

# BENEFICIARY PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY BASED DEVELOPMENT: CHALLENGES AND IMPLICATIONS

A Case of the Takoradi - Aprembo Informal Market Project in Ghana

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## DEDICATION

*To Joko Dickens Kaye - Essien*

*With Love*



## KEYWORDS

Beneficiary Participation  
Community Based Development  
Development actors  
Ghana  
Hawkers  
Project Planning Process  
Perceptions  
Traders Associations  
Sekondi-Takoradi  
Sustainability



## ABSTRACT

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Since the 1980s participatory development and its more recent variant, community-based development, have sufficed as the new channel for development assistance and local poverty reduction. In Ghana, Municipal governments have incorporated participatory concepts into their system of decentralisation allowing for the involvement of beneficiaries in projects. Particularly in the informal sector municipal governments have created a forum for the inclusion of major stakeholders with the objective of ensuring positive outcomes and sustainability of projects. Regardless of this attempt at beneficiary participation however, evidence on patronage and use of such projects after their implementation have in several cases fallen way below the intended targets and threatened their sustainability.

The paper investigates the challenges of consolidating beneficiary participation in the planning and implementation of projects, the effects on project outcomes and the implications for community based development. It examines one of such projects in Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolis of Ghana by assessing the entire planning and implementation of the project, the participatory mechanisms used and the current state of the project in terms of its sustainability.

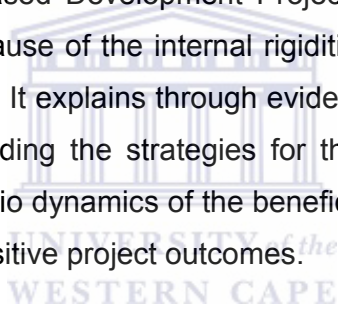
The paper hypothesises that the “*internal rigidities of a participatory process negatively affect the outcomes of projects.*” By focusing on the perception of beneficiaries, the paper:

(1) records a case study of the Aprembo-Takoradi Market Project

- (2) examines the participatory approaches employed and the roles informal entrepreneurs played in the planning and implementation processes and
- (3) Assess the limitations, and possible recommendations for future policy development and implementation.

The paper critically investigates a broad arena of literature relating to the evolution of the participatory concept and its relation to development planning and management. It further explores some of the critiques leveled against the concept.

The paper argues further that beneficiary participation in Community Based Development Projects (CBDPs) in Ghana is a challenge because of the internal rigidities associated with the use of the concept. It explains through evidence from the analyzed data that understanding the strategies for the participatory process as well as the socio dynamics of the beneficiaries involved is important in ensuring positive project outcomes.



## DECLARATION

I declare that '*Beneficiary Participation in Community Based Development: Challenges and Implications. A case of the Takoradi - Aprembo informal market project in Ghana*' is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

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**Charles Wharton Kaye - Essien**

May 2010

Signed.....



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Charles Wharton Kaye-Essien  
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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

<b>CBD</b>	Central Business District
<b>CBDPs</b>	Community Based Development Projects
<b>GOG</b>	Government of Ghana
<b>GSS</b>	Ghana Statistical Service
<b>DACF</b>	District Assemblies' Common Fund
<b>DAs</b>	District Assemblies
<b>GPRS</b>	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
<b>HDA</b>	Human Development Approach
<b>HDR</b>	Human Development Report
<b>HIPC</b>	Heavily Indebted Poor Country
<b>HTA</b>	Heads of Traders Association
<b>ILO</b>	International Labour Organisation
<b>LGA</b>	Local Government Act
<b>MAs</b>	Metropolitan Assemblies
<b>MDC</b>	Market Development Committee
<b>MMDAs</b>	Metropolitan/Municipal/District Assemblies
<b>NDPC</b>	National Development Planning Commission
<b>PNDC</b>	Provisional National Defence Council
<b>STMA</b>	Sekondi Takoradi Metropolitan Authority
<b>WB</b>	World Bank

## CHAPTER ONE

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION

*“What is it that the poor reply when asked what might make the greatest difference in their lives? They say...Direct assistance through community driven programs so that they may shape their own destinies.”*

... (Wolfenson, 1999)

#### 1.1 Overview

Since the 1980s participatory development and its more recent variant, community-based development, have sufficed as the new channel for development assistance and local poverty reduction. *Community-based development* is an umbrella term for projects that actively include *beneficiaries* in their design and management (Mansuri and Rao, 2004:1). To the proponents of the participation paradigm, using participatory approaches “offers the potential for the design and implementation of interventions that more closely reflect the preferences of the populations they are designed to serve” (Hoddinot, 2002:147). This notion is further supported by anecdotal and empirical evidence suggesting community participation is an unqualified good in terms of project outcomes and sustainability.

In Ghana, Municipal Governments have incorporated such participatory concepts into their system of decentralisation allowing them to include participation of beneficiaries in projects. Particularly in the informal sector municipal governments have created a forum for the inclusion of major stakeholders with the objective of ensuring positive outcomes and sustainability of projects. Regardless of this attempt at beneficiary participation however, evidence on patronage and use of such projects after their implementation have in several cases fallen way below the intended targets and threatened their sustainability.

This paper investigates the *challenges* of consolidating beneficiary participation in the planning and implementation of Community Based Development Projects (CBDPs) as well as their long term impacts on project outcomes and sustainability. The paper examines one of such CBDPs projects in Ghana whose usage has been stalled since completion in 1998. The paper assesses the entire planning and implementation of the project, the participatory mechanisms used and the current state of the project in terms of sustainability.

## **1.2 General Socio-Political Outlook of Ghana**

Ghana, a country with an estimated population size of 22 million, was the first African country south of the Sahara to attain independence. For close to 17 years now Ghana has enjoyed a growing democratic society, having recently embarked on an election to elect its third democratically elected president. Although, well endowed with natural resources such as gold, diamonds, cocoa and recently oil (which was recently discovered in large quantities), these positive signals have not somehow translated into real capital and service growth in the country. The domestic economy continues to revolve around agriculture, which accounts for about 35 percent of GDP and employs about 55 percent of the work force, mainly small landholder farmers (Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy, 2002 – 2003).

In 2001, the incidence of endemic poverty and existence of national debt forced the newly instituted government to sign up for the Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) program.<sup>1</sup> Ghana's poverty trends were quite unfavourable with between 40 to 50 percent of the adult population defined as poor and 27 percent as extremely poor (Ghana Statistical Service, 2000). Whilst the HIPC initiative served as a debt relief initiative

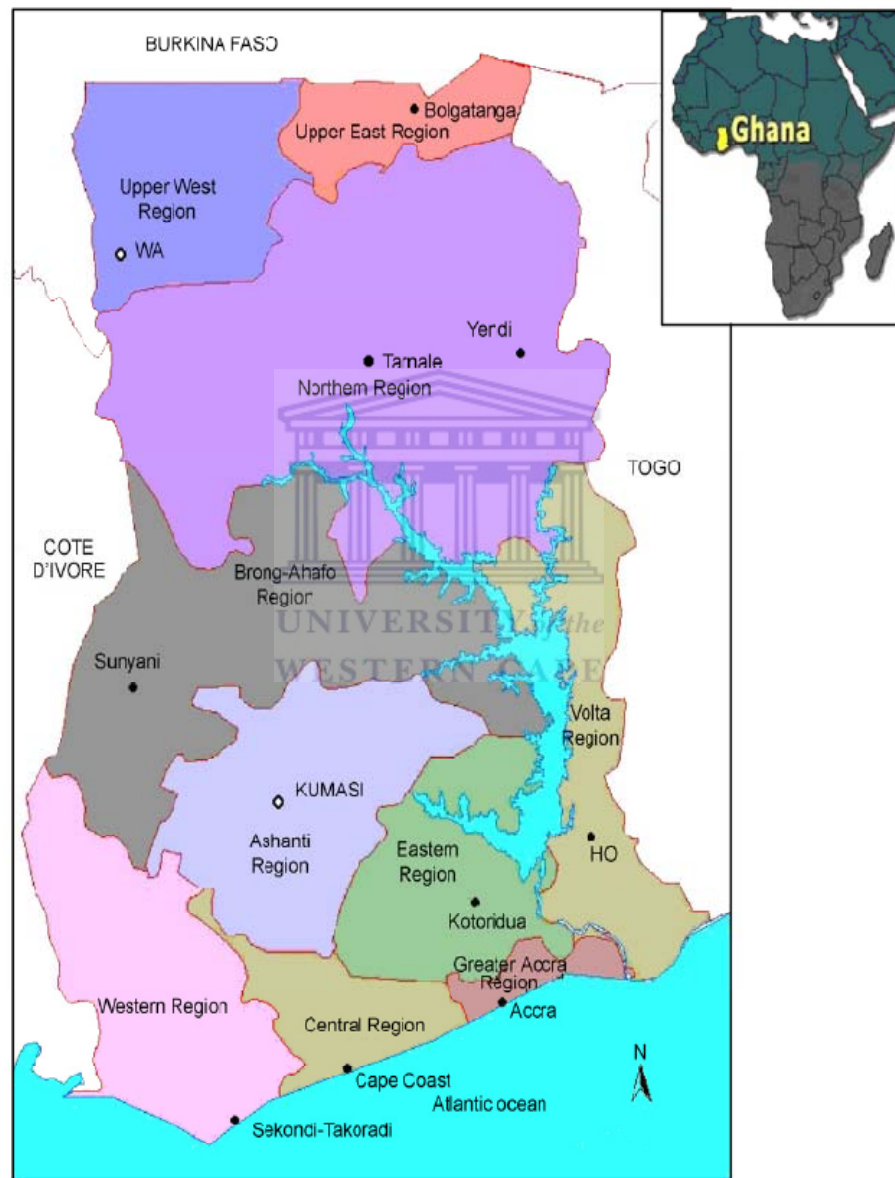
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<sup>1</sup> The Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC) was launched by the World Bank and IMF in 1996 but launched in Ghana in 2001.



and a preparatory stage, the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy was further initiated in 2002 as a major policy guideline towards poverty reduction (Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy, 2002 – 2003).

Figure 1.1 Map of Ghana



Source: Adapted from Abdula and Ndekugri, 2007. Page 262

### **1.2.1 Decentralisation and Citizen Participation**

Citizen participation in Ghana is seated in the system of decentralised local governance enshrined in Article 35 (60 (d) of the 1992 Constitution which provides for making “*democracy a reality by decentralizing the administrative and financial machinery of government to the regions and districts...*”. Chapter 20 stipulates that Ghana shall have “...*a system of local government and administration which shall, as far as practicable, be decentralized,*” and in Article 35 (5d) requires the state “...*to take appropriate measures to ensure decentralization in administrative and financial machinery of government and to give opportunities to people to participate in decision-making at every level in national life and government.*”

Decentralization in Ghana gained political prominence in the late 1980s through the enactment of the Local Government Law 207 in 1988 during the rule of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC).<sup>2</sup> From this foundation proceeded other legal instruments that supported the institution of the concept in Ghana. These instruments are:

- 1) The Local Government Act (462), 1993, that stipulates the establishment of the 138 Metropolitan/Municipal/District Assemblies (MMDAs) as well as the Urban, Zonal, Town and Unit Committees.
- 2) The National Development Planning (System) Act 479 of 1994
- 3) The National Development Planning Commission Act 480 of 1994
- 4) The District Assemblies' Common Fund Act 455 of 1993 and;
- 5) The Local Government Service Act 656 of 2003

The 1992 Constitution confers enormous powers on the District Assemblies (DAs), designating them as the “*highest political authority in*

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<sup>2</sup> The PNDC assumed political office in December 1981, professing a “radical revolution”, and ruled by decrees till the promulgation of the 1992 Constitution.

*the district [with] deliberative, legislative and executive powers.*<sup>3</sup> Within the District Assemblies (DAs) themselves, the combination of (a) deliberative, (b) legislative, (c) allocative, (d) executive; and (e) some adjudicative functions, in one body, has necessitated a complex layer of political structures, mirroring Parliament, the Executive and the Judiciary rolled into one entity, but with different designations according to size.

In terms of their composition and categories, Metropolitan Assemblies (MA's) are larger and host bigger populations (more than 250,000) than the DAs (population 75 000 and over). The Municipal Assemblies fall in the middle, with a population less than those of the MAs, but more than those of the DAs. Of the 138 MMDAs, there are four MAs, ten Municipal Assemblies and 124 DAs. The internal political structures of all three are similar, although the diversity and strength of administrative issues for the delivery of services vary by size.

The central feature of the decentralised system of governance is to promote a strong, partially representative peoples' assembly that would encompass the collective aspiration of ordinary citizens, acting in the interests of the community. In this construction of decentralization, a hierarchy of citizen needs is mobilized from the community level up to the District, through the instrument of Unit Committee leaders at the community level, collated by elected District Assembly members, and further refined by local government staff and appointed District Assembly members who would possess the right technical skills to make local government relevant to the needs of local residents. Four levels of decentralisation are clearly identified:

- 1) Political Decentralisation, involving the devolution of Central Government political authority to the sub-national political structures,

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<sup>3</sup> See Article 241 section 3 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana.

with a measure of electoral legitimacy and a distinct constituency of electorates.

- 2) Administrative Decentralisation, involving the transfer of identified functional areas of government and the accompanying competence to the sub-national structures.
- 3) Decentralised Planning, involving a change from the top-down approach to planning to a bottom-up approach under which the jurisdiction of local development planning is assigned to the District Assemblies and requiring participatory approaches with the identification of the community's problems, forming the basis of prioritization of development efforts, collated by the district and regional level to the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) and integrated into national planning efforts of Central Government. However, as elaborated below, the intended decentralisation of development planning has in practice been substantively constrained by central government sector programming, planning and budgeting.
- 4) Fiscal Decentralisation, involving the transfer of means (initially the District Assembly Common Fund) and eventually a composite budget system that gives District Assemblies control over their budgets and finances, but the process towards this has been slow and with major constraints.

### **1.2.2 Public Policy and the Informal Sector**

The informal sector in Ghana employs 89 percent of the total labour force. Of this, 56 percent are engaged in agriculture related activities whilst 21 percent are in retail trade. Women constitute the majority of the informal labour force. Notwithstanding this contribution however, Ghana has no formal national policy purposely channelled towards the informal sector. The Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) is the general development policy framework in support of poverty reduction and growth. The strategy includes measures to ensure macro-economic stability and a

framework for sustainable economic growth to support poverty reduction but without any explicit Informal Economy strategy (International Labour Organisation, 2003).

### **1.2.3 The Aprembo-Takoradi Market Project in Focus**

Takoradi, the capital city of the Western Region of Ghana has a population of approximately 1 million, which is just over 5 percent of Ghana's population. The city and other urban centres alone account for 44 percent of the estimated 2.3 million informal businesses in the country (Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Authority, 2009). Hawking along the streets, in open spaces, pavements and walkways are a common phenomenon in many parts of the city. This situation often force pedestrians onto the roads and obstruct the flow of both human and vehicular traffic. Several measures to deal with this problem, including arrests and relocation have often met resistance from the traders.

As a measure to curb this situation, in 1996 the then Shama Ahanta East Metropolitan Authority (currently Sekondi – Takoradi Metro Authority) organised a mini-consultation with stakeholders to address these problems. Arising from this consultation, a new satellite market at Aprembo, a suburb of Takoradi was constructed and commissioned for use in 1998 (Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Authority, 2009).

For the entire 11 years since its commissioning however, the Aprembo Market Project is yet to reach a 20 percent usage level. Informal street traders still prefer the bustling CBD to the Aprembo satellite market. Attempts to decongest the CBD were not vigorously pursued until early 2007 when the new metro administration initiated a move to streamline activities of informal street traders in the CBD. Further to this, three phases of decongesting exercises were carried out to rid the city of unauthorised structures.

### **1.3 Problem Statement and Justification of Research**

The concepts of beneficiary participation and community-based development have been vigorously pursued in development circles as integral approaches to poverty reduction. The system of decentralisation in Ghana recognises these participatory concepts. Particularly in the informal sector municipal governments have created a forum for the inclusion of major stakeholders with the objective of ensuring positive outcomes and sustainability of Community Based Development Projects (CBDPs).

Regardless of this attempt at beneficiary participation however, evidence on the outcome of such projects after their implementation have in several cases fallen way below the intended targets and threatened their sustainability. There are accounts of stalled projects, abandoned and rejected by the very beneficiaries it is supposed to serve.

By adapting the Takoradi – Apremdo Market Project as a case study, this paper investigates some of the challenges of beneficiary participation and how they impact on the outcome and sustainability of CBDPs. The paper ultimately seeks to contribute to current literature on *participatory development* through its investigations.

### **1.4 Research Question**

In pursuing the research, the overarching research question that was investigated is: *What are the challenges to beneficiary participation in community based projects?* Subsidiary questions include:

- (1) What are the general perceptions of beneficiaries regarding participation in community-based projects?
- (2) At what levels and in what capacity does beneficiary participation affect the outcomes and sustainability of CBDPs?

(3) What lessons and possible recommendations can be drawn from the findings of the research for future policy development and implementation?

### **1.5 Research Assumption**

Based on the context and focus of this investigation, the main assumption that can be derived and tested in the study is: *The internal rigidities of participation in the planning and implementation of community-based projects negatively affect their sustainability outcomes.*

The variables identified by this study, were participation, which is an independent variable, and project sustainability, which is a dependent variable. O'Sullivan and Rassel (1989:10-11) regard an independent variable as a cause or input and a dependent variable as an outcome or an effect. There is a direct relationship between these two variables. Whenever the independent variable changes positively, the dependent variable follows suit. The independent variable is measured in relation to best-practice participation strategies used in the project planning and implementation processes. The dependent variable is measured based on the current level of use, state of infrastructure and future prospects of the project.

### **1.6 Research Objective**

The principal purpose of this research is to investigate the perception of beneficiaries on the impact of participation on the outcome and sustainability of CBDPs. The research also seeks to:

1. record a case study of the Aprembo-Takoradi Market Project.
2. examine the participatory approaches employed and the roles beneficiaries played in the planning and implementation processes.
3. assess limitations, and possible recommendations for future policy development and implementation.

## **1.7 Research Design**

The research design provides the framework for the collection and analysis of data. It is important as it helps maximise the chance of producing credible research results and provides greater awareness and understanding of the information collected. The design applies a mixed approach of data collection, involving both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected where necessary, using interviews, impromptu discussions as well as focus group discussions whilst secondary data was sourced from existing literature.

### **1.7.1 The Choice of Study Location**

The location of the study is the Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Area (STMA) in the Western Region of Ghana, an urbanized area comprising well built up residential and commercial areas as well as informal settlements and townships on the periphery. The choice of STMA as the study location was influenced by the history and controversy surrounding the Aprembo-Takoradi Market which goes as far back as the year 2000. The current state of the Market and the controversy surrounding it influenced my choice of it as an area of investigation.

### **1.7.2 Primary Data**

As noted above, three main approaches were used to collect primary data. These are:

- i) Retrospective open-ended interview with the Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Authority.
- ii) Focus group discussions with informal street traders and Traders' Associations. This was conducted especially to obtain anecdotal and perception based information as the designated respondents were allowed to express themselves as they wished.
- iii) Impromptu interviews with run-away street traders.



Babbie (1998:264) contends that the most appropriate interviewing strategy is that which is less formally structured and flexible enough to capture the insider's perspective. An interview is more flexible, probes for specific responses resulting in increased response rates (Bailey, 1996: 174). In addition, there is a better control over noise and privacy, responses are spontaneous, and it ensures that all questions are answered. More importantly, it allows for more complex questions to be asked.

The interview technique is however not without its weaknesses. It is often contended that the interview offers a lesser assurance of anonymity by posing an element of potential threat to respondents, particularly should the information sought be incriminating, embarrassing or otherwise sensitive in nature (ibid: 175).

### **1.7.2 Sampling**

A non-probability sampling was used in the study. Two sampling frames representing 50 run-away street vendors located in the CBD were allowed to take part in the focus group discussion. 50 members of the general public who form the clientele of the market project were also interviewed using questionnaires. Non-probability was preferred because of the unavailability of information on the actual size of hawkers in the entire metropolis. With regards to the general public, purposive sampling was used focussing on 50 people.

### **1.7.3 Desk Research**

A comprehensive review of relevant literature was undertaken covering:

- (i) The concepts of participation, development planning and management in chapter 2 and
- (ii) The conceptual framework for beneficiary participation in chapter 3.

The literature review which serves as a theoretical and empirical base for the conceptualization of this study was undertaken to familiarize and make connection with similar studies that have been already undertaken. In this study, the literature review provides relevant information on the conceptual roots of participation, project planning and implementation.

Much research covering well-founded theoretical critiques has been written on participation. In the case of Ghana, discourse on forms of participatory governance is particularly entrenched in the Local Governance Act (Act 462) which is the backbone for decentralisation in Ghana. There is however a very scanty collection of literature on stakeholder participation in development projects. This situation has the benefit of stimulating further research.

Data will be acquired from library collections, internet sources such as [www.ilo.org](http://www.ilo.org) and documents provided by stakeholders and specialists. Further to this, the research also made use of secondary data provided by the Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Authority Development Plan.

#### **1.7.4 The Case Study Approach**

There are multiple levels of case studies involved in this research. First and foremost, Ghana is used as a case study to illustrate the interaction between beneficiary participation and the sustainability of CBDPs. Second, the location chosen (Apremdo-Takoradi) represents the case of a particular locality. Third, the Market Project is a case study of a particular type of sector intervention project. Finally, those interviewed in more detail (current beneficiaries) are themselves micro-level case studies.

The case study approach has a number of advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand:

- a) the emphasis on an intensive examination of a contextualised single case reveals the complexity and unique nature of the phenomenon.
- b) the use of a variety of data collection techniques allowing multiple triangulation provides a rich depth of data.
- c) the use of multiple case studies allows for comparison and contrasting to occur.

Inherent in the case study approach is the use of multiple tools (in this case questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, interviews with key informants and impromptu discussions) that serve as a cross check. In addition, since different information arises from different tools a more holistic view is obtained overall. However, the principal weakness is that the results can be strongly shaped by the interests, perspectives and 'brought-self' of the researcher.

#### **1.7.5 Epistemological Considerations**

In terms of the epistemological considerations that underpin the theory, the research seeks to understand the subject matter from the perspective of the respondents and to see how informants socially construct it. It is therefore consistent with a constructionist epistemology (Crotty, 1998 in Palmer, 2007: 368). It is thus clear that the proposed methods of focus group discussions, semi-structured interviews, non-directive questioning, and the use of impromptu discussions are consistent with these theoretical and epistemological underpinnings.

### **1.8 Definition of Key Terms**

This section in essence defines major terms that are used in this.

#### **1.8.1 Community**

A *community* as defined by Swanepoel (1992:11) is a living entity, which like its people, changes continuously, physically and psychologically.

Emmett (2000:3) reveals that communities are seldom, if ever, homogeneous and unified. Oakley *et al.*, (1991:220) on the other hand posit that a community means interaction, equality and opportunity within the group and the possibility to grow in a collective consciousness.

### **1.8.2 Beneficiaries**

*Beneficiaries* refer to those individuals or groups who are ultimately the direct or indirect recipients of project outcomes.

### **1.8.3 Participation**

*Participation* according to Brown (2000:173) is the active process by which beneficiary groups influence the direction and the execution of a project rather than merely being consulted or receiving a share of the project benefits. The beneficiary groups do this with a view of enhancing their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance or other values they cherish (UNDP, 2000; Theron, 2005:115-116). Nghikembua (1996:2) also states that community participation is about “... *empowering people to mobilise their own capacities, be social actors ..., manage their resources, make decisions and control activities that affect their lives.*” Additionally, Theron (2005b:117) agrees that community participation “... *implies decentralization of decision making*” and “... *entails self-mobilisation and public control of the development process.*”

### **1.8.4 Project**

Bryant and White (1982:110) define a *project* as an intervention that addresses a particular problem. A project is a one-off set of activities with a definite beginning and an end. Projects furthermore vary in size and scope. The task of getting the activities done on time, within budget and according to specifications, is referred to as *project management*. In a typical project, team members are temporarily assigned to a project manager, who coordinates the activities of the project with other

departments. The project exists only long enough to complete its specific objectives. This is why it is temporary (Robbins and Decenzo, 2004:415).

### **1.8.5 Sustainability**

According to Oakley *et al.* (1991:8) *sustainability* is the continuity of what a community has started, and these researchers see participation as fundamental to developing self-sustaining momentum of development in a particular area. In a similar view, Honadle and Van Sant (1985:7) regard sustainability as the ability to manage post-project dynamics through the use of permanent institutions. Dresner (2002:1) on the other hand sees *sustainable development* as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs.

### **1.9 Organisation of Research Report**

The report of this research is in five main chapters. Chapter one is the introductory part of the study which captures the problem definition, research questions and the research design. The second chapter covers a review of literature on the conceptual roots of participation in the light of development planning and management. This is followed by a theoretical framework of beneficiary participation based on the assessed literature in Chapter three. Chapter four provides analyses of the research results, whilst chapter five is a presentation of the major findings, conclusions and the recommendations.

### **1.10 Limitations and Delimitations**

Problems and constraints related to this research occurred primarily during the data collection stage. These resulted from the unwillingness on the part of STMA to disclose some vital information needed. This constraint was however dealt with by contacting other external sources of information where the same results were needed. These external sources include the internet and libraries.

### **1.11 Summary**

This chapter has set the context and questions for the research. The chapter that immediately follows reviews a broad array of international literature and interrogate some of the concepts and theoretical underpinnings of the participation – project sustainability link. Chapter two focuses on the concept of participation and its role in the planning process some theoretical contestations and their contributions to development.



## CHAPTER TWO

# PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT

*“The right to development is the right of individuals, groups and people to ..., contribute to, and enjoy continuous economic, social, cultural and political development... This includes the right to effective participation in all aspects of development and at all stages of the decision-making process...”*

(Oxfam, 1995)

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the participation component of the participation-project – sustainability link. It examines the foundations of the concept of participation in development discourse as well as its growth and usage by development agencies in the planning and implementation of projects in developing countries. The first section provides an introduction to the concepts of development planning and management whilst the second section provides a brief insight on people-centred development. Additionally, the third section examines the different perspectives and modes of participation whilst the last section provides a summary of the chapter’s main points.

### 2.2 The Concepts of Development Planning and Management

*Development*, in most literature today is regarded as a steady effort towards human progress. Why some societies achieve this steady progress whilst others continue to wallow in destitution has for decades been an issue of concern. Although the concept of development arose as a post World War II subject of debate, the discourse of development planning originated in the first flush of the cold war (Corbridge, 1998:139). Since then, *development planning* has dominated both political and academic discourses.

Particularly in Africa, *development planning* gained significance as a response to the economic downturns of the 1980s which the World Bank during this period suggested had emanated from extensive personalization of power and the denial of fundamental human rights (Narayan et. al, 2000:172).

From the earliest debates came theories of development that were all strongly influenced by post war practices of state intervention in the economy. Thus whether it were the *modernisation theory* that emphasized the transition from 'traditional' to 'modern' forms of society, the *dependency theory* that saw modernisation as maleficent or *post-development* that saw no need for any theories, one common agenda is shared by all these theories of development.

For one thing, they all shared the broadly social-democratic ethos of their respective periods, including the commitment to planning and the convictions that economic problems would yield to the actions of benevolent states endowed with sufficient supplies of capital and armed with good economic analysis (Leys, 1996:8).

In providing a comprehensive definition of the concept of development, Todaro (1994:16) asserts that development must be conceived of as a "multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitude and national institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of poverty." Intervention mechanisms of planning and management have thus become notable post development concepts that seek to fully conceptualise and direct effort towards development.

In order to channel these multidimensional changes stated by Todaro, Williams (2005a) calls for an institutional practice mobilised in different scenarios, projects and programs to give effects to specific rights of

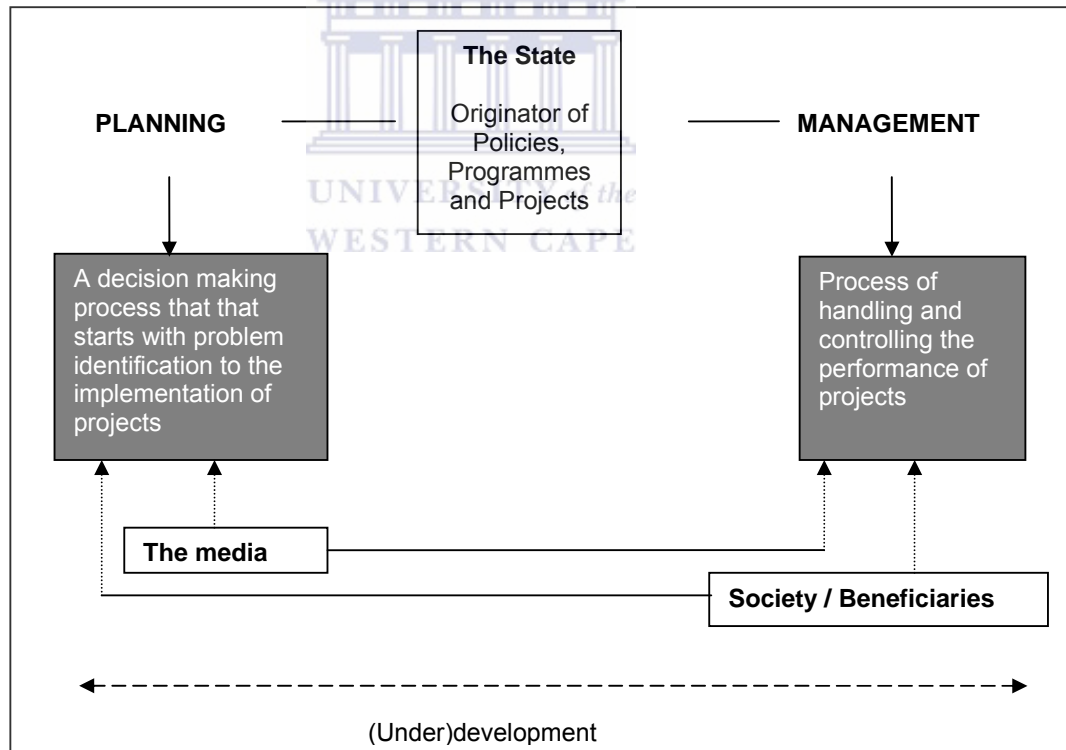


citizens. The process of deciding what courses of action can best bring about developments and how they should be undertaken is what Williams terms as *planning*.

Williams further stresses that the concept of *management* as a control mechanism that ensures proper evaluation and monitoring of implemented policies should be an integral part of development programs. In his view, management must involve the allocation of adequate funding to meet needs and the provision of adequate human capital.

The concept of human progress can thus be engineered within a particular *development arena* as in figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: Development Arena



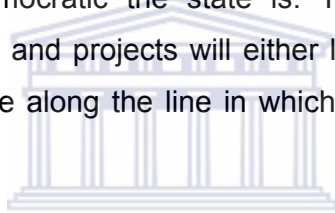
Source: Author's Construct, 2010

The development arena in its simplest form comprises actors and activities. Actors here include the state, the media and beneficiaries. Other

complex structures may however include bureaucrats, as well as external aid providers. The state is regarded as an institution that directs the activities of human progress by initiating policies, programmes and projects directed at specific sectors requiring interventions.

Moreover, the effective involvement of the media and the citizenry in policy formulation, planning and management is equally vital. Since people are beneficiaries, it behoves on the state to incorporate ideas of society into all programmes and projects. The media as seen in figure 1 is an efficiency parameter and watchdog to streamline the activities of the state.

The degree of involvement of people at the grassroots and the media is reflected in how democratic the state is. The end results which are policies, programmes and projects will either lead to Todaro's concept of development or failure along the line in which case underdevelopment is the result.



### **2.3 People-Centred Development**

“People centred” principles have become the focus of post modern public policy, international relief and development programs although the concept could be traced as far back as the 1960s (Jennings, 2000:1). There is a long history of people-centred development. Clearly significant were the cooperative movement and Gandhian notions of village self-reliance and small-scale development, which Gandhi saw as an antidote to the corrosive effects of modernization and colonial rule.

Another influential perspective was Paulo Freire (1970), whose *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* argues that the “oppressed” needed to unite to find a way to improve their own destinies. These ideas led to a first wave of participatory development in the 1950s that by 1960 had spread to more than 60 countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, largely through the efforts of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

In today's context of economic liberalization, political liberalization, and growing global interdependence, participation and collective agency have grown in importance (Fukuda-Parr, 2002:15). Whilst the political shifts of the 1980s and 1990s has built greater consensus about the intrinsic values of political freedom and human rights, the failure of classical development theories and post development ideologies has also necessitated a paradigm shift to the notion that big is not always better, centralized hierarchies are suspect, big outcomes may be born of small inputs and that a "more heads are better than one" philosophy would more readily sustain productive, durable changes (Fukuda-Parr, op cit). Political freedom and participation are now more universally accepted as important human goals.

The 1990s again saw increasing criticism of mainstream development theories as envisaged development goals were not met and were also considered insufficient in addressing the multi-faceted problem of underdevelopment (Schuurman, 2000:7). Every imaginable paradigmatic position with respect to the question of development and underdevelopment was reviewed and given various accolades.<sup>4</sup> Needless to stress that, all these alternate development approaches had the same focus as *people-first*.

Since the dawn of the millennium however, alternative development which dwells on local-oriented conceptual notions has been highly espoused in development thinking and birthed such concepts as *people-centred development* and *human development* (Nederveen, 2001:81). Nederveen notes in a critique that although alternatives were developed under specific headings, these alternatives were not theoretically coherent to form a single paradigm (ibid: 78).

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<sup>4</sup> Particular reference can be made of the 'anti-modernist non-development' by Sachs (1992), 'alternative development' and 'post-development' by Rahnama (1997), 'reflexive development' by Nederveen, (1998) and 'capabilities approach' of Sen (1989).

While mainstream development theories argued in the direction of structural macroeconomic change, alternative development emphasized *agency*, in the sense of people's capacity to effect change (ibid: 75). Bodja (2006:17) for example stresses that in general, alternative development entails a bi-directional thinking. The first refers to redefining the goal of development by providing alternatives to the failures of mainstream development. The other focuses on the agency of local communities which has to be assisted by external actors like NGOs through participatory and empowering engagements now mentioned by the World Bank as one of the three pillars of poverty reduction (Alsop and Heinsohn, 2005: 5).

In reflecting Amartya Sen's work; *development as capabilities expansion* and how it has contributed to UNDP's annual Human Development Report (HDR), Fuquda-Parr (2002:1) explains another dimension of analysing contemporary development challenges. From the capabilities concept has evolved a distinct development paradigm – the *human development approach* (HDA) – that is being applied to inform policy choices in areas of poverty reduction, sustainable development, gender issues, globalisation and governance (ibid:1).

The HDA just like the capabilities approach holds the idea that the purpose of development is to improve human lives, and that means expanding the range of things that a person could be and do. In creating the Human Development Report, Mahbub ul Haq<sup>5</sup> purposed, "to shift the focus of development from national income accounting to people centred policies" (Haq, 1995, cited in Fukuda-Parr, 2002:2).

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<sup>5</sup> Mahbub ul Haq was the head of the team tasked to create the first HDR in 1990 together with fellow economists and friends – among them Paul Streeten and Frances Stewart, Gus Ranis and Keith Griffin, Sudhir Anand and Meghnad Desai.

From this point of view, human development is comprehensively defined by the 2001 HDR with a stronger emphasis on civil and political freedoms as:

“... creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accord with their needs and interests..... Fundamental to enlarging choices is building human capabilities – the range of things people do or be in life. The most basic capabilities for human development are to lead long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living and to be able to participate in the life of the community. Without these, many choices are simply not available, and many opportunities in life remain inaccessible” (Fukuda-Parr, 2002:14).

Two central theses about people and development are contained in the HDA. Sen (1989 cited in Fukuda-Parr, 2002:4) refers to these theses as the ‘*evaluative aspect*’ and ‘*the agency aspect*’. According to Sen’s submission, the former is concerned with improving human lives as an explicit development objective, and with understanding of what ways improvements are to be made. The latter is also concerned with what human beings can do achieve such improvements, particularly through policy and political changes. Fukuda-Parr gives further highlights on the theses as follows:

- *Evaluative aspects* – he posits that, HDA contrasts with mainstream approaches in its emphasis on assessing development by expansion of capabilities of all people (Fukuda-Parr, op cit: 5). Through the Human Development Indicators, ‘disaggregated estimates’ for different regions or ethnic groups within countries are drawn with the intended impact of shifting greater attention to concern with basic human capabilities (ibid).

- *Agency aspects* – considering the opening lines of the very first Human Development Report published in 1990 – ‘*People are the real wealth of a nation*’, Fukuda-Parr contends that the HDA does not regard people merely as beneficiaries of economic and social progress in a society but are active agents of change (ibid: 8). The human development approach also goes very much further in two ways. First in concern with the role of human agency in changing policy, social commitment and norms which require collective action, and second in the concern with human rights (Fukuda-Parr, op cit: 8).

The key elements of the HDA and their relevance for development policy and strategy can best be brought out when compared with other approaches that influence public policy debates. It is particularly useful to compare the HDA with the dominant paradigms that influence policy positions. As Jolly (2002 cited in Fukuda-Parr, 2002:2) notes, the ‘HDA embodies a robust paradigm, which may be contrasted with the neo-liberal paradigm of the Washington consensus.

Sen and Nussbaum (1993 cited in Fukuda-Parr, 2002:5) contend that the limitations of Neoliberalism and Basic Needs when contrasted with the Capabilities Approach are evidenced by the neglect of rights, freedoms and human agency. The Basic Needs approach shares the central concern with people as the purpose of development, but the emphasis on defining ‘basic needs’ in terms of supplying services and commodities has implied a commodities basis rather than a capabilities basis in defining human well being (Fukuda-Parr, op cit: 5).

Rapid globalization, economic liberalisation and political democratisation have become more dominant influences for most countries and so priorities for human development have also been affected. Capabilities to participate and collective agency of social action have therefore become more important.

## 2.4 Participation in Development Discourse

Participation has featured in development discourse since the 1980's and has currently come to take on varied meanings. The earliest definition given by the United Nations (1975) identifies participation as:

The voluntary and democratic involvement of people in (a) contributing to the development effort, (b) sharing equitably in the benefits derived there from and (c) decision-making in respect of setting goals, formulating policies and planning and implementing economic and social development programmes.

This definition reveals that *Participatory Development* derives its roots from the people-centred approach which is a paradigm shift from mainstream development theorisation towards more localised, empirical and inductive approaches that thrives on the tenets of local 'participation' and 'empowerment' (cf. Mohan and Stokke, 2000:247 – 268).

Depending on the context within which it is being used, participation has taken various forms such as *citizen* or *popular participation* (when used in democratic theory) and *community* or *stakeholder participation* (when used in development agency programs). Nonetheless, in any of these wordings the golden thread that runs through is the emphasis placed on understanding and enabling people's involvement in their own development.

The emphasis within neo-liberalism on community participation and empowerment is supported by trends within more radical development studies. For post-Marxists like Friedmann (1992), empowerment is a matter of collective mobilisation of marginalised groups against the disempowering activities of both the state and the market.

Mohan and Stokke (2000:249) posit that the conceptualisation of participation and empowerment is based on a harmony model of power. They stress that power resides with individual members of a community

and can increase with the successful pursuit of individual and collective goals. Mayo and Craig (1995, cited in Mohan and Stokke, 2000:249) on the other hand note that empowerment of the powerless could be achieved within the existing social order without any significant negative effects upon the power of the powerful.

The radical notion of Post-Marxist empowerment focuses on 'bottom-up' social mobilisation in society as a challenge to hegemonic interests within the state and the market. Freire's (1996 cited in Mohan and Stokke, 2000:249) concept of *conscientisation* and collective identity formation around common experiences with economic and political marginalisation are key elements in the community empowerment process.

Freire conceptualises power in relational and contractual terms. Hence, empowerment of marginalised groups requires a structural transformation of economic and political relations towards a radically democratised society. What revised neo-liberalism and post-Marxism share however, is a belief that states or markets cannot and should not be solely responsible for ensuring social quality and welfare growth. To Freire, local actors' knowledge and interventions should be key features in both 'new' Right and 'new' Left conceptualisation of development (Mayo and Craig, 1995 cited in Mohan and Stokke, 2000:249). In between the neo-liberalism and post-Marxism positions are various strands of populism which also emphasise local social movements and community organisations.

The next sections presents four key perspectives on the participation discourse: *post modern radical democratic argument, decentralisation and the local state, local knowledge and participatory development*, and the *Development Agency perspective*. All these themes and perspectives, which are overlapping rather than mutually exclusive, hold out the promise of bringing about more localised, relevant and, ultimately, sustainable development.



#### **2.4.1 The Post Modern Democratic Argument**

Post modern democratic discourse presents participation as a form of citizen engagement. To this end, citizen participation is frequently characterised as an inevitable outcome of a logical movement from insulated, bureaucratic modes of government to more open and transparent approaches (Moynihan, 2003:56). Pro-participation arguments thus regard participation as a channel for direct democratic voice in decision making through the direct and open involvement of all citizens in decisions that affect them (Moynihan, op cit:61). In a supporting view, Habermas (1989, cited in Moynihan, 2003:61) asserts that citizen participation processes must include all affected by a decision and disregard the social status of participants.

Moynihan (op cit: 61) further stresses that the first principle in citizen participation is the extent or range of citizen involvement. For him, the range of involvement is narrow when only a handful of citizens or a particular socioeconomic group dominates decision making. The range becomes broader with the involvement of interest groups and even broadest when large numbers of citizens representing different socioeconomic groups are directly involved. Hellstrom (1997:27–42) supports this view as he notes that the involvement of more citizens helps reduce the uncertainty inherent in any effort to make decisions about the future.

A second principle of citizen participation according to Moynihan (op cit) is that government provides for genuine discourse with its citizens and take citizen inputs seriously. Fox and Miller (1996 cited in Moynihan, 2003:61) stress that participation should be authentic and have a genuine impact on public decisions. For them, the use of participatory forums is of little benefit if the government does not listen. Under full participation, each member of a decision-making body has an equal say in the outcome of decisions.

John Stuart Mill, one of the earliest democratic theorists who developed the idea of representative government and participatory democracy notes that the ideal form of government which can satisfy all the exigencies of the social state, is one in which the whole people participate, and that participation even in the smallest form is useful (Thompson, 1976:13).

For many years the weberian-hierarchical model of governance has been attacked from various sides as lacking responsiveness and inability to create an inclusive relationship with the citizenry (cf. Zajac, and Bruhn 1999:706 – 73). Thus from earliest versions of the liberal democratic ideal, emerged the theory of *deliberative democracy* (Dryzek, 2000:8–30).

In a contrasted view of the *liberal* and *deliberative* forms of democracy, Govender, (2005:28) asserts that the former aggregates individual preferences into a collective choice in a fair and efficient manner. Govender (2005:28) stresses that the problem herein emanates from identifying the right institutional structures that best meet the requirements of the many views, beliefs and interests present in society. He further points out that liberal democracy must choose between the options of *majoritarian* decision-making or a *pluralist* system where different groups in society are allocated different amounts of influence over decisions in terms of their interests.

Beside the general liberal and deliberative democracy arguments, two other classifications that although significant, have received little attention because of their somehow ineffective and impractical structure are *associational democracy* and *direct democracy*. In a critique of the competitive market society and centralized state power that protected private enterprises, Govender (2005:29) traces *associationalism* to the 19th century. During this era, the concept in effect saw the state as responsible for service provision and advocated a social process that

promoted social welfare without compromising individualistic values and activist civil society (Govender, 2005:29).

This concept however contrasts other approaches such as *representative democracy* which emphasized the role of oversight rather than service provider. *Direct democracy* on the other hand is characterized as a regime in which the population as a whole votes on all the most important political decisions (cf. Govender, 2005:29). Such a procedure can be compared to *representative democracies* where parliament consisting of the representatives of society votes on all political decisions.

Minimalist treatments of participation emphasize the importance of participation in preventing popular alienation from government and maintaining the stability of the political system. A more active approach, typical of normative theory shows greater concern for participation that produces benefits to citizens and offers them the chance to fulfil their 'democratic wish' to exert real influence on the governing process. These ideals are closely associated with the fulfilment of citizen rights in a democratic society.

#### **2.4.2 Decentralisation and the Local State**

"It is in this sense that under the sign of 'decentralisation', using the 'mystique', ambivalence and allure of the concept, the forming of consent for something quite different can be more effectively nurtured. The term 'decentralisation' can be articulated into a monetarist discourse, but alternatively it can be linked into a discourse that combines ideas of collective empowerment, democracy and socialism" (Slater, 1989:501).

Decentralizing authority for planning and administration in state, regional, district and local field units can be traced to the 1970s when governments across Asia, Latin America, and Africa began experimenting not only with new approaches to economic and social development, but also with new

political and administrative arrangements for implementing development programs and projects (Cheema and Rondinelli, 1983:7).

Decentralizing arose from three converging forces. First, it emerged from disillusionment with the results of highly centralized planning and control of development activities during the 1950s and 1960s (Cheema and Rondinelli op cit). Second, it arose from the implicit requirements in the growth-with-equity policies of the 1970s for new ways of managing social development programs (ibid). Finally, it evolved from the growing realization among policy analysts during the early 1980s that as societies become more complex and government activities expand, it is increasingly difficult to plan and administer all development activities effectively and efficiently from the centre (ibid).

Decentralisation has since been promoted as a means of breaking the power of central ministries, increasing revenue generation and shifting the burden of service delivery onto local stakeholders (Mohan and Stokke, 2000:250). This is a very different inflection compared with liberal and radical approaches that see devolution of power to local government as a means of promoting a new communitarian spirit and forming the seedbed of democratic practice.

Underpinning the vision of decentralisation is rational choice theory (RCT), which permits the more political readings of decentralisation to be transformed into a narrative of capital and 'efficiency'. Decentralisation in its neoliberal guise treats the local as a functional, economic space with policies designed to increase the efficiency of service delivery. In this sense the market is seen as a universal principle without any 'geography', although the implication is that local political economies have their own coherence within this totalling logic. Decentralisation simply facilitates the efficiency of these nested local economies.

### **2.4.3 Local Knowledge and Participatory Development**

The meaning of “participation” has been broadly conceived to embrace the idea that all “stakeholders” should take part in decision making and it has been more narrowly described as the extraction of local knowledge to design programs off site (Jennings 2000:1). Participation requires recognition and use of local capacities and avoids the imposition of priorities from the outside. It increases the odds that a program will be on target and its results will more likely be sustainable (Jennings op cit). Ultimately, participatory development is driven by a belief in the importance of entrusting citizens with the responsibility to shape their own future (ibid).

Chambers (1994b:953–969) poses a more liberal and populist approach to local empowerment that centres on the a belief in relying more on local knowledge, for achieving changes to self and/or community and rejects the assumption that ‘experts’ know best. This approach is seen as being universally applicable since it permits, in theory at least, development to be locally determined and free from the normative biases of ‘non-locals’ (Mohan and Stokke, 2000:252).

The general debate surrounding what role knowledge generation plays borders on issues of necessity and real empowerment. To Brown, Holland and Blackburn (1998:80–84), local knowledge is viewed more as a product that it is taken to be a functional necessity for improving policy making. For others, local knowledge generation is one element in an ongoing process of empowerment where local communities take over their own development.

Friedmann (1992, cited in Mohan and Stokke, 2000:248) contends that individual empowerment is the motor that promotes change in the decision-making chain and is responsible for breaking the existing power structures. In a similar view, Williams (2007) notes that public participation

can be realised as participatory spaces for alternative knowledge formations and institutional change.

The latter author's view of *alternative knowledge formations* is based on Fischer's (2001 cited in Williams, 2007) observation that; 'notions of knowledge and expertise do not merely influence the manner in which people articulate their concern, but often determine the extent to which people are heard and the extent to which their views are taken seriously.'

This element of inclusive knowledge formations, where the voiceless are given the opportunity to influence decisions gives a broader room for both the content and structure of policies and programmes. In Chambers' (1994b:953–969) interpretation of people's participation he posits two dimensions of considering who in actual sense controls development.

The *strong* interpretation regards participation as an *empowering* learning process built on a people first – approach that promotes self reliant capacity building, partnership and leads to sustainable development. The weak interpretation regards participation as mere *involvement* of mobilised communities. Whichever point on the participatory spectrum one takes, the common ground in the paradigm shift is that codifying local knowledge is a necessary first step towards beneficial social change.

#### **2.4.4 Development Agency Perspective**

New strategies based on the idea of participatory development have gained increasing currency among international organizations (including the Breton Wood Twins and the European Community) and bilateral aid institutions. Although the idea has long been implemented by Non-Governmental Organizations, especially in Asia and Latin America, big donor agencies have embarked only recently upon participatory programs that deserve their name because they are grounded in operational guidelines specially designed to enhance participation (Blair, 2000:21-39).

The attitude of optimism which accompanies these new strategies is partly based on the belief that participation (whether *community, local or stakeholder participation*) can be an effective channel of development if genuine delegation of powers and responsibilities take place on a sufficient scale. Additionally, communities are usually considered to have important informational advantages, they know better the prevailing local conditions (such as who is poor and deserves to be helped, or the characteristics of the local micro-environment), and they are better able to monitor the activities related to interventions and to mitigate incentive problems.

Thus development agencies constantly stress the involvement of local populations in the creation of content and conduct of a program or policy designed to change their lives. The result of this increased interest is an extraordinary mélange of context-specific formal methodologies; matrices, pedagogies and ad hoc approaches to enhancing participation in humanitarian aid and development. They include research techniques such as rapid and participatory rural appraisal (RRA & PRA); appreciation–influence-control analysis (AIC); “open space” approaches; objectives-oriented project planning (ZOPP); vulnerability/capacity analysis and future search workshops.<sup>6</sup>

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) in particular has become an increasingly popular set of qualitative research tools for participatory and local knowledge development (cf. Chambers, ‘1994b: 1253–1268; and Nelson and Wright, 1995: Pages 1–180). The principles of PRA revolve around a reversal of learning rapidly and progressively, offsetting biases, optimising trade-offs, triangulating and seeking diversity (Mohan and Stokke, 2000: 252). PRA uses techniques that are combined, depending

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<sup>6</sup> For a comparative review of these approaches see *The World Bank Participation Sourcebook*, World Bank Publications, 1996. <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/sourcebook/sbhome.htm>

upon aims and local circumstances with particular emphasis on expressing knowledge in ways that do not *a priori* assume that the written word is the best means of communicating ideas: what the practitioners call 'visualisation', which is supposedly more democratic and communal (Mohan and Stokke, op cit).

ZOPP on the other hand is a project planning and management method developed by GTZ that encourages participatory analysis and planning throughout the project cycle with a series of stakeholder workshops. Each ZOPP comprises of two steps:

- 1) *Analysis*: Participation Analysis, Problem Analysis, Objectives Analysis, Alternatives Analysis and
- 2) *Planning*: Development of the Project Planning Matrix

The World Bank's *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper Sourcebook* views community-driven development as a mechanism for:

- 1) enhancing sustainability,
- 2) improving efficiency and effectiveness,
- 3) allowing poverty reduction efforts to be taken to scale,
- 4) making development more inclusive,
- 5) empowering poor people,
- 6) building social capital,
- 7) strengthening governance, and
- 8) complementing market and public sector activities (Mansuri and Rao, 2004:2).

In terms of country-level poverty reduction, the World Bank and IMF particularly have developed a citizens' participation course manual for roll-out in member countries where the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers is being implemented.<sup>7</sup> The focus of PRSPs, according to the World Bank, is

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<sup>7</sup> <http://www.worldbank.org/participation/PRSP/PRSP.htm>



on identifying in a participatory manner the poverty reduction outcomes a country wishes to achieve and the key public actions - policy changes, institutional reforms, programs, and projects which are needed to achieve the desired outcomes. Beside a stable macro-economy, the Bank also sets priorities on beneficiary participation; Responsiveness to gender concerns; Government ownership of projects; the role of social capital; and Networks of trust and association.

Moynihan (2003:58) posits that Participation is particularly important in developing countries because it fosters good governance, promotes transparency, increases social justice by involving the poor and excluded, and helps individuals become better citizens. Poorer countries desperately need accountability and competent performance; participation is one way to achieve these goals. Proponents of participation in poorer countries (including the World Bank) point to corruption, opaque resource allocation, the failure to deliver basic services and a power structure that offers non-elites little opportunity to have views heard.

The criticism of representative government in many poor countries is not so much that it has failed to promote citizen involvement but that it has failed to meet its basic responsibilities. Participation in this sense helps citizens learn about their rights, express their views to representatives and see their views affect policy and action. As citizens become skilled in the art of democracy and social capital, their ability to hold their governments accountable and to foster high performance should increase (Putnam, 1993, cited in Moynihan, 2007:60).

## **2.5 Critiques of Participatory Development**

The literature analysed so far has highlighted the potential gains from participatory development. Among others, the literature has touched on the concept's potential of reversing power relations in a manner that creates voice for poor people, allowing them to have more control in

matters that affect them. It has also touched on the development assistance perspective of the concept where the allocation of development programs is made more responsive to the needs of the poor. Notwithstanding this positive image, a host of other literature critique the concept and challenge it to be flawed, idealistic and naïve (Christens and Spear, 2006:3).<sup>8</sup>

Christens and Spear (2006:3) are quick to point out one major concern with the use of the concept in the context of development assistance. They stress that development agencies hiding behind the aegis of participatory development in several situations implement participatory practices in ways that advance their goals instead of helping the very people they claim to assist.

In a related line of argument, Cooke and Kothari (2001: cited in Christens, and Spear, 2006:4) assert that participation in practice does not really depict openness and bottom-up as the process is commonly held to be. They maintain the argument that the basic paradigm of participation often does not function as the tool for reversing power relations as suggested. Instead, efforts at participation largely maintain existing power relationships, though masked behind the aegis of participation. This masking is what they see as inherent *tyranny*.

Cooke and Kothari further identify three forms of participatory tyranny. The *first form of tyranny* emphasises the dominant decision-making control held by development agencies and funders beneath the rhetoric and practices of participation. To the extent that decision-making control is theoretically held and commonly believed to move to local or grassroots levels through participation is considered ironic by Christens and Spear (2006:7). To these authors the earlier criticisms of the traditional central

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<sup>8</sup> This hard line criticism is thoroughly developed in Cooke and Kothari (2001). *Participation: The New Tyranny?* New York: Zed Books

planning that outsiders and experts set the agenda and made decisions are quite compatible with the participation practiced by multinational agencies and funders.

The *second* form of tyranny according to Cooke and Kothari concerns group functioning dynamics. They assert that participatory practices in several cases ignore the very manipulations that suppress local power differentials; sometimes contributing to the maintenance and exacerbation of such local power differentials. Case studies of participation point towards elite capture in local participation practice. People still fear adverse consequences if they openly express a difference of opinion (Integrated Environmental Management Information, 2002:17).

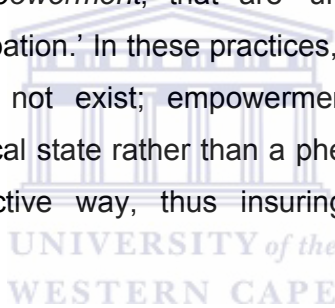
Particularly in contexts where there is great variability in power distributions; individuals who speak up do so at their own peril (Cooke and Kothari, 2001: cited in Christens and Speer, 2006:10). This phenomenon leads to the *third* form of tyranny which occurs as limited space for effective dialogue, particularly on goals and values expressed.

Cooke and Kothari further challenge the ability of top-down organizations to be transformed through local knowledge. In contrast to the broad claims of participation advocates, they argue that local knowledge be understood as a product of the social relationships which developed it, rather than a fixed commodity to be extracted.

Garcia-Zamor (1985:25) on the other hand contend that participation is not only time-consuming but the ability to judge to what extent projects are participatory pose a lot of difficulty. This stance is supported by Taylor (1994:139) who asserts that community participation can be costly in terms of time, money and skills. Latent conflicts suffice and delay project start-up in community participation while increasing the demands on project personnel and managers (Kok and Gelderbloem, 1994:47).

At the local level meanings and definitions of terms are assumed, yet, these meanings and definitions are political in nature. Theron (2005b:117) warns that the outcome of community participation is related to how officials who implement and manage the process define, interpret and implement the confusing concepts of participation, involvement and consultation. Community participation as *involvement* represents a topdown decision-making process which is regarded as a *weak form of participation*.

Finally, Cooke and Kothari (2001: cited in Christens, and Speer, 2006:12) posit that participatory processes are often commingled with abstract terms, such as *empowerment*, that are 'uncritically accepted as co-occurring with participation.' In these practices, empowerment as systemic transformation does not exist; empowerment is simply a feeling or individual psychological state rather than a phenomenon which exists in a community or collective way, thus insuring an inability to produce structural change.



## **2.6 Summary**

The chapter has discussed the conceptual foundations of participation as well as its growth and usage by development agencies in the planning and implementation of projects in developing countries. The chapter traced the concept of participation by looking at the concepts of development planning and management and the role of people-centred development over the past decades. It then delved into the four main areas of debate within the participatory development discourse - *post modern radical democratic argument, decentralisation and the local state, local knowledge and participatory development, and the Development Agency perspective*.

The radical democratic argument emphasised the rights of citizenship, in particular the right of citizens to participate in the processes of

governance. The decentralisation and local state argument highlighted the role of local contribution in the devolution of powers at the grassroots level. The local knowledge argument also explained the focus on local ideas and contributions in development. In addition to these, the chapter explored the contributions by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund towards citizens' participation in the PSRPs in developing countries. Above all, the chapter also looked at some of the critiques leveled against the generally accepted participatory concepts.



## CHAPTER THREE

### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF BENEFICIARY PARTICIPATION

*“... for no one can develop others, one can only stretch or diminish others by trying to develop them”*

*(Oakley et al., 1991:1)*

#### **3.1 Introduction**

The chapter presents a framework that connects beneficiary participation to the project planning and implementation process. It illustrates the conceptual definition of beneficiary participation and its inclinations to the principal – agent theory within the project planning and implementation process. The chapter begins by identifying the main strategies of participation used in development practice. It further expounds on the modes of participation and then delves into the narrow and broader definitions of participation. The chapter then finishes off by formulating a framework of beneficiary participation based on the principal – agent theory for use in the analyses of the study.

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#### **3.2 Strategies for Beneficiary Participation**

Effective, efficient and equitable beneficiary participation as touted by Theron (2005b:123-128) depends largely on the choice and use of appropriate strategies. Beneficiary participation strategies as used by development agents range widely in terms of innovation and setting. In most field situations they are classified depending on the interest of the development agent. In this paper beneficiary participatory strategies are assessed according to the classifications of Kok and Gelderbloem (1994:65-66). These classifications are information sharing, consultation, decision-making and initiating action.

### **3.2.1 Information-Sharing Strategies**

Kok and Gelderbloem (1994:66-67) posit that Information-sharing strategies cannot be adjudged as participatory since they mainly require beneficiaries to judge finished or almost finished products. Information sharing in beneficiary participation occurs through the use of exhibitions, media coverage and audiovisual materials. Meyer and Theron (2000:3) see the primary concern of the information sharing strategy as being a means to an end and not about engendering long-term social advantages and sustainable development. Participation within this strategy is generally short-term whilst there is no channel provided for feedback (Arnstein, 1969:219).

### **3.2.2 Consultation Strategies**

Consultation strategies are a referendum form of strategy which allows democratic inclusiveness of beneficiaries. Kok and Gelderbloem, 1994:69 assert that consultative strategies are seen through the use of questionnaire surveys and in-depth focus group interviews. Taylor (1994:195) posits that project beneficiaries engaged in these strategies should be more reactive in their action and show responsibility to project management at various stages. On the downside however, Theron (2005b:115) is quick to point out the lack of decision-making by the community associated with this strategy.

### **3.2.3 Decision – Making Strategies**

Decision-making strategies on the other hand take into consideration the ideas and knowledge of beneficiaries. Here beneficiaries are considered as partners in the project because the decisions made by the beneficiaries can affect the course of the project (Taylor, 1994:195). Decision making could be based on technical or managerial issues of the project.

### **3.2.4 Initiating Action Strategies**

This approach allows beneficiaries to initiate projects through a self assessment of specific development problems. Planning teams are established to deal with a specific planning problem (Kok and Gelderbloem, 1994:74-75). In a real sense, there is an element of self-mobilisation amongst project beneficiaries that allows people to participate by providing resources, for example labour, in return for material rewards thereby helping to reduce overall costs, and participants in return receive a resource (Raniga and Simpson, 2002:182). Here community participation is not a mere means to achieving project goals, but it is seen as a right (Theron, 2005b:115). Self mobilisation is found where people participate by taking initiatives independently of any external organisation (Raniga and Simpson, 2002:182). The people themselves retain control over how resources are used. This bottom-up approach allows people to develop contacts with external institutions for resources and the technical advice they need (Theron, 2005b:115).

### **3.3 Participation as Citizen Engagement**

Midgeley et al (1986:38–44) identify four modes by which citizen engagement in development can be assessed. The state operating within the *anti-participatory mode* sidelines citizen involvement and shows no interest in the poor but focuses more on the accumulation of economic and political power in the hands of the powerful elite. A state may however allow a certain level of cooperation with selected community leaders but within its own terms and entrenched motives. In such a situation where the state although exhibits signs of supports for citizen engagement, places strong control on grassroots actions, Midgeley et al see the state as operating in a *manipulative mode*. The state operating in an *incremental mode* allows and encourages citizen engagement in development process, but only if it suits its direct interests.



The only chain of discourse is a direct top-down control of the state. Furthermore, spontaneous grassroots action is restricted. The highest form of engagement however is the *participatory mode*. Within this mode lie deep and spontaneous grassroots activities. The capacity is built by the state for all to get involved, and contribute to the course of their personal development. The end product of this mode is authentic development which comes through social learning, self reliance and empowerment. To Midgeley et al, this is the strongest interpretation of participation.

In a related view, Moynihan identifies that citizen engagement can be ascertained based on three levels of decision making (Moynihan, 2007:62). *Pseudo decisions* suggest a high decision making by public officials but very limited public involvement. Although large diverse groups of citizens may be involved, their involvement is only symbolic. *Partial decisions* suggest that citizens are consulted but have little impact. Public officials make decisions whilst diverse groups of citizens engage in limited discourse with government. *Full Decisions* which is the highest form of citizen engagement suggest that citizens have an authentic discourse with government, and their views are taken into account. Public officials make decisions, but citizens have strong influence.

Arnestain (1969, cited in Kombe 2002) also provides three levels of participation that are typical of community development but related in content to Moynihan's submission. *Substantive participation* according to him is the highest level of participation, whereby beneficiaries assume full responsibility and control the decision making across an entire development process. This means that local governments, bureaucrats and donor agencies have devolved or delegated their powers (in terms of decision-making and resources) to beneficiaries. *Consultative participation* is the most common approach and is facilitated by consultation and partnership with beneficiaries. Decision making is shared between stakeholders.

*Implementative participation* on the other hand is the lowest level of beneficiary involvement. It is a top down approach meaning that decisions are made at the top level and beneficiaries are mobilised for implementation. Participation in this instance is usually induced by external stakeholders (governments, donors or non-governmental organisations) and beneficiaries are often motivated by particular incentives (Meshack and Sheuya 1996 cited in Meshack, 2004:64). People participate in such projects because they expect to receive benefits.

Highlighting on the limitations of allowing beneficiaries to take full project decisions, Meshack asserts that although '*substantive participation*' provides the largest benefit to projects because decision-making is controlled by beneficiaries, it is somehow difficult to attain (Meshack, 2004:62). The concept requires a well informed community that is able to thoroughly identify problems; mobilise resources and implement decisions (ibid). Stakeholders with practically limited local knowledge about planning and resource management will easily falter in its application.

### **3.4 Framework for Participation in Community Development Projects**

This section lays out a simple framework and discusses the analytics of beneficiary participation and project sustainability. It begins by identifying actors, and making links between participation, trust and sustainability. It also specifically applies the principal – agent model in this analysis.<sup>9</sup> This model presents a relatively simple characterization of the collective action process, illustrates the trade-offs between roles and incentives, and provides a number of useful insights for designing more effective feedback plans.

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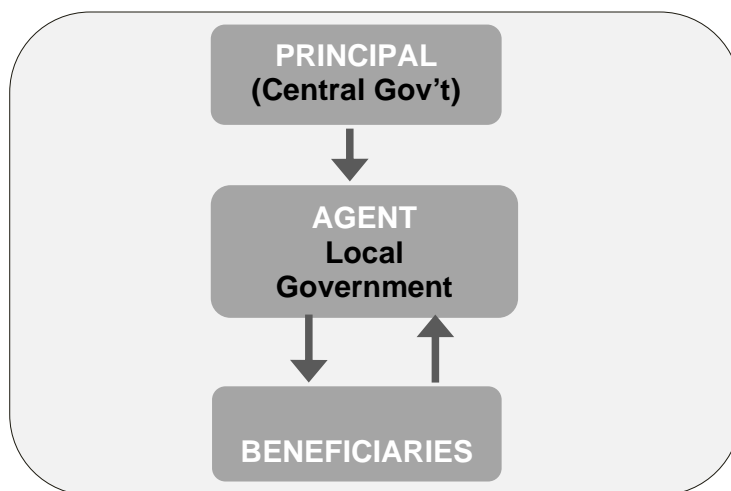
<sup>9</sup> One of the first presentations of this model is by Holmstrom (1979), "Moral Hazard and Observability," Bell Journal of Economics 10, 74-91.

### 3.4.1 Principal–Agent Relation in Community Projects

In a typical single-period model, there is the *principal* who wants the *agent* to work on the principal's behalf. The principal is risk-neutral, while the agent is risk-averse. This research however presents the agency – theory as a *trichotomy* – three actors involved in anti – poverty interventions: the *financier*, *provider* and *beneficiaries*. Figure 3.1 is an illustration of the linkages within this trichotomy.

Here the financier is the principal, the provider is the agent and the beneficiaries remain as such. The term – financier as used in this context refers to those who possess the financial means to intervene and address a problem (Meshack op cit). The provider is one who possesses the information and expertise needed for strategy formulation and implementation (UNCHS-Habitat, 1997). *Beneficiaries* as used in this context refer to those individuals or groups who are ultimately affected by a project decision. In Ghana, typical *financiers* in community projects include the central government and donors, *providers* include local governments, technical teams, business units and enterprises whilst *beneficiaries* include specific economic or social groups and communities.

Figure 3.1: Conceptualising the Agency Theory



Source: Author's Construct, 2010

Meshack purports further that through the organised involvement of beneficiary groups, development issues are identified, prioritised projects are formulated and available resources are coordinated so that all actors can share the benefits of their efforts (Meshack op cit).

In the project planning process, beneficiary participation is beheld as both a means and an end. Meshack notes that in the planning process participation allows actors to build their capacity, identify and prioritise issues, draw up strategies to discuss prioritised issues and complete and manage what has been implemented (ibid). Although it does not necessarily advocate the equal sharing of power, it entails building the capacity of actors to forgo parochial interests by making meaningful decisions that borders on crosscutting interests, to the benefit of all (ibid).

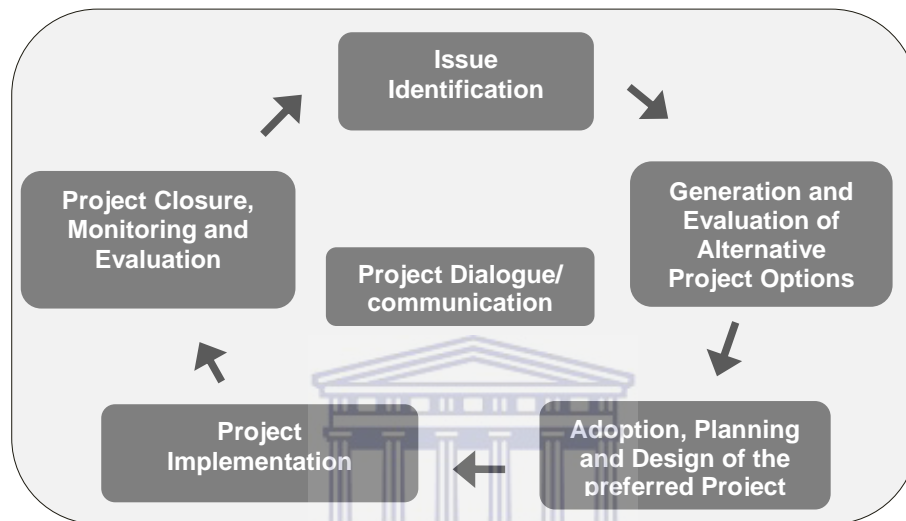
In this sense Meshack further sees participation as a means of resource management and control. The UNCHS-Habitat emphasises that beneficiary participation in its rightful sense should be voluntary and democratic and must involve the sharing of power and measures in executing activities at every stage of the project cycle (UNCHS-Habitat, 2000).

### **3.4.2 Communication within the Project Cycle**

Community participation should aim at improving communication between actors and stakeholders throughout the life cycle of a project in the interest of facilitating better decision-making and sustainable development (Integrated Environmental Management Information Series, 2002:9). The project cycle as indicated in figure 3.2 involves five major stages that start with the identification of the relevant issue to be addressed and end with the closure, monitoring and evaluation aspects of the project. Effective communication herein will enhance the sharing of information, power, attitude and interests.

Baquer acknowledges that participation means power sharing and that the first step in sharing power is sharing information (Baquer, 1993: cited in Meshack, 2004:63). The project cycle thus requires a schedule promoting dialogue between officials and relevant interest groups.

Figure 3.2: Hypothetical Project Cycle



Source: Author's Construct, 2010

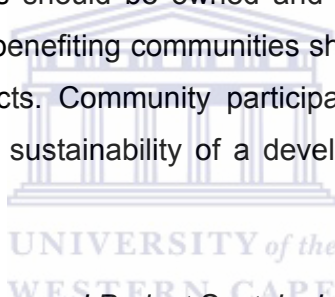
Meshack hints further that communication within the project cycle ensures *transparency, accountability and equity*. 'Transparency' is construed as the availability of information, priorities, strategies and actions to all stakeholders. *Accountability* is understood in the sense that by sharing decisions, stakeholders become accountable to the public and to one another and *equity* refers to giving groups that are excluded from decision making the opportunity to present their concerns and defend their interests.

### 3.4.3 Project Outcome / Sustainability

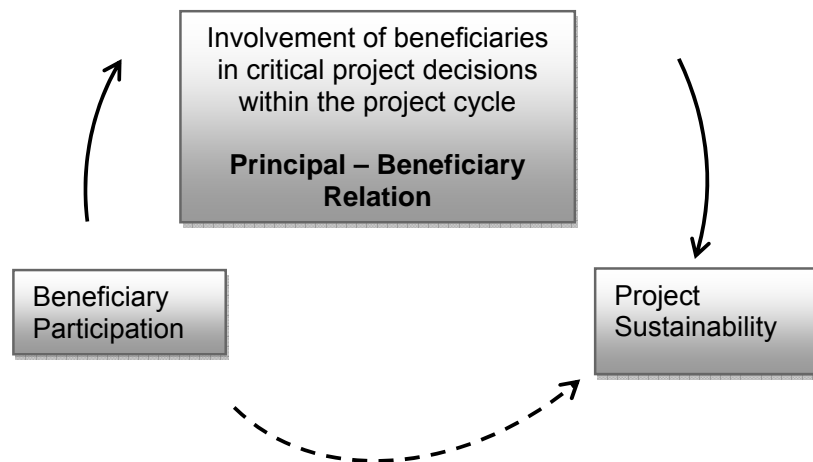
Community participation is essential for any project to be sustainable. When people participate, they understand what a project entails. This way there can be fewer misunderstandings with regard to project aims. Time is reduced in giving explanations because people understand and know what

is going on. With community participation, the people take responsibility for the project and assist by contributing to the maintenance of the project. This way fewer costly outside resources are needed thus contributing to the efficiency of the project (De Beer and Swanepoel, 1998:17-32). Once a community knows it will benefit from a project, the members are more likely to make their skills, indigenous knowledge and resources available. This can add to the effectiveness of the project.

Establishing sustainable development projects is crucial. That is why development agents must ensure that projects continue after external assistance to the project has been terminated. Not only should the projects be environmentally sustainable and initiated by the community itself, but the projects should be owned and managed by the benefiting communities. These benefiting communities should be able to sustain and maintain these projects. Community participation is the most important means to secure the sustainability of a development project (Kellerman, 1997:51).



*Figure 3.3: Participation and Project Sustainability*



*Source: Author's Construct 2010*

Figure 3.3 is an illustration of the link between participation and project sustainability. As the figure indicates, some proponents of the participation – sustainability concepts suggest a direct linkage between the two (as

shown by the dashed arrow). However, the internal rigidities in terms of strategy and other exogenous factors play intermediary roles between these variables (as shown by the bold arrows). These strategies and factors are later discussed in chapter 4 of the study.

The objectives of community participation cannot be achieved in isolation. One way or the other they are all related to each other. Community development workers should not focus on trying to attain only certain objectives. Rather, focus on achieving all the objectives as envisaged in the best way possible. Only then can community development workers ensure that the projects implemented have a likely chance to be sustainable.

### **3.5 Summary**

The chapter has revealed that knowledge of the context within which beneficiary participation strategies are applied is of essence. Development planners should therefore place consideration on which strategies to employ in order to ensure very good community participation. Whilst none of the strategies can be said to be a one-fit-all, a combination of two or more of the strategies is also essential. It is crucial to know which combination of community participation strategies works best for a development project.

The chapter has also revealed that Beneficiary participation can be assessed based on the *level of decision making and management* delegated to beneficiaries. Various typologies and modes of beneficiary participation have been analysed and modelled for the study. The chapter has also examined how stakeholder participation can be incorporated into the project planning and implementation process. It has deduced that communication and dialogue between stakeholders is important at every stage of the planning process. The next section is the analyses of the field results.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **THE TAKORADI – APREMDO INFORMAL MARKET PROJECT IN PERSPECTIVE**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter is a general presentation of the findings and interpretations of the field data on the participatory processes employed throughout the planning and implementation of the Takoradi –Apremdo Market Project. The chapter commences with the background to the Apremdo-Takoradi Market Project. It then follows with the general perceptions of three groups of stakeholders that are directly affected by the Takoradi – Apremdo Market project, namely; the Sekondi – Takoradi Metropolitan Authority, trader organisations and clients who patronise the market. The chapter continues by looking at four main stages devised for the execution of the project and concludes by looking at the present state of the project in terms of maintenance, patronage and sustainability prospects.

#### **4.2 Background to the Apremdo – Takoradi Market Project**

The Apremdo – Takoradi informal market project is located about 10 kilometres from the Central Business District (CBD) of Takoradi, the capital of the Western Region. The need for the market stemmed from the high congestion within the Takoradi CBD caused by an increase in hawking and informal trading activities along streets, open spaces, pavements and walkways within the city. As a measure to curb this situation, in 1996 the then Shama Ahanta East Metropolitan Authority (currently Sekondi – Takoradi Metro Authority) organised a mini-consultation with heads of market associations to address these problems. As a follow – up to these efforts, in 1997, a market development committee (MDC) comprising of heads of the traders associations (HTAs) at the Takoradi Central Market was established to spearhead project planning and implementation.

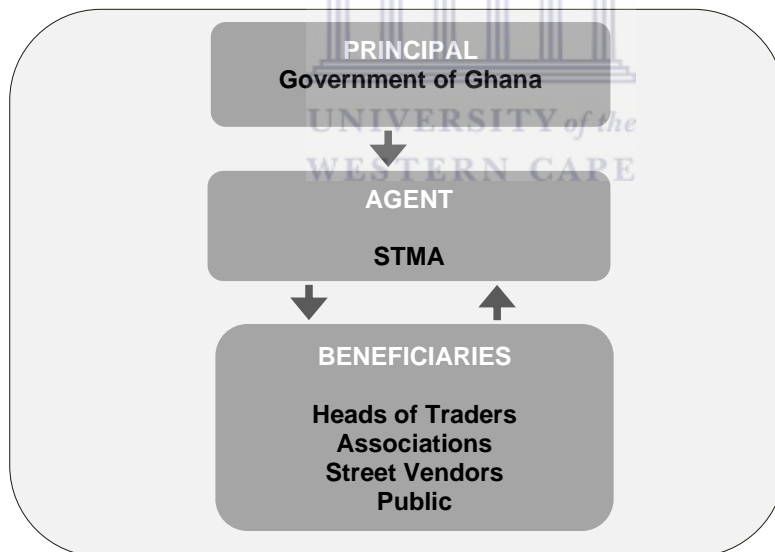


Arising from this consultation, a new satellite market at Aprembo, a suburb of Takoradi was constructed and commissioned for use in the year 1998 (Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Authority, 2009).

### 4.3 Major Actors Involved in the Market Project

The *principal* actor and financier of the project was the Government of Ghana. Funds were provided from the District Assemblies Common Fund (DACF), which forms part of government subsidies for District Assemblies used for developmental projects. The Sekondi Takoradi Metropolitan Authority, regarded here as an *agent*, acted as the main development coordinator on behalf of government as stipulated by the Local Government Act 462 of Ghana.

Figure 4.1: Actors involved in the Takoradi-Aprembo Project



Source: Author's Construct, 2010

As further indicated in Figure 4.1, beneficiaries of the project included, heads of traders associations (popularly referred to as *Queen Mothers*), street vendors and the general public. Beside these actors, other external

agents that were contracted included the Consulting Engineer and Project Development Company that executed the final project design.

To set the project rolling, the STMA formed a Market Development Committee made up top officials of the STMA Planning Department, the Consulting Engineer and 10 heads of traders associations to ensure the realisation of the project, whilst the settlement planners from the Planning Department of the STMA together with the Consulting Engineer formed the Technical Team which designed the market.

#### **4.4 The Project Cycle and the Beneficiary Participation Component**

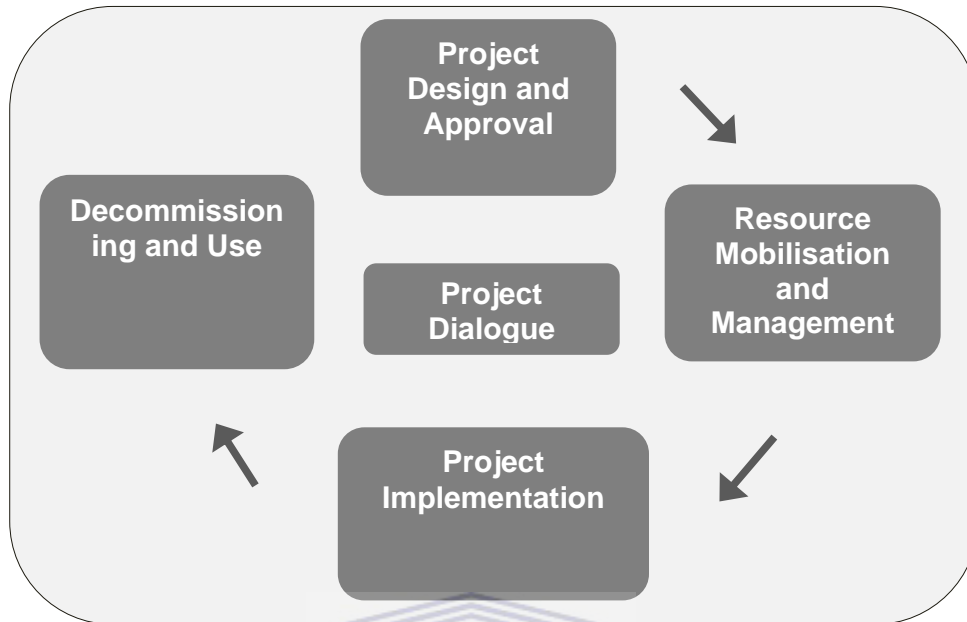
This sub-section discusses the participatory processes and communication strategies that characterised the planning and implementation of the market project.

The entire project cycle as depicted in figure 4.2 is divided and discussed under four phases comprising:

- 1) Project design and approval
- 2) Resource mobilisation and management
- 3) Project implementation
- 4) Decommissioning and use

Additionally, the section analyses the types of decisions (technical and non technical) made during the project planning and implementation stages, how beneficiaries were included in these stages, what decisions they took in and how their participation contributed to the outcome of the project.

Figure 4.2: The Apremdo - Market Project Cycle



Source: Author's Construct 2010

#### 4.4.1 Project Initiation, Design and Approval

The point of departure for the Takoradi–Apremdo Market project was the local government Act 462 which provides the framework for developmental local government. The Act also specifically mandates District Assemblies and Municipal Authorities to promote economic development. With the backing of this Act the STMA is empowered to creatively find ways of supporting economic actors within the municipality including the creation of opportunities for public-private partnerships. Besides this national Act, the project is grounded in an overall strategic policy set by STMA's Development Plan.

According to the STMA, the project initiation phase was consultative. Close meetings were held amongst stakeholders from the Development Planning Department of the STMA, the Consulting Engineer and heads of Traders Associations to initiate the project and discuss possible designs. Within this meeting also, a 5 member Market Development Committee (MDC) was formed comprising the Heads of the Development Planning

Department and the consulting engineer for the project and three heads of the traders association. The institutional arrangement of the Market Development Committee (MDC) reflected crosscutting dimensions of the Sekondi – Takoradi Local Economy. This Market Development Committee chaired by a senior official within the Planning Department, steered and decided on general agreements concerning the Project design, objective and agenda setting as well as the monitoring arrangements (measurable indicators).

The actual project design was however undertaken by the Consulting Engineer with inputs from the Planning Department of the STMA. Where necessary the MDC discussed the concepts and design options proposed by the consulting engineers to agree with the STMA's request. After this, the MDC made presentations to the Municipal Council on the content of the project who finally approved the project. The project design took into consideration past market project attempts in order to provide lessons for the new project. In view of this, the MDC reviewed some of past failed and successful projects. An early 'Interim Design' was used as a tool to get *the heads of traders associations* to acknowledge. With respect to past failures attention was focused on previous top–start negotiations with traders' organisations that were stalled and as such lessened the legitimacy of local government by causing mistrust.

The major participatory strategies employed at this stage were information sharing and consultation. With regard to information sharing, radio broadcasting was the main means through which information on the project was conveyed both to run-away street hawkers and the general public. The heads of traders associations were however involved through scheduled meetings with the Takoradi Market Manager.

Considering the fact that run-away street traders hardly listen to radio during the day, it is realisable that the communication strategy of the

project initiation phase, took into consideration mainly the heads of traders' associations. Even within the heads of traders associations, only ten heads were invited although there exist 35 heads. Inputs from hawkers and the general public were sought through the radio with inputs sought on air.

#### **4.4.2 Resource Mobilisation and Management**

Resource management and control was an essential aspect of the execution of projects. With respect to the Aprembo market project, resources included finance, labour, materials and equipment. Labour resources were acquired and managed mainly by the project contractor. The MDC had meetings once a week to discuss the progress as well as to review weekly work plans. Project staff was accountable to the Project Manager who in turn reported to the MDC. Quarterly progress reports on the financial position, implementation constraints and measures undertaken were prepared by the MDC.

The MDC was required to submit quarterly progress reports to the STMA outlining the financial position, revenue and expenditures during the preceding quarter and the bank balance at the end of the quarter, in accordance with a format agreed between the MDC and the STMA. These reports were the basis for the disbursement of funds from the STMA. Joint meetings between the MDC and the executive branch of the STMA were held once a month to share information about progress of the project and to discuss financial issues. The MDC prepared and reviewed financial reports and also reviewed project execution plans and logistical matters.

Beneficiaries were left out of this phase.

#### **4.4.3 Project Implementation**

The MDC was the key actor that oversaw the major activities at this stage of the project. It was also responsible for sharing information with other

beneficiaries of the project at this stage. The Finance Department of the STMA was responsible for cost estimation, budget preparation and submission to the Municipal Council for approval. The Planning Department was also responsible for resources (human, financial and material) management. The civil works on the project were however executed by the Project Contractor with supervision from the MDC which comprised of engineers and planners. The MDC also assisted in the preparation of action plans, monitoring and reporting on the costs of the construction activities and the preparation of final reports after completion of the project.

The major participatory strategies used at this stage were *information sharing* and *consultation*. The heads of traders' associations were consulted by the MDC at this stage whilst hawkers and the general public were communicated to through radio broadcasting.

#### **4.4.4 Decommissioning and Use**

The entire project planning and implementation took a year, after which it was decommissioned for use by traders. After implementation, the STMA took over the responsibility of maintenance. Funds for repair works and general maintenance were normally generated through tolls and taxes from traders.

As far as use is concerned however, the project has not been able to achieve its fullest usage capacity. Presently only 40 percent of the sheds and stores are being utilised.

Table 4.1: Participation in terms of Project Phase

Project phase	Actors Involved	Strategy
1. <i>Project initiation, design and approval</i>	STMA Heads of Traders' Associations Hawkers Public	Information sharing (Radio) Consultations (Meetings)
2. <i>Resource mobilisation and management</i>	STMA Heads of Traders' Associations	Information sharing (Radio) Consultations (Meetings)
3. <i>Project implementation</i>	STMA Heads of Traders' Associations	Information sharing (Radio) Consultations (Meetings)
4. <i>Project Monitoring and Evaluation</i>	STMA	None

Source: Author's Construct, 2010

Table 4.1 confirms that *information sharing* and *consultation* were the two strategies that were employed by the STMA throughout the project planning and implementation stages. In terms of decisions taken regarding the project planning and implementation stages.

Table 4.2: Participation in terms of type of decisions

Type of decision	Level of involvement		
	HTA	Hawkers	Public
<b><i>Nontechnical decisions</i></b>			
Deciding project usage	Active	Partial	Partial
Deciding sanction measures for project misuse	Active	Partial	Partial
Deciding on system of maintenance	Active	Partial	Partial
Deciding on monetary contribution in project maintenance	Partial	Partial	Partial
<b><i>Technical decisions</i></b>			
Deciding project site	Partial	None	None
Deciding project scale (length, capacity)	None	None	None
Deciding project design	None	None	None
Deciding time frame for project construction	None	None	None

Source: Author's Construct, 2010

The picture becomes clearer by taking into consideration the level of decision making allotted to beneficiaries in the project planning and implementation stages. Two levels are indicated; technical and non-technical. Technical decisions here refer to decisions that required expertise, such as project design, ancillary infrastructure and some



financial arrangements whilst nontechnical decisions refer to all other decisions apart from the aforementioned. According to table 4.2, most of the decisions that involved beneficiaries were non-technical.

Active (direct) beneficiary participation was used as indicative measure for all the non-technical decisions whilst partial (indirect) participation was used as indicative measure for all the technical decisions.

From the results it sufficed that heads of traders associations gained more access to the decision making processes especially at the project initiation stages whilst run-away street hawkers and the general public were partially involved.

#### **4.5 Perception of Stakeholders on Beneficiary Participation**

This section focuses on the perception of stakeholders of the Apremdo - market project on beneficiary participation in project planning and implementation. These stakeholders are; the Sekondi – Takoradi Metropolitan Authority, heads of traders associations and break –way street hawkers and some residents of the metropolis. The section focuses on their views regarding the effect of participation on transparency, accountability, equity and sustainability.

##### ***4.5.1 General Perception of the STMA***

Response from the Planning Officer interviewed indicated a total support for beneficiary participation in development projects citing Ghana's system of Decentralisation as a requirement for participation across all spheres of government. He alluded to the fact that beneficiary participation allows for transparency, accountability, equity and sustainability of projects. In line with the assertion by Baum (1999:187) that Community participation is a democratic right, the municipal government similarly sees the need for participation to ensure the right of citizen in the municipal democratic process. Moreover he contended that aside promoting democracy,

beneficiary participation contributes to the development of appropriate policy, legislation and regulations. To him when people participate, it assists the Municipality in identifying key issues of concern that need to be considered. Besides, due to a diversity of opinions and perspectives from different role players, community participation helps to obtain a balanced perspective of key issues and to identify creative solutions to problems. Not only does community participation increase understanding amongst stakeholders, but it also establishes trust and cooperation (Integrated Environmental Management Information Series, 2002:9).

#### **4.5.2 General Perception of Beneficiaries**

This section provides perceptions of beneficiaries regarding their general view of participation but not specifically on the Market Project.

##### *4.5.2.1 Perception on the Importance of Participation*

A question was posed to ascertain the level of importance beneficiaries ascribe to participation in developmental processes. The survey results from table 4.3 indicate that majority of beneficiaries view participation in developmental processes as very essential.

*Table 4.3: Importance attached to Participation*

<b>Beneficiary group</b>	<b>Very important</b>	<b>Somehow important</b>	<b>Not at all</b>
Heads of traders association	80%	11%	9%
Street hawkers	85%	10%	5%
Residents of metropolis	80%	8%	12%

*Source: Author's Construct, 2010*

Table 4.3 clearly demonstrates the willingness and seriousness of beneficiaries to participate in developmental activities. To these respondents beneficiary participation will allow them to assess their own

situation, organise themselves as a powerful group and work creatively towards changing the status quo. This effect is similar to the conscientisation effect, asserted by Oakley *et al.*, (1991:170, 196). The respondents further confirmed what Midgley *et al.*, (1986: 8) claimed that their increased capacity will allow them to mobilise and help themselves minimize dependence on the state.

#### 4.5.2.2 Respondents' Experience of Participation

A question was posed to ascertain how often these beneficiaries have been involved in developmental processes by the Municipality through Information-sharing strategies, Consultation strategies, Decision-making strategies or Initiating action strategies. The survey results from table 4.4 indicate that most street hawkers (85 percent) and residents (70 percent) are hardly engaged by the municipality in developmental processes.

*Table 4.4: Respondents Experiences of Participation*

Beneficiary group	Very often	Sometimes	Not at all
Heads of traders association	70%	25%	5%
Street hawkers	-	15%	85%
Residents of metropolis	-	30%	70%

*Source: Author's Construct, 2010*

The data however shows that because of their position as representatives of traders who belong to associations, heads of traders association are very much engaged with the municipality, through different forms of consultations.

#### 4.5.2.3 Participatory Strategies Experienced

It was also of interest to know which participatory strategies were often utilised by the Municipality in reaching out to people in its developmental

processes. The survey results from table 4.5 indicate that none of the three groups of beneficiaries is engaged in decision making or project initiating strategies.

*Table 4.5: Respondents Experiences of Participation*

<b>Beneficiary group</b>	<b>Information-sharing</b>	<b>Consultation</b>	<b>Decision-making</b>	<b>Initiating</b>
Heads of traders association	30%	70%	-	-
Street hawkers	85%	15%	-	-
Residents of metropolis	70%	30%	-	-

*Source: Author's Construct, 2010*

The data from table 4.5 confirms that beneficiaries of market projects are usually marginalised when it comes to initiating projects and taking technical decisions. Contrary to what Theron (2005b:115) sees, beneficiary participation is a mere means to achieving project goals.

#### *4.5.2.4 Perception on Participatory Strategies*

Respondents were asked to rank the preferred participatory strategy in order of importance. Table 4.6 shows a clear majority of heads of traders association and street hawkers accept that allowing them to initiate their own projects and taking direct decisions would be best for them. They contend that they know their problem. They however vehemently objected to the use of only information sharing through radio communication as means of participation.

*Table 4.6: Respondents Perception on Participatory Strategies*

Beneficiary group	Information-sharing	Consultation	Decision-making	Initiating
Heads of traders association	-	-	30%	70%
Street hawkers	-	15%	25%	60%
Residents of metropolis	20%	10%	20%	50%

*Source: Author's Construct, 2010*

A significant proportion (20%) of members of the public interviewed however viewed information sharing through radio communication as more important stressing that not all projects can directly involve the entire populace due to time constraints.

#### 4.5.2.5 Developmental Issues Consulted on

With regards to the issues beneficiaries are involved in, table 4.7 shows that housing issues ranks highest amongst all beneficiaries (average of 35 percent), whilst participation in other issues rank the lowest (Average of 6 percent).

*Table 4.7: Issues of Beneficiary Consultation*

Beneficiary group	Basic Service Delivery issues	Roads and construction	Housing issues	Other issues
Heads of traders association	29%	25%	35%	5%
Street hawkers	25%	19%	45%	7%
Public	22%	30%	37%	8%

*Source: Author's Construct, 2010*

The low level of consultation in general according to the municipality is as a result of logistical and financial constraints.

#### 4.5.2.6 Perception on Sustainability

The survey lastly enquired whether beneficiaries perceive participation in sector support programmes will ensure sustainability of project outcomes. Results from table 4.8 indicates that more than 75 percent of beneficiaries regard participation as a relevant factor to ensure their acceptance and usage of a project.

*Table 4.8: Perception on Effect of Participation on Sustainability*

Beneficiary group	Strong	Somehow	Weak
Heads of traders association	82%	7%	5%
Street hawkers	77%	13%	10%
Residents of metropolis	81%	10%	9%

Source: Author's Construct, 2010

This perception confirms Kellerman's (1997:51) view that beneficiary participation is the most important means to secure the sustainability of a development project. In connection with the assertion of De Beer and Swanepoel, (1998:17-32) respondents also contended that with beneficiary participation, they can take responsibility for the project and assist by contributing to the maintenance of the project. This way fewer costly outside resources will not be needed in the maintenance of the project.

#### **4.6 Perception of Stakeholders on Participation in the Aprembo Market Project**

This section provides information on the perception of the Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolis and the three beneficiary groups in relation to the Takoradi-Aprembo Market Project.

##### ***4.6.1 The Perception of the STMA***

The STMA saw the entire project planning and implementation as participatory to the extent that information was shared. They admitted in part that indepth consultation and information sharing on a face-to-face manner was not made possible because of financial and logistical constraints. The Municipal authorities contended also that the nature of the project ruled out the possibility of using strategies such as Decision Making and Initiating. They stressed that Market Projects are developed under initiatives from the Ministry of local Government and overseen by the Municipal and District Authorities.

##### ***4.6.2 Perception of Beneficiaries on the Market project***

Table 4.9 provides details of the number of respondents who were involved somehow in the project. Of the 35 Heads of Traders' Associations interviewed, 10 (29 percent) claimed they were involved through consultations and meetings with the STMA. Of the 50 street hawkers involved in the focus group discussion, 10 percent confirmed they contributed through radio discussions, whilst of the 50 residents interviewed, 20 percent confirmed they contributed to the radio discussion on the project.

*Table 4.9: Involvement in Project*

Beneficiary group	Yes	Means of Participation
Heads of traders association	29%	Consultations (Meetings)
Street hawkers	10%	Information sharing (Radio )
Residents of metropolis	20%	Information sharing (Radio )

*Source: Author's Construct, 2010*

#### 4.6.2.1 Perception on Transparency

Asked whether they think participation in Market Project ensured transparent outcomes of projects, results from table 4.10 shows that whilst majority (60 percent) of heads of traders' and residents (70 percent) hold that beneficiary participation in the planning and implementation of the project ensured transparency, majority (50 percent) of street hawkers hold contrary view on that.

*Table 4.10: Perception on effect of participation on Transparency*

Beneficiary group	Yes	Maybe	Not at all
Heads of traders association	40%	20%	40%
Street hawkers	10%	40%	50%
Residents of metropolis	40%	25%	35%

*Source: Author's Construct, 2010*

#### 4.6.2.2 Perception on Accountability

Regarding beneficiaries view on the general accountability as a result of their participation in the market project, results from table 4.11 shows that majority (65 percent) of heads of traders' associations are on the positive side. They hold the view that their participation in the planning and implementation of the market project ensured accountability. Most (70



percent) street hawkers however do not share this view but maintain that participation in the project did not ensure accountability at all.

*Table 4.11: Perception on effect of participation on Accountability*

Beneficiary group	Yes	Maybe	Not at all
Heads of traders association	65%	32%	13%
Street hawkers	10%	20%	70%
Residents of metropolis	15%	65%	20%

*Source: Author's Construct, 2010*

The result above supports Emmett's (2000:2, 5) position that lack of accountability among stakeholders is a key feature of participatory processes especially where one group feels sidelined.

#### 4.6.2.3 Perception on Equity

Considering how beneficiaries view the fact that participation in the market project ensured equity, results from table 4.12 shows some compelling results that beneficiary participation in the planning and implementation of the project did not promote equity in the view of these beneficiaries. In all cases above 80 percent of respondents do not share the view that participation in informal sector support equity.

*Table 4.12: Perception on Effect of Participation on Equity*

Beneficiary group	Yes	Maybe	Not at all
Heads of traders association	5%	10%	85%
Street hawkers	1%	5%	94%
Residents of metropolis	4%	15%	81%

*Source: Author's Construct, 2010*

#### 4.6.2.4 Perception on Impact of Contributions

A question was also posed as to how beneficiaries see the extent to which their contributions in participatory decision-making affected the project outcome. Table 4.13 provides evidence of the results.

Table 4.13: Perception on impact of contributions

Beneficiary group	Yes	Maybe	Not at all
Heads of traders association	20%	45%	35%
Street hawkers	-	25%	75%
Residents of metropolis	-	20%	80%

Source: Author's Construct, 2010

It was realised from the focus group on heads of traders' associations that only 20 percent see their participation in informal sector projects as having an impact on the final outcomes of projects. However 35 percent think whatever contributions they make does not reflect the final outcomes of projects initiated. With regard to hawkers and residents however, results from the survey show that none views their contribution as having an impact. Whilst 25 percent and 20 percent of street hawkers and residents respectively view that maybe their contributions make impacts, 75 percent and 80 percent respectively view that their views do not count at all.

#### 4.7 Project Outcome and Sustainability

The outcome of the project planning and implementation is a multi structure with a combination of stalls for small businesses and sheds for petty trading. The facility has ancillary facilities like lorry station that serves the western fringes of the region, a toilet facility, Nursery School for wards of market women, a post office, a Fire Service Station and a wasted disposal site.

The facility has been compartmentalised to accommodate specific products at specific locations. Thus vendors of fabrics and second-hand clothing are located at one point whilst vendors of food items are also located at another point. This compartmentalising is to allow easy access to these vendors by buyers.

#### **4.7.1 Patronage and Use of the Aprembo Market**

With regards to patronage and usage of the facility however, the picture from table 4.14 indicates very low patronage of the stalls, and sheds at the Market.

*Table 4.14: Status of Project Usage*

	Percentage of intended Total Use
Sheds (350)	25%
Stalls (400)	20%
Other Facilities	36%

*Source: Author's Construct, 2010*

It was observed that run-away street traders who were the intended target beneficiaries are not patronising the market. The current occupants are rather traders who used to occupy the Kwesimintsim Market. The views sought from beneficiary groups revealed the source of low patronage and usage as stemming from two sources. These sources have been classified as *endogenous* and *exogenous*. The endogenous sources identified are personal interests, and perception on the effectiveness of the participatory strategies adopted by the STMA. The main exogenous source identified is political and government interest especially during elections.

Asked to rank the most important of these sources however, table 4.15 reveal that most beneficiaries regard the low patronage as a result of the participatory strategy adopted by the STMA.

*Table 4.15: Reasons Cited for Low Patronage*

Reason	Rank
Participatory Strategy	80%
Political	15%
Personal interests	5%

*Source: Author's Construct, 2010*

#### 4.7.1.1 *Endogenous Reasons for Low Patronage*

According to the hawkers and some heads of traders' associations and members of the public, the project lacked the capacity to mobilise for collective gain. This assertion is further supported by the fact that hawkers who are the main focus of the project and the general public where mainly involved in the project cycle at the first phase of the project through radio phone-in programmes. The general forum for coordination that allows for working with beneficiaries to identify uses and constraints in the execution of the project was missing.

The decision making process including adoption of design, negotiations with the contractor and procurement of materials was mostly centralised and run-away street vendors were only partially involved through radio communication to solicit for their ideas. All technical decisions including a sensitive decision like choice of project site as indicated in table 5.2, were executed and administered solely by the MDC.

It was assumed that the MDC which included three (3) heads of traders associations would work on behalf of all the beneficiaries of the project in a consultative manner. This assumption did not consider the fact that

hawkers in the CBD do not belong to the traders associations whose heads were selected for the consultations and negotiations. Thus decisions made on their behalf did not reflect their views.

Personal face-to-face meetings, seminars and workshops which were very necessary for hawkers were entirely left out. Attention was rather focused on radio phone-in programmes, whose outcomes saw only a handful of contributors, the majority of whom were members of the general public. Thus although through consultative participation it became possible for heads of the traders associations to forgo individual or particular group interests and make decisions, this approach however did not help much.

Beneficiaries are involved in project implementation through a partnership arrangement that enables them to contribute their individual resources in order to meet their own needs, while also working towards a common goal. This was not clearly achieved since the hawkers who are the integral part of the project were only consulted on radio. Only few participated in this program. The resultant problem was loose targeting leading to low patronage of the project.

#### 4.7.1.2 *Exogenous Reasons for Low Patronage*

The main exogenous reason cited by beneficiaries for low patronage is political interference. Views from the focus group discussion revealed that the Apremdo Market has been a subject of political campaign especially during election years. During the 2000 election, the New Patriotic Party which was then in opposition incited hawkers in the CBD not to relocate to the Apremdo-Market as ordered by the STMA with the reason that the market is too far from customers.

This political game craftily won the votes of street hawkers. When the NPP won power in 2000, the Government of the day took an initiative to coerce the hawkers to relocate only to be met with similar boycott.

Another reason cited by some respondents but which is of little significance to this research is the superstitious belief that there exists a resident god in the market area that does not permit growth. This reason could not however be empirically substantiated.

#### **4.8 Summary**

Chapter four has analysed the perceptions of beneficiaries and the STMA on the participatory processes adopted for the planning and implementation of the Aprembo Market Project. It has also assessed the current status in terms of patronage and use and the impact on the sustainability of the project.

In the case of the STMA, the results have revealed that while they supported participatory process as a means for ensuring democratic rights, the Municipal Authority appeared to have loosely used the strategies of participation. For one, they mistook the reliance on information sharing as participation in its entirety. As Kok and Gelderbloem (1994:66-67) put it, Information-sharing strategies cannot be adjudged as participatory since they mainly require beneficiaries to judge finished or almost finished products.

Perceptions of beneficiary groups on the other hand, showed strong support for general participatory processes but provided evidence of their concerns over limited inclusion in important decisions that affect them by the STMA.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **FINAL CONSIDERATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

The study has shown evidence that participatory development and community-based participation have emerged as integral parts of development assistance. The study has affirmed the role of beneficiaries in the planning, implementation and monitoring of community-based projects. The study has also confirmed that real participatory development is realizable when all actors (financiers, agents and beneficiaries) form partnerships towards a common goal.

Besides, the study has revealed that the system of decentralisation in Ghana requires a good working relationship between the Government, the local state and beneficiaries of projects. The ability of a municipal government to efficiently deliver services to beneficiaries requires attributes of competency, efficiency, transparency and accountability in the areas of planning and management. Moreover, ensuring that the Municipality fulfils its mandate requires the active participation and monitoring of the local community.

The empirical study shows that the idea of participation goes well beyond the mere notion of information sharing. In the case of Ghana, the participative environment in terms of local state projects must still be improved. The conclusions of the study provide an important reference point for assessing the question of sustainability.

This chapter summarizes the preceding chapters and highlights the key conceptual and theoretical elements of the research. It also sets out the conclusions and recommendations of the study and finalises with a concluding statement.

## **5.2 Chapter Summaries**

The following are subchapter summaries of the entire research.

### **5.2.1 Summary of Chapter One**

Chapter 1 provided a general background to the study. It highlighted the point that participatory development and its recent variation community based development have come to stay. The chapter focused on beneficiary participation, an integral form of participation usually associated with community based development projects. It also provided a brief background of Ghana socio-political situation as well as background to the case study. Additionally, the chapter outlined the structure of the study which includes the research problem, question, objectives, assumptions, methodology, limitations and structure of research report. An extensive literature review of the subject under study was conducted and equally collected relevant field data through a combination of interview questionnaires, focus group discussion and impromptu interviews for run-away street traders.

### **5.2.2 Summary of Chapter Two**

Chapter 2 addressed the theoretical concepts of participation and development management. The concept of development was analysed tracing its roots to the post world war II era through the efforts of the USAID. Moreover, the concept of development management was also traced in Africa through the works of the Breton Wood twins. The concept of people-centred development which gave birth to participatory development was also analysed based on the works of Mahatma Gandhi, Paulo Freire and Amartya Sen. The conceptual definition of popular participation was then examined by referring to different theoretical perspectives including the post-modern democratic argument, decentralisation, local knowledge sharing and, the development agency perspective. The chapter concluded by taking a critical look at the general limitations of participation.



### **5.2.3 Summary of Chapter Three**

Chapter three focused basically on the participatory aspect of community driven development, actors involved and the role of beneficiaries. The chapter assessed the major strategies of participatory development and conceptualised a trichotomy of actors, their roles and their link to the project planning process. Effective actor coordination according to the chapter content creates an opportunity for transparency, accountability and respect for democracy.

### **5.2.4 Summary of Chapter Four**

Chapter four expounded on the findings based on the perceptions of the major actors involved in the Aprembo-Takoradi market project and further provided interpretations. Interviews were conducted at the Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Authority as well as the beneficiaries of the project comprising, heads of traders associations, hawkers and the general public. The survey questionnaires were designed to test general perception on the impact of beneficiary participation on project outcomes.

The STMA

The research showed that overall, the STMA supported participatory processes indicating that participatory processes are essential for Ghana's decentralisation system.

Beneficiaries

All beneficiary groups (hawkers and heads of traders' associations) were in support of their involvement in project planning and implementation. Nonetheless, one major finding was that hawkers and heads of traders' associations viewed the strategy of information sharing through radio communication as *'insufficient.'* They viewed the problem of low patronage and sustainability as a result of the strategy adopted by the STMA which restricted communication and the involvement of beneficiaries.

### **5.3 Major Findings of the study**

The literature and case studies have shown that participatory development has evolved as one of the acceptable forms of developing people. Ghana's policy framework of people development is not only enshrined in the Constitution but has been put to work through its Decentralisation system. In this case Ghana demonstrates the political will for democratic citizenship and social commitment for peoples' development.

The findings of this study were examined against the main objectives of the research in Chapter 1. The main objective of the research was to investigate the perception of beneficiaries on the impact of participation on project outcomes. Additionally the project sought to:

1. record a case study of the Aprembo-Takoradi Market Project
2. examine the participatory approaches employed and the roles beneficiaries played in the planning and implementation processes
3. assess limitations, and possible recommendations for future policy development and implementation.

One of the major findings of the case study was loose targeting of beneficiaries. Targeting of beneficiaries by the STMA did not seriously capture the interest of breakaway associations, hawkers and clients (general populace) who were actually the intended users of the market facility. The assumption that the MDC would work on behalf of all beneficiaries in a consultative way did not consider the fact that run-away hawkers in the CBD do not belong to the traders associations and so consultations would not reflect their views.

The project lacked the capacity to mobilise for collective gain. The general forum for coordination that allows for working with beneficiaries to identify uses and constraints in the execution of the project was missing. The main

strategy used was information sharing which in itself does not constitute participation.

The major sensitive decision on *location* of the project was taken centrally at the STMA. Run-away street vendors were only partially informed to solicit for their ideas through radio communication.

Another major finding is that the sustainability of the project is threatened based on the current use of the facility which hovers around 25 percent of the actual projected level.

#### **5.4 Recommendations of the study**

The recommendations of the study are made in respect of the objectives outlined in Chapter 1. In this regard the recommendations first dwell on the assessment of perceptions of the major stakeholders of the Apremde Market project, namely; the STMA, street hawkers, heads of traders' associations and a section of the general public on beneficiary participation in the project planning and implementation process.

The recommendations also suggest a basis for developing an appropriate beneficiary participation strategy for the STMA in future project implementation to ensure sustainability.

The study recommends that:

- 1) Issues that directly promote the economic performance of community-based projects should be addressed with beneficiaries.
- 2) Clear agreements should be made regarding project outcomes, maintenance and mechanisms for resource mobilisation at the project inception stage. When beneficiaries decide to deal with a project issue that represents a critical concern for the majority of its members, it

indicates a sense of ownership over the resulting infrastructure. This sense of ownership has great potential for project sustainability.

- 3) The capacity to mobilise for collective gain must be developed for all stakeholders with intended roles in community based projects. This recommendation is justified through the findings of the study. The lack of relevant capacity to mobilise beneficiaries in the participatory process negatively affected its outcome.
- 4) One way to strengthen beneficiary participation is through the welding of public/community/private partnerships built on existing organisational strengths. Beneficiary groups need to be acknowledged for undertaking tasks of infrastructure management and maintenance in partnership or under contract to local government. Only if communities and beneficiary groups participate in project operation and maintenance will sustainability be assured. If communities are to enter into partnerships with local government for the implementation and management of local economic development and infrastructure projects, the capacity to sustain these partnerships will need to be created (Swilling, 2004:8).
- 5) Critical consciousness about sustainability provides a platform for beneficiary participation. Beneficiary education for sustainability becomes a key component in facilitating empowerment within the participatory development process (Cuthill, 2002:81, 83). For this reason beneficiary participation should not be proclaimed; it has to be developed. Many municipalities work with a commitment to participation but with only limited guidance on how to put such commitment into practice. When beneficiaries are aware of the issues at stake, they will be more willing to participate.
- 6) Finally, the research recommends that a study be conducted to investigate an appropriate participation model that will facilitate sound

consultation and participative processes between the STMA and project beneficiaries. Such model could be a combination of the four strategies discussed in this study.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

Moynihan (2003: 62) acknowledges that fostering broad and meaningful development in developing countries is particularly difficult because governments are not inclined to share decision-making power with the public. He points out that the limited capacity of many of the actors also limits participation. The poor generally have limited education, a low level of literacy and little familiarity with the policy process.

The Aprembo project has illustrated a lot of evidence on Moynihan's view. Amongst others the study has demonstrated the need for actors (especially in community infrastructure projects) to seriously consider participatory strategies, willingness to participate in the planning, management and the potential effects on project outcomes.

The study has shown that effective strategies in beneficiary participation in community-based projects are yet to be fully understood by development actors in Ghana. It has suggested that on the one hand it is of essence to have a precise understanding of each beneficiary group's interest and resource capacity so that they can together agree to combine their individual resources with a common focus on the intended outcome. Beneficiary participation in community-based project should always focus on building the beneficiary's capacity to sustain project outcomes. This can be achieved through the use of project initiating and decision making strategies.

The study has also shown that in order for a participatory approach in community-based projects to be effective and efficient, information sharing alone does not help. There should be some kind of partnership

arrangement that allows all the beneficiaries to come together to agree on how to share responsibilities and solve the problem at hand, depending on their different capacities and interests.

Building the capacity of the concerned beneficiaries to sustain the project outcome is always important. Since beneficiaries are foremost in the project, they should be given priority in decision-making.

Above all, it came out that the quality of participation depends a great deal on how participation is organised, how beneficiaries are asked to express their views and how they are presented with information about the project. Moynihan (ibid) agrees that even in developed countries, where participants' education and their knowledge of government are presumably higher, there is wide variation in the quality of participation. This variation he asserts can be explained chiefly by how the participation is organised. He goes on to suggest that organisers of participation processes need to consider the capacity of beneficiaries and design a system that maximises the quality of involvement.

The findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study therefore present further research possibilities.

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[2004, 21 August].



## APPENDIX A

University of the Western Cape  
School of Government  
Private Bag X17  
Bellville 7535  
Republic of South Africa  
13 July 2009

### TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam

***Questionnaire: Beneficiary Participation in Community Based Development: The Challenges To Project Sustainability: A case of the Takoradi-Apremdo Market Project***

The bearer of this letter is a Master student who is undertaking a study on stakeholder participation and project sustainability. The objectives of the study are:

1. To record a case study of the Apremdo-Takoradi Market Project
2. To examine the participatory approaches employed and the roles informal entrepreneurs played in the planning and implementation processes
3. To assess limitations, and possible recommendations for future policy development and implementation.

We kindly seek your participation in this study by responding to the attached questionnaire. Your participation is entirely voluntary and the questionnaire will be treated with strict confidence. We thank you for your time and co-operation.

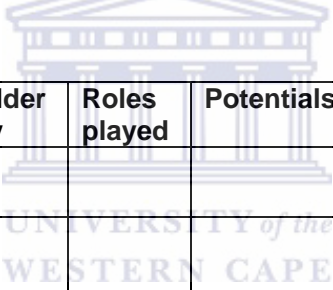
Yours sincerely,

**Professor JJ Williams**  
**University of the Western Cape**  
Telephone: 021 959 3807  
Cellular: 083 456 2247  
Fax: 021 959 3826  
Email: [jjwilliams@uwc.ac.za](mailto:jjwilliams@uwc.ac.za)

## APPENDIX B

### QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE STMA

1. When and why was the Aprembo Market built?
2. What is your perception on involving traders and trader organisations in the planning and implementation of informal infrastructure projects?
3. How involved were traders (especially street traders) and trader organisations, in the planning and implementation of the Market project? Please complete the table below:




Project phase	Stakeholder category	Roles played	Potentials	Limitations	Strategy
Problem identification					
Generation of alternative project options					
Adoption , planning and design of preferred project					
Project implementation					
Closure, monitoring and evaluation					

#### Stakeholder categories

1. Metropolitan authority
2. Trader organisations
3. Individual traders (especially street traders)

**Communication strategy**

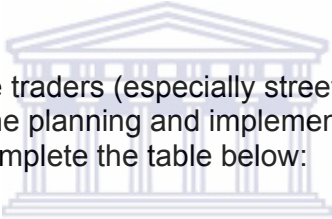
- 1. Consultation**
  - 2. Negotiation**
  - 3. Group meeting**
  - 4. Seminar**
  - 5. Radio usage**
  - 6. Any other**
4. How many trader organisations were consulted and involved in the project planning and implementation stages?
5. What is the current state of the Market in terms of usage by vendors?
- 
6. What is the maximum capacity of the market in terms of market stalls?
7. What has been the response of traders to the acceptability of the market project?
8. What measures are being put in place to ensure traders use the project?
9. What are the future prospects of the market project?

## APPENDIX C

### FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE

#### QUESTIONS

1. What is your perception on involving traders and trader organisations in the planning and implementation of informal infrastructure projects?
2. Were you involved in any STMA informal traders' projects?
3. How involved were traders (especially street traders) and trader organisations, in the planning and implementation of the Market project? Please complete the table below:




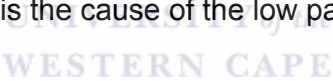
Project phase	Stakeholder category	Roles played	Potentials	Limitations	strategy
Problem identification					
Generation of alternative project options					
Adoption , planning and design of preferred project					
Project implementation					
Closure, monitoring and evaluation					

#### Stakeholder categories

##### 1. Metropolitan authority

2. **Trader organisations**
3. **Individual traders (especially street traders)**

**Communication strategy**

1. **Consultation**
  2. **Negotiation**
  3. **Group meeting**
  4. **Seminar**
  5. **Radio usage**
  6. **Any other**
- 
4. How many trader organisations were consulted and involved in the project planning and implementation stages?
  
  5. What has been your response to the acceptability of the market project?  

  6. What do you think is the cause of the low patronage of the Market?  

  7. What recommendation do you suggest to improve patronage?
  8. What do you think is the future prospects of the Market project?

**Thank you very much for your time and cooperation!!!**