

**Institute of  
Social Studies**

**Graduate School of Development Studies**

---

**THE ROLE OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF GHANA AS AN NGO IN  
SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL GHANA:  
A CASE STUDY OF THE GARU AGRICULTURAL STATION**

A Research Paper presented by

**Benzies Isaac Adu-Okoree**

**Ghana**

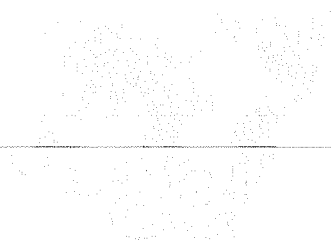
**In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for Obtaining the Degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS IN AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

**Members of the Examining Committee**

**Prof. B. de Gaay Fortman  
Dr. M. Spoor**

**The Hague, December 1996**

Handwritten text at the top left of the page.



Handwritten text centered below the stamp.

Handwritten text in the middle section of the page.

Handwritten text in the lower middle section of the page.

Handwritten text in the lower section of the page.

Handwritten text at the bottom of the page.

---

**This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies; the views stated herein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.**

**Research papers and theses are not made available for outside circulation by the Institute.**

**Enquiries:**

***Postal Address:***

Institute of Social Studies  
P.O. Box 29776  
2502 LT The Hague  
The Netherlands

Telephone -31-70-4 260 460  
Cables SOCINST  
Telex 31491 ISS NL  
Telefax -31-70-4 260 799

***Location:***

Kortenaerkade 12  
2518 AX The Hague  
The Netherlands

Handwritten text, possibly a signature or name, located in the lower right quadrant of the page.

Handwritten text, possibly a date or additional signature, located at the bottom right of the page.

---

### DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the glory of God, who through His grace had brought me so far in life, and to the everlasting memory of my beloved late sister, Comfort Ofosua Okoree, who meant so much to my life. May she rest in peace till we meet on that day with our Heavenly Father.

---

10/10/10

---

## TABLE OF CONTENT

Preface

Acknowledgement

List of Tables

---

Map

List of Figures

Appendix

### CHAPTER ONE

1.0	Introduction and Background to the Study	1
1.1	Objectives of the Study	3
1.2	Relevance of the Study	3
1.3	Research Questions	3
1.4	Hypothesis	4
1.5	Methodology and Limitations	4
1.6	Organization of the Paper	5

### CHAPTER TWO

#### CUTURAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARH AREA

2.0	Demography	7
2.1	History and Culture	8
2.1.1	History and Culture of the Kusaasi	8
2.1.2	History and Culture of the Bimoba	10
2.2	Religious Beliefs of the People	11
2.2.1	Religion of Kusaasi	11
2.2.2	Religion of Bimoba	13
2.3	Socio-Economic Profile of the Area	14
2.4	Presbyterian Church of Ghana (PCG)	19
2.4.1	PCG and Triditional Culture	20
2.4.2	PCG and Socio-Economic Development: a Historical Perspective	21

### CHAPTER THREE

#### ANALYTICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.0	Dynamics of Culture, Religion and Development	24
3.1	Culture and Development	24

3.1.1	Gender differences	26
3.1.2	Culture and Sources of Entitlement	27
3.2	Religion and Development	29
3.3.	The Concept of Participatory Development Practice (PDP)	32
3.3.1	What is PDP?	33
3.3.2	Principles of PDP	34
3.3.3	Actors in PDP	35
3.4	Non-Farm Employment and Income	38
3.4.1	Definitions	38
3.4.2	Reasons for Engaging in Non-Farm Employment	39
3.4.3	Sources of Non-Farm Employment	40

#### CHAPTER FOUR

##### PRESENTATION OF DATA

4.1	History and Development of Garu Agricultural Station( GAS)	45
4.2	GAS since 1987	48
4.3	Development Approach of GAS	53
4.3.1	PDP	54
4.3.2	Non-Farm Activities of GAS	60
4.4	An Assessment of the Impact of GAS	61
4.4.1	Women In Development Programme	62
4.4.2	General Extension Activities	65

#### CHAPTER FIVE

##### CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

5.0	Introduction	67
5.1	Cultural Constraints	67
5.2	Religious Values	70
5.3	Conclusions	74



## PREFACE

The role of Culture and Religion in development practice had been ignored for several years by development practitioners. However, there are different constraints and conflicts in many cultures which can impact on the success of development efforts. This study, which is based on the Garu Agricultural Station run by the Presbyterian Church of Ghana with funding from the Inter-Church Coordinating Organization for development cooperation, sets out to find out some of these constraints in a typical patriarchal society. It then finds out how a religiously oriented development institution is addressing these cultural and religious constraints.

The motivation for this study had been precipitated by the author's quest for an answer to why many development projects started by NGOs fail. As a Minister in the Presbyterian Church of Ghana and a former Projects Officer with a Rural Development Bank, he had sought the answer within the experience of his Church. The choice of the case study was based on the fact that Garu Agricultural Station is the oldest surviving Agricultural Station of the Church. Secondly, The society had least been affected by modernization which could have veiled the traditional cultural and religious values.

It is hoped that the findings of this study will go a long way in reshaping the general development approach of the Church and other NGOs. It is also hoped to contribute to the agenda in the search for a "Theology of Development".

1911

Dear Sir,  
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst. in relation to the above matter. The same has been referred to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am sorry to hear that you are unable to visit at this time. I am sure that your health will improve and that you will be able to visit us in the future. I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Yours truly,  
J. H. [Name]

I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Yours truly,  
J. H. [Name]

I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Yours truly,  
J. H. [Name]

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A work like this could not have been achieved without the support and assistance of dedicated professionals and friends. I am first of all, thankful to the Board of Mission of the Netherlands Reformed Church who granted me a scholarship to undertake this study. I am most grateful to the African Secretaries, Rev Pier Magre (rtd) and Dr Gonda de Haan, as well as Mr Ab Kiers, of the transport agency, whose interest in my work and welfare had kept me going. I am also grateful to Revs Mate Kodjo, immediate past Synod Clerk, Peter Kudjo, and David Kpobi, all of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, who encouraged and sought the scholarship for me in their official capacities.

I am greatly indebted to the sacrifice and fatherly guidance of my supervisors, Professor Bas de Gaay Foortman and Dr. Max Spoor and all staff of the Agriculture and Rural Development programme who contributed in shaping my thoughts on this work. I am most grateful to Bas and Max for their fruitful constructive criticisms. These helped me in rethinking my views. "Bedankt", Bas and Max. Of course, I cannot forget the good work done by Jolanda, the ARD programme administrator in editing the tables. Jolanda, I am ever grateful.

The Directors and staff of the Garu Agricultural Station played a very important role in the realization of this study. Mention must be made specifically of Zachariah, Emmanuel, and Leticia who did not spare of their time and energy to take me on their motor bikes to the villages and also graciously served as my interpreters. Of course, I cannot forget the hospitality extended to my wife and myself by Mr & Mrs Ayeh and their children during the research period. To them I say "mposia". Nothing could have been achieved without the sacrifice and cooperation of the gallant men and women in the Tamne basin whom I interviewed and who readily offered their views though I was a stranger among them. To them I say "naa tonton".

To Revd's Dr. Kwame Bediako and Vinay Samuel and the staff of Akrofi-Christaller Memorial Research Centre for Applied Theology, Akropong, Ghana and Oxford Centre for Mission Studies, Oxford, UK, respectively, I say thank you for the time you spent in

talking with me and also for allowing me the use of your respective libraries during the research period.

Most importantly, I greatly appreciate the sacrifice of my dear wife, sister and friend, Obaa Yaa Asantewaa, and my children, Cynthia and Bertha, who had to endure my long absence from home. I am most grateful for their sacrifice and prayer support. To my godparents, Mr and Mrs Budu who had to play host to my family during my absence, I say God bless you as no amount of words can describe my appreciation for what you mean to my life and work. I am also thankful to Family Amoah who provided me with a "home" for the greater part of my stay in Holland and provided me with a warm atmosphere for my study.

To all my friends who read through the first drafts of the paper, I say, "*Awurade nhyira mo*". Mention is made specifically of the Jackson family of Arnuimeden, who were a most important and loving family to me and opened their home to me at any time. David, Nelie, Nelleke, Willem and Sammy, I will never forget your warm love and interest in my work.

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1 Summary of Health Situation In Bawku East District.	16
2 Statistics on Enrolment in Junior Secondary School	17
3 Sources of Household Income in a Philippine community	40
4 Statistics of Babies' Nutrition Programme	50
5 Cumulative numbers of Women Groups and Membership	55
6 Comparison of National and District Infant Mortality Rates	61
7 Growth Rates in Junior Secondary School Enrolment	63

### MAP

A map of Ghana showing the spread of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana and the Research Area	opposite	7
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------	---

### FIGURES

Figure		
1 A typical Bimoba compound	opposite	10
2 A typical classroom scene	opposite	17

10

10

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

10

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

10

10

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The recent debate and emphasis on the role of NGOs<sup>1</sup> in national development has come about as a result of loss of faith on the part of western donor agencies in the central governments of the "two-third" world (Vinay Samuel) to bring about the desired social and economic change for the majority of their people. At the same time the role of religious NGOs in national development within the two-third world has become a conspicuous feature in many societies. The emphasis is so strong that many donor countries have established desks to co-ordinate such efforts both in the recipient and host countries. In the Netherlands for example, among the four main co-funding entities through whom the Dutch government give development grants two of them have religious background; ICCO and CEBEMO.

There is also an emerging attempt to re-interpret the gospel, among "Missiologists"<sup>2</sup>, in particular, in favour of "holistic"<sup>3</sup> ministry. This must be seen in all interventions in human needs whether by secular or religious NGOs or the state.

Regarding the human person as one whole, whose development must be approached from a holistic way can be traced from the view of Jesus Christ as elucidated in John 10:10; " I came that they may have life and have it to the full". This was also the view of the Basel Mission Society in sending missionaries to the then Gold

---

<sup>1</sup>NGOs are non-governmental voluntary organisations involved in promoting micro development. They are considered as better alternatives to central government agencies in bringing development to the grassroots. NGOs have the working principle of reaching the poorest of the poor.

<sup>2</sup> Mission Theologians.

<sup>3</sup> a ministry that sees the human person as one whole being and therefore does not separate the spiritual from the physical needs of persons.

Coast in the early 19th century. T. F. Buxton sums it up in these words; "Let Missionaries and Schoolmasters, the plough and the spade go together. It is the Bible and the plough that must regenerate Africa". ( Quoted in Nkansa-Kyeremanten, 1994: 78).

The Presbyterian Church of Ghana, a missionary church established through the missionary work of the Basel Missionary Society, has always involved herself in the socio-economic development of Ghana. The major development activities of the Church have been in the areas of education, health, agriculture and rehabilitation of the handicapped. The effort has been concentrated in the rural areas which are normally least attended to by the state agencies supposed to bring development to the people. This practice is due to the Biblical injunction on Christians to give particular attention to the marginalized in society.

In line with this, the Church since the late sixties has been providing agricultural services in Garu in the Upper East Region of Ghana. The aim was to improve the performance of the farming activities of the people. However, the benefits of the efforts has over the years failed to trickle down to all members of the household (Ayeh 1991: 41). Like most development agencies, men were targeted as the "farmers" and the women as the "house-keepers". However, women bear many responsibilities in the household reproductive functions. The culture of the people also restrict them from having full control over productive resources, in this case, land. They are also culturally not allowed to "own" any livestock. This implies that strategies for reducing poverty in such societies must be culturally sensitive. Cognisance must be taken of the ingrained negative social and cultural attitudes and behaviour towards women and be addressed if the development efforts are to succeed.



### 1.1 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The paper studies how the Garu Agricultural Station, (GAS) run by the Presbyterian Church of Ghana is working as an NGO in the socio-economic development in a rural district. It also investigates the role religious and cultural values play in people's response to and how they impact on the benefits supposed to be derived from the development interventions. Additionally it tries to establish how far a religious NGO is able to enhance people's (especially the marginalized) entitlement capacity over resources and benefits from their economic activities. The involvement of the people in the identification, implementation and management of the projects is also a concern of the study. It also aims at finding out the factors that contribute to the success or otherwise of the intervention .

### 1.2 RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY.

NGOs, whose working principle is to reach the poorest of the poor, are taken as an important means to lift the standard of life of deprived sections of the communities. Since NGOs have grass roots development orientation, they are considered to have comparative advantage over public sector departments due to their prompt delivery of goods and services to the poor. However, there are a number of cases of failed projects initiated by NGOs in Ghana. By examining the factors that led to the success or otherwise of the Garu Agricultural Station, it is hoped that this study will provide the basis for future comparative studies with other NGOs. This will, hopefully, elucidate the appropriate approach to development practice among traditional rural communities.

### 1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS.

In line with the above, the following questions are examined. What role do religious and cultural beliefs play in people's response to development efforts and subsequently the success or otherwise of these efforts ?

How far were the local people involved in the various stages of the project cycle ?

How far have these projects brought development to the people?

How can the benefits of development interventions go to the target group in a patriarchal society?

These among other questions are what this study seeks to address.

#### **1.4. HYPOTHESIS**

Successful development efforts require recognition of values upon which the life of the target group is based. Development agencies including churches tend to ignore such values and hence their development projects tend to fail.

#### **1.5. METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS TO THE STUDY**

The study is essentially based on primary data collected from the field. The analytical framework is on the other hand, based on literature review and analysis of secondary data.

##### **1.5.1 Methodology**

The Rapid Appraisal Method was used in the interview with key informants, focus group discussion ( households and community heads, farmers groups, and project staff) and informal surveys. The study assesses the success of the project in enhancing the economic capacity of the beneficiaries by comparing the situation before and after 1987 when the Women in Development Programme was started. This period also coincided with change in Management which brought in for the first time a woman in management position.

Ten villages were randomly chosen and visited on different occasions. Six women's groups and five men's groups from these villages were visited. Meetings were held with some groups separately , while on other occasions both men's and women's groups met together. This was a deliberate attempt to test how far the women can express themselves in the presence of the men. It was also to give opportunity to cross check some of the information received from the other sex. I had with me a list of issues I was concerned with but used basically unstructured

questions in the interviews. (see appendix). I was assisted by three extension staff who were from the community as my interpreters from whom I also tried to cross check the reality of some of the claims and answers given.

#### 1.5.2. Limitation.

This study is based on only one project among six run by the church. Since there are differences in cultures, generalizations can, therefore, not be made. However it is hoped that the insight to be drawn from this study will guide development practitioners in studying the culture of the society among whom they plan to work. The major limitation is however the lack of adequate data for the period before 1987 at the district level. To minimise the impact of this limitation I use 1987/88 as the cut-off point for the period before. I will also use other micro level data available for the rural sector within which the research area falls.

Time is also another constraint on this research. Due to the limited time (ten weeks) allowed for the research and writing of the dissertation, I could spend only three weeks in the community and was thus unable to personally observe most of their cultural practices. I depended on the answers I received from my respondents, being aware of the possibility of suspicion on their part about the intentions of a stranger. There is therefore the possibility of veiling some of the "truth". However, I cross checked most of the answers from different people to ensure reliability of the responses received.

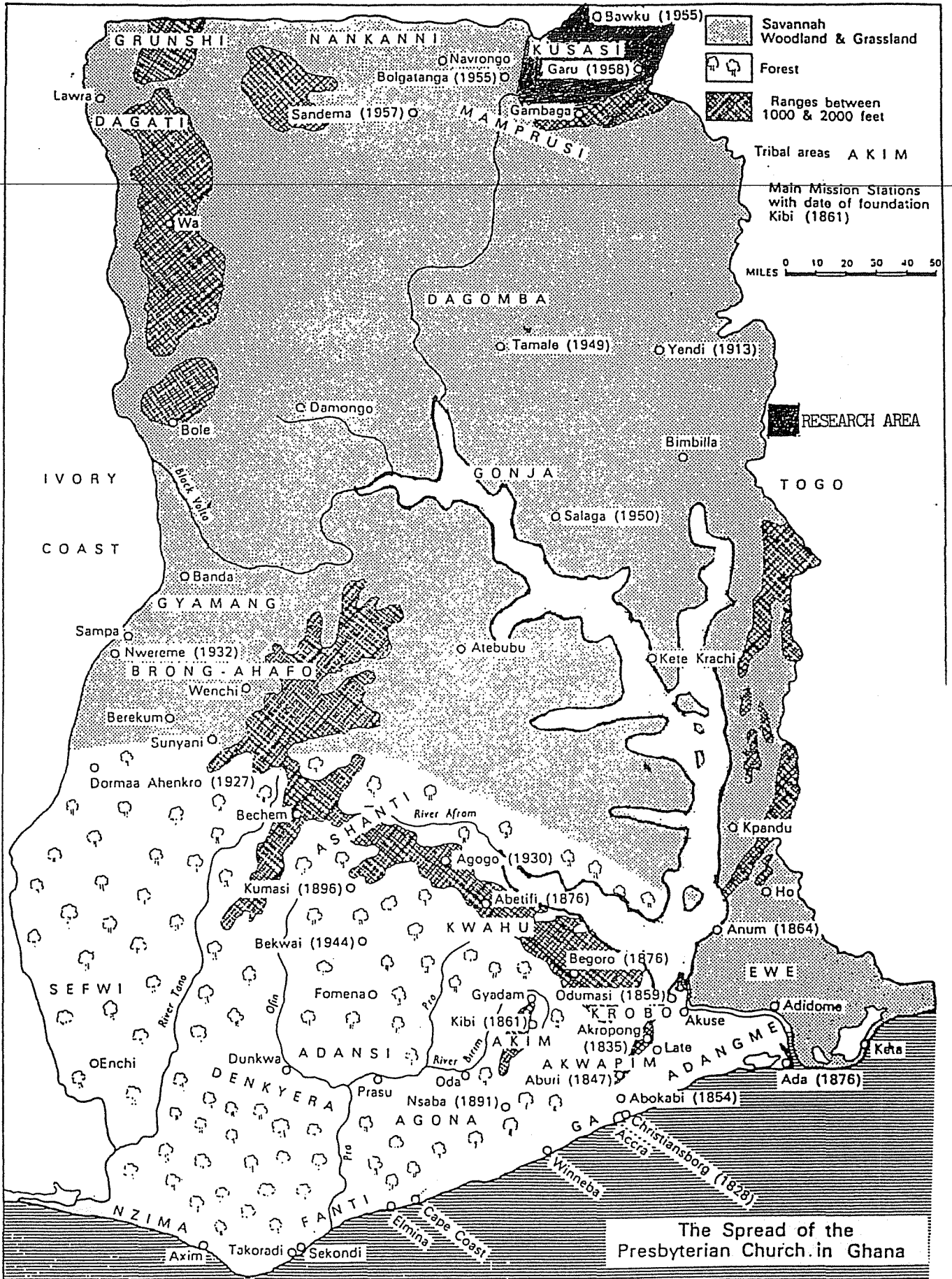
#### 1.6. ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPER.

The paper is organized into five chapters with chapter one concerned with the introduction of the background to the study, research area, relevance of the study, methodology and limitations of the research.

Chapter two is devoted to a description of the social, cultural, religious, and economic background of the people in the research area. It also reviews the work of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana in the socio-economic development of Ghana.

Concepts, Theoretical and Theological considerations for the study are taken up in chapter three. The concepts and theories of the dynamics of culture, religion, and development is discussed here. The theory of participatory development practice is also discussed as an appropriate strategy to offset the socially constructed position of women.

The concept of entitlement is also discussed here to serve as a framework in discussing the distributional benefits of the projects. Chapter four traces the history and development of the Garu Agricultural Station and its experience in development efforts and assesses the impact of the station. Whilst chapter five analysis the case study in an attempt to elucidate the appropriateness of the approaches adopted by the station in addressing the cultural constraints in the entitlement systems. The chapter also addresses the conclusions to be drawn from the study as to the appropriate approach to development practice in patriarchal societies.



The Spread of the Presbyterian Church in Ghana

A MAP OF GHANA SHOWING THE SPREAD OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF GHANA AND THE RESEARCH AREA



## CHAPTER TWO

### THE CULTURAL, AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH AREA

---

The Garu Agricultural Station which is the case study has its administrative head office in Garu but its catchment area covers the whole of the Tamne basin which also coincides with the Bawku East District Assembly. The chapter therefore discusses some cultural issues of the Kusaasi and Bimoba, who are the main tribes residing in the area, of relevance to development, hence of interest to this study.

The Tamne basin is situated on the North Eastern tip of Ghana and shares boundaries with Togo and Bourkina Faso in the East and North respectively. It falls within the Upper East region of Ghana and has Bawku as its administrative capital. The Tamne River and its tributaries are the main rivers watering the basin. The area falls below the Gambaga scarp which has a highest point of 520 meters above sea level. The basin falls within the northern savanna zone. The soil is predominantly alluvial, with areas of sandy, gravelly, and clayey deposits. The area has one short rainy season starting from May/June and ending in September/October. Heavy soil erosion occurs as a result of the pattern of rainfall, which often comes in concentrated bursts. Though the community is an agriculturally based one, farming is very fragile as a result a seven month dry season period.

#### *Demography.*

The land area of the Tamne basin is estimated at 2,325 square kilometres and has a population of 224,000 persons. This gives a population density of about 100 persons per square kilometre in 1984 when the last national census was conducted (Baker 1986: 110). However with an average growth rate of 3%, Ayeh (1996) computes the population to be 326,587 and a population density of 150 persons per square kilometre. The ratio between male and

female population is about 1 to 1.5. This is explained to be the result of migration of the male to the south most especially during the dry season between September and March<sup>4</sup>. The 1984 census was conducted in March when migrant men have not yet returned to their villages. However the people in the communities themselves acknowledge the higher number of females above that of males. Some of them actually put the ratio at 1 male to 4 females. This to them is one reason why a man can marry more than one wife and still all men get women to marry.

According to the 1984 census report there were about 621 villages in the basin. However with the increase in population the number is likely to increase as more people are expected to move out to establish more villages in the virgin lands. This occurs in order to reduce pressure on the land around the villages.

The following sections will discuss their history, culture, traditional religion and the incursions of world religion and their economic profile.

## 2.1 History and Culture

### 2.1.1 The History and culture of the Kusasi.

The Kusasi are the original settlers of the Tamne basin having migrated from Yargun. Tradition has it that they migrated to escape enslavement by the Mossi and the Busansi people (Ayeh 1996). However another tradition holds that they never migrated but they had always been where they are now (Baker 1986: 111). The Kusaasi speak the *Kusaal* language. There are two distinct dialects of *Kusaal* but they are reasonably intelligible to each other. These are *Agole* which is spoken by the *Agoldim* and *Toonde*,

---

<sup>4</sup> This is the cocoa season in the south and the period when labour is on high demand there. On the other hand, due to the try season there is virtually no work to be done on their farms, the men therefore migrate during this time to sell their labour in order to accumulate some capital for investment during the following farming season.



spoken by the *Toundim* sub groups. However, most of them speak *Hausa* which is commonly used in most part of northern Ghana (Baker, *ibid.*). Politically, the Kusaasi were originally acephalous, not having any centralized political system but had ~~land owners which they called *tengandaan*.~~

Being a dominantly agrarian society, land is their main source of wealth and authority. Land is regarded as an inheritance from the ancestors. It is the *tengandaan*<sup>5</sup> who owns the land. He gives portions to new migrant to farm on and this passes over to his sons and later male descendants. Land is sacred and must not be sold in perpetuity.

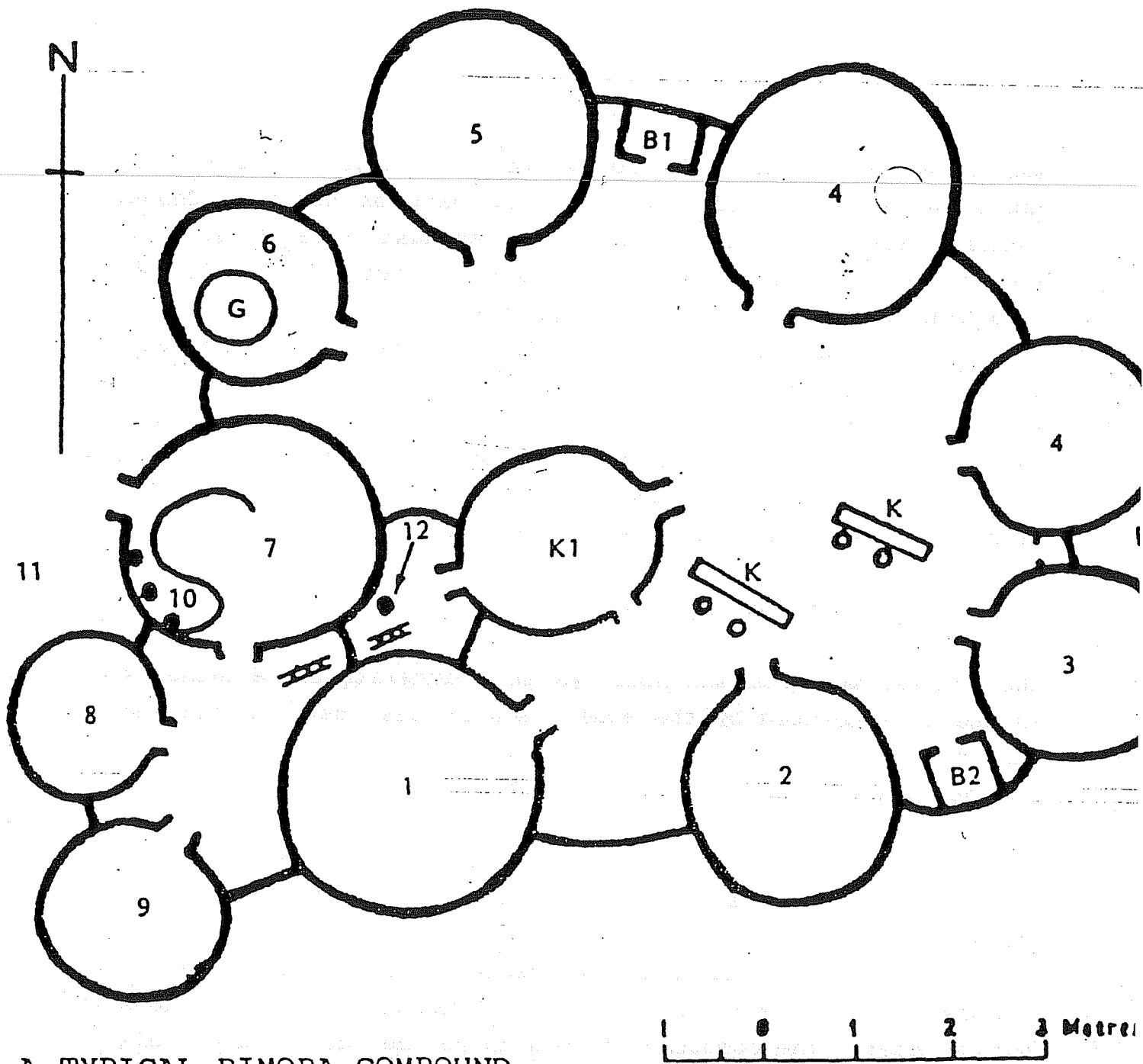
#### *Inheritance and ownership systems.*

The Kusaasi have a patrilineal system of inheritance. A father's estate is inherited by the eldest son or the next of kin who must be a male. If a man has no sons, his estate is inherited by the sons of his brothers. Daughters have no part in the father's estate. A father and his sons farm together on the family land. They subsequently keep one barn from which the father who is the head of the household gives out grain to all the women in the house. The Kusaasi live in a compound which consists of a number of quarters. The compound houses the father and his wives, his sons and their wives, the young unmarried sons and daughters. The compound is located on the family land. This explains the scattered nature of Kusaasi settlements. However, a son may go away from the father's land to farm on different land on which he may build his own house to begin his compound. Such land is, however, requested by his father for him from another compound who has more land to spare. Each compound has a barn which is under the control of the father who is the head. He may however delegate such responsibility to the most senior son.

The main livestock kept are fowl, guinea fowl, sheep, goats and cattle. A woman cannot own livestock. If she should by

---

<sup>5</sup> The local word for land owner



A TYPICAL BIMOBA COMPOUND

- |   |                                  |    |                                               |
|---|----------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1 | owner's room                     | 10 | patir (ancestral fetishes)                    |
| 2 | senior wife's room               | 11 | hole in wall at ground level to admit poultry |
| 3 | 2nd wife's room                  | 12 | deceased grandmother's patir                  |
| 4 | young men's room                 | K1 | kitchen (separate door for each wife)         |
| 5 | male visitors' room              | B1 | young men's bathing area.                     |
| 6 | store-room for granary           | B2 | wives' bathing areas (also used by husband).  |
| 7 | cattle-hyre and fetiches         |    |                                               |
| 8 | poultry (can be used for granary |    |                                               |
| 9 | goats                            |    |                                               |

some means acquire some it must be kept in the husband's or the brother's stock but she dare not claim ownership of it publicly. Livestock are kept as a source of security and as a symbol of wealth. They are killed only for sacrifices which is the only time when meat is eaten in the families meal and sold only in emergency situations to offset debts or to perform funerals in one's own family or that of the in-laws.

#### *Intra-household gender relations*

There is a culturally defined gender division of labour and household maintenance responsibilities. When women are married, they are allocated sheabutter<sup>6</sup> and dawadawa<sup>7</sup> trees which grow on the husband's land. From the fruits of these trees they are to provide the ingredients for the meals apart from the grain which is provided by the man. Women who are not able to meet their household and social responsibilities from these trees are branded as being lazy.

Gender division of labour can also be seen in the building of huts. Men are responsible for the building of the walls and the roofing while women are responsible for the flooring and plastering of the walls. This task involves the digging of hard laterite and rocks sometimes from far away fields on their own. Though they have to assist the men in the building of the walls by fetching water and mixing the mud, men are not obliged to assist the women in their task.

---

<sup>6</sup> A nut bearing tree the fruit of which is procced to obtain fat which is traditionally used as frying agent in food and for pomade. It grows wild on most lands in northern Ghana

<sup>7</sup> A wild growing leguminous plant which bears bean like fruits used in soups as source of protein.

1914  
The following is a list of the names of the persons who were members of the Board of Directors of the American Red Cross during the year 1914.

---

1. Mr. J. C. ...  
2. Mr. ...  
3. Mr. ...  
4. Mr. ...  
5. Mr. ...  
6. Mr. ...  
7. Mr. ...  
8. Mr. ...  
9. Mr. ...  
10. Mr. ...

11. Mr. ...  
12. Mr. ...  
13. Mr. ...  
14. Mr. ...  
15. Mr. ...  
16. Mr. ...  
17. Mr. ...  
18. Mr. ...  
19. Mr. ...  
20. Mr. ...

21. Mr. ...  
22. Mr. ...  
23. Mr. ...  
24. Mr. ...  
25. Mr. ...  
26. Mr. ...  
27. Mr. ...  
28. Mr. ...  
29. Mr. ...  
30. Mr. ...

---

### 2.1.2. *The History and Culture of the Bimoba*

The Bimoba occupies the eastern part of Tempane-Garu and Nalerigu districts. Their principal town is Bunkpurugu. They are believed to have migrated to their present abode from Burkina Faso towards the end of the 17th century as a result of a devastating drought and famine. Linguistically, the Bimoba speak *Bimoba*, which also belongs to the Gur language sub group. The language is also divided into two sub dialects, *Dagbann* spoken in Bunkpuru area and been spoken in the Tempane-Garu district. The Bimoba have a centralized political system with the paramount chief staying in Bunkpurugu. He is however appointed by the Mampurusi paramount chief who is based in Nalerigu.

Like the Kusaasi, the Bimoba are traditionally an agrarian society sharing similar inheritance and ownership systems with the Kusaasi.

The next section examines specific religious beliefs of the people which can influence their development.

## 2.2. **The Religious Beliefs of the People**

Traditionally both the Kusaasi and Bimoba are *Animist*. They have strong belief in the influence of spirits on natural events. Every event or occurrence is attributed to the spirits. This explains why divination is done to determine the course of major epochs of their lives. However they hold a hierarchical view of these spirits with the Supreme Being heading this hierarchy. Through trade and missionary activities, Christianity and Islam have made inroads into the religious beliefs of the people. To highlight the differences, I will discuss the religious beliefs of the two groups separately.

### 2.2.1 *Religion of the Kusaasi.*

Their religious belief is based on a hierarchical system of gods. The supreme being is known as 'Win' or 'Na'awin" which literally

means "chief god". He is regarded as the helper of the helpless, the one who predestines man's life-span and repays debts or hands out retribution and reward. Win is believed to live in the skies but beholds everything on earth. There are no temples or shrines devoted to Win but he is the first to be offered water whenever there is a sacrifice. After Win comes *Tengban*<sup>8</sup>, the earth god. She is believed to be Win's first creation made to be his wife. She is the god of fertility too. *Tengban* is a petitioner on behalf of the people. On the other hand when she is offended she will cause Win to bring pestilence and sickness of various types to the people (Mbillah in Baker 1986: 117). Subsequently, sacrifices are made to *Tengban* on such occurrences. She is also believed to wield authority over all other deities operating within a given area. She must therefore be offered sacrifice first before any deity is offered a sacrifice. In addition, every clan has its own god. These clan gods are referred to as *buga*<sup>9</sup>. Its concern, authority, and veneration is limited to the clan. Some families also have shrines for the sun god. Each individual person also has a god or *Ba'ar* who brings from *Na'awin* that individual's destiny. At birth the soothsayer may reveal a particular god as the individual's *nyoraan* who is responsible for the person's life.

Apart from these deities, there is strong belief in the ancestors. They are held to be the custodians of the tradition and responsible for the welfare of the living progenies. To be an ancestor, one has to satisfy three conditions. One should have left behind children and died a good death<sup>10</sup>. The tradition of the ancestors must not be changed. This has great implications for development interventions. For example, in the spread of villages, government designated forest reserves are easily

---

<sup>8</sup> The same word can also mean earth or land.

<sup>9</sup> The singular is "bugir".

<sup>10</sup> That means the person would have died in old age without the spilling of blood and been given the normal traditional burial rites.

encroached upon but interestingly the *tengban's* sacred grove, in which the spirit of the ancestors are believed to reside, are never encroached upon. In fact they have the original vegetation of the villages.

~~The ancestors are also consulted before any celebration or event is performed in the house. Their presence and blessings must be sought at the marriage, childbirth and naming of a member of the household. Libation or sacrifice is made for them before tilling the land at the beginning of each season.~~

#### *Inroads by Christianity and Islam*

The Muslim population in Kusaasi land is estimated as 4% while that of Christianity is 7% which means that about 88% of the population still remain traditional Animists.

The greater majority of Muslim in Kusaasi land are Hausa, Mosi, Busanga and Mamprusi. Islam seems to have been spread through trade and thrived among societies with centralized political systems. There is a suggestion that the tribes which invaded Kusaasi land also brought with them the Islamic religion (Baker 1986: 121). The Kusaasi as indicated earlier, were an acephalous society and could not be assimilated into Islam. The relationship between a political system and the adoption of Islam as religion needs further investigation.

Christianity was introduced into Kusaasi land in 1931 by Mossi lay preachers of the Assemblies of God church from Bourkina Faso. The first pastor, Rev Homer Goodwin came to live in Bawku in 1939. The Catholic church came to the area in 1938 and was followed by the Presbyterian Church of Ghana early in 1950. They were later followed by the Anglicans who established a parish in Binaba. The work of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana in response to human needs will be discussed later in the paper.





### 2.2.2 The Religion of Bimoba

Like the Kusaasi, the Bimoba has a hierarchical line of deities. *Yennu*<sup>11</sup> is the Supreme Being and the creator of all things. He is believed to be retributive, punishing the wrong doer after his death. No sacrifices are made to him but his permission must be sought before sacrifice is made to any other deity. After the *yennu* comes the earth god, *tengbaan*. The shrine of *tengbaan* may consist of a pile of stones or a local tree, situated anywhere. Each family or household has its own god called *patir*. These are carved in mud effigies usually in human form. They are kept in a small room in the compound and are attended to by the oldest male person called *jamatoo*. When a *jamatoo* dies he is succeeded by the next oldest male person in his generation. It is the *jamatoo* who makes sacrifices on behalf of the members of the clan or the household.

There are also lesser spirits and charms which can be used for specific purposes such as for healing or protection. Among these lesser gods are *nunyuan* which can see spirits and catch witches, and a personal *yennu* which is kept in the ground or on the wall. If a woman runs away from her husband she takes her *yennu* with her to signify that she wants to make a complete break with the husband. Ancestors are the next in importance to the supreme God, *yennu*.

### Advent of Christianity and Islam

Islam has made no headway in Bimoba land. The mosques in Bunkpurugu and Nakpanduri are attended by traders from outside the area. The Assemblies of God church was the first to introduce Christianity into Bimoba in 1949. In 1952, they established a general and maternity clinic at Nakpanduri. The Presbyterian Church of Ghana has not made any successful inroad into Bimoba land as far as establishment of congregations are concerned. The

---

<sup>11</sup> The word also means sun, day, and personal god.

church however has an agricultural station in Nakpanduri which is outside the scope of this study.

### **2.3. Social and Economic Profile of the Community**

#### *Communication*

There is a road running from most of the villages to the market centres and from the market centres to Bawku which is the administrative capital. From Bawku the road continues to Bolgatanga from where it leads to most major towns in the north and south of the country. However most of the roads are not motorable especially during the rainy season. Donkey or horse drawn carts form the main means of transporting goods from the villages to the market centres. Most of the men also have bicycles but the women mostly walk over long distances with heavy headloads of goods to the market. Most of the big towns also have post and telecommunication centres though they may not be as reliable as in the south. However with general improvement in postal and telecommunication services in the whole of the country there is much improvement in the services at Bawku. The communication centre there is linked to the outside world directly.

#### *Health.*

The Bawku hospital is the only hospital in the basin. It was started in 1953 by the government and handed over to the Presbyterian Church of Ghana in 1956 to be run as an agency hospital. Currently the church has expanded the hospital to include an eye clinic, a nurse training college and a number of rural health services. The hospital has about 200 general beds, 50 children's beds, 25 maternity beds and 3 labour beds. There is one eye specialist, three general medical practitioners, one pharmacist and about two hundred nurses and midwives.

There are also three health centres in Garu, Binaba and Widana and thirteen dressing stations. Other services provided

by the hospital are nutrition programmes for mothers with malnourished children, training of dressers, village health workers and traditional birth attendants. The hospital in close collaboration with the Ghana Water and Sewerage Corporation also runs education and training programmes for village water management teams.

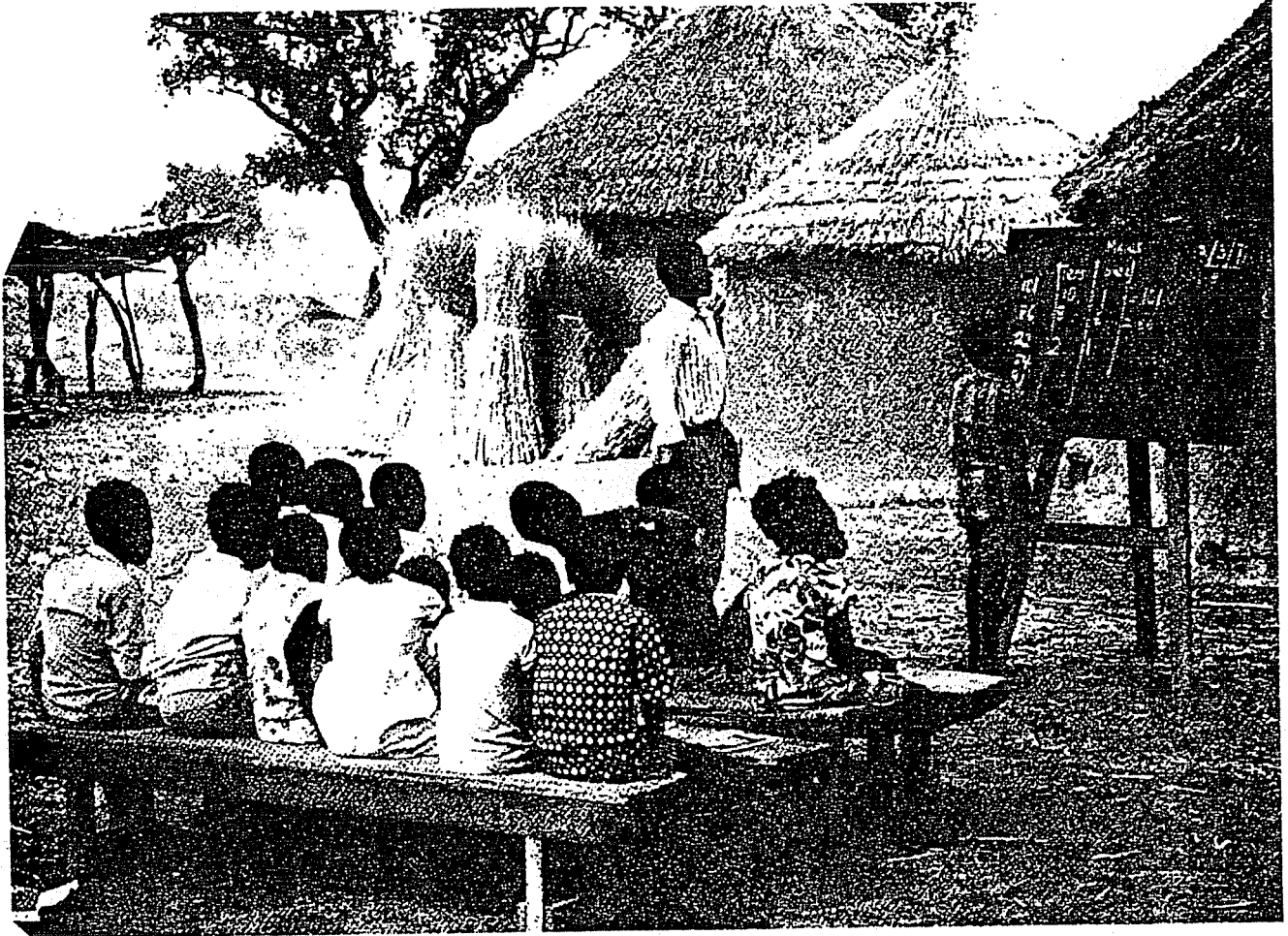
#### *Health situation*

The health situation in the district as at the beginning of 1987 was far below the national average reflecting poor health conditions of the people. Table four compares the various health indicators of the Bawku East District with that of the national average. All the indicators point to the fact that the district is lagging behind in most health indicators. This is expected to affect their general well being and their productivity. The health situation can also be an indication of their level of poverty.

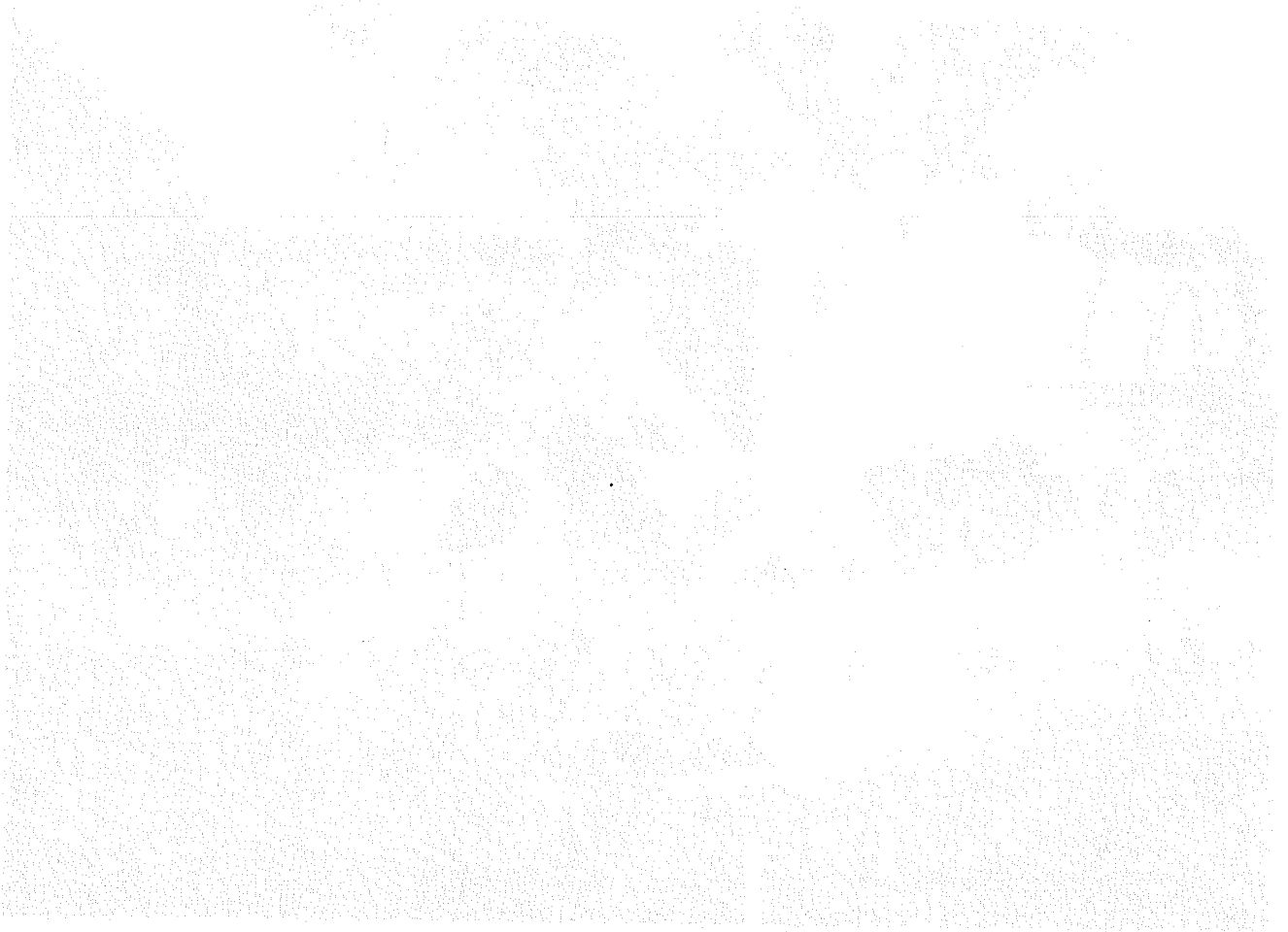
1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses.



A TYPICAL CLASSROOM SCENE IN BAWKU EAST DISTRICT



**Table 1. Summary of health situation in Bawku**  
**District as compared with national average**  
**before 1988**

Indicator	National	District
Infant mortality <sup>12</sup>	98.0	230
Total deaths per year	n.a.	7,000
Preventable deaths	n.a.	4,400
Population per doctor	15,162	75,000;
Population per hospital bed	649	1,200;
Population per nurse	650	1,160;
Life expectancy <sup>13</sup>	52	5
Under five Child malnutrition <sup>14</sup>	35.5	50%

Source: Presbyterian Church of Ghana Health Service Report, 1987: 42-53 and Social indicators of Development, 1995 : 128-129.

### Education

In the basin there are 86 primary schools with an estimated enrolment of 14,500 pupils. This makes up 20% of children of school-going age in the basin. Table 2 below shows detailed statistics on Junior Secondary Schools in the basin as compared with the national averages.

<sup>12</sup> Infant mortality rate is based on number of children who die out of every thousand live births before reaching age one.

<sup>13</sup> Data for life expectancy at birth at the district level is not available. I am therefore forced to use the average for rural Ghana which incidentally is not different from the national average. This is explained by the high rural population in Ghana.

<sup>14</sup> Under five malnutrition measures the percentage of children under five years who are under the 80% of Standard Growth Curve which measures the level of malnutrition.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.



**Table 2. Statistics on Enrolment in Junior Secondary Schools In the District as compared with the National Figures.**

<u>Indicator</u>	<u>National</u>	<u>Bawku East</u>
Number of schools	5129	38
Total Enrolment (%)	76.6	20
Boys' enrolment (%)	81.5	30
Girls' enrolment (%)	70.8	11
<u>Ratio</u>		
Male to Female enrolment	1.4 : 1	3.0:1
Teacher to Pupil	1.0 :19	1.0:25

**Note:**

Enrolment rates are percentages of population of school going age in the different sectors.

Source: Ministry of Education 1995; Document No 118 and Social Indicators of Development 1995.

The basin has two second- cycle schools; Bawku Senior Secondary School and Bawku Technical Institute.

*Economic Activities*

The main occupation of the great majority of the population remains agricultural. The main crops cultivated in the basin are millet and sorghum which constitute the main grainstuffs for the family meals. Traditionally, these crops were cultivated on subsistence basis. The grain is stored in the barns built in the compound and serve as the store of food for the family throughout the year. Other crops like rice, sweet potato, and onions are cultivated at a commercial level and sold in the market. However these crops are sold to meet the financial needs of the family.

The farmers normally produce for home consumption. However when there is need for money they are forced to sell some of the produce. Traditionally, farming was a male activity and women were responsible for the gathering of the fruit of sheabutter tree and dawadawa tree. Women process these fruits mainly for home use but in some cases they may be forced to sell some to meet some contingencies like medical and school fees of the children. These trees are allocated to the wife when she is married. Women are expected by tradition to provide for the

ingredients needed in the family meal other than the grain from the proceeds from these trees.

Every household has a number of animals. These comprise cattle, sheep, goats, fowl and guinea fowl. Some compounds also have pigs. Pigs are considered to be unclean and should not under any circumstance, be used for sacrifice in the society. It is therefore not surprising that they are reared by women. The larger ruminants are kept as a form of investment and as stock of wealth. They are sold only when the situation is very critical. Otherwise, poultry and the smaller animals are sold to meet contingencies. Animals are not killed for food except when they are sacrificed to a deity.

Apart from farming activities the people also engage in commercial activities. There is a market in virtually every major village where they can sell farm produce and essential goods bought from traders coming from the bigger towns. The area shares boundary with The Republic of Togo and this provides active trading activities between the people of these two areas at Sankase, a border town.

#### *Agents of Change*

There are both governmental and non-governmental organizations working in the basin to bring about change in the lives of the people. A fair number of the various government departments can be found there. The Ministry of Food and Agriculture has most of its departments, Crops Services, Animal Health and Production, Plant Protection and Regulatory and The Extension Services, operating in the basin. However their impact has been minimal. This is due to their approach to work which follows that of the civil service bureaucracy. Decisions and implementations are top down. The local people are not involved much in the decisions of the departments neither is their indigenous knowledge considered of much value. The work of the research station at Manga, a sub station of the Savanna Agricultural Research Institute, is more often determined from headquarters. The normal scientific procedures are used in the research which takes place at the

stations without the participation of the local people. The failure of the government institutions to influence change in the lives of the people brings to the fore the important role of Non-Governmental Organizations.

The non-governmental organizations working in the basin are mostly religious organizations. The two main ones are the Catholic Parish Development Council which runs a Tree Planting Project (TGP), and The Presbyterian Church of Ghana which operates the only hospital in the basin and other health services in the villages. The Presbyterian Church of Ghana also runs Community-Based-Rehabilitation and Garu Agricultural Stations, all in Garu. The work of the TGP is to encourage farmers in reafforestation and the impact of the project can be seen by the pockets of small forests and tree nurseries found near some compounds in the villages.

Having discussed the cultural and religious beliefs and the economic profile of the people in the tanne basin, the next section discusses how the Presbyterian Church of Ghana is working to bring change in the lives of the people

#### **2.4 The Presbyterian Church of Ghana (PCG).**

PCG was begun through the activities of the Basel Mission Society in Ghana. On 18th December 1828, four missionaries landed at Christianburg to begin missionary work in the then Gold Coast (Koramoah et al 19778: 2). By 1913 The Basel Mission Society has reached Kwahu, Akyem, Ashanti, crossed the Volta and established a mission in Yendi in the Northern part of Ghana (Smith 1966: 108). The church was able to establish a congregation in Garu in 1958 (see the map opposite page 7). Through a lot of hardships and sacrifice the society was able to set up a church which came to be called the Presbyterian Church of Ghana on 11th November 1926 (Nkansa-Kyeremanteng 1994: 23).

The ethos of the Basel Mission Society was deep personal devotion to Christ. Pietism was therefore their mark and this was combined with religious emotion and deep thought. They stressed individual conversion and strong Christian fellowship as well as

profound reverence for the Bible (Smith 1966: 19). This ethos was to shape the approach and direction of the Church in the Gold Coast.

#### 2.4.1. Presbyterian Church of Ghana and Traditional Culture

Christianity has always been in conflict with traditional culture. In Ghana as in most parts of Africa, the missionaries understood it as their mission to get rid of traditional culture. No attempt was therefore made to assimilate or build it into the traditional culture. The converts that were made were uprooted from their traditional cultural heritage. They rose against the ancestral way of life and thought of the rest of the society. To be a Christian was to make a break with tradition. Thus the converts were separated from the rest of society and planted in *Christian quarters* which was called "*Salem*". The Salem has its own "chief" and council of elders called Senior Presbyter and Presbyters respectively. This was to divert the loyalty of the people from the traditional leaders to Christ and the church. Traditional rules were not respected. The holy days of the community were not observed as such.

Western missionaries, apparently misunderstood Ghanaian culture. They kicked against traditional music, drumming and dancing, at church service. This however resulted in bringing a dichotomy in the life of the Ghanaian; he is an African on other days and a European on Sundays.

The Presbyterian Church of Ghana continued with the same view of traditional culture till quite recently when African culture has been taken serious, at least, academically. Following from this, the development efforts of the church has tended to ignore the cultural environment of the communities. The church has followed the conventional approach to development which emphasizes the economic aspect and ignores the cultural aspects of human life. It is however beyond dispute that the church has played a major role in the socio-economic development of the country. I discuss below the efforts of PCG in the socio-economic development of Ghana.

#### 2.4.2. PCG and Socio-Economic Development in Ghana: a Historical Perspective

"For thousands of years black Africa, the slave of slaves, was lying prostrate on the ground. Crumbled together, she did hide her true face from her tormentors and the traders. We stand under the impression that this Africa now raises her head, unveil her maltreated face, pouring tears of sorrow and hope, toward Him who delivered her from servitude, shame, and death and who will lead her children to earthly and heavenly freedom" (Josenhaus of the Basel Mission, 1855 in Debrunner 1967: 103).

Right from the beginning, the view of the European Missionary Societies has been to convert and enlighten black Africa. However, they also realised that this can only be achieved through the salvation of the whole personality of the African. Sir Buxton has called to " let Missionaries and school masters, the plough and the spade, go together. It is the Bible and the plough that will regenerate Africa" (ibid).

Following from this conviction, Buxton founded the African Civilization Society in 1837 to make

"a survey of the leading languages and dialects and the reduction of the more important languages into writing; the introduction of the printing press and the local manufacture of paper; an investigation of the climate in various localities and the introduction of medical science; the engineering of roads and canals for transport , and a suitable system of drainage for health reason; the sharing with Africans of the knowledge available in agriculture, and the provision of approved implements and tested seeds, together with advice to the best economic crops to produce for world markets" (Debrunner 1967: 104).

Apparently, the missionaries came from Western Europe with its developing technology and its cultural achievements in contrast to that of West Africa which they considered as backward and in dire need of not only the grace of the Gospel of Christ but also of the blessings of Christian civilization. The Basel Mission and subsequently the PCG therefore, laid the grounds for the development of the people among whom they worked.

The Basel Mission Society also found the education of the local people important to their evangelical work. They therefore took the pioneering step of reducing the Ga and Twi languages to writing. They also established schools to teach reading, writing and later arithmetic. By 1868, the enrolment in Basel Mission

Schools had reached 500 (Koramoah and Reynolds 1978). In 1848, the first Teacher Training College was established to train teacher/ catechists for the schools and congregations of the Church. The Mission further involved herself in agricultural and health services.

The Church's involvement in the development of agriculture dates back to 1843, when the Basel Mission Board recruited some West Indians to join the missionary work in Akropong. Some of these were farmers who brought with them, various food crops. They introduced into the area crops like avocado pear, cocoyam, sugarcane, oranges, breadfruit, banana, yams and beans ( Nkansa-Kyeremanteng 1994: 80). The Basel Mission society also set up a cotton farm near Kpong and a ginnery at Anum between 1862 and 1864. The missionaries were the first to have introduced cocoa into the Gold Coast. As far back as 1861, Mr Lang, one of the missionaries reported having ten small, delicate cocoa trees. In 1866 he reported having plucked the first ripe pods. The Basel Mission society established a trading unit, now the United Trading Company which made the first cocoa shipment from Ghana to Germany in 1891. The total shipment was 80 pounds (Nkansa-Kyeremanteng, 1994: 81). As at now the Church has eight agricultural stations, one agricultural teacher training college and one agricultural vocational institute.

The work of the Community Based Rehabilitation Station is to train disabled persons in agriculture and crafts to live meaningful lives in the society. The work of the Garu Agricultural Station, which is the focus of this study, will be taken up for discussion in chapter four. But before then, I will discuss how culture and religion influence development efforts and how to circumvent the inhibiting tendencies in specific cultural norms.

**CHAPTER THREE**  
**ANALYTICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK:**

**3.0. The Dynamics of Religion, Culture and Development.**

The preceding chapter has attempted to capture the cultural, and socio-economic background of the research area. It gave a picture of their history, culture, and socio-economic profile. It also attempted to discuss the PCG and traditional culture and the church's historical efforts in Socio-economic development of Ghana. The question still to be answered is, "what inter-relationship exists between culture, religion and development?" The present chapter addresses this interrelationship, proceeding with a discussion of how culture can influence development. The focus is on the entitlement systems as regards inheritance and ownership of economic resources. Thereafter, it identifies the concept of Participatory Development Practice and Non-farm Employment as two strategies that can be adopted to at least circumvent the culturally vulnerable economic position of women.

**3.1. Culture and Development**

African social heritage, values and principles of conduct, dominant purpose and standard of judgement, in short, the culture of the society, are all affected by religious beliefs. Most African societies believe the spirits of the forefathers to still be able to influence the living (Sarpong 1974: 33). Belief in the ancestors and the ability of the dead to influence the life and destiny of the living serves as a deterrent to change in many African societies. The norms and values of the society are considered as given and transferred from generation to generation and must therefore be protected. Failure to keep sacred these may attract the wrath of the ancestors and one could be *summoned* to the land of the dead to answer for such action. Thus religious belief shapes the attitude to life.

The term 'culture' can be used differently by different people. In social anthropology, "culture" refers to patterns of thinking, feeling and potential action which shapes a people's distinctive character (Hofstede :4). The Willowbank Report on the Gospel and Culture, (1978: 7) defines culture to refer to

" an integrated system of beliefs (about God or reality or the ultimate meaning), of values (about what is true, good, beautiful and normative), of customs (how to behave, relate to others, talk, pray, dress, work, play etc), and of institutions in which these beliefs, values, and customs are expressed ( governments, law courts, temples, churches, shrines, families, schools and hospitals), which bind a society together and give it a sense of identity, dignity, security and continuity".

Culture is hereby seen as a collective phenomenon and not an individual identity but rather as a group identity of people who live or lived within the same social environment, which is where it was learnt. It is the culture of a people which distinguishes them from others. This definition implies that there are significant differences between different cultures. Consequently, a strategy of change, which was successful in one culture would not necessarily succeed in another.

This gives rise to what anthropologists call 'cultural relativism' which implies that no cultural system can be adequately studied from the framework of another. Each culture is peculiar (White, 1969: 364). Information about the cultural differences between societies, their roots, and their consequences should therefore precede any intervention. Development interventions are most likely to succeed when the parties involved in the intervention understand the need for it. This also calls for respect and appreciation of the indigenous knowledge of the people.

The core of culture is the values held by the people. Values are broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others. Values define what is good or evil; right or wrong; acceptable or unacceptable. This in turn is defined by the religious beliefs of the people and in most African societies has sanctions attached. The values can also be located in the



norms of the society which are usually cast in taboos. Norms are standards of values that exist within a group or category of people. Taboos are prohibitions which are dictated by the religious institutions but in most cases implemented by the political institutions. They carry religious sanctions which when broken, are regarded as an offence against the 'gods' or 'ancestors' and hence can affect the whole society. A propitiatory sacrifice would therefore in most cases be demanded to take away the punitive curse which can follow such offences (Hofstede: 8).

I will at this point isolate and discuss the impact of specific cultural norms which can inhibit development.

### *3.1.1. Gender differences*

Though culture may tend to seek order, regularity and equilibrium in society, it is also ridden with contradictions and conflicts. Any development project must therefore aim at the just resolution of these conflicts and contradictions not just their symptoms but also their deep causes. It must seek the integral liberation of individuals, families and peoples within the unique socio-cultural context in which they live (Alexander et al., 1980: 2). There might be the need for adequate study and examination of the inherent tendencies of the culture which could either promote or inhibit the outcome of the development project.

As regards gender, there are differences in most cultures and certainly, in Africa. If we recognise that within each society there is men's culture which differs from women's culture, it will help us to explain why it is difficult to change traditional gender roles. In most traditional African societies there are gender-based division of labour and household maintenance responsibilities. Women in most cultures are not allowed to undertake out-of-house jobs which in most cases are highly paid nor allowed to cultivate cash crops. Men's responsibility in household maintenance is limited to the provision of grain while the women are supposed to provide for vegetables and protein components of the family meal. Women also

bear the responsibility to provide for the clothing and health needs of the children and herself. Meanwhile women may not control the principal resource for production which in this study, as in most African societies, is land.

In such cultural arrangements development interventions aiming at improving the welfare of women may fail to reach them if these do not address the cultural arrangements. This explains the failure of most development efforts which proceed with the view of the benefits of development trickling down to all members of society. Benefits may end up with the family and community heads in a male dominated society.

In such a context development efforts are likely to be better absorbed if the beliefs and values hindering their absorption are understood and taken care of. It is in the view of these constraints of culture that I discuss "entitlement systems" as one major cultural value which inhibit development but which peasants from their traditional African societies are afraid to change as it is a heritage from the ancestors

### 3.1.2. Culture and Sources of Entitlement.

This section seeks to highlight the inhibitive tendencies in entitlement systems in rural communities. It elucidates the limitations of culturally defined rights to economic resources in rural societies. It argues that development efforts would fail to bring equitable benefit to the society unless the entitlement systems which dictates people's access to economic resource use is appreciated and addressed. This argument is based on the realisation of the vulnerable position of women in men-dominated gender relations in resource ownership and control as defined by the entitlement system.

By *entitlement* is meant " the possibility to make legitimate claim to a commodity, i.e. claims based on rights. It is a function of both *power* and *law*. *Power* means opportunity, actual command. *Law* legitimizes and hence protects power in case of dispute ( Gaay Fortman, 1990: 1).

*Entitlement systems* define people's ability to command control over property through the legal means available in the society. This includes the use of production possibilities, trade opportunities, entitlement vis-a-vis the state (Sen, 1981: 45). Entitlement approaches also concentrate on those means of commanding a commodity that are legitimised by the legal systems in operation in that society. Legal systems are defined by the cultural norms of the people within their historical experience.

#### *Sources of Entitlement positions*

Gaay Fortman (1990: 7-8) identifies four sources of entitlement but two are of concern in this essay.

i. *Affiliation to Institutions;*

Entitlement derived from membership of an institution. An example of such institution is the tribe, the church or the enterprise. By being a member of a tribe one is allocated with the right of access to land and to the fruits of its exploitation. However, these rights might not apply to all members of the tribe equally. There might be gender differences as to these rights.

ii. *Direct resource-base entitlement.*

This is based on what one possess on his/her own, for example, one's own land, one's own labour etc. One with such entitlement is able to enter into exchange with others for other entitlements.

This supports Sen's identification of *ownership* as one major kind of entitlement relations (Sen, 1981: 1). Ownership as an entitlement relation legitimise one set of ownership in regard to another through certain rules. However legitimacy is relative and is defined by the society. What is legitimate in one society might not be legitimate in another. For example a daughter in a matrilinear society has a legitimate ownership right to the family land and other properties but daughters in patrilinear societies do not have such rights. Ownership entitlement is therefore culturally dependent. It follows from the norms and values of the society.

Legitimate right must be approved by the society and is limited by the legitimacy of other members of the society. Ownership entitles a person to the right to use, exchange or

dispose of a property or endowment legally. But cultural norms can limit these rights. For example among the Kusaasi of Upper Region of Ghana, a woman cannot claim ownership of livestock she might have got either by exchange or otherwise once it enters the husbands compound. She can neither sell nor even eat it without the consent of the husband.

Development aimed at improving on the living conditions must therefore, address the social order that defines these entitlement relations if it is to achieve the set goals. The marginalized must be emancipated if they are to benefit from development efforts ( Gaay Fortman, 1990: 15). The question however is how can we change the social order which is culturally defined and entrenched in the religious beliefs of the people? This will be taken up for discussion but before then the paper looks at the influence of religious belief on development.

### **3.2. Religion and Development**

Conventionally, questions of economic, technological and scientific cooperation had been considered so technical that the role and differences between the belief and value systems of different people was ignored (Hofstede, :4). Rather analysis of development has been based on growth in GNP per capita. A developing economy or society is one experiencing growth in GNP. However, there is an emerging call for a reassessment of the relationship between development and religion, a reassessment which will see religion as a major factor in the moral base of the society and hence can speed up or impede development.

Tawney stresses this call for consideration of religion in development efforts when he says:

"the life and thought of the majority of men move within a framework fixed by assumptions as to the nature of the universe which in the view of those concerned, have their source in religion. To dismiss the whole world of reflection and emotion as an ideological super-structure rationalising ambitions, discontents and cupidities operating on a different plane, is to sacrifice known realities on the altar of hypothesis waiting to be proved". ... [The dismissal of religion] "is one more example of the apparently ineradicable propensities to suppose that

a mentality alien to our own cannot really have existed, and as a consequence when confronted by so a surprising a monstrosity, to explain it away by translating it into terms intelligible to our more enlightenment selves. The world unfortunately is not so made" (Tawney, 1953: 17).

Religious belief is reflected in the way people try to respond to issues or problems that confront them or in the way they answer questions others in the community ask. Customs passed down from the ancestors reflect their attempt to cope with the environment. To depart from them is to risk opening up life to attack and destruction. There is a consequences for behaviour deviating from the norms of the ancestors. Change must be implemented only after consulting with the elders and the ancestors through divination. Schott has observed that

" the consequence of a religious attitude, of an ethos which results from the idea that the living are on the one hand especially dependent on the most ancient ancestor... and on the other hand, on the most recent ones who have died only a short while before and who at sacrifices will be remembered in prayer and receive their share of the food first has great implications for the behaviour and attitude of believers" (Howell, 1994: 21).

Ancestor worship causes them to dwell in the past and to think insufficiently of the present and the future. It is therefore very difficult for individuals to break with traditional practices. This invariably impedes the success of development efforts. However this same ancestral system is used to implement change. They survive in a fragile, uncertain and fear filled environment which shows that, the supernatural and the physical are intimately linked and supports the social power structure. It may take time to implement a change which has to be accepted by the headman or chief ( after consulting the ancestors probably through divination) ( Howell, *ibid*) . The religious and the non religious are so closely interwoven that at times it is difficult to distinguish between the two. To approach life and problems in the physical sphere means relating to what is perceived as spiritual; to approach spiritual matters means also to deal with the practical realities of life. This has implications for response to change.

*The Church as a development agent*

---

With regard to development interventions, religion defines the character and attitude of actors. Religious values and practices determine the actors' orientation towards the type of technology to be adopted, and the relationship that should exist between the various actors in the development efforts. Christian religious values and convictions are defined by the life and work of Jesus Christ, the pioneer and perfecter of the Christian faith, which has its roots in the Old Testament.

Right from the Old Testament, God's concern has been that his people should show special concern for the poor, the weak and the disadvantaged in general. For example from Exodus 22: 21-24, God commands his people to show special concern for the widows, orphans and strangers. Considering the fact that God who is the object of worship and Lord of the Christian church, cares so much for the poor it would be surprising to see the church not doing the same. It is only by working to free the oppressed and serve the poor that the church can be found to be doing the will and mission of the one who has established the church to continue his work on earth.

Really, Christ would have told the church if she is to neglect this noble mission "depart from me, you cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels ( Matthew 25: 41 and James 2: 14-17). There is no doubt that Jesus would want his followers to relate with the poor and the needy in the same way that he related with them while on earth. God would want those who have to share their resources with those who don't have them (Acts 2:44-45 and Acts 4: 32). This sets out strategies for the equalization of the unjust unequal economic relations such that all may be one (John 17: 20-23). However, this has the tendency of leading the church to adopt a "Father Christmas" approach to development. She may end up dispensing charity without helping the people to develop themselves. The Church may ignore the Chinese adage which holds that it is better to teach a hungry man how to fish than to give him a fish. Charitable development approach may not be sustainable and may also lead the

beneficiaries to become dependent rather than independent individuals who can improve their own situations.

On the other hand, the Church in development efforts can start with a moral code whose maintenance is based on her relationship with the society which is central in her efforts.

---

The Church can adopt a participatory approach to development which is a reflection of the view of persons affected by the efforts. The focus is normally on the ordinary believer and since religious performance at that level is central, contact between the people and the Church is generally quite dispersed throughout the entire society. This has the benefit of defining development or progress to relate to the reality of a large number of groups of persons. Secondly, the very contact makes the moral base constantly open to checking so that any process which is begun has its moral base consonant with its activity (Wilber and Jameson, 1980: 477). The importance of Participatory Development Practice in enhancing the economic and social position of different people in development is discussed below.





### 3.3. The Concept of Participation in Rural Development Project Practice (PDP).

---

Conventional modes of rural development, explicitly or implicitly, treat people as objects of change and the relation between the development agent and the people often takes the form of a subject acting upon an object; (rural) people have been told what to do. The outcome is a delivery approach, that is, an attempt to bring development to people through deliveries of knowledge and resources from outside (Sethi, 1987: 52).

The principle and approach to any form of development practice is largely dependent upon how the practitioners perceive the people among whom they work and the intended change they plan to bring into the lives of the people and the community at large. Many development projects see change as the introduction of new technologies and ideas into rural areas. The stress has therefore been on the appropriate package of technology, inputs and how this could be delivered effectively in the rural community (Oakley, P, et al, 1991: 161). There is however, an emerging awareness of a strong correlation between active people's participation and project success. There is therefore an emerging shift from the capital-investment growth models of the 1960s to the more people-centred basic needs approaches to development (Cohen & Uphoff, 1980: 213).

Subsequently, people's involvement in project identification, planning and implementation is identified to be critical to the success of development projects (Oakley et al, 1987:172). Participatory development practice therefore sees change as a process which is based on people, their needs and how they analyze their own problems to take decisions for a change. This implies that people, irrespective of their social and economic situations can progressively transform their lives with the help of and not with the dominance by external agents. Participatory development practitioners therefore see rural people as subjects and not as objects of the development project (ibid.).



### 3.3.1. What is Participatory Development Practice ?

The term participation itself is ambiguous hence different people hold different views about participation. Participants at a course on Participatory Training for Development organized in Ghana, summed up their basic understanding of participation as follows:

- i. Participation is sharing the cost of the development project with the target group or those who will benefit from it. For example, the women, poor farmers, etc;
- ii. Participation is consulting the community leaders and making sure that they are involved in the decision making. These leaders include chiefs, elders, household heads and women leaders;
- iii. Participation is sharing the power of decision making in planning and implementation of development project with the target group (Kamara and Denkabe, 1993: 1).

According to Tannenbaum, (1973: 85), participation refers to the formal involvement of members of a community or organization in the exercise of control, usually through decision making in group meetings. Increasing participation in decision making involves not simply the readjustment of different amounts of decision contributed by one individual or another: it involves bringing together different parts of the total and thus reversing the process of fragmentation (Hebden & Shaw, 1977 : 12).

Similarly, Uphoff, Cohen and Goldsmith (1979: 4), see participation "as the involvement of a significant number of persons in situations or actions which enhance their well-being, eg. their income, security or self-esteem".

Buys & Galzart (1982), similarly see participation to occur where " all members of the target group or those concerned have the possibility to take part directly or indirectly in decision making and evaluation of a distribution system or institution, and have an essential part in its functioning and the results". Participation is manifested by organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from control" (Pearse, A and Stiefel M., 1979: 25).

### 3.3.2. Principles of Participatory Development Practice.

Following from the appreciation by participatory development practitioners of the important role played by local people, the following principles could be identified with Participatory Development Practice.

#### *Rural People's Knowledge or Indigenous Knowledge*

Participatory development appreciates the "creative tension between two knowledge streams, namely rural people's essentially experiential knowledge and the formal knowledge introduced from outside" (ibid.:163). This experiential knowledge otherwise referred to as Indigenous Knowledge (IK) (Ayeh, 1996) has over the years been ignored or down-played by many development agents who had sought to control all resources, both material and intellectual that are brought into the development efforts. However of late, at least in the literature, the indigenous knowledge of the communities is being appreciated as a just as appropriate basis for development as that knowledge brought in by outside professionals.

H. Sethi's Refocussing praxis, (New Delhi, \_UNDP Interaction Programme, 1987) and the World Council of Churches' People's participation and people's movements, vol 1-3, (Geneva, 1981) are good examples of literature on the emergence of this new phenomenon on the interplay between external intellectuals and local people's knowledge.

#### *"Bottom-up" Approach*

Following from the appreciation of indigenous knowledge is the principle of "bottom-up" approach to development. It is appreciated that the community's awareness of the necessity and effectiveness of their active participation in their own development will ensure that progress will continue even after the formal end of the project. The members of the community are to be encouraged to identify and appreciate their situation, the

cause and also the appropriate solution. Emphasis is laid on the use of local resources to redress the situation with limited inputs from outside which will stimulate the effective use of the local resources. This is hoped to prevent the people from becoming dependent on the project and the external resources for survival.

### *Inclusion of Women*

Participatory development practice recognizes women as important in the household and the community at large who play a great and essential role in the maintenance and development of the community and their households in particular. This is contrary to previous strategies which saw men as the household and community heads from whom the benefits of development efforts would trickle down to the other members of the household and the community. This does not merely imply the reorientation of delivery services and resources from men to women neither must it seek to divide women from men but it must see them as equal partners in the development of the rural community and households. This approach to the emancipation of women would permit the husbands to get involved in the struggle of the women (ILO, 1982: 25).

The culture of the people must however be taken into consideration to avoid confrontation with the traditions. The most effective way is to study the inhibitory tendencies of the culture to development and to adopt strategies that would best circumvent the culture rather than overturning it. This calls for cooperation of all actors in the development effort.

### 3.3.3. The Actors in Participatory Development

An effective participatory development practice requires the active cooperation and interaction between various actors; the external agencies, the project staff and all segments of the rural community.

### *The external agencies:*

By external agencies is meant any formal, informal or ad hoc body which mobilizes resources in order to intervene in a particular area. It is with these agencies that the process of participation begins and on whom it depends. These bodies could either be governmental or non-governmental. However, there is a current debate as to which of the two is most effective in promoting participatory development in the rural areas. Midgeley, for example, argues strongly that government agencies with access to central decision-making and greater volume of resources are in a better position to promote participation (Midgeley, 1986 in Oakley, 1988: 176). It is however, recognized that government agency run projects are usually large and they incorporate participation as an input into predetermined plans and not as a process. Oakley et al. also argue that with their linkage to the state bureaucratic apparatus such services are not in a position to function independently and therefore tend not to be sensitive to participation (ibid.).

On the other hand Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) being usually small and independent from strict governmental control tend to be flexible in the use of resources and innovative in approach. They are therefore able to incorporate participation as a process. Participation in such projects is more linked to wider, structural issues and not limited to contributions or project management.

The fact that staff of NGOs are more openly committed to the radical changes that participation implies and less constrained by the professional nature of their work makes their success more credible (Oakley et al, 1988: 177). This must however, not be taken as given for there is an on-going debate on this still. While Padron (1982) argues that NGOs are more effective others like Millwood (1988) suggests that this must not be taken categorically. What is generally accepted is the fact that NGOs are more equipped to deal with the demands of a process of participation (ibid).

### *The staff of the project*

The project staff and especially the leaders are the hub around which the whole process of participation revolves. Their views, aspirations and approach bear greatly on the success of developing participation in the development process. The staff's work is seen as a liaison between the external agencies and the community. They do the organizing of the local people. To be effective in promoting participation the staff must first understand from the local people what their questions are, help them to articulate these better and also help them to find solutions. They must not be seen as bringing along with them ready packaged diagnosis, prescriptions and solutions. "He must appreciate the depth of the knowledge of the local people which they must make use of as equal partners in the participatory process" ( Tilakaratna, 1987: xii; OXFAM : Tanzania :249).

### *The Rural Community*

There is the tendency to regard the involvement in participatory development practice of the people in rural communities as an entity. We talk of the participation of the " rural poor"; "the poor majority"; "the marginalized women" etc. However, such a conception bundles together a heterogenous group making it difficult to assess their participation in any respect. There are significant differences in occupation, socio-cultural background, land holdings, access to productive resources, gender, caste and religion which relates to their poverty or marginalization. It would therefore be essential to make a distinction as to which category of rural people we are talking of.

In discussing who participates in the participatory process the following background characteristics should be taken into consideration. These should include;

- i. gender relations,
- ii. intra and inter-family relations,
- iii. educational status,
- iv. occupation,
- v. level of income and resources,
- iv. land tenure and or employment status.

These characteristics set different people apart in their level of participation as to their resource control. This may call for different activities to be emphasized to different segments of the rural community. "Non-farm employment" is an example of such strategies which can at least minimise the social and economic inequalities in rural communities.

### **3.4. Non-Farm Employment, Rural Inequalities and Social Stratifications.**

The issue of rural inequalities and social stratifications has become a major concern for policy makers and non-governmental organizations involved in rural development. By rural inequalities and social stratifications is meant the existence of disparities in income, access to and control of productive resources. These combine to be translated into differentiation in social and economic position in the rural areas.

Though, of late various non-governmental organizations have tried to redress this situation, it still persists. This is because of the failure to address the socio-culturally defined entitlement systems to enable women to control their own assets. A possible way out is promotion of non-farm economic activities which can improve on the economic position and subsequently political power of the vulnerable in the society which are mostly the women. However, such an intervention can only address the issue if it takes in to consideration the cultural norms of the people concerned.

#### **3.4.1. Definitions and delineation of basic concepts and terms.**

The term rural inequality refers to the existence of unequal access to and ownership and control of economic resources like land. Access to land which is the basic productive asset in the rural economy has great implications for income base and social position. In this paper social stratification is conceptualized



in terms of development of differences in farm size, land ownership, and income existing in the rural societies.

Non-farm employment and income are used here to refer to economic activities that are oriented towards adjustment in the ~~major or complementary occupation of people other than on-farm~~ activity or income. Such activities result in the redirection of labour from farming to other economic activities. In classical economic theory and current mainstream development approaches expansion of the non-agricultural sector is seen as between agriculture and industry (Bryceson, working paper no 19). Non-farm activity may involve some agricultural activity if we view agricultural activity to encompass the whole process of agricultural production ranging from cultivation, to processing and even marketing of agricultural produce. One can engage in one or the other of an agricultural activity without access to land but not so with farming activity. In discussing therefore non-farm activity the issue of land becomes central to why people engage in other activities be it agricultural or otherwise.

#### 3.4.2. Reasons for engagement in non-farm employment

In the past, non-farm activities was conceived as a supplementary activity that occupies the farmer during off-season periods mostly among marginalised producers and the landless but of late its central position in the occupation of many people has been realized (Bryceson, : 2). There is increasing participation in non-farm activities. Bryceson, (ibid: 7), reports of a global decline in agricultural labour from 57% to 49% of the total labour force between 1965 and 1989. The ratio is even lower in the developed industrial countries which registered a decline from 22% to 11% while that of sub-Saharan countries was from 79% to 68%. On the contrary, there is increasing participation in non-farm activities as a reflection of the proportion of income derived from non-farm activities compared with other sources. The table below elucidates this point.



Table 3. Sources of Household income, 1971 and 1988 in a Philippine community.

Income source	Percentage	
	1971	1988
Agric only	22	23.0
Non-agric	19.6	44.6
<u>Both</u>	<u>58.0</u>	<u>32.4</u>

Source: Eder, 1993 page 657.

Table three shows that, there is an increasing proportion of people who depend solely on non-farm activities for a living. On the other hand there is quite a large number of people who engage in non-farm activities but simultaneously with agriculture, due to the low specialization in subsistence economies. They do so to distribute the risk and uncertainties inherent in farming ventures which in most developing economies are rain-fed making it fragile or as a source of income supplement while others do so to find work during off-seasons. Non-farm activities contribute between 40-65% to total employment, 40% of which take it as primary occupation while 55% take it as secondary employment.

A survey of six villages in Chandpur in Bangladesh showed that 30-40% of the total household income of these villages came from non-farm employment (Chowdhury, 1988: 32-33). The reasons are the following. First, the growing pressure on land as a result of growing population density and competition for land between farming activity and construction of houses and other infrastructures. The inaccessibility to and control of land in a typical farming community could also force people into non-farm employment as is happening in the research area. Another reason is the development of cash economies which had reduced the capacity of rural people to survive on subsistence. There is need for money to pay for many goods and services like fuel, health, education and transportation.

### 3.4.3 Sources of Non-farm employment and income

Typical non-farm employment in rural areas includes commerce, transport, crafts and rural industries. I shall discuss however the important contribution of rural industrialization to rural development which is of interest to this study.

#### *Rural Industries.*

The improvement of access to and distribution of rural income has been the major development objective of many non-governmental and international organizations mostly working with rural women. Such organizations identify cottage industries with rural industry and therefore promote cottage industries as a major source of employment for the rural poor. In Ghana, the World Vision International and the 31st December Women's Movement are two major examples of NGOs promoting cottage industries among rural women. The main types are agro-processing like gari, palm oil and soap making. They also give credits to rural women to improve on their access to credits either in kind or in cash. The 31st December Women's Movement in addition, also buys the produce of these industries which they resell either in the urban areas or export them. Thus they are able to provide a ready market for the produce.

However as to the ability of these attempts in addressing the inequalities, Ayeh (1991: 2-3), has observed that credit to women is not able to benefit the women (cf. Agarwal, 1992: 184-185). The reason for the failure lies in the culturally entrenched position of women in the sexual division of labour and control of resources by men. For example in a discussion with the projects officer of the 31DWM of the Akuapem North District, it came out that the women bring the raw materials, in this case mostly cassava, to be processed by the industry. These are then sold and the produce bought by the movement. However, in a society where women do not own land and are not expected to farm on their own but to help the husbands on the men's farm, it is obvious that whatever is realized is paid to the man eventually

and thus only succeeds in accentuating the male biases in income distribution. These are, however, cultural issues which cannot be addressed by only economic policies. Other reasons are to be found in the ability of the different categories of the people ~~to take advantage of the opportunities provided. Education is a~~ major strategy to be adopted in building up the capacity of the target group to take full advantage of the opportunity and ensure that the benefit goes to the target group. However, this must not be limited to the target group but must be available to all the members of the society as attempt to change a cultural issue requires the full cooperation of all members of the society.

Chapter four addresses how GAS is working to enhance the socio-economic position of women in the Tamne basin. The Station tries to involve all the actors in the development effort in its work. By encouraging the women to take to non-farm employment the Station has been able to enhance the women's ownership entitlement position.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF GARU AGRICULTURAL STATION (GAS).

---

GAS is the oldest surviving agricultural station of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. It was formally established in 1967. This followed the call for an agriculturist by Rev. C. B. Both to help farmers in the church there to improve upon their agricultural activities. Subsequently, Mr Carl Rigters, an agronomist, was sent there in 1965. Based upon his experience and recommendation the station was opened two years after his arrival.

The station is being funded by the Inter- Church Coordinating Organization, which receives its funds from the Dutch government. Presently, the station has a labour force of thirty three.

#### *Aim*

The aim of the station was generally:

- i. To provide extension services to the farmers,
- ii. To provide needed tools and seed to the farmers.
- iii. To improve the output performance of the farmers;
- iv. To improve the standard of living of the members of the church;

Three distinct administrative phases can be identified. These phases also coincide with the three distinct approaches the station had adopted.

#### **1965 to 1972: PHASE ONE**

The first phase was the period under the administration of Mr Rigters. The main activity centred around trials of improved seed for distribution to the farmers. To improve the fertility of the soil, chemical fertilizer was introduced and distributed to the

farmers. Extension activities was limited to nine villages. The services and inputs were supplied to the farmers freely.

The extension service was based on the contact farmer approach, whereby a farmer was chosen in each village to serve as the link between the station and the other farmers. He was the one who was expected to try a new technology or seed first on his farm as a demonstration to the other farmers. If there is any input to be sent to the farmers he is the one who takes delivery of it and then distributes it to the other farmers. All the contact farmers were presbyters or elders in the local church. This approach could however lead to differentiation in the communities as benefits of the activities could be limited to only members of the church without trickling down to the other members of the society. Currently, most of these contact farmers, then poor themselves, are the wealthy people in the communities.

Perhaps, mistakenly, based on the principle of Christian "diakonia", most services were offered without any fee being charged. Such "a Father-Christmas" approach to development which saw itself as a charity organisation could lead to dependency rather than helping the people to overcome their stuck poverty. The sustainability of such an approach is also doubtful, as source of funding can diminish over time as was the case here.

#### **1972 to 1984 PHASE TWO**

The second phase was the period under the administration of Mr John Opata between 1972 and 1984. This phase saw the continuation with the seed improvement and sale to farmers. Improved breeds of pigs and poultry were also introduced to the farmers. To be able to effectively reach the farmers, the station organized the farmers in each village into a farmers' group or cooperative. All the various cooperatives came together to form the Bawku East Small Scale Farmers' Association (BESSFA). The station began to charge minimum fees for services and inputs it was supplying to the farmers. This became necessary as a result of a cut in the funding available to the station after the former expatriate manager had left. To reduce the financial burden of the farmers,



a credit scheme was established to pre-finance the farming activities of the farmers. This scheme later developed into the BESSFA Rural Bank Ltd with the farmers as the major share holders.

The Rural Bank took over the provision of credits to the farmers and also provided avenues for the farmers to save their surpluses. It was also aimed at giving the farmers a stake in the administration of the funds of the credit. Having contributed to the establishment of the bank, it was hoped that they would be responsible in the use of the credits they were given and use it for the purpose for which it was given.

However, some of the farmers who had been used to the charitable services of the Rigters administration lost interest in the activities of the station. To date farmers compare the "good old days of Rigters" with the "Opata time". This illustrates the problem that is created by rendering services without charging any fees. It leads to client-patron relationship with the client always looking to the patron for everything without any effort from himself. It takes away the self-respect of the client and makes him dependent on the patron without whom the client is helpless or unwilling to help himself.

During the first two phases the station ignored the negative aspects of the culture and regarded men as "the farmers" and women as "the housekeepers". The assumption then was that the benefit would trickle down to all the members of the household. However, it was observed that while the men became better off the women became worse off (Ayeh 1991: 41). This was because with increase in income most of the men went in for more wives while the women continue to shoulder their culturally defined role of providing for themselves and their children. Without any support from any source they remained as they were. This observation led the third and present administration to take a new approach in reaching the whole society. Instead of targeting on "farmers" the emphasis was shifted to "farm families". This is in recognition of the different entitlement position and gender division of roles. Emphasis was placed on improving women's non-farm activities.

... ..

---

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

---

... ..

... ..

... ..

### **1985: PHASE THREE: a break with the past**

Mr and Mrs Ayeh, both agronomists, were appointed as co-directors of the station in 1985. It was the first time a woman had been employed in management position in the station and her inclusion on the management marked a shift in policies and approach to work. The couple started their work with the documentation and review of existing activities. They either redesigned or continued with the existing activities. The next strategy was to include women in their target groups as a way of addressing the inequalities between genders.

### **4.2 GAS SINCE 1987.**

Despite the fact that the station has existed and worked in the communities for some twenty years, there has not been much improvement in the lives of farming families. As pointed out earlier, though there might have been some improvement in farm output, the benefit failed to trickle down to the entire membership of farming families. It is also mentioned earlier that women were responsible for most household reproduction functions yet they were outside the activities of the station. The activities of the station therefore failed to have the expected impact on the farming families. This meant that there might be something fundamentally wrong either in the society or the approach of the station.

It was realized that much of the causes of the poverty and deprivation in the society has to do with the culturally defined position of women. However, to help women out of this situation depended on the willingness and support of the men. The first step towards improving the status and condition of women and the household therefore is to reorient the society towards the important role women can play in the life of the household.

#### *Sensitising the men*

The men were made aware of the need to allow their wives to support them in their household responsibilities (Ayeh 1991: 42).

By allowing wives to cultivate their own separate fields, they could supplement the husbands' harvest which could not provide for the family throughout the year. The short raining season affects the crop yields and coupled with the poor market prices, the husbands' capacity to provide for the entire needs of the household is eroded. There is therefore the need for the active participation of all members of the household in providing for their needs.

Since women own no land they could also engage in other activities to bring in income to supplement those coming from the family farming activities. In line with the stations participatory approach, the men were made to understand that GAS was ready to help in this direction but can do so only with the men's permission. This made the men feel that their importance was being appreciated so were prepared to reciprocate by encouraging the wives to join the activities of the station.

#### *Awareness creation among the women*

The approach was to make the women feel loved and important to the maintenance of their households. The station related with the women as valued persons and by this they learnt to value themselves. They appreciated that they were more than just "women" and that they could make significant contributions to the well-being of their families and societies by taking part in the activities of the station.

#### 4.2.1 Activities

In line with the above the Women and Development programme was incorporated into the extension activities of the station in 1987. ~~Meanwhile the extension services through the men groups~~ continued albeit with different strategies. Generally the

activities of the station come under the following headings;

- i. group animation and formation;
- ii. agro-forestry;
- iii. compost making;
- iv. Income generating activities;
- v. inputs supply;
- vi. courses and
- vii. Babies and nutritional Improvement programme.

##### *Group Animation and formation*

The existing men groups were revived and new ones encouraged. The groups replaced the contact farmers as the avenue of contact between station and ordinary farmers. They were encouraged to meet and discuss their problems and find alternative solutions and only approach the station when the problem is beyond their capacity. To enhance this, the groups were asked to appoint from among themselves some people to be trained as *Village Extension Workers* (VEWs). The VEWs were to serve as the immediate extension staff in the village. They were to give simple medication and advice in the absence of the station extension staff responsible for the zone.

##### *agro-forestry*

The farmers are educated to appreciate the importance of sound environmental practices to their farming activities. In line with this they considered how deforestation can affect the fertility and water retention capacity of the soil which can in turn affect their productivity. They were therefore encouraged to avoid

cutting down trees indiscriminately and also to take to tree planting. The station itself does not run nurseries but the farmers are encouraged to contact the appropriate agency like the Catholic Tree Planting Project for seedlings.

#### *Compost making*

The station realised the harmful effect on the soil and the environment and the increasing high prices of chemical fertilizer. Meanwhile farmers have traditionally been using the manure from their kraals on their farm. Since this was not sufficient it was not possible to improve the soil significantly. The station therefore introduced the farmers to the making of compost using the stocks of the millet and sorghum after harvest and the manure from the kraals. When the pile is well decomposed it gives large volumes of manure which is richer in nutrients. The farmers were trained in how they can prepare the compost themselves. Since it required no cost it was hoped to reduce significantly their production cost and increase their profits. With the fibre content the compost is also better able to improve on the texture of the soil and maintain its fertility longer.

#### *Inputs*

The station continues to supply farmers with inputs. This includes improved seeds, bullock and riggers, and improved breeds of poultry and pigs. Farmers still pay for these inputs but they are subsidised.

#### *Courses*

This involves training of station staff, village extension workers, mothers, and farmers. While the staff of the station are trained in new extension techniques the village extension workers and farmers are trained in new research findings. The mothers training programme is on weaning-food preparation and soya bean cultivation.

### *Babies' Nutrition Project*

This project arose from request made by the mothers for assistance in getting healthy babies to ensure their survival. The project aims at reducing malnutrition through including soya bean ( a local crop) in the diet;

---

- i. to encourage women to grow soya bean. Soya bean contains the highest amount of protein of all the legumes. It is easy to cultivate and has high pest resistance.
- ii. to produce protein rich weaning food for children with locally available and cheap ingredients;
- iii. to teach women how to prepare weaning food to increase the survival rate of motherless babies left in the care of grandmothers and baby-minders.
- iv. to demonstrate to mothers the effectiveness of supplementing feeding in the early stages of a child's life instead of breast feeding alone for one to two years.

The project covers

- i. motherless babies;
- ii. babies with mothers lacking (adequate) breast milk;
- iii. Mothers with multiple babies like twins or triplets;
- iv. malnourished children and
- v. children with acute poverty stricken mothers.

The children are either identified by WID field staff from the villages in which they work or are referred to the station by the Health centre or clinics in the in other villages. The mothers are taught how to prepare weaning food from maize/millet, groundnuts and soyabean in addition to what is prepared by the station. Mothers are also given dried skimmed milk which was initially supplied by the church head office but now from Reformed Church at Eerbeek in the Netherlands.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records and the role of the auditor in ensuring the integrity of the financial statements.

It is essential for the auditor to maintain independence and objectivity throughout the audit process to provide a fair and unbiased opinion on the financial statements.

The auditor should also ensure that the audit is conducted in accordance with the applicable auditing standards and regulations.

The second part of the document outlines the specific procedures and techniques used by the auditor to identify and assess the risk of material misstatement.

These procedures include understanding the entity and its environment, assessing the risk of material misstatement, and performing substantive tests of details.

The auditor should also consider the effectiveness of internal controls and the risk of fraud in the financial statements.

The final part of the document discusses the auditor's responsibility to communicate the results of the audit to the appropriate parties, including the board of directors and the shareholders.

The auditor should also provide a clear and concise report that summarizes the findings of the audit and the auditor's opinion on the financial statements.

In conclusion, the auditor plays a crucial role in ensuring the integrity and reliability of the financial statements, and it is essential for the auditor to maintain high standards of professional conduct and competence.



**Table 4 Statistics of Babies Nutrition Programme.**

Yr	No admitted	No b/fwd	No dead	No disch- arged	No @ end of year	Qty of weaning food (tons)	Qty of milk (kg)
1988	15	-	2	-	13	0.25	30.0
1989	33	13	3	-	43	0.904	154.5
1990	37	43	3	9	68	1.087	225.5
1991	33	68	4	21	35	1.732	137.5
1992	60	35	7	38	50	1.988	97.9
1993	54	50	4	4	46	1.5	225.0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>232</b>		<b>23</b>	<b>72</b>		<b>7.461</b>	<b>685.902</b>

Source: Records of the station and author's computation.

Table 4 shows that out of a total of 232 motherless babies admitted by the programme only 23 of them died. This accounts for roughly 10% of the total admitted and places the mortality rate at 100 deaths out of 1000 as at 1993 as against the previous mortality rate of 230. (see table 4 above).

#### 4.3. APPROACH and STRATEGIES

Realising that the culture of the people cannot be changed but the inherent inhibitory tendencies could be minimised or circumvented, strategies or approaches that value the worth of the people and their indigenous knowledge were adopted. The main approaches adopted since 1987 have been participatory development practice and the introduction of women to non-farm activities.'

##### 4.3.1 Participatory Development Practice

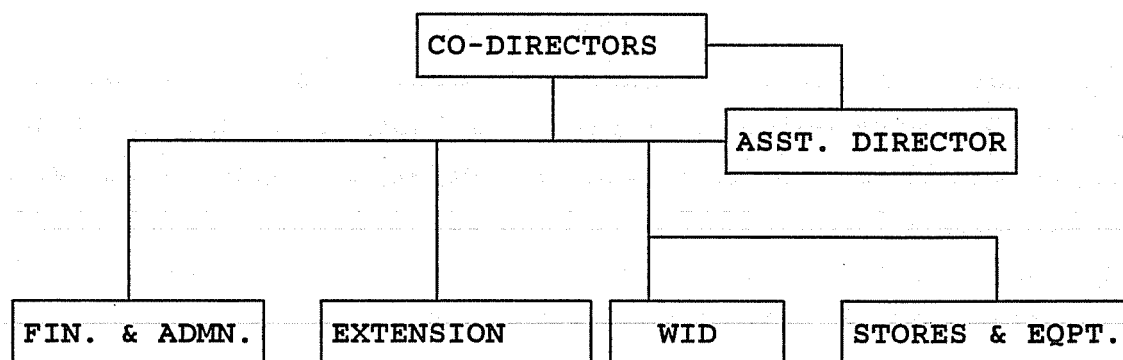
As discussed in chapter 3, participatory development practice provides for the respect for and inclusion of all people to be affected by the activity in the decision making process. Participation is seen in all sectors of the life and work of the station from management through to the work with the farmers.

### Participation in station administration

This involves the participation of all officials in the administration. The work of the agricultural stations is organised under the Agriculture Services Committee, (ASC), which groups directors of all agricultural stations of the church. It is the national policy making body. Under the ASC is the Area Management Committee, (AMC), which comprises the directors, departmental heads and representatives from the community. It has responsibility for policy making at the catchment area level. The administration at the station level is under the Internal Management Committee, (IMC), with various departments for effective management but working together as one unit. There are four departments viz. Finance and Administration, Equipment and Stores, Women in Development and the Extension Departments.

The IMC is headed by the co-directors and below them comes the assistant director, followed by the departmental heads. Each department has a number of supporting staff. Below is the organizational structure of the station.

#### ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF GAS



At the top are the co-directors; followed by the assistant director, and under them are the departmental heads and their staff.

A typical week begins with a meeting of all the departmental heads and the directors. At such meetings the work of the previous week is reviewed to find out what has been done and what

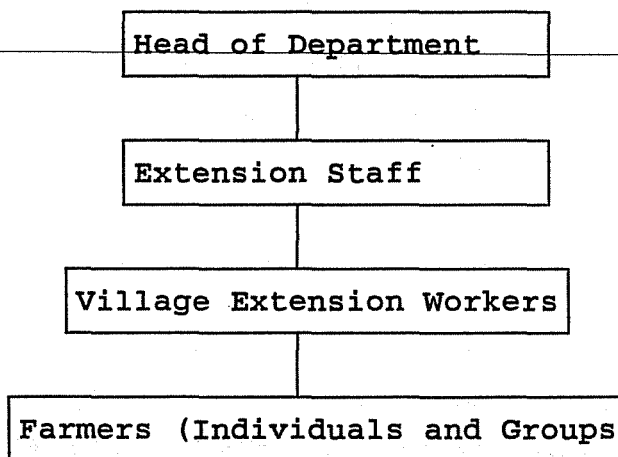
is left to be done. A new plan of work is drawn by all of them ensuring that there is coherency in the various activities. Before the meeting of the management, each departmental head is expected to have met with his/her staff to review the work of the ~~previous week at the respective department and also draw plans~~ for the current week. The departmental head is expected to carry to the departmental meeting any changes that might arise from the management meeting. The whole process thrives on discussion and mutual understanding of each other's role and worth in the organization. A lot of cooperation is needed in such administrative procedure.

The planning of the annual and quarterly plan of work as well as budget follows the same procedure. Each department meet at their level and based upon what they expected to do draw a draft budget which is presented and defended at a management consultation. Through this approach all members of staff feel that they are appreciated and their contributions, however insignificant it might be, are valued. They are therefore prepared to put in their maximum effort. They identify themselves with the work of the station and do everything possible to see its success.

#### *Participation in Extension work*

The extension department is the organ that links the station with the farmers and other target groups. It carries new technologies, seed, new breeds of livestock and poultry and inputs to the farmers. They bring to the station the problems and suggestions of the farmers to the station. The department is structured as follows:



**SYSTEMS FLOW OF THE EXTENSION DEPARTMENT OF GAS**

There is a mutual interaction between the various levels. It is a give-and-take relationship providing for effective learning process. Much use is made of the indigenous knowledge of the people which the station sees as derived from long years of experience. They are therefore consulted and their views collected before the introduction of any planned change. In most cases these changes come in response to request made by the farmers themselves.

Field trials of new seeds and breeds of animals are done on the farms of the farmers who are asked to note down all observable developments and differences. The farmers also try out new technologies before they are distributed to the community. I saw during my research a machine that was built by a Dutch company for the processing of sheanuts. A sample of this machine was procured by the station and given to the women to experiment to see how best it could operate in their environment. After using the machine for some time, the farmers complained that it was not effective so the station had to stop its mass procurement though the station had thought it was going to ease the burden of sheabutter processing.

The role of the Village Extension Worker, VIEW, is another way of involving the communities in the work of the station. The VEWs are appointed by the respective village groups before they

are trained by the station. They are the immediate extension workers in the village to undertake simple medication of livestock and advise farmers on simple problems. They report complex problems to the station but they are involved in finding suitable solutions to the problem they bring. In so doing they are equipped to handle similar problems when they arise without recourse to the station.

*Intra-household participation.*

Traditionally, women are not involved in the decision making process in the house. However, considering the crucial role they play in the maintenance of the household, there is the need for them to take part in decisions that affect their welfare. Since this was a socio-cultural issue tact was needed to address the issue. The women themselves were made to understand why they needed to take part in the process of change. Concurrently the men were educated to appreciate the value of the women and the benefit they, the men stand to reap by involving the women in the daily lives of their household.

The first step in this direction was to get the men to appreciate and allow the women to farm on their own while still helping the men on their farms. The women were then able to provide most of the household needs without always falling back on the men. Women groups were formed separately from those of the men. Seeing the benefits that were coming from the activities of the women groups to the respective households the husbands literally forced their wives to join the groups. This paved the way for the women to be allowed to farm and undertake individual income generating activities by their husbands.

The next step was to persuade the women to ask their husbands for their advice before taking any decision. It must be recognised that women are not seen talking with their husbands except when the men need something. By going on their own to the husband the barrier to communication was broken and gradually the men learnt to discuss issues with their wives especially in

matters pertaining to their farm work. This is most likely when the men see successes in the activities of the women groups.

Another strategy of breaking the culturally defined barrier of communication in the household was through end of year parties organised by the station. ~~The husbands who work with the station~~ were asked by to bring their wives to the end of year party. At first they hesitated but they reluctantly gave in after a little persuasion. At first the men refused to eat with their wives so the women eat separately. During the second year, the accountant of the station, who also hails from the community took the bold step of eating with his wife. Possibly having been encouraged by seeing the director eating with his wife. When it came to dancing he danced with his wife and before long all the others joined in. It is hoped that the example of the staff would spread to the entire community.

#### *Group Dynamics*

Another approach that is adopted in the work of the station is to enhance farmer participation is group dynamics. By grouping the farmers and women together in groups it afforded them the opportunity to share their problems and experiences. They were able to learn together from this. Since 1987, women groups has been formed in addition to the men groups, but separately. This was necessary for women to discuss issues peculiar to them but which might not be of importance to the men because they are considered women problems.

The station uses participatory development practice approach in its relationship with the groups. The formation of these groups are through farmers' own initiative with the station coming in only when called upon.

The table below gives a summary of women groups formed since 1988.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the integrity of the financial system and for the ability to detect and prevent fraud. The text also mentions the need for regular audits and the role of independent auditors in ensuring the reliability of financial statements.

2. The second part of the document focuses on the role of the accounting profession. It highlights the need for accountants to adhere to high standards of ethical conduct and to maintain their professional competence through continuous education. The text also discusses the importance of transparency and the need for accountants to provide clear and concise information to their clients and the public.

3. The third part of the document addresses the challenges faced by the financial system in the current global environment. It discusses the impact of technological advancements, such as digital currencies and blockchain, on traditional financial practices. The text also mentions the need for international cooperation and the establishment of common standards to ensure the stability and resilience of the global financial system.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the role of government in regulating the financial system. It emphasizes the need for strong regulatory frameworks and the importance of government oversight in ensuring the stability and integrity of the financial system. The text also mentions the need for government to promote financial inclusion and to support the growth of the real economy.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the role of the private sector in the financial system. It highlights the importance of strong corporate governance and the need for companies to be transparent and accountable to their stakeholders. The text also mentions the need for the private sector to invest in research and development to drive innovation and to create new opportunities for growth.

6. The sixth part of the document discusses the role of the public in the financial system. It emphasizes the need for financial literacy and the importance of public participation in the financial system. The text also mentions the need for the public to be vigilant and to report any suspicious activities to the appropriate authorities.



Table: 5 Cumulative number of women groups and membership

Year	Number of groups	Number of members
1988	18	314
1989	43	742
1990	45	796
1993	59	1169

Note: The director of the women in development department was away on course between 1990 and 1992.

The formation of women groups started in 1988.

Source: Records of the station.

Table 5 shows a steady increase in both the number of groups formed and the membership especially during the first two years. We can conclude that at least 1169 women have benefitted from the activities of the station. Through the group activities, the women are able to enhance their participation in the productive activities of their respective families.

The group activities also improves on the entitlement position of women as to the control of their resources. It was, culturally, unheard of for a woman to save money in the bank as she is not supposed to control any resource. This cultural norm influenced the work of the BESSFA Rural Bank in their dealing with women customers. In the beginning, bank the manager used to call the respective husband to the bank to seek their views before allowing a woman to save at the bank. Most of this action ended with the husband confiscating the money from the woman. However with the group dynamism, women are now able to save their own money at the bank with some actually owning shares in the bank.

The whole process started with the women going there to save in the name of the group but as they got used to this the staff were allowed to open their own accounts till it has become a common practice. Of course the change in attitude of the bank management may have to do with the change in management. The previous manager was from the society and was therefore sensitive

to the culture of the community and wanted to protect the tradition of the fathers.

Group dynamism has also improved participation of women in social gatherings. At the recent Annual General meeting of the bank, I counted 145 women as against 45 men. If these figures are representative of the share holding of the bank then one can conclude that there are more women share holders than men in the bank. Though the manager tried to explain that they came to represent their groups and were not there as individual shareholders, the conclusion could still hold that there are more women group share holders than men counterparts. This has been achieved through the group dynamics approach which had broken the inhibitory barrier on women control of resources and their assets.

#### 4.3.2 Non-Farm Activities of GAS.

As has been discussed in 3.4, enhancing their participation in non-farm activities, women can improve on their economic and entitlement positions. Not being land based and already culturally classified as women activities, the men tended not to interfere in these activities and their outcome. Thus women had better control over their resources.

The women are organized into cooperatives to promote a spirit of oneness among the women and a feeling of working to achieve a common goal. In line with participatory development approach, the women themselves initiate the planning of what activities to engage in. The station only comes in when a request for input or financial support is made. The women are able to learn for themselves through working together in the planning, implementing and reaping the benefits together. Further through making joint mistakes they gain experience which they are able to use in their individual activities. The women were taught simple cost/benefit analysis to ensure that they do not enter into non-profitable ventures. Consequently women are able to chose between any or combination of these activities.

The main non-farm activities are small-scale commercial activities and rural industry. These include

- (a) buying small quantities of farm produce, bagging them and selling them to traders who come from the big towns at profit;
- (b) parboiling and retailing of rice;
- (c) brewing of better quality local beer from improved sorghum introduced by the station;
- (d) extraction of groundnuts oil for making of smoother soap and lighter pomade. The residual groundnut cake is used to make a local food called "kulikuli";
- (e) rearing of pigs and goats. Pigs are not considered as suitable for sacrifice so can be reared for consumption. The younger women are taught simple knitting and dressmaking. Apart from generating extra income, they could sew clothing for their children and themselves.

The question however is to determine how far these activities of the station have been successful or otherwise in improving the entitlement position of women and their participation in the socio-economic life of their families. This is taken up for discussion in chapter five.

#### **4.4. An assessment of the impact of GAS**

The assessment of the activities of the station since 1987 will assess the change that has been brought about by the station to draw out the effectiveness of the approaches used by the station. Most of the activities under discussion started in 1987/88 and due to lack of data prior to this period, the assessment is based on the period after 1988. Lessons to be learned from the experience of the station will be drawn as conclusions.



#### 4.4.1 Women In Development programme (WID) .

This programme as elucidated above was aimed at combating the ~~poverty of the women in the villages by enhancing their~~ entitlement positions. Its second aim is to improve the survival rate of their children especially those whose mothers die in childbirth.

##### *WID, Entitlement position and Participation of Women*

Cultural norms are difficult to change, but its adaptive tendencies can be harnessed for development. Though, women's near zero ownership rights to land as against their enormous household responsibilities remain unchanged, the station has brought an improvement in the entitlement position of women as to the control of their resources. This has been achieved through the participatory development practice approach and introduction of non-farm activities of the station. There is now the possibility for women to save their own money and even own shares in a bank. 80% of the women groups have opened accounts with the BESSFA Rural Bank from contributions of an average of two hundred cedis (20 cents) monthly. This cumulatively serve as collateral for credits from the bank for the individual members.

Further, women can now be considered as "owners". I learnt from Nakum, one of the villages I visited that the women are ploughing the husbands' fields for them with "their own". One man remarked, " now the women are the owners and we have to beg them to help us". Again, contrary to the previous situation women are now able to cultivate and keep the grain from their own fields.

Another important change brought about by the station is the improvement in non-farm activities of women. Since these are not land-based, the men do not exercise much control over them as they do on other resources. Through these activities most women have acquired employable skills. Some of them are making for both

domestic use and for sale high quality soap and smoother pomade from sheabutter and caustic soda.

Further, through the participatory approach, women are now realising their worth and ability to take independent decisions affecting their welfare. At the group level, 12 groups were able to make decisions to change from one income generating activity to another which was perceived to be more profitable than the previous ones. Previously, they would have remained in the same activity till they were told to do so though they might be making losses. Further, the group activities have provided an avenue for mutual assistance among women in the communities. They are able to organise and assist each other on their farms. It also provides a source of security in times of need both by the members presence and the financial help one can fall back on.

A further positive outcome of the project is that women are now allowed to sit in the same discussion group with their male counterparts. Before the programme women were not allowed to sit among men and when they do, they are not to make any contribution to the discussion. They played no role in decision making. When the project started, the men used to appoint one of their number to join the women to give the answers to questions that may be asked and to ask any question *on behalf of the women*. With tact and the realisation of the potentials of the women the men have stopped this practice. The inherent potentials of women have come to the fore for all to see and appreciate. At the annual general meeting of the BESSFA Rural Bank mentioned earlier, the women were not only present but they took active part in the deliberation and were in most cases those who put the motions.

#### *WID and Child Health*

Perhaps the Babies Nutrition Project has had the most impact on the health of children. This is not to overlook the indirect benefits that come to children through the improvement in the economic position of the women.

Table 6 shows the mortality rate as a health indicator of children in the basin as compared with the national average as at 1988 and 1993.

**Table 6: Comparison of National and District Infant mortality rate<sup>15</sup>**

Year	1988	1993	Annual Rate of fall <sup>16</sup>
National	98.0	79.4	0.043
Bawku East District <sup>17</sup>	230	100	0.18

Source: Social Indicators of Development, 1995, PCG Health Service Report, 1988, Station records and author's computation.

From the statistics provided in Table 4, the surviving rate of the children admitted by the project is 90%. This put mortality rate at 100 in 1993 as against infant mortality rate of 230 as at 1988 (table 1). Though the mortality rate of children and the surviving rate of motherless children are two different variables which cannot satisfactorily be compared, it gives an indication of reduced mortality among motherless children. Given that these children have higher mortality rates than children with surviving mothers, infant mortality rate can be said to have been reduced from 230 to 100. Again, whereas the rate of return for the national average is 4.3%, that of the district is 18% which is

<sup>15</sup> Infant mortality is calculated at "n" deaths per thousand live births.

<sup>16</sup> This is calculated with the formular,  $P_n = P + (1+r)^n$  where  $P_n$  is the base year figure,  $P$  the last year figure and  $n$  is the number of years to which  $(1 + r)$  is raised as a power and  $r$  is the rate of return

<sup>17</sup> The Bawku East District coincides with the Tamne Basin which is under study.

about four times that of the national average. This shows that the programme has been effective in reducing infant mortality.

To ensure the sustainability of the activities over time, the Babies Nutrition Programme lays emphasis on education and training. The baby-minders and mothers are educated on the benefits to be derived from the weaning food and also given residential courses on various dishes that can be made from soya bean as well as the cultivation of the soya bean. The table below sums up the training programme under the babies project.

To forestall the possibility of not getting the milk supply in future, the women are made to place much emphasis on the locally available ingredients. They are taught to grow soya beans and groundnuts as part of their normal farm crops. These could be used not only in the preparation of the baby food but also in the family meal to improve on the health standard of the older children and adults.

#### 4.4.2 General Extension Activities

The general extension activities have improved the productivity of farmers through the use of compost rather than chemical fertilizer. Due to the fibre component, compost is able to improve on both the nutrient content and texture of the soil. This in turn improves on the moisture retention capacity of the soil which ensures higher yields.

With increases in surplus, the farmers are able to spare the labour time of their children for them to attend school. This is reflected in the steady percentage increase in school enrolment as presented in Table 7. There is an average annual increase of 12.6% in the district as against 12.2% for the whole region. Though other factors could contribute to the increases, when one considers the fact that this is an agrarian district which has a free education policy, the labour of the children becomes the determining factor in school enrolment. It is to be noted that essentially farm work is based on family labour which means that one child in school accounts for a lot in terms of labour time



lost to the farm enterprise. This means that a farm family will only send a child to school if his going off the farm will not affect the food security of the household.

**Table 7 Growth Rates in Junior Secondary School Enrolment with 1989/90 as base year**

Year	Upper East Region		Bawku East District	
	Enrolment	% increase	Enrolment	%increase
1989/90	9922	0	2537	0
1990/91	11395	12.9	2916	12.0
1991/92	13275	14.2	3635	19.2
1992/93	14690	9.6	3902	6.8
<b>Average % increase</b>		<b>12.2</b>		<b>12.6</b>

Source: MOE 1995, Document No 118 and author's computation.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are listed below each name. The list includes names such as Mr. J. B. Smith, Mr. J. C. Jones, and Mr. A. D. Brown.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are listed below each name. The list includes names such as Mr. E. F. Green, Mr. G. H. White, and Mr. I. K. Black.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are listed below each name. The list includes names such as Mr. L. M. Gray, Mr. N. O. Blue, and Mr. P. Q. Red.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are listed below each name. The list includes names such as Mr. R. S. Yellow, Mr. T. U. Purple, and Mr. V. W. Orange.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are listed below each name. The list includes names such as Mr. X. Y. Green, Mr. Z. A. Blue, and Mr. B. C. Red.

6. The sixth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are listed below each name. The list includes names such as Mr. D. E. Yellow, Mr. F. G. Purple, and Mr. H. I. Orange.

7. The seventh part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are listed below each name. The list includes names such as Mr. J. K. Green, Mr. L. M. Blue, and Mr. N. O. Red.

8. The eighth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are listed below each name. The list includes names such as Mr. P. Q. Yellow, Mr. R. S. Purple, and Mr. T. U. Orange.

9. The ninth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are listed below each name. The list includes names such as Mr. V. W. Green, Mr. X. Y. Blue, and Mr. Z. A. Red.

10. The tenth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are listed below each name. The list includes names such as Mr. B. C. Yellow, Mr. D. E. Purple, and Mr. F. G. Orange.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

---

#### 5.0. Introduction

Conventionally, issues of development had been considered so technical that the role and differences in the belief and value systems of people are ignored in development practice. However, culture is ridden with contradictions and constraints which needs to be addressed if benefits from development efforts are to be equitably distributed, most especially in patriarchal societies. Gender division of labour, household maintenance responsibilities and resource control are some of these constraints that need to be addressed in patriarchal societies. This calls for an approach which though appreciating the cultural norms will not confront it but seek how best to circumvent the constraints in order to improve on the position of the marginalized.

This study therefore, set out to find out the constraints in the culture of the people of the Tamne basin and how the Presbyterian Church Of Ghana through the Garu Agricultural Station is addressing these constraints. It also sought to find out the extent to which the activities of the station had brought equitable development to the people. Thirdly, it tried to find out to what extent the people were involved in the work and administration of the station.

#### 5.1 Cultural Constraints.

From the discussions in chapters two and three, it was found out that there is a culturally defined gender bias ingrained within the entitlement systems in patriarchal societies like the Kusaasi and Bimoba. In these societies, the benefits of development efforts fail to trickle down to other members of the household when men are the target group of the development effort.

On the other hand, considering the important and enormous responsibility of women for household maintenance, it becomes prudent to involve them in development efforts. When they are thus empowered, they are able to perform their functions better to the benefit of the whole society. It therefore becomes prudent to focus on women as the major target group in development efforts aimed at poverty alleviation in patriarchal societies.

The Presbyterian Church of Ghana, being a church of Western origin, for a long time ignored the culturally defined constraints in the entitlement systems of the society. She therefore adopted a conventional approach to development. This is reflected in the approaches adopted by GAS during the first two phases between 1967 and 1987. The station erroneously, thought of the household as a homogenous unit of production and consumption. Hence the benefits of development would trickle down from the "farmer" to the entire household. As Ayeh (1991), rightly observed, women and the children remained poor, if not worse off, while men spent their surpluses on themselves. The station, and for that matter, the church, therefore, failed to achieve its aim of alleviating poverty in the society.

The station also adopted the conventional "top-bottom" development approach, and ignored the essentially, experiential indigenous knowledge of the people. Coupled with the free services rendered by the station, this led to the farmers looking to the station for new technology and inputs. With dwindling funding, the station was unable to sustain its activities leading to the withdrawal of some of the farmers from the activities of the station.

However, with the recognition of the role of women, GAS has since 1987 refocused development efforts on "farming families" rather than on "farmers" to include women in her development activities. Women were recognised as not having any entitlement to any productive resource be it land or livestock. Further, they were not actively involved in the farming activities of the husbands. The grain that was produced by the men was therefore not sufficient to support the household throughout the year. Much more disheartening was the fact that women were helpless to

perform their own culturally defined responsibility of providing the other ingredients of the diet let alone supplement the grain provided by the men.

Following from this observation the station realised that ~~by improving the activities of women the station would be helping~~ the entire household. On the other hand the women's lack of ownership and control over land and livestock was appreciated. It is also realised that being culturally based, the situation can not be changed without the involvement and cooperation of various segments of the society. This led to the adoption of Participatory Development Practice and the focus on culturally assigned "women's work".

With the appointment of a woman in management position and the inclusion of women on the extension staff, the station demonstrated to the people that women can do as well as men. Additionally, by sensitising both men and women to the potential of women, the society recognised the benefits they stand to gain by allowing women to help on the farm and even allowing them to cultivate their own plots. The establishment of the Women In Development programme at the station was able to strengthen the activities of the women.

As mentioned above, the station appreciated the culture of the people and therefore didn't make any attempt to change it but worked within it. The strategy was to circumvent the constraints rather than attempting to change the culture which could have led to conflict with the men. Subsequently, the non-farm activities of women were targeted for improvement. Realising that cooperation among women was a feature in the society, it was capitalized on in the formation of cooperatives. The cooperatives were able to enhance women's control over their resources as reflected in the opening of accounts and purchase of shares in the BESSFA Rural Bank Ltd.

Furthermore, with these strategies, the station was able to improve the health of children in general and particularly, the mortality rate of motherless children. The station was also able to provide women with an alternative source of income in the commercial activities. Further, with improved output and

subsequent surpluses as a result of the help of women, more children were allowed to go to school as reflected in Table 6.

In short, the adoption of PDP and inclusion of women was helpful in as much as it did involve all segments of the society in the activities of the station. Most importantly, participation of the communities is seen in the use of Village Extension Workers, and representation on the Area Management Committee of the station. The VEWs represent the interest and aspirations of the farmers in the work of the station. Coming from the communities themselves, they are able to appreciate the problems better. The cooperatives in particular promoted participation of individual members in the activities of the station. PDP further succeeded in inculcating in the groups the capacity to take initiatives rather than looking to the station.

In addition to the above effects is the emphasis on and use of local materials especially in the building of compost manure rather than the expensive chemical fertilizer. When all is said, education played an important role in the success of the strategies. The people themselves have realised the potential benefits and so give their maximum cooperation. On the other hand, the station failed to address the religious values of the society.

## 5.2 RELIGIOUS VALUES.

As discussed in chapters two and three, the religious values of the actors in development may affect the outcome of development efforts. The belief in the ancestors and the land god is of crucial importance here. They can inhibit change. The fear of the wrath of the ancestors keeps the living from effecting change in traditional beliefs and practices, irrespective of its negative effects. The people may be aware and may even desire a change but will not effect a change because of their system of belief. Trying to find out how the women perceive their position, they all acknowledge that it is detrimental to their development but none was prepared to change. The forefathers had established the system as it is.

On the other hand religious belief can serve to give positive impetus to development if it is properly directed. As mentioned under 2.3.1, the sacred grove was not encroached upon though the government forest reserve was. This is due to the fear they have for the ancestors. ~~How can this religious value be harnessed towards a developmental goal, for example in forest preservation? This needs further examination.~~

The fear of the land god to whom crop failure, pestilence and sickness is attributed, can be a hinderance to development. People will go to soothsayers and make sacrifices to the land god instead of seeking scientific and rational solutions. Many people have died from diseases which could otherwise have been prevented. Out of the seven thousand deaths per year, four thousand, four hundred would have been prevented if they had sought medical attention (see table 1).

Similarly, the religious persuasion of the staff is expected to impact on their work. Since the cultural practices of the people are related to their religious beliefs, it was expected that the station would direct the religious belief of the people to that of the station. More so when it is a Christian institution. However, this has not been the case. The only reflection of Christian orientation in the work may be found in the "father Christmas" approach adopted during the first phase. This might have been shaped by the view of Christian *diakonia* which expect the rich to share their resources with the poor. However such an approach to rural development cannot be sustained as was reflected in this case study. The people are not able to help themselves but continue to live on the charity of others. They therefore lose their self respect.

On the other hand, though the station does not make any conscious efforts to evangelize the community, the staff are able to affect the people by their Christian warmth. The way of life of the staff and their relationship with the community can be shaped by Christian convictions. Though they try to separate their personal faith from the work of the station, there is an attempt to reorient their faith to that of the sponsors of the station. A normal day begins with morning devotion which every

staff member is supposed to attend, though there are some staff members who belong to different faiths. When the staff share a common faith, this helps in sharing common views towards the people they work with. However, this should not lead to working with only members of one's own particular faith as this could lead to differentiation. The work of the station cuts across religious faith, though. No staff or beneficiary is forced to attend the Presbyterian Church, neither is the work of the station limited to Presbyterians.

The question to be asked however is how does the work of the station contribute to the ultimate mission of the church which sponsors it? If the station is an integral part of the set up of the church, then it must have a role to play in the larger mission of the church. However the neglect of the spiritual needs of the people reflects the attitude of the Western Funding agency which distinguishes the spiritual from the physical. ICCO does not allow its funds to be used for direct evangelism. But this itself separates human life into spiritual and physical.

On the other hand for the station to be set apart as a Christian NGO, there is the need to have an integrated approach to the work of the church, be it developmental or evangelical. This will see the spiritual and physical needs of people as related. There is opportunity to redirect the religious belief in ancestors and land god to reduce the inhibitory tendencies in the culture. The Christian message holds that God is the creator and sustainer of human life and all other creation. He has given all things including the land to the benefit of human beings. It is to Him that all problems and thanksgiving could be directed. Since he is not offered sacrifices the livestock could be available as food for the people to sustain their health. This will also reduce the fatalism in soothsaying as the Christian God could be approached directly by any one. Of course this is not to overlook the inhibitory tendencies in Christianity as a religion. This is however outside the scope of this paper.

To recapture the argument, theoretically, the question of culture, particularly beliefs and values, is essential for development. As Alexander and others (1980), rightly observed,



culture is ridden with contradictions and conflicts which need to be addressed by development projects. Development projects, the authors contend, must seek the integral liberation of individuals, families and peoples. The gender division of labour and ownership of resources are some of the constraints of culture to development. As pointed out by Gaay Fortman (1990), entitlement is a function of both law and power. However, every society has its own laws which are shaped by the cultural values and which give opportunity and actual command to people over resources. Unfortunately, patriarchal societies preclude women from having this power to command control over resources as was the situation in the research area. As discussed in chapters two and four, the culture limited women's access to land and livestock and thus precluded them from most farm activities. This was what was ignored by the first and second phases of the station leading to its failure to achieve sustainable development in the society. The PDP approach of the third phase as against the bureaucratic top-down approach of the first two phases has been essential in achieving the success of the phase in empowering women.

### 5.3 CONCLUSIONS

The study has shown that though, the entitlement system as to inheritance and ownership has not been changed women now have greater control over their resources. The Participatory Development Practice approach has contributed immensely to this success. Inclusion of women in the activities of the station has emphasised the value of women so that the men have begun to appreciate them more. Women now appreciate their worth and have built up confidence in themselves and are also able to take initiatives without recourse to men.

Through group dynamism, women are now able to get land to work on which enhances their capacity to discharge their household responsibilities. Women are able to supplement the husbands' stock of grain with those from their own fields thus reducing the burden on men. This has earned them respect from men.

and they are no more regarded as housekeepers but as partners in development.

Further, women are now given more respect by men as a result of the apparent success of women activities. This has made it possible for women to take active part in public discussions, as happened during the Annual General Meeting of the BESSFA Rural Bank, contrary to the cultural norms.

The success of the station is explained by the appreciation of the culture and its influence on development. Rather than attempting to change the culture of the people, as is done by some development agencies, the station sought for the adaptive tendencies of the culture. Approaches and activities were placed within the cultural context ( Ayeh 1991: 43). Interestingly, the station has brought a change in the culture by respecting it without causing conflict among different segments of the society. Men are cooperating in the process of change because of its indirect nature and also because they are part of the process themselves.

The experience of GAS has shown that, each society has its own distinctive systems of value that constitute an important aspect of its culture. These values are drawn from the authentic heritage that helps define the shared image of self as society, there is therefore the need to synthesize these values to ensure development. The challenge lies in determining the ways and means of fostering a synergistic development between economic and cultural values. Economic development has cultural implications hence, to achieve an equitable and sustainable development, due consideration should be given to the cultural values inherent in a particular society. The study has also shown that African cultural values can be creative and when harnessed can give great impetus to development. Culture is dynamic and can be adaptive to change if the inherent values are identified and addressed in the project design and execution.

The study has further demonstrated that there is the need to design projects with the beneficiaries in mind. Their involvement should be a key factor in the design and their empowerment a key in the implementation as was the case in GAS.

The beneficiaries should not be seen as passive recipients but as active agents who must identify with or feel ownership of the projects.

To conclude, development interventions among traditional patriarchal societies will succeed if they appreciate and respect the cultural values of the community as did the Garu Agricultural Station.

---

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that this is crucial for ensuring the integrity of the financial statements and for providing a clear audit trail.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data. It describes how different types of information are gathered and how they are processed to identify trends and anomalies.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the results of the analysis. It presents the findings in a clear and concise manner, highlighting the key areas of concern and the potential risks involved.

4. The final part of the document provides recommendations for how to address the identified issues. It offers practical advice on how to improve internal controls and how to ensure that the organization remains compliant with all applicable regulations.

---

## REFERENCE

Agarwa, Bina, "Gender Relations & Food Security: Coping with Seasonality, Drought & Famine in South Asia", in Beneria, L. & S. Feldman (eds, 1992) : Unequal Burden: Economic Crisis, Persistent Poverty and Women's work, Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press.

Alexander, Verma and Jayakumar, 1980, Social and Cultural Factors Affecting Absorption of Development Programmes, in World Development, Vol 8, Pergamon Press.

Ayeh, Elsie, 1991, Women in Developing Societies: Are they Developing ? A case study of credit for Rural Women in Northern Ghana. The Hague, ISS.

Ayeh, Seth 1996, Unpublish research findings among the people of the Tamne Basis

Barker, Peter 1986, Peoples, Languages, and Religion in Northern Ghana, Accra, Asempa.

Bernal, V. 1991, Cultivating Workers: Peasants and Capitalism in a Sudanese Village, New York, Columbia Up.

Bryceson, D. De-agrarianization and rural Employment generation in Sub-Saharan Africa: Process and Prospects. Leiden, Africa Studies Centre, Working Paper no 19.

Chowdhury, Sjahabbir, A, 1988, Non-farm Employment with special reference to Rural Industrialization: A critical Analysis of Bangladesh situation. a research paper, The Hague, ISS.

Debrunner, Hans W. 1967, A history of Christianity in Ghana, Accra, Waterville.

Eder, J. 1993, "Family farming and households enterprise in a Philippine community, 1971-1988: persistence or proletarianization ? Journal of Asian Studies. 52 no 3.

Hofstede, Geert , Cultures and Organizations: software of the mind, London, McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Islam, Rizwanul, 1983, "Non-farm employment in rural Asia: issues and evidence" in Shand, R.T (ed) Off-farm employment, vol one, Canberra, The Australian National University.

Ministry of Education, Ghana 1995, Report on Basic Statistics and Planning Parameters for JSS in Ghana, Document No 118, Accra, MOE.

Morris , and Adelman 1980, *The religious Factor in Economic Development in World Development Vol 8*, Pergamon Press

Okoree, N.E, 1995, Urban-Rural Linkages in Africa: the Case of Accra, Ghana, a research paper, Ontario, Winfred Laurer University.

Oppenheim, Felix E, "The Concept of Equality" in David Sills (ed), 1968, International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences. Vol 5 : 102-107. Macmillan Company & The Free Press.

Saith,Ashwani,1992, The Rural Non-farm economy: Processes and Policies. Geneva, ILO.

Smith, Noel 1966, The Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1835-1960, Accra, Ghana Universities Press.

Buy, D. & Galzart, B, (eds), 1982, Participation of the Poor in Development

Cohen, John M & Uphoff, Norman T, 1980, " Participation's Place in Rural Development: Seeking Clarity through Specificity" in World Development, vol 8, 1980.

Jay Cox, Edward, 1992 in Serageltin and Taboroff, Culture and Development, Washington D. C. The World Bank.

Kamara S'Apha and Denkabe, A, 1993, Gender in Development Vol 1 and 11, Accra, Freedom Publications.

Loughran, Kim et al. (eds), 1991, A Seminar on Culture and Development Cooperation, Stockholm, SIDA

Marglin F. A. and Marglin S. A. (eds) 1990, DOMINATING KNOWLEDGE: Development, Culture, and Resistance, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Nkansa-Kyeremanteng, 1994, The Presbyterian Church of Ghana and National Development, Accra, SEBEWIE

Oakley, P. et al. 1991, Projects with People: The practice of participation in rural development. Geneva, International Labor Office.

Pearse, A. & Stiefel, M. 1979, Inquiry into participation, Geneva, UNRISD.

Sarpong, Peter, 1974, Ghana in Retrospect: Some aspects of Ghanaian Culture

S'Apha Kamara & Aloysius Denkabe, (eds) 1993, Project Planning, Management and Animation; A Handbook on Participatory Approach Training, Accra, Freedom Publications.

Samuels, Vinay and Sudgden, C (eds) 1987, The Church in Response to Human Needs, Oxford, Regnum Books.

Sethi, H. 1987, Refocussing praxis. New Delhi, Setu-Lokayan

Sen, Amartya 1981, Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation, Oxford, Claredon.

Sen, Amartya 1992, Inequality Reexamined, Oxford, Clareton Press.

Eyben, R. & Ladbury, S, 1995, " Popular Participation in Aid-Assisted Projects: Why more in theory than in practice?" in Nelson, N. & Wright, S (eds), Power and Participatory Development: Theory and Practice. London; Intermediate Technology Publications.

French, J.R.P, Isreal, J.& As, D, 1960, " An Experiment on Participation in a Norwegian Factory" in Human Relations, Vol 13, page 3-19.

Ghai, D. 1988, Participation in development: Some perspectives from grassroots experience. Geneva, United nations Research Institute for Social Development

Fortman, Bas de Gaay 1990, Entitlement and Development: An institutional Approach to the Acquirement Problem, Working Paper Series No 87, The Hague, ISS,

Fortman, Bas de Gaay 1996, *Religion and Human Rights: Mutually Exclusive or Supportive*, in Studies in Interreligious Dialogue, Amsterdam, Pharos.

Hebden, J. & Shaw, G, 1977, Pathways to Participation, London, Associated Business Programmes.

Richard Hyman, 1975, Industrial Relations: An introduction, London, Macmillan.

International Labour Office (ILO), 1982, The Struggle toward self- reliance of organized resettled women in the Philippines. WEP Working Paper, Geneva.

ILO, 1987, Conception of a programme of training for the promotion of participation in rural development, Geneva.

Madan, T. N. 1983, Culture and Development, Delhi, Oxford University Press.



- Sen, Amartya Hunger and Entitlements, Forssa, WIDER.
- Singer, Milton *The Concept of Culture* in Encyclopedia of Social Science Vol 3,
- 
- Tannenbaum, 1973 Social Psychology of the Work Organization, London, Tavistock.
- Tilakaratna, S. 1985, The Animator in participatory rural development: Some experiences from Sri Lanka, Geneva, ILO.
- Waal, Alex de 1988, A Re-Assessment of Entitlement Theory in the Light of Recent Famines in Africa. I.D.A QEH DEVELOPMENT STUDIES WORKING PAPERS, No 4, Oxford, International Development Centre.
- Warren D. M. and Blunt, Peter, (eds), 1996, Indigenous Organizations and Development, London, Intermediate Technology Publications
- Wellens, 1977, Worker Participation: A practical Policy, Guilsborough, Wellens Publications.
- Wilber and Jameson, *Religious Values and Social Limits to Development* in World Development, Vol 8, Pergamon Press
- Willowbank Report, 1978, Gospel and Culture, Laussane Occasional Papers No 2, Wheaton, Lausanne Committee for World Evangelism.



## Appendix: Questionnaire to management and community.

### ENTITLEMENT

1. ~~With the culturally defined position of women as regards the~~ entitlement systems of the society, what strategies can be employed to ensure that the gains of development efforts really go to the target group ?
2. How far has the project been able to realize this goal ? A comparison of the present with the past.
3. What was the attitude of the men when the project started working separately with the women ?
4. Has there been any change in the attitude of the men ?
5. What and how is the project doing to change the issue of ownership of land to ensure that women have permanent right to at least the use of land ? (To minimize the risk of the improved land been taken away from them).

### B. The dynamics Culture, Religion and development

- 1 Who makes taboos or who is the custodian of taboos ? What is the position of the Gabon priest in the culture of the people ?
- 2 What is the position of a woman on the shrine of Gbonne ? Can a woman become a priest of Gbonne ?
3. Who owns land and how is it acquired? Can women also own land?

4. What properties can women acquire and/or own?

---

5. Why are women not allowed to own property ?. Is it simply a matter of tradition or what ? Is it that women are regarded as not been intelligent, wasteful, unreasonable, inferior or properties themselves ?

6. What is the view of women and men on this ownership arrangements? Would you want it to changed and do you think this can be acheived?

7. Who does what in the house (household maintenance responsibilities)?

8. Who controls the produce from the farm and livestock?

9. Is the paying of brideprice regarded as payment for the girl so means the girl is regarded as property whose ownership is transferred from the father to the husband ? Does this explain the payment in bullocks ( a beast of burden to replace the lost labor of the girl to the father) ? Can that also explain why the girl lose any entitlement to the father's estate ?

5. Are women considered as partners in the marriage or as mere instruments of labor and reproduction ? Does this explain the lost of entitlement to the estate of the husband on the dissolution of marriage or failure to have sons ?

7. Does the society has the equivalent of a queen mother ? What is her role in the society and the chieftaincy institution ?

---

8. Do the Christians, Muslims and the educated hold the same view of women and treat them as such ?

9 Is a change from the traditional religion able to change the people's view and treatment of women ?

10 Is the Church and project doing any decisive thing to effect a change in the attitude of the society or at least their members towards the women ?

11 What has been the experience so far ?.

---

### C. PARTICIPATION

1 What are the activities of the station ?

2 Why these activities ?

3 Who are the set target groups?

4 Who and how were the groups identified ?

5 How are the groups organized ?

6 What are the identified needs of the groups ?

7 Who identifies the needs of the groups ?

8 What are the strategies use to address the needs of the groups ?

9 Who identifies the strategies and how ?

10 How are the groups involved in the implementation of the strategies ?

11 Are the strategies evaluated and how often ?

12 Who does the evaluation ?

13 Are the strategies reviewed ?

14 How often are the groups met and at what stages of the project cycle ?

---