is probably this situation which has made projects to have a reverse impact of the livelihoods of households.

The next chapter discusses the results which have been presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

Analysis and Interpretation

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter presented and analysed the data collected in four case studies located in the Northern region of Ghana. The data collection was through a review of secondary data, household questionnaires, interviews with key informants, focus group discussions, and observation. Thematic data analysis – the practice where themes emerge from the data collected was used in this study. The twelve themes were divided into two broad categories: opportunities and challenges in the Northern Region. This chapter discusses the themes identified in the study. The chapter revisits the status of development in the Northern Region as presented in the literature review. A discussion of the demographic aspects of the case study areas will follow as demographics significantly impact transformative development in any community. The opportunities for development in the study areas will be discussed. After that, the chapter focuses on the locals' challenges in participating in development projects. The main discussion in the chapter focuses on the nature of participatory development in the Northern Region of Ghana. The data collected is discussed in the context of three theories identified in Chapter Two: the political economy, social policy, and the SLF. Lastly, the chapter makes an overall conclusion to the chapter.

5.2. Development in the Ghanaian Northern Region

The secondary data reviewed revealed that development in the Northern Region of Ghana is one of the fundamental challenges that the country faces. The region was also confirmed to be lagging in development (Government of Ghana 2018a, b). The development challenge which characterises the region is clear even physically in terms of depleting natural resources, such as firewood increasing soil erosion due to the strain of mounting population pressure. This shows that the people in the region still rely on natural resources for basic needs, such as fuel, unlike in the Southern Regions. One may argue that firewood as a primary energy source is a sign of poverty. Personal observation revealed that in areas where other sources of energy, such as electricity and gas, are available, fuel-wood is used for fun during holidays or during parties

when people have a braai or other funny activities. The heavy reliance on natural resources has dramatically undermined the potential of the people in the region to safeguard their communities to a level that can attract investors especially investors seeking to invest in tourism. The conditions in the region have discouraged trade and agriculture and have deterred investment (World Bank 2017).

The physical conditions in the region, coupled with climate variability, continue to act as one of the significant investor deterrents. Between 1994 and 1999, for example, only 1 per cent of all private capital flows coming through the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (US$1.5 billion) went to Northern Ghana, while the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area attracted 79 per cent (UNDP 2018). Between 2005 and 2011, out of a total of approximately US$21 billion of inflows, the three regions of Northern Ghana attracted a mere 1.7 per cent, while Greater Accra attracted almost 46 per cent, and the Western and Ashanti regions attracted close to 34 per cent and 15 per cent of the total respectively as the economies of cluster continued to favour the more developed regions (Government of Ghana 2018a). With the Northern Region being agrarian, maintaining soil quality and natural resources would attract investors interested in agribusiness. However, deteriorating landscapes coupled with a lack of infrastructure are why the region remains unattractive to investors. This situation also highlights the nature of the political economy that characterises the Ghanaian development, where development continues to be concentrated in metropolitan areas while the rural and poor areas that present little political capital are neglected.

Marx (1973) political economy theory exposes how Ghanaian politicians and development practitioners adopt capitalism at the expense of communism. As a result, the theory exhibits the political neglect that has resulted in the underdevelopment of the rural Northern Region. However, the theory can assess how focusing on the region in infrastructure development can attract investors and steer development. However, as espoused by the political economy theory, this rural development focus needs to be initiated by the government and its representatives – the politicians.

The reviewed literature confirms that the Northern Region lacks substantial manufacturing infrastructure in favour of cash crops such as cocoa which continue to receive support for bringing in foreign currency from exports (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019; Vlaminck, 2012), and this has been the primary source of forex in the region

(Gatune, 2016; Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). This consequently negatively impacts the livelihoods of the households in the region. While the entire region is agrarian, agricultural livelihoods are typically subsistence, although commercial agriculture increases in some areas (Government of Ghana 2018b). Productivity in the region is limited by a dependence on rain (typically once a year, though the increasingly unpredictable amount and frequency) (Dinko, 2017). Increased irrigation cost-effective access to mechanisation services and inputs is needed to boost production to improve the livelihoods of households who rely on farming in the region. Drawing on the SLF as one of the theories to guide development attempts in the country, development practitioners need to recognise the recurring and periodic complexity of livelihood strategies in a region that depends on rain for its farming activities. This would help the government renew its commitment to give its citizens equal treatment in providing resources, such as basic infrastructure, which can initiate the required development.

The descriptions above indicate that the communities in the region may not be able to steer their development without external support. This is much to the detriment of household livelihoods as gathered by the current study. This calls for the deployment of social policy approaches in rural areas rather than the promotion of capitalist biases that focus on the development of the metropolitan areas. As detailed in Chapter Two, at the heart of the social policy is a commitment to ensure the quality of life (through livelihoods development) for people in a particular territory (Adesina, 2007). Marshal (1965) supports this view and states that citizenship is essentially about ensuring that every citizen is an equal member of society. This is achieved by giving all citizens an increasing number of social rights (Marshal (1965) to initiate and sustain their livelihood strategies. According to Marshall, Esping- Andersen (1990: 21), "if social rights are given the legal and practical status of property rights, if they are inviolable, and if they are granted based on citizenship rather than performance, they will entail a de-commodification of the status of individuals." Given this quotation, one may argue that the Ghanaian approach to development is capitalist mainly, focusing on developing the areas that international investors are already targeting. As a result, the government neglects its rural areas.

It noted that development need not be concerned with economics but with non-economic objectives. In other words, development should not be only about building up and improving the country’s GDP, but it should also improve human development in general. This is what social

policy for development should entail. There must be an interaction between social policy and economic policy for social policy results to be achieved.

Unless they are empowered through the provision of support and infrastructure, the households in the Northern Region will continue to experience challenges that hinder any attempts at development. However, the development projects have been implemented across the region in recent decades. Although various serious challenges are faced, the government and other donor actors continue to initiate in the region as part of an effort to improve the people's livelihoods (see Table 4). These projects stimulate development and empower the local people to develop themselves (Oteng-Ababio, Mariwah, and Kusi, 2017; Temesgen and Amadou, 2018). However, due to several factors and conditions, as detailed in the previous chapter and explained in the following sections, the beneficiaries of development projects fail to benefit due to the various factors that constrain their participation. As discussed, next, one such factor is related to the region's demographic nature.

5.3. Demographic Profiles

In deploying any development project meant to improve the lives and livelihoods of people, it is important first to understand the demographic profiles of the targeted areas to initiate projects that address the needs of a particular group of people. This would enable development initiators to know the needs of the people and the kinds of projects in which the people are more likely to take an interest, excel, and contribute, thus improving their own lives. The importance of understanding the demographic characteristics for enhancing participation in development projects is evident in sustainable livelihoods literature (see Dengerink, 2013; Díez et al., 2015; Gatune, 2016). The SLF requires that practitioners assess the people's capital assets in deploying development initiatives. In this view, it would be necessary to first understand the human capital assets in the communities before concluding on which projects to launch. This is important, particularly in the Northern Region, where households engage in activities that are labour intensive. The current study also found that many of the projects in the study areas were those that required heavy manual labour. This labour is mostly in borehole drilling, where heavy metals are involved. Heavy labour was also needed to construct roads and for land cultivation for projects that engaged in agricultural activities. However, empirical data showed that a staggering

70 per cent of the participants were females while only 30 per cent were males (Figure 1). The participation of female members in projects may be restricted by the amount of physical labour required of them. This probably explains why some projects have already failed as female project members, particularly pursuing other types of feminine projects such as *stokvels* in which they put their money together and then share it each year. Projects must be tailored in a gender-sensitive manner to encourage the engagement of members.

One fact that emerged from the study is that although women constitute the majority of participants, men (husbands, fathers, or other male relatives) were the members of projects. Thus, while projects targeted men, the men themselves assigned women to participate in the projects on their behalf. The statistical evidence obtained in the case study areas concurs with other studies on the continent, which show that while women are actively engaged in development projects, they do not own the resources involved therein and, therefore, do not enjoy the proceeds of these projects (Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng 2016; Ndhlovu 2017). This explains why projects do not receive full attention and commitment as these women consider their participation only part-time. The lack of resources and even the membership in projects by women compromise the quality of participation these women would put into these projects. If these women receive full membership of the projects, these projects should cater for women's physical attributes; these women are likely to focus and contribute positively to the success of the projects.

Consequently, household livelihoods would improve in communities. Notwithstanding their significant role in the various projects across case studies, the women in the study areas had limited access to resources and membership. The lack of gender sensitivity in projects and the lack of proper assessments of the human capital that should be involved in particular projects was one of the major factors which continue to handicap the participation of locals across all the case studies.

Data collected by the researcher indicated that where women were allowed membership, their participation during meetings and consultations, particularly during focus group discussions, was limited. Secure membership and resource-ownership for women would increase their incentives for project investments, resulting in increased productivity levels and improved livelihoods across communities. If women are as important in the success of development projects as

highlighted by participants and key informants, reviewing the project membership patterns currently obtained in the case study areas is essential.

Another factor that can easily ensure the success of projects is the age of its members. Development experts see a focus on the youth as a positive step towards the realisation of development through the participation of the targeted beneficiaries (Brandon and Fukunaya, 2014; Speer, 2012). Reviewed official documents in Ghana also indicated the importance of focusing on the youths to realise development (UNDP, 2018). However, the age categories of the participants in this study do not support the nature of underway projects. Table 2 shows that only 13.2 per cent of the household participants were between the 18-30 years age categories, while another 32.5 per cent was between 31-40 years. This was followed by 19.8 participants who were between 41-50 years. About 28.4 per cent of the participants were between 51-60 years, while 25.1 per cent were over sixty years old. The rest of the participants (53.5 per cent) were above 51 years. Considering that most of the projects in the area are labour intensive, the elderly are no longer strong enough physically to participate sufficiently in the projects. This notion explains the failure of projects in the case study areas. The participation of the elderly in projects that require intensive labour is one of the fundamental challenges in the region. Projects, therefore, need to be cognisant of the ages of members to promote interest and successful participation.

The other challenge which frustrates the realisation of participatory development in the case study areas was the issue of limited education and training by project members. Education is an important factor in the rural development process. Some scholars argue that education is not important because rural dwellers know the development, that is suitable in their cultures and communities (Makofane and Gray, 2014; Pham, 2018; Pouw and Janvier, 2014). This argument is weak on several levels. Firstly, education and training should never be considered as secondary, particularly in the contemporary rapidly changing world where education is important in empowering people to be able to apply reason and evaluate decisions on which type of development best suits their conditions, their available resources, and the type of development which they will take an interest in as beneficiaries. Secondly, education helps people source information that they can use to meet their development goals. According to reviewed literature, education also ensures that people have the skills needed for survival in the contemporary world

(Asuru, 2017; Bagson and Owusu, 2016). In the current study, education was considered an important factor in rural development.

Unfortunately, education levels are low in the Northern Region and the situation was dire when it came to women (UNDP, 2018). The household survey carried out in the current study also confirmed low education levels in the case study areas. Table 3 shows that a staggering total of 69 per cent of the household heads had ended their education in primary school. Another 18 per cent had a secondary education. Only about 11 per cent had tertiary education. Two per cent had a college diploma, another two per cent had a university degree while another two per cent had other qualifications, such as farmer training. Most of the participant heads who were reported having had gone beyond primary education worked as teachers and extension workers. Most of these household heads were not available for interviews. Thus, their wives or children had to participate on their behalf. Most of the project were those with only a primary education.

The low levels of education in the case study areas present a huge challenge in empowering local people to fully and meaningfully participate in community development projects. Education and training are important development factors incorporated in the sustainable livelihoods approach under human capital. A 'human capital' with adequate education has a better chance to steer and realise development. Education has the potential to expand people's capabilities and opportunities and ensure that they can put their labour to productive use in developing their communities and their livelihoods (Ndhlovu, 2018). Education ensures sustainable livelihoods and the capabilities and skills for economic transformation (Asuru, 2017). The government of Ghana acknowledges that in the context of the Northern Region, skill deficits, as a result of disparities inequitable access to education, have continued to undermine the potential for local people to benefit from emerging economic opportunities (Government of Ghana, 2018a). Given the above statistics, the locals' low levels of education are one of the challenges the government needs to address urgently to stop poverty from being intergenerational in the case study areas.

The next section discusses some of the opportunities available for development in the case study areas. These opportunities were identified in Chapter Four.

5.4. Development Opportunities in the Northern Region

Several opportunities can be used to commence the development of the locals in the Northern Region and the case study areas. These opportunities were identified in the reviewed literature and confirmed through empirical investigations in the current study. One of the opportunities identified is the significant community development projects in the case study areas. These projects can steer development. While some of the projects were state and donor-funded, a considerable number were cooperatives by community members. This shows the willingness of members to put their collective labour to productive use in projects to improve their communities and livelihoods through asset accumulation and personal development. Therefore, what is needed is the intervention of the state as the key driver of development to trigger development through the willingness of the community members to engage collectively.

For this reason, the political economy theory espoused by Marx (1973)'s political economy argument becomes clear in the development condition of rural Ghana. The government, therefore, needs to come forward and fulfil its promise to deliver social goods and assets to its people through using its resources and status as the state to direct development towards rural areas. This is the essence of the social policy approach that could work for rural dwellers in the case study areas. This would increase the asset accumulation of the people and then empower them to sustain their livelihood strategies.

Chowa, Masaand, and Sherraden (2012) found a positive link between asset accumulation, well-being, and development. According to them, assets have a positive effect on well-being through (i) improving social status and empowerment, (ii) empowering people to be able to pursue different livelihood strategies, and (iii) increasing income. Lerman and McKernan (2008) also posit that possessing a few assets is a negative predictor of well-being and development as it can leave the poor vulnerable to unexpected economic events and unable to take advantage of the broad opportunities offered by a prosperous society.

Land ownership is one of the factors used to stimulate development in the region.

5.4.1. Land Ownership

The reviewed secondary documents indicated that the Northern Region, in its entirety an agrarian, that is, many people in the region on agriculture and other related activities. This view supports the data collected for this study. The study found that most households that participated in the study engaged in agricultural or agricultural-related activities for livelihoods and incomes. Therefore, the political economy of land distribution in the region needs to be deliberately biased towards the most vulnerable households since land is a basic asset. Land is an extremely scarce asset that holds high economic and symbolic value. There is always the emergence of partisan political economies in the redistribution of land as obtained in Zimbabwe under the radicalised land reforms called the fast track land reform. Land presents an opportunity for politicians and the powerful who can also use predation (Chabal and Daloz, 1999). In this view, the political economy theory becomes important in understanding the determinants of land access, utilisation, and ownership in the study areas.

All household participants in the current study owned a piece of land, although the land sizes differed. Land ownership was highlighted as a scarce asset that could boost development, but the access depended on several factors. All participants reported that owning a piece of land was the greatest opportunity to lobby for attention from the government and other development actors. Some households were multiple landowners. They revealed that they managed to acquire more lands due to their political networks, which enabled them to access land and inputs ahead of others. Other thanks God for their lands. These households rented out some of their lands to individuals and even to certain projects that needed land. This diversified their overall incomes and served as a livelihoods development strategy. This situation confirms that land has economic value and political significance as those with political and traditional leadership connections managed to acquire land or larger sizes of land for use (Chamunogwa, 2012; Chinsinga, 2014). Some households acquired land that was of good quality due to their connection. There was an element of political favour on which individuals would participate in the development projects. Some participants belonged to lucrative development projects, while others were part of the projects that often failed. This situation is evidence of political intervention negatively impacting the rest of the community.

Some participants only expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of the land they owned, while others expressed dissatisfaction with the small sizes of their lands that they viewed as too small for meaningful production. These complaints are normal particularly in instances where people want to explain and justify their poverty. The feelings of these participants are in line with Banerjee and Duflo (2007) who found that land allocated to the rural poor in developing countries is often small (equivalent to a hectare or less) and inadequate to allow them to sustain their livelihoods through farming activities. The same argument applies to the case study areas where some of the participants had to rent extra pieces of land from other households to augment what they owned. The shortage of natural assets (land) impacts households' livelihoods financially and negatively impacts the human capital element. For instance, Davis (2011) found that rural people experienced ill-being when they did not own secure tenures, such as land ownership, livestock, and furniture for the household. While participants in the current study did not link land inadequacy with physical illness, it is evident that these people are affected in the short and long term as some participants reported having sold basic assets such as livestock to meet other basic needs, such as medication. Adequate land access could improve the general welfare of these people.

Considering that all participants own pieces of land (regardless of size and quality), development practitioners must prioritise agricultural activities because the people already have some knowledge of agricultural activities. This view is consistent with Ndhlovu (2020), who posits that agriculture dominates the economic practices for most people living in the developing regions of the world - Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) region included. He argues that most households in SSA depend on agriculture for domestic livelihood, food production, employment creation, generation of household income, and poverty reduction. ln this view, land ownership in rural communities remains an important social issue.

The fact that participants' husbands had land, despite its size, is an opportunity to engage them to work with and develop their communities. There are several reasons why development practitioners should focus on agriculture. The first reason is affordability in terms of capital availability and sectoral expertise in agriculture. Also, Ghana is one of those governments that are resource-poor. As a result, the country can opt to begin its development agenda on agriculture mainly because already the general populace in the country, particularly in the rural

areas, would have had existing indigenous skills in agriculture and not in the other economic sectors. Samir Amin's delinking study supports this view. Amin (2016:141) argues that the new development model required in the peripheral countries is "shaped by the renewal of non-capitalist forms of peasant agriculture, which in turn implies delinking from the imperatives of globalised capitalism." In order to achieve a development that the local people can accept as real development, Samir Amin proposed the 'delinking' or 'de-connexion' framework whereby the peripheral countries desert the developed countries (the core), which is the source of their problems. According to Amin (1990), delinking is a basic condition for 'auto-centric' peripheral development and a political option by which the periphery can place itself at the centre of decision-making and governance. Delinking has the potential to allow the periphery to have the power to design its development models without subjecting itself to what could work in the global capitalist market. Amin drew from a history of agriculture that used capital inputs and traditional technologies and thus became central to early Maoist development. Amin (1990:64) supported the adoption of "renovation and improvement of traditional technologies" combined with selective use of imported ones. Amin affirmed Mao's technological advances where pig fertiliser, night soil, and green manures were used alongside chemical fertilisers and other imported technologies. Amin's 'delinking' model can be a concrete geopolitical and geo-economic strategy of the periphery to circumvent the structure of mal-development under imperialism, if not surpass the level of capitalist development of the core countries. Understanding development in this way could assist the Ghanaian government to execute context-specific development projects in the Northern Region. Given the agrarian nature of the case study areas, land should be at the centre of any development project.

5.4.2. Establishment of Socio-economic Networks

The presence of development initiatives presents an opportunity for rural households in the Northern Region of Ghana. The case study areas have a variety of development projects as highlighted by the participants of this study. The projects include those initiated by the local communities, and this is the foundation of development as revealed by the secondary data. This is beneficial for development practitioners as they begin a project with locals who are aware of their shortcomings as a community. Ndhlovu (2018) shares this view and posits that development practitioners, including African governments, began their development agenda on

agriculture because, at independence, their populace had already some skills and knowledge in these areas.

In the current study, participants indicated that the increasing number of projects in their communities had created new opportunities, particularly for crop production by small-scale farmers in the Northern region. Projects create employment and other income-generating opportunities that can improve livelihoods, hence the importance of deploying development initiatives in the rural areas is crucial as a social intervention (Adesina, 2008). Some participants reported that their family members managed to get employment in the local projects. The creation of employment improves livelihoods across the rural areas. The participants 'views are supported by several studies that report communal associations and cooperatives can support and motivate households to improve their standards of living and also train to meet the needs of the market (Asuru, 2017). The presence of networks in communities may also go beyond the 'production' and 'protection' aspects as often emphasised in the political economy theory. However, there is the possibility of social cohesion, as captured by social policy approaches, which may be more important for rural communities than is often acknowledged. Social cohesion as a network is multi-faceted (Mkandawire, 2001). It consists of four main categories all of which are important for the participants of the current study, namely; social relations; task relations; perceived utility; and emotion.

Social cohesion in the case study areas is indicated by how households are cooperative, within and across group boundaries, without coercion or ulterior motives that do not align with the interests of the community. Community members had some projects which they initiated on their own. This is evidence of social cohesion. Social cohesion entails "understanding the social infrastructure, institutions, customs, and material and non-material relations that either constrain or enable the individual in whatever pursuit they are engaged" (Murisa, 2007:2). In the case study, the author argues that social cohesion represents the ability or potential of households to build a shared identity that is aimed at community development. The promotion of social cohesion in the study areas is identified as an opportunity that can be explored to boost development. Households in the study areas cooperated in land cultivation, planting, weeding, harvesting, and other activities. This networking can be targeted by development practitioners to encourage participation in development projects in these rural communities.

5.4.3. Access to Natural Resources

The SLF emphasises the importance of what communities have when assisting them to strengthen their livelihood strategies (Bennett, 2010; Ndhlovu, 2018). The current study revealed that the Northern region of Ghana has a wide range of natural resources. These natural resources can be used to improve the livelihoods of these rural communities. The Northern Region is reported to have significant arable land, although much of it is undeveloped. Natural resources in the area include minerals, shea, sand, water bodies, and ample sunlight. These conditions can be used to assess the nature of development projects that suits the area. Projects are likely to gain support as the locals operate in the conditions, they are familiar with. Some projects such as bricklaying are already in progress due to the abundance of natural resources such as sand and ample sunlight to dry the bricks.

Feasibility studies have reported the availability of high-quality limestone deposits in the region (Houssou et al., 2016; McKay, Pirttilä, and Tarp, 2015). The region is also known to have deposits of iron ore in Sheini and clay in Kukuo, Yong, Nabari, Kpaligu and Bewna (Moss and Majerowicz, 2012). The economy is largely agrarian-based with the top export being shea nuts (a non-traditional export commodity). Other studies have revealed the potential of gold mining (Sachs, 2013; Steel and van Lindert, 2017). These resources provide evidence that this region has potential for various development initiatives which require intervention from the government and other stakeholders to improve the region. However, there is always a risk of illegal extraction of minerals and exploitation of these communities which may negatively influence the recruitment process and ultimately hinder the development process for the locals. Natural resource exploitation in the region provides for a diversity of opportunities to individuals, families and the community at large. This study found that most families depend on some of these natural resources for income generating activities such as bricklaying, for survival. In this context, the natural resources play a crucial role towards the livelihoods of these rural communities. Key participants reported that royalties paid by international or local companies for the extraction of resources also provide revenue streams for these communities. However, most of this revenue is often diverted to develop the southern regions which are considered to be the main attraction of foreign investment (UNDP, 2018). The royalties are paid in cash or in-kind. These royalties can

be used to initiate community-based development in which locals can assume responsibility of development activities. This can increase the effectiveness of the development process.

The study also revealed that the extraction process of the natural resources is inclusive as both males and females equally took part, mostly in the use of woodlands and water bodies. This was confirmed by both focus groups as well as the household participants. Furthermore, climate change was identified as a factor that contributes to the unsustainable patterns of resource use in on-going projects in the region. Development practitioners should consider the deployment of irrigation activities to boost agriculture production. This is attributed to water tables and high temperatures that negatively impact moisture of the soil in the region. Notwithstanding the rainy season crop production in the region is challenging without irrigation initiatives. According to Amin (1990) a combination of new technology, fertilisers, green manures and chemical fertilisers aid the region in combating the on-going climate challenges. The agro-ecological effects of chemicals on human health and the environment, However, in the current landscape of environmental consciousness, the impact of chemical fertilisers on health need to be assessed to avoid the implementation of projects that will have an adverse effect on the community.

The next section focuses on the development that occurred in the Northern Region.

5.5. Development Challenges in the Northern Region

The previous section revealed that the challenges highlighted in the secondary data of the study outweighed the opportunities available for development of the region. The challenges raised have significant implications on the livelihoods of households; and therefore, negatively impacting community participation in development projects.

5.5.1. Income and Livelihoods

One of the key challenges in the study areas is the notion that the local people lack diverse methods of income generating activities which impacts household development in the community. As a result, the impending development projects in the area provides optimism, however, the slow delivery of these development initiatives continues to stifle the locals' abilities to improve their standards of living. Income is an imperative economic determinant of livelihoods and wellbeing. Income empowers people, with it they can afford basic needs such as

food, clothing, health and shelter (Diener, Tay and Oishi, 2013). The participants revealed that the income from these projects was barely enough to meet basic household needs. The income did not empower the households to boost their livelihoods assets. Participants lamented their financial situation, positing that they could not even manage to invest or save from their incomes. Based on their income levels and livelihoods status, participants concluded that they were dissatisfied with the remuneration from the projects as it was too little to have a positive impact on their lives.

The evidence gathered in the case study areas indicates that the development projects being deployed are not centred on the linkages between individual or household assets, therefore, the projects in which households can engage in are determined by their profiles thereby limiting the prospect of equal opportunities (Bennett, 2010). As a result, these projects have impoverished their members rather than improve their lives, and consequently, the projects have collapsed and most no longer exist. This study posits that initiatives in the region should not be confined to poverty alleviation but should also focus on understanding how the poor communities have evolved from the survival strategies they have adopted and incorporate them into development projects. Furthermore, these projects should acknowledge the seasonal and cyclical intricacies of livelihood strategies of its members outside the project to assist them by eliminating the challenges related the lack of resources and implement strategies adopt existing patterns. This should be accompanied by a de-politicisation process which limits access of resources and support services.

The failure of projects to improve the income of these communities has had a direct impact on households' livelihoods, thus, not addressing the issue of poverty. The findings of the current study relates to previous literature on the relationship between income and subjective wellbeing (see Asuru, 2017; Abiona and Bello, 2013; Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng, 2016). These scholars discovered that there is a positive linear relationship between income and general well-being of people. They revealed that the higher the income received by individuals, the higher their satisfaction levels while controlling for other variables. The low incomes being brought about by projects in the study areas have led to a dissatisfaction rate of 69 per cent in the current study, while only 16 per cent reported satisfaction (see Figure 8). Conversely, some scholars argue that where income simply meets the basic needs of the poor, its benefits diminish as it does not do

much to improve the communities' wellbeing and livelihoods (Berdegué, 2014; Chinsinga, 2014; Davies, 2016). Diao, Kweka, and McMillan (2016) argue that the realisation of low income and few material assets are negative elements of wellbeing and the livelihoods of communities because it leaves the poor vulnerable to any unexpected economic events and as a result lack the capacity to take advantage of any opportunities offered by a prosperous society.

Given the results of the study, it is evident that a relationship exists between income, wellbeing and livelihoods. The researcher argues that although income is an important predictor variable of wellbeing, it partially contributes to the participants' livelihood and overall satisfaction. Hence, there is a need for broader focus by development practitioners on other socio-economic variables such as employment, education, community involvement and good health that need to factored in improving the overall wellbeing of cooperative participants. This requires the implementation of social policy approaches by the government and other external stakeholders to drive development. (Adesina, 2014).

One of the key challenges in the study area is the failure to pay wages to the locals (Household participant, 39). This view was confirmed by key participants and also the focus group discussions. This resulted in high levels of dissatisfaction by members as they do not participate in the profit generated from the projects. The participants revealed that they do not see the 'development' in the development process. This view is supported by Gatune (2016), who argues that projects, particularly those which function as cooperatives, often offer little to no wages, therefore, these projects do not work efficiently to alleviate poverty in the region. It is in this view that the deployment of social policy approaches is imperative in providing stability to the vulnerable sections of the population.

Most of the projects in the case study areas are categorised as survivalist organisations as locals in this region report that they seek employment in these projects as a means of survival regardless of how low the wages as there are limited opportunities to provide for their households.

It was revealed that those who had gained membership in projects through political connections often felt pressured to ensure that the projects succeeded. It was this commitment that pushed these participants into selling some of their assets to fund the projects which significantly impacted their mental well-being. In this situation, these members went bankrupt as a direct

result of their involvement in these projects. This also tended to occur where members had not been consulted in the design of projects. It is in this view that the research argues for equal partnership which enables everyone to identify potential challenges and opportunities of a project in the planning phase. This would improve the longevity of a project and ultimately the livelihoods of the communities.

The projects deployed in the case study areas faced several challenges, including limited resources, poor local infrastructure, expensive transportation, the locale of project sites - remote areas far from the market, lack of government support, and insufficient funding (UNDP, 2018).

These challenges resulted in huge losses, as most projects engaged in farming activities. Chinsinga (2014) provides an idiosyncratic perspective on the role of agricultural projects in rural communities by arguing that even though small-scale farming is viewed by the government as a fundamental tool for rural economic development and empowerment, they are lack adequate local infrastructure, processing capacity, adequate basic health and services and education services that enable effective production. This situation hinders project operations and undermines the labour and commitment of project members.

The research participants and the secondary data identified numerous challenges in the study areas to be; inadequate infrastructure and facilities which are important for the operation of farming projects as they are located far from the markets (UNDP, 2018). Dinko (2017) avers that low government investment in rural infrastructure in the region results in high transaction costs which negatively impacts the profitability of farming projects. The issue of infrastructural development will be discussed further in the chapter. The argument being maintained is that the challenges being faced by these development projects and locals have resulted in a lack of production, lack of sales, and ultimately profit. For this reason, participants' well-being concerning their income and livelihoods has not improved since the establishment of development projects. This threatens the sustainability of the projects and has often led to high rates of project failing to the detriment of the community. There was an appeal from project members and key participants for the government to offer more support for projects in the region. This appeal signifies the need to implement the social policy approach to rural development in the case study areas.

One poignant issue was that the Ghanaian government limited its focus on infrastructural development in this region. As a result, the operational costs incurred during the execution of these projects are very high. These challenges have negative implications on project performance and the commitment of project implementers and the targeted beneficiaries. Some of the infrastructural challenges are significant and costly and cannot be resolved without any government intervention. To address this challenge the government, both local and national, needs to play a leading role in the development of infrastructure such as roads, telecommunication, and water services which would reduce operating costs thus improving profitability (Ahwoi, 2010; Asuru, 2017; Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng, 2016). This action has the potential to reduce the failure rate of projects and ultimately lead to the successful engagement of local communities in the projects. This situation describes the current political economy trend that has emerged in the Ghanaian rural development efforts.

Participants reiterated that sustained financial support by the state was important for production, to mobilise the participation of the locals to improve their wellbeing. The Ghanaian government avers that as part of its commitment towards development, the acceleration of infrastructure development remains central for projects, cooperatives, and small businesses to operate in a conducive environment (Government of Ghana, 2018a). However, this is not the case as the availability of basic infrastructure is still a challenge in the Northern Region, seven decades after independence. It is these kinds of challenges that need to be addressed before any projects can start to yield a positive impact on the livelihoods of the people in the study areas. Until the government address the challenges identified above, local communities are not motivated to participate at any stage of the development process.

The discussion above emphasises the need for state support as it is challenging to sustain most projects in the study areas. Due to the lack of adequate support, projects relied on the support of community members in the region. For this reason, they encountered sustainability challenges brought on by poverty in the local communities and the lack of government intervention. However, this does not suggest that projects should always rely on the government for financial rather the lack of infrastructure and access to services needs to be addressed to provide a foundation where development projects can succeed.

Kamstra and Knippenberg (2014), however, aver that the supportive role of government should not be the only source of support as this dependence will hinder realisation of positive outcomes. They argue that the government and other stakeholders should have action plans where the long-term sustainability of projects should be the main objective. Once this is attained, with input from the community the government can identify areas which need additional intervention. However, it is important to consider any external factors that may contribute to low sustainability of these projects. Furthermore, if participants' wellbeing and livelihoods have been improved by the income generated from these projects; whilst others remain in poverty therefore, the underlying cause of this phenomena will require further investigation.

The next sub-section discusses the employment-wellbeing nexus in the context of the case study areas.

5.5.2. Employment and Wellbeing

Another theme that emerged from the data was employment and its impact on a household's wellbeing, and hence their capacity or willingness to participate in community development projects. Employment is important as it directly impacts wellbeing, livelihoods, and self-confidence (Diener, Tay, and Oishi, 2013). It empowers people not only financially, but also as a source of social support and status in the society in which they interact (Dengerink, 2013). The reviewed literature indicated that the extent of engagement in employment and the pattern of economic production informed the standard of living (Brandon and Fukunaya, 2014; Chinsinga, 2014). In the Northern Region, 73.2 per cent of the population aged 15 years and older were found to be economically active in 2014. Unemployment was above the national average, especially in rural areas. About 91.4 per cent of persons 15 years and older were employed in urban areas as compared to 88 per cent in rural areas. The unemployment rate among females was also higher (11.2 per cent compared to 10.5 per cent for males). Males (76.3 per cent) were more likely to be economically active than females (70.3 per cent) (UNDP, 2018).

Participants in this study highlighted their disappointment with their employment status since independence. This dissatisfaction was based on several socio-political factors that influenced their wellbeing in the workplace, mostly on the farms, and industries where they worked as cheap labour (Hagenaars, 2017). The only satisfaction revealed was that these low paying jobs

enabled them to provide for their families but under adverse conditions. Job dissatisfaction resulted in stress, depression, sadness, and demotivation in the workplace (Key informant 4). Discrimination, based on race, was experienced by many in the formal workplace resulting in exclusion, and harassment which resulted in job dissatisfaction. From the accounts of participants, it can be asserted that the work environment before the implementation of the projects in the case study areas led to dissatisfaction or deterioration of wellbeing as employment was defined by discrimination. This view is supported by Knoll and Sherriff (2017) who posit that when the work environment (physical or psychosocial) presents unsuitable working conditions, the results can be detrimental to employees' happiness and satisfaction.

It is crucial to highlight that gender dynamics also emerged during data collection and focus group discussions regarding employment before the establishment of projects in the study areas. Most female participants revealed that they were housewives taking care of children and households, and were not employed as a result. These female participants expressed that this situation reduced any chance of self-actualisation and financial independence as they depend on their husbands to take care of the children and the entire household. These participants revealed that even though they do not benefit from their engagements in the projects, they valued the employment status they have. This finding is in line with the literature reviewed which indicates how subjective wellbeing negatively affects gender inequality as women are restricted from realising their goals in life owing this to male domination (Mah, 2009; McKay, Pirttilä, and Tarp, 2015; Manful and Manful, 2014). Oteng-Ababio, Mariwah, and Kusi (2017) stipulate that there is a greater need to promote economic independence of women in the African society to enhance their wellbeing, improve livelihoods, reduce inequalities, and prevent gender-based violence. The empowerment of women could translate into the success of development projects in the study areas as women carry out the day-to-day activities. (See Figure 2). When women feel empowered, they are likely to support and participate in projects.

The need for the empowerment of women is supported by the data collected from the female participants as they highlighted the satisfaction the feel from working, gaining skills and knowledge which contribute towards the community's development. This finding suggests that there is a relationship between employment, skills and knowledge gained and wellbeing. This implies that when women in the case study areas are empowered, they can work and participate

more productively in projects, thus, resulting in high satisfaction and ultimately the success of these projects.

Participants also mentioned that the youth need to be empowered to take charge of projects. As a result, the resources allocated do not cater for the development of the younger generation to gain skills and knowledge which can aid in their empowerment. The literature reviewed highlighted the need for development projects to channel their efforts towards the economic empowerment of women and youths. To achieve this, the UNDP (2018) posits that research is needed on the extent of involvement and impact in development projects. Agyekum (2013) posits that projects and cooperatives should provide high job security, particularly to women because they have a great responsibility of working for themselves. If this occurs, projects improve the probability of success when every member has a sense of security. This should members motivate everyone to work hard and think critically to aid in the success of the project. This has the potential to improve loyalty and retention of members, and hence the long-term success of projects. Project members in the study areas revealed that the nature of employment in the projects, as well as the level of their participation as members, did not significantly improve their wellbeing. As a result, many members abandoned these projects in pursuit of other lucrative opportunities.

The education and training of members is one of the challenges identified by the participants.

5.5.3. Education and Training

The other issue that emerged as a challenge is the education and training of the locals. Education empowers people to evaluate their decisions before applying for any projects. It also empowers people to search for information that aids them to meet their goals. People obtain information from various sources, including books and the internet. Education also empowers people with skills that are needed for survival (Asuru, 2017; Bagson and Owusu, 2016). In the findings of this study, it was revealed that education and training of the participants was very low (see Table 3). The literature revealed that most people in the Northern Region have limited education, particularly women (UNDP, 2018). The problem of low levels of education skills in the region helps understand the engagement and the level of contribution by the residents in the region in development projects. Unless the Ghanaian government invests in the education and training of its people, particularly the youth, the nation will continue to preside over an illiterate and

untrained population that will continue to rely on state support and donor activities. Such people are unlikely to make any meaningful contribution to projects, particularly where innovation is needed. This is concerning as 69 per cent of the participants only had primary level education as their highest qualification. The participants attributed this to the lack of schools as the main reason for their illiteracy. The same view was shared by key participants who posited that: "While other regions had enough schools and other forms of support, the north lack these facilities. Literacy levels are low as a result. As expected, projects can fail in this kind of situation" (Key Informant 2). As described by the participants, education and training have an important impact on their ability to influence projects. Thus, while some scholars do not see the value of education in the initiation of rural development, the rural people acknowledge its importance.

The education and training challenge is not confined to the case study areas. It defines the Northern Region and is acknowledged by the national government which has promised to allocate resources to address this challenge (Government of Ghana, 20158a). The Ghanaian National Youth Policy identifies inadequate training for the job market as one of the challenges facing the youth and a basic driver of youth unemployment in the country (UNDP, 2018). Education and skills training in Ghana is provided through formal institutions such as private and public schools and vocational training institutes and the informal apprenticeship system (Killick, 2010). In 2009, the Northern Region had 27 public and private technical and vocational (TVET) institutions while the Upper East and Upper West regions had a minimum of 16. The majority of the TVET institutions in the three regions are co-educational. All the institutions in the Upper East and Upper West regions are either female-only institutions or co-educational. In the Northern Region, 18 out of the 27 institutions are either female only or co-educational. Only 4 per cent of the youth in the Northern Region are estimated to have undergone formal skills training (UNDP, 2018). This situation will impact the participation of these people in development projects. They are discouraged from sharing knowledge that could aid in the development of their communities. They are likely afraid to challenge development practitioners on issues that they know will not benefit them. Education and training are therefore important in rural development.

Young women were found to be the least likely to have enrolled in a vocational or technical institution. These statistics support the findings by FAO (2012) which stipulates that girls were often compelled by socio-economic and patriarchal obligations to drop out of school at an earlier stage than boys. 11 per cent of the youth in the Northern Region were either acquiring or have acquired some skills through informal apprenticeship training (UNDP, 2018). Young women in the Volta, Brong Ahafo and Upper East regions were also found to be more likely to have had some skills training compared to those in the Northern and Upper West regions. The academic qualification requirements are likely to be a barrier for entry into formal apprenticeship schemes for young girls (given their high dropout rates), but also for young boys. This justifies why young females are more likely to be found in informal training schemes (UNDP, 2018). In this study, the youths comprised of 26.4 per cent of all participants. Most of them viewed their membership in a project as a form of employment. None of them had any previous training on the activities in which their respective projects were engaged. This highlights how projects fail because the people who engage in these projects are mostly those with little to no training who are motivated to work for their survival. The situation worsens when development projects engage in activities that move away from the use of traditional knowledge and expertise, such as knowledge in farming. Projects that engaged in farming were more likely to do better than those which focused on other sectors due to the skillset of the locals. This, however, became a challenge when local framing practices were combined with modern inputs and technologies as highlighted by Amin (1990).

The official documents reviewed emphasise the importance of focusing on the expansion of people's capabilities and opportunities and ensuring that 'no one is left behind as part of empowering them to take part in the development projects (FAO, 1996; Government of Ghana, 2018a; Ministry of Youth and Sports, 2010). The documents also emphasised the importance of ensuring sustainable livelihoods while moving towards strengthening capabilities and skills for economic transformation. In the context of the Northern Region, skill deficits, as a result of disparities and inequitable access to education, undermine the potential for local people to benefit from emerging opportunities in the economy (Government of Ghana, 2018a).

Given the central role of agriculture and the subsistence nature of production in the region, government efforts may need to focus on identifying how to proactively promote and enhance

agricultural development through education and training. Critical to this is ensuing voice of the local people who are targeted beneficiaries of development initiatives. Tackling traditional norms and practices through education and training is important to ensure that social, political, and economic inclusion does not take place on unequal terms for women and vulnerable groups in the communities. The development of human capital through education and training is important to enable project members to participate in the decision-making process and to mobilise their labour and the knowledge. The government should invest in the education and training of the people. Projects should also go a step further to train their members so that they remain relevant in the project. This will reduce the chances of members losing interest and abandoning projects.

5.5.4. Infrastructural Transformation

One key challenge identified in literature was the lack of infrastructure which supports development in rural areas. All the case study areas lack major transport and communication networks. This situation wades off investment in the area as supported by one participant who stated that:

"One of the issues some donors continue to avoid this area is about how to get up here. The roads are bad. It's worse during rains. The community members sometimes come together to try and improve the roads for personal use. But this is beyond what we can afford. The roads get worse" (Household participant 44).

There are no reliable health, water, education, and energy infrastructure in the case study areas. This was reported to be also a regional problem (Key informant 4). The availability of infrastructure is essential for the execution of development projects. Health, communication, education, and transport infrastructure is important in attracting investors into an area. It is also important for empowering and mobilising the locals to participate in development projects that are implemented in their communities. Projects are bound to fail where there is a lack of adequate infrastructure (Awumbila et al. 2014). Where infrastructure is not available, development project finds cannot develop and sustain themselves as some of the infrastructure required may be too expensive. This how development became an outcome of political economy. It is difficult for the local people to take an interest in projects knowing that such these projects will fail, based on previous experiences with other projects. It is crucial that the national

government provide adequate infrastructure as part of its continued commitment to its citizens (Ahwoi, 2010; Asuru, 2017). It is the responsibility of the state to ensure that infrastructure is available for public use. Businesses should not construct roads; they should be built in serviced areas. lf the state assists with the provision of infrastructure, small projects could benefit from the reduced operating costs and also attract the local people to participate. The local people are encouraged to initiate community projects when there is adequate infrastructure to support such initiatives.

Until the infrastructural challenge is addressed, development projects will continue to fail, and the local people will continue distancing themselves from to lack such projects. Sustainable improvements in human empowerment and development need to be strengthened by structural transformation and improvements in productive infrastructure. The Northern Region is no exception given that historically, the region has a significant infrastructure deficit than the rest of the country (Agyekum, 2013). As recommended by key participants, the development of infrastructure in the case study areas needs to be at the centre of development efforts to accelerate growth, poverty reduction and sustained development. This is also captured in the SDGs, with Goal 9 focused on the need to "Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialisation and foster development" (Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform, 2015).

The availability of infrastructure can reduce unit costs of moving goods and persons and contribute towards investment and service delivery in these communities. In the agricultural context, adequate water supply and sanitation facilities, and irrigation were identified as the infrastructure support required the promote the sector. Irrigation is important because of the uni-modal rainfall pattern and increasing erratic nature of rainfall in the North. Expanded infrastructure for potable water reduces time spent by women collecting water. It also improves sanitation and reduces health risks for households. It is, therefore, important to take into account the myriad challenges faced by development projects and their members in rural areas inter *alia* limited resources, poor local infrastructure, long distance to the market, lack of government support and insufficient funding. These challenges are impeding project members from reaping the benefits of development initiatives.

This negatively affects participants' wellbeing and hence their willingness to further participate in the projects. Kamstra and Knippenberg (2014) posits that although farming development project activities are regarded by the government as an essential tool for rural economic development and empowerment, they are still left without adequate local infrastructure to produce goods efficiently.

The challenges in the study associated with inadequate infrastructure (especially water and roads) and facilities are an impediment as they are essential for productivity. To promote participation of the local people in projects, infrastructural challenges need to be addressed.

The other challenge identified in the study were access to land, utilisation and rights, as discussed next.

5.5.5. Land Tenure/User Rights Challenges

Participants indicated that the case study is dependent on agriculture and agricultural-related activities. The study revealed that most of the development projects in the case study areas were agricultural-related. The fields and livestock observed by the researcher throughout the study areas confirmed the agrarian nature of the region. The reviewed literature described the Northern Region as an agrarian community (Beierle, 1999; Booth and Therkildsen, 2012; Botes and Van Rensburg, 2000). However, one issue that emerged was the challenge of land ownership and tenure security. This challenge is significant in the region especially for women as most do not own land. To qualify for some of the projects in the region, ownership of land was a pre-requisite. This disqualified many women from participating in the projects. It is important for the local and national government to implement a non-discrimination policy against women.

Land ownership has the capacity to empower people in the study areas to improve their livelihoods and wellbeing. Land ownership enables households to develop the land and attain assets that ultimately improve their standards of living. When people have assets such as land and physical assets, there is a sense of accomplishment which increases the willingness to engage in community projects. This view is shared by Brobbey (2010) who posits that people who own property are likely to take an interest in community development projects.

Reviewed literature and key participants revealed that societal rules and practices that regulate access to use of, and rights in land effectively discriminate against women and new members of a community regardless of gender. (Bagson and Owusu, 2016). As for women, access to land was revealed to be intertwined with relationships with male figures; their fathers, brothers, and husbands. Men however, can access land through inheritance and the patrilineal system while females are not afforded the same privilege (Cooke, Hague, and McKay, 2016). In the case study, most of the project members who participated in this study are female (70 per cent). Taking this bias into consideration, it becomes imperative to intervene and implement policies that ensure equal distribution of land regardless of gender to empower these segregated groups and incorporate an inclusive system built on fairness.

The study revealed that policies related to the land tenure system, such as those being executed by the Customary Land Secretariat, have not had the intended impact as the purchasing and leasing of land is only favourable to the male figures in these communities. The constitution affords chiefs power of attorney to lease land to investors without any accountability, with varying implications for the welfare of locals. Chiefs were, on occasion, sold land at the expense of the community (Key informant 5). With land being increasingly commoditised, community members, particularly those who were new in the community, had to pay 'rent' for land use, thereby limiting access by individuals and populations that are unable to pay. This further constrained their participation in projects and hindered production. Inheritance rights over land under the customary land tenure regimes no longer serve as guarantees to access land among land-owning families (household participant 64; Tsikata and Seini, 2004). Marginalised groups such as disadvantaged women, poor indigenes, and migrants who rely on land for their survival are being removed from their livelihoods. The negative consequences of these situations are increasing the poverty gap as livelihoods options for poor households become limited. This hinders any prospects for meaningful engagement in development initiatives.

It is therefore important for the government to focus on promoting land access and land ownership in the study areas. This study highlights the need for tribal authorities to create tenure security for communal farmers. Tenure security is fundamental to secure land and income for existing rural farmers and new entrants. In addition, the local government needs to re-consider the prospect of flexible systems of land use and ownership for development projects that engage

in agricultural activities on communal land. Furthermore, legal assistance is important to protect and aid farming households. Most importantly, projects need assistance in attaining private property rights so as to ensure that they have legal binding contracts of land attainment which will reduce uncertainty in land rental and ownership.

In addition, an adjusted legislative framework that clearly stipulates the land rights, allocation, and ownership for rural development projects is necessary to enable them to include as many people in their activities. This implies that access to land by projects should be placed at the centre of land legislation. This could bring sustainable social and economic benefits to project members' livelihoods, as well as eliminate insecurity of tenure in projects and some households.

The issue of patriarchy was also identified as one of the fundamental challenges faced by the households in the study areas, as discussed next.

5.5.6. Patriarchal Challenges

Patriarchy is one of the social challenges that the government needs to address owing to its complexities and negative impact on these communities. Patriarchy emerged as another challenge that restricted participation of the local people in the development projects, particularly women who engage the most in rural and agricultural activities (Moyo, 2016). Participants indicated that women faced challenges in a number of areas, including access and ownership of land, and access to skills and vocational programmes. It was reported that most of the assets within households' units were owned and controlled by men. This is significant problem given most of the participants were women (70 per cent). This figure drops significantly when discussing ownership of assets. They represented the households from which they came. In this study, most of the female participants do not own land out- right. They practice agricultural activities on family land. The lists of members on most projects are dominated by men. This situation has a negative bearing on women's' capabilities to contribute towards these development projects. Most of the participants, however, detailed the patriarchal nature of their communities as a major challenge which undermines their capacity to take part and make meaningful contributions to development projects. Female participants indicated that they performed a variety of tasks, ranging from agricultural work (on their own and husband's farms)

to raising livestock (local chickens, guinea fowl and other small animals) and caring for the household and their families.

Given this view, that some scholars and policy institutions argue that acknowledging gender dimensions is crucial to the improvement of rural livelihoods and the survival of development initiatives in the countryside of developing countries (Calfat and Rivas, 2008; FAO, 2012). It is important to immediately address the patriarchal issues specifically access to land and asset ownership, as there is significant literature that highlights a link between asset accumulation and decreasing levels of poverty (Potgieter et al 2016; Pouw and Janvier, 2014). Land ownership has direct benefits; (from growing crops, or fodder or trees) and indirect benefits (land can serve as collateral for credit applications or an asset that can be sold during a crisis).

Patriarchy is viewed as the dominant social orientation in Ghana (Houssou, et al. 2016). In view of the various negative effects of this social arrangement especially for women, the need for a reorientation of governance systems with the aim of repositioning women as equal partners in development is crucial (as detailed in reviewed literature (Kamstra and Knippenberg, 2014; McKay, Pirttilä, and Tarp, 2015; Manful and Manful, 2014). Where land distribution policies are implemented by this patriarchy, most women fail to acquire land fairly, their only chance is through political influence which disrupts the well-being of communities. It is also posited that active and meaningful participation of youth, women, local farmers, people with disabilities, and other excluded groups is only possible when assets such as land and water are equally accessible (UNDP, 2013).

The issue of patriarchy, as stated above, is difficult to address even at government level as it a challenging social phenomenon. Women in this study received training during their formative years on how they should accept men's ownership of resources. Some of the female participants in this study did not see any fault with the current culture where men own everything– a potential indication of the training received during formative years. One participant stated that: "*I think the issue of who owns the land we have as a family is not a problem with me. Its family land. My husband's land is my land. We do everything together. If one of us has an idea, we talk about it. If it's good we pursue it for the benefit of our family"* (Household participant 139). Some participants accepted the dominance of men in property ownership to avoid marital disagreements. One participant mentioned that: "*This thing of women and men being equal and*

women causing trouble in families because they want to be equal has already destroyed some families here in the community. I think the focus should be placed on how best can family members cooperate rather than split them apart in the name of being equal. If being equal disrupts marriage, what is the use of it then?" (Household participant 140).

Patriarchy also emerged in the type of projects women affiliated themselves with. Women participate in projects involving crop husbandry such as soya, groundnuts and sewing school uniforms. On the other hand, men participate in projects such as drilling boreholes, constructing roads, and growing cash crops. These projects offered huge financial rewards for men in comparison with women. Women also engaged in projects that reared different animals such as ruminants and guinea fowls versus cattle reared by men. As a result, most women are likely to abandon these projects in pursuit of other activities that offer better rewards. Considering that the majority of people who participated in projects were women, most projects failed as women abandoned them in pursuit of better remuneration (Key informant 2).

Women also lacked technology and resources that directly suit them as these are reserved for men. Ghana's approach to assisting women, particularly in the agricultural sector, is not without criticism. The country's public agricultural services have adopted a delivery approach based on a top-down transfer of technology models. However, the transfer of technology approach is not inclusive and therefore promotes the delivery and adoption of universally designed technology to improve productivity and increase output. It does not factor the of local variables, such as local knowledge and resource endowments. The most common technology transfer is 'spillover technologies', which are targeted for the established and well-funded commercial farmers, not the poor or women. The primary focus has been to support the black farming sector, but with an implementation biased towards more commercially-oriented black farmers who can use spillover technologies. The particular challenges for female farmers who differ from their male counterparts in household and cultural status need to be taken into consideration as this influences the farming process. Key participants indicated lack of focus on the type technology women could use, particularly in rural areas such as the North of Ghana. According to Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng (2016), the technology that women utilise are undeveloped compared to the ones men use to grow crops such as rice and maize. Given this view, patriarchy permeates every sector of society, from the government to the communal areas.

Most women (and men) employed services, such as land cultivation. This situation disadvantage women engaging in community projects as they did not have the resources to employ modern cultivation methods. This is because women do not own livestock, which they can use as draught power. This resulted in underperformance. As a result, poverty increased in women.

The lack of land ownership and livestock and other productive assets such as ploughs by women due to patriarchy undermined their potential to take part in projects with higher rewards. Some projects need contributions from members. In most cases, women failed to contribute and hence could not be considered for membership. However, it is important to highlight that even some men struggled to raise the contributions required by projects, however, this may not be viewed as a patriarchal issue. However, the argument maintained here is that patriarchy was is one of the challenges that hindered the participation the locals in development projects in the Northern Region. This was the case with women who constitute the majority of the participants, while maintaining a low position in the patriarchal hierarchy.

5.5.7. The Challenge of Poverty

In many case studies around that world, poverty is one of the main challenges that affects people's ability to take part in development projects that could change their circumstances (Atkinson, 2001; Ayee, 2000; Kim, 2011). In the case study areas, poverty was prevalent. A number of variables were used to measure poverty as detailed in Chapter Four. For the variable roof types, a staggering 72.18 per cent (Figure 10) of the households had ordinary thatch shelters. According to household participants and focus group members, this was evidence of poverty. Key informants also reported that the type of dwelling was a sign of poverty when compared to other regions in the country. In an attempt to understand what the participants viewed as a sign of wealth; the researcher found that none of the participants mentioned money as a sign of wealth. Assets, livestock, and sustainable livelihoods were reported as a sign of wealth. The assets that were listed by participants included tractors, brick houses, cars, and motorcycles. These were viewed as a sign of wealth by 30 per cent of the participants. A total of 27 per cent viewed brick houses, toilets, and other types of building as a sign of wealth. A staggering 40 per cent, however, considered food availability as a notable sign of wealth. About 3 per cent of the

participants mentioned the number of wives, children, and education as a sign of wealth. Poverty, therefore, in the study areas, is multidimensional having both income and non-income aspects.

The findings of this study are consistent with reviewed secondary literature which confirmed the severity of poverty in the Northern Region as a whole. The UNDP (2018), posits that the Northern Region has had the highest poverty headcount ratios in Ghana, exceeding the national average by huge margins. It also reports that many districts in the region have poverty headcount ratios of over 80 per cent (UNDP 2018). It is reported that since independence in 1957, poverty has been a challenge except for a brief period of self-reliance when the state effectively adopted inward policies (Ahwoi, 2010). The inward-looking period ushered in the 'golden age' for the North given the benefits of 'Operation Feed Yourself' and 'Operation Feed Your Industries' (Government of Ghana, 2018a). According to Houssou, Ohene, Aboagye, and Kolavalli (2016), this turned out to be a period of an economical boost in rice production. Maize and industrial crops such as jute for the bast fibre industry, cotton for the textile industry and shea nuts for exports all received a boost. Jobs were available for the young, particularly in the rice industry (UNDP 2018).

However, currently, food security and nutritional indicators are reported to be poor in Northern Ghana (Government of Ghana, 2018a). The World Food Programme Report (2012:61), found that more than 680,000 people or 3 out of every 100 households, was either severely or moderately food insecure. The poor nutritional status of children in the North was found to be approximately double the national average. The UNDP (2018), argues that a food secure nation requires transformative change that will be more effective if accompanied by a shift of resources, capacities and decisions to smallholder farmers, poor communities and women. Additionally, there is a need for social protection aimed at addressing the most immediate needs of the poor and vulnerable for the Northern region. These challenges have all disempowered the local people thus they are unable to take part in development projects. Most of the people in the study desired to be involved in projects as a survival strategy rather than to achieve developmental goals. As a result, when the people find their livelihoods needs met, they abandon the projects which results in project failure.

The challenge regarding food security in the region is acknowledged by the UNDP (2018). They recommend that due to the subsistence nature of the economy and the very high levels of hunger

and malnutrition in the region, productive investments need to be complemented by social policy and the promotion of productive inclusion (through a focus on capabilities, skills, protections and opportunities). This is supported by Hagenaars (2017) and Houssou et al (2016), who posit that there is need to ensure that there is participation and involvement from small farmers to ensure income and food security in the for agricultural transformation. Additionally, Koopmans et al (2014), support that the participation of local people needs to be linked to industrial processes through agro-processing and services to diversify the productive base of the region's economy. Thus, measures for efficient management of the region's natural resources, particularly water and land, are needed to ensure sustainability. Natural resources represent the natural capital of the case study areas. In order to enable the households to benefit from the available resources, the state needs to remain at the centre of promotion for rural development. The state also needs to ensure participation of the locals through accessibility to resources such as the land, quality soils, and sufficient water bodies (for irrigation). Most projects in the study areas as well as the majority of the households engage in agricultural and other related activities thus adequate resources are needed. Resources such as land are considered as wealth by participants, and therefore, providing them with land will not only enable them to produce, but also boost their confidence and their willingness to participate in development projects.

Development projects in the study areas face challenges such as extreme poverty and a lack of basic needs such as food. This is evident by increased donor activities that assist with basic needs, such as food and education for children. Some participants also reported that although they were part of projects, they did not find them useful as there is a continued dependency on donor organisations. The projects rely heavily on donations particularly in schools as well as for households. This challenge requires the government to provide concrete solutions to tackle the poverty challenges that continue to plague the region. If this is not done, despite donor interventions, the projects will continue to fail as the local people abandon them for other activities which cater for their needs. This results in another challenge which is the participation of the locals in the projects within the study area: Governance, voice, and accountability.

5.5.8. Administration, Voice and Accountability

One of the key challenges with development projects in the case study areas is that the local people were not consulted on the nature of projects they needed in their communities. As a result, the ongoing projects are not inclusive of the people's culture and circumstances. Thus, people do not think they are beneficial. Some participants actually dismissed these projects arguing that they came to impoverish rather than improve people's lives. One participant mentioned that:

> *We did not like this sort of project to begin with. However, since we wanted something that would improve our situation and our livelihoods, we had to accept it. It was imposed on us. We still do not know how we should be going about it. We have no attachment to the project as it has caused us much loss. Personally, I used to get a household income from the sale of crops, ranging from nuts, onions, tomatoes, etc that we grow in a family garden. With the onset of the project, everything has changed, I now rely on my sons who send some money for food* (Household participant 14).

If local people or the targeted beneficiaries of projects are not given a voice and accountability in the initial stages of projects, then such projects are bound to fail because of lack of communal support. If project implementers dominate the governance of the projects they are bound to fail. The main aim of participatory development should be to involve the locals in the designing, formulation, and implementation of development programmes and policies that might result in a positive impact at an individual and community level (Hagenaars 2017). There are numerous methods, models, techniques and approaches that are combined to ensure rural development, subject to the purpose of the project and local conditions of the areas in which such projects are targted. The phenomenon takes into consideration the people's control of the processes. The right of communities and local people to participate in local matters is also provided for in the 1992 Constitution. Chapter 20, clause 240, 2 (e) which states that "to ensure the accountability of local authorities, people in particular, local government areas shall be afforded the opportunity to participate effectively in their governance." In addition, as required by the bottom-up planning process of the National Development Planning System (Act 480, 1994), local communities are expected to participate in the preparation of sub-district or local plans through public hearing sessions where the views expressed are incorporated.

From the case study areas, it was noted that development strategy leads to economic growth and political stability, but did not result in a better livelihood for the locals, therefore the project is not beneficial. High growth performance without the participation of people is likened to economic growth which does not lead to development. It is therefore, unfortunate that project members in the study areas point out that they were not consulted to begin with. This view supports arguments that the formulation of development policies in rural Ghana is premised on top-down approaches that fail to reinforce the virtues of knowledge and power sharing (Abiona and Bello, 2013). The extent to which participatory plans can succeed in achieving the desired transformation highly depends on the ways in which the local communities take part in projects. The involvement of communities in projects that concern them is central and can have major implications for future decision-making processes.

The problems associated with the centralised or top-down model of development planning and management in Ghana include limited opportunities for the targeted beneficiaries. The model is challenged by McKay, Pirttilä, and Tarp (2015), who argue that by nature, the model polarises development, increases dependency on certain favoured sectors thus generating discontent and conflicts in society. This is a result of exclusion practices, underutilisation of resources of the marginalised stakeholders and thereby leading to under production and a waste of time and effort. The model also creates a general atmosphere of apathy in those populations that feel deprived from participating fully in the decision-making processes. Owing to the history of rural development programmes, policies or intervention initiatives in Ghana, very little is known with regards to local participation, socio-economic development, and poverty alleviation. Available discourses dealing with the challenges of and opportunities for participatory development are very limited in Ghana. The situation is dire in the Northern Region which happens to be the most rural in the country. There is low satisfaction with the projects, their implementation, and impact as people reported that they were not consulted about the processes.

Development efforts through the deployment of projects in the area should therefore, entail a structured intervention whereby the local people or communities are encouraged to contribute their own wisdom, energy, critical analysis and time in the projects being implemented. The central aim should be to empower people thus enabling them to take charge of their own lives and not to be on the receiving end. This form of participation in projects will ensure that participants develop self-confidence, initiative, creativity, responsibility and cooperation.

Participation can only be meaningful for the people if they are involved in the processes thus, they learn to take charge of their own lives and solve their own problems (Burkey 1993). This is only possible if the local people, who are the targeted beneficiaries, are supported and allowed to participate in development projects. They need to be actively involved in all stages of the projects from the start. They also need to be involved in all decision-making processes without restrictions. Thus giving the people some responsibility.

Human development views participation of people as a necessity (UNDP 2000). Participation maximises the use of human resources and enables people reach their full potential and contribute significantly to society.

5.5.9. Out-Migration

Migration is another challenge that hinders the participation of communities in the projects that are implemented in their areas. The migration of people in the case study areas, particularly the youth, in pursuit of other means of survival often results in a larger elderly population in rural areas. When developers approach communities they often find the elderly in these areas. Due to the out migration of the youth, developers have to engage with the elderly to take part in the projects. One participant explained that migration led to the failure of projects; "*It makes the projects fail. We are old and we have a lot of other responsibilities. We have families to look after. We also do not know how best to engage in these projects. Younger members would do better"* (Household participant 07).

Most people migrated and became petty traders of farm produce, especially crop yields in towns and cities. A majority of the projects in the communities are labour-intensive thus the young and abled-bodied would increase the chances successful projects. Participants indicated that out-migration continued to hinder the establishment of development projects in the case study areas. Due to the poverty that characterises the Northern Region as a whole, migration is one of the solutions for the locals with regards to a better life. The majority of the youth and abled-bodied individuals dream of migrating in order to achieve a better life. This view is also supported by reviewed secondary documents which confirm that Ghana's population is characterised by a high percentage of out-migration (Government of Ghana, 2018a) as it is a key strategy for coping with livelihood challenges (Guijt, 2014).

The Northern Region is well known for internal out-migration with somewhat different set of dynamics. Historically, the British recognised that the Southern forest regions wielded the strongest potential for development due to its mineral resource base, its agro-ecological conditions for cocoa cash crops, and the relative proximity of these regions to the coast. Thus, they promoted the Northern Region as a source of labour for Southern industries and agriculture (Berdegué, 2014; Dinko, 2017). It is also reported that traditionally, north-south migration was mainly male-dominated, long-term, and long-distance (Dinko, 2017). However, a new dominant north-south migration stream emerged since the 1980s involving female youths moving autonomously of their families, mostly towards the cities of Accra and Kumasi, most often as seasonal migrants (Houssou et al. 2016). The migration of young female migrants circulating between Northern Ghana and Accra, where they tend to work as street vendors or head porters has been shown to stem from poverty, a lack of education, employment opportunities and the need to accumulate wealth in preparation for marriage (Laird, 2011). These findings were also confirmed by female participants in the current study who revealed that the vending business enabled them to "*make ends meet. It allows us women to acquire certain things we need without turning to our husbands all the time*" (Household participant 39).

The UNDP (2018), found that remittances to the Northern Region typically contribute to consumption however, depending on the amounts, they may also contribute to investment. The Government of Ghana (2018a) found that about 52 per cent of migrant remittances are meant for consumption purposes while about 44 per cent are used for investment purposes. The Northern Region is a net receiver of remittances. However, it is projected that only one in four internal migrants transfers money back to the household and that these transfers are generally low (Vlaminck, 2012).

Overall, migration was highlighted in reviewed official documents and confirmed by participants as one of the fundamental challenges which the region faced. Migration requires the intervention of both the development projects and the government.

5.6. Towards Inclusive Participatory Development in Rural Ghana

The current study posits that in order for development projects to remain afloat in the study areas, there is need for the deployment of social policies in these case study areas. This will

enable the people identify development needs rather than wait for external developers. This argument is consistent with leading social policy experts such as Mkandawire (2011), who reported on the difference between the 'Truman' and the 'Bandung Conference' types of development. The Truman development, represents "the moral premise for helping 'distant strangers', (Mkandawire (2011:7) with its attendant interventionism." This view and approach to development has undermined planning and policy for context-specific development in countries, particularly in rural areas. The Truman framework focuses on micro-economic courses of 'human development' and poverty relief. This has resulted in the view that Africa and its rural areas are a target for relief aid as the regions are under-developed. Donating funds to the poor does not lead to development (Hanlon, Barrientos, and Hulme 2010). Mkandawire (2011), one of Africa's development experts, offers a vision of development which is grounded in the Bandung conference. According to Mkandawire (2011), development encompasses growth that results in the structural revolution of the economy and society, the growth of technology innovation, and strong manufacturing capacity. Mkandawire (2011:13), argues that 'Catching up' "requires that countries know themselves and their history that has set the 'initial conditions' for any future progress." Mkandawire (2011), argues that development enables communities to learn pioneers, but it should not be a copy and paste exercise. According to Adesina (2021), the knowledge imperative call for substantial investment in institutions of knowledge production and state capacity is known as the capacity to synchronise and steer the development process. Thus, showing evidence on the importance of educating the locals for rural development success. This requires the state to be at the centre of development initiatives in order to generate a sustained system of innovation and the capacity to respond to a broad range of challenges.

According to Mkandawire (2011), structural transformation and the mastery of technology often goes together with a robust and innovative manufacturing aptitude. In the Bandung framework, the political economy of development emerges as development becomes the effort of the state and is initiated by the government. Amin (2014), coined this as a national sovereign project. Proper and context-specific development is one that circumvents the distorting and disruption of culture and indigenous knowledge systems by capitalist tendencies. The kind of development needed in the case study and in Ghana and Africa as a whole should not be one that is subjected to the conversational restriction from the Euro-West. Development should not rely on the

ecologically-destructive models of the Western world as this would result in mal-development (Amin, 2014).

Mkandawire (2007), argues that African states do not have focus on development alone but also be democratic and inclusive. Thus, development needs to be participatory. Mkandawire (2007), argues that African states need to be 'developmental', economies should be handled "in a manner that facilitates optimal economic growth, structural change and uses all available resources in a responsible and sustainable manner in highly competitive global conditions." Development also needs to be 'democratic', people in the communities need to be respected as well as their rights and needs. Participation and social 'inclusiveness' whilst providing "all citizens with a decent living" should be an element of development (Mkandawire 2007: 680). According to Adesina (2021), at the centre of both facilitating socio-economic development and certifying equity is the idea of Transformative Social Policy. This policy emphasises the nexus between economic and social policy. It highlights several tasks of social policy and assets the execution of social policy that guarantees equity, participation, and inclusivity in the development process.

Mkandawire (2006), identified four tasks of social policy and these are: production, protection, reproduction and redistribution. Adesina (2015), added a fifth task: social cohesion or nation-building. Mkandawire (2016) and Adesina (2015), posit that social policy for inclusive development needs to be buttressed by the standards of commonality and the pursuit of equality (and equity). Transformative social policy focuses on economic, social and institutional transformation. It is concerned with eliminating the disruptive impact of the development process (Adesina, 2015). At the centre of social relation transformation is the transformation of gender relations.

Use of the transformative social policy in the case study areas, would enable developers to reduce the political economy inherent in land access and utilisation in these rural areas. This would ensure equality or equity to land access by households, thus, high chances of participation in development projects. Equality to resource access would also translate to increased production as households participate in various livelihood activities. This will also increase household income. Most importantly, where households have equal access to resources, chances of social cohesion are likely to increase. Thus, there is a need to place the social policy at the centre of

project design, execution, and targeting of beneficiaries when implementing projects in the case study areas.

5.7. Conclusion

This chapter interpreted and discussed the data that was collected in four communal areas, namely; Sagnarigu, Savulugu, Tamale metropolis and Kumbugu which are located in the Northern region of Ghana. The discussion focused on the impact and value of development projects on the livelihoods of households in the areas. The chapter shows that while there are opportunities for development through projects in the study areas, challenges outweigh the opportunities. Due to these challenges, the livelihoods of households have been deteriorating in recent years. One of the key issues which emerges from the data is that the participation of the beneficiaries of development projects in the case study areas has been very minimal due to lack of cooperation between project management and the targeted beneficiaries. This could be the reason why projects negatively impact the communities. The chapter shows that there is a need to adopt social policy approaches in an effort to achieve beneficial development for the local people.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1. Introduction

The main aim of participatory development is to involve the locals in the design, formulation, and implementation of development programmes and policies that may lead to a positive impact on their livelihoods. There are numerous methods, models, techniques, and approaches combined to ensure rural development, subject to the aims and local conditions will improve the livelihoods of these communities. The underlying principle of such a phenomenon is people's control of the processes. Bodin et al. (2017) posit that if a development strategy leads to economic growth and political stability without changing the lives of ordinary citizens, then such development does not serve the interests of the community. Growth performance without participation of the locals is equivalent to economic growth without development.

This chapter concludes the study by providing a summary of the study's findings so as to respond to the research objectives. The chapter summarises the results from the literature and from the study. This is followed by a discussion on the conclusion drawn from the data. After that, the chapter outlines the contributions of the study, the limitations encountered, the implications of the findings, future research guidelines and conclusion of the chapter.

6.2. Summary of Study Findings

The findings of this study are summarised under two sub-sections. The first section focuses on the participatory development issues relating to the opportunities and challenges that emerged from the secondary data. The second sub-section summarises these same issues as they emerged from the data collected for this study. The objective is to support, refute or extend the body of knowledge on development issues in the Northern Region of Ghana.

6.2.1. Findings from the Literature

The reviewed official documents, such as publications by policy institutions and scholarly contributions by experts, who describe development in the Northern Region of Ghana as a fundamental challenge faced by the region. The region is lagging in terms of development

(Government of Ghana 2018a, b). The development challenges in this region include depleting natural resources, such as fire-wood and increasing soil erosion due to the strain of mounting population pressure (UNDP, 2018). These conditions have undermined the potential of locals in the region to take control of their development. The conditions in the region have discouraged trade and agriculture, thus deterring investment (World Bank 2017).

The region lacks substantial infrastructure in favour of cash crops such as cocoa which continue to receive support for generating foreign currency from exports. This has continued to hinder the economic growth in the Northern region (Gatune, 2016; Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). While the entire region remains rural, agricultural livelihood is typically subsistence, although commercial agriculture is increasing in some areas (Government of Ghana 2018b). Productivity is hindered by a heavy dependence on rainfall (typically once a year and increasingly unpredictable in terms of frequency) (Dinko, 2017).

Lack of income by the local people has been cited as one of the key challenges in participatory development. Lack of income is a barrier of entry for development projects, particularly those that require contributions from their members (Diener et al., 2013). Reviewed literature revealed that the more income individuals receive, the greater the chance of satisfaction (Asuru, 2017; Abiona and Bello, 2013; Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng, 2016). Therefore, lack of income is one of the challenges the locals face in the Region. This challenge is associated with high unemployment rates. Unemployment was above the national average, especially in the rural areas (UNDP, 2018). The unemployment rate among females was also high (21.7 per cent) (UNDP, 2018). The top-down nature of projects restricts the local's ability to participation in these projects. It also limits their ability to acquire the assets and inputs required to participate in projects. As a result, they do not participate, or only engage part-time.

The lack of education and training was another challenge that emerged from the literature. Education empowers people to evaluate their decisions before applying for any projects It enables people to search for information that can be utilised to meet their goals (Asuru, 2017; Bagson and Owusu, 2016). The literature revealed that most people in the Northern Region have little to no education, especially women (UNDP, 2018). The region's lack of education and training is linked to the decreased number of educational institutions (Government of Ghana, 20158a). The Ghanaian National Youth Policy identifies inadequate training for the job market

as one of the severe challenges facing the youth and a driver of youth unemployment in the country (Ministry of Youth and Sports, 2010). In 2009, the Northern Region had 27 public and private technical and vocational (TVET) institutions, while the Upper East and Upper West regions had a minimum of 16. The majority of the TVET institutions in the three areas were co-educational. Approximately 4 per cent of the youth in the Northern Region are estimated to have undergone formal skills training (UNDP, 2018). The problem of limited education and skills acquisition in the region could assist in understanding the lack of engagement the of locals in development projects. Unless the Ghanaian government invests in the training of the youth, the nation will continue to preside over an illiterate and untrained population that will continue to rely on state support. Lack of education and training makes it difficult for the locals to engage in projects where they need to learn a particular skill before signing up for a project.

In addition to the limited educational institutions, the lack of infrastructure is another a challenge for participatory development in the region. Infrastructure is essential for the execution of development projects. Health, communication, education, and transport infrastructure are an essential requirement to attract potential investors.

The literature revealed considerable constraints regarding infrastructure in the Northern Region (Bagson and Owusu, 2016). The lack infrastructure, discourages locals from participating in community projects. This situation has significantly affected development activities in the region (UNDP, 2018). Kamstra and Knippenberg (2014) argue that although the government regards farming development activities as an essential tool for rural economic development and empowerment, inadequate infrastructure remains a significant challenge of effective production.

Reviewed literature cited land ownership challenges as one of the factors hindering the progression of development projects in the Northern Region. Societal rules and practices that regulate access to land discriminate against women and new arrivals in these communities, regardless of gender (Bagson and Owusu, 2016). For women, access to land is obtained through male figures in their lives such as fathers, brothers, and husbands. Men, however, can access land by inheritance through the patrilineal system, while females do not inherit land or property (Cooke et al., 2016). Inheritance rights for land under customary land tenure regimes no longer serve as a guarantee to accessing land among families that own land (Tsikata and Seini, 2004). Marginalised groups such as women, poor indigenes, and migrants who rely on the land for as a

source of income struggle to survive (Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng, 2016). These challenges have negative implications as the poverty gap is evident in these communities especially for these marginalised groups (Cullen and Coryn, 2011; Dinko, 2017).

Patriarchy was identified as the main source of the land ownership challenges being experienced in the region. Women have very little property compared to men, and the males own all the property, including farm assets (Tsikata and Seini, 2004). Patriarchy is viewed as the dominant social orientation in Ghana (Houssou et al., 2016). Given the various negative effects of this social arrangement for women, there is need for a reorientation of governance systems to reposition women as equal partners in development (Kamstra and Knippenberg, 2014; McKay, Pirttilä, and Tarp, 2015; Manful and Manful, 2014). When land is distributed by patriarchy, most women fail to acquire land as they do not have the resources required to obtain it. This disempowers women and reduces their chance to take part in development process.

It is posited that participation of youth, women, local farmers, persons with disabilities, and other excluded groups is only possible when assets such as land and water are equally accessible without any marginalisation (UNDP, 2013). Some scholars and policy institutions argue that addressing gender dimensions is crucial to improving rural livelihoods and the survival of development initiatives in developing countries (Calfat and Rivas, 2008; FAO, 2012). The patriarchal issues must be addressed, particularly access to land and ownership of assets as literature in development provides evidence that highlights a correlation between the accumulation of assets and decreasing levels of poverty (Potgieter et al. 2016; Pouw and Janvier, 2014). The land has direct benefits (from growing crops or fodder or trees) and indirect benefits (land which can serve as collateral for credit applications or a source of income that can be sold during a crisis).

The UNDP (2018) reported poverty as one of the challenges which hinder the local people from participating in projects. The UNDP (2018) stated that the Northern Region had the highest poverty ratio in Ghana, exceeding the national average by a significant margin. It also reports that many districts in the region have a poverty ratio of over 80 per cent (UNDP 2018). Since Ghana's independence in 1957, poverty has been dominant except for a brief period of self-reliance when the state effectively adopted inward policies (Ahwoi, 2010). Food security and nutritional indicators are poor in Northern Ghana (Government of Ghana, 2018a). The World

Food Programme Report (2012:61) found that more than 680,000 people, or 3 out of every 100 households, lacked food security. Poor nutrition of children in the North is double the national average. The UNDP (2018) posit that a secure food nation requires transformative change that can only be effective if accompanied by a shift of resources, capacities and decisions to smallholder farmers, poor communities and women. Social protection aimed at addressing the immediate needs of the poor and vulnerable is a priority in the North. These challenges have disempowered the locals, who can no longer participate in development projects.

Governance, a voice and accountability were some of the challenges identified in the literature. Some scholars believe that if the locals or the targeted beneficiaries of projects are not given a platform to share ideas and accountability in the initial stages of projects, then such projects are likely to fail because of a lack of communal support (Abiona and Bello, 2013; Asuru, 2017; Baah-Kumi and Yu-Feng, 2016). If the implementers of projects dominate, projects are bound to fail.

The right of communities to participate in local matters is highlighted in the 1992 Constitution. Chapter 20, clause 240, 2 (e) states that "to ensure the accountability of local authorities, people, in particular, local government areas shall be allowed to participate effectively in their governance." In addition, as required by the bottom-up planning process of the National Development Planning System (Act 480, 1994), local communities are expected to participate in sub-district, or local plans through public hearing sessions where their views are expressed are incorporated. It is posited that the problems associated with the centralised or top-down model of development planning and management in Ghana includes the limited opportunities which it gives to targeted beneficiaries. McKay, Pirttilä challenge the model, while Tarp (2015) argued the model polarises development, increases dependency on certain favoured sectors, generates conflicts in society through exclusion practices, and underutilises the marginalised resources of stakeholders resulting in underproduction. The model also creates a general atmosphere of apathy as locals are deprived of participating in the decision-making process.

Finally, the other challenge hindering full participation in projects in the North is out-migration. Reviewed literature reported that the Northern Region has long been a region of internal out-migration with a different set of dynamics. Historically, the British recognised that the Southern Forest regions wielded the strongest potential for development due to their mineral resource

base, its agro-ecological conditions for cocoa cash crops, and the relative proximity of these regions to the coast. Thus, they promoted the Northern Region as a source of labour for Southern industries and agriculture (Berdegué, 2014; Dinko, 2017). It is also reported that traditionally, north-south migration was mainly male-dominated, long-term, and long-distance (Dinko, 2017). However, a new dominant north-south migration stream emerged since the 1980s involving female youths moving autonomously with their families, mostly towards Accra and Kumasi, most often as seasonal migrants (Houssou et al. 2016). This migration of young females moving between Northern Ghana and Accra, where they tend to work as street vendors or head porters, has been shown to stem from poverty, a lack of education and employment opportunities, and the need to accumulate wealth in preparation for marriage (Laird, 2011). Out-migration drains the non-disabled who could participate in projects out of the region (Kamstra and Knippenberg, 2014).

6.2.2. Findings from the Primary Research

The study's findings on participatory development in the Northern Region, focused on selected case study communities, reveal the same fundamental challenges identified in the reviewed literature. Participants reiterated the lack of income. The ongoing projects currently in place have not improved the communities' revenues. Participants reported that the low income generated by projects in the study areas have led to the dissatisfaction of 69 per cent of the participants. In contrast, only 16 per cent reported satisfaction (see Figure 7). This challenge was attributed to high levels of unemployment in the study areas. Some participants supported projects because they were their only source of income, despite the low pay. This support from committed members led to some selling their assets to fund these projects. Some community members have depleted their resources owing to their involvement in these under-funded development projects. This occurred when locals were excluded from the planning stages of projects. Participants mentioned that sustained financial support was imperative for the projects to yield any meaningful income.

Education and training are challenges that undermine and deter the involvement of the locals in development projects. This study revealed that participants' education and training were very low (see Table 3). Sixty-nine per cent of the participants attained primary education as their highest

qualification. Participants reported that the lack of schools was the main reason for their illiteracy. Participants reported a lack of infrastructure in the areas. Educational and health infrastructures were reported to be inadequate. According to the participants, this deterred investors in the area. The lack of irrigation facilities was a significant challenge in a region dominated by farming activities.

Although 70 per cent of the participants were women (see Figure 1), most did not own property or assets such as land. They also did not own farm equipment. This was a barrier to the participation of women in projects, mainly when individuals had to contribute assets for consideration of membership. This challenge was attributed to patriarchal issues identified in the literature. Several women abandoned such projects to pursue lucrative opportunities that did not have these barriers of entry. The lack of land ownership, livestock and productive assets for women undermined their potential to engage in development projects.

In most cases, women failed to contribute, and as a result, their chance to participate in most development projects was diminished. However, it is important to note that some men also struggled to raise the contributions required for projects. However, this may not be viewed as a patriarchal issue. The main argument is that patriarchy was one of the challenges that compromised the participation of the locals in development projects in this region. This was the case for women in this region, as highlighted by the participants of this study who were primarily female and yet, were most affected by the patriarchal hierarchy.

Some participants identified poverty as one of the challenges which hindered their participation in community projects. They cite poverty as the leading factor that forced them to leave community projects searching for other activities that offered better prospects for their livelihoods. The issue of poverty is identified in the reviewed literature. Another key challenge for development projects in the study areas is the lack of local presence in the planning stage of the projects. As a result, the projects available do not align with the people's livelihood needs and challenge and, most importantly, their needs. Thus, locals do not consider these projects opportunities to develop their lives.

Migration was identified as a challenge that affects the participation of communities in projects implemented in their communities. The migration of people in the case study areas, particularly the youth, is motivated by the pursuit of other means of survival, leaving only the elderly

population in the rural areas. When developers engage these communities, the elderly dominate the demographics in most of these rural communities. Most locals migrated to become traders of farm produce, especially crop yields in neighbouring cities and towns. The projects in these communities are labour-intensive, increasing the young and able-bodied and ultimately reducing the rate of failure of these projects. Participants indicated that out-migration continued to impede development projects in the case study areas. Considering the characteristics of poverty in the Northern Region, migration is viewed as a practical solution to escape poverty.

The only opportunities identified in the literature and secondary data include land availability, creation of socio-economic networks, the availability of natural resources, which both the government and investors can use to initiate development through projects in the Northern Region.

6.3. Conclusions

In view of the data gathered through reviewed literature and through empirical investigation, a number of conclusions can be made. This study concludes that:

- There exists a variety of projects in the study areas. These included the World vision, MIDA Ghana, HAIFA, CCFC, ADRA, and IPA, among others. These projects could be supported to trigger development in the Region.
- There are more development challenges for development projects than the available opportunities which these projects can draw from to flourish and bring about a meaningful impact in the case study communities.
- The major cause of the poverty of the local people and the failure of the projects is poverty. Poverty leaves them without resources with which to engage in projects and also destroys the people's confidence to take part and make decision regarding how projects should be operated.
- Lack of education and training hampered participation of the local people in projects. A staggering 69 per cent of the participants had only primary education as their highest qualification. Participants blamed the lack of schools as the main reason for their illiteracy. The education and training challenge is not confined to the case study areas. It actually defines the Northern Region in its entirety and is acknowledged by the national

government which has promised to set aside some resources to deal with the challenge (Government of Ghana, 20158a).

- Lack of infrastructure to support and lure investors in the case study areas is one reason for rampant poverty. All the case study areas had no major transport networks. There were also no reliable health, communication, water, education, and energy infrastructure in the case study areas. This situation wades off investment in the area.
- It is the responsibility of the state to ensure that infrastructure is available for the public to use as no businesses should be expected to make their own roads for use. Thus, if the state could assist with the provision of infrastructure, small businesses will find it easier to conduct business and also attract the local people to take part in businesses. The local people themselves can also be encouraged to initiate community projects when there is adequate infrastructure to support such initiatives.
- Land ownership has the capacity to empower people in the study areas to have a resource which they can use to lobby for membership in projects. They can also put their labour to productive use on acquiring physical assets which they can put on land as a natural resource. When people have got assets such as land and other prosperities such as physical assets, they gain a self-confidence which boosts willingness and availability to actively participate in development projects.
- Patriarchy is one of the challenges which hampers the participation of the local people in development projects. Women in particular, although making the majority of participants (70 per cent) did not have full membership in the projects. Patriarchy is a dominant social orientation in the Northern Region (Houssou, et al. 2016). In view of the various negative effects of this social arrangement for women, it can be concluded that there is the need for a reorientation of governance systems with the aim of repositioning women as equal partners in development.
- One of the key issues with the development projects in the case study areas is that the local people are, more often than not, not consulted on the nature of projects they need in their communities. As a result, the available projects do not speak to the people's context of cultures and situation. Thus, people do not take them serious.
- If the local people or the targeted beneficiaries of projects are not given voice and accountability in the initial stages of projects, then such projects are bound to fail because

of lack of communal support. Should the implementers of projects dominate the governance of projects otherwise, they are bound to fail.

- Migration, though not to a greater extent, is another challenge that frustrates the participation of communities in projects that are implemented in their communities. The migration of people in the case study areas, particularly the youth, in pursuit of other ways of survival leaves only the people of old age in rural areas. When development practitioners come, they find these elderly people in the communities and then mobilise them to take part in projects.

6.4. The Contributions of the Study

The contributions of this research study are divided into two categories, namely, theoretical and practical contributions.

The theoretical contributions of the study can be divided further into two sub-categories. The first is the interpretation of various theories. This study included the political economy, the social policy approach, and the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. The theoretical contribution can be observed in the interpretation of livelihoods frameworks and models, particularly the works of Robert Chambers and his analysis of rural development issues. The interpretation of various theoretical frameworks can be considered a theoretical contribution as the researcher's interpretation of these frameworks and the case study data collected can influence policies designed for rural development in the Northern region of Ghana. The other contribution is the study's use of the transformative social policy framework as the basis on which development projects for rural areas can be implemented. The study posits that for development projects to remain afloat in the study areas, the government and other stakeholders must implement social policy in their execution of these projects. This will provide insight into what these communities need to address poverty, patriarchy, the lack of education, and marginalization, ultimately working to ensure the long-term sustainability of development initiatives.

The focus should be placed on the five tasks of social policy identified by Mkandawire (2007) and expanded by Adesina (2015), namely, production, protection, reproduction and redistribution, and social cohesion or nation-building. In the transformative social policy

approach, the study posits that developers would reduce the political economy inherent in land access and utilization in these rural areas. This would ensure equality when accessing land, thus increasing local participation in development projects. Equal access to resources would translate to increased production as locals will have the option to participate in various development activities. This will also increase the opportunity of multiple incomes in rural households.

Most importantly, where locals have equal access to resources, social cohesion is likely to improve in these communities. Such is the soul of a community. Thus, it may be posited that in initiating development through projects in these areas, social policy should be incorporated in project designs and execution.

The practical contributions of the study emanate from both the theory and findings from the case study conducted in the Northern Region. The study established the opportunities and constraints of development projects in the region. The research findings can aid in addressing the development challenges in the study areas.

When determining how to incorporate the locals in rural development policies effectively, policy-makers alongside non-governmental organizations and the government can refer to these findings. This can help identify structural inequalities and factors that impede progress in rural areas. The researcher believes that unless these challenges are addressed in the design and planning process, poverty alleviation and sustainability will never be achieved in this region.

6.5. Study Recommendations

This study identified several issues that can promote and sustain participatory development in the case study areas, thus assisting in reducing the failure rate of development projects. The study's implications are summarised as follows:

- *Encourage Community Involvement*

The findings reveal the need for development projects in the study areas to promote a culture of community involvement. Developers should realize the importance of participation to empower the locals through various channels. This study recommends that formal community structures or committees be established where projects, other local businesses, and community members will have a platform to participate in planning, decision-making, and problem-solving on matters affecting the communities. These committees should identify the community's needs and provide

strategies that will ensure the success of the projects. As a result, projects will play a significant role in improving the standard of living in the community. To ensure civic engagement, locals should occupy positions of power in the development structure to ensure the interests of the communities are represented. The committees will create a platform for relevant stakeholders to share ideas concerning community activities.

- *Capacity Building*

Projects should not only provide jobs locally for community members. They need to work towards the sustainability of the community through training, mentorship and leadership development. This will encourage skills and knowledge sharing in the community, which improves the longevity of development projects. Furthermore, projects currently failing at community engagement can benefit from such an initiative.

Women, Land Ownership and Access

Conceptualizing women's relationship to land should be prioritized in promoting participation during development projects. The land is valuable for the rural sector and women in particular. In this regard, it is essential to formulate a strategy that would serve the needs and interests of women in a manner that will prevent patriarchy and marginalization in support of serving the needs and interests of the constituency. In rural communities, access to land and control over land use creates personal autonomy and raises the status of the individual, both within the household and in the broader community.

- *Youth Representation and Participation*

Organising the rural youth is a long-term strategy for building rural communities' human and social capital. Moreover, successful development projects that are inclusive of the rural youth help demonstrate that projects can be a rewarding career path which prepare them to contribute towards the sustainability and transformation of their communities. Despite the decline in the interest of the rural youth in projects, particularly those engaging in agricultural activities and high rural-urban migration, there are, however, young community members who want to or are forced to remain in rural areas because of limited employment opportunities in urban areas. Thus, encouraging the younger generation to stay and participate in projects can reduce dissatisfaction of the rural youth.

In addition, engaging the rural youth without land for farming projects, for instance, introduces them to modern technologies whilst also helping the youth learn traditional and indigenous skills for addressing communal agricultural challenges. It is evident that engagement of the youth in projects is beneficial, as the youth will bridge the digital literacy gap in the community and help nurture their potential skills in development projects. Ensuring youth engagement in projects addresses the issue of 'ageing membership' and rural youth unemployment but is also crucial for the socio-political stability and the sustainability of projects in the future.

- *Empower and Motivate Group leaders*

The composition, design, structure and dynamics in a given project are essential features that define the performance and sustainability of the group. For project leaders to perform their roles effectively, they should be supported, motivated and empowered by the public extension system. In the long term, communities should function with minimal support from the public extension system. To ensure this transition occurs, community leaders need adequate training and education. A skilled human resource base needs to developed first for this to happen.

6.6. Future Research Guidelines

Future research is on how participatory development approaches could be promoted is required to appeal to developers. Likewise, effective community engagement should be practised to better understand the importance of locals' involvement in community projects designed to benefit them. Future research could focus on how community development projects need support in business practises such as accounting, human resource management and sustainability principles. Research could also focus on how community development projects could merge and form more formal businesses.

6.7. Conclusion

This concluding chapter of the study has demonstrated the potential of the participation of the locals in sustaining the development projects in the case study areas. This study revealed that the lack of adequate involvement of locals in the design and implementation has led to the failure of projects and the inefficient use of resources. The chapter summarised the results collected through reviewed literature and secondary data. Further research can be conducted in the case study area to extend the knowledge presented in this study. In doing so, it may be important to

use different research methodologies from those used in the study. For instance, instead of using mixed methods research, a qualitative approach can be used so as to generate an in-depth understanding of the value of participatory development and how it is being impacted by top-down approaches.

REFERENCES

Abiona, A and Bello, W. N. 2013. Grassroots Participation in Decision-Making Process and Development Programmes as Correlate of Sustainability of Community Development Programmes in Nigeria. *Journal of Sustainable Development*. 6(3): 47-57.

Abdullah Kamal, S. S. L. B. 2019. Research paradigm and the philosophical foundations of a qualitative study. *People: international journal of Social Sciences*, *4*(3): 1386–1394. https://doi.org/10.20319/pijss.2019.43.13861394.

Adésínà, J.O. (ed). 2007a. *Social Policy in Sub-Saharan African Context In Search of Inclusive Development*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Adesina, J.O. 2007b. Social Policy and the Quest for Inclusive Development: Research Findings from Sub Saharan Africa, Social Policy and Development Programme Paper Number 33. UNRISD: Geneva; in the book Social Policy in Sub Saharan Africa Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Adesina, J.O. 2008. Transformative social policy in a post neo-liberal African Context: Enhancing social citizenship, RC19 Annual Conference, Stockholm.

Adesina, J. O. 2014. Accounting for Social Policy: Reflections on Recent Developments in Sub-Saharan Africa. UNRISD, GENEVA.

African Centre for Economic Transformation. 2014. Growth with depth. 2014 African Transformation Report. Accra, Ghana: Author.

Agarwal, B. 1994. *A Field of One's Own: Gender and Land Rights in South Asia.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Agyekum, A. F. 2013. Effect of MiDA intervention on productivity of maize farmers in the Afram basin of Ghana. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Ghana, Legon, Accra, Ghana.

Alcock, P., May, M and Wright, S. 2012. *A student's Companion to Social Policy*. John Wiley & Sons Ltd, UK.

Alghamdi, S. 2015. Analysing Paradigmatic Influences in a Particular Research. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 5(8).

Allen, B. L. 2012. Dryland corn yield affected by row configuration and seeding rate in the northern Great Plains. J. Soil and Water Conservation. http://www.jswconline.org/content/67/1/32.refs (Accessed 12/06/2019).

Alder, P. 2009. 'Political economy.' In Tadajewski, M., Maclaren, P., Parker, M and Parsons, L. (Eds.). *Key Concepts in Critical Management Studies*. London: Sage.

Altarelli, V and Carloni, A., 2000. Inter-agency Experiences and Lessons. From the Forum on operationalising Sustainable Livelihoods Approach, Pontiggnano (Siena) www.fao.org/docrep/x7749/x7749e00.htm.

Alinovi, L., Mane, E and Romano, D.2010. "Measuring Household Resilience to Food Insecurity: An Application to Palestinian Households", in *Agricultural Survey Methods*, by Benedetti et al., (Eds). 2010. London. John Wiley and Sons.

Alshenqeeti, H. 2014. Interviewing as a Data Collection Method: A Critical Review. *English Linguistics Research*, 3(1).

Ake, C. 1996. *Democracy and Development in Africa*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution.

Anney, V, N. 2014. Ensuring the Quality of the Findings of Qualitative Research: Looking at Trustworthiness Criteria, *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies (JETERAPS) 5*(2): 272-281.

Ayee, J. R. A. 2000. 'Sub-district Structures and Popular Participation: A Preliminary Assessment'. In *A Decade of Decentralization in Ghana: Retrospect and Prospects*, eds. Walter Thomi, Paul W. K Yankson and S. Y. Zanu Accra: EPAD/MLGandRD: 127-56.

Amin, S. 2014. Understanding the Political Economy of Contemporary Africa. *Africa Development*, Volume XXXIX, No. 1, pp. 15-36.

Amin, S. 2016. To the memory of Sam Moyo. *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy* 5(2and3) 138–15.

Atkinson, D. 2001. 'Towards performance management in local government' in *Development: theory, policy and practice*. Edited by Jan K. Coetzee, Johann Graff, Fred Hendricks and Geoffrey Wood. Cape Town: Oxford University Press., pp 553- 568.

Awumbila, M., Owusu, G and Teye, J.K., 2014. Can rural-urban migration into slums reduce poverty? Evidence from Ghana. Migrating Out of Poverty Working Paper, 13, pp.1-41.

Antunes, P., Santos, R and Videira, N. 2006. Participatory decision making for sustainable development—the use of mediated modelling techniques. *Land use policy*, 23(1), pp.44-52.

Ahwoi, K. 2010. Local Government and Decentralization in Ghana. Accra: Unimax Macmillan.

Anríquez, G and Stamoulis, K. 2007. Rural development and poverty reduction: is agriculture still the key. Accra: Unimax Macmillan.

Asuru, S. 2017. The new philanthropy and smallholder farmers' livelihoods: A case study of the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) in the northern region of Ghana. PhD thesis. University of Bradford.

Baah-Kumi, B and Yu-Feng, L. 2016. Rural Poverty Reduction in Ghana: Evidence from MiDA Intervention Zones. *Journal of Economics and Development Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 1-11.

Babbie, E and Mouton, J., 2001. *The practice of Social Research*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Bagson, E. and Owusu, A. Y. 2016. Securing the urban space: on whose terms? Insights from poverty and crime baseline survey in Tamale, Ghana. *Ghana Journal of Geography*, 8(1), 124-147

Bakharia, A. 2014. Interactive Content Analysis: Evaluating Interactive Variants of Non-negative Matrix Factorisation and Latent Dirichlet Allocation as Qualitative Content Analysis Aids. PhD thesis. Queensland University of Technology.

Bayeh, E. 2015. The political and economic legacy of colonialism in the post-independence African states. *International Journal in Commerce, IT and Social Sciences*, 2(2):89-93.

Bennett, N. 2010. Sustainable Livelihoods from Theory to Conservation Practice: An Extended Annotated Bibliography for Prospective Application of Livelihoods Thinking in Protected Area Community Research. Protected Area and Poverty Reduction Alliance Working Paper No. 1.

Babbie, E. 2013. *The practice of social research*. 6th. International edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Bahramnezhad, F., Shiri, M., Asgari, P and Afshar, P.F. 2015. A Review of the Nursing Paradigm. *Open Journal of Nursing*, 5, 17-23. http://dx.doi.org/10.4236/ojn.2015.51003.

Beazley, H and Ennew, J. 2006. 'The two tyrannies', in Desai, V and Potter, R. (eds). *Doing Development Studies*. London, Sage Publishing: 189-199.

Beierle, T.C., 1999. Using social goals to evaluate public participation in environmental decisions. Review of Policy Research, 16(3-4), pp.75-103.

Bennett, N. 2010. Sustainable Livelihoods from Theory to Conservation Practice: An Extended Annotated Bibliography for Prospective Application of Livelihoods Thinking in Protected Area Community Research. Protected Area and Poverty Reduction Alliance Working Paper No. 1. Victoria, Canada: MPARG (UVic); PAPR (VIU).

Berdegué, J, A. 2014. *Inclusive rural-urban linkages. Territorial Cohesion for Development Program*. Rimisp: Santiago.

Bernardi, L., Kleim, S andVon Der Lippe, H., 2007. Social influences on fertility: a comparative mixed methods study in Eastern and Western Germany. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 1 (1), 23–47.

Blumberg, B., Cooper, D.R and Schindler, P.S. 2014. The research process and proposal. *Business Research Methods*, pp.55-105.

Bonye, S, Z., Arkum, T and Owusu-Sekyere, E. 2013. Community Development in Ghana: theory and practice. *European Scientific Journal*, 9:17, 79-101.

Boudreax, C. 2009. "Land reform as social justice: The case of South Africa", in Mazibuko, SG. 2011. *Analysing contemporary development debates and issues: Reader for DVA4801*. Pretoria: South Africa.

Booth, D and Therkildsen, O. 2012. The political economy of development in Africa: A joint statement from five research programmes,

Bonoli, G. and Palier B. 1995. 'Redefining social policy in France: from Bismarck to Beveridge?' paper presented at the Social Policy Association Annual Conference, Sheffield Hallam University.

Braun, V and Clarke, V., 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), pp.77-101.

Brokensha, D.W., Warren, D.M and Werner, O., 1980. *Indigenous knowledge systems and development*. University Press of America.

Botes, and Van Rensburg, 2000. Community participation in development: Nine plagues and twelve commandments. *Community Development Journal: An International Forum.*

Brandon, P. R and Fukunaya, L. L. 2014. The state of the empirical research literature on stakeholder involvement in program evaluation. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 35, 26-44.

Brannen, J. 2005. Mixed Methods Research: A Discussion Paper, NCRM/005, ESRC National Centre for Research Methods, http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/89/1/MethodsReviewPaperNCRM-005.pdf (Accessed on 16/09/2017).

Brace, I. 2018. *Questionnaire Design: How to Plan, Structure and Write Survey Material for Effective Market Research*, Kogan Page.

Bracken, S. 2012. Discussing the importance of ontology and epistemology awareness in practitioner research. *Worcester Journal of Learning and Teaching, Issue 4.*

Brillantes, A. Jr., 2007. 'Civic Participation on Local Governance in the Philippines: Focus on Sub-national budgeting and Planning', in: Shah, A. 2007. *Public Sector Governance and Accountability Series: Participatory Budgeting*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank. pp. 49-65.

Brits, N.M., Meiring, D., and Becker, J.R. 2013. Investigating the construct validity of a development assessment centre. *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology*, 39(1), Art. #1092, 11 pages. http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/sajip.v39i1.1092.

Brobbey, P. 2010. Theories of social development. University of Ghana: Department of sociology.

Bryman, A. 2012. *Social Research Methods*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brukum, N. J. K. (1998). Studied neglect or lack of resources? The socio-economic underdevelopment of northern Ghana under British colonial rule. *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, 2, 117-131.

Burns, J., Hull, G., Lefko-Everett K. and Njozela, L., 2018. Defining social cohesion. Cape Town: SALDRU, UCT. *SALDRU Working Paper Number 216*.

Calfat, G and Rivas, A. (2008). Fragmentation, income, gender and poverty linkages: the case of the maquila industry in Guatemala. https://www. ideas.repec.org/p/iob/wpaper/ 2008002.html. (Accessed on 17/04/2018).

Carpenter, M. 2009. The capabilities approach and critical social policy: Lessons from the majority world. *Critical Social Policy*, 29, 3, pp 351-373.

Chabal, P and Daloz, J. 1999. *Africa works: Disorder as political instrument*. Indiana University Press.

Chad, P and Jensen, O. 2018. Approaches to combining induction and deduction in one research study. *Southern Cross University*, p.1-9.

Chambers, R and Conway, G. 1992. *Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical concepts of the 21st Century*. Brighton: Institute of development studies: University of Sussex).

Chambers, R. 1993. Challenging the professions: frontiers for rural development. Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd (ITP).

Chambers, R. 1994. The origins and practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal, World Development, Vol.22, No. 7, pp. 953-969.

Chambers, R. 1995. Paradigm Shifts and the Practice of Participatory Research and Development. *Power and Participatory Development: Theory and Practice*. ed. Nici Nelson and Susan Wright. London, UK: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Chambers, R. 1983. *Rural development putting the last first*. New York. Longman scientific and technical Press.

Chamunogwa, A, R. 2012. Political Economy Analysis of Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe. United Kingdom. University of Sussex (Unpublished master's dissertation).

Cheru. F. 2009. Development in Africa: The Imperial Project Versus the National Project and the Need for Policy Space. *Review of African Political Economy*, 36:120, 275-278.

Chibwana, M. W. T. 2016. "Social Policy Outcomes of Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP): A Case Study of Kwekwe District." Doctoral Thesis, Pretoria: University of South Africa (UNISA).

Chingozha, T and Von Fintel, D. 2017. *Motivation, Risks and Class Effects of Land Policy in a Colony: Lessons from Southern Rhodesia*. South Africa. Stellenbosch University.

Chinsinga, B., 2014. The Political Economy of Agricultural Policy Processes in Malawi: A Case Study of the Fertilizer Programme Subsidy. pp.1–11.

Choy, L, T. 2014. The strengths and weaknesses of research methodology: Comparison and complimentary between qualitative and quantitative approaches. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)* Volume 19, Issue 4, Ver. III, 99-104.

Cernea, M. M. ed. 1985. *Putting people first: Sociological variables in rural development*. Oxford University Press.

Clark, J and Carney, D. 2008. ESRC Research Seminar Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches – What have we learned? (available at: http://www.eldis.org/go/topics/dossier/livelihoods-connectandid-41798andtype-Document).

Cleaver, F. 2001. Institutions, Agency and the Limitations of Participatory Approaches to Development. in *Participation: The New Tyranny*? ed. Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari. (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2001).

Corbin, J and Strauss, A., 2008. Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory.

Cook, B and Kothari, U. 2001. Participation the New Tyranny? ed. Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari. New York, NY: Zed Books, 2001.

Cousins, B and Scoones, I. 2009. 'Contested paradigms of 'viability' in redistributive land reform: perspectives from southern Africa'. Working paper for Livelihoods after Land Reform Project. PLAAS: University of Western Cape.

Creswell, J. W. 2018. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions* (4th ed.). California: Sage.

Creswell, J. W., and Creswell, J. D. 2018. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and Mixed methods approaches* (5th ed.). Los Angeles: Sage.

Cooke, E., Hague, S and McKay, A., 2016. The Ghana poverty and inequality report: Using the 6th Ghana living standards survey. University of Sussex.

Caddy, J. 2001. Why Citizens are Central to Good Governance: Participatory Government, Consultation and Transparency are Today's Public Policy Buzzwords. it is time they became more than that. OECD Observer, 59(2). Retrieved from: <http:www.oecdobserver.org/news/ >.

Cullen, A. E and Coryn, C. L. S. 2011. Forms and functions of participatory evaluation in international development: A review of empirical and theoretical literature. *Journal of MultiDisciplinary Evaluation, 7,* 32-47.

Dean, H. 2009. Critiquing capabilities: the distractions of a beguiling concept. *Critical social policy*, 29(2): 261-273.

Diener, E., Tay, L. and Oishi, S. 2013. Rising Income and the Subjective Well-Being of Nations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 104(2): 267–276.

Dresner, T.M. 2013. *Sustainable development and the issue of water in the Kagera region of Tanzania*. University of the Incarnate Word.

Davies, S. 2016. *Adaptable livelihoods: Coping with food insecurity in the Malian Sahel*. Springer.

Dengerink, J.D. 2013. Improving livelihoods with private sustainability standards: measuring the development impact of the UTZ Certified certification scheme among Ghanaian cocoa farmers. M.A Dissertation. Utrecht University.

Dinko, H, D. 2017. Theory and practice: Changing faces of rural development policy in Ghana from 1957-2007. *African Journal of Agricultural Economics and Rural Development*, 5 (3): 539-546.

Diao, X. 2018. Economic importance of agriculture for sustainable development and poverty reduction: Findings from a case study of Ghana. Global forum of agriculture 29-30 November 2019, Paris.

Diao, X., Kweka, J and McMillan, M., 2016. Economic transformation in Africa from the bottom up: Evidence from Tanzania (No. w22889). National Bureau of Economic Research.

Diener, E., Tay, L. and Oishi, S. (2013). Rising Income and the Subjective Well-Being of Nations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 104(2): 267–276.

Díez, M.A., Etxano, I. and Garmendia, E., 2015. Evaluating participatory processes in conservation policy and governance: lessons from a Natura 2000 pilot case study. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 25(2): 125-138.

Dorosh, P., Wang, H., You, L. and Schmidt, E. 2011. Road Connectivity and its Impact on Crop Production. *Agricultural Economics*, 43 (1): 89–103.

Dzvimbo, A, M., Machokoto, W., and Mashizha, T, M. 2020. Perpetual 'outcast'? Women's role in agricultural development: a case study of Sanyati district, Zimbabwe. *International Journal of All Research Writings*, 1(10): 147-155.

Easterly, W. 2013. The tyranny of experts: Economists, dictators, and the forgotten rights of the poor. New York: Basic Books.

Edelenbos, J and Klijn, E.H. 2005. Managing stakeholder involvement in decision making: A comparative analysis of six interactive processes in the Netherlands. *Journal of public administration research and theory*, 16(3): 417-446.

Energy Commission Ghana 2013. *National Energy Statistics (2000-2012*). Accra, Ghana

Essia, U and Okoi, E, I. 2013. Marxist political economy and the crisis of relevance in contemporary world. *International journal of sustainable development and world policy*, 2(5):59-76. http://www.pakinsight.com/journals/IJSDWP.htm.

Evans, B, C, Coon, D, W and Ume, E. 2011. Use of Theoretical Frameworks as a Pragmatic Guide for Mixed Methods Studies: A Methodological Necessity? *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 5*(4): 276-292, http://mmr.sagepub.com/content/5/4/276.refs.html (Accessed on 17/08/2016).

Escobar, Arturo. 1995. *Encountering development: the making and unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Escobar, A. 2004. Beyond the Third World: Imperial Globality, Global Coloniality and Anti-Globalisation Social Movements. *Third World Quarterly, Taylor and Francis Ltd., 25*:1: 207-230. Accessed 06/04/2019, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993785

Escobar, A. 2007. 'Post-development' as concept and social practice.' *Exploring Postdevelopment: Theory and practice, problems and perspectives*. Ed. Aram Ziaim (New York, NY: Routledge, 18-31

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Polity Press, Cambridge.

Esping-Andersen, G. 2001. 'Social Welfare Policy: Comparisons', In Smelser, N.J. Fisher, AA and Foreit, JR. (2002). *Designing HIV/AIDS intervention studies – An operations research handbook*. Washington DC: Horizons Programme, Populations Council.

Eyolf, J.-L and Mvula, P. 2008. Security for many or surplus for the few? Customary tenure and social differentiation in Southern Malawi. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 35(1): 175–190.

Fanon, F. 1963. *The wretched of the Earth*. Middlesex: Penguin.

Farooq, M. B., and de Villiers, C. 2017. Telephonic qualitative research interviews: when to consider them and how to do them. *Meditari Accountancy Research*, *25*(2), 291–316. https://doi.org/10.1108/MEDAR-10-2016-0083.

FAO. 2012. Gender Inequalities in Rural Employment in Ghana an Overview. Retrieved from http://www.fao.org/docrep/016/ap090e/ap090e00.pdf (Accessed 17/04/2019).

Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO). 1996. Rapid rural appraisal, participatory rural appraisal and aquaculture. FAO FISHERIES TECHNICAL PAPER 358.

Ferrazzi, G., 2006. Ghana Local Government Act 1993. A Comparative Analysis in the Context of the Review of the Act: A Technical Report for the Local Governance and Poverty Reduction Support Programme (MLGRDE/GTZ).

Foley, P and Martin, S., 2000. A new deal for the community? Public participation in regeneration and local service delivery. *Policy and Politics*, *28*(4): 479-492.

Freire, P. 1970. Pedagogy of the Oppressed, trans. by M. B. Ramos (1970; repr., New York, NY: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc., 2000).

Frels, R, K., Onwuegbuzie, A, J., Leech, N, L and Collins, M, T, K. 2014. Pedagogical Strategies Used by Selected Leading Mixed Methodologists in Mixed Research Courses. *The Journal of Effective Teaching, 14(2)*: 5-34

Garba, A. (2007). 'An Assessment of Nationalist, Keynesian and Neoliberal Paradigms.' In

Garvi-Bode, R and Garvi, J. 2013. Hanza (Boscia senegalensis, Capparaceae). Crops for the Future. http://www.cropsforthefuture.org/crop-of-the-weekarchive/hanza-boscia-senegalensis-capparaceae/. (Accessed 10/07/2019).

Gatune, J. 2016. "Can Agriculture Be the Engine for Economic Transformation and Inclusive Development: Insights from 20 Value Chains Studies in 5 countries" ACET Presentation at Inclusive Development Conference, International Conference Centre May 10, 2016.

Gaventa, J., and G. Barrett. 2012. Mapping the Outcomes of Citizen Engagement, World Development, 40(12); 2399–2410.

Government of Ghana. 2014. "Economic and Financial Policies for the Medium-Term", Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Accra

Government of Ghana. 2018a. "The Coordinated Programme of Economic and Social Development Policies (2017-24)" https://s3-us-west-2.amazonaws.com/new-ndpcstatic/CACHES/PUBLICATIONS/2018/04/11/Coordinate+ProgrammeFinal+(November+11,+2017)+cover.pdf.

Government of Ghana 2018b. "2018 Electricity Supply Plan for the Ghana Power System" http://www.gridcogh.com/media/photos/forms/supplyplan/2018_Electricity_Supply_Plan.pdf.

Gravetter, F, J and Forzao, B. 2016. *Research methods for behavioural sciences*. 5th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth: Cengage Learning.

Guijt, I. 2014. Participatory Approaches, Methodological Briefs: Impact Evaluation 5, UNICEF Office of Research, Florence.

Gumede, V. 2015. Exploring the Role of Thought Leadership, Thought Liberation and Critical Consciousness for Africa's Development. *Africa Development*, 40(4).

Gumede V. 2018. Social policy for inclusive development in Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 39:1, 122-139, DOI: 10.1080/01436597.2017.1374834.

Gumede, V. 2019. 'Rethinking and Reclaiming Development in Africa'. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Mpofu, B. *Rethinking and unthinking development: Perspectives on inequality and poverty in South Africa and Zimbabwe*. New York: Berghahn books.

Gumede, T.K. & Nzama, A.T. 2020. Enhancing Community Participation in Ecotourism through a Local Community Participation Improvement Model. African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure, 9(5):1252-1272. DOI: https://doi.org/10.46222/ajhtl.19770720-82

Gupta, J., Pouw, N. R., and Ros-Tonen, M. A. 2017. Towards an elaborated theory of inclusive development. *European Journal of Development Research*, 27, 541559.

Hagenaars, A.J., 2017. The definition and measurement of poverty. *Economic Inequality and Poverty: International Perspectives* (pp. 148-170). Routledge.

Hall, C, M and Frost, W. 2009. 'The Making of the National Parks Concept'. In Frost, W & Hall, C, M. (eds). *Tourism and National Parks, International Perspectives on Development, Histories and Change.* New York: Routledge.

Hanlon, J., Barrientos, A. and Hulme, D. (2010). *Just Give Money to the Poor: The Development Revolution from the Global South*. Boulder, CO: Kumarian Press.

Holland, J. 2013. (ed.). Who Counts? The Power of Participatory Statistics, Practical Action Publishing, UK, 2013. Institute of Development Studies, "Learn and Empower"

http://www.participatorymethods.org/task/learn-and-empower (Accessed 17/04/2019).

Hart, T and Aliber, M. 2012. *Inequalities in agricultural support for women in South Africa* PLAAS: University of the Western Cape.

Houssou, N., P. Ohene Aboagye, and S. Kolavalli. 2016. "Meeting Ghanaian farmers' demand for a full range of mechanization services" IFPRI/GSSP Policy Note

Iggers, G.G., 2012. The Marxist tradition of historical writing in the west: A Retrospect from the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century. Department of Political Economy of Gyeongsang National University.

ILO (2000). *World Labour Report 2000: Income security and social protection in a changing world*. Geneva, Switzerland.

Jackson, J. 2001. *Introduction to Africa civilisations*. Citadel Press.

Jacobson, M., Azeam, T., and Baez, J. G. 2013. The nature and frequency of inclusion of people with disabilities in program evaluation. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 34, 2344.

Johnson, R.B., Onwuegbuzie, A.J and Turner, L.A. 2007. Toward a Definition of Mixed Methods Research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research,* Volume.1 Number.2: 112-133.

Johnson, R.B and Onwuegbuzie, A.J 2004. Mixed Methods Research: A paradigm whose time has come. *Educational Researcher,* Volume. 33 Number.7: 14-26 http://edr.sagepub.com/content/33/7/14.full.pdf+html (Accessed on 29 /08/2016).

Kamstra, J and Knippenberg, L. 2014. Promoting Democracy in Ghana: Exploring the Democratic roles of Donor-Sponsored Non-Governmental Organizations. (Democratization Vol. 21 Issue 4) From: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/.U4o9HxwT_n0.

Killick, T. 2010. *Development Economics in Action: A Study of Economic Policies in Ghana* (2nd Edition). London: Routledge.

King, J. A., and Stevahn, L. A. 2012. *Interactive evaluation practice. Mastering the interpersonal dynamics of program evaluation*. London, England: Sage.

Knoll, A and Sherriff, A. 2017. Making Waves: Implications of the irregular migration and refugee situation on Official Development Assistance spending and practices in Europe. A study of recent developments in EU institutions, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden. (Rapport 2017:01). Stockholm: EBA

Kothari, U. 2001. "Power, Knowledge and Social Control in Participatory Development. In *Participation the New Tyranny*? Cooke, B and Kothari, U. (Eds.) New York, NY: Zed Books.

Koopmans, C.J., van veluw1, K. and Wijnands, F, G. 2014. Participatory development as a way to innovations: Five key elements for success. Proceedings of the 4th ISOFAR Scientific Conference. 'Building Organic Bridges', at the Organic World Congress 2014, 13-15 Oct., Istanbul, Turkey.

Kim, S. P. 2011. 'Civic engagement, politics and policy in South Korea: significant developments but a considerable way to go', Public Administration and Development, vol. 31, no.2

Kobani, D., 2014. Grassroots Perception and Participation in Community Development Programs in Etche Local Government Area. *Development*, *4*(12).

Kothari, C.R., 2004. *Research methodology: Methods and techniques*. New Age International.

Krippendorff, K. 2019. *Content analysis: an introduction to its methodology*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage (401.4 KRIP).

Kumekpor, T. K. B., 2002. Research Methods and Techniques of social research. Son Life Printing Press and service, Adenta, Accra Ghana, pp 99-109.

Laird, S. E. 2011. Social work with children and families in Ghana: Negotiating tradition and modernity. Child and Family Social Work, 16(4), 434-443. doi:10.1111/j.13652206.2011.00758.x

Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority. (2015) Spatial Development Framework for the Northern Savannah Ecological Zone (2015-2035) Volume I: Situational Analysis and Major Issues

Latouche, S. 1993. *In the Wake of the Affluent Society: An Exploration of Post-development*. London: Zed Books.

Leavy, P. 2017. *Research design: Quantitative, qualitative, mixed methods, arts-based, and community-based participatory research approaches*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Leedy, P, D and Ormrod, J, E. 2015. *Practical research: Planning and Design.* 11th ed. Pearson Education Limited: United Kingdom.

Liamputtong, P. 2013. *Qualitative Research*. 2nd edition. London. SAGE Publishers.

Long, C. 2001. Participation of the poor in development initiatives: Taking their rightful place. London: Earthscan Publications Ltd.

Lushaba, L.S. 2006. 'Development as Modernity, Modernity as Development', African Studies Centre Working Paper 69/2006. Leiden: ASC.

Mah, A., 2009. Moral judgements and employment policies in Birmingham (1870-1914): multiplying the categories and treatments of the "undeserving", in: International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, 29, 11/12, pp 575–586.

Mansuri, G and Rao, V. 2012. Localizing Development: Does Participation Work? A World Bank Policy Research Report, World Bank, Washington DC.

Marshall, T. H. 1965. *Social Policy*. Hutchinson, London.

Marshall, C and Rossman, G.B. 2011. *Designing Qualitative Research*. 5th ed. Los Angeles: Sage.

Mawowa, S. 2013. Political Economy of Crisis, Mining and Accumulation in Zimbabwe: Evidence from the Chegutu Mhondoro Area. University of KwaZulu-Natal: Durban (Unpublished PhD thesis).

Mazwi, F., Muchetu, R, G., and Chibwana, M. 2017. Land, agrarian reform in Zimbabwe viewed from a transformative social policy perspective. *Africanus Journal of Development Studies,* 47 (1): 1-17. https://upjournals.co.za/index.php/Africanus/index .

Merriam, S.B. and Grenier, R.S. (2019). *Qualitative research in practice: Examples for discussion and analysis.* 2nd edition. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass (eBook collection A1996972).

Makofane, M and Gray, M., 2014. Factors hindering the successful outcome of rural community projects. *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 43*(3).

Manful, E., and Manful, S. E. 2014. Child welfare in Ghana: The relevance of children's rights in practice. *Journal of Social Work*, 14(3), 313-328. doi:10.1177/1468017313477756.

Marens, R. 2009. 'It's not just for communists any more: Marxian Political economy and organization theory.' (pp.92-117). In P.S. Adler. (Ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Sociology and Organization Studies: Classical Foundations*. Oxford University Press: New York.

Mattick, K., Johnston, J. and de la Croix, A. (2018). How to… write a good research question. *The clinical teacher*, 15(2): 104-108.

McKim, C, A. 2017. The Value of Mixed Methods Research: A Mixed Methods Study. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research,* 11(2) 202–222.

McKay, A., Pirttilä, J. and Tarp, F., 2015. Ghana: Poverty reduction over thirty years. UNU-WIDER Working Paper 2015(052) Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

McMillan, J.H and Schumacher, S. 2010. *Research in Education: Evidence-Based Inquiry.*7th ed. Boston: Pearson Education.

Mertens, D.M. 2005. *Research methods in education and psychology: Integrating diversity with quantitative and qualitative approaches*. (2nd Ed.) Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Mejos, D.E.A., 2007. Against Alienation; Karol Wojtyla's Theory of Participation. *KRITIKE,* 1(1): 71-85.

Midgley, J. 1993. Ideological roots of social development strategies. *Social development issues,* 15(1), 1-13.

Midgley, J. (1994). Defining social development: Historical trends and conceptual formulations. *Social Development Issues,* 16(3), 3-19.

Midgley, J. 1995. *Social development: The developmental perspective in social welfare*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Miquel J and Lopez M. 2011. The rewards of a qualitative approach to life-course research. The example of effects of social protection policies on career paths. *Forum in Qualitative Social Research*, 12, 3.

Milward, B. 2000. *Marxian Political Economy: Theory, History and Contemporary Relevance.* London: Macmillan.

Ministry of Health. 2014. *Holistic Assessment of the Health Sector Programme of Work, 2013*. Accra: Government of Ghana.

Ministry of Lands and Forestry. 1999. *National Land Policy*. Government of Ghana

Ministry of Youth and Sports. (2010). *National Youth Policy of Ghana: Towards an Empowered Youth, Impacting Positively on National Development*. Government of Ghana

Mkandawire, T. 2001. Social Policy and Development Programme. Paper Number 7, June

United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva, Switzerland.

Mkandawire, T. (ed). 2004. *Social Policy in a Development Context*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Mkandawire, T. 2005. "African intellectuals and nationalism." (pp. 10-55). In: African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development. Africa in the new millennium. Zed Books in association with CODESRIA Books, London, UK, pp. 10-55. ISBN 9781842776209.

Mkandawire, T. 2006. *Transformative Social Policy: Lessons from UNRISD Research*. UNRISD Research and Policy Brief 5, Geneva: UNRISD.

Mkandawire, T. 2007. 'Good governance': The itinerary of an idea. *Development in Practice*, 17(4–5): 679–681.

Mkandawire, T. 2011. Running while others walk: Knowledge and the challenge of Africa's development, Revised version of the paper delivered as Inaugural Lecture for Chair, African Development at the London School of Economics on 27 April 2010, Africa Development, 36(2): 1–36.

Mkodzongi, G. 2013. Fast tracking land reform and rural livelihoods in Mashonaland west province of Zimbabwe: opportunities and constraints, 2000-2013. The University of Edinburgh (Unpublished PhD thesis).

Moss, T and Majerowicz, S. 2012. No longer poor: Ghana's new income status and implications of graduation from IDA. CGD Working Paper 300. Washington D.C.: Center for Global Development. http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/1426321. (Retrieved November 6, 2020).

Morse, M and McNamara, S. 2013. Sustainable livelihoods approach. A critic of theory and practice. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/278405138. (Accessed 14/10/2018).

Moser, C.O.N. 1998. The asset vulnerability framework: reassessing urban poverty reduction strategies. *World Development* 26: 1-19.

Moyo, S. 2016. Family farming in sub-Saharan Africa: Its contribution to agriculture, food security and rural development. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the United Nations Development Programme. Working paper number 150.

Moyo, S. 2018. Third World Legacies: Debating the African Land Question with Archie Mafeje. *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy* 7(2) 1–23.

Moyo, S and Kirkby J. 2001. 'Environmental Security, Livelihoods and Entitlements.' In Neil Middleton, Phil O'Keefe and Rob Visser (Eds.). *Negotiating Poverty: New Directions, Renewed Debate*. Pluto Press.

Mugandani, M, W., Makarau, A and Chipindu, B. 2012. Re-classification of agro-ecological regions of Zimbabwe in conformity with climate variability and change. *African Crop Science Journal, Vol. 20, Issue Supplement s2, pp. 361 – 369.*

Murisa, T., 2007. *Social Organisation and Agency in the Newly Resettled Areas of Zimbabwe: The Case of Zvimba District.* Monograph, Harare: AIAS Monograph Series.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. 2012. Coloniality of Power in Development Studies and the Impact of Global Imperial Designs on Africa. Inaugural Professorial Lecture, University of South Africa, 16, October.

Myrdal, G. (1984). 'International Inequality and Foreign Aid in Retrospect'. In G. Meier and D. Seers (eds), Pioneers in Development. Washington, DC: Oxford University Press.

Ndhlovu, E. (2018). Relevance of Sustainable Livelihood Approach in Zimbabwe's Land Reform Programme. *Africa Insight,* 47(4): 72-87.

Ndhlovu, E. 2017. An analysis of household livelihoods under the fast track land reform programme in Chiredzi, Zimbabwe (MA dissertation) University of South Africa.

Nhantumbo, E and Salomao, A. 2010. Bio fuels, land access and rural livelihoods in Mozambique, IIED.

Nkrumah, K. 1968. *Dark Days in Ghana*. Zed Books: Accra.

Nowell, B. and Albrecht, K. 2019. A reviewer's guide to qualitative rigor, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory,* 29(2): 328-363.

Obenland, W. (2014). Corporate influence through the g8 new alliance for food security and nutrition in Africa. Misereor: Bischöfliches Hilfswerk MISEREOR e.V.

Office of the Planning Commission. 1964. Seven-year plan for national reconstruction and development 1963/64-1969/70.

O'Leary, Z. 2004. *The essential guide to doing research*. London: Sage.

Olukoshi, B. 2011. 'Democratic Governance and Accountability in Africa: In search of a Workable Framework', Discussion paper, no. *4,* Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute.

O'Neil, K. (2019). How qualitative data analysis happens: Moving beyond "themes emerged". *Forum: Qualitative Social Research,* 20(3): 1-8.

Oteng-Ababio, M., Mariwah, S and Kusi, L. 2017. Is the underdevelopment of northern Ghana a case of environmental determinism or governance crisis? *Ghana Journal of Geography* 9(2): 5-39.

Owusu, G and Afutu-Kotey, R.L., 2010. Poor urban communities and municipal interface in Ghana: A case study of Accra and Sekondi-Takoradi metropolis. *African Studies Quarterly, 12*(1).

Ostlund, U., Kidd, L, Wengstrom, Y and Rowa-Dewar, N. 2011. Combining qualitative and quantitative research within mixed method research designs: A methodological review. *International Journal of Nursing Studies* 48: 369–383.

Ostry, J D., Berg, A and Tsangarides, C.G., 2014. Redistribution, Inequality, and Growth, IMF Staff Discussion Note 14/02.

Parmar, A. 2011. The Cultural Matrix of Development and Change,' in *The Critical Development Studies Handbook: Tools for Change*. ed. Henry Veltmeyer, (Black Point, NS, Canada: Fernwood Publishing.

Pham, T., 2018. The Capability Approach and Evaluation of Community-Driven Development Programs. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 19(2), pp.166-180.

Potgieter, F.J., Van der Walt, J.L. and Wolhuter, C.C., 2016. Using the capabilities approach for strengthening the sense of professionalism of teachers deeming themselves surveilled through a Panopticon. *The Independent Journal of Teaching and Learning*, 11(1), pp.17-29.

Parfitt, T. 2004. "The ambiguity of participation: a qualified defence of participatory 194 development," Third World Quarterly 25(3): pp. 537-556.

Pouw, N. R. M., and Janvier, K. 2014. Missing the very poor with development interventions: Results from the PADev methodology in Burkina Faso. Leiden, the Netherlands: African Studies Centre, Leiden University.

Polanyi, K. 1946. *The Great Transformation: the Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Prasad, B.D. 2019. Qualitative content analysis: Why is it still a path less taken? *Qualitative social research*, 20(3): 1-21.

Rippin, N., 2016. Multidimensional poverty in Germany: a capability approach. *Forum for Social Economics* (Vol. 45, No. 2-3, pp. 230-255). Routledge.

Rist, G. 2002. The history of development: from western origins to global faith. Zed books.

Rist, G. 2007. Development as a buzzword. Development in practice, 17(4-5), 485-491.

Robeyns, I., 2011. The capability approach. *Handbook of economics and ethics*, *39*.

Rose, S., Spinks, N and Canhoto, I, A. 2015. Quantitative content analysis. *Management Research: Applying the Principles*, 1-9.

Ross, A and Onwuegbuzie, J, A. 2012. Prevalence of Mixed Methods Research in Mathematics Education. *The Mathematics Educator*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 84–113

Sachs, J. 2013. Tackling Extreme Rural Poverty in Northern Ghana. Global Motherhood, p1-2.

Sachs, J., Mcarthur, J., Schmidt-traub, G., Kruk, M., Bahadur, c., Faye, M and Mccord, G., 2004. Ending Africa's poverty trap. *Economic studies program, the Brookings institution*, 35(1), pp. 117-240.

Saldana, J. 2015. *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. 3rd Ed. London: Sage Publications.

Saravia, S, L., Matus, S., Louwagie, G., Santini, F., Guri, G., Lazdinis, M., Ilić, B and Paloma, S, G. 2013. Challenges to participatory development in a rural cross-border area of the Western Balkans. *Economics of Agriculture* (60) 3 (623-636).

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. 2016. *Research methods for business students*. 7th ed. Pearson education: London.

Schulze, S. 2003. Views on the combination of quantitative and qualitative research approaches, *Progression*, Volume. 25. Number.2: 8-20: University of South Africa http://www.unisa.ac.za/contents/faculties/service_dept/bld/progressio/docs/schulze.pdf (Accessed on 18/07/2019).

Sekaran, U and Bougie, R. 2014. *Research methods for business.* 6th ed. Chennai: Wiley.

Sen, A. K. 1983. Development: Which Way Now?, Economic Journal, 93, 745n 62.
Scoones, I., 2009. Livelihoods perspectives and rural development. The Journal of Peasant Studies, 36(1), pp.171-196.

Sen, A. (1992). *The political economy of targeting*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Sen, A. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Scoones, I. 2009. Livelihoods perspectives and rural development. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 36:1, 171-196, DOI: 10.1080/03066150902820503.

Scoones, I., Morongwe, N., Mavedzenge, B., Murimbarimba, F., and Mahenehene, J. 2015. Zimbabwe's Land Reform: New Political Dynamics in the Countryside. *Review of African Political Economy*, 42(144):190-205.

Sekaran, U and Bougie, R. 2014. *Research methods for business.* 6th ed. Chennai: Wiley.

Sheppard, V. 2021. *Research Methods for the Social Sciences: An Introduction*. Saylor Academy.

Shivji, G, I. 2017. The Concept of the Working People. *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy* 6(1) 1–13.

Shivji, G, I. 2019. Sam Moyo and Samir Amin on the peasant question. *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy* 1–16. DOI: 10.1177/2277976019845737.

Steel, G and van Lindert, P. 2017. Rural livelihood transformations and local development in Cameroon, Ghana and Tanzania. IFAD: Working Paper

Songsore, J. 2011. Special Development Zones in Support of Ghana's Shared Growth and Development Agenda, Concept Note Prepared for the NDPC: Accra.

Speer, J. 2012. Participatory Governance Reform: A Good Strategy for Increasing Government Responsiveness and Improving Public Services? World Development, Vol. 40 No. 12, pp. 2379–2398.

Sulle, E and Smalley, R. 2015. 'The State and foreign capital in agricultural commercialization in Tanzania: The case of Kilombero Sugar Company.' In Hall, R., Scoones, I. and Tsikata, D. (Eds.), 2015. *Africa's land rush: Implications for rural livelihoods and agrarian change*. Oxford: James Currey.

Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform (2015). "Sustainable Development Goals". Available at https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdgs.

Sztandar-Sztanderska, K., 2009. Activation of the unemployed in Poland: from policy design to policy implementation. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 29, 11/12, pp 624-636.

Stacks, D.W., Salwen, M.B. and Eichhorn, K.C. 2019. *An integrated approach to communication theory and research*. 3rd edition. (302.20721 ANIN).

Stiglitz, J., Sen, A and Fitoussi, J.P., 2009. The measurement of economic performance and social progress revisited. *Reflections and overview. Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress, Paris*.

Tandon, Y. 2015. 'Development is Resistance', *Africa Development* XL (3): 139–59.

Temesgen, S and Amadou, D. 2018. *Ghana's request for IMF assistance*. IMF.

Thabrew, L., Wiek, A. and Ries, R., 2009. Environmental decision making in multi-stakeholder contexts: applicability of life cycle thinking in development planning and implementation. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 17(1), pp.67-76.

Tillman, J.G., Clemence, A.J and Stevens, J.L. 2011. Mixed Methods Research Design for Pragmatic Psychoanalytic Studies. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, Volume.59. Number.5: 1023-1040 http://apa.sagepub.com/content/59/5/1023.refs.html (Accessed on 14/10/2016).

Titmuss, R. (1974). *Social Policy*. Allen and Unwin: London.

Toner, A. 2002. "Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches: Can they transform development?" BCID Research Paper Number. 2, Bradford Center for International Development.

Tsikata, D. and Seini, W. 2004. *Identities, Inequalities and Conflicts in Ghana*. University of Oxford, UK

United Nations, (UN), 2005. Participatory Planning and Budgeting at the Sub-National Level New York: Department of Economic and Social Affairs and Eastern Regional Organization for Public Administration.

UNDP. 2013. *Human Development Report 2013: The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World*. New York: United Nations Development Programme.

UNDP. 2018. Northern Ghana Human Development Report 2018: Bridging the Poverty Gap and Fostering Socio-economic Transformation and Empowerment to Contribute to Human Development for All. UNDP: Ghana

United Nations. 2012. Post-2015 UN Development Framework'. UN Conference. New York, NY: Author.

United Nations. 2013. The role of philanthropic organizations in the post-2015 setting. UN Workshop. New York, NY: Author.

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2019). *Overall total population - World population prospects: The 2019 Revision*. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

UNDP 2010. Human Development Report 2010 20th Anniversary Edition, The Real Wealth of Nations: Pathways to Human Development. Published for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Vlaminck, Z. 2012. The impact of Participatory Assessment of Development (PADev) on local change processes in East Mamprusi District Northern Ghana. ASC Infosheet.21, African Studies Centre, Leiden.

Wani, R, A and Sharma, D, K. 2017. Relevance of Marxian theory and economic development in underdeveloped countries - with special reference to India. *International Journal of Academic Research and Development*, 2(5):245-266.

Weger, K, M. 2012. The Role of NGOs in Development Initiatives: An Analysis of Effective Participation and Representation in Ghana. University of Calgary: Calgary: Department of Political Science, Faculty of Graduate Studies, 2012.

Werner W and Odendaal, W. 2010. 'Resettlement: How viable is the small-scale farming model?' Policy Brief 1, Livelihoods after Land Reform. Available at http://www.lalr.org.za.

World Food Programme (2012). *Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis, Ghana 2012: Focus on Northern Ghana* (Rome).

World Bank. 2002. Participation in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers: A Retrospective Study. Washington: The Participation and Civic Engagement Group, Social Development Department.

World Bank. 2005. Concept Note: Rethinking Social Policy. World Bank Conference in Arusha, Tanzania, December 12-15, 2005. Available at: http://worldbank.org/website/ external/topics (Accessed: 12/06/2018).

World Bank (2015). Cameroon overview. Available at: http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/cameroon/overview (Accessed: 10/11/2018).

World Bank. 2017. "Implementation Completion and Results Report (Tf-13140) on a Global Partnership for Education Fund Grant in the Amount of US $75.5 Million to the Republic of Ghana for a Ghana Partnership for Education Grant Project. February 28, 2017 http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/781501489074241771/pdf/ICR-MainDocument-P129381-2017-02-27-19-23-002-03062017.pdf.

World Bank. 2019. Health population and population statistics: Databank. World Bank. www.databank.worldbank.org.

World Health Organization. 2012. World Health Statistics: A Snapshot of Global Health, Geneva: World Health Organization.

Wood, T, N. 2013. Agricultural Development in the Northern Savannah of Ghana. Doctoral Documents from Doctor of Plant Health Program. 1.http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/planthealthdoc/1World bank, 2011. *Africa Development Indicators 2011*. Washington D.C.: World Bank.

Yaro, J and Tsikata, D. 2013. Savannah fires and local resistance to transnational land deals the case of organic mango farming in Dipale, northern Ghana. African Geographical Review, 32(1), pp.72–87.

Yeboah, C. 2013. Social Protection for Smallholder Farmers in Ghana. M.A Dissertation. Ruhr University Bochum.

Yi, I., and Mkandawire, T. 2014. *Learning from the South Korean developmental success: Effective developmental cooperation and synergistic institutions and policies*. Springer.

Zamchiya, P. 2013. The role of politics and state practices in shaping rural differentiation: A study of resettled small-scale farmers in south-eastern Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *39*(4), 937–953.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM

My name is **BEATRICE ZACHIA OWUSU**, a student conducting research in fulfilment of a doctoral degree at the University of South Africa. My research topic is entitled: "*People's participation as a tool for enhanced rural development in Ghana.*" The research aims to assess and evaluate the participation of the local people in community development projects.

Participation in this research will entail being interviewed and also responding to the questionnaire questions. During your participation, responses will be recorded through the use of a tape recorder but, if one feels uncomfortable and is unwilling to be tape recorded then notes will be taken as a way of recording the information. Participation is also voluntary and nobody will be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to be interviewed or not be interviewed. You also have a choice not to participate or to pull out anytime as long as you feel it is necessary for you to do so. There will be no identifying information, such as your name or Identity number asked for, and as such you will remain anonymous.

If you choose to participate in this study please indicate this by signing this consent form in the space provided below. Both the consent form and the interview sheet will be kept separately and confidential so that there will be no way of identifying who said what in order to ensure anonymity as well as confidentiality. In regards to this, your participation in the study would be greatly appreciated.

Thank you for taking your time reading this letter and your participation will be greatly appreciated.

Kind Regards

BEATRICE ZACHIA OWUSU

Email: **zachia24@yahoo.com**

Tel: **+233 243909712 / +233 202214014**

Cut here…….

Formal Acknowledgement of Consent

I……..…on this day of…….2018/2019, agreed to be interviewed for the above presented study.

Signature……. Date……..

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE: HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

My name is Beatrice Zachia Owusu. I am carrying out a doctoral with Professor Gumede study entitled "*People's participation as a tool for enhanced rural development in Ghana*" at the University of South Africa. I therefore kindly request you to spare approximately 45-90 minutes to respond to the questionnaire. Although your response is very important to me, your participation in this survey is entirely voluntary. Your input and insights are gratefully acknowledged in anticipation.

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

A1 Sex M/ F
A2 Age
A3 Ethnicity
A4 Occupation of household head
A5 Level of education of household head
A6 Level of education of spouse
A7 Duration of household in the community
A8 What is the size of the household?
A9 How many children M/F
A10 How many are employed
A11 Main types of buildings in the homestead

SECTION B: PROJECTS DATA

B1 Which projects are in your community?
B2 Which project are you affiliated with?
B3 What kind of activities is the project all about?

Farming	Manufacturing	Processing	Other	
☐	☐	☐	☐	Specify……

B4 If farming, what types of crops for sale?
B5 What is the method of cultivation used?

Hand	☐
Draught power	☐
Tractor	☐

B6 What is the source of method used for cultivation? (√)

Own	☐
Hired	☐
Work group	☐

If hired, please state how much you paid? ☐

SECTION C: ASSET CREATION

C1 Which of the following equipments does the household have?

Type	Before Project	After Project	Total number
Plough			
Harrow			
Scotch cart			
Wheelbarrow			
Hoe/shovel			
Tractor/Lorry			
Other (specify)			

C2 What non-farming equipment does the household own?

Type	Total
1	
2	
3	
4	

C3 Which of the following does the household have?

Type	Total number
Cattle	
Donkeys	
Sheep	
Goats	
Poultry	
Other (specify)	

SECTION D: INCOME PROFILE

D1 What are your sources of income? (√)
E.1.1. Employment
E.1.2. Remittances from family members
E.1.3. Sale of cash crops
E.1.4. Sale of livestock
E.1.5. Other (specify)

D2 You say that [ ] is your biggest source of income/resources. Has this always been the case or has it changed over time?

D3 If you could access other resources that are currently unavailable to help you make a living, what would they be?

Probing Questions

E3.1 Please name a few of these resources?

E3.2 How would these resources enhance your life?

D4 How is wealth determined on this community?

SECTION E: HOUSEHOLD RESILIENCE

E1 Have the standards of living for the household improved ever since the identified project(s)?

E2 Have you experienced food shortages ever since the project(s)?

Year	Reason
2015	
2016	
2017	
2018	

E3 Since the inception of the project(s) how many of the following have you sold to meet other household needs?

Item	Quantity	Reason
Livestock		
Farming equipment		
Land		
Non-farming equipment (Sewing machines etc)		

E4 Has your household ever received any assistance from Government/ NGO?

Year	Frequency	Programme	Item/Description	Quantity
2015				
2016				
2017				
2018				
2019				

SECTION F: VULNERABILITY CONTEXT

F1 Identify your major challenges with the project you are in?

1
2
3
4

F2 What opportunities do you think you have to improve your livelihoods?

1
2
3
4

F3 Given your present lifestyle, do you feel that you are able to save money and other important resources to build for the future?

F4 Do you feel that your wealth is growing or declining? Why?

F5 Overall, would you say that you are satisfied with your current living situation?

Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
☐	☐	☐	☐

SECTION H: PROGRAMME INVOLVEMENT

H1 Are you satisfied with government consultations before projects?

Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
☐	☐	☐	☐

H2 Do you think the participation of households could make a difference?

Yes	Extremely Yes	No	Extremely No
☐	☐	☐	☐

H3 Explain your response above in your own words.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

INTRODUCTION

My name is Beatrice Zachia Owusu. I am carrying out an academic study entitled "*People's participation as a tool for enhanced rural development in Ghana."* I therefore kindly request you to spare approximately 45-90 minutes to respond to the questionnaire. Although your response is very important to me, your participation in this survey is entirely voluntary. Your input and insights are gratefully acknowledged in anticipation.

SECTION A

1. What nature of rural development programmes are implemented in this region?
2. How are the named programmes in line with the needs of the households of this region?
3. How does the government make households aware of these programmes?
4. Who were the target beneficiaries of these programmes? Who identifies the beneficiaries? What criteria (if any) is used to identify the beneficiaries?
5. With reference to farming, what models are used in the region?
6. Are beneficiaries consulted on the implementation of these programmes?
7. What do you think are the main opportunities and challenges in the implementation and success of rural development programmes?

SECTION B: COMMUNAL LEADERSHIP

1. What are the government or donor projects implemented in your community?
2. Since when have you been having projects of this nature? Why?
3. How are the projects implemented? Why?
4. Are communities consulted in the implementation of these programmes? If not, why?
5. Are the projects beneficiaries to the community? Why do you say so?
6. How would you like to see beneficiaries involved in these projects?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME

APPENDIX D: FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW GUIDE

INTRODUCTION

My name is Beatrice Zachia Owusu. I am carrying out an academic study entitled "*People's participation as a tool for enhanced rural development in* Ghana." I therefore kindly request you to spare approximately 45-90 minutes to respond to the questionnaire. Although your response is very important to me, your participation in this survey is entirely voluntary. Your input and insights are gratefully acknowledged in anticipation.

1. Please tell me your name and how long you have been on this community (Every participant)
2. What project are you involved in?
3. Do you feel you are consulted enough in the programme?
4. In what ways has the programme impacted your household livelihoods?
5. What improvement would you like to see within implemented programmes?
6. What challenges, if any, do you think inhibit livelihoods development in the community?
7. In closing, how can household livelihoods be developed through farming on this farm?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME