

## Towards Poverty Reduction in Northern Ghana:

## Contribution of the Northern Rural Growth Programme in Nadowli and Wa West Districts in Upper West Region

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*Gloria Garba* GHANA

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Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr. Erhard Berner Dr. Mahmood Messkoub

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## Inquiries:

#### Postal address:

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

#### Location:

Kortenaerkade 12 2518 AX The Hague The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460 Fax: +31 70 426 0799

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## List of Acronyms

ACDEP Association of Churches Development Project

AEA Agricultural Extension Agents
DVCC District Value Chain Committee

FBO Farmer Based Organisation FGD Focus Group Discussion

GLSS Ghana Living Standards Survey

GSS Ghana Statistical Service

LACOSREP Land Conservation and Smallholder Rehabilitation Project

MENA Middle East and North Africa
M & E Monitoring and Evaluation

MOFA Ministry of Food and Agriculture NGO Non-Governmental Organisations

NORRIP Northern Region Rural Integrated Programme

NRGP Northern Rural Growth Programme

PMU Programme Management Unit

PO Producer Organisation

PSNP Productive Safety Net Programme

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

UNRISD United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

UWR Upper West Region

UWADEP Upper West Agricultural Development Project

#### **Abstract**

This study seeks to find out the contribution of an on-going government initiative (NRGP) to improved living conditions of farmers in the Upper West Region of Ghana. Services provided under the NRGP are in the agricultural food crop sector and include new and improved methods of farming (extension services), fertilizer, tractor service, seeds and marketing. Using both primary and secondary data, it is observed that individuals who are participating in the NRGP are experiencing some positive changes in their lives in the areas of income generation and consumption in context of delivery of NRGP services and other technical challenges in accessing inputs. There is also a positive correlation between improved maize harvests and increasing availability of mechanized inputs. Despite improved incomes, an appreciable proportion of respondents still earn barely above the national minimum wage. Re-design of the NRGP to consider some peculiar characteristics of poor people in order for them to participate and derive maximum benefits from the NRGP is recommended for programmatic success.

## Relevance to Development Studies

Assessing the impact of an on-going government initiative, it will contribute immensely to the relevance of the programme if the policy recommendations made are taken into account, not only for the NRGP, but in subsequent development initiatives by anybody; state or non-state. It is also a good referral document in development studies as it examined critically, the place, importance and results of one of the current presumed antidote (participation) to poverty reduction.

#### Keywords

Participation, Poverty, Development, Northern Rural Growth Programme, Upper West Region

## **Chapter 1 Introduction**

## 1.1 Background

Using primary data and in-depth interviews as well as extant literature, this study examines how the NRGP contributes to improved livelihoods and poverty reduction in Upper West Region (UWR) of Ghana. The UWR (along with Northern and Upper East Regions) are located in Ghana's savannah zone. The prevalence of poverty in these three regions is disproportionately higher than poverty prevalence in the rest of Ghana's ecological zones (Agyei-Mensah 2006:5, Boon & Ahenkan 2008:10, GSS 2007:7). Also, World Bank staff country Report (2003:15) using head count states that by income measure, poverty levels are highest in the three northern savannah regions, ranging between 69% and 88%. Sadly, the incidence of poverty is documented to be rising steadily.

## 1.2 The Upper West Region in Context

Ghana's Upper West region (UWR) in a geographical area of approximately 18477km2 constitutes about 12.7% of the total land of Ghana (Luginaah 2008:807). UWR earns the unenviable title as the poorest region in Ghana as it lags behind other regions, as indicated by successive surveys of the Ghana Statistical Services and other sources. In terms of per capita income, whilst the national annual average is Ghc 397.00, UWR has average annual per capita income of less than GHc 130.00. It is the region with the highest incidence of poverty of about 88% (GSS 2007:13). Adjasi and Osei (2006:454) and Aryeetey et al (2004:15) and Luginaah (2008:807) give similar statistics about income poverty in the region.

Like the rest of northern Ghana, the UWR is characterised by a single and declining rainfall season which falls between May and October (wet season/farming season) with an average total of 75–115 cm of rain per annum. Despite the pattern of rainfall, the economic base of the region, hinges on agriculture with over 80% of the population depending on farming for their livelihood (Luginaah 2008:807). Categorizing the UWR amongst the poorest, Fiadzo et al (2000:157) identified it as the region with the lowest quality of housing with 27.74 index score (Greater Accra 45.19, Ashanti 36.61 etc.). Only 3% of the population in UWR has access to electricity as compared with 75% for Greater Accra and 46% for Western region (Sackey 2005:63), a non-literacy rate of 75.5% (national rate 42.1%), 98.2 dependency ratio as compared to 49.5 nationally, lack of access to market and low levels of economic infrastructure amongst others (Agyei-Mensah 2006, Luginaah 2008:807).

The regional inequality in Ghana originates from both geographical and historical reasons including marginalization, separation, exploitation by low colonial and post-colonial state spending as (Derbile and Kasei 2012:45, Ovadia 2011:315, Poel et al. 2007, Songsore 2003:125 & 145, Whitehead 2006:278) traced the above accounts of underdevelopment of the UWR and concluded that have confined the region's population to live perpetually in both structural and conjunctural poverty.

Structural poverty, as discussed in Iliffe (1987:4) is long-term poverty of individuals due to their personal or social circumstances, whereas conjunctural poverty is temporary poverty into which ordinarily self-sufficient people may be thrown by crisis. Natural factors make poverty more pronounced and hard to fight in the region due to fewer natural endowments characteristics (absence of cash crops, gold and other resources), and coupled with unfavourable weather conditions (drought, diminishing rainfall) compared to southern and coastal regions that are endowed with natural resources – minerals and oil which cushion them against harsh living conditions. The long dry season period with lack of irrigation facilities, and any alternative sources of livelihood also make the people redundant for the period, with huge implications for food security, income earning capacity, and poverty.

To deal with the poverty situation of the north, successive governments since independence (1957) have attempted variety of anti-poverty social protection programmes, with less visible impact (Botchway 2000:51, Lahai 2009:51). This has led many stakeholders including individuals to dedicate time and resources in unravelling why the results of most programmes/projects for the development of UWR in particular and the north as a whole are hard to attain. Reasons for these range from the conception of such programmes through to the design and implementation. For instance, Agyepong and Agyei-Mensah (2008:158) and Batterbury and Fernando (2006:1856) are of the view that most of these interventions come about as a fulfillment of campaign promises by politicians and they always tend to lack commitment from the side of these politicians on one hand and ownership from that of communities/beneficiaries on the other hand. Also, Mansuri and Rao (2004: 23, 24 & 30) and Crook (2003:85) pointed local elites capture and role of external agents and the state among factors why most development programmes fail as community initiatives are usually designed by a central authority that sets the basic parameters and the mechanisms for disbursing funds and also the preference of the poor, the supposed beneficiaries of such programmes not being adequately considered in project selection. Also an early study of a similar programme - NORRIP, Botchway (2000:147) attributed the failure of NORRIP to pseudo participation contained in its seeds while Aryeetey and Goldstein (2000:302) mentioned general lack of participation in social policies/programmes as some of the causes of programme failures.

So as stakeholders of development continue to find ways of improving the lot of the people of this part of Ghana with the above concerns identified, this research paper attempted to find out amongst other things the contribution and impact of Northern Rural Growth Programme (NRGP), a recent Government of Ghana initiative, on beneficiary individuals/househols as to how their participation in the programme have and could transform their poor status into more meaningful living status.

#### 1.3 Problem Statement

The relatively poor level of socio-economic development of the UWR has put majority of the population in high poverty bracket. According to Boon & Ahenkan (2008:10) and IMF Staff Country Report (2003:15), eight out of ten people in the UWR are poor by income measure of poverty. Also sharing the same concern, Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008:172) state that 80% of

the population in the three northern regions is poor while almost 70% is extremely poor. This means that the majority of the population in these three regions are living below acceptable standards by a number of the poverty measurement tools that might have been used to categorise them. It also implies that they are living in absolute poverty, which according to Agyei-Mensah (2006) and Iliffe (1987:2) is a condition of life so limited by malnutrition, illiteracy, high mortality and low life expectancy amongst others beneath any reasonable definition of human decency. Meanwhile, the rest of the country has made some progress in attaining lower middle-income status in 2011 (Ghana Statistical Service 2012).

Aryeetey and Goldstein (2000:286), Botchway (2001) and Songsore et al (2001) however denied lack of development initiatives in northern Ghana. Rather, their various researches tend to question what development could mean to different stakeholders and the manner in which development interventions has always been introduced to supposed beneficiaries. Some development literature have also attributed little success of most development programmes towards poverty reduction to the manner such programmes have been approached in their conception, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

Stressing on the importance of any type, form or way and context of participation to the success of development programmes, Brett (2003:8, Drezé and Sen 2002:8) mentioned it centrality to any development effort. Other sources also doubt whether in the design and implementation of such programmes, genuine beneficiary inclusion and satisfaction have always gotten enough consideration. So as development continue to elude the people of the Upper West region even as there have been several interventions, this research questioned how the NRGP package is working to ensure that its outcome(s) give a new status to its beneficiaries and a new description to the people of UWR.

## 1.4 Main Research Question

To what extent has participation of beneficiary individuals/households enabled the achievements of NRGP development targets?

#### 1.4.1 Sub-questions

- 1. What participatory approaches are there in the NRGP?
- 2. How are individuals/communities involved in the participatory approaches of NRGP?
- 3. How much are the individuals/communities in control of the NRGP processes?
- 4. What are individuals/communities' perceptions about their own poverty situation after the take-off of NRGP?
- 5. How does individual/community participation determine the type of project that is implemented in beneficiary communities

6. What kinds of factors affect the performance of the NRGP? In what ways do these factors interact?

## 1.5 Objectives

The general objective of this study was to assess the contribution of the Northern Rural Growth Programme (NGRP) to improved and sustainable livelihoods in Nadowli and Wa West districts in the Upper West region of Ghana. Specifically, the study aimed:

- 1. To explore the impact of NRGP on poverty reduction.
- 2. To examine factors affecting the program's accessibility in three selected communities of Fian, Serekpere and Siira.
- To determine the extent participation in NRGP has empowered communities to improve their living conditions.
- 4. To gain insights on the differential impact of the NRGP in the study communities
- 5. To establish how participation in programmes matter to communities themselves.
- 6. To inform policy makers about possible strategies to increase benefits and to minimise elite capture and exclusion in similar pro-grammes.

## 1.6 The Northern Rural Growth Programme (NRGP)

With the mission of reducing poverty and facilitating development of the north, the NRGP is a special development intervention initiated by the Ghana government. With an overall sector goal to contribute to an equitable sustainable poverty reduction and food security among rural households, and specific objective to increase northern Ghana area rural households' income on a sustainable basis, the NRGP is a targeted poverty intervention for food crop/peasant farmers in the savannah region of Ghana. An eight-year programme which commenced in 2009, the NRGP currently have 45,000 direct beneficiaries in some 32 districts of the three northern regions and some other five districts in the Brong Ahafo region (NRGP Mid-term Report 2012). Operated under four distinct but integrated components of (1) commodity chain development (2) rural infrastructure development (3) access to rural finance and (4) programme coordination, the NRGP aims to address challenges in the agricultural sector in northern Ghana by focusing on specific activities geared towards improving production and marketing infrastructure, promoting out growers schemes for industrial commodities and export fruits and vegetables, producers networks managed by producers organisations and direct marketing by producer organisations.

The target group of the programme are smallholder farmers living in rural areas who derive their livelihood from agricultural production, and existing and potential small scale entrepreneurs and business associations who provide services to rural households. NRGP is designed to help poor rural people develop income-generating agricultural activities supplementing subsistence farming. The beneficiary communities of this programme, according to the mid-term

progress report 2012 and the feasibility report 2007 state that communities are selected based on certain conditions/factors which include potential for low-land development, strengthening of farmers' organisations, agricultural extension and rural infrastructure improvement.

The NRGP has intended benefits of making an impact in the lives of beneficiaries which include an increased production generated by agricultural improvements in both rain-fed and irrigated farming, ensured markets for both rain-fed and irrigated crops for small producers, increased producer prices paid for products entering the marketing system set up by the programme, reduction of commercial risk for producers and buyers among others. The USD 103.6 million programme is being funded by the Ghana government, African Development Bank (AfDB), International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). The beneficiary communities and implementing partners include Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA), some selected NGOs, some financial institutions, suppliers and buyers of agricultural produce and beneficiary communities.

## 1.7 Organisation of Report

This report is organised in six chapters. The first chapter contains the broad overview of the study and looked specifically at the research region in the development context of the whole country, Ghana, outlining the research questions and objectives and a background on the project (NRGP) of focus. Chapter two critically looked at some of the contentious issues in the development discourse. It is also in this chapter that the analytical frame is established as a guide to discussing the findings from the field in the subsequent chapters. Research strategy employed in gathering relevant data for the study as well as background of the study communities are contained in the third chapter. Chapters four and five are the discussions of research findings on inputs and outputs/outcomes on participation in the NRGP respectively. Based on the research questions and objectives, conclusions and policy recommendations are drawn in chapter six.

# Chapter 2 Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

#### 2.1 Introduction

The search for development, be it self-development or development of nations even though has been on for a long time, its real meaning encompassed in one known and accepted definition is still a debated issue in the development discourse. Payne and Philips (2009:2) and Thomas (2000:774) both contend to the ambiguity with varied definitions from all categories of people and broadly termed it as something beyond a desired change occurring in the transformation of economic and social basis of society to include dealing with problems. For Peet and Hartwick (2009:1), development means making a better life for everyone. This better life comprised both material and non-material things which they itemised to include essential basic needs such as sufficient food to maintain good health, a safe, healthy place to live, affordable services available to everyone and being treated with dignity and respect. Perhaps, seeing development to be more critical to the non-material aspect of life to an individual, Amartya Sen (1999) emphasised that development is a process of expanding the real freedoms of people even though he saw the link between more materialistic perspective of development and that of the non-material aspect. For instance, income level of an individual or growth of a country's GDP and progress of that person or country could have a correlation. Therefore, development essentially, from the perspective of many is associated with growing and high income levels of people, access to assets, social and political involvement of people and democratic achievements of countries amongst others. For Todaro and Smith (2009:109), the concept of development could mean a holistic transformation of countries and their people. To them, development is a multi-dimensional process involving the reorganisation and reorientation of entire economic and social systems. This also includes and involves improvements in incomes and outputs, radical changes in institutional, social and administrative structures resulting in improved health, education and other conditions as well as in popular attitudes and even customs and beliefs.

It is these indicators that stakeholders in the development field employ in categorising countries as developed, underdeveloped, and developing and many other terms.

## 2.2 Poverty

The status of many underdeveloped countries or societies and their population are easily best described with poverty (Oxfam 1995, Sachs 2005). The contest to what could be the accepted definition of poverty in development discourse is as diverse as development itself. Different people in different fields, including those considered by many to be poor have all defined poverty in their own terms. In a survey conducted in Thailand, Jitsuchon (2001:7) seeking the definition of poverty state that the poor themselves emphasised factors closed to their everyday lives such as not enough to eat, low income, no land for agriculture, indebtedness, illness, poor general health or disability. When one is poor,

she has no say in public, she feels inferior. She has no food, so there is famine in her house; no clothing and no progress in her family' is a poor woman's voice from Uganda expressing her opinion on poverty in Todaro and Smith (2009:6). From what can be referred to as academic, development practitioners and policy makers point of view, the definition of poverty is not entirely different from the perspective of poor people. For instance, Bradshaw (2007:9) realised that poverty in most general sense is the lack of necessities including food, shelter, medical care and safety. Other scholars including Chambers 1997:163), Sen (1999) and Todaro and Smith (2009:222) have defined it to include lack of, or limited access to assets and other conditions of life. The definitions have gone from mere lack of income to include the lack of or inadequacy of both material and non-material things. The different definitions of poverty also tell of its various dimensions, magnitudes and approaches, and perhaps different ways of reducing it. These dimensions are related to living conditions, lifestyles, liveli-hoods, and residential. In an attempt to synchronise its diverse definitions for the appropriate responses in dealing with poverty, Laderchi et al (2003) and Sterkenburg (2006:158) identified four broad approaches common with defining and measuring poverty. According to them, there is the come/consumption approach that defines poverty in terms of income/consumption poverty line representing an adequacy level and by which people are categorised poor if their income/consumption levels fall below the adequacy level. By this approach, which also happens to be the most common used and associated to World Bank's definition of poverty, is a basket of some goods supposed to be essential and basic to an individual or a daily expenditure of an amount of \$1 is used to categorise people who are poor and those who are not. A person is considered an extremely poor if he/she earns and/or spends less than \$1 a day (Nkurunziza 2007:160), (World Development Report 2000/01:3). Then there is what they identified as the capability approach which looks at poverty beyond a situation where a person lacks money or food but something to include any barrier to an expanded quality life of any individual. Therefore any situation where a human being lacks the opportunities to live a valued life characterised by poor health and other social, economic and political deprivations is what this approach see to be poor. Social exclusion or human poverty approach refers to a situation whereby an individual is hindered by certain conditions from being part of the affairs concerning his /her life and that of the larger society. They identified the fourth approach as participatory approach which concerns itself with the extent of poverty according to who is part of the whole process of defining and dealing with the situation.

These four broad approaches or categorisations of poverty clearly indicate its multiplicity and multi-dimensional nature. These aspects of poverty include the different livelihoods or occupations of people, gender and geographical locations and its intensity in different people's lives and situations is considered either absolute or relative. Associating poverty with people's occupation or livelihood, geographical location and gender, Todaro and Smith (2009:238-241) contend that about two-thirds of the very poor scratch out their livelihood from subsistence agriculture either as small farmers or as low-paid farm workers while some of the remaining one-third are also located in rural areas but engaged in petty services. In urban areas, the poor according to them are located on the fringes and in marginal areas and tend to engage in various forms of self-employment as in street hawking, trading, petty services and small scale commerce while women make up a substantial majority of the world's poor.

But as if to pre-empt that poverty is not just a rural phenomenon, Satterthwaite (1997:12) reveal that hundreds of millions of urban dwellers in the south who according to global estimates of poverty have incomes that place them above the poverty line, live in very poor quality housing and usually overcrowded conditions with a great lack of infrastructure. For de Haan (2009:139), the African continent is poorer than the rest with about 46.4% of the population living on less than US\$1 a day as of 2001. Contributing to the gender dimension of poverty, Agarwal (1997:11) and Kabeer (1999:19) both reiterate that women are generally poor than men because they lack the range of endowments and exchange entitlements which male members of their households tend to enjoy. They are less able than men to translate labour into income, income into choice and choice into personal well-being.

Poverty being such a difficult term to accurately define and contextualise, in this study, it has been operationalised in terms of income and consumption, productive assets ownership and used, occupation/livelihoods, amongst others. In addition, information was sought from the field as to how free one is to partake in communal activities. People who cannot partake in communal activities without feeling inadequate, intimidated and/or sidelined was considered as excluded.

## 2.3 Participation

Development certainly would have been even more unbalanced if there have not been conscious and concerted efforts aimed at mitigating the barriers to development. Therefore many countries, especially those with indicators such as low economic growth rate and other development indices that make them easily be referred to as poor and/or developing countries continue in diverse ways to make development happen in their societies. Either alone or in partnerships with various stakeholders, most governments in many developing countries have undertaken various projects/programme with the main objective of reducing poverty in the lives of their people and inducing development in places where it is lacking. Perhaps, what should prompt stakeholders in the formulation, design and implementation of policies for poverty reduction should be the multi-dimensional, multiplicity and complicated nature of poverty. The victims of poverty, just like it causes and effects are of different categories and levels and therefore measures towards poverty reduction should be mindful of this and ensure the active participation of all.

In search for an antidote to the many development interventions failures, the term 'participation' came into place and seemed to be the recognised ingredient that was missing in most of the development interventions. Tracing the history of participation in development to the 1960s, Chambers (2005:99) state that participation has many streams, adding, participation in Africa during the 1970s owed much to the idea and experience of community development. Also often tagged with many connotations by many and different actors, participation according to Chambers (2005:103) and Cornwall (2008:269) is a malleable concept used to evoke and to signify almost anything that involves people. Locating its importance in development in recent times, Gaventa and Valderrama (1999) are of the view that the definition of participation has often been located in development projects and programmes as a means of strengthening their relevance, quality and sustainability while Cleaver (1999:597) contend that he-

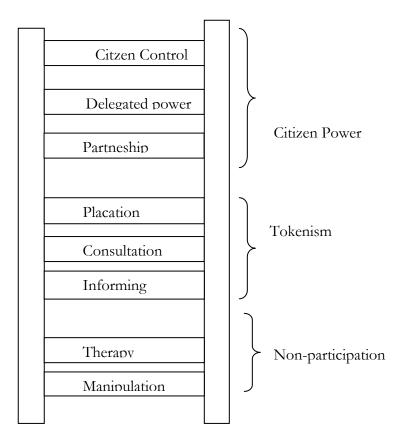
roic claims in support of participatory approaches to development are justified in terms of ensuring greater efficiency and effectiveness of invest-ment and contributing to processes of democratisation and empowerment. The conundrum of ensuring the sustainability and relevance of development interventions is assumed to be solvable by the proper involvement of benefi-ciaries in the supply and management of resources, services and facilities (ibid). Thus, participation has become an important indicator in determining the success of many development projects. Molenaers and Renard (2009:255) posit that around the turn of the millennium, participation by all stakeholders, especially, civil society in the formulation of Poverty Reduction Strategies for poor countries became a formal condition for aid from international donor organisations. Also Brown (2004:237) linked its importance in poverty reduction strategies in developing countries due to its dominance in many other comprehensive development frameworks such as the millennium development goals.

From the above, participation, like many other concepts in development context is difficult to define. But it could mean the involvement of people for a common course, and in this study, it has been used in the context of beneficiaries involvement in the implementation of the NRGP.

## 2.4 Types of Participation

Participation, nonetheless ambiguous in meaning has yet been categorised in various spheres from scholarly divide. Arnstein (2011:4,5) identified eight types of participation and what each type entails to various stakeholders (communities/project beneficiaries and actors like state, NGOs, civil society) and also how these various stakeholders practice them in undertaking development projects. In a form of a ladder, she has on the first two rungs from the bottom manipulation and therapy which she refers to as non-participation as the objective there is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programmes/project, but to enable power-holders to educate or cure the participants. This suggests that those opportunity project beneficiaries are supposed to capitalise on to determine their own 'sickness' and 'cure' as a result of their participation in programmes/projects as purported by Robert Chambers is absent. The next three rungs of her participation ladder are informing, consultation, and placation which she described as tokenism in her explanation to mean the mere aspect of allowing the voices of the poor (project beneficiaries) to be heard by power-holders without any influence in terms of the plans/decisions by these power-holders. Thus, participation here is like a charade. Her next three steps up the ladder are partnership, delegated power, and citizen control. Termed broadly as citizen power by the author, this is perhaps where real beneficiary participation seem to be taking place as she explains the increasing degrees of decision making clout of beneficiaries, negotiation and engagement in trade-offs with power-holders and full managerial powers of beneficiaries. Below is her typology/eight ladder of participation

Figure 1: Ladder of Participation



Source: Arnstein cited Cornwall 2011:5

Other sources, trying to group participation have rather touched broadly, how it has been occurring in various contexts. These typologies include social, economic, political and at levels, often referred to as community or local participation or bottom-up participation as well as top-down participation. For instance, Mansuri and Rao (2012:31, 32) on local participation further grouped it as either organic participation or induced participation. Organic participation, according to them is the type of participation usually driven by social movements aimed at confronting powerful individuals and institutions within industries and government and improving the functioning of these sphere through a process of conflict, confrontation and accommodation whereas induced participation refers to the type of participation promoted through policy actions of the state and implemented by bureaucracies. Termed 'people's participation', Saxena (2011:31) described this type of participation as a process by which the people are able to organise themselves, and through own organisation are able to identify their own needs, and share in the design, implementation and evaluation of the participatory action. Cohen and Uphoff (2011:37), rather linking it to time, state that in the 1950s and 1960s, political participation, referred to as activities centred around electoral and other decision-making processes is what was normally discussed in the social sciences. 'Functional participation' described as the form of participation most often associated with efficiency arguments i.e. people participating to meet projects objects more effectively and to reduce cost, after the main decision have been taken by external agents is one typology Cornwall (2008:271) observed and Gaventa and Valderrama (1999) see social participation, often times, occurring in social movements and self-help as organised efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, and citizen participation/or citizenship as direct ways in which citizen's influence and exercise control in governance, and political participation as citizens engagement in traditional forms of political involvement as in voting, political parties and lobbying as other type of participation occurring in any development context.

Participation, notwithstanding the type and the context, is expected to yield some dividends to the participants. On that note, the participation mantra has been justified as an effective tool to attack poverty in its ability to enhanced livelihood and empower poor people as it raises/increase incomes, increase consumption and enable assets accumulation/formation and/or consolidate ownership, and beyond individual level, it rebuilds economy, promotes sustainability, equality, and increase project effectiveness and efficiency (Finsterbusch and Wicklin 1989:576, Mansuri and Rao 2004:2, Paul 1987). Cohen and Uphoff (2011:46) further grouped into three, these expected benefits of participation as material, social and personal benefits. Without any clear distinction, material benefits are also personal benefits (private goods) such as increase in consumption and income and assets as a result of higher yields of crops, from sale of surplus production, acquisition of land, livestock, implements, improved farm dwelling, savings etc an individual acquires by participating in any development initiative while socially benefits are basically public goods as in services or amenities like schools, health facilities, roads, water systems in communities as some projects are implemented in these communities (ibid).

But how is the process to attaining these benefits happening amongst the various stakeholders (government, donors, NGOs, individuals and/or community members often tagged project beneficiaries/beneficiaries)? In both theory and practice, all stakeholders' involvement in all phases/stages of development projects should be emphasised. However, going beyond definitions and typologies/categorisation of participation, different sources revealed how different stakeholders participate in conception, design and implementation of development projects. Porter and Craig (2004:397) note how project beneficiaries are normally framed in inclusive liberal terms as vulnerable, lacking, individualised and localised in poverty assessment and consulted about their needs and participants in formulation of policies to deal with their situation. Also, Oakley et al (1991:94) decried how often governments and development agencies see participation as a means to improve the delivery systems of the projects they seek to implement whereby the local population is mobilised – a direct involvement in the task at hand but the participation evaporates once the tasked is completed. Furthermore, Bowen (2007:71) on social funds projects in Jamaica found out how in theory, social fund subprojects include roles for beneficiary communities in every phase: selection, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation but in reality, show limited citizen participation, if not total absence in several phases of the projects.

How participation is practice in reality can influence different outcomes or benefits to the various stakeholders. Analysis and/or assessment of many growth or poverty reduction programmes, normally run on the backdrop of participation by different scholars indicate varied results or benefits to different people participating in them in various ways and/or stages. According to Mansuri and Rao (2004:17) sourcing Katz and Sara (1997) in their analysis of per-

formance of water systems in a variety of countries find that performance was markedly better in communities where households were able to make informed choices about the type of systems and the level of service they required and where decision-making was democratic. Also, Gilligan et al (2009:1701) found different impacts on people participating in two complementary growth/poverty reduction programmes in Ethopia. Their evidence showed that households who participated in the country's Productive Safety Net Programm (PSNP) and Other Food Security Programme (OFSP) derive maximum benefits as their participation in both programmes resulted in food security, allowed them to borrow for productive purposes, used of improved agricultural technologies and operated non-farm own business activities than households who participate in either the PSNP or OFSP. The PSNP, designed to protect existing assets and ensure a minimum level of food consumption and as such participating households/individual receive meager amounts or transfers whiles the OFSP, designed to encourage households to increase incomes generated from agricultural activities and to build up assets as they receive at least one of several productivity enhancing transfer of services including access to credit, agricultural extension services, technology transfer, livestock production irrigation and water harvesting amongst others. Tsekpo and Jebuni (2008:251) on such production and gainful employment programmes detailed in Ghana's Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy report that such programmes have very little direct effect on the lives of the poor as these are targeted at commercial farmers.

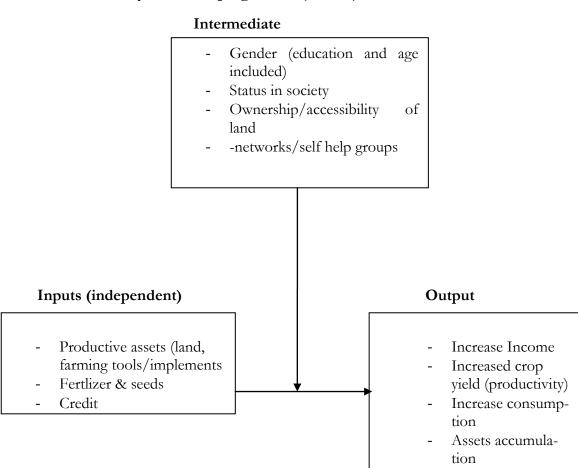
So different ingredients and perhaps, amounts available to enable one participates in any programme at the beginning go a long way to determine what the person gain from it in the long run.

#### 2.5 Conclusion and Relations between the Variables

Participation, after all, could be all stakeholders' involvement in contributing, in both material and non-material terms to all the stages of development projects such as in the design, implementation and monitoring and evaluation towards the realisation of the desired goals of such programmes/projects and all these resulting in desired outcomes in the lives of the stakeholders/participants, especially, project beneficiaries. But this also implies other factors or peculiar characteristics of participants as in age, gender, educational levels amongst others.

Also depending on the type of programme that people participates in, these variables could differ. But in a programme like the NRGP, these variables (independent) may include inputs such as land, credit, farm implements, and intermediate variables such as sex or gender, status, educational background and age of the participants, and dependent variables such as incomes, consumption, and asset/wealth accumulation/formation. Some of these characteristics, together with such indicators of poverty as in low incomes, low farm outputs or crop yields, lack of asset (land) amongst others guide the analysis of data later in this report.

Figure 2 Visualised relations between variables of participation in poverty reduction programme (NRGP)



Underlining the above notions, participation in the context of this study is assess using Arnstein's typology of participation - in terms of how beneficiary individuals/households of the NRGP are aware of the entire NRGP package, how they are involved in it, at what level they are participants and benefits/impacts in their lives as a result. Together with the chart above with the visualised variables constitutes the framework.

# Chapter 3 Research Strategy and Profiles of Study Communities

The research adopted a number of strategies in gathering data, both directly from the field and existing relevant literature.

### 3.1 Types of Data

Primary quantitative and qualitative data have been used for this study. Quantitative data in this case refers to data obtained by the administration of questionnaires with pre-coded options for response. In the case of qualitative data, in-depth interview, focus group discussions (FGD) and observation were employed.

Primary data of both quantitative and qualitative nature was sourced directly from the field from individuals, groups, opinion/community leaders using questionnaire survey and focus group discussion methods in the beneficiary communities. Programme beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries formed part of study sample. Population of the beneficiary communities' constituted the sample frame. Purposive/purposeful sampling procedure was used to select respondents for data of qualitative nature - focus group discussions and interviews. Purposive sampling, according to Patton (1990:169) is a technique that allows you to learn great deal about issues of central importance to the research. Since this research has amongst others an objective of finding out about the inclusiveness of the NRGP, purposeful sampling methodology was appropriate to help reach the right respondents who could speak to issues. The programme/project implementation staff at the Programme Management Unit of the NRGP in Tamale and other officials (monitoring and evaluation officers) in the zonal offices in the Upper West regions were contacted (by way of semi structured interview) for their insight of the programme. Speaking to both the direct beneficiaries of the programme and technical staff enriched and authenticated information from both angles.

For secondary data, aside books, articles, journals, discussion papers that have been consulted for the theoretical/conceptual framework, available and relevant literature about the development and/or underdevelopment of northern Ghana, especially regarding similar interventions in the past are used. Official documents such as reports on the programme, appraisals etc was sourced for relevant information. The researcher also made both direct and indirect observation of events whiles in the field.

#### 3.2 Sources of Data

For a period of two months (July – August), information relating to the topic "Towards Poverty Reduction in Northern Ghana: Contribution of the Northern Rural Growth Programme to Sustainable Livelihoods" in the Upper West region of Ghana was gathered from beneficiaries of the NRGP and other stakeholders including the Programme officials and other intermediaries, Association of Churches Development Project (ACDEP)

To generate quantitative data, a total number of seventy-eight household questionnaires designed under five themes - biographical data; assets use, ownership and livelihood activities; awareness of NRGP; participation in NRGP, and impact of NRGP on beneficiaries were administered in face-to-face interactions with beneficiaries of the NRGP in three different communities in the UWR. For qualitative data which was also collected from the field within same period, three focus group discussions (one with each of the three groups/communities) were conducted, four semi-structured interviews with officials/staff of the programme at the district, regional and national levels of the Programme (one schedule officer/MoFA official each from the two districts comprising the study communities; one with the regional officer incharge of the NRGP; and one with an official at the National level). In addition, two formal face-to-face conversations relating to the research were held with two other officials (MoFA staff) at the regional level, one telephone interaction with one intermediary/facilitator (ACDEP) and observation were instruments used to gather qualitative data.

Recording of information was done manually with a note pad/book and pen. In order to ensure that information was not lost, short-hand notes taken during the interaction were normally gone-over and expanded or explained. Even though using a recorder to record interviews would have made the researcher not to lose any information, the strategy of recording manually was adopted to make interviewees feel at ease and freely and openly discuss issues without entertaining fears of anything. For the participant observation, the researcher went to sites/farms of some beneficiary groups/members. This was to ascertain and explore more of what respondents said. Also, an informal/impromptu group interaction with some women who are also potential beneficiaries of the NRGP (men joining later) was held at Dabo-Siiraa. Information generated from these approaches has not only made the data rich and in-depth, but it has also made it balanced.

## 3.3 Sampling and Sampling Procedure

The study area is the Upper West region of Ghana with Nadowli and Wa West districts being the study districts and the communities are Fian, Serekpere and Dabo-Siiraa. The Upper West region was chosen out of the four regions that the NRGP is currently on-going because since this is an evaluative research in nature and the Upper West region currently being the poorest region in Ghana, (preliminary results, GLSS 6 October 2012- September 2013), the researcher saw it appropriate to choose that region to see how NRGP was operating in cognisance of that. Also, the researcher is familiar with the language of the people and it was considered to minimize communication barrier. Upon reaching the region, contacts were made with the MoFA regional office. Even though the Programme has taken-off in all the five districts in the region, Nadowli and Wa West districts were randomly selected. Then further contacts were made with MoFA offices in the two districts for lists of beneficiary communities and groups. Accessibility and time of commencement of the NRGP in communities were carefully factored in choosing the three study communities so that better comparisms of issues could be made. The participating groups/beneficiaries (Lamboore N-maarong in Serekpere; Tietaa Women association in Fian; and Sungbaala Farmers association in Dabo-Siiraa) were chosen because they are the only groups in the respective communities currently under the programme. But the composition of the groups; an all women group in Fian, and all men group in Dabo-Siiraa, and a mixed group in Serekpere has helped balanced the groups.

Since the groups are not necessarily large, (about 65 members for the Fian group, 24 for Serekpere and 14 for Dabo-Siiraa), efforts were made in administering questionnaires to all members except with the Fian group where purposive sampling procedure was used to choose 41 active respondents since these individuals are the ones who participates fully in the activities of the group.

The researcher, together with field assistants met to review the questionnaires before going to the field to administer them. Issues including interpreting or translating the questions and meanings of some key words all formulated in English language to respondents in the local dialect, Dagaare were discussed and agreed upon. This was to help reduce errors and ensure that the right information was being collected. Questionnaires were not administered to non-beneficiaries of the programme. However, the researcher had informal interactions (conversations) with such people in the study communities.

### 3.4 Data Presentation and Analysis

The pre-coded questionnaire was designed for data entry in SPSS and Excel software to generate quantitative data. Simple statistics such as percentages (for proportions of respondents experiencing a particular phenomenon) and means (average number of occurrence of numerical data such as age, income, farm produce) were used to summarise the field data. The results are presented in subsequent chapters of this thesis. Qualitative information that were highly interesting and topical, obtained from in-depth interviews and FGD, were used both as direct quotations or paraphrased sentences to buttress essential research objectives.

## 3.5 Profile of Study Area(s)

#### 3.5.1 Serekpere and Fian Communities

These two communities are among 158 communities/settlements located in the Nadowli district of the Upper West region. The population of Fian is 2598 while that of Serekpere is above 1000.

Female population dominates male population in the two communities and the Dagaaba tribe dominates the other tribe, the Sisaala tribe in both communities.

These two communities are rural with characteristical absence of infrastructure and other socio-economic facilities way below certain standards. Agriculture is the mainstay of the people in the two communities of which over three quarters of the populations are engaged in. Food crop production in this sector largely remains subsistence with low output levels. The main activities practiced include food crop production as well as animal rearing. The sector is estimated to be growing at 2.1% per annum, which is below the national target of 6%. The major food crops grown in these two communities include millet,

sorghum (guinea corn), maize, beans and yam. Cash crops cultivated include groundnuts, cotton, cowpea, soybeans, cassava, tiger nuts and pepper.

Basically all of the farmers rely on traditional methods of farming using simple tools such as cutlass and hoes and are highly dependent on rainfall for crop production. A small number of the people rely on intermediate technology using tractor services, animal drawn implements for farming. Little irrigation is done by people of the two communities during dry season gardening as using water from dug-outs and tributaries of the Black Volta. There is only one farming season for the inhabitants of these communities which last only for about 3 - 4 months in a year. The lack of irrigation facilities in the communities make the people idle for the major part of the year. So during the dry season, they engaged in activities such as petty trading for the running of homes.

There have been inconsistencies in trends of the agricultural production and output for the major crops in the communities. Generally, the cultivated land acreages as well as productivity levels have not seen significant improvement for the past few years. There are no modern storage facilities in these two communities. Storage of farm produce is done traditionally by most farmers using traditional silos, cribs/barns and sheds with few of them using improved silos and jute sacks. Marketing of farm produce is done mostly during markets days in big communities like Nadowli, Busia and Tangasia.

The main methods of land acquisition and use identified in the Fian and Serekpere communities are freehold of family lands and lease hold.

#### 3.5.3 Dabo-Siiraa Community Profile

This community is located in the Wa West district in the UWR. It has a population of about 1000 with the female population being the majority. Also, it is a rural community that lacks many basic facilities and services such as electricity, schools health facility, telecommunication etc for development. It however has a good feeder road linking it to neighbouring communities like Tanvaare, Dabo and Wechau.

Located along the Black Volta, the livelihoods activities of inhabitants are mainly farming (food crops and livestock and animals) and fishing. Most farmers undertake a combination of crops and animal production. The main crops grown by the farmers are maize, millet, cowpea and groundnut. However, productivity of crops is low due to a combination of factors such as inadequate rainfall, low soil fertility, poor cultural practices and low technology application as rainfall distribution and amount in the area are concentrated within the second and third quarters of the year.

The vegetation of the area is congenial for livestock production, which contributes significantly to household incomes. The climate of the community, which is the same for the whole district, is tropical continental type with the mean annual temperature ranging between 22.5°C to 45°C.

There exist only one farming season, lasting about 4-5 months of the year is observed in the community. The rest of the year, which is the dry is the period lasting October to April is when the residents resort to fishing along the

Black Volta. The fishing is normally done by men while their female folks engage in petty trading, pito brewing, shea-butter extraction.

\*\* Source(s) of above information from the Nadowli and Wa West District profiles and field work 2013\*\*

BURKINA UPPER EAST UPPER BENIN Tamale Damongo NORTHERN 0 -R TOGO BRONG - AHAFO Wenchi • ш • Mampong Ô **ASHANTI** Kumasi • EASTERN Kade • WESTERN CENTRAL ape Coast STATE NAME National Capital Regional Capital Other City or Town International Boundary Regional Boundary

Figure 3: Map of Ghana showing Upper West Region and the Programme Areas

Source: NRGP Main Document 2007:26

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Detailed socio-economic indicators pertaining to specific (study communities) were not available. Such information on the districts as whole are attached at appendices four and five.

# Chapter 4 Data Presentation and Discussion: Findings on the Programme's Design

This is the first chapter on the findings of the research in the area of the programme's design and beneficiary participation discussed together with background information on respondents such as age, gender and assets ownership and used, and livelihoods.

### 4.1 General Information of Respondents

In the study communities of Serekpere, Fian and Dabo-Siiraa, a total of seventy-eight (78) respondents were contacted in a face-to-face administering of questionnaires. Majority of this data was generated from the Fian community with a total of forty-one (41) respondents representing 52.6% of all respondents, 29.5% in Serekpere, and the least number of respondents, fourteen (14) comprising 17.9% were obtained in Dabo-Siiraa.

In all, the gender composition of respondents is thirty-two (41.0%) males and forty-six (59.0%) females (perhaps, not only in line with the programme's objective of women's inclusion but also to affirm they are the majority in the agricultural/food crop sector in Ghana and elsewhere); more than half (56.4%) of all the respondents are aged 45 years and over. An indication farming in the study communities in particular and the UWR in general, is the reserve for the elderly/aged as also noted by Kwankye et al (2009:16). An implication of food insecurity in the communities and region as a whole as these elderly with less strength and with the use of simple tools like hoes, cutlasses can hardly produce yields to last them all year round, especially made worse with the continuous threat of environmental/land degradation due to climate change.

Related to food in/security, two-thirds of the respondents said they are able to feed their households with three-square meals a day during both seasons (69.2% of respondents for dry or off-farm period and 67.9% of respondents for rainy or farming season). This information does not only contrast what GSS (2007:14), Tutu (2011:69) and UNDP (1997:56) assertion that most food crop households are food insecure for most part of the year but it also does not match with the average crop yield of most respondents as will be seen later in this report.

About three-quarters (75.6%) of the respondents have no form of formal education with only one respondent (1.3%) having attained tertiary level of education indicating high illiteracy rate of respondents. This affirmed the low national literacy rate of 47.9% cited by GSS (1998:23) and Luginnah's assertion that the UWR has 75.5% illiteracy rate (Luginaah: 2008:807). In their fifth round of the GLSS 5, GSS (2008:27) reported that half of the country's total population was illiterate. This high illiteracy rate among respondents can impact on the NRGP as interaction and dissemination of information and issues concerning the programme and other national issues can be impeded.

Table 1: General background of respondents

Background indicator	Number	Percentage
Community		
Serekpere	23	29.5
Fian	41	52.6
Siira	14	17.9
Gender		
Male	32	41
Female	46	59
Age group		
18-24	2	2.6
25-29	7	9.6
30-34	5	6.4
35-39	13	16.7
40-44	7	9
45+	44	56.4
Education of respondents		
None	59	75.6
Primary	12	15.4
Secondary	6	7.7
Tertiary	1	1.3
Farming as major Livelihood		
Yes	75	96
Occupation (off-farm season)		
Trading	29	37.2
Migrate out of community	8	10.3
Menial jobs	9	11.5
Other	32	41
Total	78	100
Eating habit dry season		
Once a day	1	1.3
Twice a day	18	23.1
Thrice a day	54	69.2
3+ a day	5	6.4
Total	78	100
Eating habit raining season		
Once a day	1	1.3
Twice a day	22	28.2
Thrice a day	53	67.9
3+ a day	2	2.6
Total	78	100
Type of building material		
Mud	2	2.6
Mud bricks	34	43.6
Plastered mud bricks	34	43.6
Cement blocks	5	6.4
Plastered cement blocks	3	3.8
Total	78	100
Number of persons per room		
1	10	12.8
2	16	20.5

3	29	37.2
4+	23	29.5
Total	78	100

Source: Primary data - Fian, Serekpere and Siira, Ghana July-August 2013

With farming as their major occupation in farming/rainy season (96% responding to that), 41% of the respondents go into activities such as petty trading, charcoal burning, shea-butter extraction, and fishing in off-farm season, and about 10.3% opting to migrate out of the communities. This confirms the uncontested observation that farming is the main source of livelihood of rural dwellers as Luginaah (2008:809), Todaro and Smith (2009:238) and Sackey (2005:48) have noted and explained the absolute nature of poverty amongst these people as they only engaged in it for a short while of the year and become redundant for the rest of the year declining rainfall.

The respondents with their households live in houses built with mostly mud bricks and plastered mud bricks (43.6%) with only 3.8% of them living in houses built with plastered cement blocks. This figure matches with the national figure of 57.7% or more than half of households living in dwellings constructed with mud and/or mud-bricks (GSS 1998:46). Averagely, there are 5.4 dwellers in a room, as 37.2% have three or more people of their household members sharing a room. Though this information characteristically depicts poverty and living standards of respondents, broadly, it tells of lack of state provisioning of low cost housing for the people. It is not only the consequence of concentration in rooms (3 per room) as this is considered overcrowding by Fiadzo et al (2000:145) and Satterthwaite (1997:12), but also the fast spread of communicable diseases as they would be less ventilation and air circulation especially in the night that should matter but also the number of mouths to feed as Adjasi and Osei (2007:451) observe that larger households are more likely to be poor as they have more mouths to feed.

# 4.2 Assets Use, Ownership and Livelihood Activities of Respondents

Farming occupation is done with simple tools such as hoes and cutlasses as 63 respondents (80.8%) affirmed. On a more developmental note, 59% stated the use of tractor, which is indicative of appreciable degree of mechanization. Only one respondent uses plough for tilling of farmlands. Apart from the hoes and cutlasses which are owned by respondents, the other farm implements are hired. The use of such simple tools and other limited productive assets, in addition to scarce job opportunities, and inaccessible markets have been found to lock people in material poverty (Sackey 2005:42). However, most respondents (85.9%) own the piece of land on which they farm which they explained to be family land available and accessible to every member of the family. This is an indication that there is ample land in the communities and the UWR as a whole and the point of the UWR being structurally poor may share John Iliffe's point that some of the poor in Africa have ample land and other resources but lack labour to exploit it as the advanced age of most respondents suggest (Iliffe 1987:4). However, guaranteed access and right to land is not the same for all respondents. These include respondents who rent land for their farming activities and women respondents. Three of the respondents (3.8%) mentioned they are renting land to do their farming activities. Normally from the Tindaana2 and his family, respondents said that land rented out to them is not paid in cash. What is needed is for the tenant to provide some items including drinks for certain rituals to be performed and in appreciation, a basket-full of any produce from the farm is sent to the Tindaana and tenants have access to land all year round. A clear indication of the absence of any legal binding document between tenant and landlord and even though this should be applauded as a good communal spirit, its potential to create property ownership problems in the event of breakdown of trusteeship in the near future is high as land is such an important commodity and its uses are appreciating every time. A confirmation to Timothy (1995:904) and Quaye (2008:337) statements that family land tenure system for agricultural activities was predominant in northern communities while hiring or land rental and crop sharing systems were practiced in few communities. Female respondents explanations of swinging access in accordance with their status (married, widowed and/or perhaps, single) to land only reiterate earlier findings of Agarwal (1997:30 & 31), Amoakohene (2004), Appiah et al (2000:312), Oxfam (1995:14) and Todaro and Smith (2009:239). This could affect productivity levels of female beneficiaries and increase their vulnerability and poverty risks and subsequently hinder their individual and households/families upward social mobility as Berner (2009:9) mention that in newer debates about poverty, lack of productive assets (such as land) is identified as a major aspect of vulnerability.

Table 2: Farming activity

Farm characteristics	Number	Percentage
Land ownership		
Self	8	10.3
Family	67	85.9
Rented*3	3	3.8
Preferred crops		
Beans**	56	71.8
Rice***	27	34.6
Maize	59	75.6
Main crop (Maize)		
1-5 bags	30	51.7
6-10 bags	16	31
11-15 bags	6	10.3
16-20 bags	3	5.1
25 bags	1	1.7
Types of farm implement		
Tractor	46	59
Plough	1	1.3
Bullocks	16	20.5
Simple (hoes etc)	63	80.8

Source: Fieldwork 2013, UWR Ghana

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Tindaana – a person (male) considered being first settler and therefore owner of the land

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Note: Rented\* - tenants have access to land all year round; beans\*\* - 63.6% produce maximum of 2 bags per acre; rice\*\*\* - 51.9% produce maximum of 2 bags per acre

Three food crops; beans, maize and rice and leguminous crop; groundnuts and tubers (yam) are mainly what respondents produce. The choice of crops is link to their diet and also on soil type and fertility of the land of each individual

Even though accurate farm sizes of respondents could not be obtained as most respondents could not exactly tell the size of their farms except to approximate that it is small, medium or okay or big, calculating the size of farms and yield per acreage per harvest season per respondent was therefore adjusted to the measure in which respondents quantify outputs from their farms. Averagely, it can be estimated that 6.6 bags of maize are produce per respondent per harvest time, with beans and rice estimated respectively at 2.9 bags and 2.8 bags per farmer per harvest season. These small quantities of harvest at the end of one planting year can make most households' food insecure as Godfray et al (2010:813) and Stocking (2003) rightly noted that about 60% of rural communities in the tropics and sub-tropics are persistently affected by small and declining households food production for a longer part of the year which can increase their vulnerability to harsh living conditions.

#### 4.3 Beneficiaries and the NRGP

#### 4.3.1 Knowledge/Awareness of the Programme

It seems the presence of the NRGP is well spread in its catchment areas. In the study communities, 77 people contacted said they are aware of the programme in their respective communities though 75 respondents (97.0%) are actually benefiting from the programme. Fifty-three (53) percent said they got to know of the programme through a group while 22.1% either got to know of it through community leader or other members including MoFAs Agricultural Extension Agents (AEAs) in all the study communities. As stated on page sixteen of the design document of the NRGP, the MoFA is the lead implementing agency of the programme. Also MoFA officials at the regional and district levels who double as schedule officers of the NRGP at various levels and officials at the programme Office in Tamale in my interaction with them confirmed that they were responsible for making the programme known to communities and beneficiaries. But other key people in the communities such as chiefs and opinion leaders, elected and/or appointed political representatives as agents of development in their roles could help disseminate information about the programme to their community members. This could go a long way not only to popularize and, perhaps strengthens the programme, but it could enhance it sustainability and foster close coordination between government and communities. This could also help achieve some of the anticipated benefits of community participation and also reverse the situation in similar early initiatives as Aryeetey and Goldstein (2000:288), Botchway (2001) and Songsore et al (2001) attributed to their collapse.

 $<sup>^4</sup>$  One and half (11/2 ) bags of producers measurement/bags equals one (1) bag of buyer(s) measure/bag

#### 4.3.2 Beneficiaries Participation in NRGP Design

Programme's conception and all initial preparations leading to the design were done outside communities'/beneficiaries involvement. Beneficiaries' participation in the NRGP begin with either accepting or rejecting the already-made design of the NRGP from top hierarchy (government and donors/funders) when officers of the main implementing agency (MoFA) make it known to communities for its implementation. Underscoring the importance of participation in design of programmes/projects as espoused by Mansuri and Rao (2004:17), ideally, and for better results concerning ownership, sustainability, accountability amongst others, involvement of communities in the NRGP design should have offered beneficiaries the opportunity to make inputs in information or decision-making such as identification of needs and their ranking, choosing of preferred crop(s), establishing co-financing/contribution mechanisms, groups leadership/management structures, and determination of monievaluation accountability mechanisms. and and ies/respondents only participation, (the only one at this stage) is saying yes to the preconditions, procedures and all rules and regulations for the programme to be implemented. The type of participation described by Mansuri and Rao (2012:32) and Oakley et al as (1991:94) as induced participation.

Unravelling further the type of beneficiary participation at this stage in the NRGP using Arnstein's eight rungs of citizens (in this case beneficiaries) ladder of participation, it shows that beneficiaries' participation is 'non-participation' (manipulation and therapy) as contained in her first two rungs of ladder. As the people in Fian, Serekpere and Dabo-siiraa were only handed the 'supposed correct treatment' of their ailment by way of agreeing to play according to the rules/dictates of the game drawn from 'top', by specialists physicians without being consulted in the diagnosis. The little or absence of beneficiary involvement in the programme design was easily noted as respondents could not explain convincingly why they were doing certain things under the programme, for instance the choice of crops. Also relating this to Robert Chambers voices of the poor regarding participation, and Mansuri and Rao (2004:7), it can be concluded that the realization of such virtues of participation as ownership and sustainability are at stake. More so when it is stated on page eighteen (18) in the NRGP design document that learning from LACOSREP and UWADEP, the NRGP is more participatory in order to achieve the goals and objectives, the seemingly no beneficiary involvement at the design stage is yet another pseudo participation in a 'professed' participatory programme as Botchway (2001) noted in NORRIP.

#### 4.3.3 Beneficiaries Participation in Implementation of NRGP

Even though the NRGP is a social intervention for the people in northern Ghana, a person's participation in it comes with certain requirements or demands. First of all, it is a demand-driven programme as stated in the design document (NRGP 2007:8) and this was reiterated by the PMU. As such, participation in it is requested by potential beneficiaries in communities. Beneficiaries participate in the NRGP through groups and membership of associations, but not as individuals. Normally, after the programme is introduced to community members at community forum by the AEA, interested or potential beneficiaries are helped to form a group through the facilitation of the AEA.

The potential beneficiary or participating groups are required to meet some requirements - having a bank account with a commercial financial organisation. Although composition of group is not gender selective, some of the groups are all-male and all females (about 65 all females group in Fian community, 24 mixed gender group in Serekpere community and an all male 14 member group in Dabo-Siiraa community). According to the programme officials, ideally, 14 member groups, maximum 15 are preferred for easy monitoring. After groups are formed, they are required to have a monetary (savings/current) account with financial institutions, preferably Rural Banks or any other Commercial Bank of a group's choice. They are also required to have constitutions with bylaws for members.

Any adult member of a household can join a beneficiary group of NRGP provided the person is able to meet the obligations of a group and programme. As such data indicates that some households (9.3%) have more than three beneficiaries of the programme even though majority of the respondents (53.3%), were the only beneficiaries from their households. This does not, in any case demonstrates the inclusiveness of the programme. For instance during FGDs, when a question was put to groups as to whether everybody, in their view, who wants to participate in or benefit from the NRGP, some discussants said it was inclusive as groups were opened and welcoming of every potential member. Discussing this issue further, some members alluded to the fact that even though some members of their communities wished to be part of the participating group(s), they were deterred by membership contribution of money to open group's bank account or running of other activities of the groups while some members have been shunned by groups because of such member(s) freerider attitudes. People who are prevented from joining groups because of inability to meet monetary requirements include the aged, especially those without children and any meaningful livelihood or caretaker, the very poor or destitute, who they described to be those people who find it almost impossible to get 50 Ghana pesewas (0.17 euro cents) or even 20 Ghana pesewas (0.07 euro cents) to buy any need or for a contribution for funerals. As to affirm or dispute what respondents at the ground/low level said about the inclusiveness of the NRGP, officials of the programme in a conversation with the researcher denied that the NRGP was exclusive of some people.

This approach to participation in the programme is laudable in terms of sustainability, but it does not reach out to majority of people in the communities because of the region's high absolute poverty levels. Therefore the fruits of participation in development projects as notice by Cleaver (1999:597), Cohen and Uphoff (2011:46), Gaventa and Valderrama (1999) and Mansuri and Rao (2004:17) as means of strengthening their relevance, quality, enhancing livelihoods, sustainability, ensuring greater efficiency and effectiveness of investment and contributing to processes of democratization and empowerment will be eaten by few, and in this case, the less hungry ones.

Still in quest to know how beneficiaries participation in the implementation stage of the NRGP happens, the question of how are you (this group) involve in the NRGP or are you really part of the NRGP was asked during focus group discussions. A male from a mixed group responded

yes we are part. Because we too as a group, aside the meetings we have been holding with the programme officials (AEAs and other schedule officers), we meet regularly to discuss how best we can benefit from this programme.

Another member followed with this point 'and yes when we meet, we learn from each other because we realized that it's not all of us that always grasp the full details of whatever programme officials tell us.

Beneficiaries (groups) thought they are fully involved expressing that they were not co-opted or coerced into forming groups, that they decided to be part of the programme after it was being introduced to them by the responsible agency/person, that they choose their own leaders and also form any necessary committees, that they drafted and adopted their own constitution, and that they interact with programme officials amongst others. This means that beneficiaries are just being guided to simply play by the rules of the game as their stance here would simply not alter anything in the original design of the programme. Relating this to the participation literature, especially using Arnstein's perspective, the next three rungs of her eight ladder participation; informing, consultation and placation which according to her mean nothing but tokenism best describes the situation as beneficiaries themselves have misconceived following laid down procedures to make implementation of the go on as enough participation on their side. Because at this point, beneficiaries dissatisfaction with how things are rolling out will only remained unchanged. Also according to officials on participation, the implementation of the programme is performed by the District Value Chain Committee (DVCC) which consist of representatives of the following value chain dealers under the programme; Farmer Based Organisations or Producer Organisations (FBOs/POs), input dealers, financial institutions, aggregators or marketers, tractor service providers, transporters, MoFA, department of cooperatives and business advisory centre. Respondents and officials comprehension of participation as explained above also confirms the malleability of the word which Chambers (2005:269) and Cornwall (2008:269) noted which makes people refer to it in any situation that involves people.

Certain factors such as gender, size of group and/or educational levels of respondents thought to be key factors, and could influence quality and extent of participation in the NRGP did not make much difference if any, at all. As depicted in the chart below, even though the Fian community has the largest number of membership (also large membership) with no education background, beneficiaries in that group rather displayed high level of awareness of the programme. This was not only observed during interactions with group members but they have both individual and group farms that the programme is helping them. Also, this group/community, tapping the matching grant available under the NRGP, has two proposals with the NRGP for two projects – fencing of dam for dry season farming and a grant to purchase a tractor. Beneficiaries in the other two communities are only not aware of this facility (matching grant), but are also not utilizing it.

Matching grant is a facility support for beneficiaries who would like to purchase farm implements like tractors, harvesters, and any other equipment that can enhance farm activity and boost output. But, field observations show that two groups - Serekpere and Dabo Siira – are not aware of this opportunity. The requirements are if a group or a beneficiary can deposit 10% of the cost of equipment, then the NRGP will assist with up to 40%, while the rest has to be taken as a loan at the bank. My assessment of a 20-acre and a 23-acre farm in Serekpere gave me an impression that the farmer who owns it might be able to come up with the 10%; interestingly, he was not aware of such opportunity.

Beneficiaries in Fian and district level officials of the NRGP explained that what made the Fian community to be 'more exploitative' is its long existence of over a decade. Whilst the two groups in the Serekpere and Dabo-Siiraa are newly formed (2010) for the sake of benefiting from the NRGP, the Fian community is a long existing self-help group. This long existence, members explained gave them opportunity to work with many NGOs which results in members' exposure and acquiring of other life enhancing skills through attending of workshops and trainings.

Perhaps, the degree and/or participation and benefiting from the NRGP may also include intermediate variables as groups' and their lifespan and the opportunities, contacts and links that such groups have been able to establish with other development agents.

**Communities & Educational Levels of respondents** 35 30 25 None 20 Prim. 15 Sec. 10 Tert. 5 O Serekpere Fian Dabo-Siiraa

Figure 4: Bar chart of educational levels of beneficiaries in the study

Source: Primary data - Serekpere, Fian and Dabo-Siiraa; Ghana July-August 2013

Respondents in Serekpere and Dabo-siiraa communities admitted they formed their groups in order to participate in the programme simply because it does not admit individuals. Taking the concern of individual differences in connection with this to programme officials, they maintained that the design of the programme (demand-driven) made it expensive and beyond the financial capabilities of most individuals in the catchment area and also financing agriculture is considered a risky thing by financial institutions not only because of weather vagaries but also because of high defaulting rate of individuals to pay back loans granted and general lack of collateral on the part of most food crops farmers. According to them (programme officials), it is realized that group(s) are better to deal with as members act as collateral/guarantors for each other in the group in seeking services. However, this could be a way of not reaching out to the absolute poor in the communities whose high poverty status would not permit them to honour the obligations of groups and become members. Berner (2005) and Mansuri and Rao (2012:5&6) shared this concern

that the poorest remained excluded due to doctrines of cost recovery and misunderstood sustainability by development agencies.

By Arnstein's typology, communities members whose ability to contribute and meet other requirements of participating groups and therefore enabled them to be respondents/beneficiaries is citizens power. Further engagements of farmer groups/beneficiary groups by their elected representatives in the DVCC with other individuals or service providers such as tractor service providers, marketers or aggregators, fertilizer suppliers and even with financial institutions explains this point. It is also these types of participation in this stage that Mansuri and Rao (2012:6) entertained fears of high elite capture and exclude the weakness and exacerbate horizontal inequalities.

The following chapter looks at what benefits accrue to beneficiaries even in their 'pseudo' participation in the NRGP.

# Chapter 5 The NRGP and Benefits

### 5.1. Beneficiaries, Participation and Inputs

Members of participating groups under the NRGP are getting inputs ranging from services such as loans, farm inputs (including fertilizer and tractor services), agricultural extension services (good farming practices, new and improved methods of farming), technical advice amongst others.

There is no ceiling to the quantity and types of services to a beneficiary under the NRGP. A member of a beneficiary group only needs to state the amount of input, for example, amount of money he or she requires during the application processes for a group loan from a service provider and the exact amounts indicated by members are disbursed to them. For others such as fertilizer, tractor services and seeds, the quantity you accessed depend on the size of your farm. For instance, respondents denied that their small farm sizes has nothing to do with tractor ploughing specific acres or size but rather on one's strength to do the rest of the work after the tractor has ploughed. If I know I can do the rest of the work on this whole place (respondent pointing to an endless piece of land), if the tractor comes and I show him the place, he will do it'. This was how a male respondent in Serekpere community explained how tractor services under the programme have no restrictions on a beneficiary's farm size. Also depending on an individual needs, beneficiary members, through their groups access their required quantities of seeds and fertilizer under the NRGP without any limitations.

Agricultural extension services such as new and improved ways of farming and sowing, use of farmer books for records, right ways and times for applying fertilizer and so on under the NRGP are offered farmers by AEAs. Programme officials stated that the AEA is supposed to meet regularly with farmers (beneficiaries) on their farms where the use of a particular technology is introduced and practiced by the farmer (beneficiary) and the AEA. Also not barring any beneficiary in any way from benefiting, yet due to long distance to farms and lack of staff by the NRGP (MoFA), these services are offered most beneficiaries in theory. In Serekpere community, beneficiaries in a focus group discussion revealed that the AEA would normally meet with the group in the community and introduce or explain such matters as fertilizer application, sowing and the likes to them. Members would then go and practice on their various farm. In Dabo-siiraa, extension services are done on the group's demonstration farm. This demonstration farm is located very near to the community where the AEA and the beneficiaries normally practice any technology or method necessary for maximum yields after which the individual beneficiaries go to practice it on their various farms. In Fian, beneficiaries receive extension services on their group farm and individual members then transfer any knowledge gain to own/personal farms.

Considering the role of agricultural extension services in any agricultural or farming endeavour, more so when lack of provision of such services have been identified by Birner et al (2009:342) and Davis (2008:17-19) as the bane on the agricultural sector, it adequate provision under the NRGP could go a long way to differentiate beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries.

Not downplaying the importance of the above inputs, the most important and the necessary input for participation in the NRGP is land. Therefore its ownership and/or accessibility, size and fertile nature are critical as together with the other inputs, it influence the outcomes/ results of participation amongst beneficiaries. Even though ownership and/or accessibility to land is one of the often used parameters in categorizing people as poor or otherwise, but typical of growth programmes, giving land to beneficiaries or helping them acquire/consolidate such asset is never part of the deal. As female respondents in the study corroborate earlier studies by Agarwal (1997:30 & 31), Amoakehene (2004,) Appiah et al (2000:312), Goldstein and Udry (2008:995), Oxfam (1995:14), and Todaro and smith (2009:239), telling how, by virtue of their sex and status, their accessibility and ownership of land is not guaranteed, it's temporal and also swings in size and probably, times, therefore, female respondents in this study, not even respondents in Fian community may fully capitalise on the other services (tractor service) they are receiving at less cost to derive maximum benefits from their participation in the NRGP. Therefore correlation concerning amount of inputs - fertilizer, seeds, and extension services received under the programme and subsequently, outputs, might be of little concern as Gilligan et al (2009:1701) established this in their study of the PSNP in Ethopia. Also Messkoub (2008:5), Bugri (2008:279) and Whitehead (2006:282) observed strong relation between asset (land) ownership and accessibility to increase productivity in their studies in MENA and Ghana respectively.

Another group of beneficiaries of the NRGP who might not be able to extent their farm sizes capitalizing on the tractor services and other inputs provided to derive maximum benefits from the programme is the 3.8% of respondents renting land in the Dabo-siiraa community. Even though respondents could not recount any difficulty in accessing and using land for farming in the community, any change in headship of the *tendaana*, could also change terms and conditions of occupancy. In this situation, any differentials in farm profitability is not only gender but land occupancy as well. Land ownership and/or accessibility in the three different communities of respondents is what the figure below depicts.

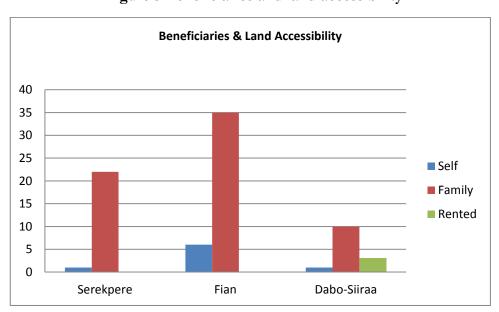


Figure 5 Beneficiaries and land accessibility

Source: Primary data - Serekpere, Fian and Dabo-siiraa, Ghana July-August 2013

### 5.1.1 Same Programme Difference Service Provisioning?

Beneficiaries everywhere under the NRGP are to enjoy same services under same conditions. But data from the field prove otherwise. Aside reported time differences in receiving fertilizer from the service providers that was reported by respondents and observed by the researcher, there are also price variations in fertilizer and tractor services in the three communities. Both beneficiaries and NRGP officials shared that tractor services to beneficiaries in the last farming season (2011/2012) was at a cost of Ghc 50.00 per acre. Due to long wait in getting NRGP arranged tractor services, the Serekpere group sought ploughing service from another beneficiary in their group who ploughed for them using his bullocks charging same (Ghc 50.00 per arce). The Dabo-siiraa community received this service from a private service provider also at the same price (Ghc 50.00) whilst the Fian community received this service at half the price (Ghc 25.00 per acre) from Jacob's World, an NGO.

Jacob's World, according to an NRGP official at the district level, is an NGO that support women groups who are into livelihood activities.

For fertilizer supply, programme officials said it was the government subsidized fertilizer that the NRGP relied upon to supply it beneficiaries through other intermediaries or agents. Since the government subsidized fertilizer normally comes into the market with a guarantee established price, one would have least expected price variations. Nonetheless, in Dabo-Siiraa community, beneficiaries paid Ghc 39.00 per bag for Sulphate Amonia fertilizer and Ghc 45.00 per bag of NKP fertilizer. 18<sup>th</sup> April limited is the supplier for the Dabosiiraa community. The same prices for the same products went to beneficiaries in the Fian community though not by same supplier. For the same fertilizer, beneficiaries in Serekpere had to pay at a higher cost than their counterparts in Fian and Dabo-siiraa. Braid Enterprise supplied Sulphate Ammonia at Ghc 44.00 per bag and Ghc 51.00 per bag of NPK fertilizer to this group. In what account for this price difference, programme officials at the district level could only link it to the different suppliers and downplayed any issue of corruption and elite capture. In focus groups discussions where issues such as what could possibly let some groups and their members participate and benefits more or less than the other(s), while members in Fian and Dabo-siiraa communities entertain some level of corruption or elite capture as likely factors, ironically, the Serekpere community beneficiaries, as if in consonance with district officials could only blame any such differences on market forces.

These price variations in inputs supply could tend to generate different levels of impacts on beneficiaries as they could encourage or deter extended farm sizes of respondents depending on your gender or community as it stands.

Further interaction with beneficiaries revealed the field is not on same level for all players only on the above submissions. An individual' member inability to honour the obligation of a beneficiary group such as payment of dues or indebtedness to the group in any way and irregular attendance of meetings do not only determine the kind and degree and/or amount of accessing services mentioned above but it could expelled people from groups. Groups having the powers to make decisions that are binding of all and with powers to expel 'non-conforming' members at this level are the type of participation Arnstein's

seventh and eight rung best explain. These also exacerbate the elite capture issues in such situations as observed by Mansuri and Rao (2004:17).

# 5.1.2Beneficiaries and Outputs/Outcomes of Participation in NRGP

In both tangible and intangible terms, respondents tell how inputs have turned into outputs/outcomes as they make accounts of gains/benefits under the NRGP. Increased income, increased consumption/crop yield, self and/or wards education, gaining new and improved technology amongst others is how respondents evaluated the impact of NRGP in their lives.

Through the extension services the programme provides, my crops now do better in terms of yields and as a result my household and myself get enough maize meal to eat and I still get some to sell to cater for other needs. Also, the education and awareness I am gaining participating in the programme have boosted my confidence level as I can now talk in public even in the midst of men. Very educative indeed.

This is a quote from a female beneficiary in Fian community explaining how helpful the NRGP is to her, another male beneficiary from Dabo-Siiraa community happily said he became the first runner-up for the Best Farmer position of the Wa West district in the 2012 National Best Farmer Awards. His price package included a certificate, couple of cutlasses, one key soap bar and a pair of wellington boots. This beneficiary saw it as an achievement and greatly attributed it to his participation in the programme, singling out his ability to properly enter records of farm activities in his farmer book and strict adherence to other procedures that the new and improved technologies come with. Little as the wining package may be, how many of these beneficiaries can follow and practice with due diligence, agricultural extension service lessons as most respondents did not know what a farm base book is let alone to keep or use one. This raises the issue of how and the manner and circumstances most respondents are receiving extension services.

In all the three communities, the beneficiaries expressed preference for the cultivation of only one of the recommended crops under the programme, maize. Yields of maize from their farms, according to respondents, have increased since their joining of the NRGP as they now get enough to eat and also sell some of the produce. Output of this crop ranges from as low as one (1) 100 kg bag to twenty-five (25) 100 kg bags among respondents. To make assessment of the programme in the lives of different participants/beneficiaries, these farm output or crop yields are used to categories respondents/beneficiaries as 'dire poor', 'moderately poor', and 'non-poor'. Respondents who harvested between one (1) and six (6) bags of maize at the end of farming year/harvest are labelled as 'dire poor'. Respondents who harvested between seven (7) to twelfth (12) bags are categorized as 'moderately poor' and respondents who harvested thirteen (13) bags and above are categorized as 'non-poor'. This information with the corresponding numbers/percentages is presented in table three.

Table 3: Percentage Distribution of Respondents according to Quantity of Bags of Maize Harvested

Harvest Group	Number	Percentage
1-6	42	72.4
7 -12	10	17.2
13 +	6	10.3
Total	58	100.0

Source: Fieldwork UW Ghana, July-August 2013

Using derived poverty classification, the respondents were evaluated on the forms of benefits they derive from NRGP. It was observed in table 4 below that half of all respondents benefited from access to inputs irrespective of poverty classification. Other forms of benefits such as access to loans, business and technical advice were more or less evenly spread. However, it is noted that tractor use increases as poverty level improves. The non-poor indicated a very high use of tractor, implying higher use of mechanization which could explain why they had more harvests and consequently higher income compared to the respondents who are in the 'dire poor' and 'moderately poor' categories. This signifies a need for increased mechanization of farming so as to boost farm productivity in the NRGP project areas.

Table 4: Types of Benefits (inputs) of NRGP according to Poverty Categorisation of Respondents

		Form of benefits from the programme - %					,
	Loans	Farm inputs	Business advice	Technical advice	Other	Tractor use	Total
Dire poor (1)	16,7	50	0	31	2,4	54,8	(42)
Moderate (2)	40	50	0	10	0	60	(10)
Non-poor (3)	16,7	50	16,7	16,7	0	83,3	(6)
Total							( <b>58</b> <sup>5</sup> )

Source: 2013 Fieldwork Upper West Region, Ghana

The information provided in the following tables using some of the often used terms/indicators such as lack of ownership and accessibility of land and other productivity assets, low educational levels, gender/sex (male/female), age amongst others in discussing poverty concept have been used to help determine any uniqueness of respondents in the three poverty categories (dire poor, moderate poor and non-poor) in this study.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Even though there are 78 respondents in all (total), the 58 registered in the table as the total is only for respondents producing maize. The other 20 respondents are not into maize farming.

Table 5: Grouped Maize Harvest \* Educational Level of Respondent Cross tabulation

		Educational lev	lucational level of respondent				
Poverty Categories/grouped maize harvest		None	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Total	
	1	30	8	4	0	42	
	2	7	0	2	1	10	
	3	4	2	0	0	6	
Total		41	10	6	1	58	

Source: Fieldwork UWR Ghana, 2013.

Table 6: Grouped Maize Harvest \* Gender Cross Tabulation

		Gender		
Poverty category/grouped maize harvest		Male	Female	Total
	1	15	27	42
	2	6	4	10
	3	5	1	6
Total		26	32	58

Source: Fieldwork UWR Ghana, 2013

Table 7: Grouped Maize Harvest \* Ownership of Farmland Cross Tabulation

		Ownership of	farmland		
Poverty category/Grouped maize harvest		Self	Family	Rented	Total
	1	5	34	3	42
	2	1	9	0	10
	3	0	6	0	6
Total		6	49	3	58

Source: Fieldwork UWR Ghana, 2013

Table 8: Grouped Maize Harvest \* Age Group Cross Tabulation

		Age group						
Poverty Cat- egory /Grouped maize harves		40.04	05.00	20.24	05.00	40.44	45.	Tatal
		18-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45+	Total
	1	2	3	3	7	4	23	42
	2	0	2	1	3	1	3	10
	3	0	1	0	1	0	4	6
Total		2	6	4	11	5	30	58

Source: Fieldwork UWR Ghana, 2013

Data presented in table 4 have not showed much difference in inputs supplied amongst respondents in the three categories, except, perhaps in quantities. But looking at the variations in output amongst the three groups could be underscored by yet another variable. Based on gender (table 6), it is observed that most of the respondents in category one (1) are females, and females again are the least respondents in the other two categories. Not only their large representation/participation in the programme (59 percent) of the total respondents could have make them capture or make a good representation in better categories, at least category two (2) and three (3), but considering the fact that female respondents (at least those in Fian) received some services at very good price and sold their produce at yet another good price. In this case, not even female participants gaining double from the programme, as in having individual and groups farms could exonerate them from the firm grips of poverty. The only feasible reason for their relatively active participation in the programme and yet such abysmal results could be link to the ownership and/or accessibility of the 'number one' input for participation in the programme – land, which ownership and/accessibility have always been an issue with women as in reported in this study and corroborated by many other researches of others including Amoakohene, Kabeer, Agarwal, Todaro and Smith mentioned in this study. For instance, even though female respondents were quick to answer that land belong to their families, in their explanations, they did not hesitate to acknowledge that land was owned by their husbands and husbands' families and they are given a portion of what the husband or family will be ready to share or give out. In this circumstance, a woman's access to land (size included) will very much depend on her husband's generosity and that of his family. In Fian community, a widow explained how her farm size reduced after the death of her husband as a bigger part of the land was taken over by other members of her husband's family. Another widow, also in Fian put it this way when asked if she owns the piece of land she farms on.

Where? The small plot which is like a backyard where I currently farm on is a favour done me by a benevolent community elder after the land where I used to farm with my husband was taken away from me by the family members after my husband's demise.

This implies that wives do not have secure rights to their husbands' land in the case of death or divorce, which makes them vulnerable to poverty. So even if this category (dire poor) of respondents participate actively or more in other areas such as choosing type(s) of crop and meeting all obligations such as having/operating bank account and others that could facilitate their participation, this one critical input stand to limit them from benefiting enough from their participation

Interestingly, though old/advanced age is another common characteristic of poor people, especially in the agricultural food crop sector, respondents in the age bracket of 45 years and above, though are concentrated in category one (1), respondents of this same age bracket constitute the non-poor category (category 3). The first observation could credent and the second observation could indent Iliffe's observation of poverty in Africa (1987:4).

These aforementioned characteristics (land ownership, gender, educational background and age) of respondents in the three categories are among other determining factors for one's level/extent of participation in this and similar programmes.

### 5.1.3 Participation in NRGP: Same Services Different Impacts?

Any impact of participation in the NRGP is also varied amongst respondents as price differences in the programme were not only reported in inputs but during time of sale of produce of beneficiaries as well. The NRGP together with other intermediaries/implementing bodies is supposed to source for buyers or market for the beneficiaries. Groups (beneficiaries) through their DVCCs are to identify, negotiate and establish a win-win situation with any chosen buyer. From respondents and programme officials, last year (2012), at Ghc 50.00 per 100 kilogram bag, beneficiaries in Dabo-siiraa sold their maize to Savannah Farmers Marketing Community. However, at Ghc 65.00 per 100 kilogram bag of same product (maize), beneficiaries in Serekpere sold their maize to their buyer, David Baloro and beneficiaries in Fian sold their maize in the open market. Therefore, how much beneficiaries (groups) are able to sell their produce depend, to some extent, who the buyer is and how their respective DVCCs uses their bargaining skills in choosing a buyer will go a long way to tell how one is cushioned from poverty by his/her participation in the NRGP as this is showed in the later analysis.

Using approximate income based on bags of maize harvested, I derive those whose income fell below and above the national minimum threshold in a gestation period of three months as observed for maize crops. In table 3, 72% of all respondents harvest between one (1) and six (6) bags of maize, earning approximately Ghc 116.67 per month at Ghc 50.00 in Dabo-siiraa and Ghc 130.00 in Fian and Serekpere communities where beneficiaries sold their produce at Ghc 65.00 per bag. This large group of people who barely earn a minimum wage can be labelled as those in 'dire poverty'. Then one would wonder what they used to earned before they were introduced to a programme that

barely lifts them out of poverty. Just 10% of all respondents earned substantially more from the harvest of maize; 13 -25 bags in the entire planting and harvesting season of about three months. It is estimated that in Dabo-siiraa where a bag of maize is sold at Ghc 50.00, this few beneficiaries can earn between Ghc 216.00 – Ghc 416.67 in a month if they harvest between 13 and 25 bags respectively. In Fian and Serekpere, these beneficiaries will earn Ghc 281.00 per month for 13 bags and Ghc 541.00 for 25 bags at Ghc 65.00 per bag, which is about three times higher the minimum wage. National minimum wage in Ghana, calculated on the basis of GHC5.24 per working day, for a 66-day (3 months) period is GHC345.84. So for the farming season of maize, which is about three months, these beneficiaries earn a bit less than what a labourer in any job will get in the same period. This is a negative point of the outcome of NRGP. The programme steadfastly insists on giving support to the cultivation of three crops - Maize, Soya bean and Sorghum. The farmers prefer only the cultivation of maize as survey showed. But their income from sale of maize, on the average, does not yield enough to meet the national minimum wage threshold as shown. Thus, the NRGP presently is not helping beneficiaries to rise above poverty level. Also, since the NRGP does not offer off-farm occupations to beneficiaries at the moment, this may explain why most of the beneficiaries still engaged themselves in activities they used to do previously - trading, fishing, migration, watchmen to survive in non-farming season. So in terms of contributing to higher income levels of beneficiaries, it can be said that the programme is far from doing that in the lives of its beneficiaries except, perhaps, in the area of contributing to household food security.

Due to late commencement (2010/2011) of the implementation of the programme in the UWR, respondents could not attribute any valuable asset such as bicycles, roofing sheets, grinding mill, tractor amongst others acquired through their participation in the programme except female respondents mentioning cloths and bowls (cooking utensils) acquired from proceeds in their participation of the programme which Pitt and Khander (1998:982) find in their study in Bangladesh that female participation in similar programmes increases their non-land asset holdings. A point women in such programmes gain little which does not permit them to acquire landed property or any productive asset. However, respondents acknowledged so far the impact of the NRGP on their households as 64.1 per cent mentioned it has helped them pay at least a year's fees of their wards in school.

# 5. 2 NRGP and Challenges

There are different challenges confronting both beneficiaries and programme officials. On the part of beneficiaries, their main issue is time of delivery of some services. Beneficiaries stated that tractor services and fertilizer are not promptly supplied when requested for, expressing that farming as a calendar activity, the late receipt of such services affects them negatively. Seem not bothered by any other thing, (not even price), members of the three groups only expressed their disappointment for how long they have been waiting to receive fertilizer from their respective suppliers. A visit to a group's demonstrating farm in Dabo-siiraa, and an individual member's farm in Serekpere made it clearer to the researcher why beneficiaries were much concern with time of supplies than price. Crops (maize) had almost out grown first fertilizer

application stage, and coupled with lack of rainfall (at the time), they were at the point of withering. Obviously, it has a negative impact in the long run on these farmers with issues of low harvest, repayment of loans and other associated consequences.

As to what constitute an acre to tractor service providers seem different to what beneficiaries know to constitute an acre. Expressing their dissatisfaction in differences in measurements, 'instead of measuring it 100 meters by 100 meters per acre which we know, they rather measure 70 meters by 70 meters' was how some beneficiaries put it during a focus group discussion in Serekpere. Also, some of the female respondents stated sadly how sometimes they have to wait a while longer as tractor operators direct their services to non-beneficiaries.

Lack of market and a related issue, storage is another challenge of the NRGP's beneficiaries. According to respondents, the issue is not just non availability of market for their produce that tend to create storage problems for them but also the low price that is normally offered them by the buyer/marketer discourages them from selling their produce.

Beneficiaries were also of the view that the value chain strategy/model through which the programme operates was too long and as such was the cause of delay for services such as loans from financial institutions and in other circumstances.

Programme officials touching on these concerns of their beneficiaries, reveal that the programme has not purchase tractors for its beneficiaries neither does it purchase its own fertilizer. As such they rely on individuals to provide such services adding that there are few tractor owners in the region of Upper West which make the demand for them very high. Regarding fertilizer supply, officials said suppliers also rely on government subsidized fertilizer to supply their beneficiaries and the time of release of this government subsidized fertilizer into the market lies solely with the responsible government body. With the issue of marketability, pricing and storage, programme officials said they are currently surveying the market for flour so that they help beneficiaries to add value to their raw produce by going into processing as well. Though yet to commence, the construction of warehouses is expected to curtail storage problems. Mentioning lack of financial capacity which makes it difficult for the buyer to absorb all what farmers/beneficiaries would normally offer, officials also associated the problem to National Food Buffer Stock Company (NAFCO) prices fixing. NAFCO is a government body responsible for determining and fixing of prices of food crops every harvest year in the country. So prices set by NAFCO in a particular year/time can be so high or so low to deter either buyer or seller.

Officials bemoan lack of staff, especially AEAs, breach of contracts by farmer or beneficiary groups and other intermediaries as challenges facing them.

# Chapter 6 Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

#### 6.1 Conclusion

This research set out to ascertain how individuals/households (beneficiaries) participation in the NRGP could help in achieving the set target of the programme's objective of "contributing to an equitable and sustainable poverty reduction, increase income and food security among rural households".

First of all, the participatory approach depicted in the NRGP design is that of induced participation (or top-down) or in the typology of Arnstein, 'non-participation' as beneficiaries were not involved in the design stage, and in the other stages their participation was only an endorsement of actions already carried out by the other 'powerful stakeholders'. Conditions for participation were drawn by government and donors/funding partners and handed down to the community. Group formation is the only way of participation and it has certain conditions including membership contributions, operating of bank accounts and so on. But it limits the programme to fewer beneficiaries in the study communities. The beneficiaries only seem to be in control of the processes when, for instance, they advice project coordinators or agric extension agents (AEA) on design and options of project characteristics that could benefit the locality and give tips on project monitoring.

The NRGP is not reaching out to individuals in the communities as the only way community members can participate in it is through groups (group participation), making the programme more limited in coverage and exclusive of people who may not be members of any group in their communities. For instance, a women's group in Dabo-siiraa at the moment is not participating in the NRGP simply because, among other things, the group two years contribution is still less than what is required to grant it loan by any financial institution for members to enroll in the programme. Clearly, this is another way of cutting-off people who, such programmes should actually be reaching out to as Mansuri and Rao (2012:6) rightly assert.

To a large extent, the respondents indicated that their poverty levels improved due to their participation in the NRGP. At varying levels, benefits accrued under the programme are boosting beneficiaries' consumption (household food security) and income levels. However, incomes from proceeds of farm activities, when compared with current minimum daily wage in Ghana, falls short. This means that by income poverty, beneficiaries still remain at subsistence level. And one wonders, how dire the poverty levels of the beneficiaries must have been before their participation; it also signpost how dire the poverty level, must be, of those who are currently not participating under the NRGP.

In dealing with groups, the programme does not consider how long groups have existed. Same treatment and services under the programme are offered to both existing self-help groups and newly formed groups which came into existence for the sake of participating the NRGP. It is realized that the group that had been in existence before the commencement of the programme (Tietaa Women's Association in Fian community) seemed more involved in the programme in terms of assertiveness and awareness level of members concerning the programme and general issues, and more exploitative' than was observed and demonstrated by members of newly formed groups (Lamboore N-maarong in Serekpere community and Sungbaala Farmers in Dabo-Siiraa). For instance, the Tietaa Women's association proposal for the fencing of a dam site in the Fian community for the group's dry season activities is before the programme with visits to the site by programme officials including the National Programme Director and ACDEP.

Beneficiaries who have no permanent access to land in the various communities, such as those who rent land for farming and women, whose access, ownership and rights to land keep changing may benefit less from the NRGP than their counterparts who own or have permanent access of land.

On a general conclusion, the NRGP, like many growth programmes, so far have done little to improve the lives of beneficiaries as incomes from the programme have only lifted beneficiaries just above the poverty line which has made them more vulnerable due to reasons including macroeconomic conditions. Also, aside overlooking different individual needs and vulnerabilities, such as landless people, women and perhaps people without labour, it also fails to make participation of absolute poor or certain 'outcasts' in the programme possible. Also by the design, the NRGP has attracted the attention of the 'better off, fuelling exclusion and inequality. The source(s) of livelihoods of the people have not change neither has the NRGP introduced any alternative sources of livelihood. Concentrating on only the old source of livelihood (rainfed farming) of beneficiaries without commencing initiatives in any other alternatives, especially irrigation farming does not only explain why majority of beneficiaries are still in the grips of poverty but it implies that the structural causes of poverty are not being addressed by the programme. Beneficiaries can remain in this low status also as reason that incomes from the programme will not permit them to give quality education to their wards to have better chances later in life.

The analysis also showed that there is a correlation or relation between the variables in any level or sphere of participation and these influence or reinforce each other in achieving the expected desires of participation. Therefore the results of participation in the NRGP and benefiting from it may go a long way to manifest different levels of impact on beneficiaries and participants. In this case, one's ability to enjoy from his or her participation goes beyond his or her ability to join and honour group's obligations or requirements and extends somehow to the characteristics raised before. In such circumstances, the very characteristics that have made certain people poor or poorer complicate their status to the extent that it is always not possible to extent any support to them individually, except to lump them in groups where those same characteristics still play on them as they remain critical requirements for individuals even as in groups in order to tap maximum benefits and change situations.

The findings of this research, though factual and authentic, are somehow limited by the fact that there were no research tools in the questionnaire that could seek specifics such as acreage of farms of respondents, exact amount and/or levels of inputs (credit, fertilizer) receive making it difficult to make sound conclusion on the varying impacts it is making on beneficiaries.

## 6.2 Policy Recommendation

Base on the foregone discussion, the following recommendations are worthwhile:

Re-design of the programme to add more crops to the list of three crops; maize, soya and sorghum. More varieties will not only give farmers diversity and market, but it will offer beneficiaries different menu in their homes.

Re-consideration of the programme with a multi-faceted, multi-dimensional perception and solution to poverty and serious attention to social exclusion/inclusion. This is to give, perhaps poorer residents in communities who, might be despised by other community members the chance to participate in the programme.

Immediate commencement of the other components and sub-components of the programme in the UWR, especially the construction of irrigation facilities, women crop window (shea, moringa, sesame) and the animals window (guinea fowls and small ruminants). This will cushion beneficiaries in any eventualities such as loss of farm land, failure of rains and it antecedent low yields etc.

Awareness campaign/education about the programme with new and effective ways of communication in the region. The MoFA officials (AEAs) should intensify this campaign of making the programme popular to both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries alike. To beneficiaries, this will make them aware of all that is in the NRGP, for instance the matching grant, which is less known to beneficiaries, and to non-beneficiaries, opportunities.

The DVCCs should be supported and their capacities build so that they can actively manage the actors in the value chain.

The NRGP, instead of relying on government and other actors (NGOs and the private) for services such as tractor service and fertilizer, it can purchase these for direct supply to beneficiaries. This will cut the delays in receiving these services by farmers (beneficiaries).

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# **Appendices**

# Appendix 1: Guidelines for semi-structured interview with NRGP officials at national, regional and district levels

- 1. What is participation in the context of NRGP?
- 2. What participatory approaches are there in the NRGP?
- 3. Why such approach(es)?
- 4. Do you think these approaches have impacted the achievements of the NRGP objectives?
- 5. What are the criteria used in selecting beneficiary communications/individuals?
- 6. What kind of support does the NRGP provide to its beneficiaries and at what level?
- 7. How flexible is the NRGP to different communities/individuals?
- 8. What is the nature of individuals' involvement in the NRGP?
- 9. How has the NRGP contributed to poverty reduction? Please explain
- 10. What mechanisms are there to ensure that the focus of the NRGP is not shifted from targeted beneficiaries to other stakeholders?
- 11. What are the challenges facing the NRGP?

# Appendix 2: Individual/Household Questionnaire for NRGP Beneficiaries

Towards Poverty Reduction in Northern Ghana: Contribution of the Northern Rural Growth Programme to Sustainable Livelihoods in Upper West Region.

I am a student from the International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University, Rotterdam. I am conducting a research on the above topic as part of my academic work. This questionnaire therefore aims to generate information with regards to the topic. Any information disclosed will be treated with the confidentiality it deserves. In this regard, your full support and cooperation as well as open-mindedness, accuracy and objectivity are highly solicited.

Q	uestionnaire Number:	
1.	Name of Community	
	Biographical Data	
2.	Gender of respondent: (a) Male (b) Female	
3.	Age of respondent (a) 18-24 (b) 25-29 (c) 30-34 (e) 40-44 (f) 45+	(d) 35-39
4.	What is your educational level? (a) None (b) Primary ondary (d) Tertiary (e) Vocational/technical	(c) Sec-
5.	How many children do you have?	
6.	What is the educational level of each?	
	(a) First child	
	(b Second child	
7.	Assets Use, Ownership and Livelihood Activities Is farming your major source of livelihood? (a) Yes	(b) No
8.	What is your occupation in off-farm period?  (a) Trading  (b) Migrate out of community	

	(c) Menial jobs/repair works (d) Other (specify)
9.	What is your eating habit during rainy season?
	(a) Once a day (b) Twice a day
	(c) Thrice a day(d) More than thrice a day
10.	What is your eating habit in the dry season?
	(a) Once a day (b) Twice a day
	(c) Thrice a day (d) More than thrice a day
11.	What type of building material is used for your house?  (a) Mud
	(b) Mud bricks
	(c) Plastered mud bricks
	(d) Cement blocks
	(e) Plastered cement blocks
12.	On the average, how many people sleep in one room in your house?
	(a) 1 (b) 2 (c) 3 (d) 4 (e) more than 4
13.	Who owns the land where you farm?  (a) Self (b) Family (c) Rented  Explain
14.	If land is rented, what time of the year do you have access? (a) Farming season (b) Off-farming season (c) All year round Explain
15.	What do you produce (list two crops in order of preference)?  (a)  (b)
	©
16.	How much yield do you produce per acre?
	(a)
	(b)
	©
17.	Why do you prefer these crops and that quantity? Explain
18.	What type(s) of farm implements do you have/use?  (a) Tractor (yes/no) (b) Plough (yes/no) (c) Bullocks (yes/no)  (d) Simple implements (hoes, cutlass etc (yes/no)

	Awareness of NRGP						
19.	Do you know of the NRGP in th	is community? (a)	Yes (b) No				
20.	If yes how did you get to know of the programme?  (a) Media (b) Group (c) Community/opinion leader  (d) Political representative (e) Other community member(s)						
21.	Participation in NRGP Are you a beneficiary of NRGP? Q31)	(a) Yes (b) N	o (if No, go to				
22.	Did you have to be a member of beneficiary of the NRGP? You Explain	es/No (which one)					
23.	What responsibilities do you ha NRGP?	ve in respect of th	ne following in the				
		esign	pro-				
	cess		pro-				
	cess		1				
	(c) Type	_ C	homo				
	• •	of	bene-				
	fit(d) ment		Assess-				
24.	fit(d)	hold members are	Assess- beneficiaries of this				
	fit	hold members are (b) Myself and from this programa	Assess- beneficiaries of this d one other  me?				
	fit	hold members are (b) Myself and from this programa	Assess- beneficiaries of this d one other  me?				
	fit	hold members are to (b) Myself and from this programm	Assess beneficiaries of this d one other me? //advice (d) other				
	fit	hold members are to (b) Myself and from this programm	Assess beneficiaries of this d one other me? //advice (d) other				
25.	fit	hold members are (b) Myself and from this programm) Technical training	Assess- beneficiaries of this d one other  me?  //advice (d) other				
25.	fit	hold members are (b) Myself and from this programm) Technical training	Assess- beneficiaries of this d one other  me?  //advice (d) other				
25.	fit	hold members are (b) Myself and from this programm) Technical training iciaries	Assess beneficiaries of this d one other me? c/advice (d) other				

	(d) Self/wards	education i	mproved	(i) Yes	(ii) I	No	
27.	What have yo					programme	)
28.	What have y	ou not b					)
29.	What challenge	es are there	·				
			• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •			•••••	
30.	How responsiv	ve is this pr	ogramme t	o your imn	nediate nee	ds?	
	(a) Not at all sive Ex-	(b) Less re	sponsive	(c) respo	onsive (d)	very respon-	-
	plain						
31.	What do you sponsiveness	think need	to be done	-	ve the propour	gramme`s re- needs:	

Thank you

Appendix 3: Focus Group Discussion Famer Based Organisations (farmer groups)

Themes	Subthemes	Prompts	
The impact of NRGP on poverty reduction.	In what ways has it improved the lives of people in the region/community?  How successful has NRGP been in reducing poverty?	Income Consumption Literacy rates Migration Household headship	
factors affecting the program's accessibility within the community	What are the challenges affecting its implementation in this community?	Corruption/elite capture Market Awareness Assets Accessibility Gender issues Community Leadership	
	In what ways do you think the program can be improved?		
insights on the differential impact of the NRGP in communities	What are the effects of community inequalities on poverty reduction?	Infrastructure Communication Community pro- activeness.	

- 1. How did this community become a beneficiary of the NRGP?
- 2. What role did community leadership play to be part of the Programme (leadership proactiveness, endowments of community, lobbying through district assembly and/or elected political representatives)
- 3. Do you feel part of the Programme?/How are you involved in the NRGP?
- 4. In what way(s) are you part of the Programme?
- 5. What are the projects you benefited from NRGP?
- 6. Are these projects what you needed? /asked for?
- 7. What benefits/improvements are these projects bringing to individuals and the community as a whole?
- 8. Are beneficiary groups and communities able to fully utilize facilities acquired through NRGP?

### Apendix 4: Socio-economic Data on Nadowli District

The Nadowli district as a whole has a total population of 94,388 comprising 44,724 male and 49,664 females (2010 population census). About 45% of the population is aged between 0-14 while 49% constitute the economically active population and 6% being the aged.

There is no enough statistical data on migration trends in the District, the situation however exist. There is seasonal out-migration by the youth especially males to the southern part of the country to in search of work.

The District currently has a number of tarred roads and number feeder roads. The tarred roads include Loho – Nadowli road, Nadowli Yirizi road, Nadowli – Dapuori road and Jang - Busie road while the feeder roads include Nadowli Tangasia, Navilli Charipong, Kaleo Sankana Takpo Nanvilli, Serekpere Goli Nator Takpo, Nadowli Daffiama Bussie, Daffiama Fian, Sombo Duong Daffiama, Fian Wogu Issa Kojokpere, Issa Tabiase, KaleoChang Kanyinguasi and Kaleo Ombo Jang roads.

The tele-communication sector is poorly developed with only 2 ICT services at Nadowli and Daffiama. Currently only Five communities (Nadowli,Sombo Kaleo,Daffiam and Bussie) out of the 158 are served by national telephone system.

The District has a total of 187 educational institutions comprising Sixty-two (62) Nurseries, Seventy-eight (78) Primary schools Forty (40) Junior High Schools, five (5) Technical/ Vocational and three (3) Senior Secondary Schools. Currently the gross average enrolment rate in Primary schools is about 91% which is far above the national target of 88.5%. Girls' enrolment at the primary school level is higher (97%) than that of the boys (85%). The gross enrolment at JSS level (58.4%) is not encouraging when compared to enrolment at the Primary level. Contrary to the situation in primary, enrolment for boys supersedes that of girls in the district. The current teacher-pupil ratio in the district is 1: 45 and 1:25 at the primary and JSS respectively.

The general problems in the educational sector include in the district include: inadequate staffing, inadequate teachers' bungalow, high dropout rate at the JSS level especially for girls, inadequate logistics for monitoring and inadequate incentives for teachers in deprived communities.

The District health sector can be categorized into 2 sectors, public and private. The Ghana health service runs the public sector providing both curative and preventive care in the District hospital, health centers and outreach stations. Community based disease surveillance volunteers have also been trained to assist in surveillance activities. The district currently has two hospitals, one government (District Hospital) and one private (Ahmadiyya Moslem Hospital) located in Nadowli the District capital and Kaleo respectively with 148 outreach stations and points. The average distance to a health facility in the District is about 9km. There are only 4 doctors currently in the District comprising 2 expatriates and 2 nationals with a doctor patient ratio of 1:18387 and nurse/patient ratio according to the health directorate currently stands at 1:1406. Some of the problems in the health sector in the district include inadequate means of transport, lack of spacious office accommodation, inadequate finance to carry out sensitization activities, high illiteracy and poverty affecting prompt payments of premiums, delays in the submissions of claims by partners and inadequate staff accommodation.

#### Apendix 5: Socio-economic Data on Wa West District

The 2000 National Population and Housing census results put the Wa West District population at 69,170. The population comprises 33,547 males and 35,623 females representing 48.50% and 51.50% respectively and the sex ratio is 94 males to 100 females.

Seasonal migration is an important characteristic of the Wa West District population. This happens during the long period of dry season from October to April annually when the youth especially migrate to the southern parts of Ghana to undertake any jobs they can find to avoid staying underemployed throughout this period. The trend now is that more of females migrate to the south of Ghana to serve as "kayayo" or "tayama".

The total feeder road network in the district is about 456.30km. The District enjoys only about 20km of Bitumen road. The only tarred portion of the district roads are the Wechiau township roads and the Wa-Ga road.

On power/electricity connection, only three (3) communities are connected to the national grid while four others are currently being worked upon.

School enrolment rates at the kindergarten level are 52.3%, 91.5% at the primary level and 32.9% at the Junior High level in the district. Teacher pupil ratios stand at 1:402 at the kindergarten, 1:174 at the primary and 1:42 at the Junior High level.

The District has a total of 20 health institutions made up of five (5) public health centres, one (1) public maternity, one (1) private maternity home, one (1) CHAG facility and twelfth (12) Community-based Health Planning and Services (CHPS) centres that have community health officers' compounds (CPOs).

Appendix 6: The researcher interacting with some NRGP non-beneficiaries in Dabo-siiraa community



Source: Fieldwork 2013 UWR Ghana

Appendix 7: Some members of Sungbaala Farmer Based Organisation/Group on at their Demonstration farm in Dabo-siiraa community



Source: Fieldwork 2013 UWR Ghana

Appendix 8: A beneficiary on his farm in Serekpere community



Source: Fieldwork 2013 UWR Ghana

Appendix 9: Maize from Tietaa Women Association/Group farm in Fian community



Source: Fieldwork 2013 UWR Ghana