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Community participation in the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy in the Twifu-Heman-Lower Denkyira District

AKWASI KUMI-KYEREME



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The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in 1999 approved the Poverty Reduction Strategies Paper (PRSP) approach to reducing poverty for the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC). One of the underlying principles of the PRSP is participation of key actors. Using the ladder of citizen participation framework, the paper investigates the levels of participation of key community partners in the implementation of the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (GPRSP) which was produced in 2003. A total of 406 questionnaires were administered to sampled heads of households in six communities chosen from the Twifu-Heman-Lower Denkyira District in the Central Region of Ghana. The chi-square and the K-Means cluster statistical techniques were used to analyse the data. In general, citizens described their participation in the implementation of the GPRSP as non-participation. The cluster analysis showed a significant relationship between cluster membership and the geographical location of respondents. The perception on participation of other key community partners in the GPRSP varied. For instance, participation of the District Assembly members was perceived as citizen power, while participation of traditional authority and unit committee members were considered as non-participation and tokenism respectively.

Keywords: *Community, Ghana, participation, poverty, reduction*

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Introduction

This study investigates the levels of participation of citizens and other key community partners in the implementation of the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (GPRSP). In 1999 the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) approved the Poverty Reduction Strategies Paper (PRSP) approach to reducing poverty (International Development Association and International Monetary Fund 2001). The preparation and implementation of PRSPs were endorsed for countries seeking to benefit from the enhanced Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative (McGee & Norton 2000, 1). The underlying principles of the PRSP are that policy papers on fighting poverty should be country driven, results oriented and comprehensive, and based on the participation of civil societies along with partnerships from donors. The United Nations pledged itself to assist, especially with the HIPC initiative in the Millennium Development Goals (UNDP 2003). In Ghana, the PRSP was preceded by a series of development plans, including the Human Development Strategy for Ghana (1991), the National Development Policy Framework (1994), Vision 2020: the first step (1995), and the First Medium Term Development Plan 1996–2000. The preparation of the GPRSP for 2003–2005 builds on an Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (I-PRSP) which was produced in 2000.

The GPRSP produced in 2003 outlines comprehensive policies, strategies, programmes, and projects designed to support growth and poverty reduction. The aim of the GPRSP is to create wealth by transforming the nature of the economy to achieve growth and accelerated poverty reduction and the protection of the vulnerable and the excluded within a decentralised system. The strategies for poverty reduction include prudent fiscal and monetary policies,

private sector-led industrial production through the application of science and technology; sound and sustainable management of the environment, promotion of commercial agriculture using environmentally friendly technologies, agro-based industrial expansion, export promotion based on diversification and competitive advantages, increased investments in social services, and accelerated decentralisation as the key mechanism for policy implementation (Government of Ghana 2003).

Decentralisation was a major component of the 1988 local government reforms in Ghana. Article 240(1) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana stipulates that the country shall have a system of local government and administration, which shall, as far as practicable be decentralised (Republic of Ghana 1992). In furtherance of the decentralisation programme, which is aimed at local government reforms, Parliament promulgated the Local Government Act 462 in 1993 that established District Assemblies (DAs) to serve as conduits in the promotion of development (Republic of Ghana 1993).

The current local government system consists of a Regional Co-ordinating Council (RCC), a four-tier Metropolitan and a three-tier Municipal/District Assembly structures. Although placed below the RCC, the District Assembly (DA) is the focal point of the decentralisation programme. The DA, as set up under Act 462, is composed of a District Chief Executive (DCE) and one elected member from each electoral area in a district. Others are member(s) of parliament from a district (who have no vote), and other persons whose number does not exceed 30% of the total membership of the assembly appointed by the President of the Republic in consultation with traditional authorities and other interest groups in a district. The Town, Zone and Urban/Area Councils constitute another level in the system.

Their composition and functions are basically the same; they only differ according to the degree of urbanisation of the communities they cover. Zone Councils are found in Municipalities, Urban Councils in large towns, Town Councils in the smaller towns, and Area Councils in the rural areas. Below these councils is the Unit Committee, described as the basic unit of local government. The Unit Committees are composed of ten persons ordinarily resident within a unit, elected at a meeting organised by the Electoral Commission, and five members appointed by the DCE from among residents of a unit on behalf of the President of the Republic. The primary function of the Unit Committee is to execute the practical implementation of policies and decisions of District Assembly. Thus, decentralisation is considered as a framework for participatory local development in Ghana. A full participatory process includes, among others, central and local government, citizens, civil society organisations, academics, politicians and political parties, and the media.

Conceptual framework

This study assesses the levels of participation in the implementation of the GPRSP using the ladder of participation framework (Fig. 1). The model is arranged as a ladder with eight rungs, each rung representing the degree of power the citizen holds. Arnstein (1969) describes the two lower rungs on the ladder as non-participation. The real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or implementation of programmes, but to enable traditional

power holders to educate the participants. The manipulation level of participation is when traditional power holders meet with citizens (as a requirement) to show that citizens are participating in a programme which may not have been discussed with the citizens, or may have been described in the most general terms (Arnstein 1969). In the present study, in cases where officials attempted to educate citizens on the GPRSP, participation is considered as manipulation.

In some respect group therapy is showcased as citizen participation. On this assumption, the experts subject citizens to clinical group therapy whereby meetings are organised for the purpose of engineering the support of citizens (Arnstein 1969). In the present study, where officials organised meetings to persuade citizens to acknowledge the need for the implementation of the GPRSP, participation is classified as therapy.

Rungs three and four of the ladder progress to levels of tokenism that allow citizens to hear and to have a voice but have no power to influence decisions. Under these conditions citizens lack the power to ensure that their views will be heeded by the traditional power holders. When participation is restricted to these levels, there is no follow-through, hence no assurance of changing the status quo. Rung five (placation) is simply a higher level tokenism because the ground rules allow citizens to advise, but traditional power holders retain the right to decide. The informing level of participation places emphasis on a one-way flow of information from officials to citizens, with no channel provided for feedback and no power for negotiation. The most frequent tools used for such one-way communication are the news media, pamphlets and posters (Arnstein 1969). In the present study, citizen participation in the implementation of the GPRSP through the media is classified as informing.

Consultation is inviting citizens' opinions without any assurance that citizens' concerns and ideas will be taken into account. The most frequent methods used for consulting people are attitude surveys, neighbourhood meetings, and public hearings. People are primarily perceived as statistical abstractions, and participation is measured by how many attend meetings or answer questionnaires (Arnstein 1969). In the present study, participating by responding to questionnaires (or any other research instrument) on the GPRSP is considered as consultation.

Placation strategy is to place a few hand-picked citizens on public bodies such as board of education, police commission, or housing authority. The degree to which citizens are actually placated, of course, depends largely on the quality of technical assistance they have in articulating their priorities and the extent to which the community has been organised to press for those priorities (Arnstein 1969). In the present study, participation of citizens who serve on boards or on committees that can advise but have no right to decide is considered as placation.

On the partnership rung of the ladder, citizens agree to share planning and decision-making responsibilities through such structures as joint policy boards, planning committees and mechanisms for resolving impasses. Once the ground rules have been established they are not subject to unilateral change (Arnstein 1969). In the present study, the participation of citizens who serve on joint boards or on committees

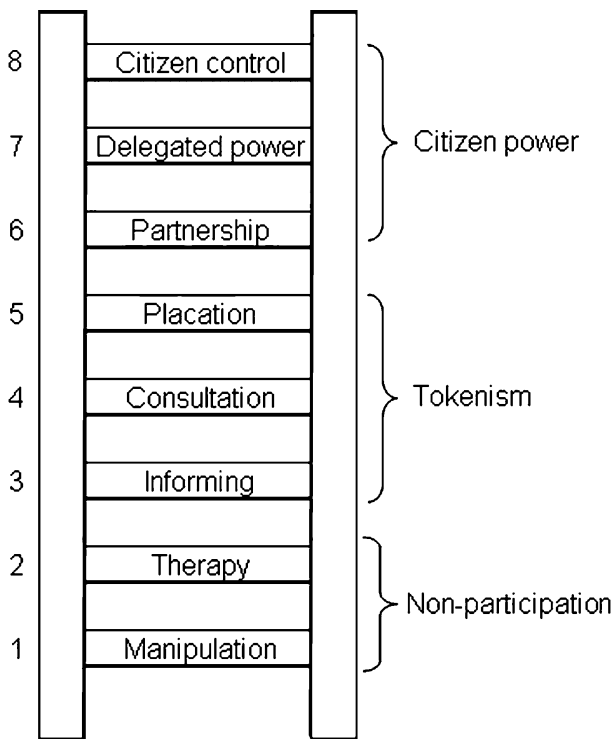


Fig. 1. Ladder of citizen participation (based on Arnstein 1969).

that negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional power holders is described as partnership.

Further up the ladder is the delegated power rung, which is the delegation of management authority for specific functions to organisations that are not under the direct control of central government. In the present study, participation of citizens who are members of boards or committees charged with specific responsibilities of the GPRSP means delegated power.

Citizen control is a degree of participation which guarantees that citizens can govern a programme or an institution, be in full charge of policy and managerial aspects, and be able to negotiate the conditions under which 'outsiders' may change them. Although several citizen groups use the rhetoric of citizen control, no group can meet the criteria of citizen control since final approval power and accountability rest with the state (Arnstein 1969). In the present study, participation of citizens as members of boards or committees that have absolute or full managerial power over the GPRSP is described as citizen control.

The ladder of participation framework has been adapted by researchers over the years. In the literature, between four and six degrees of participation are usually distinguished. Brinkerhoff & Goldsmith (2001, 5) describe the levels of participation as information-sharing, consultation, collaboration, joint decision-making, and empowerment. McGee & Norton (2000, 14–16) describe the levels of participation as information-sharing, consultation, joint decision-making, and initiation and control by stakeholders. According to Bliss (2000, 8) the degrees of participation include information-sharing, consultation, participation, co-determination, joint responsibility, partnership, and control by stakeholders. The degree of participation progresses upwards from information-sharing to initiation and control by stakeholders.

Methods and materials

The study was conducted in the Twifu-Heman-Lower Denkyira District (THLDD) in the Central Region of Ghana in March 2006. Ghana is located in the West Africa sub-region bounded to the north by Burkina Faso, to the south by the Gulf of Guinea, to the west by the Côte d'Ivoire, and to the east by the Republic of Togo (Fig. 2). According to the Ghana Statistical Service and Macro International (2004), Ghana had a total population of 18,912,079 in the year 2000 and a land area of 238,000 km². In 2007, the projected population of Ghana was 23 million (Population Reference Bureau 2007). Approximately 44% of the population lived in urban areas, which are defined as settlements with 5000 people or more.

Ghana is a multi-ethnic country with more than 50 ethnic groups. The main ethnic groups are the Akan, who account for almost half of the population (49%), the Mole-Dagbani (17%), the Ewe (13%), and the Ga-Adangbe (8%) (Ghana Statistical Service & Macro International 2004). In 2007, Ghana as a unitary state had 10 political regions and 138 districts. Ecologically, the country consists of three broad zones: the coastal savannah, the central forest belt, and the

northern savannah. The northern savannah accounts for approximately half of the total area of the country.

Twifu-Heman-Lower Denkyira District was created in 1988, with a geographical area of 1370 km². It is bounded to the north by the Upper Denkyira District, to the south by the Abura-Asebu-Kwaman Kese, Cape Coast, and Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abirim Districts, to the west by the Wassa Mpohor District, and to the east by the Assin District. The district had a population of 107,787 in the year 2000 and 13.8% were urban dwellers (Ghana Statistical Service & Macro International 2004). Six communities were purposively selected from the district for the survey. The indicators used in the selection of the communities included district capital, settlements which were considered to be main centres of economic importance in the district, settlements in the most accessible zones such as those along the major transport routes, and settlements in remote areas.

The main survey instrument used to collect data was a questionnaire. Structured household questionnaires were administered by research assistants to selected heads of households residing in the sampled communities. A list of households compiled by the Ghana Statistical Service was used as the sample frame for the selection of households in the communities. The simple random technique was used to select a sample from the target population. A minimum sample size required for accuracy in estimating proportions was calculated. To calculate the minimum sample size, the variability of participation within the population (0.60), the acceptance margin of error of the estimate (0.05) and the degree of confidence of 95% were considered appropriate. It was assumed that 60% of the households in the district were aware of the implementation of the GPRSP because the Central Region experienced an increase in poverty in the 1990s, with a rate of 45% in 1999 (Ghana Statistical Service 2000). The following formula was used:

$$n = \frac{z^2 pq}{d^2}$$

Where n = the desired sample size, z = the standard normal deviate set at 1.96 corresponds to 95% confidence level, p = the proportion in the target population that was aware of the GPRSP in the district, q = the proportion in the target population that was not aware of the GPRSP in the district, and d = degree of accuracy desired.

Given the proportion in the target population that was aware of the implementation of GPRSP in the district as 0.60, the z statistic as 1.96 and desired accuracy at 0.05, the sample size was calculated as follows:

$$n = \frac{1.96^2(0.60)(0.40)}{0.05^2}$$

The calculated value of 'n' denotes that at least 369 households had to be selected to get a representative population. However, 10% of 369 was added to the sample in anticipation of non-response. In all, 406 respondents were randomly selected from the sampled communities. The total number of respondents selected in the communities was allotted

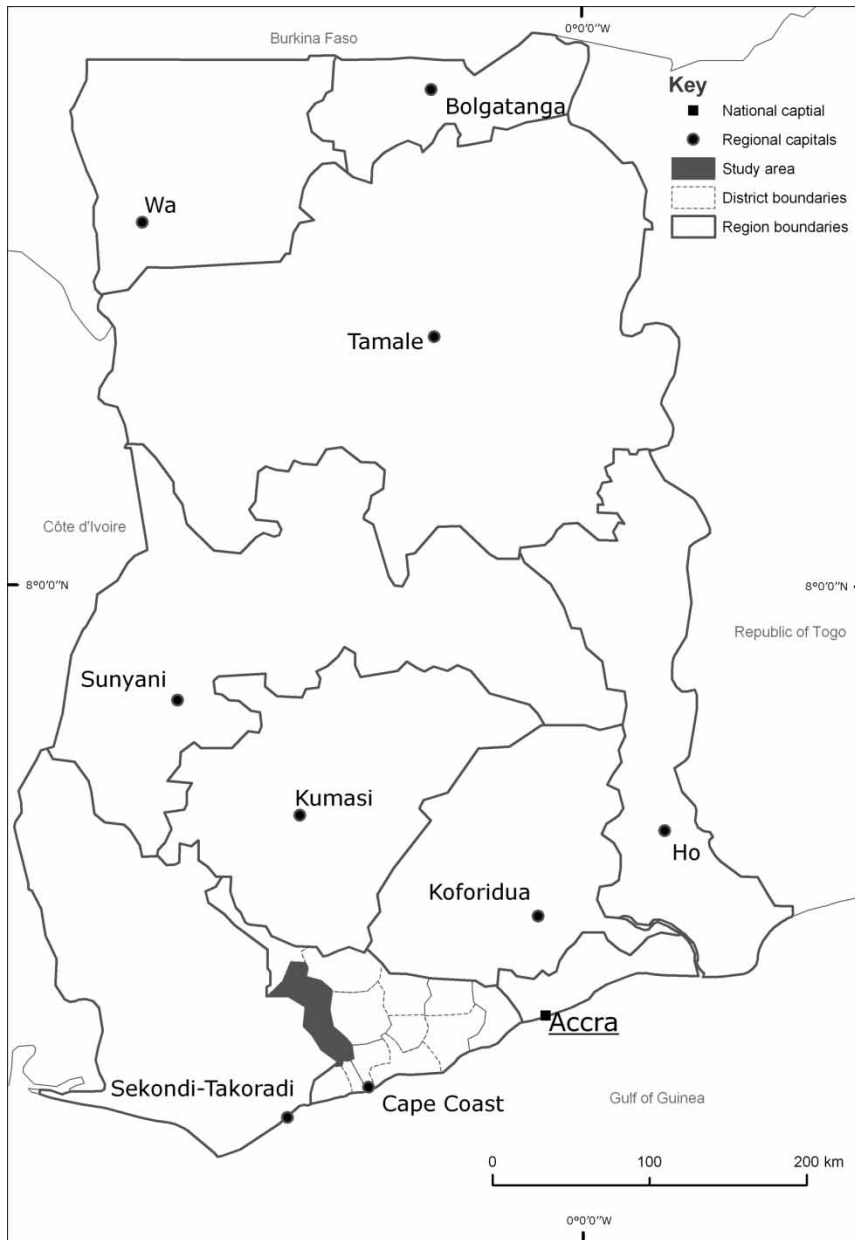


Fig. 2. Location of study area, Twifu-Heman-Lower Denkyira District, in the Central Region of Ghana.

proportionally based on the estimated population and average size of households. Data were entered and cleaned using SPSS 10.0 for Windows. The chi-square and K-Means cluster techniques were used to analyse the data.

Citizen participation in the poverty reduction strategy

According to the Development Assistance Committee guidelines on poverty reduction, sustainable and comprehensive participation by citizens in the implementation of the PRSP in developing countries is a key prerequisite for successful

poverty reduction (OECD & DAC 2001). An attempt was made to find out the level of participation of citizens in the implementation of the GPRSP. Of the respondents, 54% strongly agreed that their participation in the implementation of the GPRSP was manipulation (Table 1), while 27% of the respondents strongly agreed that their level of participation was therapy (Fig. 1). The implication is that government officials educate, persuade and advise citizens on the GPRSP. These two ‘rungs’ (manipulation and therapy) are referred to as non-participation.

Some of the respondents said that there was some form of information flow from officials about the GPRSP even though no channel was provided for feedback. For instance, 12% of respondents strongly agreed that their level of

Table 1. Levels of citizen participation in the poverty reduction strategy.

Level of participation	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Manipulation	54.0	36.8	2.4	2.4	4.4
Therapy	26.6	47.8	5.4	13.1	7.1
Informing	12.1	32.2	11.4	21.5	22.8
Consultation	4.7	16.8	14.1	24.9	39.4
Placation	3.4	12.4	16.8	22.8	44.6
Partnership	2.0	8.3	15.4	23.0	51.3
Delegated power	2.4	6.4	10.0	23.6	57.6
Citizen control	2.0	9.1	8.0	19.8	61.1

participation was informing, while 32% agreed with this (Table 1). Under these conditions, people have little opportunity to influence the programme designed for their benefit. However, McGee & Norton (2000, 14) are of the view that information-sharing about the PRS process is the minimum degree of participation required for a participatory process.

There is also some evidence of consultation. For instance, 5% of respondents strongly agreed that their level of participation was consultation, while 17% agreed (Table 1). This can be a legitimate step towards citizens' full participation. However, if consultation is not combined with other modes of participation, this rung of the ladder will still be a sham since it offers no assurance that citizens' concerns and ideas will be taken into account (Arnstein 1969). Nevertheless, 45% of the respondents strongly disagreed that their participation in the GPRSP was placation (Table 1). It is at this level that citizens begin to have some degree of influence even though tokenism is still apparent.

A total of 51% of the respondents strongly disagreed that their participation in the implementation of the GPRSP was partnership (Table 1). At this rung of the ladder of participation, power is redistributed through negotiation between citizens and power holders. Negotiations between citizens and public officials can also result in citizens achieving dominant decision-making authority over a particular plan or programme (Arnstein 1969). At the delegated power level, the ladder has been scaled to the point where citizens have the authority to ensure accountability of the programme to them. However, 58% of the respondents strongly disagreed that their level of participation was delegated power (Table 1).

Although no citizen in any nation has absolute control, people demand the degree of power which guarantees that citizens can govern a programme or an institution, and be in full charge of policy and management. As shown in Table 1, 61% of the respondents strongly disagreed that their level of participation could be described as citizen control. This finding confirms the observation by McGee & Norton (2000, 14–16) that initiation by stakeholders, which is the most advanced form of participation, is unlikely to occur in the implementation of the PRSP because governments to some extent own the participatory process, thus limiting the extent to which citizens can act as initiators.

Perceptions of participation by key community stakeholders

Entities involved in the delivery of anti-poverty interventions are the financiers, providers and beneficiaries (Hoddinott 2002). The primary role of the financier is to provide funds for the intervention. Multilateral and bilateral donors, Ministries of Finance and Non Government Organizations (NGOs) are examples of financiers. Providers may be line ministries, autonomous government agencies, private firms, or NGOs whose main role is to implement the interventions. In many cases, the providers and financiers are one and the same. Beneficiaries comprise the communities, households and individuals who receive benefits of intervention.

The PRSP process is designed to be open and participatory, and to include all major stakeholders. There is no blueprint for participation; the nature depends on local circumstances (International Development Association and International Monetary Fund 2001). The stakeholders, however, may include people in poor communities and their associations, central government, local government personnel, civil society organisations (e.g. church leaders, trade and farmers' unions, traditional authorities, development NGOs), academic researchers and analysts, politicians and political parties, the media, donor agencies, and the non-poor (McGee & Norton 2000, 13). Participation of some key partners at the community level in Ghana (including citizens, traditional authorities, NGOs, media, and members of district assemblies and unit committees) in the implementation of the GPRSP was investigated. As shown in Table 2, 65% of the respondents described the participation of citizens (ordinary people in the community) as manipulation, while 12% and 9% considered people's participation as informing and consultation respectively. A total of 46% perceived participation of traditional authorities as manipulation; while 15% described it as therapy. However, 11% and 10% considered participation of traditional authorities as informing and consultation respectively (Table 2).

Table 2 shows that a reasonable proportion of respondents could not describe the level of participation of some of the key partners in the GPRS. For instance, the response 'don't know' accounted for 43% and 24% of the participation of the media and NGOs respectively. However, 28% of respondents perceived participation of NGOs as manipulation, while 16% considered participation of NGOs as partnership. Further, 30% perceived participation of the media as informing, while 15% described it as manipulation.

Participation of District Assembly members in the GPRSP was described as delegated power by 30% of the respondents, while 17% perceived it as informing. This perception might be due to the fact that the District Assembly occupies a more strategic place and is the focal point of the decentralisation policy in Ghana. Of the respondents, 30% perceived participation of unit committee members as informing, while 27% and 19% considered it as manipulation and therapy respectively (Table 2).

Table 2. Perceptions of participation by key community partners.

Level of participation	Citizens	Traditional authorities	NGOs	District assembly members	Unit committee members	Media
Manipulation	65.4	46.0	28.3	6.4	26.5	15.0
Therapy	1.7	14.8	8.2	5.4	18.8	1.7
Informing	12.4	10.7	10.4	16.8	29.9	29.9
Consultation	9.4	10.0	7.7	5.4	6.7	3.0
Placation	1.4	1.0	3.0	1.3	1.3	0.7
Partnership	5.0	6.4	15.8	9.8	8.4	5.4
Delegated power	0	0.3	2.4	30.0	2.0	0
Citizen control	1.0	0.7	0.3	21.5	2.0	1.0
Don't know	3.7	10.1	23.9	3.4	4.4	43.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Cluster analysis

The K-means cluster analysis was performed on the eight-rung ladder of participation. A three-cluster solution was arrived at after trying out different clusters. The three-cluster solution presents the most reliable results. The three groups that emerged differed in the way they considered their level of participation in the implementation of the GPRSP (Table 3). The majority (66%) of the respondents fall into Cluster B.

Table 3 indicates that Cluster A is made up of respondents who agree that their participation in the implementation of the GPRSP is manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, delegated power, and citizen control. They were, however, not certain as to whether their participation could be described as partnership. Cluster B is made up of members who agree that their participation in the GPRS is manipulation. Unlike those in Cluster A, they were not certain whether their participation could be described as therapy. They disagree that their participation could be described as informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power, and citizen control. Members in Cluster C strongly agree that their participation in the implementation of the GPRS is manipulation. They agree that their participation could be described as therapy, informing and consultation. They were, however, not certain whether their participation is placation. They disagree that their participation is partnership and strongly disagree that their participation could be described as delegated power or citizen control (Table 3).

The chi square (χ^2) was employed to examine the relationships between cluster and location, age, sex, marital

status, and educational attainment of respondents (Table 4). The data presented in Table 4 suggest that there are no significant relationships between cluster membership and respondents' age (P-value 0.303), sex (P-value 0.596), marital status (P-value 0.435), and educational attainment (P-value 0.860). There is, however, a significant relationship between cluster membership and the geographical location of respondents (0.000) because the P-value of the variable is less than the level of significance set (0.05). As shown in Table 4, the majority of respondents in Cluster A are residents of communities along the major transport routes in the district (56%) and the district capital (30%). Cluster B consists of residents of communities along the major transport routes in the district (42%), the district capital (23%) and the major settlements (20%). Respondents in Cluster C are mainly residents of settlements along the major transport routes in the district (63%) and the remote areas (20%).

The uniqueness of the entities in the clusters was cross-checked (Table 5). The existence of significant difference was determined by comparing the P-values with the level of significance set (0.05). The P-value of less than 0.05 indicates that a significant difference exists in the entities of the clusters. Since the P-values for the various levels of participation were less than the level of significance set (0.05), there is sufficient evidence to conclude that entities in the three clusters are unique (Table 5).

Conclusions

Participation of citizens in the implementation of the GPRSP is considered as non-participation. There is, however, an element of tokenism present because there is some evidence of consultation. Citizen power (partnership, delegated power and citizen control), which is the highest level of participation, is rare. A significant relationship, however, exists between the level of participation of citizens and geographical location. Residents in rural communities are more likely to consider their participation as manipulation. Furthermore, citizens from a particular geographical location participate in the implementation of the GPRSP at different levels because there is no such thing as a homogeneous group in communities. As suggested by Eberlei (2001, 16), it must be ensured that traditionally powerless,

Table 3. K-means of three cluster solutions.

Levels of participation	Cluster		
	A (17.9%)	B (65.7%)	C (16.4%)
Manipulation	1.89	1.80	1.17
Therapy	2.00	2.57	1.74
Informing	2.27	3.70	1.89
Consultation	2.35	4.62	2.34
Placation	2.38	4.70	2.82
Partnership	2.46	4.69	3.72
Delegated power	2.44	4.72	4.58
Citizen control	2.32	4.72	4.82

Table 4. Characteristics of the clusters (significance level set as 0.05).

Characteristics	Cluster			χ^2 P-Value	Remark
	A (17.7%)	B (65.7%)	C (16.4%)		
Location					
District capital	29.6	23.1	12.3	0.000	S ¹
Major settlements	0	20.0	4.6		
Settlements along major transport route	56.3	41.5	63.1		
Remote areas	14.1	15.4	20.0		
Age					
<35	45.1	34.2	32.3	0.303	NS
35–54	46.5	53.8	50.8		
>55	8.5	11.9	16.9		
Sex					
Male	76.1	74.2	69.2	0.596	NS
Female	23.9	25.8	30.8		
Marital status					
Never married	8.5	16.2	12.3	0.435	NS
Ever married/married	91.5	83.8	87.7		
Education					
<Primary	19.7	22.7	23.1	0.860	NS
Middle/JSS3	54.9	51.5	58.5		
>Secondary	25.4	25.8	18.5		
Total	100	100	100		
N	(71)	(260)	(65)		

¹S = significant; ²NS = not significant; ³Junior secondary school.

weak or marginalised sections, groups and strata of the population are appropriately represented. Special efforts may be required to reach the traditionally marginalised groups. There is the need to improve the mechanisms for giving feedback to the citizens in communities during the

Table 5. Analysis of variance for three clusters (significance level set as 0.05).

Level of participation	Cluster	Mean score	F-value	P-value
Manipulation	A	1.89	11.185	0.000
	B	1.80		
	C	1.17		
Therapy	A	2.00	14.987	0.000
	B	2.57		
	C	1.74		
Informing	A	2.27	81.092	0.000
	B	3.70		
	C	1.89		
Consultation	A	2.35	569.491	0.000
	B	4.62		
	C	2.34		
Placation	A	2.38	493.492	0.000
	B	4.70		
	C	2.82		
Partnership	A	2.46	338.890	0.000
	B	4.69		
	C	3.72		
Delegated power	A	2.44	491.275	0.000
	B	4.72		
	C	4.58		
Citizen control	A	2.32	612.550	0.000
	B	4.72		
	C	4.82		

implementation of the GPRSP. Information on the GPRSP should be understandable and available to local civil society.

Participation of District Assembly members in the implementation of the GPRSP is perceived as citizen power. This perception is probably due to the fact that the District Assembly is the highest political authority at the district level in Ghana. Section 10 of the Local Government Act 462 assigns deliberative, legislative and executive functions to the district assemblies (Republic of Ghana 1993). It gives the Assemblies responsibility for overall development in the districts and the authority to formulate and execute plans, programmes and strategies for effective mobilisation of resources necessary for development. However, what seems to be inclusiveness of the District Assemblies in the GPRSP may simply be mechanisms of validation and containment (Abugre 2001).

Public awareness of the participation of some local stakeholders, particularly the media in the implementation of the GPRSP is extremely limited. A plausible explanation is that the media does not participate in the implementation of the GPRSP as expected. A vital and competent media landscape supports societal debates, increases transparency, creates additional hurdles of corruption, and provides diverse pressure groups with a forum (Eberlei 2001, 37). There is the need to create administrative structures, procedures and mechanisms that will facilitate the institutionalisation of policy participation (Brinkerhoff & Goldsmith 2001, 9).

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