Assessing Community Conditions that Facilitate Implementation of Participatory Poverty Reduction Strategies

by

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ABSTRACT

Assessing Community Conditions that Facilitate Implementation of Participatory Poverty Reduction Strategies

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The goal of the current study was to describe the organizational and institutional foundations within traditional rural communities that facilitate implementation of participatory community poverty reduction programs. The focus was on communities within or adjacent to protected areas. A case study research approach was used to assess community mobilization, participation and analytical capacity and also to evaluate community groups and organizations for their competence to be local implementing agents of poverty reduction programs. The research findings showed that inadequate skills and organizational levels limited the ability of communities to fully utilize protected areas as poverty reduction initiatives. Key determinants of community participation were the ability to mobilize and also to undertake detailed analysis of local situations. Community mobilization depended on the relationship between the mobilizing agent and the community, social cohesion and gender. Analytical capacity was influenced mostly by the level of education, prior experience and gender. Interestingly, community groups that had the highest potential to be implementing agents, had strong ties to traditional institutions, suggesting that groups with well recognized power and legitimacy within the community are better positioned to facilitate implementation of community poverty eradication initiatives. A number of indicators of community competence were identified and these were used to develop an analytical framework that can be used as a diagnostic tool for determining community competence.
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To my son Yanano, whose patience and maturity amazes and motivates me, you continue to be my little pillar of strength.
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## Acronyms

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<tr>
<td>CBMS</td>
<td>Community-Based Monitoring Systems</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBNRM</td>
<td>Community Based Natural Resource Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIW</td>
<td>Canadian Index of Wellbeing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPR</td>
<td>Civil and Political Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRC</td>
<td>Convention on the Rights of the Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CREMAs</td>
<td>Community Resource Management Areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCE</td>
<td>District Chief Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EET</td>
<td>Environmental Education Team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agricultural Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>Human Development Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICCPRs</td>
<td>International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICSECRs</td>
<td>International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDRC</td>
<td>International Development Research Center</td>
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<tr>
<td>IFAD</td>
<td>International Fund for Agricultural Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>JHS</td>
<td>Junior High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KVIP</td>
<td>Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCRC</td>
<td>Nature Conservation Research Center</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>NTC</td>
<td>Nuu-chah-Nulth Tribal Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAPR</td>
<td>Protected Areas and Poverty Reduction</td>
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<td>PPA</td>
<td>Participatory Poverty Assessment</td>
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<td>PRSPs</td>
<td>Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers</td>
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<tr>
<td>PTA</td>
<td>Parents Teachers Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>Regional Coordinating Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>SECRs</td>
<td>Social, Economic and Cultural Rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>SHS</td>
<td>Senior High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMC</td>
<td>School Management Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>TTP</td>
<td>Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
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1 Chapter One Introduction

1.1 Background

Poverty remains a major scourge particularly in marginalized rural areas in the developing world and in parts of the developed countries. Many of these communities are inside or adjacent to protected areas that possess a rich and abundant natural resource base. In 2000, the United Nations (UN) renewed its vow to fight poverty and poverty eradication was made top of the eight Millennium Development Goals. Member countries pledged to half the number of people living in extreme poverty by the year 2015 (United Nations General Assembly, 2001) and for the past decade this has been the focus of most developing countries and their development partners.

Despite evidence showing that the total number of people in developing countries living in extreme poverty declined between 1981 and 2005, levels of poverty remain high in many parts of the developing world (United Nations, 2009). Estimates from the World Bank indicate that approximately 95% of the developing world’s population lives under less than US $10 per day (Ravallion, Chen, and Sangraula, 2008). In Sub-Saharan Africa for example, the proportion of people living in extreme poverty more than doubled between 1981 and 2005 (United Nations, 2009), while South Asia showed significant increases over the same period, highlighting the serious need for effective poverty eradication strategies. Those living below the international poverty line of $1.25 a day are considered to be in extreme poverty (Ravallion et al., 2008).

Aggregation of poverty data at regional and national levels often masks local variations. For regions like East Asia where the percentage of people living in poverty declined; much of this decline was concentrated in one country, namely China (United Nations, 2009). However, even with such high growth significant geographic disparities are often seen. In the Rural Poverty Report 2011, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) noted that even for countries that experience significant economic growth, this growth is not always accompanied by a reduction in poverty because the economic growth does not occur in marginalized rural areas where most of the poor live (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 2010). This often leads to the migration of the poor to urban centers increasing other social problems. Rural areas account for 75% of the people living on less than $1.25 per day (United Nations Development Program, 2007). The plight of people living in marginalized zones is also evident in developed countries (Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2011; Fairbairn and Gustafson, 2006; St Germain and Sibbeston, 2007). The geographic variation highlights the contextual nature of poverty which demands that approaches to eradicate it be as local as possible.
The issue of poverty in communities within or adjacent to protected areas has received a lot of attention in recent years (Kaltenborn, Nyahongo and Tingstad, 2005; Roe, Nelson and Sandbrook, 2009). Protected areas are zones of rich natural biodiversity, created specifically to protect biodiversity by displacing, excluding or limiting access of local inhabitants both physically and functionally (Nelson, 2000; West, Igoe and Brockington, 2006). The exclusionary nature means that people living in or adjacent to protected areas are denied access to an important natural resource base that they had relied on for their livelihoods for generations. Furthermore, there is evidence to show that it is the poorest in these communities who are most dependent on the natural resources and hence suffer the most (Kideghesho, 2008; Meshack, Ahdikkari, Doggart, and Lovett, 2006). Because the poor often resort to illegal access and utilization of resources in protected areas, poverty is now considered one of the greatest threats to conservation efforts and it is widely accepted that conservation goals will not be attained without addressing the issue of poverty in the adjacent communities (Adams, Aveling, Brockington, Dickson and Elliot, 2004; Roe et al., 2009). However, recent attempts to use protected areas as part of poverty reduction strategies, by allowing communities to participate in the management of and access to benefits from protected areas, have not been very successful (Roe et al., 2009).

The trend of persistent poverty particularly in rural areas, amid continued investment in anti-poverty programs often specifically targeting these poor marginalized areas, continues to baffle the development community. The World Bank acknowledges that its investment is failing to yield the intended results (World Bank, 2003). However, according to the World Bank “the way aid is delivered and not just its content has an important influence on its effectiveness” (World Bank, 2003: p1), suggesting that part of the problem may lie with how these poverty reduction strategies are implemented.

1.2 Problem Statement

Poor rural communities are increasingly expected to take the lead in developing and implementing their own poverty reduction programs. However, many such programs are failing to achieve their goal of reducing poverty raising questions about their effectiveness as poverty reduction strategies. There are some who blame the failure not on the programs per se but on the lack of adequate developmental conditions within the communities themselves. Surprisingly, community-driven poverty reduction programs continue to be developed and implemented without first establishing if the conditions in the community can support the implementation of such programs. Part of the problem could be because not much work has been done to describe how such an assessment can be undertaken. Therefore, the current research seeks to address this deficit by undertaking empirical work to describe a process for assessing
conditions that need to exist in the community in order to facilitate implementation of participatory poverty reduction programs.

1.3 Research Goal

The goal of this research is to describe the organizational and institutional foundations within traditional rural communities that support implementation of participatory community anti-poverty initiatives. The specific objectives of the project are:

1) To use the process of testing the implementation of a community poverty assessment and asset identification instrument in order to determine the levels of community mobilization, participation and analytical capacity
2) To assess community groups for competence to implement community poverty reduction programs
3) To determine if the problems in using protected areas to achieve anti-poverty goals are due to inadequate organizational and institutional developmental conditions at the level of the community

1.4 Overview of the thesis

The paper consists of six chapters. In this chapter, a rationale for the work was given culminating in research goals and objectives. Chapter Two outlines the literature that was reviewed including current approaches to development; community development especially the importance of community participation in poverty reduction programs; some of the factors affecting community participation with a particular focus on community competences. The review concludes with the development of a theoretical framework of community competence. In Chapter Three, the research methodology is presented including approaches taken to select the case studies, the data collection tools used and frameworks for data analysis. Ethical issues and limitations of the study methodology are also explained. Chapter Four is a description of the study areas and presentation of the cases. Research results as well as the analysis of the findings are presented in Chapter Five. Finally, Chapter Six presence an analytical framework for community competence developed based on the research findings, a discussion of the analytical framework in relation to the literature reviewed in Chapter Two as well as suggestions on how it can be applied as a diagnostic tool for community competence. The Chapter concludes with recommendations for future work. A bibliography is presented at the end followed by an Appendix section which includes all information that could not fit in the main body of the thesis.
2 Chapter Two Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews current literature on poverty with particular focus on poverty eradication strategies. While endeavoring to provide as much information as possible on the subject, it is also important to acknowledge the subject’s breadth which is beyond the scope of this study. This necessitates delimiting of the areas to be reviewed and topics selected are those seen to frame the study as closely and accurately as possible. Poverty is as much an issue in urban as in rural areas, but given that this study is for a rural planning and development program, attention will be on poverty reduction as it pertains to rural communities with a particular interest in communities adjacent to protected areas. Poverty reduction strategies are often better illustrated by the work of development organizations of which there is a multitude. However, for the purpose of this review, only a handful of organizations that represent development organizations actively involved in international rural development work were selected with the goal of identifying the concepts, paradigms or philosophy that shape their development strategies. Based on the review of these strategies, a framework of how the current development approaches relate to poverty eradication at the community level was developed.

People-centered development emerged as an over-arching theme in the development approaches of the development agencies that were reviewed. The basis of people-centered development is that communities must take charge of their own development. Therefore, the review looked at the concept of community participation, the different conceptualizations and how this has been achieved on the ground. Threads that emerged during the review, especially the issue of community competence and its link to community participation, were further explored leading to the development of a theoretical framework that explains community competence and how it can be assessed.

2.2 Defining Poverty

The definition of poverty is important because it determines how poverty is measured and the strategies for its eradication. Traditionally poverty was viewed as deprivation in the ability to consume material goods and services and consequently its measurement was based on income. However, since the early 1990s the concept of poverty has shifted from one narrowly defined in monetary terms to a broader
definition which encompasses deprivation in dimensions other than income such as education, health, access to assets, social exclusion, peace, and well-being. This new conceptualization of poverty was an attempt at defining poverty so that it captures the true experience of those living in it so as to allow for its accurate measurement and consequently the development of better targeted eradication strategies. Despite agreements on the multi-dimensional and highly complex nature of poverty its precise definition remains a contested issue (O’Boyle, 1999; Wagle, 2008). Nevertheless, the United Nations provides a comprehensive definition of poverty which states that:

Poverty has various manifestations, including lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure livelihoods; hunger and malnutrition; ill health; limited or lack of education and other basic services; increased morbidity and mortality from illness; homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments; and social discrimination and exclusion. It is also characterized by a lack of participation in decision-making and in civil, social and cultural life (The United Nation, 1995, resolution 1, annex II para. 19).

This multidimensional conceptualization of poverty has had a huge impact on the formulation of poverty eradication strategies. In the next section poverty eradication strategies adopted by some of the prominent international development organizations will be reviewed.

### 2.3 Approaches to development – poverty eradication strategies among the major international development agencies

Since the end of the Second World War, development has been viewed as the antidote to poverty. Todaro defines development as:

A multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes and national institutions as well as acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty. Development, in essence, must represent the whole gamut of change by which an entire social system, tuned to the diverse basic needs and desires of individuals and social groups within that system, moves away from a condition of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory and towards a situation or condition of life regarded as materially and spiritually better (1985:85).

This definition indeed suggest that development is the process that results in the eradication of poverty; and resonates well with the new conceptualization of poverty as it points to such issues as the reduction in inequality, and social transformation in addition to eradication of income poverty through economic growth. Hence, in this review, development strategies will be equated to poverty eradication or anti-poverty strategies. But what concepts inform the current poverty eradication strategies and how are these applied on the ground in light of this new conceptualization of poverty? To answer this question, the following section examines approaches to development adopted by some of the leading international
development agencies. There are many development agencies that exist at various levels, from local to international, but only a few were selected primarily because of their wide global reach, their focus on poverty and also their emphasis or sole focus on rural poverty eradication. These are the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, the United Nations Development Program, the United Nations Children’s Fund, Oxfam, the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations and the International Fund for Agricultural Development.

2.3.1 The World Bank/International Monetary Fund and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are the two leading global financial institutions owned by 187 countries of the world. Commonly known as the Bretton Wood Institutions, the two share a lot of commonalities, including their operations, but do have distinct purposes. Driscoll acknowledged the difficulties in distinguishing the two and noted that “the Bank is primarily a development institution; the IMF is a cooperative institution that seeks to maintain an orderly system of payments and receipts between nations” (Driscoll, 1996: para 4). Put simply, they offer technical and financial assistance to member countries and have a specific focus in helping fight poverty in developing countries. On its website, the World Bank states its mission as “to fight poverty with passion and professionalism for lasting results and to help people help themselves and their environment by providing resources, sharing knowledge, building capacity and forging partnerships in the public and private sectors” (World Bank, 2011: para1). In addition to providing technical and financial assistance to member countries facing financial difficulties, the International Monetary Fund provides policy guidance to developing countries to ensure macroeconomic stability and reduce poverty (International Monetary Fund, 2011: para2). For the purposes of this discussion the two are treated as one because the principles that guide their development strategies are the same.

For the past decade the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) have embodied the anti-poverty strategies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). According to the World Bank document Poverty Manual- Introduction to Poverty Analysis the anti-poverty strategies of the World Bank are classified into three activity areas which are 1) promoting opportunity for the poor through well-functioning and internationally open markets as well as investment in infrastructure and education, 2) facilitating empowerment of the poor by strengthening their participation in political processes and local decision making and by removing social and institutional barriers based on gender, ethnicity and social status biases and creating states and social institutions responsive and accountable to the poor, and 3) enhancing income security of the poor by reducing their vulnerability to economic
shocks, natural disasters, ill health, disability and violence (World Bank Institute, 2005). The PRSPs can be viewed as a way of making these anti-poverty strategies operational.

The PRSP is a process adopted by the World Bank and the IMF in 1999. Poor countries that need to access concessional lending facilities of the financial institutions, for example through the Highly Indebted Poor Country initiative, have to produce PRSPs which are detailed plans that set out the policies and programs (macro-economic, structural and social) the country intends to adopt in order to reduce poverty (Klugman, 2002). A major feature of the PRSP is that they are country-owned and country-driven; meaning that the country comes up with policies and programs that it believes will allow it to reduce poverty. However, the papers are still subject to review and approval by the World Bank and IMF and part of the review process is to ensure that the country programs and process indeed address and incorporate the financial institutions’ anti-poverty strategies and cover its key activity areas.

There are a number of key areas of content which the World Bank/IMF insists need to be adequately covered by each country in their PRSP. The key areas can be considered as the World Bank/IMF’s view of the root causes of poverty and as such need to be addressed in the fight against poverty. These are 1) Macro-economic and structural policies to support sustainable growth in which the poor participate, 2) Improvements in governance including public sector financial management, 3) Appropriate sectoral policies and programs, and 4) Realistic costing and appropriate levels of funding of the major programs (Klugman, 2002). The first three correspond to the key activity areas of improving opportunity, empowerment and reducing vulnerability while the fourth is an all encompassing point that ensures that programs and policies proposed are indeed realistic and therefore fundable.

The approach places great emphasis on economic growth as the best way to end poverty but still insists that all activities have to be pro-poor. The economic growth envisioned has even been termed pro-poor growth, insisting that economic growth is good for the poor (World Bank Institute, 2005). According to Levisohn (2003) much of the economic and structural policies advocated for to achieve sustained economic growth are the same pro-market policies that the IMF prescribed during the structural adjustment era: addressing issues of exchange controls, trade liberalization, regulatory market controls and labor market policies. The strategy also calls for privatization of public services, an increased role of the private sector with diminished role of the government in service provision (United Nations, 2009). However, recognizing the criticism leveled against an economic growth based model of fighting poverty, the World Bank/IMF insist that before implementing necessary economic reforms countries have to assess how these would impact the poor (Klugman, 2002).

While admitting that democracy per se has no impact on the incomes of the poor (World Bank Institute, 2005) the World Bank/IMF anti-poverty strategy still views good governance as important for ensuring the market system thrives. For good governance the financial institutions advocate for policies
that improve accountability, transparency in government spending and address corruption. Indeed, good governance can be seen as a way of ensuring the voices of the poor and marginalized are heard, but the support for good governance can also be viewed as a way to ensure the state provides an enabling environment for private enterprise and the market system to flourish. Despite being proponents of diminished state role this neoliberal ideology still requires a functional public sector to provide the support, such as infrastructure and human capacity, that will allow the private sector and markets to operate smoothly (United Nations, 2009).

However, the new conceptualization of poverty, which the Bank clearly embraces, goes beyond income poverty, which is addressed by economic growth. The World Bank and IMF address these other causes/forms of poverty through appropriate sectoral policies and programs. Most of what would be considered human development, that is contributions to human well-being that goes beyond gains in income such as health, education, social protection, freedom, is addressed under this strategy. How committed the World Bank and IMF are to invest in these other sectors is not clear and indeed the Bank admits that greater public spending on health or education have no measurable effect on the incomes of the poor (World Bank Institute, 2005). However, it is also important to note that as already noted above policies that support human development, such as education and health, are important for the success of the market system. As already mentioned the financial institutions have the final say on which policies and programs the country can really pursue and thus, indirectly are still setting the development agenda which is informed by a pro-market neoliberal ideology.

While the development approach is clear with regards to the outcomes expected, how these outcomes are achieved is often difficult to determine. The shift from the structural adjustment programs era of the 1980s was marked by a change in methodologies as well as the view of the role of the poor which gave rise to the concept of participation. First, as part of the PRSP processes, countries are required to assess and diagnose poverty, its causes and manifestations. With the broadening of the conceptualization of poverty the World Bank became interested in capturing all poverty dimensions, in addition to income, in the diagnosis/assessment of poverty. This led to the adoption of qualitative measures of poverty called participatory poverty assessments which allow the capture of non-quantifiable dimensions of poverty in the voices of those experiencing the poverty. Participatory poverty assessment (PPA) approaches have become an integral part of the PRSP process and several countries in Africa have implemented nationwide PPAs (Attwood and May, 1998; Dogbe, 1998; Owen, 1998; Milimo, Norton and Owen, 1998; Woodhouse, 2004). Second, the World Bank and IMF’s view of the role of the poor in the fight against poverty also shifted with an emphasis on participation of the poor at all stages, from planning to implementation and evaluation, of poverty reduction strategies and programs. Greater participation by the poor is thought to increase program ownership, which will lead to more sustainable
program impacts, and also empowerment of the participants. The question that remains is how participation can be achieved. So far the way participation has been implemented in World Bank sponsored PPAs has led to great criticism with some viewing it as tokenism with the poor contributing nothing much beyond the information demanded by those undertaking poverty assessments for example (Lardechi, 2001).

The verdict is still out as to what extent the PRSPs have so far achieved the goals of creating opportunity, empowerment and enhancing income security for the poor. The United Nations report *Rethinking Poverty: Report on the World Situation 2010*, criticized the World Bank/IMF economic growth-centered policies as not being pro-poor (United Nations, 2009). According to the UN document economic growth can only be pro-poor if there is equitable distribution of the growth, and this is often not guaranteed in the programs and policies implemented. Redistribution can only be guaranteed through public spending on social services or set redistributive fiscal policies, which the PRSPs discourage in the pursuit of market-driven economic growth (United Nations, 2009).

### 2.3.2 The United Nations Development Program and the Human Development Approach

According to its website, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) is considered the United Nations’ main provider of development advice, advocacy and grant support (UNDP, 2011). It states that its focus is to assist countries build and share solutions to challenges of democratic governance and poverty reduction, among other things. The UNDP operates in 177 countries and is actively involved in coordinating national and global efforts to ensure countries achieve the Millennium Development Goal of halving poverty by the year 2015 (UNDP, 2011).

The United Nations Development Program adopted the human development approach as a strategy for poverty reduction and published the first Human Development Report in 1990; since then the Human Development Report has been published annually. According to the human development paradigm the goal of development is to enlarge people’s choices and enhance human capabilities. This strategy emerged partly as a response to growing criticism of the market-driven structural adjustment programs. Unlike the structural adjustment programs approach which assumed an inherent link between national economic growth and expansion of individual human choices the human development paradigm sees economic growth as one of many factors that will contribute to expansion of human choices. However, the link between economic growth and enlargement of human choices is not inherent but requires conscious effort to establish.
Mahbub ul Haq, the late Pakistani economist, is credited with formulating the human development paradigm as an alternative development model by expanding on Amartya Sen’s human capabilities concept (UNDP, 2011b). Human capabilities are the range of things that people can do or can be in life and some of these accomplishments are not reflected, either immediately or ever, in income or growth figures and thus extend beyond economic well-being (Haq cited in UNDP, 2011c). These include access to knowledge, better nutrition and health, more secure livelihoods, security against crime and physical violence, satisfying leisure hours and freedoms, political and cultural; and a sense of participation in community activities. The basic purpose of development should be to expand people’s choices, not to accumulate wealth, and an absolute requirement in enlarging human choices is the building of these human capabilities. The view of the human development approach is that while income level of society matters, what matters more is how well that income is translated into human lives. For example per capita income level that is high does not necessarily translate into human capabilities such as high literacy rate or life expectancy.

Haq (1995) admits that while it is possible that expansion of income can enlarge all other choices, often this does not happen for a number of reasons. First, in most societies economic growth does not trickle down, resulting in inequitable distribution of income. Second, the choices made by national governments, such as guns over butter, elitist versus egalitarian model of development, will distort any anticipated benefits from income expansion on human lives. Third, there are other kinds of human choices that do not require accumulation of wealth at all, such as democracy, or equality of men and women. This means that more often than not, the link between human choices and income need to be consciously made through deliberate public policies such as public spending on social services and fiscal policy to redistribute income and assets. Hence, the human development approach recognizes the central role played by the state in expanding human choices.

The human development paradigm has four essential components which are considered to distinguish the approach from more traditional economic growth models. These are equity, sustainability, productivity and empowerment. Development should have equity in opportunities for it to enlarge human choices (Haq, 1995). Equity in access to political and economic opportunities must be seen as a basic human right but achieving it may require restructuring of both political and economic power so as to remove barriers to entry into the economic and political spheres by the poor and all marginalized groups. Such transformative changes can only be achieved through state designed public policies.

Sustainability, while often viewed as a complex concept, is defined as ensuring that the next generation enjoys at least the same well-being that is presently enjoyed. The focus should be on sustainability of human opportunities. Sustainability should also be viewed as dynamic; the goal is not to leave the natural world in the exact same state that we found it but it should be able to sustain the same or
better quality of life for the next generation. Achieving productivity would require investing in people to build human capabilities (Haq, 1995). In addition, for these capabilities to enlarge human choices an enabling macroeconomic environment that allows people to participate and achieve their full potential is needed. Therefore, the human development approach seeks not only to expand the human capabilities but also for people to use those capabilities in the economic arena for their own fulfillment. Economic growth should not be an end itself but a means to allow people to achieve the ends of realizing their opportunities.

Empowerment is very central to the human development paradigm and according to Haq (1995), means that people are able to exercise their own free will. Empowerment enables people to participate in the activities, events and processes that shape their lives; no longer are the poor treated as charity cases (Griffin and McKinley, 1992). However, it is also recognized that empowerment does not come naturally but requires investment in people, for example through education and health, so that people can take full advantage of opportunities, including market opportunities. Conditions that facilitate empowerment include political democracy, economic liberalism, decentralization of power and an active civil society, especially non-governmental organizations. Griffin and McKinley (1992) called for decentralization with devolution of power. They also focused on the instrumentality of decentralization particularly in formulating and implementing policies and programs within the human development framework. Strong grassroots organizations are proposed through which people can actively participate in formulating and implementing development policies and programs. Participation at this level will ensure programs and policies reflect local needs, aspirations and values and such policies are likely to be supported. In addition, shifting planning and implementation responsibilities from the central and local government to the grassroots groups is thought to reduce public service costs. Griffin and McKinley (1992) consider the centrality of grassroots participation as a key distinguishing feature of the human development approach.

While Haq (1995) provided a conceptual understanding of the human development paradigm, Griffin and McKinley (1992) focused more on how the approach can be made operational. They begin by recommending putting people first by stating the objectives, at the policy and program formulation stage, in terms of enhancement of human capabilities. Ideally, policy and program objectives should be as disaggregated as possible, for example by social class, gender, region, rural versus urban and so on. Because of the many aspects of individual or society well-being, when assessing progress of these policies and programs all the aspects need to be assessed, a requirement which may be difficult given the level of disaggregation of data and the difficulty of measuring some of these aspects of human well-being.

Human development is seen as having two sides, the build-up of human capabilities and the use of those acquired capabilities which represent access to opportunities. In evaluating human development it is considered important to assess the transfer or use of capabilities in accessing opportunities. There
should also be a careful distinction between means and ends so that expansion of Gross National Product (GNP) is not treated as an end but rather as a means to expand human options. Questions should be how GNP growth translates into literacy or life expectancy, in order to establish how economic growth is enriching human life. Even though they may be difficult to assess social, cultural and political factors must not be overshadowed by economic factors (Haq, 1995). Ultimately, development under the human development paradigm is measured using the human development index (HDI), which is a composite index. The HDI combines three human development indicators: health represented by life expectancy, educational attainment and income into a single statistic allowing for cross-country comparisons to be made (UNDP, 2011d). Very similar to the HDI is the Canadian Index of Well being (CIW), developed by the Canadian Index of Wellbeing Network based at the University of Waterloo. Like the HDI, the CIW recognizes that growth in GNP does not translate into a better life for all people and measures performance on eight domains which give rise to a single composite index, the CIW (Canadian Index of Wellbeing Network, 2009).

In Haq’s words, what differentiates other economic growth models from the human development paradigm is that “the first focuses exclusively on the expansion of only one choice-income- while the second embraces the enlargement of all human choices-whether social, economic, cultural or political” (Haq, 1995: pp14). This, of course, was articulated during the SAP period, prior to the World Bank’s move to the Comprehensive Development Framework and associated PRSPs and indeed the World Bank appears to have embraced some of the human development tenets in its own more economic growth centered anti-poverty strategy. But most importantly, the UNDP’s human development approach recognizes the state, through public policy initiatives, as the main driver of development and hence poverty alleviation.

2.3.3 The United Nations Children’s Fund and the Human Rights Approach

The United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) is a UN agency that focuses on child survival and development and is a leading advocate for children’s rights. It has often aligned itself with NGOs in opposing World Bank imposed macro-economic policies and challenging irresponsible corporations (Sogge, 2009). UNICEF claims to have a very strong field presence; it operates in 190 countries (UNICEF, 2008)). Country offices carry out mission activities through programs of cooperation with the host governments.

The development of the human rights approach came about partly as a result of the United Nations reforms initiated in 1997. The theoretical underpinnings as well as conceptual frameworks of this approach as applied within UNICEF are detailed in the report by Jonsson (2003) entitled Human Rights
Approach to Development. Heeding calls by the then UN Secretary General Kofi Annan that human rights be made a priority in all programs and missions of the United Nations a number of UN agencies produced guidelines for streamlining human rights into their programming. However, for UNICEF human rights became the fulcrum of its work particularly with the rights of children and women and adopted it as its approach to development.

Human rights are enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the two International Covenants which are the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPRs) and the International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights (ICSECRs), as well as various UN Conventions such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). These two Conventions are central to UNICEF’s work on the rights of children and women. While CPRs are treated as specific demands that must be fulfilled at all costs, the attitude towards SECRs is that their fulfillment depends on resource availability. Social, economic and cultural rights are, therefore, easily violated as countries often site lack of resources as reason for not upholding them. Some countries such as the USA even refuse to ratify Conventions that include social, economic, and cultural rights such as CRC (Jonsson, 2003). The UN’s position, however, is that SECRs and CPRs are equal based on the key human rights principles of universality (they can be claimed by every human being and must be enjoyed without discrimination), indivisibility and interdependence (they are all equal, hence cannot be ranked in hierarchical order and fulfillment of one often depends on fulfillment of others), and inalienability (they cannot be taken away).

UNICEF began giving operational meaning to the term human rights approach to programming in 1998 (UNICEF, 1998). Tomas defined the human rights approach as “a framework for the pursuit of human development that is normatively based on, and operationally directed to, the development of capacities to realize human rights” (Tomas, 2005: pp7). In articulating the human rights approach human rights are viewed as claims to be made by individuals or groups (claim-holders) against those with an obligation or duty to provide those claims (duty-bearers). Duty-bearers have the responsibility not only to provide or fulfill rights, but also to respect and protect them. It is this relationship between the claim-holders and the duty-bearers, also called the pattern of rights, which forms the basis of the human rights approach to programming (Jonsson, 2003).

Central to the human rights approach to development is that duty-bearers must be identified and held accountable in order for the right to be realized. The ultimate duty-bearer is the state, which by ratifying Conventions becomes legally bound to respect, protect and fulfill all the rights enshrined in the Convention. Neoliberal policies that call for a reduced role of government in favor of nongovernmental and private organizations undermine the function of the state as the ultimate duty-bearer and jeopardize the rights of many. Private organizations in particular may be efficient but are under no obligations to
ensure actions are executed ethically to achieve an outcome. With NGOs a major concern is accountability; they are seen as accountable to their boards not claim-holders (Jonsson, 2003). UNICEF, therefore, advocates for working with the state in the realization of the rights of children and women. For accountability to hold three conditions need to be fulfilled: responsibility, authority and resources. The duty-bearer must accept the responsibility of providing the right; acceptance can be expressed or implied from conduct or assumed roles that raise legitimate expectations from the claim-holder. The duty-bearer must also have the authority to carry out the duty and lack of authority may suggest that power is vested in someone else and may require a change in power relations (Jonsson, 2003). The duty-bearer must also have access to and control of resources to allow them to fulfill the claims.

Capacity is a key concept in the human rights approach and applies to both claim-holders and duty-bearers. Claim-holders must have the capacity to claim their right and duty-bearer should be capable of fulfilling the claim. Duty-bearers can only be held accountable for fulfilling the duty if they have the necessary capabilities to do so. Communication is vital to the process of realizing rights; it is seen as both a capacity and a right (Jonsson, 2003). It is an integral part of community life but the pattern of communication often reflects underlying power relations and the extent to which human rights are realized. The human rights approach views communication as a bi-directional flow between the claim-holders and duty-bearers. Claim-holders need to be able to communicate their claims to duty-bearers equally and effectively and duty-bearers need to be able to listen and respond to those claims. Women and children and other marginalized groups are often unable to express their claims to duty-bearers and thus often have their rights violated. The human rights approach seeks to provide communication interventions that give voice to the claim-holders who cannot speak equally and effectively so as to increase their participation in decision making process that affects their lives, and also to build listening skills of the duty-bearers so that they are able to incorporate the views of the marginalized in decision making. Interventions can include helping open up new, effective communication channels and facilitating communication among claim-holders so that they can reach a consensus first and then be able to present it to duty-bearers for inclusion in decision making. Strengthening communication capacity in this way allows a process by which claim-holders are able to set the development agenda and not the duty-bearers. Hence, the capacity to communicate leads to empowerment (Jonsson, 2003).

In articulating the theoretical components of the human rights approach to development, UNICEF recognizes two objectives of development which are 1) achieving desirable outcomes and 2) establishing an adequate process to achieve and sustain that outcome (Jonsson, 2003). Some desirable outcomes for UNICEF include health, education, and nutritional goals. However, under the human rights approach high-quality processes are called for to achieve the outcomes and essential characteristics of high-quality processes include participation, local ownership, empowerment and sustainability. According to Jonsson
the issue of process is where the human rights approach differs markedly from the human development approach adopted by UNDP. The view is that the human development approach is very effective at evaluating outcomes but not measuring the processes by which those outcomes are reached and part of the problem is attributed to the lack of good indicators to assess concepts such as participation, empowerment and sustainability.

As an approach that stresses process in achieving development, the human rights approach presents a clearly defined process for implementing the strategy called the Triple A process, derived from assessment, analysis and action. This is an iterative decision-making process involving the assessment of problems, the analysis of the causes and the taking of actions to reduce or resolve the problems then reassessing, reanalysis and coming up with new actions. The human rights approach argues that the Triple A process already happens in everyday life of all people, including marginalized people who have to constantly assess, analyze, take action as part of their normal coping mechanisms. As they go through this process, actors are constantly improving their capabilities as new information is received and processed. Since this capacity to engage in the Triple A process exists already the human rights approach seeks to strengthen this capacity among all actors so that they can undertake the Triple A process more effectively. For example, provision of information can strengthen the capacity to undertake assessment; analysis can be strengthened through education while training and service provision can be strategies to help with action.

The term capacity development is preferred to capacity building because according to Jonsson (2003), development agencies rarely deal with situations where no capacity exists at all. Hence, what is needed is capacity development to strengthen already existing capacity. While capacity development is required at all levels of society because all individuals have rights and duties, all need the capacity to claim and fulfill the duties, UNICEF focuses capacity development at the household and community level because this is where most manifestations of human rights violations are clearly visible (Jonsson, 2003). Thus, the human rights approach to development focuses on 1) establishing the pattern of rights within society, by identifying duty-bearers and holding them accountable so that rights of women and children in particular are respected, protected and fulfilled and, 2) community capacity development with the goal of strengthening the capacity to assess and analyze which ultimately lead to claim-holders being empowered to effectively claim their rights from duty-bearers and duty-bearers being able to meet those claims. Its strength is in focusing on both outcomes and processes. The human rights approach focuses less on economic growth, markets and incomes and more on human well-being which it feels can be achieved by holding duty-bearers, especially the state accountable.
2.3.4 Oxfam and the Rights Based Approaches

Oxfam is a confederation of 15 national Oxfams, such as Oxfam Canada, which operate in 98 countries. Oxfam’s role and approach to development is probably best summed up by a caption on its website which says “we believe we can end poverty and injustice, as part of a global movement for change” (Oxfam International, 2011). Oxfam is an advocacy organization that takes a human rights approach to helping the poor gain voices so that they can influence decisions that affect their lives and livelihoods.

The adoption of the rights based approach by Oxfam marked a significant departure from the basic needs approach it had applied before. This was partly in response to the realization that this service delivery-based approach had failed to reduce poverty and an acknowledgement that what had all along been viewed as basic needs are in fact human rights and according to the human rights principles, lack of fulfillment signify violation (Offenheiser and Holcombe, 2003). Even though the UN recognizes all human rights as equal, as mentioned before, rights falling under the economic, social and cultural spectrum are often ignored. Yet most of the human needs that development organizations, including Oxfam, are concerned with fall under this spectrum of human rights.

As part of its shift from the basic needs approach, Oxfam decided to make social and economic rights the basis of all its development work (Offenheiser and Holcombe, 2003). In its operations Oxfam applies the human rights based approach to address five goals: right to sustainable livelihoods, right to basic social services with a focus on education, right to life and security, right to be heard (social and political citizenship) and the right to an identity, that is, gender and diversity (Offenheiser and Holcombe, 2003; Rand and Watson, 2007).

As it moved to a rights-based approach, Oxfam had to address and redefine some common conceptualizations of human rights. First, Oxfam addressed the issue of the state as the ultimate duty-bearer. Through signing up to international laws and ratifying international conventions, the state is seen as accepting the responsibility to respect, protect and fulfill human rights enshrined in those laws and conventions (Jonsson, 2003). In Oxfam’s view, the problem with making human rights state-centered is that it prevents non-state actors, who could be instrumental in reproduction of poverty, from being held accountable for any violations of human rights. This is especially critical at a time when the role of the state has been diminished by neoliberal pro-market policies as well as globalization. Continuing to treat the state as the ultimate duty-bearer “shields other actors (private sector and international institutions) from responsibility and leaves the poor and the human rights movement fighting with both hands tied behind their backs” (Offenheiser and Holcombe, 2003: pp 275). To address this, Oxfam bases human rights on the foundation of human dignity which transcends all customary or agreed-on rights and no actor, state or non-state, can escape from being held accountable for violating human dignity. This view
of the state is one of the distinguishing characteristics between Oxfam’s rights based approach and that adopted by UNICEF which views the state as the ultimate duty-bearer.

Offenheiser and Holcombe (2003) present the rights-based approach as empowering the marginalized because it changes the way people view their relationship with the government and other actors. No one is viewed as too powerful to be challenged; all problems can be viewed as violations and violations demand accountability and explanations. In searching for answers, citizens are able to ask persistent why questions which allow motives behind violations to be exposed thus digging deeper to the root cause of poverty and its reproduction.

Development organizations adopting the human rights based approach employ different methods such as policy analysis, advocacy and capacity building of both claim-holders and duty-bearers (Rand and Watson, 2007). Oxfam’s focus is mostly on advocacy which involves lobbying and campaigning for the rights it views as being violated within the social, economic and cultural spectrum. For example, Oxfam has lobbied for making pharmaceuticals for HIV/AIDs treatment affordable and also held education campaigns, declaring that basic education was a basic human right (Offenheiser and Holcombe, 2003). As part of the advocacy work, the organization still pursues capacity development of claim-holders and duty-bearers, but especially claim-holders so that they can be their own advocates, demanding accountability for violations of their rights.

Oxfam utilizes two basic models for its rights based development interventions. The first focuses on the national level, in which civil society is there to shape the relationship between the state and the economy or business sector. Civil society has the right to interfere in this relationship because it is from civil society that the state gets its mandate and legitimacy. The legislative process provides the arena for negotiations, but often civil society has difficulty finding room on this negotiating table (Offenheiser and Holcombe, 2003). Oxfam focuses on supporting civil society and others excluded from the legislative process so that they can find ways to influence the state/business sector negotiations on social and economic issues. This often entails identifying and tackling barriers that exclude civil society and the marginalized from full participation in the negotiation process. The model can be scaled down to other levels of government and also up to a global scale. A second development intervention model focuses on global governance where the main actors are the United Nations, the international financial institutions and the World Trade Organization interacting with the global economy (Offenhesier and Holcombe, 2003). Oxfam’s view is that representatives of private capital as well as certain states that represent powerful actors have unlimited access to negotiate with these bodies. On the other hand civil society and the world citizenry are largely excluded. Oxfam’s focus is to build a strong global civil citizenry to lobby on behalf of the voiceless global citizens.
Essential elements of rights based approach tend to be very similar across organizations that have adopted the approach and were described in detail by Watson and Rand (2007). These include community or people-centered approaches; focus on capacity building/development, working through partnerships, working at multiple levels (local, national and international), advocacy and focus on marginalized groups and most importantly having problems framed as rights issues. Community-centered implies empowerment. The right based approaches recognize the capacity of the poor to determine their own future and what they seek to do is to provide support so that individuals or communities can be empowered to effectively influence public policy for their benefit. Oxfam prides itself in its community presence and its efforts to engage the local actors in development interventions, ensuring that development is contextual and is defined by the poor themselves. According to Offenheiser and Holcombe (2003) this recognizes that outsiders cannot adequately imagine the situation confronting the poor. A similar rights based approach is also applied by other development organizations such as CARE International and World Vision (Rand and Watson, 2007). However, as the next discussion shows, often organizations do not adopt one strategy but rather adopt several strategies to be used in different contexts or even combine elements of various approaches to be applied at any one particular point.

2.3.5 The Food and Agricultural Organization and the People-Centered, No-name Approach

The Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) is a specialized agency of the United Nations which, according to Sogge (2009), is mandated to provide governments with information and policy advice on nutrition, food, agriculture and rural development. It has four main activity areas which are: 1) putting information within reach by serving as a knowledge network which can be accessed globally, 2) sharing policy expertise wherein it uses its years of experience and expert staff to help countries formulate effective agricultural and other policies that lead to food security, 3) providing a meeting place where all nations can meet as equals to negotiate and debate policy issues and 4) bringing knowledge to the field through implementing projects, often with funding from other organizations, across the world (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2011). It is primarily within the fourth activity area that FAO is directly involved in rural development. Attempts to identify the development approach guiding FAO’s development programming yields a complex array of labels. However, the term people-centered development seems to be the official characterization by which FAO describes its myriad of approaches (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2005; Baumann, Bruno, Cleary, Dubois and Flores, 2004). According to FAO (2005), people-centered development is an umbrella term that covers a wide range of approaches such as the sustainable
livelihoods approach, Farming Systems, Economic and Gender Analysis, Gestion de Terriers, Integrated Rural Development, Market Analysis, Development for Community-Based Tree and Forest Product Enterprise, Participatory Development Approach, Farmer Field School and many others.

While it would be tempting to get into details on some of these approaches, especially the highly publicized sustainable livelihood approach (SLA), this would erroneously assume its prominence over other approaches. In fact despite the high publicity, operationalization of the SLA appears to still be at the development stages (FAO, 2005; Scoones, 1998; Scoones, 2009). There are certain key principles that are common to all people-centered approaches and these were described in detail (Baumann et al., 2004; FAO, 2005). According to Baumann et al. (2004) people-centered approaches require projects to be participatory in order to draw the poor into the decision making circle; consultative so that design and implementation of projects reflect the aspirations of the local people; multi-level by being operational at the individual, household, community, national and international levels; multi-linkage by building and working through linkages and partnerships; holistic; flexible; empowering; gender sensitive and sustainable. An important point to note is that despite mentioning that projects have to be participatory, FAO appears to contradict itself by suggesting that the primary task of designing, and implementing development projects remains with the development organization. This raises the question of the form of participation envisioned by FAO.

According to FAO (2005) its people-centered development focuses on improving the quality of people’s livelihoods and incomes. The focus on livelihoods has often resulted in these approaches being called livelihood-type approaches (Baumann et al., 2004). Agriculture is now recognized not to be the only or mainstay of rural people’s survival strategy, instead both off-farm and non-farm livelihood strategies are important, as part of diversification strategies or as the sole means of livelihood. The focus on livelihoods has brought within the development fold landless and asset-less people who were otherwise sidelined by the traditional land-based and asset-based, production oriented development agenda that had no room for people earning their living outside of an agricultural base. FAO moved from a production-centered development approach to focus on food-security.

People are no longer seen as passive participants in predominantly technology transfer projects but rather as the core actors in development, actively participating in decision making and shaping the development agenda. Participation in decision making and empowerment have been closely linked with decentralization and issues of institutional governance. Not only is the emphasis on the people but the goal is to focus on the most marginalized so that they can be supported in identifying and demanding what they need in order to change their conditions. While this may sound like the human-rights based approach discussed before, FAO employees who were interviewed by Baumann et al., (2004) expressed FAO’s reluctance to be involved in political or human rights issues in development, such as addressing
issues of access to water or land. This reluctance to engage in local political issues is consistent with the way FAO identifies itself as a “neutral forum where all nations meet as equals to negotiate agreements and debate policy” (FAO, 2011: para1).

According to an in-depth internal review of development approaches within FAO by Baumann et al., (2004) two trends characterize the nature of development programming culture at FAO: pluralism and syncretism. Pluralism was described as the co-existence of different approaches to development and was attributed to three main factors. First, multiple approaches exist because of the many mandates and technical specializations of the many divisions and services within FAO. Each tends to select and utilize an approach best suited to their needs. Second, FAO operates in different regions of the world and sometimes has to adopt approaches common to the operational area. The third cause of pluralism is the diversity of the interests and preferences of the officers working at FAO. Syncretism was defined as an “internal and evolutionary creation of a mixed and distinctive approach which captures various elements of the different approaches and then pragmatically combines them in an ad hoc synthesis” (Baumann et al., 2004: pp24). The result is that no single approach is identifiable but rather development programming reflects bits and pieces from various approaches and the combination of elements used will vary temporally and spatially. It would seem as if the syncretism characteristic is more dominant in FAO than pluralism with the result that FAO’s development approach has also been named the “no-name approach” (Baumann et al., 2004). One FAO personnel described the no-name approach as “one that is not systematic but draws on general experience, broad participatory principles, and sector-specific methods. Missions are too short for anything else to work” (Baumann et al., 2004: pp24). Hence, FAO adopts pluralistic or combination of approaches to development that have a common theme of being people-centered; development fits what the people want instead of the people fitting into the needs of a set development approach.

2.3.6 The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)

Like FAO, the International Fund for Agricultural Development is a specialized agency of the United Nations. Sogge (2009) described IFAD as a small international bank for member states. According to its website, IFAD works with governments of developing countries to formulate rural development programs and projects, and help finance them by providing low-interest loans and grants (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 2011). Its goal is to enable poor rural women and men to overcome their own poverty (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 2007).

There appears to be no clear label to apply to IFAD’s approach to development but, the organization has a number of what it calls principles of engagement that it considers as central to its
operations. These are: selectivity and focus; targeting; empowerment; innovation, learning and scaling up; effective partnerships and sustainability (IFAD, 2007). A number of these principles are quite similar to elements that characterize development approaches already discussed for other organizations such that it is logical to focus on the principles in order to understand the what and how of IFAD’s engagement in the fight against poverty. In this section a brief summary of the principles will be presented, based primarily on the IFAD publication: *IFAD Strategic Framework 2007-2010* (IFAD, 2007).

IFAD applies the principle of selectivity and focus; it uses its mandate, experience and comparative advantage to frame its areas of focus. According to the Strategic Framework document, IFAD's focus is on helping poor rural people, dependent directly or indirectly on agriculture production, access better economic opportunities, better marketing opportunities and will support institutional transformation. Based on the principle of selectivity, IFAD only works in rural areas. The organization does not provide emergency relief but will work towards recovery efforts and only within the areas of its mandate. The provision of social services such as health, formal education and portable water, are outside IFAD's area of expertise and experience. Hence, the organization will only provide these at very limited capacity and if such a service is identified as a priority area by the community or if it will enhance the success of IFAD’s larger project activities. Policy issues will be addressed if they fall within agriculture and rural development (IFAD, 2007).

Targeting helps IFAD reach the right segments of the population with whom it is mandated to work. IFAD is mandated to work with the rural poor and those experiencing food insecurity in developing countries. The goal is to reach the extreme poor who, as defined under the Millennium Development Goals, live below the poverty line of less than $1.25 a day and "have the potential to take advantage of improved access to assets and opportunities for agricultural production and rural income-generating activities" (IFAD, 2007: pp27). As a bank, IFAD appears to be concerned with issues of returns on its investment and thus potential is important. At times poverty exists in specific pockets geographically or socially. In Asia and Latin America for example, IFAD specifically targets indigenous groups and ethnic minorities as these tend to be the poorest and most marginalized. Gender targeting is also very important and in particular IFAD targets women because they tend to have less access to assets and services than men and are generally excluded from decision making. IFAD sees confronting women's inequality as having the biggest potential to unlock vast production potential which can have a significant impact on reducing poverty. Mostly in Africa, IFAD also targets orphans and child-headed households, victims of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. IFAD’s targeting efforts aim to be consistent with the government's PRSPs so that what IFAD does is in line with development priorities and strategies identified locally.

IFAD's approach to empowering the rural poor is through helping them build and expand individual and collective capacities. Similar to all the approaches already described, IFAD takes a
people-centered approach with the belief that "poor rural women and men should be enabled to overcome poverty themselves" (IFAD, 2007: pp27). Individually, the poor are assisted to develop a range of skills that allow them to take advantage of economic opportunities, but while it recognizes that individual capacities are important, IFAD believes in strength in numbers. According to IFAD, it is in groups or organization that the poor have enough strength and capacity to manage assets, access economic services, engage in policy making and negotiate with service providers as well as for access to better markets (IFAD, 2007). Hence, IFAD helps communities organize and assists in building capacities of the organizations. Organizations may consist of the entire community or be segments of the community such as youth groups, women groups or water users associations.

According to IFAD, all aspects of their interventions have to be innovative including methodologies, institutional arrangements and technologies. Furthermore, IFAD seeks strategies for scaling up those innovations seen to work from the project level to the country level. Development of strong partnerships is very important to IFAD as it lacks a strong field presence and often has to implement programs through other actors. IFAD works through partnerships with national governments, international development organizations, NGOs and local groups and organizations and depends on these partnerships for scaling up project activities. When necessary, IFAD also works to strengthen capacities of its partners.

Sustainability is viewed on two fronts, natural resource base sustainability for which IFAD will conduct environmental impact assessments wherever necessary to ensure that projects/programs have no damaging effect to the natural environment, and sustainability of project impacts (IFAD, 2007). Several strategies allow IFAD to ensure that project impacts last beyond the end of the project implementation phase. First, IFAD will ensure that enough attention is paid to initiation of projects as well as review of implementation so that it can be established early if the project is achieving the desired impact. Where necessary, IFAD may remain active after the end of the normal project lifespan or have follow-up projects to keep the momentum. A key strategy for ensuring sustainability is by making projects locally owned and locally relevant. This includes supporting local ownership of the project by the poor themselves, fostering project support by national leadership and aligning projects with national development policies. IFAD’s approach to development echoes approaches described for the other organizations in that it adopts similar concepts such empowerment, capacity building, sustainability and a focus on the poor people themselves.
2.4 Relating the approaches to development to the community

The community is at the center of most discussions on poverty eradication and development because it is at the community level that individuals and families are identifiable thus making it a logical point of entry for discharge of poverty eradication interventions. The community is also where most strategies are supposed to derive their impact. In summing up the literature on approaches to development, it is, therefore, important to establish how the various development approaches relate to the community.

Based on the preceding discussion, a very simplistic conceptualization of the relationship between the various strategies and the community was developed (Figure 2-1). What this depicts are two main drivers of development, the markets and public policy initiatives. Both are situated at the national (or global) level but want to target the community, shown in the center. They exist on different poles relative to the community. Anti-poverty or development strategies are developed based on one of these drivers, but rarely is an approach entirely embedded in one. The degree of embeddedness is modulated by the incorporation of the many cross-cutting themes such as empowerment, decentralization, gender sensitivity, participation, and sustainability within the development approach. Hence, the conceptualization suggests that approaches exist on a spectrum from a market-driven pole to the community or from a public policy-driven pole to the community. Approaches that adopt and effectively implement more of the cross-cutting themes will move closer to the community and further from the pole than those that do not.

The World Bank and IMF are depicted closer to the market pole because of their focus on market-driven economic growth (Figure 2-1). However, they are not entirely embedded in the markets; they have moved themselves closer to the community by incorporating or advocating for some of the cross-cutting themes, especially participation, local ownership and empowerment. These concepts are adopted because they make development people-centered. The UNDP is closest to the public policy initiatives pole because, even though it recognizes the importance of economic growth for human development, it considers public policy indispensable because public policy is needed to ensure that the economic growth is transformed into human achievements.

The two specialized agencies of the UN, namely FAO and IFAD, are placed after UNDP and closer to the community. FAO and IFAD both have no clearly defined development approach; they are still people-centered and implement most of the cross-cutting themes. They both have a rural bias, are more community focused than UNDP because of their attention to people’s livelihoods. They still retain elements of economic development in that they see improved productivity and income as a way of increasing food security and well-being. However, they are more aligned to the public policy pole than the market pole.
Unlike the UNDP which emphasizes the role of the state in setting public policy both FAO and IFAD work with the state almost on a neutral basis, by ensuring that their development agendas align with those of the host government but avoid advocating on policy issues. The two organizations that adopt the human rights approaches to development, Oxfam and UNICEF are closest to the community (Figure 2-1). Both have a strong advocacy element where they challenge and hold accountable the state and other identified duty-holders to ensure that people’s needs, framed as rights, are met. For this reason they tend to align themselves with grassroots organizations and therefore are closer to the community.

People-centeredness emerges as an over-arching theme in the current anti-poverty discourse (Figure 2-1). The overall goal is for people to be in charge of setting their development agenda and be the drivers of anti-poverty strategies. But how this goal can be achieved at the community level, especially in the developing world context remains poorly defined. In a critical analysis of community anti-poverty strategies Strier had this to say about the disconnection between national or higher level anti-poverty strategies and the community:
The study of anti-poverty strategies, however, focuses mostly on the role of global and national policies in poverty reduction. As a result of this disparity in scholarly attention, the role of the community in the war on poverty remains ambiguous and the link between the ‘community’ concept and the ‘anti-poverty strategy’ construct remains underdeveloped (Strier, 2009: pp1064).

This information gap on community anti-poverty strategies means that development organizations have little to work with in order for their approaches to be implementable at the community level. For the most part, anti-poverty objectives and expected outcomes are easier to develop, but where scholarly discourse will have the greatest impact is in helping articulate processes for successfully implementing anti-poverty strategies at the community level. The following two sub-sections explore further the concept of community anti-poverty strategies and specifically focus on how it has been applied in poverty eradication programs for communities adjacent to protected areas.

2.4.1 Community anti-poverty strategies

According to Strier (2009), community level anti-poverty strategies have received very little attention in academic discourse and the concept remains poorly articulated. He noted that the concept of community anti-poverty strategies is difficult to define and articulate and attributed this difficulty to the discursive nature of its components. Both community and poverty are terms that have multiple meanings and interpretations. Strier (2009) came up with five different ways that community anti-poverty strategies can be conceptualized, each of which has several interpretations and these are summarized in Table 2-1. Interestingly, some of the conceptualizations are evident in the approaches adopted by the international development organizations discussed earlier and these are shown highlighted in grey (Table 2-1).

Focusing on poverty yields two conceptualizations, based on the goals to be achieved by the strategy, or based on theories of poverty. Theories of poverty have greatly influenced approaches taken against poverty. For example, individual theories suggest that when people are poor because they are unable to find work, despite their willingness, then solutions are to provide them with training or education, that is, building their human capacities. Alternatively, an inability to work that is linked to socio-psychological incapacitation calls for therapeutic interventions. The rest of the conceptualizations are derived from the concept of community: the way a community is defined; prevailing discourse on the community or from the model of community practice (Table 2-1).

The complexity surrounding the definition of poverty has already been discussed. Eng and Parker (1994) gave three possible conceptualizations of a community which closely agree with those provided by Strier (2009) and is based on 1) geographic elements, that is an aggregate of individuals residing in a particular place; 2) relational elements, that is, the functions of ties among organizations,
neighborhoods, families, and friends; or 3) political elements, that is, the coming together of people to set a political dynamic in motion to transform and act on issues they face. For most villages in Africa, all three conceptualizations often occur together in defining a community.

Strier identified community development as one of the community anti-poverty strategies falling under models of community practice. Community development is a strategy that, for several decades now, has been viewed as a grassroots-based approach for collectively addressing community issues, including poverty. When the poor are spearheading poverty reduction programs in their communities, then these efforts can be defined as community development. Reid and van Dreunen defined community development as:

a process for empowerment and transformation. The focus on community development is to identify and resolve problems of a social, physical or political nature that exist in a community in such a way that these conditions are changed or improved from the perspective of the community members. The goals of community development are self-help, community capacity building and integration (1996:49).

Based on this definition, community development appears as a strategy that could be used to implement the people-centered poverty reduction approaches at the community level because it incorporates the key cross-cutting themes such as empowerment, participation (self-help), and capacity building (Figure 2-1). Participation is both an end and a means for development. As an end, it signifies successful community transformation. It can be considered as an indicator of good governance, effective decentralization and gender sensitive development. As a means, it has been shown to lead to success and sustainability of projects by increasing empowerment and local ownership (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000). However, Botes and van Rensburg also noted that participation was “one of the most overused, but least understood concepts in developing countries without a serious attempt to critically analyze the different forms that participation could take” (2000: pp 41). Furthermore, much of the literature on community development application is derived from the developed world and there is little empirical data on how this can be put in practice in rural contexts of developing countries. The next section looks at participation and the different interpretations of the words and how it has been operationalized in development programs in the developing world. But first it is important to look at the issue of poverty and development in communities adjacent to protected areas as they offer a unique juxtaposing of poor communities and natural resource-rich areas which can be used in community anti-poverty strategies.
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<td><strong>Reproductive strategies</strong>&lt;br&gt;- interventions that intentionally or unintentionally lead to reproduction of poverty&lt;br&gt;- Example removal of state sponsored social protection measures</td>
<td><strong>Individual theories</strong>&lt;br&gt;-Cause of poverty seen as unpreparedness (human motivation theories) or inability (human capital theory) of the individual to participate in the market economy that allows them to survive&lt;br&gt;-Human motivation theories call for therapeutic interventions while human capital theory calls for interventions like training and education</td>
<td><strong>Geographical approach to community</strong>&lt;br&gt;-Community as a physical site with defined boundaries&lt;br&gt;-Spatial approach to targeting anti-poverty programs; high visibility, easy access and easy to account for measurable outcomes.&lt;br&gt;-Misses many social, cultural and political aspects embodied within. [All organizations]</td>
<td><strong>Decay of community discourse</strong>&lt;br&gt;-Poverty persistence linked to lack of social capital&lt;br&gt;-Advocates old style community self-help and self-sustainability to combat poverty&lt;br&gt;-Civil society to generate the social capital needed to end poverty. (Oxfam, IFAD)</td>
<td><strong>Neighborhood and community organizing</strong>&lt;br&gt;-Target is neighborhood revitalization through community organizing&lt;br&gt;-Goal is to develop capacity of poor neighborhoods so that they can mobilize resources for reconstruction of the social and physical environment</td>
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<td><strong>Palliative strategies</strong>&lt;br&gt;-Meant to alleviate severity of poverty&lt;br&gt;-Offer tangible immediate benefits but create dependence on external help and lack cultural sensitivity or contextual relevance.</td>
<td><strong>Cultural/behavioral theories</strong>&lt;br&gt;-Poverty viewed as caused by shared non productive values, norms and behavior.&lt;br&gt;-Strategies employ programs aimed at changing attitudes, norms and values&lt;br&gt;-Implementation target family</td>
<td><strong>Functional approach to community</strong>&lt;br&gt;-People sharing a common situation which generates a sense of shared interest&lt;br&gt;-Examples include advocacy groups for homelessness, welfare rights movements. [UNICEF, Oxfam, IFAD]</td>
<td><strong>Community paternalism discourse</strong>&lt;br&gt;-Calls for the state to represent the community against vested interests of economically powerful groups. (UNDP)</td>
<td><strong>Functional communities around shared problems</strong>&lt;br&gt;-The focus is on shared problems&lt;br&gt;-Goal is to promote community of change through leadership development, community projects and strategic planning of articulated actions&lt;br&gt;-Outcome is consolidated collective action around a particular issue [IFAD, FAO, Oxfam]</td>
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<td><strong>Preventive strategies</strong>&lt;br&gt;-Tend to use human capital- education, leadership training- to counter long-term effects of poverty.&lt;br&gt;-Combine top-down and bottom-up participation but do not address roots and means of poverty reproduction</td>
<td><strong>Structural theories</strong>&lt;br&gt;-Poverty is a result of systemic barriers that reduce opportunities and access to resources and services and participation in society.&lt;br&gt;-Strategy is to change the system through advocacy, lobbying, coalition building, social awareness and community participation in political process. [All the organizations]</td>
<td><strong>Cultural view of community</strong>&lt;br&gt;-Anti-poverty strategies focus on identity created by common beliefs, assumptions, norms, views and practices which are deeply internalized&lt;br&gt;-Examples are anti-poverty strategies targeting ethnic minorities. IFAD, Oxfam, UNICEF</td>
<td><strong>New localism discourse</strong>&lt;br&gt;-the state’s role should not be to consolidate social justice but to open up dialogue between different social and political sectors.&lt;br&gt;-State as facilitator so that the community can negotiate its way out of poverty with other relevant players. (World Bank/IMF)</td>
<td><strong>Community development</strong>&lt;br&gt;-Concerned with developing community economic resources and leadership, and building capacities of impoverished communities&lt;br&gt;-Usually externally funded but draws on grassroots, bottom-up methodologies&lt;br&gt;-Target is most marginalized and excluded poor sections of the populations [FAO, IFAD, Oxfam]</td>
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<td><strong>Emancipatory or Transformative</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Social planning approach</strong></td>
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<td>Strategies</td>
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<td>- Confront roots of poverty through political engagement and community participation, aim to raise consciousness, social capital and develop community economic assets. - Initiated and sustained by local and grassroots organizations. [Oxfam, UNICEF]</td>
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<td>- Approach used in welfare service practice - Goal is to supply services and programs according to a plan developed by some central authority – city or regional government</td>
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<td>Advocacy model</td>
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<td>- Objectives are to bring poverty issues to the political level, prioritize anti-poverty agendas and consolidate them through institutional change - Involves political action, coalition building and social movement - Encourages citizen engagement and participation through systemic inclusion of all players from grassroots groups, activists, community leaders to policy makers. [Oxfam, UNICEF]</td>
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2.4.2 Pro-poor conservation: addressing poverty in communities adjacent to protected areas

Since the turn of the 19th century, protected areas have been created to counter threats to biodiversity posed by increasing human population, and the number and area covered by protected areas has increased significantly in recent years (Adams, Aveling, Brockington, Dickson and Elliot, 2004). It is estimated that in 1980 protected areas covered 3% of the earth’s land area and this had increased to over 12% by 2004 (Kideghesho, Roskof and Kaltenborn, 2007; Chape, Harrison, Spalding and Lysenko, 2005). Not surprisingly the majority of protected areas are located in developing countries where high biodiversity coincide with high rates of poverty and increasing human population growth (Kideghesho et al., 2007). For example, 25% of Tanzania’s land area is taken up by protected areas.

According to Adams et al. (2004) creation of protected areas is at significant costs to the local people who lose access to land and other natural resources that generations have depended on for their livelihoods as well as socio-cultural practices. In general, poverty is very high among rural communities adjacent to protected areas and this is only made worse by the restrictive nature of protected areas (Kideghesho, 2008). Attempts to access these resources are criminalized and severely punished. Kaltenborn, Nyahongo and Tingstad (2005) documented the motivation for illegal hunting among communities around the Serengeti National Park in Tanzania and noted that the need to conserve biodiversity conflicts with the urgency of poverty. People who hunted did so as a coping strategy, a primary response to food shortage and poverty and risked stiff penalties such as fines or imprisonment (Kaltenborn et al., 2005). While incurring significant conservation costs, communities living adjacent to protected areas benefit very little from them. Traditionally, protected areas operated by completely excluding local people, in terms of decision-making, resource utilization as well as sharing of revenue accruing from activities such as tourism and trophy hunting.

However, poverty is now widely recognized as a major threat to conservation efforts and that juxtaposing poor communities against protected areas creates a battle for survival that is also costly to biodiversity and conservation efforts (Roe, Nelson and Sandbrook, 2009; Kaltenborn et al., 2005). This realization prompted a shift in strategy among the conservationists. The new strategy seeks to combine conservation with development, under the philosophy that allowing local people to profit or benefit from wildlife and other natural resources will provide them with an incentive to ensure survival and conservation of the natural resources (Kideghesho et al., 2007; Nelson, 2000; West, Igoe and Brockington, 2006). The result has been the development of community based natural resource management (CBNRM) systems of which there are many different models in Africa alone (Roe et al., 2009). The idea is not only to share benefits from protected areas but to allow communities more
participation in decision making and management of the protected areas for their benefit as well as biodiversity conservation. This strategy was well received within the development community and some even called it pro-poor conservation (Adams et al., 2004).

Despite their attractiveness as a solution to two of the world’s pressing problems, CBNRM programs have had limited impact especially in addressing poverty in communities adjacent to protected areas (Kideghesho et al., 2007). According to Adams et al. “lasting positive outcomes of conservation-with-development projects are elusive” (2004: pp 1147). Tallis, Kareiva, Marvier and Chang (2008) evaluated some World Bank funded projects that addressed both biodiversity protection and economic development between 1993 and 2007 and only 16% (5 out of 32 projects) had significant gains in both objectives. Kideghesho et al. (2007) observed that effects of benefit-based approaches on communities are often temporary or rare, suggesting major problems with the application of CBNRM as an anti-poverty strategy. Some suggestions given for the failure of CBNRM projects as anti-poverty strategies include deficiencies in institutional, ecological and developmental (social, political, economic, cultural) conditions (Adams et al., 2004; Nelson, 2000), issues of community empowerment (Roe et al., 2009) and inadequate capacity building among the local people (Tallis et al., 2008). While not clearly articulating the problems with CBNRM these suggestions highlight the need to focus on how such programs are off-loaded at the level of the community; is it a problem with the design of the strategy or is it a deficiency of the community to implement/participate?

2.5 Conceptualization of participation

Participation is a term often open to multiple interpretations. In her classical paper, Arnsstein (1969) presented the different typologies of participation and showed that participation exists on a continuum ranging from non-participation to full participation. In its simplified form, the analysis shows participation on an 8-rung ladder, and each rung represents a different form of participation. Starting at the lowest rung (lowest form of participation) these are manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power and citizen control. She grouped the two lowest forms of participation as non-participation; informing, consultation and placation she considered as representing degrees of tokenism and the top three forms of participation she considered to represent degrees of citizen power.

Expanding on Arnsstein’s conceptual framework, Lardechi (2001) described three ‘tributaries’ that define how participation is conceptualized. First, is the notion of participation based on self-determination, which she describes as a process done by the people at whom development projects are aimed. This notion can also be viewed as encompassing the empowerment feature of participation and is
comparable to full citizen control on Arnstein’s ladder of participation. The second is the view of participation based on efficiency, which can also be translated as a process done for the people. The development agency takes the lead role and participation is reduced to a consultative process; Arnstein (1969) referred to this form of participation as tokenism or non-participation. The third tributary stresses participation as a process of mutual learning, or a process done with the people and this could be compared to the partnership or delegated power forms of participation described by Arnstein (1969). These three tributaries describe the participatory approaches taken by most of the development agencies.

It is in the full citizen control form of participation that the people have real power and control and are able to set the agenda. Full citizen control allows the poor’s voices to be heard in decisions that impact their lives and hence, supports people-centered development. Lardechi’s view is that the World Bank projects interpret participation based on the notion of efficiency while self-development organizations take the self-determination view, where the focus is to develop people’s awareness and agency (Lardechi, 2001). Rarely do organizations, even those advocating participation the most, adopt the citizen control form of participation; rather the agencies retain some role in planning and implementation as was noted before for FAO. When such organizations effectively incorporate the views of the community in all stages of the programs then the process becomes one conducted with the people.

Empowerment is a term closely tied to participation but that has multiple meanings. Rocha (1997) presented the different typologies of empowerment along the same lines as Arnstein’s ladder of participation. In contrast to participation which can be viewed as moving from bad to good participation, Rocha’s ladder of empowerment represents different forms of empowerment which vary based on the unit of empowerment. She gave five types of empowerment ordered on the ladder as atomistic individual empowerment, embedded individual empowerment, mediated empowerment, socio-political empowerment and political empowerment. This order represents a movement from empowerment whose locus is the individual (atomistic) towards empowerment whose locus is increasingly the community. While empowerment is sometimes considered to enable effective participation, Rocha’s view is that participation is needed in order to achieve empowerment (Rocha, 1997). However, it can be argued that the citizen control form of participation can only be achieved when participants are empowered. Indeed, the human development approach advocating for expanding human capabilities so that people can realize their full potential in a way sees empowerment as necessary for full participation in all aspects of human life. In this case empowerment derives from acquisition of capabilities such as communication, literacy, health, analytical capacities and skills (Haq, 1995; Jonsson, 2003).

In the following section, a brief review of participatory poverty assessments is presented as an example of the application of participation. Primary focus will be on how this approach has been implemented in the development of World Bank funded PRSPs.
2.5.1 Application of participation - Participatory Poverty Assessments

Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs) emerged from a new understanding of poverty as a highly contextual and multi-dimensional phenomenon that cannot be fully captured with the traditional questionnaire based (quantitative) surveys alone (Holland and Blackburn, 1998). Thus, methods for collecting qualitative type of data were required. Initially, the participation in PPAs referred to the adoption of qualitative data collection techniques commonly referred to as participatory rural appraisal techniques. In Holland and Blackburn, the role of PPAs is given as

To create space for the voice of the poor in providing a deeper understanding of the dynamics of the poverty and its regional and contextual characteristics, of coping mechanisms adopted by the poor, and of local perceptions of problems and priority interventions (1998: pp91).

However, as they evolved, the meaning of participation in PPAs began to shift to refer to the role of the poor in the poverty assessment process. Proponents of PPAs advanced them as an empowering and capacity building approach to development that enables the poor to investigate and analyze their own poverty and participate in formulating poverty reduction strategies relevant to their situation and locality (Laderchi, 2001; Norton, Bird, Brock, Kakande and Turk, 2001). Owen (1998) stressed that PPAs were more to do with process than product, and as a process were meant to effect attitudinal changes (transformation), establish dialogue and create bridges (between communities, state and other development organizations) while at the same time facilitating reliable, timely and systematic information feedback for poverty analysis and action. According to Attwood and May (1998), use of PPAs should allow the poor to influence policy that affects their lives while at the same time furthering their own development. By embodying transformative capacity, empowerment, capacity building and local ownership, PPAs can be viewed as an important component of community development.

Since their inception, a number of participatory poverty assessments have been conducted in the developing world and the majority of these were in Africa (Holland and Blackburn, 1998; Norton et al., 2001; Reyes and Due, 2009). Yet a review of literature on the various PPAs that have been implemented so far clearly shows that while intended to increase local participation, local ownership and be locally driven, PPAs are still implemented for the poor. The literature is devoid of reports of poor communities conducting their own poverty assessments or even taking a leading role in partnership with external agencies. On the contrary at the community level, PPAs remain an externally driven process, conducted by or on behalf of external agencies, such as international financial institutions, national governments, and donor and development agencies often working in collaboration with national governments as illustrated by the examples from Ghana (Dogbe, 1998), Uganda (Norton et al., 2001), Mozambique
Owen, 1998), the Philippines (Reyes and Due, 2009), South Africa (Attwood and May, 1998) and Zambia (Milimo, Norton and Owen, 1998).

In general, PPAs have been implemented in a very similar fashion. First, the institution commissioning the PPA, primarily the World Bank but also other development organizations and national governments, appoints a senior social scientist or contract an institute (often private organization, NGO or an academic institute) responsible for overseeing the entire process (Holland and Blackburn, 1998). Operating within the overall objectives of the commissioning institution they set the research agenda including objectives and methodology for collecting the data. During the South African PPAs, Data Research Africa, the private organization contracted by the World Bank to conduct the PPA, used a consultative stakeholder workshop to set the research agenda. The Ghanaian and Ugandan PPAs were conducted by NGOs. In Ghana CEDEP a local NGO, oversaw the process with funding from UNICEF (Dogbe, 1998) while the Ugandan Government designed the assessment process and contracted Oxfam to conduct the assessment (Norton et al., 2001). The Mozambican PPA was initiated by the World Bank and facilitated by an academic institution, the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (UEM); the goal was to show local ownership of the PPA as well as to build local capacity through training of researchers from UEM. The contracted institutes often identify local organizations and researchers to collaborate with, forming a research team that will undertake field work in selected communities. A common element with all the research teams in the PPAs reviewed is that some form of training was provided before they undertook data collection (Dogbe, 1998; Owen, 1998; Attwood and May, 1998; and Milimo, Norton and Owen, 1998).

More recently other approaches to poverty assessment that also utilize participatory tools have emerged independent of the World Bank initiative. An example is the Community-Based Monitoring Systems (CBMS) which was pioneered by the International Development Research Center (IDRC) in the Philippines but has since been implemented in a number of countries (Alkire and Sarwar, 2009; Reyes and Due, 2009). As the name suggests there is a strong local focus, and the motivation appears to be the decentralization of local government functions. In fact the CBMS emerged as a planning tool for local governments. However, similar to the World Bank-style PPAs, these community-based PAs target district level or local government departments as the implementing agencies and not the communities themselves.

Application of participatory poverty assessments has been criticized for not being community-driven, but an extractive process which relegates the poor to the role of data sources. Following the Ghana PPA, Dogbe (1998) noted that the goal of PPAs should be to “hand over the stick to the poor to lead the discussion on poverty and on the strategies which should be adopted to mitigate it. It is the poor who can best give us insight into what poverty means and how it can be tackled” (Dogbe, 1998: pp98).
Arnstein (1969) gave a number of factors that prevent the poor from gaining full participation and these include inadequacies of their political and socioeconomic infrastructure, knowledge-base and difficulties in organizing representative and accountable community groups. Indeed, justification for having the local government and not the communities implementing the CBMS is that communities lack the technical, financial and human resources capacity for data collection and analysis required for the CBMS (Reyes and Due, 2009). While the impoverished nature of most rural communities will mean some dependency on external agencies for poverty analysis, what Arnstein’s analysis also suggests is that by addressing some of these drawbacks to full participation, such as through capacity building or capacity development, a process of poverty analysis with the community instead of for the community may arise (Larchedi, 2001), raising participation level from non-participation or tokenism to the partnership form of participation (Arnstein, 1969).

2.5.2 Participation in Community-based Natural Resource Management

Community participation is a key feature of CBNRM initiatives; some studies have suggested that the success of these initiatives is determined by the level of effective community participation (Rodriguez-Izquierdo, Gavin and Macedo-Bravo, 2010; Sheppard, Moehrensclager, Mepherson and Mason, 2010; Stoll-Kleemann, Vega-Leinert and Schultz, 2010). Sheppard et al. (2010) attributed, at least in part, the success of Wechiau Community Hippo Sanctuary in Ghana to local leadership and effective local governance structure which enabled participation of the different ethnic groups in the area. However, there is also evidence indicating that for a number of these initiatives community participation is very limited and where efforts are made to ensure community participation this is only done for expediency reasons (Stoll-Kleemann et al., 2010).

Rodriguez-Izquierdo et al. (2010) described community participation in conservation as occurring on a seven-level continuum that moves from less effective to more effective participation in a similar fashion to Arnstein’s ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969). The seven levels are 1) passive participation, whereby communities are notified of conservation initiatives taken by outsiders, 2) participation via data collection, where communities provide information to outsiders, 3) participation via consultation, in which communities’ views are heard and external agencies incorporate these into planning decisions, 4) participation via incentives, whereby communities are provided with material incentives in order to increase their compliance with external agents’ conservation agenda, 5) participation via conservation action, in which community organizations take on conservation objectives defined by external agents, 6) participation via cooperation, in which there is joint analysis and planning, and conservation action is taken by communities together with external agents, and finally 7) participation
via self-mobilization where local communities make decisions and take conservation actions independently (Rodriguez-Izquierdo et al., 2010).

Moving from 1 to 7 represents decreasing levels of external influence on CBNRM programs and increasing levels of community control and decision making power. What this means is that CBNRM programs may adopt any one of these types of participation and still be considered participatory. Evidence from literature suggests that in the majority of cases CBNRM programs are under the control and management of external agencies, either government or conservation agencies, and the extent to which they involve the local community then determines the type of community participation that emerges. Rarely is community participation the self-mobilization type. Rodriguez-Izquierdo et al. (2010) identified a number of barriers to full community participation and control of CBNRM programs, with the most important barrier being a perceived lack of capacity in terms of community skills, funding availability, and time and sufficient conservation personnel. Indeed, even in the successful Wechaiu Community Hippo Sanctuary, Sheppard et al. (2010) noted that the community required ongoing external assistance in strategic planning, accounting and communications with external agencies, suggesting that the community lacked the capacity to fully manage and control the Sanctuary on their own. Hence, similar to poverty assessment, the literature seems to suggest that inadequate community capacity and skills limits the operation of CBNRM programs as fully community-driven initiatives. The following section reviews some of the literature on community capacity or competence and how it can be assessed.

2.6 Community Competence/Capacity

The question of community competence or capacity is important in the discourse of community participation and community development. Labonte and Laverack (2001) noted that there are no definitive sets of features that describe a competent or capable community but the need to evaluate and assess such competence means researchers have to come up with lists of characteristics that describe community competence. Cottrell (1976: cited by Eng and Parker, 1994) described a competent community as one whose various parts are able to 1) collaborate effectively in identifying problems and needs of the community 2) achieve a working consensus on goals and priorities, 3) agree on ways and means of implementing agreed upon goals and 4) collaborate effectively in the required actions. This resonates with UNICEF’s Triple A process of assessment, analysis and action, described before (Jonsson, 2003). Cottrell’s concepts of community competence were tested by Eng and Parker (1994) in their study evaluating community competence for health promotion programs in the Mississippi Delta, USA. In the Mississippi Delta study, participating communities defined competent communities as those that can “get it together”. Eng and Parker (1994) came up with eight dimensions considered important in evaluating
community competence. Labonte and Laverack developed their own framework for describing community competence and came up with domains of community capacity. The concepts that the authors came up with, which can be viewed as describing a community that can “get it together” are summarized in Table 2-2.

For simplicity, these indicators of competence can be further classified into four categories of competences or key competence domains: the competences associated with the governance system, competences that enable the community to plan and implement initiatives, competences that indicate the presence of participatory enabling strategies, and the competences that ensure sustainability of the initiatives within the community (Table 2-2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions of Community Competence (Eng and Parker, 1994)</th>
<th>Community Capacity Domains (Labonte and Laverack, 2001)</th>
<th>Key community competence domains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>Governance/Participation enabling strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Support</td>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>Governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articulateness</td>
<td>Problem Assessment</td>
<td>Capacity to plan and implement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery for decision making</td>
<td>Organizational Structures</td>
<td>Governance/Participation enabling strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict containment</td>
<td>Resource mobilization</td>
<td>Governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management of relationships with wider society</td>
<td>Role of outside agents</td>
<td>Capacity to plan and implement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-other awareness</td>
<td>Links with others</td>
<td>Governance/Participation enabling strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commitment/community attachment</td>
<td>Program management</td>
<td>Participatory enabling strategies/Governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Capacity to plan and implement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Labonte and Laverack (2001) include leadership as one of the domains in their framework of community competence. They further note that “participation and leadership are closely connected. Leadership requires a strong participant base just as participation requires the direction and structure of strong leadership” (Labonte and Laverack, 2001: pp118). A strong participant base can be viewed as the community, suggesting that the community itself has to have qualities that favor participation. Writing on CBNRM, Nelson suggested that a certain level of community homogeneity must exist in order to get effective community participation and that there must exist a community of people “who share common
interests, have a sense of mutual responsibility and have recognized and agreed upon structures of administration” (Nelson, 2000: pp112). UNICEF (1998) called this social-cohesion and suggested that certain aspects of traditional society such as customs and norms that help advance social cohesion need to be preserved to facilitate equitable development.

Another domain closely linked to leadership is the organizational structures in the community; such structures can provide the leadership needed for a competent community. The community organizational structures envisaged by Labonte and Laverack (2001) include small groups such as committees, church and youth groups. These structures are consistent with the developed world context from which this work emerges. However, it is important to note that leadership, especially in traditional societies of the developing world context may not lie within modern organizational structures but rather in traditional structures, such as clans and chieftainships, which are still very relevant today (Arbour et al., 2008; Kuponiyi, 2008).

Indigenous or traditional community groups and institutions are increasingly viewed as having a key role to play in the achievement of conservation as well as poverty alleviation goals in CBNRM programs. Peach Brown and Lassoie (2010) suggested that the failure of CBNRM programs could be attributed to failure to use already existing indigenous institutions in favor of creating new organizations which ends up disabling existing instruments of social regulation. Most importantly, the authors suggest that such moves impose “inappropriate institutions that marginalize those who have recognized customary power and legitimacies” over natural resources (Peach Brown and Lassoie, 2010: pp266), clearing the way for social distortion and conflict. Traditional institutions have power and legitimacy to enforce systems of values, norms and taboos that allow conservation and sustainable utilization of natural resources which can play a very important role in the success of CBNRM programs (Kideghesho, 2008). Commenting on external agencies, Labonte and Laverack noted that while important for planning activities organizations need to come from within the community because organizations from outside the community risk “paternalism and an imposition of ideas or issues that do not appeal to local people and so fail to motivate their participation” (2001: pp 119).

2.6.1 Community groups as units of assessment of community competence

The unit of measure in assessing community competence is important. Labonte and Laverack viewed community as specific groups and networks of groups organizing around specific issues, generally but not always spatially bound (2001: pp116). By using community groups to assess community competence the authors suggest that it is through working as defined collective units that communities can “get it together” and implement initiatives that benefit the wider community. Eng and Parker (1994)
also noted that community competence is a group phenomenon which requires a collective entity, not individuals, as the unit of analysis. Indeed community organizations represent a domain of community competence in Labonte and Laverack’s classification and Eng and Parker (1994) described them as the machinery for decision making. According to Labonte and Laverack (2001), small community groups, represent ways in which members come together to socialize and address their common concerns and problems. They can be viewed as the hardware or infrastructures that run the software or interactions of good public participation (Labonte and Laverack, 2001). Their presence in the community and operational level is important for community capacity. This, therefore, suggests that characteristics of community competence or capacity may be transferable and useful in assessing the competence of community groups or organizations and inversely, the competence of a community’s groups and organizations can be used to determine the competence of the community as a whole.

2.6.2 Capacity Development

Capacity development has been described as an elusive and elastic concept, with multiple definitions resulting in it taking up different meanings to different development organizations (Lusthaus, Adrien and Perstinger; 1999). However, the concept is very relevant to the discourse of community-driven anti-poverty initiatives, particularly when adopting the definition by the UNDP which says “capacity development is the process by which individuals, organizations, institutions and societies develop abilities (individually and collectively) to perform functions, solve problems and set and achieve objectives” (UNDP, 1997: pp3). Using the notion of community competence discussed above, this definition suggests that where such competences are lacking, then the community (either focusing on individuals, organizations or institutions within it) may need to develop those capacities/competences to enable it to implement community development initiatives. The importance of capacity development in the development approaches of some of the leading international development organizations has already been discussed (Jonsson, 2003; IFAD, 2007).

2.7 Summary

This chapter reviewed current approaches to development by looking at the approaches adopted by a number of international development agencies in their anti-poverty work. This review showed that while there are some differences in what informs development agencies’ development strategies all agencies appear to share similar views on the role that the poor must play in achieving development. All agencies define their approaches as people-centered and intend to achieve this by incorporating a number of cross-
cutting themes such as participation, empowerment, capacity building, sustainability, local ownership, and many others. Incorporation of these cross-cutting themes, particularly, participation can be viewed as one way of making the various development strategies operational at the community level. Participation emerged as an important cross-cutting theme especially in community development. The review examined the application of participation in participatory poverty assessments, and in community based natural resource management programs and revealed that the way the process has been implemented often falls short of true participation, suggesting that there is a need to develop implementation processes that allow true participation to be achieved at the community level. The literature identified limited community capacity or competence as a major barrier to effective community participation. Hence, the issue of community competence, especially how it can be assessed, was further examined ending in the development of a theoretical framework for assessing community competence.
3 Chapter Three Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research approach including the strategy of inquiry, data collection methods, as well as data analysis techniques. The approach taken was considered most appropriate for gathering the data needed to address the research goal and objectives. The goal of the research was to describe the organizational and institutional foundations within traditional rural communities that support implementation of participatory community anti-poverty initiatives. The specific objectives of the project were 1) to use the process of testing the implementation of a community poverty assessment and asset identification instrument in order to determine levels of community mobilization, participation and analytical capacity, 2) to assess community groups for competence to implement community poverty reduction programs 3) to determine if the problems in using protected areas to achieve anti-poverty goals are due to inadequate organizational and institutional developmental conditions at the level of the community.

3.2 Research Approach

The research adopted an interpretive paradigm. Interpretivism recognizes that there is meaning behind all human action and the role of the researcher is to unravel the meanings that make up that action (Schwandt, 2000). Interpretation of this action is helped by understanding the context and the intentions of the actor. Most importantly, “interpretivists argue that it is possible to understand the subjective meaning of action (grasping the actor’s beliefs, desires and so on) yet do so in an objective manner” (Schwandt, 2000: pp193). Objectivity is enhanced by adopting methods which allow the researcher to lose their historical frame of reference or biases (Schwandt, 2000). In the current study, the researcher gathered data through semi-structured interviews and observations of participants and their surroundings and interpreted how these help explain the capacity of the community to implement community anti-poverty initiatives.

The research followed an emergent design in that initial research plans were made flexible enough to be able to respond to emerging issues and conditions in the field by making necessary adjustments. According to Creswell, “initial research plans cannot be tightly prescribed” because “questions may change, forms of data collection may shift, individuals and sites visited may be modified” (2007: pp39).
3.3 Strategy of inquiry

A case study approach was chosen as the strategy of inquiry. Yin (2003) suggests that the case study is most suitable when the researcher wants to study complex multivariate conditions and where the phenomenon under investigation cannot be separated from its context. Context is central to the current research because it seeks to observe how community members interact with each other and also with the institutions in their midst, and how they view their lives relative to their environment particularly protected areas. Focusing on protected areas and their role in community poverty reduction, added another variable and level of complexity to the research.

3.3.1 Selection of cases

The Protected Areas and Poverty Reduction (PAPR) Project, which is a multi-site project funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, formed the backdrop for this study. The PAPR project focuses on investigating issues of conservation, governance and poverty reduction in communities that fall within or adjacent to protected areas in Canada, Ghana and Tanzania. The current research focused on the issue of poverty in the communities associated with protected areas in Ghana and Canada. Relative to other countries in sub-Saharan Africa Ghana has made major strides towards achieving its Millennium Development Goal target (United Nations, 2009). Yet again Ghana faces serious deprivation in its rural areas; education, water and sanitation, employment and health care provision are still major concern in most parts of rural Ghana (Ghana Statistical Services, 2005). One of the anti-poverty strategies the country is pursuing is the development of community resource management areas (CREMAs) where communities participate in the management of natural resources for their benefit. In Canada, recent government reports indicate that poverty is increasing in rural communities across Canada and poverty in Canada’s Aboriginal communities has persisted despite the availability of federal funded social assistance programs (Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2011; Fairbairn and Gustafson, 2006; Germain and Sibbeston, 2007). Interestingly, a number of Aboriginal communities exist in or near protected, natural resource rich areas which can potentially be managed to alleviate poverty in these communities.

Each country has several project sites but the cases for this research were selected from sites associated with two specific protected areas, the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative in the Volta Region in Ghana and the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks in Clayoquot Sound, British Columbia, Canada. Both these protected areas are still being developed and have rural communities that lie adjacent to or within them. In addition, the protected areas are community managed, meaning the communities have full decision making powers on how the protected areas are run, including sharing of costs and benefits for the well-being of the community.
All cases were purposefully selected by the researcher; and targeted rural communities adjacent to or within the protected areas. Factors that were considered in the selection of cases included accessibility to the researcher and willingness of the community to participate in the project. The researcher’s time in the field determined the number of cases that could be included in the study. Within this framework four cases were selected, three from the Ghana site and one from the Canada site. More cases were selected in Ghana than in Canada because the researcher spent a longer time (2 months) in Ghana than in Canada (11 days). In addition, there were more potential cases to select from in the Ghana study site than in the Canada study site.

3.3.1.1 Case selection process in Ghana

The cases (also referred to as villages or communities) in Ghana were selected from a total of 15 villages that form part of the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative. To facilitate community entry and selection of cases the researcher participated in a reconnaissance visit of the study area from 27 – 29 January, 2011, led by a researcher from Nature Conservation Research Center (NCRC) who has worked with the communities since the inception of the conservation initiative. NCRC is a Ghanaian non-governmental organization that was instrumental in the development of the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative and is one of the PAPR project partners in Ghana. During this period the researcher met with key people from the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative Management Board, including the chairman of the board and a number of board members. The researcher introduced the project and was assured of the support of the board and the communities.

At the end of the reconnaissance visit the researcher decided that staying within the communities would greatly aid in building community trust and also better facilitate data collection. The researcher was able to negotiate accommodation at Xavi village in Akatsi District. The exact location of Xavi will be given in Chapter Four, but Xavi is located approximately 11km from Akatsi, the district center and the two are connected by a dirt road. A number of motor bikes and taxis provide public transport to and from Akatsi throughout the day. It was important for the researcher to have good access to Akatsi for emergency purposes and to access provisions as well as services such as printing and photocopying. Xavi was also selected because the community has prior experience hosting foreigners as part of the community managed Xavi Ecotourism project; an ecotourism project which is separate from the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative. Xavi also has electricity which enabled the researcher to use a computer for recording data and for internet communication. The village is connected to other communities in the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative by dirt roads that are readily accessible during the dry season. To assist with translation, the researcher hired a member of the NCRC-trained
environmental education team (EET) who also lived in Xavi. The translator owned a motor-bike for hire which helped with access to the study communities. The researcher moved to Xavi on 6 February 2011 and stayed there until March 9, 2011, when the research ended.

After deciding where to stay the researcher short-listed three potential cases from the available cases. These were the villages of Suipe, Bayive and Wenu. The cases were selected based on accessibility and willingness of the communities to participate in the research. Given the limited research time-frame it was not practical to select more than three cases as this would have limited the ability to collect in-depth data from each of the cases. According to Stake (2000) this kind of purposive sampling of cases gives opportunity for intensive studying. The researcher approached key contact persons in each of the shortlisted communities, explained the objectives of the research project, the activities to be undertaken and how the community would be involved and then sought permission to conduct the research with the community.

The researcher first visited Suipe on January 29, 2011 with the NCRC field officer for the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative, who introduced her to one of the board members. This board member is also a chief for the village. He spoke very good English; the researcher later learned that he was a retired soldier and had travelled extensively in Ghana and had been on tour of duty in the Middle East. He also spent some time in Britain for military training. The researcher briefly outlined her work to him and asked if the community would be willing to participate in the research. Speaking on behalf of the community, the board member assured the researcher that the people will happily welcome her into their community.

The researcher first visited Bayive on February 9, 2011 with the translator to introduce herself, the project and request for permission to conduct research with the community. The contact person was one of the two Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative board-members in the village and is also a Regent or assistant chief. The board member spoke fairly good English and part of the conversation was held in English and more detailed explanations were translated. The researcher briefly talked about the research project and asked the board member if the community would be interested in participating in the research. The board member indicated that he did not foresee any problems with community participation.

The researcher first visited Wenu on January 29, 2011, during the reconnaissance trip. Like other villages, there are two board members, but the female board member is a teacher and lives in Akatsi. The researcher was given the opportunity to briefly explain the research project and formally made the request to conduct research with the community. The board member, who speaks English very well, assured the researcher that the community would be very happy to have her among them. The NCRC researcher recommended that the researcher meet another key figure in the community, a fetish priest also called the Queen Mother who presides over a very important shrine in the area and is half-sister to the board
member. She is regularly consulted whenever visitors come or projects are brought into the community and her support is considered invaluable. The researcher met the Queen Mother at her house and again outlined her research plans.

### 3.3.1.2 Case selection process in Canada

Case selection in Canada was a little different. Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks, a partner on the PAPR project, had one potential case study, the village of Opitsaht, a traditional community located inside the tribal park. The reserve is located across the bay from the town of Tofino where the Tribal Parks and Band Council offices are located. The researcher arrived at the study site on April 15, 2011. While the researcher would have preferred to stay in the community of Opitsaht, the short duration of the study period meant building community trust and establishing some relationship with the community was not easily achievable. Hence, the researcher decided to stay in the town of Tofino for the duration of the study (April 15-26, 2011). The researcher felt that Opitsaht was close enough to Tofino and would be easily accessible by boat in order to meet and talk to community members on the reserve.

### 3.4 Community entry

To be able to begin the research, it was important to have a clear strategy for community entry that would facilitate gaining community trust, support and participation. This was facilitated by having community contact persons. In Ghana, the contact person in each of the communities was a board member of the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative as already stated. Access to and support of the contact persons was facilitated by the NCRC, an organization that has a strong relationship with the community. Before moving to the study site and beginning any research, the researcher undertook a reconnaissance visit to the study site, led by NCRC staff who introduced her to the key people in the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative. For community entry in the Canada study site, the researcher worked with a Project Coordinator hired by the PAPR project to facilitate research in this project site. In fact, the researcher’s visit to the area was delayed because it took time to hire the Project Coordinator; the goal was to hire someone who the local community knows, trusts and approves.

The researcher also had to observe proper protocol in all her conduct with the communities. In Ghana before doing anything in the community, and also when setting up each activity in the community, the researcher visited the community contact person to talk to them in person. Whenever possible, the meeting with the contact person would be arranged the day before by telephone so that the contact person is aware that the researcher is coming and also of the purpose of the visit. In Canada, the researcher had
no direct communication with the community but communicated through the Project Coordinator. The researcher would inform the Project Coordinator of what she intended to accomplish and the Project Coordinator organized when and where meetings would be held.

The researcher had to address all community concerns and questions before the beginning of data collection activities. In Ghana at the first meeting with the community contact person as well as the first community gathering in each village, the researcher started off by introducing herself and what the research project aimed to achieve and how the community would be involved. After the introductions people asked the researcher questions. In all the three villages community members wanted to know if the researcher was bringing a project to their area. It was important that the researcher address the issue of community expectations right at the beginning as this ensured that participation was not in any way motivated by anticipated benefits from the research. In Canada the researcher sent the Project Coordinator a summary of the research proposal in advance. One issue that was raised had to do with the community's sensitivity to the use of the word “poverty”. The researcher acknowledged their concern and proposed using the word “well-being” instead.

3.5 Data collection methods

Given the qualitative nature of the research and the emergent approach taken, the researcher had available a number of qualitative data collection methods to be used as needed. These included direct observations, key informant interviews (semi-structured format), focus groups, community forums and review of documents.

3.5.1 Direct observations

Direct observations allow the researcher to take field notes on the behavior and activities of participants as they happen naturally (Creswell, 2003). For the Ghana study site direct observation data, particularly during the reconnaissance visit, was important in deciding where to stay and in selecting the study cases. Staying in the community gave the researcher a vantage point from which to observe without being intrusive. The role of the observer as the researcher was known to the community and by embedding in the community, the researcher became to a certain extent a participant allowing her “to record information as it was revealed” (Creswell, 2003: 186). Direct observations were also very important in the Canada case study where the researcher did not meet with community members but managed to visit the community once.
3.5.2 Key informant interviews

To understand the structure, function and dynamics of community groups and the role of the wider community in decision making it was important to select and interview key people from the community groups who have a good understanding of the groups’ history and operations. According to Elmedorf and Luloff (2006) key informant interviews are a qualitative research method used to collect in-depth information from a select group of knowledgeable people on a particular issue of importance. While the method does not seek to compare the views of different people, diverse opinions if they exist can still be captured. Key informant interviews provide an intimate setting for one-on-one discussion; participants are free to air their views without fear of sanctions from others. The semi-structured format was adopted for this study in order to ensure that issues the researcher considered important were covered. However, the interview questions were open-ended, allowing the respondent to explore all trails of thoughts.

3.5.3 Focus groups

A focus group is a small group discussion in which participants respond to and discuss a series of questions on a single topic (Krueger and Casey, 2000). The main intention of the focus group is to capture rich, in-depth information about the group’s attitudes, ideas, perceptions and experiences on a defined topic (Kitzinger, 1995). Marrelli (2008) notes that focus groups have the capacity to capture information often missed by other methods because in addition to answering specific questions from the facilitator, participants also build on each other’s ideas to provide a broad perspective on the issue. This way the researcher is able to capture information that is generated as a result of group dynamics. Focus groups fit well with the emergent nature of the research design as they allow new and unexpected ideas to be explored further (Marrelli, 2008). The researcher considered focus groups as an ideal tool for testing the implementation of the participatory poverty assessment and asset identification instrument. It would enable focused discussion on the community’s conceptualization of poverty while still allowing the researcher to gather information useful for interpreting the community’s capacity to implement participatory anti-poverty initiatives.

3.5.4 Kitchen table meetings and Community forum

In the event that focus groups cannot be convened the researcher planned to employ other forms of gathering community members such as kitchen table meetings and community forums. Kitchen table meetings are small informal gatherings where issues of community interest can be discussed. The small
and intimate nature of these gatherings makes it easier for participants to express their opinions freely without fear of feeling embarrassed or being ridiculed. According to Sarkissian, Hofer, Shore, Vadja and Wilkinson (2009) the name kitchen table is a metaphor for any place in the community where people can come together:

The kitchen table represents the place where we have casual but important conversations, we share meals and where people, even in a busy world, frequently come together. The hearth is the heart of the local, the family and the familiar- a place where many feel comfortable to speak openly about their real perspectives, ideas and concerns. (Sarkissian et al., 2009: pp7)

Kitchen table meetings, because of their informal nature require less time to organize and can be held at any venue that the participants feel comfortable and at ease. As the name suggests this could be in someone’s kitchen but could also be at a local coffee shop, a club, community centre or at any regular gathering place in the village. An interested community member, acting as a host will invite other interested people. These could be his/her family, friends or neighbors but ensuring diversity of the participants will allow different perspectives, opinions and experiences to be discussed and captured.

Unlike kitchen table meetings which are smaller group gatherings and where participants are purposefully selected, a community forum is a gathering of the whole community to discuss issues of interest to the community. By having the whole community gather, this offers the researcher an opportunity to interact with a larger segment of the community and to observe issues such as community mobilization, community participation including gender effects and to capture groups or organizations that are active in the community.

### 3.5.5 Document reviews

Review of documents, particularly NCRC project reports, provided crucial background information such as socio-economic data and cultural norms, on the Ghana study site that helped set the stage for the rest of the study activities. Other documents reviewed included census data and reports obtained from the Akatsi District Assembly. Table 3-1 summarizes the data collection methods and data tools that were used in relation to the project objectives.

In the following two sections, the processes followed in undertaking activities for Objectives 1 and 2 are described.
Table 3-1  Summary of data collection methods and corresponding data sources for each of the research objectives and associated activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>DATA COLLECTION METHOD</th>
<th>DATA SOURCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. To use the process of testing the implementation of a community poverty assessment and asset identification instrument in order to determine levels of community mobilization, participation and analytical capacity</td>
<td>Invite interested members of the community to participate in an exercise to test the implementation of the instrument</td>
<td>Community forum or Focus group</td>
<td>Community members, staff in social service sector, community leaders who participated at a community forum or focus group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. To assess community groups for competence to implement community poverty reduction programs</td>
<td>Identify and analyze the capacity of local groups/organizations to be implementing agencies</td>
<td>Community forum Key Informant interviews Direct observations</td>
<td>Community members who participated at a community workshop Self-identified members of groups especially those with positions within the group Direct observation of happenings in the community and casual conversations with community members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. To determine if the problems in using protected areas to achieve anti-poverty goals are due to inadequate organizational and institutional developmental conditions at the level of the community</td>
<td>Data analysis and interpretation</td>
<td>All data collected in Objectives 1 and 2 above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5.6 Testing the implementation of the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument

The researcher chose to use the process of testing the implementation of the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument as a tool for bringing the community together in order to observe the participants as they undertake a participatory process. The same strategy was used in all communities to mobilize people. The researcher approached the contact person and asked for their assistance in convening a group of 10 to 15 interested community members to undertake the poverty assessment and asset identification process in a focus group format. The researcher felt that a focus group was ideal as the small group size would enable more detailed documentation of participants’ interactions and responses, in-depth coverage of issues as well as being easier to facilitate. The approach to community mobilization is based on the Search Conference approach adopted by Schafft and Greenwood (2003) in
which the decision of who should participate is made by identified people within the community who are highly knowledgeable of the community and lack bias. In this case the assumption was that since all the contact persons were democratically elected people representing their communities on the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative, they were knowledgeable about their community and were not biased. The contact person in Canada was similarly considered because his hire had to be approved by the community.

In Suipe, the board member said he would invite only members of the village Planning Committee. This is a community group which he said has 12 members, including one woman. The researcher suggested that if possible other women could be invited to participate and the board member agreed and indicated that additional women would be invited. In Bayive the board member said he would invite two representatives from each of the following groups in the village: the Avu Lagoon Board, the Unit Committee, Youth Association, Drumming group and Church group. In Wenu the board member said he would select about 10 people who could speak on behalf of the village. In Opitsaht, the Project Coordinator said he would invite a number of people from the social service sector, community elders, elected members of the Band Council, Band Council administrators as well as some community members.

At the meetings with each of the communities, the researcher had an agenda on flip chart paper where she also wrote her name and contact details. The researcher started each meeting with a brief description of her project and an explanation of the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument including the three-stage implementation process which is described below. She then explained that the goal was to test the process of implementing the instrument with the community and see how it can be applied or adapted in the specific community. The researcher also mentioned at the beginning that the process may not be finished in one day and hence would likely come back again to request at least one more meeting with the participants.

3.5.6.1 The three-stage process for implementing the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument

Details of the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument can be found in the Poverty Scan Manual in Appendix1. The poverty assessment and asset identification implementation process involves three stages as follows:

1) Identify and evaluate dimensions of poverty/well-being by examining the dimensions that are important and relevant to the community and then assessing how well the community is doing on each dimension
2) Identify and evaluate local resources or assets by looking at what assets exist in the community, are they easily accessible and how relevant is each asset to poverty reduction

3) Analysis step which prioritizes what dimensions the community need to focus on improving and what assets are available for improving the poverty dimension

3.5.7 Identifying community groups and organizations and selection of members for interviewing

To identify community groups and organizations, the researcher asked participants at the community meetings, held at each of the three cases in Ghana, to provide their names and groups or organizations that they were affiliated with. In addition, the participants also indicated if they held any positions within each of the organizations or groups. For the three villages the groups and organizations that were identified and a description of their functions are shown in Table 3-2. In Canada, because of problems with community mobilization, community groups and organizations were not identified and no interviews were conducted.

After identifying the groups, the researcher then selected representatives of the groups for interview. Priority was given to members with positions within the group because they would know better how the group functions, but if no such could be identified representatives were selected at random. For each community, one or two people were interviewed per group depending on availability. Three groups were not considered for interviews, these are the Environmental Education Team (EET), the NDC and the America Society. The EET was not considered because while the members were very active in the communities, this was not a defined group and only participated in activities that they were hired by NCRC to undertake. Their work with NCRC is more as contracted workers rather than as part of community initiative. As such they were not considered a community group. Upon further inquiry the American Society was found not to be a group that is active or has a specific function or structure in the community. The NDC is a political party. Political parties are active in the area, but to remain impartial and apolitical the researcher decided not to pursue it as a community group. Furthermore, only one person in one community identified with a political party suggesting that either people were unwilling to disclose their political affiliation or do not see political parties as a community group or organization. Ten people were interviewed in Suipe, 14 in Bayive and four in Wenu. Some individuals were interviewed twice because they held positions in different groups within the community.
Table 3-2 Community groups and organizations identified each of the of the three villages in Ghana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Suipe</th>
<th>Bayive</th>
<th>Wenu</th>
<th>Core functions of the group in the community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avu Lagoon Board Members</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>Board members attend board meetings and report back to the community; also take up what the community says back to the board.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Authority</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>Defend the community against anti-social behavior, settle disputes, give advice, and maintain peace, love and unity, custodian of community property including land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Group</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td>Cure sicknesses and other problems for example difficulty conceiving, preside over shrines, talk to gods on behalf of people, provide supernatural protection to members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Group</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>Spread the gospel, maintain peace, unity and love, visit the sick, help widows and orphans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drumming Groups</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>Pay for funeral of members and play drums for them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents Teacher Association</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Raise funds for school development, work together with SMC, plan how to use Capitation Grant, settle school-related disputes such as parent-teacher, teacher-teacher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Management Committee</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Manages money for school development, sees to it that teachers teach, children attend school daily, provide school first aid kits, settle school related misunderstandings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning Committee</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>Plan the Easter festival and collect contributions from everyone home and away. Money used for the development of the community. Ensures contributions are up to date before burial of community member in community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town Development Committee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td>Responsible for planning the Efeyenza (Easter) festival. Ensures community members pay their contributions and take those who fail to the chief.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit Committee</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>Assist the Assembly Man working in the electoral area by making sure nothing bad happens and reporting issue to the Assembly Man, organize cleaning exercises, fine people whose animals damage others’ farms/property (assisted by the Chiefs).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Education Committee</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Provide environmental training to communities e.g. pesticide use, disposal of agro-chemical containers, translation services, guide services, communication liaisons within the Avu Lagoon project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDC</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>Political party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America Society</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-defined</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6 Data Recording

Observations made in the field were recorded in a field notebook and these notes were transcribed into electronic text. Key informant interviews were recorded in written word. Audio recording would have been ideal as it allows capture of what the interviewee says verbatim which ensures that quotations reflect exactly what the interviewee says. However, audio recording was not practical in this case because interviews were conducted through a translator. The researcher tried as much as possible to capture everything the translator said. If something was not clear, the researcher would ask the question
again to get clarification from the interviewee. The translator also took notes during the interviews which were used to cross check that the researcher’s understanding of the participant’s response corresponded to that of the translator. Images were also used to capture data; the researcher always asked for participants’ consent before taking photographs.

### 3.7 Data Analysis

According to Yin (2009) analysis of qualitative data, including case study data requires rigorous empirical thinking and sufficient presentation of evidence. Preliminary analysis of data began in the field using an iterative process where outputs from discussions, activities and observations were examined by the researcher to determine new questions to be asked or leads to be followed. In-depth data analysis followed guidelines for analysis of case study data described by Yin (2009). For the first objective, in which the process of implementing the community poverty assessment and asset identification instrument was tested, the researcher developed an analytical framework from the review of literature that sought to assess: 1) community mobilization 2) community participation and 3) community capacity for analysis as described below. To address the second objective which sought to describe community conditions that facilitate implementation of a community-driven initiatives the researcher focused on answering two questions: 1) who can potentially implement the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument and, 2) what capacity do they have? The researcher developed a conceptual framework for assessing the competence of community groups to implement community-driven initiatives and this is described in detail below. Data was first analyzed by case and then cross-case comparisons were made to highlight similarities or differences among the communities.

#### 3.7.1 Framework for analyzing community competence

The objective was to use the process of testing the implementation of the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument to observe the community and then interpret the observations to determine if the community was competent to implement community-driven poverty reduction programs. Therefore, the focus was on the process of implementing the instrument rather than on the instrument itself. For the community to achieve anything collectively, they have to be able to come together. Mobilization was assessed based on how many of the anticipated participants actually showed up for the activities and in the analysis factors that influenced mobilization were examined. Assessing participation is challenging because of lack of indicators for the concept (Jonsson, 2003). The researcher developed a framework for assessing participation by focusing on the commonly referenced benefits of participation in community
development initiatives which include statements such as: the “inclusion of diverse range of stakeholder contributions”; it “creates greater community ownership of process and commitment to planning process” (Shafft and Greenwood, 2003: pp19); it “provides a source of special insight, information, knowledge and experience” from individual citizens (Bowen, 2008: pp 67) and then examining evidence of these during the process of testing the implementation of the instrument. Thus, the researcher looked for evidence of diversity of opinions, displays of initiative, and general commitment to the process to determine the level of participation. Analytical capacity is another important measure of the competence of a community to plan and implement community anti-poverty initiatives. Concepts associated with analytical capacity include processes such as articulateness (Eng and Parker, 1994), ability to assess problems and to ask the question why (Labonte and Laverick, 2001) and these were considered in the current assessment.

3.7.2 Framework for analysis of competence of community groups and organizations as potential implementing agencies

Interviews were transcribed and the text analyzed using an analytical framework developed by the researcher based on review of literature (Eng and Parker, 1994; Labonte and Laverack, 2001; Laverack, 2001) and also content analysis of the interview transcripts. The analytical framework focused on four domains considered to be important for evaluating a community group’s competence to implement community development initiatives; this was discussed in more detail in Chapter Two. The domains and assessment criteria are summarized in Table 3-3. Data from the interview transcripts for each group was cut and pasted under each of the domains. After this categorization of information, the researcher then undertook an in-depth analysis of the resulting matrix looking at the strengths and weaknesses of each group under each of the domains.

3.8 Role of the Researcher

As the primary data collection instrument in qualitative research, the researcher’s world-view has a large bearing on how data is collected as well as interpreted. In addition, how the community identifies the researcher (as an outsider versus one of us) may also affect the readiness with which information is made available. The researcher is African, born and raised in rural Zimbabwe and therefore it is possible that communities in Ghana may have viewed her as one of their own. Her view of community and community life in general are informed by this background, so are her understanding and interests in development of strategies for poverty eradication that are community-based and empowering.
Table 3-3 Conceptual framework for assessment of competences of community groups or organizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Governance</td>
<td>Governance</td>
<td>Leadership, Participation, Organizational structures, Conflict containment, Management of relationships with wider society, Links with others, Self-other awareness</td>
<td>How is power obtained, exercised and monitored; evidence of a system for accountability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity to Plan and Implement Community Development Initiatives</td>
<td>Capacity to Plan and Implement Community Development Initiatives</td>
<td>Machinery for decision making, Organizational structures, Resource mobilization/links with outside agents, Program Management, Articulateness, Asking why, Role of outside agents</td>
<td>Planning organizational infrastructure, Evidence of implemented community development programs and resource mobilization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participatory Enabling Strategies</td>
<td>Participatory Enabling Strategies</td>
<td>Participation, Asking why, Links with others, Self-other awareness</td>
<td>Evidence of inclusiveness/openness of membership and participation in activities, How are members included in decision making?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainability</td>
<td>Sustainability</td>
<td>Commitment/community attachment</td>
<td>Evidence of continuity within the community, that is, is the group transient or does it save a permanent function in the community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The researcher also worked briefly as a livestock production research officer, working mostly with poor rural farmers to improve their livelihoods through adoption of better livestock production practices. Thus, the researcher has interacted with rural communities on two different levels, as a community member and as a researcher/development worker both of which may have informed how she collected and interpreted data.

The researcher’s interest in community development was triggered by an earlier experience in her own village where she witnessed the community, with the help of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, organizing to form a viable and competent community managed irrigation scheme. The scheme was able to form a management committee from what seemed to be a disorganized, disinterested and low human capacity community. This experience shapes her belief in the inherent existence of competences in every community which, with adequate support, can champion community development initiatives. The researcher views community development as an approach to tackling poverty that brings human dignity and reduces dependency.
Community entry is a critical step in qualitative research as establishing a good rapport with the community will facilitate data collection as well as the accuracy of that data. The researcher used institutional-derived networks to gain entry into the Avu Lagoon study site in Ghana. These networks were between the University of Guelph and NCRC, one of the Ghanaian PAPR project partners. NCRC has a well established relationship with the communities that form the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative. In addition, the Director of NCRC is a graduate of the University of Guelph’s Rural Planning and Development program in which the researcher is enrolled. One of the key researchers at NCRC who was instrumental in the establishment of the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative is also a current PhD student at the University of Guelph. NCRC provided support to the researcher both upon arrival in Ghana and also to gain access to the study site.

3.9 Ethical considerations

Ethical approval for this research was obtained from the University of Guelph Ethics Review Board (see approval letter in Appendix 2). Case study research always raises ethical issues because it involves asking people’s opinions sometimes on very sensitive issues. No serious ethical issues were anticipated in the current research; however, asking people to express their personal opinions especially in a group setting can bring them out of their comfort zone. At the beginning of each activity, the researcher explained the ethical issues, stating how the participants would be involved, and that participation was voluntary and they could stop participating whenever they wanted. In addition, the participants were also assured that whatever they said was confidential and that their names would not be written in the reports. The researcher also provided participants with her full contact details. The researcher’s observations were that there was no discomfort among the participants; people appeared to express their opinion freely and without reservation during community meetings. During key informant interviews, when a participant was uncomfortable pursuing a certain line of questioning, the researcher respectfully stopped and followed a different line of questioning.

3.10 Limitations of the Research Methodology

A number of limitations of the research methodology can be identified. First, qualitative data collection requires prolonged presence in the field, but the researcher was working on a limited time frame. As a result in Ghana it was not possible to test the entire poverty assessment and asset identification instrument with the communities and in Canada the researcher did not get the opportunity to
talk with more community members or to identify any community groups or organizations. An important consequence of the time limitation was that complete analysis of the data could not be done in the field and hence the researcher did not get the opportunity to take the results back to the communities for verification.

In order to get participants for the first research activity, the researcher approached community contact persons and asked for 10 to 15 people who would participate in testing the poverty assessment and identification instrument. The researcher acknowledges that by asking for names from the contact persons, the choice of people would end up being determined by the contact person and hence may not get a true cross-sectional representation of the community. While this may have been true for Tofino, it was not a concern in Ghana where attendance ended up being open to everyone in the community. Using self disclosure at the community meeting to identify community groups and organizations may mean that not all community groups were captured either because people did not want to disclose their affiliated groups or because not all people attended the meeting. However, since participation was very high it is hoped that a good representation of community groups and organization was captured.

A final important limitation was the relationship between the researcher and the community in Canada and the time limitations. While the community in Ghana could easily identify with the researcher as one of them because of shared African heritage, this was different in Canada. In Canada, the researcher was viewed as an outsider coming to conduct research “on” the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation community. This outsider status may have warranted a longer stay in the community by the researcher in order to build a relationship and trust with the community that would facilitate implementation of participatory research. However, it was hoped that since the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations community, as a partner of the Protected Areas and Poverty Reduction project, had invited the researcher to come, the need for a lengthy time building community relations, though necessary, was not very critical.
4 Chapter Four Presentation of Cases

4.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to describe the two study sites, one in Ghana and the other in Canada by outlining their geographic location, describing the physical, political as well as socio-cultural and economic characteristics and also to present the specific case studies. Each site is first described in the context of the region it falls under followed by specific descriptions of the study area and the cases. The Ghana site is presented first.

4.2 The Ghana Study Site

Much of the information used to describe the Ghana study site comes from the review of documents obtained from the statistical office at Akatsi District Assembly particularly the 2000 Population Census report for the Volta Region (Ghana Statistical Service, 2005). Another source was Ghanadistricts.com, a website that contains disaggregated information on all the regions and districts of Ghana.

4.2.1 Physical attributes

The study area is located in the Volta Region, one of 10 political administrative regions in Ghana. The Volta Region is situated along the southern half of the eastern part of the country (Figure 4-1) and is bordered by the Republic of Togo to the east. Along its length it is bordered by four other regions of Ghana namely Greater Accra, Eastern and Brong Ahafo regions to the west and the Northern Region to the north. The coastline of the Gulf of Guinea forms the southern border. The Volta Region occupies about 8.6% of the total land area of Ghana and has a north-south stretch of 500km (Ghana Statistical Service, 2005).

Because of this north-south alignment, the Volta Region makes a cross-sectional transect through most of the vegetation zones of the country. Progressing from the north to the south one cuts through the sahel-savannah, mountainous wooded savannah, moist semi-deciduous forests in the central highlands, the guinea savannah further south and towards the coast, the coastal grassland, and mangrove swamps (Hall and Swaine, 1981). The specific site for the current research falls within the guinea savannah zone; it is very arid with patches of baobab forest growth.
The climate is typical of the rest of the country; tropical with temperatures ranging between 21-32° Celsius (70 - 90°F) for most of the year (Ghana Statistical Services, 2005). There are two rainfall seasons in a year, the main season runs from March to July and a second shorter season occurs from mid-August to October. Rainfall figures vary throughout the region with highest levels in the central highland areas and in the forest zone and lowest further north in the sahel-savannah zone. The maximum and minimum average annual rainfall figures are 2,103mm and 1,168mm, respectively (Ghana Statistical Services, 2005). The Volta River Basin dominates the landscape and more than half of the land area of the region falls within this basin, which is drained by the Volta Lake (Figure 4-1). The Keta Lagoon Wetland Complex, consisting of the Keta Lagoon, the Avu Lagoon and smaller other lagoon systems, is found near the southern end towards the Gulf of Guinea. The focus of the current study is the Avu Lagoon area marked out in Figure 4-1.

### 4.2.2 Political Administration

The regional political administrative structure is illustrated in Figure 4-2. The highest political administrative body is the Regional Coordinating Council (RCC) and is headed by the Regional Minister.
The RCC also consists of representatives from metropolitan (for large urban centers), municipal (for towns) and district (for rural areas) assemblies, heads of various decentralized ministries, departments and agencies and representatives from the Regional House of Chiefs. The most senior civil servant in the region, responsible for the day-to-day administration of the RCC, is the Regional Coordinating Director, who also acts as the secretary to the RCC.

Below the RCC are metropolitan, municipal or district assemblies. The Volta Region has no metropolitan assembly due to the absence of a metropolitan city, but has three municipal assemblies and 15 district assemblies. Because this study focuses on the rural districts, the term District Assembly will be used in place of the other assemblies for the remainder of this discussion. The District Chief Executive (DCE) is in charge of the Assembly; the position is a presidential appointment that has to be approved by elected Assembly Members. The bureaucratic function of the district is the responsibility of the District Coordinating Director who assists the DCE and is also the secretary to the District Assembly. Each district is subdivided into area councils which are further divided into unit committees. A unit committee is made up of number of villages. Area Councils and Unit committees elect representatives to the District Assembly (Ghana Statistical Services, 2005).

Figure 4-2  Hierarchy of regional political administrative units in Ghana
4.2.3 Socio-cultural structure

In general, people in rural areas live in traditional communities which are units made up of individuals belonging to the same lineage. A lineage consists of extended families that can trace their genealogy to the same ancestor. At the local level, such communities or villages are headed by sub-chiefs or family heads. The traditional system is also organized along formal administrative lines and often blends with modern political administrative units. At the regional level is the Volta Region House of Chiefs, which, as already mentioned, has representatives on the RCC, and is made up of 15 paramount chiefs, who are in charge of 15 Traditional Councils in the region. It also has 17 rotating members (Ghana Statistical Services, 2005). Each traditional council is made up of several area councils. The Traditional Council or Authority performs a number of functions such as presiding over stool lands, which are held in trust for the people; arranging and presiding over traditional festivals and acts as the custodian of the local culture, customs and norms that govern people’s lives and behavior. The Traditional Authorities also have courts where they settle cases that range from disputes over stool lands, chieftainships and family lands to violations of traditions as well as disagreements between families and individuals. According to Sheppard and Bowen (2006) Traditional Authority exerts only loose control over the communities under them, rather greater authority comes from sub-chiefs and family heads who preside directly over the villages.

Ghana has diverse ethnic groups and languages and this is reflected within its regions. The Volta Region has eight ethnic groups but the main ones are the Ewe, who make up 68.5% of the population, followed by the Guan (9.2%), Akan (8.5%) and the Gurma (6.5%); other smaller groups make up less that 2% of the population (Ghana Statistical Services, 2005). There are three main religious groups in the Region. The majority of the population (67.2%) are Christian, followed by 21.8% who practice Traditional Religion and 5.1% who are Muslims. The rest either practice no religion (5.3%) or belong to smaller religious groups (0.7%; Ghana Statistical Services, 2005).

4.2.4 Socio-economic characteristics

The majority of the people are engaged in agriculture and related activities (Table 4-1), and of the three districts (Akatsi, South Tongu and Keta) that delimit the study area Akatsi has the highest percentage of the population working in agriculture and related enterprises. The region has a large agricultural land endowment, suitable for both crop and livestock production but only 29% of total arable land is being cultivated (Ghana Statistical Services, 2005). The major crops grown include cocoa (especially in the north), maize, rice, sorghum, cassava, yam, cocoyam and plantain. There is also cultivation of cash crops such as black pepper, cashew nuts, ginger, pineapple, pawpaw and mangoes.
Irrigation is not well developed in the Volta Region and is limited to high value crops such as shallots for export. Fishing is an important economic activity and the Volta River and Lake, as well as other water systems associated with the basin provide good fishing grounds. The majority of the people in the region (78%) are self-employed, indicating significant private enterprise especially in the wholesale/retail and trade related sector (Ghana Statistical Services, 2005). Currently, tourism does not appear on the economic data, suggesting that the sector plays a minor role in the economy of the region and its districts.

Table 4-1 Distribution of the economically active population (7 years of age or older) by sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector of employment</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Volta Region</th>
<th>South Tongu</th>
<th>Keta</th>
<th>Akatsi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, Hunting and Forest Related</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>71.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale/Retail Trade related</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, Storage and Communication</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Ghana Statistical Services, 2005)

Literacy is a significant concern especially among women in the Region. The region as whole has an illiteracy rate of 41.7% (31.3% and 50.9% males and females, respectively). Of the three districts delimiting the study area, illiteracy rate is higher than the region as a whole (46.1%, 43.4% and 50.5%, for South Tongu, Keta and Akatsi, respectively). Not only is the illiteracy rate highest for Akatsi District, but the district also has the highest percentage of females who are illiterate (63.7 % versus 59.4% and 55.9% for South Tongu and Keta, respectively). The region has a primary school enrolment rate close to 60%, but there is a sharp drop in enrolment between primary and junior secondary school (23.2%) and between junior secondary school and senior secondary school (8.9%). Some of the causes of poor progression among students include lack of enough junior and senior secondary schools and also inability to pay senior secondary school tuition which is not free. Enrolment in vocational schools and tertiary institutions in the region is below 3%.

The most common construction material for house walls is mud/mud and brick/earth; 60.1% for the whole region, 50.3%, and 69.7% for South Tongu, and Akatsi, respectively. However, this is different for Keta, a predominantly urban area, where cement block/concrete is the common wall material. The region has a very high percentage of houses with cement floors (71.2%) followed by earth floors (27.6%). Corrugated metal sheets are the main roofing material in the region (61.2%), in South Tongu (57.0%) and Keta (47.9%). For Akatsi thatch/palm leaf roofing is most common (50.5%). In Akatsi households have poor access to safe drinking water. Dugouts (34.1%), wells (23.5%) and river/stream (15.7%) are among the most common sources of drinking water in the district and only 6.9%
of households use outdoor piped water. In Keta outdoor piped water (34.6%) and wells (47.4%) are the most common. The majority of households in South Tongu depend on outdoor piped water (33.6%) and river/stream (37.4 %) for their drinking water. Wood and charcoal are the most common fuel for cooking across all districts. Sanitation is of big concern in the region with 24.7% of households having no access to proper toilet facilities (18.6%, 46.5% and 13.8% for South Tongu, Keta and Akatsi, respectively). Across all districts, at least 80% of households dispose of liquid waste on the compounds of houses and on the streets and there is a poorly developed sewage disposal system.

### 4.2.5 The Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative

The specific study site in Ghana was the Avu Lagoon area in the Volta Region (Figure 4-1). This section will provide a brief description of the area in the context of the community managed protected area which forms the backdrop to this study and then present the case studies.

Avu Lagoon is located within the Keta Lagoon Wetlands Complex, a RAMSAR site, and as such there have always been efforts from the Government of Ghana, through the Ghana Wildlife Division, to conserve the wetlands. Renewed efforts to conserve the Avu Lagoon wetland area came about following the discovery in 1997 that the Western Sitatunga, an endangered marsh-dwelling antelope, which was thought to be extinct in Ghana, was present in this area (Sheppard and Bowen, 2006). Beginning in October 2005, Nature Conservation Research Center, in collaboration with Ghana Wildlife Division initiated the community managed conservation initiative focused around conserving the Western Sitatunga and its habitat, the Lagoon. The initiative also seeks to improve the economic and social conditions of the participating communities through associated ecotourism development (Sheppard and Bowen, 2006b). Hence, this initiative is a CBNRM project which seeks to achieve both natural resource conservation and poverty alleviation goals. In Ghana such projects are called Community Resource Management Areas (CREMAs). The development of the CREMA involves creation of a protected area because a part of the lagoon will be demarcated as a zone of no utilization. This will mean significant loss of agricultural land, hunting grounds and sources of firewood (Sheppard, 2009). The management and some of the restrictions will also extend to areas outside this zone of no utilization. Therefore, there are significant livelihood changes for the community associated with this initiative and its success depends on how well the community is able to balance the conservation goals against community livelihood and well-being needs.
4.2.5.1 Organizational structures

The Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative is made up of 15 villages that surround the Avu Lagoon. While the initiative for establishing the conservation program came from NCRC in collaboration with Ghana Wildlife Division, the program is meant to be entirely community managed with the help of an elected management board. The management board, established in July 2006, is made up of two representatives from each of the 15 communities. Initially all the members of the board were male, but according to community members NCRC suggested that they should also have female representatives on the board and now each community has one male and one female representative. The board has an elected executive which is responsible for the day to day running of the conservation initiative.

The 15 villages that form the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative fall under three districts, South Tongu, Keta and Akatsi and three traditional authorities whose jurisdictions approximately overlap with the districts (Mazzocchett, 2007). The Agave traditional area falls mostly within South Tongu District, the Anlo traditional area falls within Keta District while the Avenor traditional area falls within Akatsi District. It is important to note that the three Ghana cases selected for this study were part of one unit committee and all fell under Akatsi District. Most villages in the area have one or more sub-chiefs, but some villages are led by a family head. Each village has a number of community groups and organizations such as drumming groups, churches, parent teacher associations and traditional groups (Sheppard and Bowen, 2006).

The ultimate goal is for the initiative to be granted Community Resources Management Area status by the Government of Ghana. For a community managed conservation program to become a CREMA it needs to fulfill three things 1) develop a constitution 2) create by-laws and 3) clearly demarcate the boundaries of the conservation area (Sheppard and Bowen, 2006). To date the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative has a constitution and accompanying by-laws and as of March 2011 was finalizing the demarcation process suggesting that the initiative will soon be declared a CREMA.

4.2.5.2 Socio-economic activities associated with the Avu Lagoon

In terms of its socio-economic activities, villages in the Avu Lagoon share the same characteristics as discussed for the region but the Lagoon has great influence on the livelihoods of the area. The area lies downstream of the Volta River system, below the Akosombo Dam; fresh water flows into the lagoon through the Tordzie River, River Lotor and three other water ways (Sheppard and Bowen, 2006). Communities around the Avu Lagoon use it for various purposes and data from the NCRC socio-economic survey shows that fanning, fishing, hunting, and distillation of akpeteshie (a liquor made from
sugarcane) are among some of the important livelihood activities that are closely linked to the Lagoon and its surrounding areas (Sheppard and Bowen, 2006).

Farming is an all-year round activity occurring on dryland in the wet season and the wetland around the Lagoon in the dry season. Wetland farming occurs when the floodwater has receded. Crops grown on the wetland include okra, pepper, onions, tomatoes and garden eggs, for both subsistence and sale. In addition, the sugarcane from which akpeteshie is distilled is grown on the wetland. People shift to dry land farming in the wet season, when the wetland is flooded.

The communities in the area observe market days as well as home market days. Market days occur every fifth day and it is a day that people take their goods, mostly agricultural produce, to the district market for sale. The market for Akatsi District is in the town of Akatsi, the district center. Within each market cycle, people also observe a home market day, which in Akatsi was on the third day following a market day. Observation of the home market day is obligatory and on this day no one is allowed to work in the fields but can do other chores around the home. The home market day is when most community meetings are scheduled. Special groups such as fishermen and hunters also often have their own taboo day when they do not hunt or fish but these tend to vary from village to village (Mazzocchett, 2007).

4.2.5.3 The Cases

Case #1: Suipe

Suipe is situated approximately 14km from Akatsi and 6.5km from the Avu Lagoon (Figure 4-1). It has an estimated population for 2011 of 1381, based on the 2000 population census (data obtained from the Akatsi District Assembly). Suipe was the closest village to Xavi (3.5 km) where the researcher stayed. The village is a composite made up of a number of clusters and hence fairly spread out. There is one elementary school but no junior or senior high schools. Other social amenities are shown in Table 4-2. Access to Suipe is by an unpaved road which is unusable by motorized vehicles during the wet season. Farming is the primary activity and access and use of the Lagoon by the village is indirect and low because it is further from the Lagoon (Sheppard and Bowen, 2006).

Case #2: Bayive

Bayive, with an estimated 2011 population of 1022 is located approximately 19km from Akatsi, 4.5km from Avu Lagoon and about 7km from Xavi (Figure 4-1). Similar to Suipe, it is also a composite village with multiple clusters. The village has an elementary school but is making plans to build a junior
high school. Other facilities in the village are summarized in Table 4-2. Being closer to the Lagoon, it is more low-lying than Suipe; the soils are darker and there is evidence of seasonal flooding in some places. Farming is the main activity.

**Table 4-2** Amenities in Suipe, Bayive and Wenu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facility</th>
<th>Suipe</th>
<th>Bayive</th>
<th>Wenu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water source</td>
<td>Lagoon/tributaries</td>
<td>Lagoon/tributaries</td>
<td>Well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitation</td>
<td>KVIP</td>
<td>KVIP</td>
<td>KVIP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>Avernorpeme (nearest, health center), Akatsi (hospital), Arbor (hospital)</td>
<td>Avernorpeme (nearest, health center), Akatsi (hospital), Arbor (hospital)</td>
<td>Avernorpeme (nearest, health center), Akatsi (hospital), Arbor (hospital)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>Connected to grid</td>
<td>Connected to grid</td>
<td>Connected to grid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road access</td>
<td>Unpaved (dry season)</td>
<td>Unpaved (dry season)</td>
<td>Unpaved (dry season)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Sheppard and Bowen, 2006)

**Case #3: Wenu**

Wenu is the closet to the Lagoon and the furthest from Xavi (about 10km). It is approximately 21km from Akatsi (Figure 4-1). The village is on the border with Keta District. Interestingly, population data for this village was not available at the Akatsi District Assembly offices. There was speculation that because it is right on the border of two districts, it may be wrongly assumed to be in the other district and hence data not collected. However, Wenu is the smallest of the three villages selected for the research with population estimates of between 200-300 people. Facilities in Wenu are shown in Table 4-2; there is no school in Wenu and children attend school in neighboring villages such as Bayive and Hartogodo. Wenu was connected to the electricity grid on February 14, during the period of this research. Fishing is a major activity in this village which is located next to channels that lead to the Lagoon.

### 4.3 Canada Study Site

#### 4.3.1 Physical attributes

The Canada study site falls within an area called Clayoquot Sound a region on Vancouver Island, British Columbia that has been home to First Nations tribes for centuries. Clayoquot Sound is situated on the west coast of Vancouver Island (Figure 4-3). It is bordered by the Esowista Peninsula to the south and the Hesquiat Peninsula to the north. Clayoquot Sound consists of a body of water with multiple inlets and islands as well as the surrounding land which forms the watershed. The major islands on Clayoquot Sound are Flores Island, Vargas Island and Meares Island (Figure 4-3). The vegetation is the temperate rain forest; Clayoquot Sound has the largest area of intact temperate old growth rainforest left on Vancouver Island (Friends of Clayoquot Sound, 2011). The area is home to a variety of both land and
water wild animals. The total land and water size is approximately 350,000 hectares with the land area alone (265,000 hectares) making up 8% of Vancouver Island (Friends of Clayoquot Sound, 2011).

Figure 4-3 Map showing the location of Clayoquot Sound on Vancouver Island, BC. Note the location of Opitsaht on Meares Island, one of the three major islands that form part of Clayoquot Sound.

4.3.2 Political Administration

The governance system for the region under which Clayoquot Sound falls is detailed in a report entitled *Nuu-chah-Nulth Central Region First Nations Governance Structure 2007/2008* (Arbour, Kuecks and Edwards, 2008). Figure 4-4 is an illustration of the political administrative structure for the area. Clayoquot Sound falls within the Nuu-chah-Nulth Regional government system, which consists of 14 First Nations tribes that share some components of culture, language and traditions and together make up the Nuu-chah-Nulth Tribal Council (NTC). The NTC provides programs and services, such as child welfare, health, social and economic development, education and training, to approximately 8000 registered members both off and on reserves. There is an NTC board of directors made up of elected chiefs from each of the nations as well as an executive and staff responsible for the day-to-day running of
NTC programs. The NTC is further divided into three regions, the Northern Region, Central Region and Southern Region. The focus of the current research is the Central Region.

The Central Region consists of five First Nations, Ahousaht, Hesquiaht, Tla-o-qui-aht, Toquaht and Ucluelet, of these, Hesquiaht on Hesquiaht Peninsula to the north, Ahousaht on Flores Island in the middle and Tla-o-qui-aht on Meares Island to the south form part of Clayoquot Sound (Figures 4-3 and 4-4). The Central Region Nations are represented by the Central Region Chiefs and they work with various boards to ensure development and management of resources that fall within the territories of the Central Region First Nations. Each First Nations tribe has two forms of governance, a hereditary governance system, and an elected governance system. The hereditary system is a system of traditional governance based on houses, which are social sub-groups based on ancestral ties. The role of the hereditary system was severely eroded in the past as a result of changes brought about by the Canadian Federal government that sought to integrate and assimilate First Nations people into mainstream Canadian society. Currently there are efforts to rebuild the hereditary system by restoring its functions (Enns, 2008). Hereditary chiefs have the responsibility of looking after the resources and territory of the nation for future generations. Tla-o-qui-aht, the focus of the current study has six hereditary chiefs, who through consensus make decisions on resource use.

![Organizational structure of the political administrative units of the Nuu-chah-Nulth First Nations, Vancouver Island, British Columbia](image)

**Figure 4-4** Organizational structure of the political administrative units of the Nuu-chah-Nulth First Nations, Vancouver Island, British Columbia
The elected system of governance consists of a Chief and Council, made of elected Chief Councilor and council members. For the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, there are eight council members and one Chief Councilor and elections are held every two years. The role of the Chief and Council is to manage the affairs of the band on behalf of the hereditary chiefs and they report to the hereditary chiefs and community members. In addition, there is an administrative unit responsible for the day-to-day management of the tribal affairs including delivery of programs and coordinating with mainstream government agencies.

4.3.3 Socio-economic characteristics

Most of the economic activities on Clayoquot Sound are centered on natural resources. Tourism plays a very important role in the economy of the area; members of the First Nations communities are engaged in a number of tourism related enterprises as artists, master carvers, tour operators and restaurant operators (Atleo, 2008; Enns, 2008). Forestry and fishing provide employment opportunities for the local people but these have been on the decline in recent years. Aquaculture appears to be a growing but highly controversial industry with some blaming it for polluting the ocean waters for other sea life.

Despite a vibrant tourism industry and a rich natural resource endowment, unemployment remains a major issue on most reserves. This is partly due to the decline of the forestry and fishing industries. Census data for Ahousaht First Nation estimate unemployment at 16-19% (Atleo, 2008) but locals report higher figures; one member of the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations estimated unemployment on Opitsaht First Nations reserve to be as high as 70%. The unemployment situation is exacerbated by the fact that the population on most of the reserves is very young; estimates for the Ahousaht First Nation show that 70% of the population is under 40 years of age and 41% of the population is under 19 (Atleo, 2008). There are also several social challenges such as the poor state as well as shortage of housing, transportation problems, low levels of education attainment, and inadequate sewage disposal infrastructure (Atleo, 2008; Charleson, 2008). Tofino is the service center for most of the First Nation reserves on the islands, but access to Tofino is only by boat or floatplane at relatively high cost. The Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation Reserve of Opitsaht has no school and children travel to Tofino for elementary school or Ucluelet for high school. Data for Ahousaht suggest low levels of academic progression; among residents 15 years old or more, 19% have less than Grade 9, 56% have Grade 9-13, 19% have trade or other non-university training and only 6% have university education (Atleo, 2008). The communities also grapple with a variety of health issues some of them related to social problems.
4.3.4 The Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks

The Canadian study site was the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks (TTP) on Clayoquot Sound. The origin of the Tribal Parks goes back almost 30 years ago when the hereditary chiefs of the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, in response to the threat of clear-cut logging of the ancient rainforest on Mears Island, declared Mears Island a Tribal Park in 1984 (Wilderness Committee, 2010, Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks, 2011). Since then the Tribal Park area has expanded to include Haa’uukmin (the Kennedy Lake watershed). The TTP hesitate to call this a protected area, because the label has an exclusionary meaning. Rather Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks focuses on sustainable utilization of the area where the emphasis is on use which avoids harm but benefit the ecosystem (Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks, 2011). The management of the Tribal Parks advocate uses such as low-impact ecotourism, habitat restoration and carefully controlled run-of-the-river energy generation while lobbying against clear-cut logging and industrial mining.

The administration of the Tribal Parks is based on traditional principles and practices that were successfully used for centuries by the ancestors of the First Nations people and allowed the present generation to inherit the land and its resources in an almost pristine condition (Martin and Enns, 2010). However, there is clear recognition of the need to meet people’s economic need in the present hence the focus is on both ecological and economic sustainability. According to the Tribal Parks Initiative (the organization managing the Tribal Park) the vision is to “re-establish a healthy integration of economy and environment in which there is a balance of creation and consumption and a continual investment in biological and economic diversity” (Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks, 2011: para1).

4.3.4.1 Organizational Structure

The Tribal Parks is an initiative of the local First Nations people and hence is a community-based natural resource management project. However, despite being in existence for over 2 decades, its organizational structure is just emerging and still being developed under the Tribal Parks Establishment Project, which seeks to “set up the administrative organization and the necessary governance tools, including a watershed management plan, a community development plan, and administrative operating procedures” (Terry Dorward-Seitcher, Personal Communications). While there is an executive led by the Tribal Parks Director, the hereditary chiefs as well as key representatives from the community also have an important say in the running of the Tribal Parks (Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks, 2011). The town of Tofino, a major tourist destination on the West Coast of Vancouver Island falls within the Tla-o-qui-aht territories but, it is not part of the Tribal Parks (Wilderness Committee, 2010). However, it provides important social and economic services to both its local residences and its First Nations neighbors and is where the administrative unit of the TTP is located.
4.3.4.2 Socio-economic activities

Most of the economic activities that the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations people are engaged in have already been discussed. As discussed for the rest of Clayoquot Sound, forestry and fishing industries have declined but people are still engaged in such activities as commercial salmon and halibut fishing. The area is a big tourism destination, with activities such as whale watching, canoeing, surfing, and hiking very common. There are a number of carvers and artists among the Tla-o-qui-aht people (Enns, 2008). Members of the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations offer historical canoe-based tours as well as run galleries for First Nations art and craft. Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations owns and operates a resort, Tin Wis Resort, and they also opened up a tourism booking center (Enns, 2008). However, unemployment remains high on the reserve, estimated at 70%. The Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations people face similar social challenges related to education, health and housing as discussed above for Clayoquot Sound.

Case #4: Optisat

Case# 4 is the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations Reserve of Opitsaht which is situated on Mears Island. Optisaht is located across the bay from the town of Tofino, which is the service center for the reserve and is accessed by boat at a cost of $5 per trip. According to Wilderness Committee (2010) historical records indicate that Opitsaht has been in existence for centuries; the village sits at the same site that was noted by traders from Britain and USA in the late 1700s. While only members of the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations people live on Opitsaht, a result of historical politics, some Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations people also live in the town of Tofino and on the smaller reserve of Esowista which is outside TTP but within the Pacific Rim National Park (Erin, 2008). The Tribal Parks is administered from Tofino, but the people of Opitsaht are key to the existence of the Tribal Parks as a community managed initiative; they are the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations people and hence the park belongs to them. In addition, because they live within the park decisions on how the park is managed and utilized have a direct impact on their livelihoods and community well-being. The population of the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations people is estimated at 926 and of these 323 live on reserve (Enns, 2008).

4.4 Summary

While the two study sites represent two distinct geographical and political locations, there are certain elements that tie the cases together making them good candidates for this case study research. First, communities in both the Ghana and Canada study sites are poor and still depend to a large extend on natural resources. The natural resource base in both instances occurs in sensitive ecosystems which prompted the creation of protected areas. However, in an effort to meet conservation goals and also the
survival needs of the communities, the protected areas are being developed as CBNRM projects. This provides a great opportunity for assessing community competence to implement the CBNRM projects as anti-poverty initiatives prior to the projects being fully operational. Second, they share a dual governance system, based on a “modern” elected system and a traditional/hereditary system. However, the communities are still largely traditional societies with well recognized traditional governance systems at the local level. Traditional cultures to a large extent still govern people’s behaviors, beliefs and relationships to one another and to their environment. This gives an opportunity to examine the relevance of traditional systems in the management of community anti-poverty initiatives such as CBNRM.
5 Chapter Five Research Findings and Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings of the research undertaken in order to assess community conditions that need to exist to facilitate implementation of community-driven poverty alleviation programs. The focus was on communities that are within or adjacent to protected areas and are involved in programs that seek to manage protected areas as part of community anti-poverty strategies. The research consisted of four case studies; three cases in Ghana, that is, Suipe, Bayive and Wenu, selected from 15 villages that make up the community managed Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative, and one case study in Canada, the First Nations Reserve of Opitsaht located on Mears Island, a part of the community managed Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks in Clayoquot Sound, British Columbia.

The research sought to address the following three objectives: 1) to use the process of testing the implementation of a community poverty assessment and asset identification instrument in order to determine levels of community mobilization, participation and analytical capacity, 2) to assess community groups for competence to implement community poverty reduction programs 3) to determine if the problems of using protected areas to achieve anti-poverty goals are due to inadequate organizational and institutional developmental conditions at the level of the community. These objectives contributed to the research goal of describing the organizational and institutional foundations within traditional rural communities that support implementation of participatory community anti-poverty initiatives.

Two main research activities were undertaken. The first activity involved testing the implementation of a community participatory poverty assessment and asset identification instrument. The second activity involved assessing community groups to determine their competence to act as implementing agents for community anti-poverty initiatives. The results are presented in chronological order of collection. For each of the data collection activities, Ghanaian cases are presented first followed by the Canadian case. It was important to present the results in this order because the emergent nature of the research meant early results informed subsequent data collection steps.

5.2 Testing the implementation of the community poverty assessment and asset identification instrument

To address the first objective the researcher set out to test the implementation of the community poverty assessment and asset identification instrument in each of the case study areas. During the implementation the researcher carefully evaluated the process to determine the level of community
mobilization, participation and analytical capacity displayed by the participants. The purpose of implementing the instrument was also to determine the applicability of the instrument as a tool for community poverty assessment.

The strategy was to hold community focus groups with 10-15 people selected with the help of community contact persons as described before. The researcher adopted the implementation plan as described in the instrument which consists of three stages each with a number of steps. The first stage involves identifying and evaluating dimensions of poverty/well-being (problem analysis). This consists of identifying all dimensions of poverty relevant to the community, then assessing how well the community is doing on each dimension. The community then looks at those dimensions where they are not doing well; discuss the possible causes before formulating ways to improve the dimensions. The second stage is to identify and evaluate local resources or assets by looking at what assets exist in the community, determining if they are easily accessible and how relevant is each asset to poverty reduction. The last stage brings together the first two and is when the community prioritizes what dimensions to focus on improving first and what assets are available for improving the poverty dimension. Cases are presented in the order in which the data was collected.

5.2.1 Case#1: Suipe

The researcher expected 10-15 people, but there were 22 registered participants and only one was a woman (the board member). The group was too large for a focus group and hence the researcher adjusted the meeting to some form of community forum or workshop. The researcher suggested breaking people into pairs but the participants decided that they wanted to work in groups of at least four each. This was evidence of the community taking charge of the process, an indication of participatory capability. The researcher, with the help of the translator, assumed the role of facilitator throughout the proceedings. The meeting began with the researcher introducing herself, outlining the agenda and explaining the ethical issues. Each group was given a blank A4 paper and some pencils and asked to choose one person to write for the group. Groups were free to write their contributions in either English or Ewe, the local language.

5.2.1.1 Identifying dimensions of poverty/well-being

This exercise focused on the first stage of the process of implementing the instrument. The implementation began by attempting to get the participants to identify all poverty or well-being dimensions based on their local understanding. These would form the basis for discussion and analysis in
which the community identifies those dimensions which they are doing well and most importantly the ones that need improving. The latter would become the focus of anti-poverty initiatives. The researcher asked the question “What would make Suipe the best place for everyone to live in?” The researcher took time explaining the question so that the participants could think broadly about what would constitute an ideal community to them and why. She explained that the focus should not only be on things the community does not have but rather what they consider to be things that make life good for everyone in the community.

One participant, a woman, wanted to know why the researcher was asking them to list all these things if she was not coming with an organization that would build them something. The researcher explained the goals of her research again and reiterated that this was not part of a development project such as those that build schools or roads, but as a student was hoping to engage in building and sharing knowledge with the community. The researcher also explained again the purpose of implementing such an instrument, which is to help the community plan their own development initiatives. This reaction from the participant suggests that the community may be used to people (outsiders) bringing them development projects. Therefore, the notion that the community can lead its own development may still be new. Such expectations pose a big challenge if community groups are to implement the instrument; people may not be willing to participate if they do not see any immediate tangible benefits to the community. Nevertheless, this suggests that when implementing such an instrument the purpose for undertaking the process needs to be clearly stated to avoid build-up of false expectations which would result in loss of community enthusiasm in participatory anti-poverty initiatives when the expectations are not met. Thereafter, for all the other case studies the researcher explained this very clearly at the begging of research activities.

After individual group discussions, groups then took turns reporting their ideas back and these were captured on the chalk board. Some of the people could speak English very well but the majority could not. During report back, one participant suggested that people report back in Ewe so that all the participants will understand; the translator would translate responses to English. There were three rounds of report backs so that each group gave three responses. Group members took turns reporting back so that no individual dominated group discussions, indicating the community’s capacity for participatory decision making by allowing all voices to be heard. Most people reported in English, especially in the first round of report backs, and it was in later rounds that Ewe was used more. This pattern of reporting suggests that the group scribes, who were literate, reported first and then other group members reported after them. The mixing of languages did not appear to present major problems in communication. Figure 5-1 show pictures of participants working in groups (A) and reporting back (B, C) and their contributions were captured on the chalkboard (D).
A summary of outcomes of the group discussions is presented in Table 5-1. The issues that the groups identified are shown in column 2; contributions that groups wrote down but did not have a chance to report back are also included and shown as “not discussed.” It was apparent that the groups talked about abstract ideas (poverty dimensions) in very specific terms (Table 5-1, column 2). To facilitate comparison across cases the issues were then grouped into poverty dimensions (Table 5-2, column 1) following the categorization system used in the instrument (see Appendix 2, Table 2). The dimensions were very similar to those identified in the instrument. However, the participants also stated dimensions that were closely related to conservation in the protected area, such as the need to prevent illegal hunting. Therefore, conservation was added as a dimension of well-being or poverty. Hence, when implementing the instrument, researchers need to be cognizant of the fact that the dimensions the community comes up with may differ from the list given in the instrument (which too is not exhaustive) and that participants may discuss poverty dimensions which are abstract ideas in very concrete terms and these would need to be reconciled for purposes of comparison.

The results show that the community has a multi-dimensional conceptualization of poverty. In addition to income and basic needs related dimensions such as employment, food security, transportation and health, the participants also identified issues related to security/violence (fire station and police station) as well as participation/social peace (chapel) and conservation (forming a watch-dog to prevent illegal hunting). These are dimensions that would not have been easily captured by the traditional income-based poverty assessment methods and therefore these results highlight the capacity of the instrument to capture the multi-dimensional nature of poverty. Interestingly, most of the dimensions identified had to do with provision of infrastructure (Table 5-2).

During the report back, the researcher noticed that the participants had deviated from the original implementation plan and this necessitated adapting the process. As stated earlier, the plan for implementing the instrument was to undertake a step-by-step process where the participants first identify the well-being or poverty dimensions, based on local understanding. This would be followed by an analysis of the dimensions in which the participants identify areas the community is doing well and areas that need improving. The problems would be analyzed to determine possible causes. It is only after problem analysis that solutions (what is needed) can be developed. However, in answering the question prompting them to identify poverty/well-being dimensions the participants focused solely on those dimensions that needed improvement in their community and not all dimensions they considered to be important in their community. The use of statements that began as “we need…..” confirmed that the participants focused only on dimensions that needed improvement in their community and also showed that they were already providing solutions by stating what needed to be done.
Figure 5-1 Series of pictures showing participants at the community meeting in Suipe working in groups (A), and discussing during reporting back B) and C); participants’ contributions are captured on a chalkboard (D).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poverty Dimension</th>
<th>What would make Suipe the best place to live in</th>
<th>Prompting Questions</th>
<th>Comments from participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>Tourism Center</td>
<td>Why do you want the Centre in Suipe?</td>
<td>Since in Ghana or the whole of the world, they found Sitatunga in Avu Lagoon here. If the Centre is here perhaps the youth will get jobs to do and it will attract foreigners too.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Market</td>
<td>Can you describe the type of market you are thinking of? Why is it important to have a market here in Suipe, people still come to Suipe without the market?</td>
<td>If they are able to start a market on their own, other villages will come also. They produce the larger quantities of vegetables here. Since they do not have good roads, when it rains it disturbs them a lot. Their land is very fertile here and people cannot afford transporting to the market in Akatsi. If we cannot transport to market everything gets rotten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobs</td>
<td></td>
<td>What type of jobs are you thinking of?</td>
<td>Any jobs from the government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Health Centre</td>
<td>Is there no health centre right now? Why is it a problem going to Akatsi or Abo?</td>
<td>There is no health centre in Suipe right now. People go to Akatsi and Abo. In case of emergency we do not have road, don’t have cars! Person will have to walk all the way to Akatsi or Abo and they will be tired. In rainy season roads will be slippery. For the HC, when the pregnant woman her time is up to give birth, they would need to go to the hospital. Since there are no cars, they find it difficult to go there and sometimes they deliver in the house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>Road</td>
<td>What is wrong with the current road? How different should the road be from the current one?</td>
<td>When it rains you cannot come here. We want a constructed one, a second class road, paved and coated and it is perennial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water and Sanitation</td>
<td>Drinking Water</td>
<td>What is wrong with water right now?</td>
<td>They have some dam here that leads to the Lagoon. When it rains the nearby village water (waste) enters into the dam which people use for drinking. Put use chemicals and these end up in the dam contaminating the water that people drink.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toilet (KVIP)</td>
<td>Can you describe the toilet you need?</td>
<td>The KVIP, like the one in Xavi. Suipe is made up of a number of small villages, each village should have its own KVIP.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Security</td>
<td>Irrigation Project</td>
<td>What would the irrigation project be for; would it be to produce more food?</td>
<td>For our own consumption and to sell to other people. Both.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Schools (Kindergarten, JHS, SHS)</td>
<td>What is the situation now regarding schools?</td>
<td>They have a nursery but they do not have qualified teachers and the ones they have they have no money to pay them and also</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How do they get there? Need buildings. Right now they meet under the tree/shade. For JHS students go to Avenorpeme and Xavi. For SHS the students go to Akatsi and Abo. They rent the house for the children in Akatsi or sometimes they ride bicycles to the school.

Conservation study groups (contribution not discussed) To discuss the importance of protecting animals and birds in the community

Security/Violence Fire Station Why is fire service important to you? Since they are having electricity now, sometimes they can have electrical faults, children can be electrocuted. They will have to go to Akatsi and there is not fire service here. By the time they come from Akatsi (the fire service people) everything will be burnt.

Police Station Why do you feel there should be a Police Station in Suipe? Some people are very stubborn and if you want to report them they will run away before you come back and also you would not have money to charter a taxi (to go report them in Akatsi). The nearest police station is in Akatsi and Abo. Sometimes some people will take cutlasses and guns to attack others to rob them or when there is a misunderstanding.

Participation/Social Peace Chapel What type of chapel do you want, a Christian chapel or other religions? Want a Christian chapel, the community has only Christian, which is the Catholic Church. Apart from the Christian group, there are also traditional groups in the community (but they do not need a chapel).

Conservation Watch-dog for illegal hunting (contribution not discussed) To keep watch on the ill-hunting of the animals and birds in the community

Hence, the participants had abridged the process, skipping the identification of all dimensions of poverty and well-being, problem identification and analysis and instead focusing on providing solutions (what needs to be done). It is important for communities to adequately analyze problems before arriving at solutions in order to avoid proposing solutions that do not address the problem. It can be argued that participants stated their problems as solutions simply because they were answering the question the researcher asked them, that is, “what would make Suipe the best place for anyone to live in?” However, as already stated, the researcher made every effort to explain that the question was asking them to identify all poverty dimensions. Besides, identifying needs or presenting solutions without adequately articulating the problems suggests an inadequacy in analytical capacity.
The researcher, therefore, adapted the process in order to get the participants to analyze their problems. This was done by asking the participants questions that prompted them to elaborate and explain why they thought the community needed to address specific issues (Table 5-1). How the implementation unfolded and the adaptations made will be illustrated using a few examples.

One group indicated that the community needed a health center. The facilitator prompted for more information by asking “is there no health center right now?” The participant answered that there was no health center in the community right now and people had to go to Akatsi or Abo (a nearby service centre that falls under Keta District). The researcher asked “what is wrong with going to Akatsi or Abo?” The participant answered “In case of emergency, we do not have road, don’t have cars. A person will have to walk all the way to Akatsi or Abo and they will be tired. In the rainy season roads are slippery.” This response seems to suggest that the main problem were roads or transportation in general. Hence, without adequate analysis of the problem a new health center was proposed as a solution to a transportation problem.

Another group said that the community needed a market. The researcher asked “why is it important to have a market here in Suipe?” The participant answered that we produce the larger quantities of vegetables here. Since we do not have good roads when it rains it disturbs us a lot. Our land is very fertile here and people cannot afford transporting to the market in Akatsi. If we cannot transport to market everything gets rotten.

What this suggests is that roads are a major problem in the community and affect different facets of community life including access to health and markets. However, if the community was to build a health center and a local market, without addressing the issue of roads, it is likely that poor roads would still impact the performance of the new health center and market. On the other hand, addressing the problem of roads may indirectly improve access to the already existing health services and markets. Hence, this highlights the shortfall of an inadequate analytical capacity where solutions are proposed without clearly identifying the problems and possible causes.

The following example illustrates that identifying a problem and assessing possible causes will help in formulating solutions. Another group said the community needed clean drinking water but they did not state why. It was only after the facilitator asked “what is wrong with the water right now?” that the participant explained we have some dam here that leads to the Lagoon. When it rains the nearby village water (waste water) enters the dam which people use for drinking. People use chemicals and these end up in the dam contaminating the water that people drink.

When prompted to explain further, the participant identified the problem as poor quality of drinking water and possible causes as contamination from village waste and agrochemicals. Based on these causes possible solutions could be better sanitation in the village, regulation of agrochemical use in or around the
water source or drawing in piped water from elsewhere. However, stating the need for clean drinking water alone without identifying why there is no clean drinking water (causes) does not provide adequate information to help formulate effective solutions. Hence, the researcher managed to get the participants to undertake problem identification and analysis by asking them questions that prompted them to reflect on what was the problem and why.

An interesting observation was the fact that the instrument was able to capture the evolving nature of community needs. Like most of the villages in the area Suipe received electricity a few years ago and interestingly one group raised the issue of fire safety. The participant indicated that the village needed a fire service. The researcher asked “**why is the fire service important to you?**” and the participant responded

> Since we are having electricity now, sometimes we can have electrical faults, children can be electrocuted. We will have to go to Akatsi and there is no fire service here. By the time they come from Akatsi, everything will be burnt.

The issue of electrical safety is very important considering that most of the houses in the area have thatching on the roofs (Ghana Statistical Services, 2005). A decade ago this would not have been an issue because there was no electricity in the village. This shows poverty as dynamic, suggesting that a community poverty assessment cannot be a one off endeavor but something to be done periodically to capture the evolving nature of community life.

Of interest to the role of protected areas in anti-poverty strategies is the fact that participants identified the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative as a program to alleviate poverty and also the need to properly manage it by curbing illegal hunting (Table 5-1). One group stated that the village needed a tourism center. The participants explained that “since in Ghana or the whole of the world, they found Sitatunga in Avu Lagoon here. If the Centre is here perhaps the youth will get jobs to do and it will attract foreigners too.” Hence, community expectations are that through tourism, the project will generate jobs which will employ the local youth. It is likely that the community wants the Tourism Center in their village so that the jobs will be for the village youth. These are important expectations that would need to be addressed because lack of fulfillment may affect the community’s participation in the project.

### 5.2.1.2 Creating symbols/icons to represent the dimensions

One of the major challenges in planning participatory community-driven programs is the way that information is captured. Illiteracy was found to be very high in Akatsi District (Ghana Statistical Services, 2005). During this workshop, it was clear that capturing information in English presented challenges for some of the participants. Capturing proceedings in written text, whether in English or Ewe, limits the
participation of those who cannot read or write. They cannot identify issues even those they personally contributed once they have been put on paper. However, symbols can help people understand the world around them even when they cannot read. Therefore, in the next task the group addressed the literacy constraint by developing symbols (icons) that represented each of the dimensions that were identified in the previous activity. The groups were given A4 paper to draw on and each group was to make a symbol for each of the issues that were identified. At the end they each pinned up their drawings against the issues listed on the chalk board and groups compared the different symbols they produced for each issue.

The symbol creation was an interesting exercise but it was clear that the symbols created for the same issue varied from group to group, suggesting differences in transforming issues into imagery by the participants. Without some form of standardization at the community level, the symbols would not be useful as planning tools. However, the process of standardizing and validating the symbols for use as substitute for written text required more time than provided for during this research. Hence, for the other cases, symbol development was done to illustrate the need to ensure equal and full participation of all in community planning exercises rather than to actually produce symbols to be used in future poverty assessment exercises.

Symbols development could potentially be incorporated into the instrument implementation process as discussion points that would guide problem analysis. The variation in the symbols that were produced for the same dimension suggested that when creating the symbol each participant focuses on certain aspects of the dimension which reflect what the dimension means to them. Therefore, after creating the symbol participants can be asked to explain in more detail the aspects of the dimension the symbol is trying to define. For example the participants can be asked “what do you think about when you draw this particular symbol?” and “what does it mean to you in human or life terms?” Using the symbols in this way may help structure the poverty assessment process so that participants will adequately undertake problem analysis first before jumping to developing solutions.

In summary, the implementation of the first stage of the instrument in Suipe revealed that the community has a multi-dimensional conceptualization of poverty. Mobilization of participants was higher than anticipated and all those who attended participated in group discussions and interacted positively with the researcher. However, mobilization of women was low; only one of the 22 registered participants was a woman.

A major challenge in implementing the instrument was guiding the participants so that they go through the process of identifying and analyzing problems in a step-by-step manner. This calls for key adaptations to the instrument to make it operational. A strategy the researcher used in the current study was to use prompting questions to guide the participants through the process and focus them on important analytical steps that they had missed. The fact that participants focused on identifying needs without
clearly analyzing the problems suggest an inadequacy in analytical capacity. This could reflect problems of the language of the process or instrument. It is possible that translation of the instrument from English to Ewe may have distorted the message or resulted in failure to fully comprehend what was required. To overcome this, it may be necessary to test the instrument with a small group of community members who can speak both languages so that they can help modify the English statements to a level which is easy to translate into the local language. The process of simplifying the language is also very critical if community groups are to implement the instrument. Icons representing identified poverty dimensions may also be used to structure and guide problem analysis thus enhancing the analytical capacity of the participants. Another important point to note is that only the first stage of the instrument was implemented in this meeting which lasted about 3 hours. Therefore, in future, when planning to implement the whole instrument researchers should consider a longer time frame.

5.2.2 Case#2: Bayive

A total of 58 participants were registered of which 25 were women. This was a much higher number than the 10-15 people that the researcher expected and, therefore, represented very high community mobilization. The meeting became a community forum/workshop instead of a focus group. The researcher suggested breaking up into smaller groups and participants worked on their own to balance men and women and also to ensure that each group had at least one person who could write. This, however, was not always very successful; a group of women remained on one bench for a while and were eventually joined by two men. The participants divided themselves into seven groups of at least seven people each. The researcher then introduced herself and explained what the research sought to accomplish as well as the ethical issues. Each group was given blank A4 paper and pencils.

5.2.2.1 Identifying dimensions of poverty/well-being

The same implementation strategy that was used in Suipe was adopted in Bayive and began by asking the participants to identify all poverty or well-being dimensions based on their local understanding. The researcher posed the question “what would make Bayive the best place for everyone to live in?” and asked each group to think about it and list all the things they thought would make for an ideal community. The researcher emphasized that the participants should think in general terms about things that would make for an ideal community and not only focus on dimensions that their community was not doing well. Groups could write their contributions in English or Ewe. At the beginning some people just sat and did not contribute, particularly women. The researcher tried to get the participants
focused by saying “imagine that you are looking at Bayive and deciding whether to live in it, tell me what it is that Bayive should have to make it the best place to live in and why”. Groups discussed among themselves and wrote their ideas down and then took turns reporting back. The information was captured on flip-chart paper. During report back participants spoke in English or Ewe and this was translated. Because of the large number of groups only two rounds of reporting back were done so that each group gave two responses; at the end of the meeting the researcher collected the group’s contributions so that even those ideas that were not reported back could also be captured. Figure 5-2 shows a series of pictures taken as participants worked in groups as well as during report back.

Outcomes of the group discussions are presented in Table 5-2; contributions that groups wrote down but did not have a chance to report back are also included and shown as “not discussed.” Similar to Suipe, when identifying the dimensions, the participants focused on very specific issues. Therefore, the issues were categorized into poverty dimensions (Table 5-2, column 1) following the category of dimensions used in the instrument (Appendix 2, Table 2) to facilitate comparison across cases.

The dimensions were very similar to those identified in the instrument and also in Suipe (Table 5-1). Participants in Bayive identified shelter, energy, recreation/leisure and self-esteem which were not identified in Suipe. The poverty dimensions identified in Bayive also supported observations made in Suipe that the instrument allowed the capture of the multi-dimensional aspects of poverty. Dimensions captured ranged from those more closely associated with basic needs such as health (hospital), food security (irrigation pumps and forestation) and shelter (low cost buildings) to more social-related dimensions such as self-esteem (respect of strangers and informal education), participation/social peace and leisure (Table 5-2). Participants also identified “good loving people” and “respect of strangers” as important dimensions.
Figure 5-2 Pictures of participants at the community meeting in Bayive. Panels A), B) and C) show participants working in groups while D) shows participants reporting back to the main group. The translator acted as a co-facilitator and captured data on flip chart paper.
### Table 5-2 Summary of what groups identified as important to make Bayive the best place to live

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poverty Dimensions</th>
<th>What would make Bayive the best place to live in</th>
<th>Prompting questions</th>
<th>Comments from participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Water and Sanitation</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Tell me more about the water. What is the problem with the water from the river?</td>
<td>Straight pipe water. The water right now is coming from a river. It is not that clean, it is very reddish and besides the cows also use it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toilet KVIP</td>
<td>What is the situation with toilets?</td>
<td>Only have one at the moment and the whole community has to use this one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean environment</td>
<td>Not discussed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation/Social peace</td>
<td>Community Center</td>
<td>Why would it be important to have a community centre?</td>
<td>We do not have a place for a meeting like this. Whenever it is raining the place becomes muddy. We can discuss important things there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good Loving People, Should have peace in the community</td>
<td>What would help to ensure peace in the community?</td>
<td>We must love one another. At the moment people are trying to love one another.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>A 3-phase transformer</td>
<td>What do you have right now?</td>
<td>Right now, we are having a single phase transformer, it cannot let us run our machines like corn meal grinder, even fridges, when a lot of people are using that the current becomes very low and our fridges cannot work properly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hotel or Guest House</td>
<td>Why do you think Bayive should have a hotel or guest house?</td>
<td>So that whenever there are visitors they can come and stay in them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jobs</td>
<td>Tell me more about jobs</td>
<td>Whenever the children complete junior high school they do not have anything to do so we want jobs in the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Market</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>Road</td>
<td>What about the road? Which particular road are you thinking off; there are many roads to Bayive?</td>
<td>When it rains you cannot come here. The road is very slippery. Want it to be constructed and coated. To Xavi, Akatsi direction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>School Block -JHS</td>
<td>Tell me more</td>
<td>There is only primary school at the moment. Children go to Avenorpeme which is 3.5 miles away.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education/Self-esteem</td>
<td>Informal Education in the community</td>
<td>What is it that people would be learning?</td>
<td>Some of us want to be speaking English and writing and some also want to know how to write the Ewe so they can be able to read and write</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>What is currently in the village to help with health</td>
<td>There is nothing. The people go to Avenorpeme, Akatsi, Abor. They are both very far. We sometimes walk to the hospital.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelter</td>
<td>Low cost buildings for living in</td>
<td>Can you describe the type of building, how different from the present?</td>
<td>Most of the buildings use mud thatch so whenever it is rainy season, the rain disturbs them from their rooms. The modern one which consists of kitchen, toilet and bathtub.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food security</td>
<td>Forestation (planting of</td>
<td></td>
<td>There are farmers in the community,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Why is aforestation important to you? We have the forest in the lagoon, are they maintaining it because the rainfall is not reliable we want to be practicing “aforestation” (planting of trees). Whenever a place has more trees the rain falls there more. Yes we are but it is a bit far from here. (Trees will prevent wind storm)

Water pumping /water pumping machine. Tell me more. Sometimes there is no rain and we want to pump water from the river. The water would be used for irrigation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recreation/leisure</th>
<th>Sport stadium</th>
<th>Not discussed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>Not discussed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-esteem</td>
<td>Respect of strangers</td>
<td>Not discussed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As observed in Suipe, the majority of responses given in Bayive suggested that, instead of following the implementation steps and start by identifying all poverty dimensions, the participants focused on identifying needs and solutions. This was characterized by statements that began as “we need….” or “the community needs….” This abridging of the process was a major adaptation to the implementation process made by the participants. To ensure that the participants still undertook the problem analysis steps, the researcher adapted the process by asking the participants questions that prompted them to elaborate and explain why they thought the community needed to address the specific issues that they had identified (Table 5-2).

Prompting the participants this way often yielded very interesting information which shed new light to the initial identified needs. For example, one group said that the community needed low cost housing for living in. The low quality of housing in the district of Akatsi was noted by the Ghana Statistical Service Report (2005). The researcher prompted the participant to explain a little more about the houses by asking “can you describe the type of buildings; how different should they be from the present ones?” The participant answered that

Most buildings are not good. If such a place exists we could rent them out to people even visitors. Most of the buildings use mud and thatch so whenever it is rainy season the rain disturbs us from our rooms. The modern one consists of kitchen, toilet and bathtub.

Even though the participants originally stated that the community needed low cost housing to live in, the houses were also seen as something that would potentially expand business opportunities for individuals. Therefore, this suggests that there is often a deeper meaning or motivations behind identified problems and solutions which may not be apparent to everyone or may address personal issues instead of wider community concerns. Hence, problem analysis should be an in-depth discussion that focuses on defining the problem, identifying its causes before proposing solutions.

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In Bayive, after being prompted to explain, participants often made logical links between the needs/solutions and the problems that the solutions were supposed to solve. For example, a participant stated that “aforestation” was important in their community. When asked why this was important, the participant responded that “there are farmers in the community; because the rainfall is not reliable we want to be practicing aforestation. Whenever a place has more trees the rain falls there more.” Therefore, the participants believe that unreliable rainfall is affecting farmers and proposed planting more trees which would increase rainfall. There is a logical link between the problem and the proposed solution. With prompting questions from the researcher, the participants made several other logical links between problems and solutions they had proposed (Table 5-2).

Poverty, especially in most rural places in Africa is often defined in terms of basic needs, such as shelter, food, and safe drinking water. However, issues of human development were also captured by participants in Bayive. One group said that the community needed informal education. The researcher wanted clarification on the point and asked “what is it that people would be learning?” A woman participant responded and said “some of us want to be speaking English and writing. Some also want to know how to write in Ewe so they can be able to read and write.” It was very interesting that a woman articulated the issue of literacy because Akatsi district has one of the highest proportions of women who are illiterate according to the 2000 Census Report for the Volta Region (Ghana Statistical Services, 2005). It was also interesting to note that even among the very poor and deprived communities, individual human development is seen as an important aspect of well-being. This illustrated that poverty goes beyond income needs; the participants valued the ability to be able to read and write as a benefit on its own right with no specific links to economic benefit.

Another group touched on a very different dimension of community well-being; the group said that the community needed “good loving people.” The participant said “we should have peace in the community” and the facilitator asked “what would help to ensure peace in the community?” The participant responded that “we must love one another. At the moment people are trying to love one another.” This was probably one instance where participants identified a dimension solely because they felt it would make life better in the community even though the community was not doing poorly in the dimension of love and peace.

Similar to the observation in Suipe, there were indications that the community expected the protected area to contribute to poverty alleviation through tourism development. One group stated that the community needed a hotel or guest house. When asked why Bayive would need a hotel, the participant answered “so that whenever there are visitors they can come and stay in them.” The Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative proposes ecotourism as the primary way by which the local communities would benefit from the initiative. Local people often refer to tourists as visitors and this
suggests that the community expect the project to bring in tourists and they will benefit by providing the
tourists with services such as accommodation.

The researcher collected all the A4 papers that the groups had written their ideas on. As the
researcher was capturing the group contributions into electronic text, she came across contributions from
one group which she verified was neither English nor Ewe. This was interesting because even though the
group had written incomprehensible ideas on paper (possibly because the scribe did not know how to
write but still wanted to lead the group) they had reported back their ideas to the rest of the group like
everyone else. Hence, the issue of language of planning and literacy was important and was the focus of
the subsequent exercise.

5.2.2.2 Creating symbols/icons to represent the dimensions

Cognizant of the fact that not many people could read or write and also to highlight the issues of
language and method of information capture in the planning process, the researcher asked the participants
to draw symbols that best represented each of the poverty/well-being dimensions they had identified.
These icons would help members who cannot read so that they can follow the planning process. The
groups were given A4 sheets of paper to draw symbols for only the items their group reported back.
Interestingly, the process of drawing symbols got everyone engaged, including those who had earlier not
shown interest in participating. One woman even took charge of drawing symbols for her group. As in
Suipe, the researcher recognized that standardizing the symbols for use in poverty assessment and other
planning exercises required time which was beyond the scope of the current research. However, a symbol
represents a specific conceptualization of the poverty dimension by those who construct it and therefore,
as already suggested, could be used as an aide in problem analysis as part of implementing the instrument.

Most proceedings in Bayive took longer because of the large group size. The meeting lasted about
3.5 hours and only managed to cover the first stage of the implementation process. In summary,
community mobilization in Bayive was very high, but there were more men than women participants. The
implementation showed that the participants understood poverty as meaning more than just basic needs
and identified issues such as love, peace and respect as being important for community well-being. The
role of the protected area in poverty alleviation was also recognized; participants suggested having a hotel
or guest house in the community for the tourists which would provide employment for the local people.
Responses from the participants suggest that conservation is an important dimension of well-being in
their community.

Challenges to implementing the instrument were the same as those identified in Suipe; participants had difficulty following the step-by-step implementation process and instead focused on
identifying needs. However, participants in Bayive appeared better at articulating the problems; when prompted by the researcher they were able to logically link their proposed solutions to the problems. Adaptations that were proposed for Suipe are also suggested for Bayive, such as working with local people to simplify the language of the instrument, using symbols to assist in problem analysis and allocating much longer time for implementing the entire instrument.

5.2.3 Case#3: Wenu

In Wenu, 20 participants were registered of which seven were women. The researcher suggested people break down into small groups and participants divided themselves into four groups. However, this took some effort as for a while, people just sat and kept quiet. One young man finally got up and organized people into groups with the help of the translator. What this showed was that, even when not specifically identified, there are those within the community who will stand up to take leadership roles, probably because of prior experience. The researcher introduced herself, explained to the group what the meeting hoped to accomplish and addressed ethical issues. After ensuring that each group had someone who could write, the groups were given blank A4 paper and pencils.

5.2.3.1 Identifying dimensions of poverty/well-being

The same implementation strategy used in the other two communities was used in Wenu. To start the exercise, the researcher posed the question “what would make Wenu the best place for everyone to live in?” and asked the participants to take a few moments to think about it and in their group list all the things they thought would make for an ideal community. The researcher encouraged participants to think in general terms about things that the village might already have or does not have but which in their own view would make life better for everyone. Participants could write their contributions in English or Ewe. At first the researcher had to remind the participants to tell the group-writer their ideas as she noticed that some participants, especially women, were sitting quietly while the writer contributed everything. She reminded them that everyone’s ideas were important and needed to be heard. After this there was more active group discussion. Based on experience with the other communities where participants focused only on issues that they saw as inadequate in their community, the researcher tried to focus the participants so that they could think more broadly about well-being and poverty by saying “sometimes it is easy to forget about the things that we already have. Another way to look at it is to also ask ourselves what is it that is already here that we would not want to miss.”
At the beginning of report back, one participant said he wanted people to speak in Ewe so that everyone could understand. The ideas were all translated into English and captured on flip-chart paper by the researchers. There were three rounds of report backs so that each group gave at least three responses. Figure 5-3 shows participants working in their groups (A, B), reporting back and discussing their contributions (C) and capturing the contributions on flipchart paper (D). The outcomes of the exercise are summarized in Table 5-3 and contributions that groups wrote down but did not have a chance to report back are also included and shown as “not discussed.” Similar to Suipe and Bayive, when identifying the dimensions, the participants focused on very specific issues. Therefore, the issues identified by the groups (Table 5-3, column 2) were categorized into poverty dimensions (Table 5-3, column 1) based on categorization system used in the instrument (Appendix 2, Table 2).

The dimensions were very similar to those identified in the instrument (Appendix 2, Table 2) and also in Suipe and Bayive. Participants in Wenu raised two issues, tree planting and bush fires, which were considered conservation issues and hence conservation was added as an important dimension of poverty or well-being. Tree planting was also identified in Bayive but the context was different. In Bayive tree planting was identified for its role in improving rainfall for farming rather than to promote conservation. As observed in Suipe and Bayive, participants in Wenu viewed poverty in a multidimensional way and this was captured by the instrument (Table 5-3). One group, for example, stated that the whole area needed to be well planned. The researcher asked “what are some of the things you think of when you think of a well planned community?” The participant responded saying “we do not build houses in a good manner. Houses should be in a line so that they will have a road so that everyone can access.” This is an interesting point as it again suggests that what is considered important for community well-being goes beyond basic needs, even in a poor rural traditional society. The idea of planned settlements is something that is less likely to feature in discussions of poverty among development practitioners and academics when looking at poor rural communities. Although this was categorized under water and sanitation, it suggests that planning in general should be added as an important dimension for community well-being.
Figure 5-3 Pictures showing participants at the community meeting in Wenu. Participants worked in groups to identify dimensions of poverty important to their community (A and B) and reported their findings to the rest of the meeting (C); contributions from the groups were captured on flip-chart paper (D).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poverty Dimensions</th>
<th>What would make Wenu the best place to live in</th>
<th>Prompting Question</th>
<th>Comments from participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Water and Sanitation</td>
<td>The whole area must be well-planned</td>
<td>What are some of the things that come to your mind when you think of a well planned community?</td>
<td>We do not build houses in a good manner. Houses should be in a line so that we will have a road so that everyone can access. Also commented that well, people do not have money to build houses with good materials but at least the houses should be arranged in a line.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean Environment/good sanitation</td>
<td>Are there some things that need to be improved right now to achieve good sanitation? (There was some discussion among themselves which I did not capture when I asked this question). What is the problem with the bushes?</td>
<td>When I say good sanitation then in between bushes should be removed. It brings mosquitoes that spread malaria.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking Water – pipe borne drinking water.</td>
<td>Where does the water come from at the moment? I noticed a large water receptacle made from clay (pottery) and this is found at most homes. I asked if they use this to collect rain water. One participant said they also collect water from the well and store it in the receptacle.</td>
<td>At the moment we have a well as well as the Lagoon. We have a borehole but it is not working. The water is not good it looks like there is oil inside the water and it is reddish. The well is an open well.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>What is the situation now?</td>
<td>There is no school here, the children have to walk to Hartogodo to go to school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Health Center</td>
<td>What would be the benefits of having a health center here? Where do people go right now? What about Avenorpeme, there is a health center at Avenorpeme. When I went there, there were some people, who are those people?</td>
<td>If it happens that someone falls sick at night we are not having good roads here. We have another village, Agoblordokui, also has no health center, so if the health centre is at Wenu then they can use it as well. Akatsi, Abor. Avenorpeme has more equipment than what they have at Hartogodo but Avenorpeme the building they do not have the doctors and nurses. There are no regular nurses at Avenorpeme, the nurses move around.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>Guest House</td>
<td>How would the guest house make Wenu the best place to live in? Are the visitors personal/family visitors or are these tourists? People laughed and there was a</td>
<td>Sometimes we have visitors; we do not have a place for them to stay. Tourists mostly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sugar Factory</strong></td>
<td>What do you want to do with the sugar factory?</td>
<td>We used to plant sugarcane here, since we do not have the factory to make sugar we carry the sugar cane to Hartogodo where they have a machine to extract the juice. NO. There they use the sugarcane to manufacture akpeteshie. It can help us in the development and those who do not have jobs can get jobs in the factory. Our children are in school, if that job is here and you get money you can use it to pay their school fees. Youth in the community can get jobs in the factory.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>Do they have a sugar factory at Hartogodo?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>What would the sugar factory do for the community?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>What do you mean by development?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **We do not have a market** | Not discussed | |
| **Workshop like cement factories** | Not discussed | |

| **Food Security** | Money to farm (Agricultural finance) | Can you tell me more about that explain a little more? | We have a wetland here, because of lack of money we do not work on time. By the time we prepare the farm, when its flooding season the flood will take the crops away (late cropping leads to loss of crops from the flood). We can use the money to take more people and to buy fertilizers so that the crops will grow faster. Pepper, garden eggs, tomato, sugar cane, maize, okra, cassava (but not on so large a scale in the wetland). |
| --- | In terms of the wetland, how would they use the money to speed things up? | |
| --- | But what is it that the money will help you do? | |
| --- | What is it that you grow in the wetland? | |

| **Transportation** | Road | What about the road? | In the rainy season, it is very difficult to go anywhere. The road must be constructed, they should look after the road (so that) whenever someone falls ill at night the car can come and take them to hospital. |
| --- | Road-Bridges on all the waterways | Where and why | We want bridging between here and Hartogodo because in the wet season lorries cannot come here because the road will be flooded. |
| --- | Roads (again) | What about roads? | Since the road is not good we carry our things from here to the market with the car, the transportation fees is very high. Akatsi is a big market. |
| --- | Why go to Akatsi to the market there? | |
Would it help with the transport situation to have a market here in Wenu or Xavi or nearby or that would not help at all?  

But the roads are bad such that even if we had a market people from other communities would not be able to come here.

I prompted for any last burning ideas  

I said we have talked a lot about roads, if the community was to decide we want roads whom would they approach for help, or who is responsible?  

Every town or village whether they have 3 buildings you still need people to come or to go buy things. You can even sell your pepper in the house if the roads are good.

We have an Assembly Man, we need to see them and tell them our problems and he will take it to the DA, the DA will tell the government.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conservation</th>
<th>Tree planting</th>
<th>We have land here, we want to plant more trees eg mangoes and Zankara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|              | Why would people want to grow more trees? | It brings rainfall  
Not only mangoes but every tree. |
| Bush fires | What is wrong with bush fires? | Since we are having visitors to the tourist attraction, we will have to avoid bush fires.  
It destroys animals that the visitors are coming to see. |

The participants in Wenu took the same approach as taken by participants in Suipe and Bayive in implementing the first stage of the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument. Instead of identifying poverty/well-being dimensions in general, the participants focused on identifying issues that they felt needed improving in the community. Therefore, to ensure that participants analyzed the problems that were identified, the researcher asked participants questions that prompted them to define the problems they thought should be addressed in more detail (Table 5-3). This often resulted in better articulation of problems and initiated discussions among the participants.

One group made a contribution that elicited an interesting response from another participant. The group mentioned that the community needed guest houses. The researcher asked “how would guest houses make Wenu the best place to live in?” The contributor responded saying “sometimes we have visitors; we do not have a place for them to stay.” This elicited an interesting comment from another participant, a woman, who said “we do not have toilets and they are talking about guest houses.” This response was a very interesting because it highlighted three things. First, it showed the conflict of prioritizing issues when planning for a whole community. Second, it indicated the capacity of participants to engage in debate regarding issues of concern to the whole community, which is very useful in a
participatory process. Lastly, that the comment was made by a woman is insightful as it suggests that while women often tended to be quieter in group settings, they could still participate actively when they chose to and even engage their male counterparts in debate.

The issue of roads and their impact on marketing of farm produce was also brought up in Wenu. The group identified roads as a problem in the community and the researcher asked “what about roads?” The participant said “since the road is not very good we have to carry things from here to the market with the car. The transportation fee is high.” This response not only defined the problem with roads in more detail but also showed the problem to be a broader transportation issue. Not only are the roads bad, but it is costly to move from one point to another. The issue of high transportation costs could be due to a number of factors that may or may not be related to roads specifically. This point illustrates the need for detailed definition and analysis of problems before proposing solutions. The researcher asked why they have to go to the market in Akatsi and the participant answered that because Akatsi was a bigger market. The researcher prompted further and asked “would it help to have a market here or at Xavi or nearby?” The participant answered “but the roads are bad such that even if we had a market here people from other communities would not be able to come here.” This point is interesting because it is contrary to the approach taken by participants in Suipe, where they proposed building a health center and a market in the village to address the road problem. In Wenu, the participants recognized that without good roads, it did not matter where the market was, accessibility would still be a problem, again emphasizing the need to carefully examine a problem, linking it to its cause(s) before developing solutions.

How inadequate problem analysis can lead to solutions that do not address the problem is illustrated by the example of the sugar factory. A number of people in Wenu currently use sugarcane to make akpeteshie (an alcoholic drink distilled from fermented sugarcane juice); however, they do not have the machine to extract the juice. One group said that the community needed a sugar factory. The researcher asked “what do you want to do with the sugar factory?” and the participant responded “we need to plant sugarcane here. Since we do not have factory to make sugar we carry sugarcane to Hortogodo where they have machine to extract the juice.” The researcher asked further “do they have a sugar factory there (in Hortogodo)?” The participant answered “No. There the sugarcane is used to manufacture akpeteshie.” So there appeared to be a disconnection between the need for a sugar factory and the current situation in the community. It was interesting that the participants did not say they needed the machine for extracting juice to make akpeteshie but rather specifically stated that they needed a sugar factory. To gain better understanding the researcher asked “what would the sugarcane factory do for the community?” and the participant answered “it can help us in the development and those who do not have jobs can get jobs in the factory.” The researcher asked what the participant meant by development and he answered “our children are in school, if that job is here and you get money you can use it to pay
their school fees. Youth in the community can get jobs in the factory.” The conversation illustrated a very important point regarding problem analysis. The problem appeared to be lack of jobs in the community which the group first addressed by giving the solution of a sugar factory, however, there are other ways of creating jobs besides the sugar factory.

After all the groups had made their contributions the researcher asked if there were any burning last comments. Roads had been discussed a lot during the workshop and one participant then summed up the road issue by saying “every town or village, whether they have three buildings or not, you still need people to come or go to buy things. You can sell your pepper in the house but only if the roads are good.” The researcher said “we have talked a lot about roads, if the community was to decide we want roads, whom would they approach for help, who is responsible?” The participants responded that “we have an Assembly Man, we need to see them and tell them our problems and take it to the District Assembly. The District Assembly will tell the government.” This suggested that the participants knew who to hold accountable for developmental issues affecting their community.

5.2.3.2 Creating symbols/icons to represent the dimensions

To illustrate the potential usefulness of symbols in participatory approaches, the researcher asked the participants to vote for the issue they thought the community should prioritize for action. Each participant was given a colored dot to vote for the item they thought deserved immediate attention. Since all the issues were listed in text on flip chart paper, those who could not read (English) did not know which item was which. The translator had to stand next to the list and help those who could not read identify the items they wanted to vote for. The researcher then asked participants to draw symbols that best represented each of the dimensions that the group had identified and these were displayed for everyone to see. However, as explained for the other communities, there was inadequate time to standardize the symbols so that they could be used as substitute for written text in participatory exercises.

In summary, the implementation process in Wenu was very similar to the other two communities with the same outcome that participants identified what needed to be improved first before adequately articulating problems. This meant the step-by-step approach that the researcher had planned was not followed. The researcher adapted the implementation so that participants could undertake problem analysis by asking them prompting questions. Mobilization of women was also lower and so was their participation. Women, especially the younger ones, did not talk much. Participation by women could have been enhanced by holding separate forums one for men and one for women and possibly further segregated by age. However, this was beyond the scope and time confines of the current study. Participants in Wenu recognized conservation as an important dimension of well-being and suggested the
need to protect wildlife (by avoiding bushfires) in order to attract tourists. This suggests an understanding and expectation within the community that the protected area, through tourism, will help in poverty alleviation.

5.2.4 Case#4: Opitsaht

The first community meeting was held in the board room of the Treaty Center (Band Council Offices) in Tofino and lasted just over 2 hours. There were seven participants at the meeting, including the Project Coordinator; hence the meeting took a focus group format. The Project Coordinator gave a brief introduction, explaining that the researcher was here as a member of the PAPR project and that Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks was a PAPR project partner. The researcher then introduced herself, the research she was conducting and explained the ethical issues. One participant asked how conservation fitted in with what the researcher had just described. The researcher explained that conservation efforts can impact, both negatively and positively, people’s well-being and hence the need for communities to be able to constantly assess their community’s well-being and needs vis-à-vis the conservation program.

As the researcher explained the three stage implementation process of the community participatory poverty assessment and asset identification instrument participants started discussing issues related to dependency. One participant raised the issue of how people were given houses and yet do not take care of the houses. According to the participant, the people paid nothing for the houses and yet still expect the houses to be fixed and maintained for them. To steer the conservation back to the agenda, the researcher suggested systematically discussing and capturing the different dimensions of poverty/well-being. The same implementation plan used in the three communities in Ghana was adopted in Tofino. Interestingly, despite earlier concerns about the use of the word poverty, the participants used the word themselves suggesting it was alright to talk of poverty. The researcher facilitated as well as captured information on flip chart and this limited the ability to capture full quotes from the participants.

5.2.4.1 Identifying dimensions of poverty/well-being

To initiate identification of poverty dimensions, the researcher asked the question “what would make your community the best place for everyone to live in?” and explained that the objective is to identify, in general, all the things that are considered important for community well-being. The exercise was done in an informal format and participants randomly took turns to contribute; often participants would elaborate or comment on each other’s contributions and this created a very lively discussion.
Participants identified a range of dimensions and the majority were similar to those identified in the three cases in Ghana (Table 5-4). These included health, education, employment, transportation, shelter, food security and sanitation. There was less need to categorize identified issues into broader dimensions because participants in Tofino were able to simply state some of the dimensions instead of identifying specific issues as was the case in Ghana. This may be because there was no language barrier between the participants and the instrument making it easier for them to articulate their ideas. Participants in Tofino focused a great deal on issues centered on culture and tradition and, therefore, the researcher added culture and tradition as a dimension of poverty/well-being. These issues included art, culture, language, values and tradition, spirituality and family unit. It is interesting that participants identified education from two different points of view; one view was how differences in educational attainment were making social integration difficult among community members. The researcher categorized this under the dimension social integration. The other view on education looked more specifically at the quality of education. The participants also focused on issues related to self-esteem, such as language, work ethic and dependency or independence. Hence, there was a distinct difference in the content of the dimensions that were identified. Whereas in Ghana, the focus was on infrastructure inadequacies, in Tofino there was greater emphasis on inadequacies in institutional social support.

When asked to identify the dimensions of poverty/well-being that are relevant to their community as the initial step in the first stage of implementing the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument, participants in Tofino responded by identifying dimensions that needed improvement in their community. This was very similar to the response of the participants in the three cases in Ghana, suggesting that abridging the implementation steps may reflect a deeper inability of communities to properly follow analytical steps rather than a language issue.

In contrast to the three cases in Ghana where participants often offered solutions before identifying and analyzing the problem, in Tofino participants tended to identify the dimensions as problems and were also better able to articulate the nature of the problems with minimal prompting from the researcher(Table 5-4). For example, loss of language was identified as a problem. The participants explained this further by saying that loss of language translates into loss of a lot of other things pertaining mostly to their culture and way of life because words sometimes are not easy to translate. Similarly, the participants identified breakdown of the family unit as a problem in their community. They went on to explain how this has led to a government imposed system of child protection which they seem to suggest does not fit with their culture but have to abide by because it is funded by the government. Therefore, the participants identified the problems first and were able to explain how these were impacting their community before even trying to provide solutions.
Participants also focused on issues that seemed to suggest social marginalization and systematic erosion of the participants’ culture and way of life by the imposition of mainstream Canadian culture. Participants identified education as an important issue in the community and they indicated that the curriculum needed to be relooked. The participants said that formal education was only teaching “the Whiteman’s way.” They gave an example of social work where social workers are educated in the Western way, which was not being helpful in tackling challenges in First Nations communities, particularly dealing with child welfare issues. They felt that they needed to have elders as instructors and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poverty Dimension</th>
<th>What would make our community the best place to live?</th>
<th>Comments from participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-esteem</td>
<td>Becoming independent</td>
<td>This was explained as responsibility, breaking the cycle of dependency and the housing situation was used as an example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Loss of language translates into loss of a lot of other things – words not easy to translate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Work ethic</td>
<td>Just because you show up for work does not mean you are doing the work, issues like punctuality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelter</td>
<td>Housing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Health</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>Recreation Centers</td>
<td>There is less outdoor playing. If not organized for them they do not know how to put a team together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>When educated people come back, often looked at with suspicion – what do you know?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marginalization/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture/tradition</td>
<td>Art</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>Loss of culture e.g. helping others without asking for money; old people’s homes seen as a convenience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Revitalizing traditional ways in a modern context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Values and traditions</td>
<td>Connected with language and education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family unit</td>
<td>Role of extended family. Breakdown of this may have led to USMA (Child care/protection). Dependence on the government for funding for a program, we have to play by their rules – lots of strings attached</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>Maybe people asking for money because unemployment very high now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Curriculum needs to be relooked; formal education teaching the “white man’s way”. E.g. education in social work – western way, same policies, rules. Nothing changing. Need to have part of elders as instructors. Need own education system from pre-school to university with disciplines that are relevant to us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>Public transit only in the summer. Cost of groceries up by $10 even before shopping boat-fare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food security</td>
<td>Community garden</td>
<td>Food security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitation</td>
<td>Pet control</td>
<td>Dogs that kill cows, cows were brought to haul timbers from forests</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5-4 Results of what would make Optisaht the best place to live

Participants also focused on issues that seemed to suggest social marginalization and systematic erosion of the participants’ culture and way of life by the imposition of mainstream Canadian culture. Participants identified education as an important issue in the community and they indicated that the curriculum needed to be relooked. The participants said that formal education was only teaching “the Whiteman’s way.” They gave an example of social work where social workers are educated in the Western way, which was not being helpful in tackling challenges in First Nations communities, particularly dealing with child welfare issues. They felt that they needed to have elders as instructors and...
expressed that they needed their “own education system from pre-school to university” offering “disciplines that are relevant to us.” Interestingly, the participants focused on the content/quality of education rather than infrastructure provision even though Opitsaht does not have a school; students have to cross the bay to attend school in Tofino or Ucluelet. The animosity towards the education system may explain the high school drop-out rates observed among the First Nations reserves (Atleo, 2008) and may represent a silent protest against what they see as deculturation.

The education system appears to be viewed as a vehicle of cultural erosion and participants constantly referred to the role of the now discontinued residential school system in the demise of their culture. In addition to the removal from their homes, which deprived the youth of the chance to learn tradition from their elders, all displays and practices of tradition and culture were prohibited and severely punished. One community member explained the impact of the residential school system on local culture using a story of a young girl who had come home from the residential school for her coming of age ceremony. The officials at the residential school heard about it and when she went back she was severely punished. The now closed residential school still sits at its original site a few hundred meters behind the village of Opitsaht. Participants attributed a lot of the social problems in their midst to the residential school. The theme of cultural erosion was evident in many of the other problems identified. In addition to loss of language participants noted how people no longer helped others without asking for money as a sign of loss of culture. They also decried the use of old people’s homes which, instead of looking after aging relatives, were now “seen as a convenience”. Participants proposed integrating culture, language, spirituality, art, and governance/politics into all spheres of living as a way to revitalize traditional ways of life.

Coupled with the sense of cultural erosion is a general sense of a community almost incapacitated due to high level of dependency. One participant said “becoming independent” was something necessary within the community. This sense of helplessness and dependency is illustrated by a few examples. One participant said that “breaking the dependency syndrome” and taking responsibility were things the community needed to do. This was a continuation of the housing discussion that began during the introductions; a participant felt that members of the First Nations community were not taking proper care of the houses that they were given for nothing and yet expected repairs and maintenance to be done for them for free. Hence, the people were very dependent on government assistance and could not do things for themselves. Another participant noted that there was very little outdoor playing especially among the youth and identified the need for recreational centers. However, the participants went on to explain that even if the recreational centers were there the local youth were incapable of organizing anything for themselves and would expect someone to organize a team for them. Employment was also identified as an issue and one participant felt that there was a lack of work ethic among most of the community
members. The participant said “just because you show up for work does not mean you are doing the work.” There was a sense that members of the First Nations community were lethargic when it came to their work ethic and punctuality was seen as a big problem which resulted in employers not wanting to hire them. Interestingly, a number of these problems appear to be issues that manifest themselves through the individual – dependency, lack of a work ethic and lack of organizational capacity which made the community seem incapacitated. A focus on the individual may reflect the fact that some of the participants were social workers and the practice of social work tends to focus on the individual rather than the whole community. However, such individualization of society seems to lead to the breakdown of community social cohesion which is very important in implementing participatory initiatives in the community.

Related to the issue of social cohesion was a problem, classified as lack of integration (Table 5-4) which one participant (a social service worker) referred to as lack of friendliness or neighborliness in the community. According to the social worker, people in one of the First Nations community neighborhoods where she works were very unfriendly. She said sometimes she sees curtains opening and closing when she knocks and people were not welcoming at all. She explained the hostility that people who left the community for higher education receive when they come back to work in their communities. She said when educated people come back often they are looked at with suspicion and asked “what do you know” as if the people see them as outsiders or pretending to be better than the rest of them. Interestingly, another participant (an elected Band official) said that his experience in the same neighborhood was the opposite as the people there were very welcoming. Failure of some community members to integrate in this way further contributes to a lack of social cohesion. In addition, this view from the social worker suggests a lack of trust between front-line social workers and those whom they are supposed to serve. This raises doubt on the ability of social service or other educated front-line workers in the community to act as implementing agents of community-driven anti-poverty initiatives such as the Tribal Parks.

In summary, participants in Tofino abridged the poverty assessment process and focused on identifying issues that needed improvement in their community. However, unlike participants in the three cases in Ghana, participants in Tofino often identified the issues as problems first and then explained the nature and possible causes of the problem with little prompting from the researcher, suggesting a better analytical capacity. In Tofino, participants also focused on issues that seemed to suggest an inadequacy of the institutional support systems which appears to be causing loss of culture/tradition, dependency/community incapacitation, and fragmentation (lack cohesion) of community. An adaptation made to the instrument by the researcher was to guide the process so that participants clearly explained the issues they identified, thus ensuring the problem analysis was not missed. In Tofino, the researcher followed a focus group format and this was different from the process followed in Ghana where
community meetings/forums were used instead. This shows that the instrument is adaptable to different group sizes.

5.2.4.2 Identifying and evaluating community assets

In Tofino, the researcher managed to arrange a second meeting whose purpose was to identify and evaluate community assets. This is the second stage in the three stage implementation process of the instrument. The meeting was held at the Project Coordinator’s house and was preceded by a potluck. Only five people attended the meeting, including the Project Coordinator, and two of his family members who also participated in the first meeting. Of the other two participants, one was a resident of Tofino who was not a member of the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations. The researcher explained the project briefly for the benefit of the new participants and suggested that the group identify and discuss community assets, stating for example their availability and relevance in poverty alleviation. Despite the small number there was a very lively and in-depth discussion. Even the non-First Nation participant contributed significantly to the discussion but was careful to always let the members of the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations community have a final say on any of his contributions. The results of this discussion are summarized in Table 5-5.

Several assets were identified and these were classified into natural, physical, social, financial and human assets based on the commonly used system (Table 5-5, and Appendix 2 Table 3). The majority of the assets identified fell into the natural and social assets classes. Among the natural assets identified included functional biodiversity, water and traditional foods, specifically fishing, hunting and gathering grounds. The focus on natural assets highlights the local availability of and the dependency on the natural resource base by the community. The current and future economy of the area is closely tied to the natural resource base. For example, the major financial assets that were identified, namely tourism, alternative energy sources and carbon trading rely on the natural scenic environment, water bodies and forests. Social assets, namely culture, oral tradition and traditional governance, featured prominently in the discussion and this resonates with the recurring social/cultural theme that emerged during the identification and assessment of poverty dimensions. Loss of language and the potential role of the family unit in child care/protection programs (as part of traditional/self-governance) also echo the results of the poverty dimensions identification exercise. The focus on social assets suggests that the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations community places a very high value on their culture and tradition.
Table 5-5  Results of asset identification and analysis exercise in Opitsaht

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asset classification</th>
<th>What are the resources/assets that our community has?</th>
<th>Participants comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Natural Assets</strong></td>
<td>Functioning biodiversity</td>
<td>Still productive, still have diversity (an indicator of health)-has shellfish, bears, dear etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional food sources</td>
<td>Fisheries (negotiating right to sell fish with the help of Ecotrust), hunting grounds and gathering grounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Biodiversity</td>
<td>Hatcheries for fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Has peaks and troughs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Financial assets</strong></td>
<td>Alternative energy</td>
<td>Geothermal district community heating system (some people thought it was a negative because they had to pay first but has long-term benefit. Run of the river – can generate electricity that they can sell for $1million, uses a very small piece of territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carbon sink</td>
<td>Have one of the highest C-sinks in the world, exploring how to tap into this. C-trading to compliment timber industry, reduce industrial logging and increase logging for local benefit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Service industry – tourism (scenery, environment)</td>
<td>Need to harness it effectively, still getting to grips with this since traditionally a fishing and logging community. Others have built on this potential but not the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social assets</strong></td>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>Still have a lot versus other Nations, still have dancers and singers. Weakness is language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oral tradition</td>
<td>Even with research it is important to report orally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional governance</td>
<td>An asset that needs to be build on, fragmented by residential schools Family alliances can be an issue e.g voting on issues based on family alliances Can also tap into family units to deal with issues pertaining to family e.g social issues, instead of the Nation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Human assets</strong></td>
<td>Human capital</td>
<td>Lots of high skilled people not being used to their potential. Instead, putting outsiders into work for life. Need inventory of local (TFN) people that could come back and work here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional carvers and artists (culture)</td>
<td>This has not been taught to the young ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Physical assets</strong></td>
<td>Communication/Transportation infrastructure</td>
<td>Very stable. Have e.g. highway</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Access to some of the assets is restricted while some assets remain underutilized. The participants noted that at the moment the community was negotiating (with the Canadian government) for the right to sell fish. Currently, community members are not allowed to fish commercially and this is enforced by the government of Canada and there is a boat that patrols the surrounding waters. The participants felt that tourism was not being fully harnessed by the community and they described it as a new concept to a community that is traditionally based on fishing and logging.
Another asset the participants felt was being underutilized was human capital. One participant commented that there are a lot of highly skilled First Nations people that were not being used to their potential while “putting outsiders into work for life”. This was a very interesting comment which suggested that jobs were being given to non-First Nations people at the expense of equally skilled First Nations people. The participant seemed to suggest that these skilled people do not live in the community because they wanted an “inventory of local (Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations) people that could come back and work here.” This call for the return of skilled (therefore educated) people back to the community is interesting given that during the first meeting one of the discussion points was the animosity between educated returning community members and those who never left the community and hence did not advance further with their education. The call for the return of skilled natives also recognizes that those in the reserves are not skilled (in addition to having a poor work ethic) and hence less likely to be hired. This would agree with the high unemployment rates observed among members of the First Nation communities in the Tofino area.

Traditional governance was identified as a resource that needed to be built; it had suffered greatly over the years and was particularly weakened and fragmented by the residential school system. According to the participants, the residential school system deprived young people of the chance to learn a lot of important skills (leadership, parenting) from their elders. As part of traditional governance, the participants identified stronger family ties as an asset that could help deal with social problems relating to the family instead of leaving them to the Nation to sort out.

In summary, based on this assessment of community assets, there are a number of assets that at the moment are either inaccessible because of structural barriers or underutilized because the community lacks the human capacity to allow their full utilization. The fact that the area has a strong natural resource base means that there is great potential for community-based natural resource management in poverty reduction. There were minimal adaptations made to the implementation of the second stage of the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument in Tofino. Table 3 of the instrument (Appendix 2) suggested a step-by-step process of identifying if the asset exists, its accessibility and relevance to poverty reduction. During implementation, the discussion did not follow a step-by-step process, but for each asset these important points were discussed in a non-structured fashion.

Following the exercises with the social workers and other community leaders, the researcher wanted to meet with community members in Opitsaht. One participant suggested that it would not be productive to hold a community-wide meeting that includes both community members and social service workers or community leaders because community members will be intimidated by the presence of some members of the former groups. He suggested that if the researcher wanted to talk to community members in Opitsaht she would have to talk to the people preferably individually. With the help of the Project
Coordinator, several unsuccessful attempts were made to meet with the community members. However, the researcher got one opportunity to visit Opitsaht, courtesy of a member of the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations community, a master carver and historian who attended the first community meeting. This individual took the researcher on a short tour of the islands and provided a brief history of the Tla-o-qui-aht people. The researcher was shown the old residential school, visited Opitsaht and had a brief walk through the village. Because this was an impromptu visit, the researcher did not manage to talk to any of the community members. However, the researcher was able to observe the physical appearance of the reserve, including the state of the houses, which appeared to be in need of repairs. There were also a number of dogs roaming the streets supporting the issue of pet control that was raised during the poverty assessment exercise (Table 5-4).

To summarize the experience in Tofino, it was difficult to mobilize and get participation from the community members on Opitsaht. Mobilization was also very low among the social service workers and community leaders that were invited to participate in the first and second community meetings. In implementing the instrument, the participants abridged the process by only identifying dimensions that were a problem and therefore skipped the step of identifying all poverty dimensions which was intended to guide them into analyzing dimensions to determine which ones was the community doing well and which ones was the community doing poorly and why. However, participants articulated problems very well and linked them to their causes. This suggested greater analytical capacity particularly when compared to the three communities in Ghana. In the second exercise, participants identified and assessed community assets and the outcome showed a number of assets, particularly natural assets that have potential to be utilized in community anti-poverty initiatives.

5.3 Assessing community groups for competence to implement participatory poverty reduction initiatives

Poverty reduction initiatives need someone to implement them at the local level and for initiatives to be truly participatory and community-driven the implementing agent should be from within the community. To address the second objective, which was to assess community groups for their competence to implement community poverty reduction programs, community groups were identified from self-disclosure by participants at community meetings. Some members of the groups and organizations were then selected and interviewed. These activities were only carried out with the three cases in Ghana but not with the case in Canada. Two things prevented analysis of community groups and organizations in Canada. First, the short time frame the researcher had in Tofino precluded conducting interviews as was done in Ghana. Second, the researcher was not able to make contact with much of the
community and even then participation was underwhelming making it almost impossible to identify community groups and also select people for interviewing.

The results of these interviews are presented in the following sections for each of the three communities. Three groups, the Environmental Education Team, the NDC and the American Society were not included in the assessment. As explained in the Methodology (section 3.4.7), this was because the group was found not to function as community groups, to be no longer active in the community or to be political in which case the researcher wanted to remain politically neutral.

Transcripts from the interviewed members of the community groups and organizations were used to assess the capacity of the groups and organizations to be implementing agencies. This would provide a framework for assessing who can be an implementing agent for any other community-driven, participatory anti-poverty initiatives. The assessment was based on the framework described before in Chapter Three and focused on four community competence domains: governance, capacity to plan and implement community development initiatives, participatory enabling strategies and sustainability. The following section presents summaries of the assessment of each community group for each of the three cases; detailed assessment data is provided in Appendix 6. During the analysis, key words and phrases seen as indicators of competence were identified and are shown as **numbered, bold and italicized** words/phrases in brackets. The words and phrases were used to develop a definitional framework of a competent community.

### 5.3.1 Suipe

In Suipe a total of 10 people were interviewed; two each from the drumming group, traditional authority, Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Management Board, church group and School Management Committee and one each from the traditional group, and the Parents Teachers’ Association. Some people were interviewed more than once because they held positions in more than one group.

**Drumming group**

The primary function of the drumming group in Suipe is to assist at the funeral of its members by paying for such things as mortuary fees and transportation of the body to and from the mortuary. Sustainability was one of the strong domains for this group. The two members interviewed appeared to belong to different groups and they indicated that their groups were formed 22 and 32 years ago, respectively (**1-longevity**). The drumming group was the group with the highest self-declared membership. Of the 22 participants who registered their names at the meeting, 9 indicated that they were members of a drumming group (**2-community reach**). Indeed drumming groups are very popular in the
community and the researcher observed that community members invest and participate actively in drumming groups. It is one group that the researcher observed where participation by women was equal if not higher than men (3-gender equity). However, participation of members in decision making appeared very limited and was largely left to the executive (4-decision making). One interviewee noted that:

When the School Management Committee and the PTA need something, they come to see the drumming group chairman and secretary and discuss with them. They (chairman and secretary) call for an executive meeting and the executive decides whether to help. Only the executive decides. Members of the drumming group are not consulted.

Meetings between general members and the executive appear to be only when members needed to be reminded to pay their contributions. The other interviewee stated that:

When something is going wrong with the group the executive gets together and decide to call a general meeting. For example the group had a general meeting about 3 months ago. The reason for the meeting was because members were not paying their dues.

Furthermore, governance, capacity to plan and participatory strategies are all confounded by the fact that the drumming group membership is fragmented because it crosses the community boundaries making inclusion of all members in decision making more challenging (5-social cohesion). When asked about membership, one interviewee said that “everyone can join from different communities; they do not have to be from Suipe or the same village” (6-inclusiveness). The two members interviewed indicated that planning that focuses on community development was weak within the drumming groups. One of them noted that “since the group has been formed they have not sat and planned that (initiatives aimed at helping the community), but now they will sit and discuss that.” The other interviewee expressed his frustration with the failure of the drumming group to live up to its name and one of its original intended purposes (7-developmental mandate). He had this to say about his drumming group:

Originally when the group was formed its focus was also to help with other development projects in the community. The name Dunyenyoyo means “make the town good”. But the group has not been able to do that and they have concentrated primarily on burial.

Therefore, what unites members of the drumming group is their need to help each other when funerals occur. The fragmented nature of the membership means members have ties to different communities making it difficult for the group to unite on issues affecting one specific community.

Traditional Groups

The traditional group is a spiritual group that offers such services as healing of various sicknesses, appeasing gods, protection from a range of things including poisonous snake bites and being
hurt in case of an accident. Similar to drumming groups, sustainability of these groups appears very high. The interviewee indicated that his group was formed 30 years ago. This is not surprising since traditional beliefs are very strong in the area; people turn to traditional groups for healing, protection and general intercession with the gods. The researcher frequently came across dead chickens or crushed clay pots with roots at road intersections early in the mornings, which the translator explained were sacrifices left the previous night. While the group has an executive that could provide a planning infrastructure there is very little evidence of a community development agenda in its operations. Membership participation focuses primarily on the group’s core activities of spirituality and healing. Like the drumming group, the traditional group is also fragmented in its organizational structure. Both general membership and membership on the executive crosses community geographic boundaries. For example, the treasurer of the traditional group lives in Suipe, but the chairman lives in another community. In addition, membership is open to anyone who is interested as long as they can pay the requirements to become a member. According to the interviewee “everyone can be a member if they wish. If you want to be a member you pay 25 Ghana Cedis, 2 bottles of schnapps drink (foreign liquor), 2 bottles of local gin and 2 bottles of palm oil.” The structural fragmentation of the group as well as lack of evidence of a coherent community development agenda or examples of previous community development initiatives greatly limits the group’s potential as an implementing agent.

Church group

Members of the church group in Suipe described the functions of the church as spreading the gospel to the people and maintaining peace, unity and love in the community. The dominant church in the area is the Roman Catholic Church. The church’s values which are centered on helping others, especially the vulnerable in the community makes the church a good candidate to spearhead community anti-poverty programs. The church in Suipe has some evidence of implementing community development initiatives; for example interviewees said members fetch water for the sick and they sweep the school when it is dirty. However, the church’s primary focus is on evangelical work. While there is some organizational structure within the local church which would provide a framework for planning and implementing community development initiatives, critical decisions for the church appear to be made not in the community but from outside. The church leadership at the Diocesan headquarters in Akatsi as well as priests at the parish churches (which are in other communities) makes most of the decisions for the local church group. One of the interviewees had this to say about decision making in the church:

If we have a crusade we invite other communities to join us. The Roman Catholic Church fathers in Akatsi, Abor and AtiAvi would organize it and just inform the community that there will be a crusade. The Catechist informs the community.
Within the local organizational structure, the local church leaders, primarily the catechist makes most of the decisions for the church (12-leadership). When speaking about how the decision to clean the school grounds is made, for example, one interviewee said that “the leaders decide that the place needs to be cleaned and they inform the whole church”. This was corroborated by the other interviewee who said “sometimes we help the sick by fetching water and firewood for them. The catechist will bring up the idea to the other members of the community.” Thus there is little evidence of the organizational structure operating in a planning capacity. In addition, governance that is centered outside the community makes it difficult for the group to take the initiative on implementing any programs that would benefit the community.

Avu Lagoon Board

The Avu Lagoon Board is responsible for managing the activities of the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative on behalf of the community (13-technical expertise). This is a very new group in the community and hence its sustainability can only be established with time. While the whole board has an excellent planning infrastructure it suffers from the same weakness as the drumming group, the traditional group and to some extent the church, that is, of being structurally fragmented. The Avu Lagoon Board’s planning infrastructure is scattered across 15 communities. This makes it very difficult for the board to plan and implement individual community development initiatives. Each community only has two board members, and alone they do not have enough capacity to plan and implement development initiatives for the whole community. Besides, the board may have a conflict of interest especially if it is the impact of the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative’s protected area that the communities would need to assess and monitor (14-accountability). Thus this group would not be the best to monitor their own efforts across all communities.

Traditional Authority

The role of traditional authority is to ensure that people live within the acceptable rules and norms of society. The traditional leadership has two main strengths. First, the traditional leadership is highly sustainable because chieftainships are part of the traditional socio-political fabric of this traditional society; if the chief dies he is always replaced. While not having a distinct executive and even though he is not democratically elected, the chief gets his mandate from the people; he is highly respected and his authority is recognized by all in the community and in return he is expected to work for the best interests of the community. Based on observations as well as from the interviews, it was clear that the chiefs in this community are highly respected and influential with tremendous capacity to mobilize the community.
Interviews with representatives of other groups revealed that one of the chief in particular is involved in most community groups and activities. He participates in Parent Teacher Association/School Management Committee meetings; one interviewee even indicated that the chief chairs PTA meetings. Thus, while not having a democratic planning infrastructure of his own, the chief has the capacity to mobilize for other groups to plan community development activities.

People come to him for advice when they run into problems because they trust his counsel. The chief also has power to punish non-conformity thus through coercion he is able to make people participate even when they do not want to, and this is acceptable as it is part of the chief’s mandate. One of the chiefs commenting on the chief’s role in resolving disputes said “anytime that we settle a dispute, everyone understands each other.” One of the chiefs summarized the chief’s role as follows:

To defend the whole community if they are falling into trouble, for example fighting, going into trouble, anyone not following the law for example weed smoking. I have to tell them to desist from that. I judge cases and they will do whatever I tell them to do.

It can be inferred from this that if a chief calls a meeting, people are likely to come partly out of respect for the chief and partly because of fear of non-conformity which can be punished (15-execution of power). This gives the chief great power to mobilize the community for anything. However, a weakness with the traditional leadership is that it can be centered on the personality of one person. For example, the respect and trust given to this highly active chief may entirely be because of his personality. Someone who comes after him may not have the same capacity to bring people together that the current chief has. In addition, lack of a clear planning infrastructure in the form of an executive makes it difficult for the traditional authority on its own to be an implementing agency for community anti-poverty initiatives.

School Management Committee

The School Management Committee ensures that funds for the development of the school are used properly; it monitors students and teacher performances and also oversees the welfare of the students at school. The School Management Committee (SMC) is a very inclusive organization as shown by the governance structure. It has representatives from various sections of the community on its executive. In addition to an elected executive, typical of most of the other groups, the SMC also includes the Parents Teacher Association (PTA) and representatives of various sections of the community such as religious groups, chiefs, old student association and other community members; one interviewee referred to these as opinion leaders. The organizational structure makes for a very powerful planning infrastructure. They have a number of community initiatives that they have implemented indicating their potential to plan and implement community poverty reduction programs (16-planning/implementing experience). In addition,
some of the work done by this group could be considered social service provision. One interviewee explained some of the things the SMC does or has done as follows:

They see to it that the children have been going to school every day. They go to the various houses to ask the reason why they have not been coming to school. They assist children that have poor parental care. Sometimes helps by providing school uniforms for them, for example they helped four children last year.

The group shows evidence of community participation in decision making. According to one interviewee, most of the time the Head teacher comes up with ideas, such as problems that the school is facing, he then tells the chairman. The chairman calls an executive meeting to discuss the problem. After that they would call a community meeting. Meetings are held at the school compound. He went on further to say when the community is presented with the problem and the need to act “the community can say no, and then usually the issue is discussed further. If they still say no then the SMC will not do anything”, indicating that the opinion of the community is taken seriously (17-community participation). Opinions of the two members of the SMC that were interviewed varied a bit, indicating maybe some disagreements or factionalism within the group. One member (a retired teacher who described himself as the patron of the SMC) presented the SMC as ineffective which he attributed partly to its own poor performance because of what he called “individualism” and partly to the lack of adequate funding from the government to implement school development projects. He said that initially the SMC used to meet “three times a year (every term). Meetings were to decide how the Capitation Grant from the government would be used. But now the government is no longer releasing the money as it is supposed to.” However he noted that the SMC, together with the PTA had converted a pavilion at the school into a classroom block by putting walls and windows. He also mentioned that the SMC and PTA had organized sports and music festivals in the community.

In terms of sustainability, the SMC has been in existence for a long time (18-24 years depending on source). A democratic governance structure that is highly inclusive, a clear planning infrastructure, evidence of experience implementing community development initiatives, and the participatory nature of decision making all suggest that the SMC has potential to implement the community poverty reduction programs.

Parents Teacher Association

Together with the SMC, they form a unit that mobilizes resources and ensures that those resources are used for the benefit of the school (18-resource mobilization). When asked to distinguish the role of the Parents Teachers’ Association from that of the SMC, one interviewee said “the PTA is an
association for both the teachers and parents. They must organize a fund for the development of the school.” Hence, the main function of the PTA is to raise money for the development of the school while the SMC has to manage how the money is used. However, the two groups work together and even hold joint planning meetings (19-cooperation/collaboration).

The performance of the PTA at the moment may not be at its best, the chairman said that their last meeting was last year; he also adds that there is no specific schedule but “if they need something they organize a meeting”. The cause of this apparent inactivity was pointed out by one of the members of the SMC who noted that meetings were less frequent because there was no money from the government to plan for. Alternatively, weaknesses within the leadership structure may also translate to inability of the group to function effectively. Nevertheless, the PTA is an organization with immense planning and implementation potential.

The strength of the PTA lies in its governance structure which, like the SMC, is democratic and includes the elected executive as well as various other sections of the community (20-democracy). For example, the interviewee said that when they call meetings it is the chief who actually chairs the meetings, “Head teacher usually calls the meetings. Anytime they call meetings they invite the chief and the chief chairs the meetings.” This puts traditional leadership, which has a very high community mobilizing capacity, together with the two community groups with very strong planning infrastructure. In terms of community participation in decision making, the PTA also corroborated the SMC saying “the PTA meets as an executive first and then meets with the community. This is their normal procedure. Meetings are held at the school compound.” Thus, there is potential that combining the traditional authority together with the PTA/SMC may produce an organizational structure with the capacity to implement not only the community poverty assessment and asset identification instrument but also mobilize the community for other community anti-poverty initiatives.

Table 5-6 below summarizes the competences of community groups in Suipe to be implementing agencies for community-driven participatory anti-poverty initiatives. For each group, a rating of its competence on each of the four domains is given as weak, moderate, strong or very strong.

5.3.2 Bayive

Fourteen people were interviewed in Bayive and some people were interviewed more than once because they belonged to more than one group. Two people each were interviewed from the traditional authority, Avu Lagoon Board, church group, School Management Committee, Parents Teachers’ Association and planning committee and one person each was interviewed from the drumming group, the unit committee and the town development committee.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community group</th>
<th>Governance</th>
<th>Capacity to plan and implement</th>
<th>Participatory enabling strategies</th>
<th>Sustainability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drumming group</td>
<td>Moderate, has defined democratic structure but weak accountability</td>
<td>Weak, has developmental mandate but no evidence/experience of planning and implementing community initiatives</td>
<td>Weak, high membership but membership structurally fragmented, decision making not inclusive</td>
<td>Very strong, in existence for more than 20 years, strong community utility (will always need burial assistance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional group</td>
<td>Weak, defined democratic structure but not coherent (executive members in different communities),</td>
<td>Weak, no developmental mandate or agenda, no examples of planning or implementing community initiatives</td>
<td>Weak, inclusive but lack social cohesion (membership crosses community boundaries), no clear of participatory strategies</td>
<td>Very strong, in existence for 30 years, high community utility because part of local beliefs and tradition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church group</td>
<td>Weak, top-down leadership style with main structure outside community</td>
<td>Moderate, church activities aligned with development agenda, clear evidence of planning but involved some community initiatives as part of evangelical mandate</td>
<td>Weak, top-down decision making system with little community involvement</td>
<td>Moderate, not clear how long it has been in existence. Has some community utility as part of an emerging belief system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avu Lagoon Board</td>
<td>Moderate, well defined democratic leadership structure, but scattered across 15 communities</td>
<td>Moderate, has strong developmental agenda and mandate, but fragmented across communities and not yet has experience planning and implementing community initiatives</td>
<td>Strong, clear and operational participatory decision making strategy, inclusive in membership and gender sensitive in leadership composition</td>
<td>Weak, new, not yet fully functional, community utility still to be determined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Authority</td>
<td>Strong, non-democratic but very strong tradition-based leadership mandate, structure allows for checks and balances, evidence of respected authority</td>
<td>Moderate, no experience planning and implementing community activities but collaborates with other groups, very high community mobilization capacity</td>
<td>Weak, top-down decision making system, uses power to ensure compliance</td>
<td>Very strong, part of the fabric of community life, necessary for community function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMC</td>
<td>Very strong, well-defined democratic and inclusive leadership structure</td>
<td>Strong, has community development mandate, technical expertise from experience planning/implementing community initiatives,</td>
<td>Strong, has an established participatory decision making strategy, collaborates with other community groups</td>
<td>Strong, has been in existence for up to 20 years, high community utility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTA</td>
<td>Very strong, well-defined democratic and</td>
<td>Strong, has community</td>
<td>Strong, has an established</td>
<td>Strong, has been in existence for a long time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Drumming group

According to the member from Bayive, the purpose of the drumming group is to pay for the funeral and also to play drums at the funeral of a member. The drumming group is relatively new in the community. The original group collapsed and this one was only formed five years ago and at the moment members hope that this one will last. Speaking about what the group can do to help the community the interviewee said “if we are able to maintain the group we can make many improvements.” The group has an organizational structure typical of most other groups that means it has an elected executive which serves as a good framework for planning and implementing community development initiatives. While the interviewee had few concrete examples of community development initiatives that the group has undertaken, he provided a number of planned activities that would benefit the community. He said the drumming group is planning to build another KVIP (a toilet) since the community has only one at the moment. In addition the group is also planning to buy land for a burial ground since the current one is full. The group appears to have tremendous ability to mobilize resources, both from member contributions as well as other fund-raising efforts. Speaking about how the group could raise funds for the proposed community initiatives the interviewee explained that:

There is always money left at each funeral and the money is used to buy things for the drumming group, for example tent, drums, benches. The drumming group also rents out its equipment and charges money. The drumming group can also be hired to perform at funerals of people that are not members and the drumming group gets paid for that.

However, how extra resources from member contributions are disbursed appears to be the discretion of the executive as there is no clear evidence of participation of members in decision making. For example the drumming group gave the community money to buy a goat for the Akatsi District Chief Executive when he visited. It is not clear if the members were consulted over this decision. The only evidence of communication between executive and members is when the chairman encourages members to pay their contributions. In addition, one general meeting is held each year where members are told how much money is in the accounts. Thus participation of the members appears to be limited to making contributions but not in decision making.
The drumming group in Bayive appears to have little experience in planning and implementing community development initiatives, probably because of its few years of existence. At the moment the group appears to concentrate on core functions of assisting members with burial. The group may also suffer similar issues of fragmentation of membership since people from other communities can join the drumming group in Bayive. This would make it difficult for the drumming group to plan and implement activities for one community when members are from other communities.

Traditional Authority

According to one of the interviewed chiefs, the role of traditional authority is to maintain peace, unity and love in the community and if someone does something against the law then he must be disciplined and advised. The chief works with a team of selected elders that assists him (21-system for checks and balances). Traditional leadership does not have a strong organizational structure for purposes of planning and implementing community development initiatives. However, one of the chiefs in the past used to run a community farm where crops grown were used to raise money to help the community and its members. He commented that

We planted sugarcane, cassava and maize. Sugarcane was used for akpetashie. Cassava and maize were sold at the market. The money was saved and when there was a need we would withdraw it. For example if someone is seriously sick. Sometimes we used the funds to help get cases settled elsewhere.

The chief organized community labor to work the farm, indicating the ability of the chief to mobilize the community (22-community mobilization). The farm was abandoned 5 years ago due to droughts in the area. The chiefs are involved in the activities of other community groups, mainly the planning of Afenyaza or the Easter celebrations. This is a fundraising festival for the community held at Easter every year. For the Afenyaza the role of the chief appears to be that of using his power to ensure that people pay their yearly contributions towards the Easter Celebrations; those who fail to pay are taken to the chief (23-legitimate authority). On its own, however, traditional leadership does not seem to have enough capacity or experience in planning and implementing community development initiatives. Nevertheless, the support of traditional leadership appears to be required in most other community development initiatives.

The Avu Lagoon Board

The Board manages the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative on behalf of the community and board members represent their communities on the board. The Avu Lagoon Board is a fairly new group and has a well defined organizational structure that has received considerable capacity building through the NCRC. However, the executive is fragmented as members are spread over the 15
member communities. While the board has not done much in terms of community development initiatives, the board members interviewed pointed out that the project had contributed to training of community members on agro-chemical use and conservation of trees.

The CREMA has not done anything yet to benefit the community, but they taught about how to farm, use chemicals and cut down trees. We are hoping that through the Avu Lagoon we can get jobs or factory for example tourism or other farming project.

However, this planning and implementation was done for all 15 communities. Furthermore, it was not the board that planned and implemented the activities but rather this was part of NCRC’s capacity building efforts in the project area. The board has an excellent strategy for community participation; following each meeting of the board, representative board members hold meetings in their respective communities to update the community. They also take community concerns back to the board.

Some issues the community has asked the board are bush fires - how are they to clear land; chemicals – they use these for farming, what are they to do. Cutting trees – some make money from firewood and would want to know how they would manage if they do not cut trees.

Thus, there is clear dialogue between the communities and the board through the board members. However, on their own the board members in each community represent a very weak planning and implementing infrastructure. Decisions are made by the board as a whole and not by board member in their communities.

**Church group**

According to the members of the church group, the primary role of the church is to minister to people’s spiritual needs through prayer. The church group does not have a typical democratically elected organizational structure that is found in most groups. However, it has an elders committee made up of both men and women. It is not very clear how this committee works, but the church has contributed to community development initiatives. One interviewee said “what I can remember is that the church gave some chairs to the school” and the other interviewee mentioned that

The church had building blocks and before the school was built the church gave all the blocks to the school. The church has some property and if the community has a festival or a funeral they also ask the church for help with, for example, benches, drums and the church gives them.

Therefore, when asked for help, the church seems ready to assist. However, there is no clear evidence to suggest that the church undertakes a process of planning and implementing any community development initiatives. Members seem to have little say in decision making; decision making appears to be more hierarchical with decisions made by the leaders in the committee for the rest of the congregation. One interviewee said
They also ask the women in the church to fetch water for orphans and widows. The catechist asks the women. They do it frequently even this week they did it. After every church service the catechist advises them.

When explaining the role of the elders committee, the other interviewee had this to say:

They sit and discuss what the church needs and how the church can be developed. They meet often twice in a month. Sometimes they discuss going to farm and get money that way. The money is used for anything that the church needs.

Hence, there is little evidence of participation in decision making by the members. The church group seems to be focused primarily on evangelical work and building the church. Hence, the hierarchical may be a system that works best for the church’s purposes. One of the interviewees said that often after the church service they go round to see people that failed to come to church to advise them that they should come. If the person is sick they will pray for them.

School Management Committee

The function of the school management committee, based on interviewed members of the group, is to organize the community so that they can provide everything that the school needs. The group helps organize fund raising and plan as well as implement school development projects. The school management committee has a very strong organizational structure that consists of an elected executive as well as all the teachers at the school. The SMC also works together with the PTA and they hold joint meetings. This group appears to be very active in the community and has been involved in planning and implementing many development initiatives. The SMC plans how to use resources mobilized from the community as well as the government. Explaining what they do with the Capitation Grant from the government, one of the interviewees said that “if the wind blows the roof we will fix that. We buy cement and building material for the junior high school. We hope to start building in May.”

The group holds regular planning meetings and when the researcher visited one of the SMC members for an interview the member explained that she was just coming from a meeting. The group generally holds 6-10 meetings a year and after each executive meeting they hold a community meeting as explained by the interviewee:

After the executive meeting we will call the community next Tuesday (March 8) to inform them about what was discussed today (Tuesday March 1). They (the community) need to take part because they give the most help. Meetings with the community are also held in the school compound.

Hence, the group has a clear strategy for community participation; the input of the community is valued because as the interviewee pointed out, they contribute the most to the activities of the SMC. According
to the interviewees, everyone in the community is a member of the SMC and has to contribute towards initiatives to develop the school, whether or not they have children at the school.

The community contributes money. Everyone in the community contributes whether or not you have children in school. Sometimes they go to farm for other people in the community who have money. Sometimes they make firewood to sell. The community planted trees and the school also planted trees.

There are a number of community development initiatives that the SMC has overseen, including formation of the kindergarten, the construction of kindergarten shed, payment of the kindergarten teachers, and hiring of two extra teachers for the school. According to the members, the school was short of two teachers and when the government did not send teachers the community decided to hire teachers on their own. Working together with the PTA, the SMC helps mobilize money for the school. In addition to delivering services needed to ensure the smooth running of the school, the SMC also looks after the well-being of students in the school. One interviewee described the SMC as follows:

The SMC if formed under the PTA to maintain the students’ conditions in the school. For example sometimes if the children come to school and they fall sick the SMC has to make sure there is first aid kit to treat them.

While it is difficult to evaluate the SMC separately from the PTA, this group appears to be a highly competent implementing agent for community poverty reduction initiatives (24-demonstrated competence).

Parents Teacher Association

The Parents Teacher Association’s main role in the community is to raise funds for the development of the school. In addition, the PTA settles school related disputes (25-conflict resolution). The structure of the PTA is highly diverse and consists of an elected executive, representative members of the community as well as all the teachers. The PTA works closely with the SMC; they hold joint meetings and one of their meetings was held during the week of the interviews. According to the representatives interviewed, the executive meets three times every term and the chairman calls the meetings. The strategy for participation is as outlined under SMC. Corroborating what was said by the representatives of the SMC, the PTA representatives also explained that following the executive meeting, they always call a meeting with the community a week later.

The group has a well organized planning infrastructure which has enabled it, together with the SMC, to implement many school development initiatives. In addition to those already mentioned under SMC, the PTA also built the new school compound. They relocated the school from an area prone to flooding to its new site and were able to get assistance from the Japanese Development Agency, indicating their ability to partner with external organizations (26-contact with external agencies). Now
they are planning to build the junior high school for the community; this they have been doing on their own and have already mobilized enough resources to begin the construction work. The PTA mobilizes resources in various ways such as from the Capitation Grant, sell of school woodlot, contributions from the community (mandatory and enforced with the help of the chiefs) and also funds from the Easter celebration (27-proven track record). The PTA also sources funding from other community groups such as the drumming group. According to the interviewee,

the PTA chairman also resolves any conflicts that may arise at the school. If the teachers are having a misunderstanding the chairman calls them and settles the misunderstanding. If both the children and parents both have misunderstanding with the teachers the chairman has to settle that as well.

Together, the PTA and the SMC represent a very strong community organizational unit, and there is a lot of evidence of this unit’s capacity to plan and implement community development initiatives in a participatory manner.

The Unit Committee

The Unit Committee assists the Assembly Representative (usually called the Assembly Man) for the electoral area to implement and manage community development programs such as sanitation and provision of clean water. A Unit Committee administers an electoral area and each electoral area is made up of five villages. Despite having a well defined organizational structure with a democratically elected executive, the executive of the Unit Committee is made up of representatives from the five villages; each village elects one representative to be on the Unit Committee executive. The representative from Bayive is the treasurer of the Unit Committee. The result is a planning infrastructure that is fragmented and crosses community geographic boundaries. It is, therefore, difficult for the Unit Committee to plan and implement initiatives for one community. The interviewed representative appeared to understand the mandate of the Unit Committee, but he had very few examples of community development initiatives that the Unit Committee had implemented. He explained what the Unit Committee does as follows:

It assists the Assembly Man to work in the electoral area. We have a problem about water; we do not have good water and good roads. So we inform the Assembly Man and we send a message to the District Assembly. We have problems with the electricity which is only single phase. Sometimes we have to organize people to go round and clear weeds around electricity poles.

Hence, the role of the Unit Committee appears to be that of the communities’ mouthpiece, reporting to the District Assembly, via the Assembly Man, issues identified in the communities (28-delegated power). In addition, the committee is in charge of community services such as sanitation and water provision. However, there was very little evidence of implementation of these activities by the Unit Committee. One of the reasons could be because the current executive was only elected in December of 2010, but all
the same if the organization is to be functional enough to be an implementing agency, the transition from one executive to the next should still be able to reflect the work done by the previous executive (29-continuity).

The Town Development Committee

The role of the Town Development Committee was described as to plan the Easter Festival, a community fund-raising event that is held every year at Easter time. The Town Development Committee has an elected executive, but the terms are indefinite and position holders leave when they want. The group specifically focuses on raising money for community development activities through the annual Easter celebrations. According to the interviewee, the festival “is celebrated every Easter and everyone in the community celebrates it; it is non-denominational. Those who are born outside the village through the festival they come to know their homes, a home-knowing festival.” Before the festival, the group contacts citizens who are abroad or live outside the village who they think can contribute financially to their cause (30-forming linkages). Locals also make financial contributions and at the end of the festival those who did not contribute are taken to the chief who will make them pay up their arrears. Planning for the celebrations is led by the executive, but community members are welcome to participate, indicating some level of participatory decision making. To prepare for the festival

The chairman summons a meeting of the executive. The executive comes as well as members of the community. They discuss why they are holding the festival, what they would need and who to invite. They plan cooking and other things.

The funds raised through the celebrations are used for community development initiatives. Some of the programs that the money has funded include building of the kindergarten shed, building of the new school as well as purchasing of the land where the school was built. The main purpose of the 2011 Easter Festival is to raise money to build a proper structure for the kindergarten (31-target setting). The Festival has a long history in the community; it was started 20 years ago. The group’s strengths appears to lie in being able to mobilize resources that are then distributed to other groups, in this case the PTA and SMC, who then use the money to implement community development initiatives. However, as a potential implementing agency, the Town Development Committee on its own is weak, its function, that is organizing the Easter Celebration, appears to be shared and spread out among other groups in the community such as the traditional authority and the Planning Committee as will be discussed below. Nevertheless it is still a group that could compliment groups with stronger implementation potential such as the PTA/SMC.
The Planning Committee

The role of the Planning Committee is also linked to planning and organizing the annual Easter Festival. The Planning Committee performs almost the same functions as the Town Development Committee, but interviewees insisted they were different, although they acknowledged that the two groups work together. The Planning Committee has a democratically elected executive and like the Town Development Committee its function is to raise funds through the Easter Festival for community development. One of the planning committee’s key roles appears to be ensuring that members of the community pay their contributions and those who do not pay are taken to the chief. One interviewee described the Planning Committee as follows:

We are the CID – we inspect whether you are contributing money before you die. After you die we will check that you paid up all your dues. If not then that money has to be paid before you can be buried. The registrar (secretary) writes an account of all the money that is contributed by everyone, so when you die we check these records. Even if you died outside the country, (customarily people bring hair/nails to bury). The planning committee will investigate even such burials and will not allow them unless you paid your dues.

They also raise funds by contacting citizens who are away whom they think can contribute money to the community, “for example Doley in Accra who helped with money for the electrification”. They have used some of the funds to buy canopies (tents) to be used by the community for various events such as funerals.

When people die the canopies are used at the funeral and they are also used at festivals. If you have not contributed any money towards the Easter Festival then you are charged for using the tent. We keep records of who has and who has not contributed. These records are kept by the secretary.

The group has also helped in the hiring of teachers for the school by paying for the person who went to look for the teachers. The executive meets about twice a year before the Easter celebration and the third meeting is at the Easter celebrations. This is the only time the executive meets with the general public. One interviewee said “after the executive meets and decide on what to do, then we call a general meeting where we tell the public what we decided to do. The public always accepts the decision”. Therefore, there appears to be limited community involvement in decision making. The Planning Committee has been in existence for close to 30 years, thus appears to be a sustainable community group. As already explained for the Town Development Committee, the primary function of this group appears to be shared by various other groups in the community and hence its planning and implementation capacity may not be as strong. However, similar to the Town Development Committee, these groups could be there to support the efforts of the SMC/PTA in mobilizing resources that can be used in planning and implementing community poverty eradication initiatives.
A summary of the assessment of the competences of groups in Bayive to be implementing agencies for community-driven participatory anti-poverty initiatives is shown in Table 5-7. For each group, its competence on each of the four domains is rated as weak, moderate, strong or very strong.

5.3.3 Wenu

Wenu had the fewest number of community groups and only four people were interviewed with two of them being interviewed twice because they had positions or belonged to more than one community group. One person each was interviewed for the drumming group, traditional authority, Avu Lagoon Board, traditional group, church group and unit committee.

_Drumming group_

The function of the drumming group as in the other communities is to assist with burial of members. There is no leadership structure for the drumming group in Wenu because there is no drumming group in Wenu. Instead, people from Wenu join drumming groups in other communities, such as Bayive. Community members from Wenu attend the drumming group annual meetings in the other communities. With no drumming group executive structure in the community, the group has little potential to implement community development initiatives in Wenu (32-critical mass).

_Traditional authority_

The traditional authority in Wenu sees to it that everyone in the community lives happily and is also entrusted with guardianship of the property (land and fishing grounds) that were left by the founder of the village. Wenu is headed by a family head, the youngest son of the village founder. The village was started by one man who moved from Bayive with his family to be closer to the river for fishing. Most of the residents of the village are this man’s children and their families. It is different from the other villages in that there is no chief; the family head is assisted by elders, mostly his brothers or their grown up sons and the Queen Mother, a priestess and also daughter to the founder of the village, who presides over a shrine in the village. The elders plan and implement most of the development activities in the community.
**Table 5-7 Summary of the assessment of community groups and organizations in Bayive**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community group</th>
<th>Governance</th>
<th>Capacity to plan and implement</th>
<th>Participatory enabling strategies</th>
<th>Sustainability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drumming group</td>
<td><strong>Moderate</strong>, well defined democratic leadership structure but no clear system of accountability</td>
<td><strong>Moderate</strong>, has development agenda and mandate but no evidence of planning and implementing community initiatives, strong resource mobilization capacity</td>
<td><strong>Weak</strong>, membership open to all but no clear participatory strategies, weak social cohesion because of fragmented membership</td>
<td><strong>Weak</strong>, relatively new group formed 5 years ago after collapse of original</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Authority</td>
<td><strong>Strong</strong>, non-democratic leadership mandate, but uses traditional system of checks and balances by working with advisors</td>
<td><strong>Moderate</strong>, no strong planning and implementing infrastructure, some past experience implementing community activities, capacity to mobilize resources</td>
<td><strong>Weak</strong>, uses top-down decision making system, uses power to enforce compliance, but collaborates with other groups</td>
<td><strong>Very strong</strong>, part of the fabric of community life, necessary for community function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avu Lagoon Board</td>
<td><strong>Moderate</strong>, well defined democratic leadership structure, but lacks structural coherence (scattered across 15 communities)</td>
<td><strong>Moderate</strong>, has strong developmental agenda and mandate, good planning and implementation infrastructure but fragmented, and no experience yet</td>
<td><strong>Strong</strong>, clear and operational participatory decision making strategy, inclusive in membership and gender sensitive in leadership composition</td>
<td><strong>Weak</strong>, group is still new, community utility still to be determined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church group</td>
<td><strong>Weak</strong>, local leadership structure not clearly defined, higher leadership top-down</td>
<td><strong>Moderate</strong>, some evidence of implementing community initiatives as part of evangelical mandate</td>
<td><strong>Weak</strong>, top-down decision making even within local leadership, gender sensitive, women part of leadership</td>
<td><strong>Moderate</strong>, not clear when formed but in existence for at least 11 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Management Committee</td>
<td><strong>Very strong</strong>, well-defined democratic and inclusive leadership structure, structurally coherent</td>
<td><strong>Very strong</strong>, has community development mandate and agenda, evidence of planning and implementing community initiatives, capacity to mobilize</td>
<td><strong>Very strong</strong>, clearly defined and enacted participatory decision making strategy, collaborates with other community groups, inclusive</td>
<td><strong>Moderate</strong>, formed only three years ago but has very high community utility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents Teacher Association</td>
<td><strong>Very strong</strong>, well-defined democratic and inclusive leadership structure with proven track record,</td>
<td><strong>Very Strong</strong>, strong developmental agenda and mandate, proven record of planning and implementing high value community development initiatives, strong resource mobilizing ability, forms linkages</td>
<td><strong>Very strong</strong>, has an established participatory decision making strategy, powerful record of collaboration, contacts with external agencies.</td>
<td><strong>Strong</strong>, formed a long time ago, high community utility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit</td>
<td><strong>Weak</strong>, has well-defined</td>
<td><strong>Weak</strong>, has a</td>
<td><strong>Weak</strong>, no clear</td>
<td><strong>Moderate</strong>, not clear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

123
Committee leadership structure but lacks structural coherence, only one executive member per community, seems to depend on delegated power from the District Assembly. development mandate but no evidence of planning or implementing community development initiatives. participatory enabling strategy, accountability seems to be to assembly representative not the community. when it was formed and no proven community utility, but since its part of decentralized administrative units, likely to last.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town Development Committee</th>
<th>Moderate, has a well defined elected executive but positions held for life makes leaders less accountable</th>
<th>Moderate, has a development mandate, primary role is resource mobilization, but depends on other groups to implement community initiatives</th>
<th>Moderate, no clear participatory strategy but meetings are open to the community, participation enforced with help of chiefs powers</th>
<th>Strong, has been in existence for over 20 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| Planning Committee        | Moderate, defined democratic leadership, wields little power except through traditional leadership | Moderate, has a development mandate primarily resource mobilization, implementation through collaboration with other groups | Weak, participation limited to informing public on what the executive has decided, no space for community decision making | Strong, has never existed for about 30 years |

Money to implement development initiatives is either from contributions by community members or is from the family fund. The family owns a fishing fence on the river and according to the interviewee the family “organizes harvesting of the fish from the fishing fence for sell. The money is used to pay those hired to harvest the fish and what remains is put in the family fund”. The money from the family fund is used to subsidize community initiatives (33-history of sharing). Like other traditional authorities, there is little participatory decision making and the elders make most of the decisions for the community. However, the elders appear to be very effective in planning and implementing community development initiatives. The interviewee gave an example of how the community participated in the electrification program which had just been implemented in the community and had this to say:

For example electricity, we organized community labor to go and clear the path for the poles. Everyone was very eager. The announcement comes through the family head, and then the community is organized to clear the path. The community also contributed money towards feeding of electricity workers. They contributed 5Ghana Cedis but not everyone could pay. Hence, they used family fund to subsidize. Elders called the people together and informed them that everyone would need to contribute 5Ghana Cedis to feed the electricity workers. Women were selected to cook the food.

This provides evidence that the traditional leadership in Wenu is able to plan and implement community development initiatives.
Avu Lagoon Board

The role of the Avu Lagoon Board is as described for other communities and is to manage the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative on behalf of the communities involved. The Avu Lagoon Board is a board that represents all the 15 communities and Wenu, like all other communities, is represented by two members on this board. The board members help to facilitate communication between the community and the board. After each board meeting, they call together the community and inform them of what has happened at the board meeting.

Whatever transpired at the meeting I inform them (the community); what to do and what not to do. I call meetings, walk around and ask people to come for the meeting. Normally I gather people at the community celebration place (square near the Shrine). If the community raises any issues at the meeting then I take it back to Akatsi.

The structural organization of the board as a whole represents a very strong planning instrument, but the board plans for all 15 communities. The board is also still relatively new and there are few examples of community development initiatives that it has implemented in Wenu. However, the interviewee pointed out that the board provided a canoe, meant to transport tourists on the Lagoon, but the community can use it when needed. With only one member resident in the community, one board member is a teacher and lives in Akatsi, the Avu Lagoon Board represents a weak implementing agent for Wenu.

Traditional group

The traditional group provides for the spiritual needs of the people not only in Wenu but in all other communities in the area. Wenu is the site of an important shrine in the Avu Lagoon area, presided over by the fetish priest who lives in Wenu. The priest leads festivals in the area and performs rites for all people, not only residents of Wenu (34-traditional belief system). This is how the priest described her role:

I lead festivals in the area. Before the festival begins a general announcement is made through the radio. People from all around usually come to accompany us in celebrating the festivals. The name of the festival is Mama Bloa. It runs August to September.

As a leader, the priest was chosen by the gods so there is no democratic elections, and no organizational or leadership structure. The main focus of the priest is in the spiritual aspect of community life. The priest is also such a central figure in the community that she is often consulted for her opinion and support before community development initiatives are undertaken (35-traditional authority). She mentioned that the NCRC and the Akatsi District Assembly are some of the groups that have consulted her in the past. However, because of a lack of a clear organizational structure, no executive and also a role that services not only the community of Wenu but includes other communities, the traditional group has little capacity to be an implementing agent for community anti-poverty initiatives.
The church group

Wenu has no church and members attend church in Bayive. Hence, there is no leadership structure in the community for this group. Group members do participate in various church activities, for example the interviewee is a member of the church choir. Because the organizational and leadership structure of the group exists outside the community, the group has little potential to plan and implement poverty eradication activities for the community and there was no evidence of any initiatives implemented in the past.

The Unit Committee

According to the interviewed member, the Unit Committee works with the Assembly Man to make sure that nothing bad happens within the electoral area. The Unit Committee has a well defined leadership structure and all members of the committee are democratically elected with a term of four years. However, the positions are allocated to each of the five communities that make up the electoral area. The representative of Wenu on the Unit Committee, for example, holds the position of financial secretary. According to the interviewee, when something bad happens they report it to the assembly man who conveys it to the District Assembly. Planning by the committee is for the whole electoral area, and not just for one community. The Unit Committee member mentioned that the Unit Committee had done nothing in Wenu. However, this could be because the current executive assumed office in December 2010, giving them little time to have planned and implemented anything in the community. But as already mentioned for Suipe, functional democratic community groups should have good systems for transitioning from one executive to the next such that the new executive builds on the work of the previous. Either the previous executive had not been effective or the new executive has limited knowledge of the previous executive’s work.

The representative, however, appeared to understand the workings of the Unit Committee in general and explained that the executive holds meetings twice a month to discuss how they can develop the area. Issues discussed include roads, good drinking water. However, the executive does not hold planning meetings with the community and according to the Unit Committee member,

The Unit Committee does not really call meetings with the community, but meetings with the whole community are called if something happens.

Members of the executive can all identify that roads and water are a problem so they do not have to ask the community.

This suggests that decision making is confined to the executive with no participation by the rest of the community. Because of its fragmentation, however, the Unit Committee has limited potential as an organizational structure to plan and implement community development initiatives for Wenu.
A summary of the assessment of the competences of groups in Wenu to be implementing agencies for community-driven participatory anti-poverty initiatives is shown in Table 5-8. For each group, its competence on each of the four domains is rated as weak, moderate, strong or very strong.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community group</th>
<th>Governance</th>
<th>Capacity to plan and implement</th>
<th>Participatory enabling strategies</th>
<th>Sustainability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drumming group</td>
<td>Weak, has no organizational structure in the community</td>
<td>Weak, infrastructure for planning and implementing community initiatives no in the community</td>
<td>Weak, community members participate as subscribers to the group</td>
<td>Weak, organization does not belong to the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Authority</td>
<td>Very strong, non-democratic but very strong tradition-based leadership system, operates with a council of elders which allows for checks and balances</td>
<td>Very strong, has community development mandate, proven track record of planning and implementing community activities, strong resource and community mobilization capacity</td>
<td>Weak, top-down decision making system, no space for community participation but decisions made with council of elders</td>
<td>Very strong, central to community life, and acts as guardian of community resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avu Lagoon Board</td>
<td>Moderate, well defined democratic leadership structure, but fragmented across 15 communities</td>
<td>Moderate, has strong community developmental agenda and mandate, great planning/implementing infrastructure, but fragmented across communities and not yet has experienced</td>
<td>Strong, clearly defined and operational participatory decision making strategy, inclusive in membership and gender sensitive in leadership composition</td>
<td>Weak, new, not yet fully functional, community utility still to be determined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional group</td>
<td>Weak, no organizational structure, power to lead based on traditional belief system</td>
<td>Moderate, mandate is to ensure spiritual well-being of community, has experience leading festivals and feasts, helps mobilize community for other community initiatives</td>
<td>Weak, community participation limited to involvement in festivals, decisions believed to come from the gods hence top-down system</td>
<td>Moderate, in existence for long time, sustainability depends on lifespan of priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church group</td>
<td>Weak, no organizational structure in the village</td>
<td>Weak, no planning or implementing infrastructure in the village</td>
<td>Weak, villagers participate as church members in other communities where organizational structure is based</td>
<td>Weak, group structure and function housed outside of the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit Committee</td>
<td>Weak, has well-defined leadership structure but fragmented across five communities</td>
<td>Weak, has a development mandate but no evidence of planning or implementing community development initiatives</td>
<td>Weak, top-down decision making system, no space for community participation, seems accountability to assembly rep and not the community</td>
<td>Moderate, not clear when it was formed but since its part of decentralized administrative units, likely to last</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4 Analysis of findings

In this section, an attempt is made to link the results presented above to the research goal and objectives. To recap, the goal was to describe the organizational and institutional foundations within traditional rural communities, particularly those in or adjacent to protected areas that support implementation of participatory community anti-poverty initiatives. To address this goal, the research sought to answer three objectives. The first objective was to use the process of testing the implementation of a community poverty assessment and asset identification instrument in order to determine levels of community mobilization, participation and analytical capacity. The second objective was to assess community groups for competence to implement community poverty reduction programs. The third objective was to determine if the problems of using protected areas to achieve anti-poverty goals are due to inadequate organizational and institutional developmental conditions at the level of the community. Section 5.4.1 analyses activities undertaken to address Objective 1 while section 5.4.2 examines the results of activities undertaken to address Objective 2 across all communities. Section 5.4.3 addresses Objective 3 by examining how the conditions identified under Objectives 1 and 2 affect the community’s ability to utilize protected areas in anti-poverty strategies.

5.4.1 Analysis of community competence to mobilize, participate and analyze

The capacity of communities to implement participatory anti-poverty initiatives was assessed by examining three concepts of mobilization, participation and analytical capacity during the process of testing the implementation of a community poverty assessment and asset identification instrument. The three concepts were assessed based on a framework described before (see Methodology section 3.6.1). A forth concept examined related more to the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument itself, that is its applicability in the communities where implementation was tested. The unit of analysis was the community, represented by those who voluntarily took part in the community meeting. Regarding the Canadian case study, the names Tofino and Opitsaht are going to be used interchangeably in this analysis and thereafter because while the focus of the research was Opitsaht, all the activities were conducted in Tofino where the Band Council offices are located.

5.4.1.1 Community mobilization

For people to hold a discussion first they need to come together. Community mobilization was assessed based on the number of people who attended the community meetings. There are two important points to highlight regarding community mobilization. First, mobilization was very high in all the three
Ghana cases and yet surprisingly very low if not difficult to achieve at all in Opitsaht. Second, in the Ghana cases mobilization of women was much lower than that of men. This analysis will focus on these two important points in turn.

Community mobilization: Ghana versus Canada

The same strategy for requesting participants was used in both Ghana and Canada; the researcher asked the community contact person to help organize 10-15 people who could participate in a focus group to test the instrument. In the three communities in Ghana turnout was 220%, 580% and 200%, respectively for Suipe, Bayive and Wenu while in Tofino turnout was 70% and 50%, respectively for the two meetings. This was based on an anticipated turnout of 10 people. Three factors may explain the high level of community mobilization seen in Ghana compared to Tofino, and these are: the relationship between the community contact person and the community, the presence of a history or culture of community mobilization and the definition of a community which makes for easy mobilization.

In each of the four cases, community mobilization was facilitated by the community contact person. For the three Ghana cases, the contact people were elected community representatives on the Avu Lagoon Board. As was evident from the interviews with the board members they already regularly bring the community together as part of ensuring community participation in the Avu Lagoon Siatunga Conservation Initiative. This would suggest that the community responded because they are used to being mobilized by these representatives. However, there is also another important relationship that exists between the contact people and the communities. Each of these people is also part of the traditional leadership in their respective communities. In Suipe the contact person was a chief who regularly calls people together for various purposes. The contact person for Bayive was a regent or assistant chief while in Wenu, which is headed by a family head, the contact person was a family elder who works closely with the family head on most community issues. What these people have in common is traditional authority, which is very important in most rural communities in Ghana (Ghana Statistical Services, 2005). Traditional authority is the most visible authority in the villages. Chiefs and elders are respected because of their positions but also the power of the chief entails that he can exert punishment on those who do not comply with the chief’s orders. Therefore, the high mobilization seen in Ghana was probably partly a result of the reverence and fear accorded traditional authority.

In Tofino, the relationship between the community and the contact person was very different. The contact person who facilitated community mobilization in Tofino was the local PAPR Project Coordinator. According to PAPR project personnel, the choice of Project Coordinator had to be approved by the community. Even though this would suggest that he was the community’s choice and hence was someone they would listen to, given the poor response of the community, it maybe that he was the choice
of only a small part of the community. The Project Coordinator is also a member of the Band Council administrative staff. Evidence from the community meetings suggests that the relationship between administrative personnel and other social service workers and the community at large may be strained. During the community meetings, participants noted that local First Nations people on the reserve often resented returning members who had left the reserve for educational purposes. Indeed, the Project Coordinator is a returning member with a university education and happens to live in Tofino and not on the reserve; something that may even distance him further from the community on Opitsaht reserve. Hence, it is highly possible that the community did not respond to the Project Coordinator’s call for meetings because of this strained relationship. The strain in the relationship seems to signify a lack of trust.

Surprisingly, even among the social service workers and members of the band administrative staff, who hold similar educational background as the Project Coordinator, turnout for meetings was still low, suggesting other underlying issue that hampered mobilization. From individual discussions with some of the members who participated in the meetings, there are some differences of opinion within the administrative staff which appears to be giving rise to factions. Hence, poor mobilization among members of the administrative staff could have been due to factionalism which suggests a lack of community cohesion.

What this result suggests is that not everyone in the community has the capacity to mobilize people and to facilitate implementation of community-driven anti-poverty initiatives such as CBNRM projects it is important to identify key elements in the community with mobilization capacity. In Ghana, it would appear as if the responsibility to mobilize for the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative already rest with the right elements in the community that is traditional leadership. In Tofino on the other hand, the results suggest that the Project Coordinator would have limited capacity mobilizing the community for the development of the Tribal Parks as a CBNRM project.

The second factor that may explain the difference in community mobilization seen between cases in Ghana and Canada is the presence of a history or culture of community mobilization. The readiness to respond shown by the community members in Ghana could be because community mobilization is part of their traditional way of life which is not or no longer evident in Opitsaht. Support for this comes from three important observations made in Ghana: 1) the presence of well established meeting places, 2) an established day set aside for potential community meetings, and 3) a recognized/functional purpose for mobilizing.

In the three cases in Ghana there appeared to be regular meeting places familiar to all people in the community. In Suipe it was the school, in Bayive it was the big Neem tree and in Wenu it was the board member’s home. What this meant is that when a person hears that there is going to be a meeting,
even though they are not told the venue, they would correctly assume where the meeting is being held. In addition, the places were all easily accessible. The situation in Tofino was different and there appeared to be no well defined meeting place. For the first community meeting, the Project Coordinator had indicated that the meeting would be at the community center in Opitsaht. However, this was changed on the day of the meeting and the meeting was held at the Band Council offices in Tofino. The second meeting was held at the Project Coordinator’s home in Tofino. In addition to the confusion of having multiple potential meeting places, holding a meeting in Tofino instead of Opitsaht may have limited the capacity of community members to attend. Even though it is right across the bay from Tofino, accessing Tofino from Opitsaht is very costly. A boat ride cost $5. Figure 5-4 is a picture showing the relative locations of the town of Tofino and the village of Opitsaht.

A second factor that supports a culture of mobilization in Ghana is the presence of a day in the community’s calendar when potential community meetings can be held. Community meetings in Ghana were held on home market days. A home market day is a day when community members are not allowed to do any work in their fields and is often a day when community meetings are scheduled. This facilitated scheduling meetings when most people would be available. In Tofino scheduling of meetings was less methodical and largely depended on the availability of the Project Coordinator and not necessarily the community. Making the community fit into the Project Coordinator’s schedule may have been challenging because the Project Coordinator had a very busy schedule. Outside his role as coordinator for PAPR project, he explained that he was “wearing many hats” in the Band administration and was covering important positions that had just been left vacant through recent resignations. That Opitsaht lacks the culture of community mobilization was suggested by one participant at the second community meeting who indicated that it would be better to talk to individuals in the community rather than having a community meeting. Therefore, a culture of mobilization existed in Ghana which was not evident in Tofino and was reflected in the poor mobilization. Having a “meeting day” on the community calendar appears to be a very important developmental condition that would facilitate management of a CBNRM projects as community-driven initiative as it guarantees a participation time for the community.

Community mobilization in Ghana developed into a culture because it serves a specific purpose. Discussions with traditional leaders showed that they regularly bring people together for various reasons, for example to settle disputes, as part of festivals and also to implement community self-help programs. The chief in Bayive mentioned that he used to run a community farm for the purpose of helping those in need in the community, which was worked by community labor. Similar sentiments were expressed by
Figure 5-4  Pictures showing the relative locations of the First Nation Reserve of Opitsaht and the town of Tofino. A) is an aerial view from Lone Cone Mountain and B) is a picture taken from Tofino showing Opitsaht with Lone Cone in the background. The two are separated by a body of water requiring a boat to move between the communities.
the elder in Wenu. While the community needs to come together for socio-economic purposes in Ghana, this may not be necessary in Opitsaht where an individual approach to solving socio-economic problems, through the welfare systems is the norm. However, this focus on the individual in Tofino has given rise to or manifests in a lack of community cohesiveness, which makes mobilizing the community very difficult.

The last of the three factors that help explain differences in community mobilization between the cases in Ghana and Opitsaht is the existence of a well defined community. For the three cases in Ghana the communities were defined as places with a geographic boundary. While Opitsaht was at first considered a defined geographic place for the purpose of this research, it later emerged that the community was in fact a community of people. The community of Tla-o-quit First Nations people is fragmented; their traditional home is Opitsaht, but some members live in Tofino and others live in the smaller community of Esowista. Among the social service workers and Band leaders that participated in the focus group all, except one, did not live in Opitsaht but lived in Tofino. Thus, for the Canada case study, a different criterion should have been used to select a case, or alternatively the case should have been defined differently. It may have been better to define the community as Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations people, which would have included people living in Tofino as well as the reserve of Esowista in addition to those on Opitsaht, thus broadening the participant base. However, an important point to note is that often such structural fragmentation of the community may also be associated with a lack of social cohesion; a general failure of people who live in different geographic units to share a common purpose. The complex definition of community for the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations people has great implications on who should participate in the management of the Tribal Parks as a community-driven initiative. The easy with which geographically defined communities in Ghana mobilized would suggest that this feature is important for facilitating the community-driven management of protected areas.

To summarize the comparison of Ghana and Opitsaht, there were distinct differences in community mobilization between communities in Ghana and the community in Opitsaht. The high mobilization in Ghana could be attributed to a number of factors which were lacking in Opitsaht. These include relationship between the community and the mobilizing agent which in Ghana was characterized by the respect/power relationship between the community and traditional leaders (who were the mobilizing agent); the presence of a culture of mobilization which in Ghana was supported by the instrumental nature of mobilization (for addressing socio-economic issues) and finally the identity of a community as a well defined geographical place. In contrast the relationship between the community and mobilizing agent in Tofino was characterized by lack of trust. There was an individual approach to solving socio-economic problems which meant no purpose for mobilizing and finally the community was structurally fragmented which may have led to lack of social cohesion.
Issue of gender in community mobilization

This last issue pertains more to Ghana than Canada because in Canada, very small numbers of people attended meetings making it difficult to infer about the gender differences in mobilization. In all the three communities in Ghana, more men than women attended the meetings; 1 out of 20; 25 out of 58 and 7 out of 20 were women for Suipe, Bayive and Wenu, respectively. This gender difference could be because men and women have different roles. For example, in Suipe people had spent the night before the community meeting at a funeral wake. While men came to the meeting straight from the funeral, women probably had to go home and do morning household chores. Similarly in Bayive and Wenu, fewer women attended and often those who did came a little late. Hence, community mobilization for participatory programs need to take into account these gender differences and where possible try to accommodate women either by choosing a time or schedule more suitable for them.

In summary, three important factors emerge as key determinants of community mobilization, these are: 1) the mobilizing agent, particularly the relationship with the community which can be facilitated by power, respect and trust; 2) a culture or history of community mobilization, evidenced and facilitate by such factors as existence of established meeting places, a day set aside for meetings in the community calendar and functional purpose(s) for mobilizing; 3) definition of a community, which is characterized by community with a defined geographic boundary, and is functionally/socially cohesive.

5.4.1.2 Community Participation

As explained before community participation is a difficult concept to assess due to lack of tangible indicators. However, in this analysis the researcher looked for evidence of four important determinants of community participation 1) diversity among the participants, which indicates diversity of voices in the planning and decision making process; 2) community ownership and commitment to the process, 3) extent of understanding of local information, knowledge and experience during the process and 4) effect of gender.

Diversity of participants is determined by who is brought to the participatory table. The researcher left the decision of who should participate to the community contact persons. In Ghana the result was that anyone who was interested attended and there appeared to be no attempt to select specific sections of the community. It is not clear why the contact persons, despite agreeing to select 10-15 people ended up opening the meeting to the whole community. One contact person alluded to the reason behind this when he explained that it is always important to do things in the open lest other people think those selected are benefitting. Therefore, ensuring openness appeared to be the desired objective in deciding who should participate in Ghana. It can be inferred that because meetings were open to the entire
community there were diverse voices contributing to the discussion; a very important point in participatory decision making. In Tofino, initially the objective was to get a representative segment of the entire community. Hence, representatives of community leaders, social service workers, Band administrators and members of the community were invited to participate. The goal here appeared to be ensuring fairness of representation. However, not all who were invited turned up but each of the target groups was represented. In a way, there was diversity of voices and this was reflected in the discussion that ensued as people often presented very different sides of the same point. This was exemplified by the discussion between the social service worker responsible for housing and the elected official whose views of friendliness in one neighborhood were totally different. Hence, both communities were able to bring diverse opinions to the discussion and the choice of who should participate was motivated by the desire to achieve openness and fairness in the participatory process.

Assessing community ownership and commitment was more challenging since the whole process was initiated and driven by the researcher. However, participants were quite proactive in the three Ghanaian communities suggesting attempts to take ownership of the process. Some always emerged as leaders and took charge of organizing, be it the venue or forming groups in all three cases. The participants divided themselves into groups; decided the sizes of the groups and, often balanced groups for gender and literacy and also insisted on the language to be used when reporting back group discussions. Commitment can be evaluated by the willingness to participate in activities multiple times. In Ghana only one community meeting was held, but some of the community members also participated in interviews. Participants tried as much as possible to accommodate the researcher; often interviews were conducted early in the morning before they left for the fields or late in the evening when they came back, suggesting some level of commitment to the process.

It was difficult to make the same assessment in Tofino given that the wider community did not participate, however, the Project Coordinator showed initiative by trying to vary the format and venue of the discussion. For the last meeting he suggested having a potluck at his house; with the expectation that such an informal setting would attract more participants. The small number of participants that turned up made this into a “kitchen table” type of meeting and provided a very intimate discussion of community assets and other issues. Community ownership and commitment determine sustainability of an initiative but is better achieved if the goals of the initiative meet those of the community. The apparent lack of commitment in Tofino, as shown by the very low numbers of people at the second meeting may be because the community is less interested in poverty or development which was the main goal of this exercise. The need to ensure goals of the initiative align with those of the community is important in implementing participatory anti-poverty initiatives, especially if external agencies are initiating the program.
When participants display a good understanding of local information and knowledge it ensures that decisions that they make regarding community initiatives are a true reflection of the local situation. To assess this, the researcher looked at the content of the issues that were covered by the different communities. Communities in Ghana share the same socio-cultural and economic contexts and it would be expected that the content of the issues they discuss should be similar. Therefore, the level of community understanding of local information and knowledge was assessed by comparing the content of common issues that were discussed. As would be expected, the three communities covered very similar issues with similar content. The information was also verifiable by direct observations and document reviews. Some of the common issues included bad roads that are inaccessible during the winter, lack of clean drinking water, inadequate education infrastructure, health centers that are far or difficult to access due to bad roads, poor housing and lack of jobs for local youths. The issues identified by participants in Tofino are consistent with historical fact and recent reports on poverty on First Nations reserves. These included housing, health, education (specifically the relevance of the curriculum), lack of recreational centers and high dependency. Therefore, participants displayed a level of understanding of the local situation that would contribute to informed decision making in planning community-driven initiatives.

The issue of gender on participation is very important because the gender of the participant may determine whether or not their voice is heard. This issue was more pronounced in Ghana than in Tofino. In all three communities in Ghana, women talked less. However, women would contribute when prompted to do so or picked on by the facilitator. Interestingly, women in positions of power, for example the board members in Suipe and Bayive, and the traditional leader in Wenu, were very confident and talked easily, asking questions and commenting on other people’s contributions. A few other women with no specific positions also spoke up especially in Bayive and Wenu, but they tended to be older. For example, in Wenu, one group thought that a guest house was important for the community. A woman from another group then responded by saying “we do not have toilets and they are talking about guest house.” In addition to representing expression of diverse opinions, this comment by a woman suggests that there is no cultural barrier to women’s engagement in public discussion and decision making. However, women, especially young women with no positions of power, did not speak at the meetings.

It is much more difficult to assess the impact of gender on participation in Tofino. The groups were very small and the intimate nature of the forum may have made it easier for women to participate. In addition, all the women who participated were in positions of power in the community either by virtue of employment or educational level. Therefore, the women in Tofino could be equated to the female board members, the traditional leader and elderly women in the cases in Ghana who were very confident to speak in front of large groups of people. However, such a link between gender and power is difficult to make in this case because in Optisaht ordinary women members of the community did not participate in
the discussions and the researcher cannot predict if they would have been as quiet as the women in Ghana or spoken as freely as the men. While having separate meetings for men and women is often advocated in order to overcome gender effect on participation, this is not a very practical solution for community-driven anti-poverty initiatives because it would mean within one community, men and women make parallel decision on a single developmental issue. Obviously, both decisions, if divergent cannot be implemented.

In summary, four determinants of participation were assessed in this analysis. 1) The choice of who participates determines the diversity of voices to be heard. Achieving openness and fairness appeared to be the two main objectives that were focused on in deciding who participates in Ghana and Tofino, respectively. Openness ensures transparency so that everyone knows what is going on while fairness ensures that everyone in the community is represented and through representation will get their voice heard. While openness is easily achieved by having meetings where anyone in the community can attend, achieving fairness is more challenging because it is not easy to ensure every interest is represented. 2) Ownership and commitment to a process ensures sustainability and would be strengthened by having the goals of the initiative match those of the community, especially for externally initiated projects. 3) The depth of understanding of local information and knowledge ensures that the information used by participants in decision making accurately reflect the local situation. 4) Finally, gender impacts participation because in Ghana, women participated less than men. However, women with power because of either holding positions of authority, being well educated or older readily engaged in discussions. While an attempt was made to assess community participation in this study, it is important to note participation is a complex process that would likely require a longer time commitment to assess by observing multiple community events.

5.4.1.3 Community capacity for analysis

A significant measure of the community’s competence to implement participatory anti-poverty initiatives is their ability to analyze the situation before them. To assess the community’s analytical capacity the researcher looked at three important factors: 1) capacity to follow the analytical process, 2) how the participants articulated issues or problems they identified in their community and 3) the ability to ask the question “why” reflecting their capacity to link problems and possible causes. In addition, how community poverty/well-being is assessed by front-line workers versus community members was examined by looking at assessment outcomes from Tofino (frontline workers) versus Ghana (community members). This was done in order to determine who is best suited to undertake community poverty assessments for community-driven initiatives.
Assessing community analytical capacity

To assess the capacity of the communities to follow an analytical process, the researcher used a very simple poverty assessment and asset identification instrument. The goal of the instrument was to take the community through a logical process of identifying what they consider to be important for community well-being, and then identify which of those important dimensions the community needs improving on and why. It is from this analysis then that solutions can be formulated. Participants in all four cases were asked the question “what would make your community the best place for anyone to live in?” which was prompting them to identify all the dimensions that are considered important for well-being. The participants responded by identifying only dimensions that needed improvement or by providing solutions as shown by the statement “we need....” or “the community needs....” The participants, therefore, skipped the first step of the process and started with the second and last steps (problem identification and formulation of needs/solutions, respectively), suggesting some difficulty in following the analytical process. The tendency to focus on problems and needs could be a reflection of traditional development work practices where communities are often asked “what is your problem” or “what do you need”. Failure to follow the analytical process may also be because assessments are often done externally by development agencies with little community involvement such that what the community often sees are solutions in the form of projects being implemented, with little understanding of how these were arrived at.

Articulating a problem entails the ability to give a logical description of a problem including how it is impacting the community. Closely related to this is the ability to then link the problems to the causes. Participants in Tofino were better able to articulate and link problems to causes than did participants in all three cases in Ghana. In Ghana participants had difficulty describing the problems and required prompting from the researcher. Failure to articulate problems and then link problems to causes often led to suggestion of solutions that did not address the problems. This will be illustrated by two examples. The first one is the sugar factory in Wenu and the second one is the health center and market in Suipe.

The participants started by providing a solution (which signified failure to follow the analytical process) and suggested that the community needed a sugar factory. When prompted by the researcher to explain further what emerged was actually an identification of two separate problems that may be addressed in two very different ways (Table 5-4). The first problem was that the community grows sugarcane near the lagoon but they do not have a machine for extracting the sugarcane juice to make akpetashie. People from Wenu have to go to the nearby community of Hartogodo to extract the juice and transport the juice back for making the liquor. The second problem was that there are no jobs in the community and if jobs were created, people may be able to make enough money to pay school fees for their children. Placing a sugarcane factory in Wenu may indeed solve both problems, but alternatively
there could be other solutions for example having a juice extracting machine in Wenu would solve the first problem while a multitude of other solutions may be thought of to address the job problem. The poor linking of the problem to the causes emerged because a solution was proposed without adequately assessing the problem first.

In Suipe participants stated that the community needed a health center and also a market, but when prompted to explain further it merged that the community was having problems accessing the health center and the market because of bad roads (Table 5-1). Hence, the problem was poor access to the health center and market which was caused by bad roads. Linking the problem to its cause makes it easier to formulate solutions. A cheaper and probably more effective way to solve the problem of access to the market and health center could be fixing the road. The participants in Tofino required very little prompting from the facilitator and when solutions or needs were proposed, they showed a logical link between the problem, cause and proposed solution. This difference maybe because the participants in Tofino were mostly social service workers and Band administrators who may have had some experience undertaking assessments as part of their work. Their level of education, and also the fact the participants could speak English may have made it easier for them to provide coherent explanations of problems. Therefore, this suggests that the communities in Ghana had a weaker analytical capacity which may affect their ability to formulate programs as part of the community managed ecotourism project.

Community poverty/well-being assessment: frontline workers versus community members

Looking at the problems that were identified by the different communities, an interesting observation is that problems that were identified in Tofino were often seen to manifest through the individual such as loss of culture, loss of language, poor work ethic, unfriendliness, and dependency (becoming independent). On the other hand problems that participants identified in all cases in Ghana tended to impact the whole community and manifest in the environment such as poor roads, lack of hospitals, poor housing, lack of jobs, finance for farming, police services, lack of clean drinking water and many others. While this could just be a difference in the nature of problems between the research sites, this could also reflect differences in approach to problem solving by the people who participated in the analysis.

In Ghana, the analysis was undertaken by community members. Among the people doing the analysis in Tofino were social service workers and Band Council administrators; these will collectively be referred to as frontline service workers. To them the problems seem to be in or with the people (community members). In deed that frontline workers may have a different way of analyzing problems than community members was supported by an interview the researcher had with a nurse (a frontline service worker) at the local health center in Ghana. In all the three cases in Ghana, community members
noted that they had difficulty accessing the local health center because of poor roads. However, the nurse disagreed and did not see roads or access to the health center in general as a problem. She even explained that the health center personnel have regular outreaches where they visit communities and offer health services within the community (although these are mostly targeted at mothers with young babies). The nurse instead was very critical of the people’s attitudes and behavior and noted their strong traditional beliefs which she saw as hampering women’s and children’s health. Therefore, like her counterparts in Tofino the nurse in Ghana also saw problems as manifesting in the individuals not the environment.

Such a different view of community poverty and well-being issues between community members (who live in poverty) and frontline workers who are supposed to help communities overcome poverty is very interesting given that traditionally, such frontline workers have often been the implementers of anti-poverty initiatives at the local level on behalf of larger development agencies. The result is that anti-poverty programs will address problems as viewed by the frontline worker and not the community. Such anti-poverty programs may not match community goals, which as discussed before can negatively affect community participation.

In summary, three factors were identified to be key determinants of community analytical capacity. First, is the ability of participants to follow an analytical process, which can be influenced by previous experience. The community’s capacity to follow structured analytical processes may be limited by previous development practices that involved communities only in needs identification, or did not involve the community at all. All four cases showed a limited capacity to follow the analytical process. The other two factors are closely related and are the ability to articulate problems and also to link problems to causes. These will facilitate formulation of solutions that address problems. These capacities again may be affected by experience and also the language of the process. Participants in Tofino, probably because of their experience and fluency in English, were better able to articulate problems and link problems to causes than participants in all three cases in Ghana. In the analysis, frontline workers (Tofino) tended to present problems as manifesting through the individual. On the other hand community members (Ghana) identified problems that tended to impact the community as a whole and manifested in the environment. This suggests that community members are better able to analyze community development initiatives compared to social service workers whose main focus is on the individual. While there is an obvious need to develop analytical capacity among communities in Ghana, for Opitsaht whether the larger community needs analytical capacity building could not be established during this research because it was not possible to meet with the rest of the community.
5.4.1.4 Applicability of the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument

While the focus of this research was not to test the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument itself, nevertheless data that was generated during the implementation exercise can provide some insights on the applicability and effectiveness of the instrument. This is important because these results can be used to adapt the instrument to make it more effective. This section will therefore briefly focus on the applicability of the instrument.

Applicability of the instrument was assessed based on the data captured during the implementation process. Focusing on the poverty assessment component of the instrument it was evident that the instrument was able to capture various dimensions of poverty ranging from the traditional basic needs such as shelter, income/employment, food, water and transportation, to more subtle dimensions such as love and self-esteem. The instrument was also able to highlight differences in context and this was illustrated by looking at the dimensions captured in Tofino and the cases in Ghana. Dimensions such as education, employment were captured in both sites; however the nature of the problems were very different. In Ghana, the problem with education had to do with lack of infrastructure while in Tofino the problem was the quality of education, specifically the curriculum, which the participants said did not match their needs. In Ghana there was lack of employment opportunities while in Tofino this was qualified as a lack of work ethic among the people which made them unemployable. And finally, the instrument was able to capture poverty as dynamic; this is illustrated by participants who identified newly emergent issues such as a need for fire services, because of potential fires as a result of the recent electrification program; and the need for tourism centers and guest houses, reflecting the ecotourism project being developed as part of the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative.

Asset identification was only conducted in Tofino and participants used the instrument to identify a number of community assets and assess their potential role in poverty reduction (Table 5-5). In summary, the assessment component highlighted three capacities of the instrument which suggest its applicability in the sites where it was tested: 1) the instrument captured poverty as multi-dimensional, 2) it showed the contextual nature of poverty and 3) it captured poverty as a dynamic process which will change with time and hence justifies continual assessment.

5.4.1.5 Summary of testing the instrument: Key determinants of community mobilization, participation and analytical capacity

To summarize the analysis of data from the testing of the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument whose aim was to assess the competence of communities to undertake
community-driven initiatives, Table 5-9 highlights key determinants of each of the three concepts that determine community competence.

Table 5-9 Summary of the key determinants of community mobilization, participation and analytical capacity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key determinants</th>
<th>Community mobilization</th>
<th>Community Participation</th>
<th>Community analytical capacity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Key factors for community-driven initiatives</strong></td>
<td><strong>Relationship of mobilizing agent and community</strong></td>
<td>Who participates</td>
<td>Ability to follow analytical process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Based on respect, power, trust</td>
<td>Aim to achieve:</td>
<td>- Affected by previous experience and development practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Facilitated by community cohesion</td>
<td>- Openness/transparency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A history/culture of community mobilization</strong></td>
<td>Ownership and commitment to process</td>
<td>- Depend on who drives initiative</td>
<td>- Affected by experience and language of the process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidenced by:</td>
<td>- Improved sustainability</td>
<td>- Improved by matching goals of initiative to community goals</td>
<td>- Requires strong facilitation skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Presence of defined meeting places (accessible and familiar)</td>
<td>Understanding local information and knowledge</td>
<td>- Ensures informed decision making</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Meeting time in community calendar (guarantees community participatory time)</td>
<td>- Decisions made accurately reflect local situation</td>
<td>Ability to link problems to causes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Defined purpose for mobilizing ensures community cohesion</td>
<td>Ability to articulate problems</td>
<td>- Affected by experience and language of the process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A well defined community</strong></td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characterized by:</td>
<td>- Multiple roles of women affect ability to mobilize</td>
<td>- Modulated by power (derived from having position of authority; level of education or age)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Presence of a defined boundary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Structural and functional/social cohesion</td>
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5.4.2 Analysis of competence of community groups to be implementing agents

The presence of community groups that can act as implementing agents is an important condition that would facilitate the implementation of community participatory anti-poverty initiatives (Objective 2). Assessment of community groups’ capacity to act as implementing agents was only done for the cases in Ghana. To identify the community group(s) with the highest potential, a subjective assessment of each group’s strengths in each of the four key domains of competence was undertaken, namely governance, capacity to plan and implement community development initiatives, participatory enabling strategies and sustainability of the group (see results in Tables 5-6 to 5-9). In Table 5-10 groups that were considered strong or very strong in each of the domains are shown for each community. This section discusses the characteristics of these high performing groups for each domain and based on overall analysis of the
performance of groups across all domains the group(s) that has the highest potential is identified for each community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups whose performance was Strong/Very strong on each Domain</th>
<th>Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Governance</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Authority, PTA/SMC</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>PTA/SMC</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Capacity to plan and implement</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Avu Lagoon Board, PTA/SMC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTA/SMC</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Participatory enabling strategies</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drummimg Groups, PTA/SMC</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Traditional Group, PTA/SMC</td>
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<tr>
<td>Traditional Authority, PTA/SMC</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sustainability</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Traditional Authority, PTA/SMC</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>PTA/SMC</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Table 5-10** Suggested implementing agencies for each of the three communities in Ghana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggested implementing agency</th>
<th>Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PTA/SMC</td>
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</table>

5.4.2.1 Governance

Governance was looked at from various angles, including the type of leadership and how power is derived (whether elected, appointed or derived from a traditional hereditary system), the structure of that leadership, the existence of systems of checks and balances on those exercising power and how power is concentrated within the community. Three groups were strong or very strong in their governance system and these are the Traditional Authority in all three cases, and the PTA and SMC in Suipe and Bayive (Table 5-10). Wenu does not have a school and hence does not have a PTA or SMC. These groups illustrate two governance models: a democratic form of leadership, with a well-defined executive structure as found in the PTA and SMC and a traditional/hereditary form of leadership that governs with a council of appointed elders as found in the Traditional Authority.

Because they are elected by the people, leaders in democratic groups such as the PTA and SMC derive their power from the community to act on its behalf. This in turn ensures the leaders are accountable to the community who can vote them out of power should they fail to fulfill their mandate. The PTA and the SMC were also very inclusive in the composition of their leadership. In addition to the elected executive the leadership also included representatives of various segments of the community such as chiefs, old student association, religious groups and community members often referred to as opinion...
leaders. The systematic inclusion of representatives of various segments of the community in the executive meetings of the PTA and SMC ensures transparency and also signifies the ability of the groups to work with other stakeholders.

Even though traditional leaders are not democratically elected, they also derive their power from the people that they lead. Traditional Authority in all the communities was the most noticeable authority; traditional leaders are highly respected and expected to use their power for the good of the community. The traditional leadership enforces rules that regulate all aspects of peoples’ behaviors to ensure that they conform to the local culture and traditional norms; this is important for the normal functioning of society. The chief can exercise his power to discipline those who do not conform. This is very important in the three communities where culture and traditional norms, through systems of taboos, also control conservation of natural resources. The authority of traditional leaders can, therefore, be an effective tool for achieving the conservation goals in the protected area. Even though not a democratic institution the chief or family head works with an appointed council of elders who advise and assist in decision making. This provides a system of checks and balances to ensure that the leader does not abuse his power. There was also evidence of gender inclusiveness; the chiefs that were interviewed in Suipe and Bayive indicated that they involved women when dealing with issues concerning women.

A common feature of Traditional Authority and the SMC and PTA, which probably distinguished them the most from the other groups, is their concentration of power within the community. The mandate of both these groups extends as far as the boundaries of the village, thus concentrating power within the target unit of development. Groups such as the Avu Lagoon Board, the Traditional Group in Suipe and the Unit Committee had a democratically elected executives and excellent leadership structures but however, the executive power was not concentrated in one community. In the case of the Avu Lagoon Board, the executive structure was fragmented across 15 communities. The Unit Committee is made up of five villages each of which elects a representative who becomes a member of the executive. Hence, each community only has one fifth of the planning infrastructure (the executive). This fragmentation of power weakens the capacity of the planning infrastructure to plan anti-poverty initiatives for one specific community.

In the case of the church in all three cases, and the Drumming Group in Wenu, power was not fragmented but rather externalized. Even though the church had some form of elected executive in the community this wielded very little power as most decisions were made at higher levels that were outside the community. Wenu did not have a drumming group of its own but joined those in other communities especially Bayive; this meant executive power was externalized to Bayive. The Drumming Groups in Suipe and Bayive scored moderate because even though they had a well-defined executive structure that was democratically elected, community development did not appear to be on their agenda.
Hence, both democratic and non-democratic forms of leadership emerged with a good governance system. What appears to be important is that the groups have a mandate to lead that is derived from the community which legitimizes their power, they can exercise that power for the benefit of the community, there are mechanisms of checks and balances which ensure that power is not abused, the leadership remains accountable and the system is transparent. Another factor that characterized the groups with strong governance system was that their power was concentrated within the community and not fragmented or externalized.

5.4.2.2 Capacity to plan and implement

The capacity to plan and implement community anti-poverty initiatives was assessed by determining if the group had a planning organizational infrastructure, whether development was part of the group’s mandate and agenda and also by looking for evidence of experience implementing community development initiatives, including mobilization of resources. Groups that were strong or very strong in their capacity to plan and implement community initiatives were the PTA and SMC in Suipe and Bayive, and the Traditional Authority in Wenu (Table 5-10).

The PTA and the SMC have a very similar executive structure that makes for a strong planning infrastructure. In both Suipe and Bayive, the two groups work closely together and hold joint meetings. The groups have a clear development mandate and agenda; they work to promote the development of the education system in the community. In both communities, the PTA and SMC had a track record of planning and implementing development initiatives. Some examples of projects implemented in Suipe include the renovation of a shed into a classroom and providing school uniforms to children from very poor families. The SMC and PTA in Bayive have an even more impressive list of community development initiatives. This include building a new school compound and moving the primary school from a flood-prone area to the new site, building a kindergarten shed, hiring kindergarten teachers, hiring two extra teachers for the primary school that was short-staffed and at the moment they are planning to build a junior secondary school. In Wenu, the Traditional Authority was responsible for planning and implementing most community initiatives despite not having as strong planning and implementing infrastructure like the PTA and SMC. The Traditional Authority planned and oversaw the work that was needed in the recent electrification of the village; this included organizing community labor to clear the path for the electric poles and organizing and subsidizing feeding of the workers who put up the electric poles.

A common element among the groups that performed strongly in their capacity to plan and implement community development initiatives was their ability to mobilize resources, both financial and
human. The PTA and SMC were most effective at mobilizing financial resources. Suipe was not as effective as Bayive; the former tended to rely on the grant from the government which in recent years has not been forthcoming and hence appeared to be derailing their work. However, they also oversaw planting of woodlots at the school compound which would be sold later to raise money. On the other hand, in Bayive, in addition to the government grant and school woodlots, the PTA and SMC also linked with other groups in the community or with external agencies to mobilize resources. When they built the new primary school they got assistance from the Japanese Development Agency. The PTA and SMC also got funding from the proceeds of the Easter Festival as well as from the local Drumming Groups to finance some of their development initiatives. The PTA and SMC appeared to rely on the power of the Traditional Authority to help them mobilize communal labor whenever needed. In Wenu, Traditional Authority mobilized financial resources through community assets, such as the fishing grounds, and also through contributions from the community. The elders also mobilized communal labor as in the case of the electrification program.

Groups that were weak in their capacity to plan and implement community development initiatives include the Drumming Group in Suipe and Wenu, the Traditional Group in Suipe, the church in Wenu and the Unit Committee. The Drumming group in Suipe clearly had a development mandate, as stated by one of the interviewees and also a good planning infrastructure in the form of its executive. However, there was no evidence of the group planning and implementing community development initiatives, indicating the lack of a development agenda. Wenu on the other hand does not have a drumming group of its own and neither does it have a church, hence these two groups lack a planning infrastructure within the community. The Traditional Group in Suipe appeared to have no development mandate and the group had no evidence of any community development initiatives; it only provided services to paying members. Part of the problem could also be because of its fragmented planning infrastructure as discussed before. The Unit Committee is a group that has a very strong development mandate and yet showed no evidence in all the communities of implementing community anti-poverty initiatives.

Groups such as the Avu Lagoon Board in all three communities, the Traditional Group in Wenu, the Traditional Authority and the Church in Suipe and Bayive showed moderate competence to implement community anti-poverty initiatives. The Avu Lagoon Board for example combines a strong development mandate, a strong planning infrastructure and a great capacity to mobilize the community, yet the infrastructure is spread across too many communities. In addition the group does not have much experience because it was formed only recently. The Church appeared to have a development agenda but probably because decisions were made from outside the communities, the local planning infrastructure was unable to effectively plan development initiatives on its own. The Traditional Authorities in Suipe
and Bayive did not have a planning infrastructure but tended to be involved in supporting the development work of other community groups.

Some of the characteristics of groups that had a strong capacity to plan and implement community anti-poverty initiatives included having a development mandate and also agenda, having a track record which suggests experience and expertise and capacity to mobilize resources as well as the community and having an executive (planning infrastructure) that is not fragmented across a number of communities. The case of mandate and agenda is important because some groups such as the Drumming Group in Suipe, had a development mandate and yet did not appear to put that into their agenda as shown by a complete lack of evidence of implementation of initiatives. The Unit Committee appeared to have both the mandate and the agenda but lacked a track record of implementing anti-poverty initiatives.

5.4.2.3 Participatory Enabling Strategies

An agency that implements community anti-poverty initiatives would need to have a strategy for enabling the community to participate. This was assessed by looking for evidence of inclusiveness or openness of membership and involvement of community members in decision making. The groups that had strong or very strong participatory enabling strategies were the Avu Lagoon Board in all three communities and, the SMC and PTA in Suipe and Bayive (Table 5-10).

In all three groups, part of the strategy was that following each meeting of the executive, a meeting would be held with community members. These meetings were purposefully intended to inform the community members of whatever was discussed at the executive meeting and also to get feedback from the community. One member of the SMC in Suipe indicated that the community had the final say on decisions that the group makes, to the extent that community members could turn down decisions that were made by the executive.

Another interesting feature of these three groups is that everyone in the community was automatically a member (membership by default) and therefore everyone’s participation was guaranteed and sometimes expected. A member of the SMC in Bayive said that everyone in the community was a member of the SMC and had to contribute towards initiatives to develop the school, whether or not they had children at the school. Similarly, participation in the activities of the Avu Lagoon Satatunga Conservation Initiative is also expected. When participation is expected, the groups seem to rely on traditional leadership to enforce such participation.

Interestingly, among the groups with weak participatory enabling strategies are the membership based groups such as the Drumming Group, the Church, and the Traditional Group in Suipe. Even though the groups had democratically elected executives, decisions were often made in a top-down
fashion by the leadership. For example, the Drumming Groups held meetings with community members primarily for the purpose of giving financial reports and asking members to pay their membership contributions on time. For the Church, decisions were made either unilaterally by the local church leadership or externally by priests at the parish centers. In addition, the political administrative group, the Unit Committee, also followed a top-down decision making strategy with little participation from the community. As would be expected the Traditional Authorities have very little room for participatory decision making and all had weak participatory decision making strategies, however this weakness is countered by the fact that the community expects them to make decisions this way as it is part of their mandate.

Hence, some of the key features of community groups with strong participatory enabling strategies included having purposefully set meetings with the community to inform the community and get feedback and also having all community members as part of the group by default which either guaranteed participation and/or made it compulsory.

5.4.2.4 Sustainability

Sustainability in this context was meant to assess the group’s stability and continuity within the community. If a community anti-poverty initiative is implemented by a transient organization then once the organization ceases to exist there is a risk that the initiative will end. In addition, when the group leaves, the community also loses any planning and implementing capacity that may have taken time and resources to develop. Sustainability was assessed by looking at how long the group has existed in the community. Groups that were considered strong or very strong on sustainability are the Traditional Authority in all three communities, the Drumming Group and Traditional Group in Suipe, the PTA in Suipe and Bayive, the SMC in Suipe and the Town Development Committee and Planning Committee in Bayive (Table 5-10).

When exactly the Traditional Authority was established in each of the communities is not known but the traditional leadership system can be assumed to be as old as the communities themselves. The hereditary systems means that a chief will always be replaced when he dies and this ensures continuity. The permanency of Traditional Authority may reflect the important functions that the traditional leadership plays in everyday community life. Hence, the group is sustainable because it has high community utility. There are other groups whose sustainability also appeared to be linked to their usefulness in the community. The PTA in both Suipe and Bayive has been in existence for a very long time while the SMC appears to have been formed in recent years although the time frames varied between Suipe and Bayive. The PTA and SMC exist primarily to support development of the school and with
increasing efforts to improve literacy rates in Ghana, the role of the PTA/SMC is likely to increase and not diminish. According to the group members, the Town Development Committee and the Planning Committee were formed approximately 20 and 30 years ago respectively, suggesting that they are highly sustainable in the community. The utility of the groups is not as clear, but the fact that they are part of the groups that organize the annual Easter Festival, whose participation appears to be compulsory, may give them high utility in the community.

Groups, however, can be sustainable even when they have no or a weak development agenda. The primary function of the Drumming Group is to assist with burial of members who have died and this is a function that will always exist, giving the group very high sustainability because of the high utility. Despite the usefulness, Drumming Groups, as was the case in Bayive, do sometimes collapse. This could be another weakness of membership based groups, especially ones that require members to make regular financial contributions. Mismanagement of funds and failure of members to pay their contributions will lead to the collapse of the group. Hence, while utility may be an important determinant of a group’s potential sustainability, other factors may also be important.

The Avu Lagoon Board in all three communities, the Drumming Group in Bayive and Wenu, and the Church in Wenu were considered to have weak sustainability. Even though the Avu Lagoon Board has high potential usefulness the group has existed in the communities for a very short time and its utility is yet to be established. As already noted, the Drumming Group in Bayive collapsed a few years ago and the community formed another one. The low sustainability of the Church and Drumming Group in Wenu is because these groups do not exist within the community but community members join the groups in other communities.

For sustainability, important characteristics appeared to be the length of time the group has existed in the community and also the utility of the group to the community. Groups that perform essential functions tended to be more sustainable probably because the existence of such groups tends to be community-driven. However, even when performing essential community-driven functions, membership based groups run a risk that the group’s fortune will follow that of its members. Therefore, a combination of high community utility and membership by default (that is everyone in the community is a member) tended to make groups more sustainable.

In summary, having combined the strengths across all the domains, the groups that emerged with the highest competences to be implementing agencies are the PTA/SMC for Suipe and Bayive and the Traditional Authority for Wenu (Table 5-10). The PTA/SMC in Suipe and Bayive, however, appear to rely on the support of the traditional leadership especially to mobilize community members and resources.
5.4.3 Summary: Do the communities have adequate organizational and institutional developmental conditions to support utilization of protected areas as part of community anti-poverty initiatives?

The results reported in this chapter are from two main research activities conducted with communities in Ghana and Canada to address the research goal of describing the organizational and institutional foundations within traditional rural communities that support implementation of participatory community anti-poverty initiatives. The focus was on communities within or adjacent to protected areas. The first activity used the process of testing the implementation of a community poverty assessment and asset identification instrument in order to determine the competence of communities to implement participatory anti-poverty initiatives. The communities were assessed for their capacity to mobilize, participate and analyze their local situations. The second activity involved identifying community groups and organizations and assessing their capacity to act as local implementing agents for community participatory anti-poverty initiatives. The goal of this section is to determine, based on these results, if the conditions in the communities are adequate to support the development and utilization of protected areas as part of anti-poverty initiatives, which addresses the third objective of the current study.

While the results of the three cases in Ghana were very similar, there were significant differences between communities in Ghana and Tofino, suggesting different capacities to support implementation of CBNRM projects as anti-poverty initiatives. To recap, in Ghana, the communities had very strong mobilization capacity, but weak analytical capacity; the role of the facilitator was critical. The facilitator not only guided the process but also ensured that the participants discussed and articulated problems in a logical and analytical manner. Without prompting from the facilitator, participants tended to jump to offer solutions which often poorly addressed the problems identified. The PTA/SMC and Traditional Authority emerged as groups with the strongest potential to be implementing agents, across the three communities. In contrast, the implementing potential of the Avu Lagoon Board was moderate, weakened primarily by the diffusion of power across 15 communities and also by its lack of experience. Therefore, the Avu Lagoon Board is weak when it comes to planning and implementing poverty reduction programs for specific communities. However, whether the board is a good implementing agent for the entire Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative, made up of 15 communities, cannot be determined from the current results.

Opitsaht on the other hand appeared to have strong analytical capacity but very weak mobilization capacity. It was very difficult to bring the community together. The problem of community mobilization appeared to stem from the inability of the community to function as a unit, described here as lack of social cohesion. Potential implementing agencies were not assessed in Tofino. The observed
results have important implications on the capacity of these communities to manage protected areas as part of anti-poverty reduction strategies.

Figure 5-5 provides a model of how communities can utilize protected areas as part of community anti-poverty initiatives. The community is the main actor in such initiatives and utilization of the protected area can be viewed as a two-part process. The first part involves the community acting to ensure the protected area is productive (as shown by the red arrows), and the second part is when the community uses the benefits accruing from the productivity of the protected areas to develop different aspects of their community (curved blue arrows). In both situations, the community needs to be able to mobilize, participate and analyze. However, there is a need to organize and guide the community through this process, hence the need for a second actor, the implementing agent (blue box). The role of the implementing agent is not to give direction of measures to be taken and outcomes to be achieved but rather this should come from the community with the facilitation of the implementing agent (black arrows).

![Figure 5-5 Illustration of community competence to utilize protected areas as community anti-poverty initiatives in Ghana](image)

The situation illustrated in Figure 5.5 depicts the condition of the communities in Ghana. Other than the capacity to mobilize, the communities do not appear to possess adequate developmental conditions to support the utilization of the protected area, primarily because of the weak analytical capacity. Evidence from testing the implementation of the poverty assessment and asset identification
instrument showed that the community had weak analytical capacity. Unfortunately, this skill does not appear to be compensated by the experience of the groups identified as potential implementing agents. Looking at groups considered to be potential implementing agents, their experience appears to be mostly in implementing infrastructure projects. These tend to be short-term projects with immediate, tangible results. However, there is little experience of the groups and the community in planning and implementing long-term projects such as the proposed ecotourism project. The level of planning and analysis required to not only make the project productive but to also distribute the benefits is likely much more than what is required for short-term infrastructure projects. Hence, the experience of these groups is of little value with regards to the competence needed to manage an ecotourism project, with the scale and complexity of the Avu Lagoon Sitatunga Conservation Initiative. Furthermore, analysis is likely something that has traditionally been done for the communities by development organizations; with the community focusing mostly on mobilizing for action, that is to produce the infrastructure products. Evidence from testing the implementation of the instrument in the current study suggests that communities are likely to embark on projects or actions that they consider to be important but without careful analysis of whether they effectively address the problems at hand or paying attention to the process required to achieve those outcomes.

In Tofino, only the competence of the community was assessed and Figure 5-6 illustrates the situation in the community. An important point to note is that community assessment was based on a very small, purposefully selected segment of the community which cannot represent the community as a whole. Nevertheless, the participants are still part of the community, therefore making the assessment still valid. Mobilization was poor within this small group and the unsuccessful efforts to hold meetings with the whole community confirmed that mobilization was a problem in the community of Opitsaht. Community mobilization is very important because the community needs to mobilize in order to undertake both participation and analysis. Hence, inadequacy in mobilization greatly compromises the capacity of the community to utilize the protected area as a participatory community development initiative.

The community in Opitsaht appeared to have a very high analytical capacity but this was only assessed in a specific group of people, mostly highly educated individuals who have positions of power in the community. It is not clear if analytical capacity extends to the rest of the community in Opitsaht, but concentration of analytical capacity within the small group of influential people may result in this group making all the decisions for the community, thus further weakening the community’s ability to operate the protected area as a community-driven initiative. Having competence concentrated in only a small group of people within the community can also result in them being overloaded with all the work which can reduce their productivity. A good example is the Project Coordinator who, besides being hired as the
coordinator for the PAPR project, was also holding three or so other positions within the Band Council administration. Demands on his time were so high that this may eventually negatively affect the effective execution of his duties.

Community fragmentation in Opitsaht is something that the researcher felt is contributing to the weak capacity to mobilize the community into participating in the development of the protected area as community anti-poverty initiative. The fragmentation can be linked to the approaches that have been used in implementing development activities in the communities in the past, in which communities often had things done for them, resulting in very little capacity being built within the community. Based on the discussions with the participants, it would appear as if efforts to develop the Tribal Parks are being made primarily by Band Council administrative staff with participation of some community elders but with no involvement of the wider community. If this trend continues therefore, the Tribal Parks will not emerge as a community anti-poverty initiative but as a program run by the Band Council.

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**Figure 5-6** Illustration of community competence to utilize protected areas as community anti-poverty initiatives in Tofino

Therefore, in both Ghana and Opitsaht, the organizational and analytical competences are not adequate to support the development and utilization of protected areas as community anti-poverty initiatives. The results suggest that a focus in Ghana should be to build analytical capacity especially within implementing agents so that they can guide the community through the development process. The situation in Opitsaht is more complex and the challenge is to identify an effective implementing agent.
with potential to mobilize the community in addition to facilitating the development process. Probably the biggest challenge in Opitsaht is to get the community functioning as a coherent unit again whose approach to solving socio-economic problems is not to focus on the individual but the community as a whole. There is a need for a form of community building in Opitsaht.
6 Chapter Six General Discussion and Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

Much of the literature on community based natural resource management (CBNRM) programs indicates that these initiatives have failed to eradicate poverty among communities that live within or adjacent to protected areas (Adams et al., 2004; Kidengesho et al., 2007; Nelson, 2000). This has led to a lot of criticism of their role as poverty eradication initiatives. A reason often cited for the limited success of such programs is failure by the communities to effectively implement the programs. Yet more and more CBNRM initiatives continue to be established without any analysis done to determine if the community has the capacity to implement them. Such an analysis was undertaken in the current study by examining the organizational and institutional foundations within rural communities that would facilitate implementation of participatory community anti-poverty initiatives. The research focused on traditional rural communities in Ghana and Canada that lie within or adjacent to protected areas and are in the process of implementing CBNRM programs as part of poverty eradication initiatives. These communities are typical of other communities where CBNRM programs have been implemented.

The results of the analysis showed that communities do not get the full benefits of protected areas primarily because they lack basic capacities required for effective community participation and cannot organize themselves sufficiently to exploit these resources. The results of the current research were then used to develop a framework that helps define a competent community and can be used as a diagnostic tool for community competence in general as well as for identifying community groups that can act as local implementing agents. While the current research focused on protected areas, the framework fits any other community-based poverty reduction programs. This chapter presents a detailed description of the new analytical framework, provides guidelines on how it can be used as a tool for diagnosing the level of community competence prior to implementation of community-driven anti-poverty initiatives, and discusses the shift in focus from community participation to community competence that occurred during the course of the current research and concludes with some suggestions for future research. However, before delving into the central issue of community competence and the analytical framework it is important to briefly discuss the place of the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument in the current research and in participatory poverty reduction strategies in general.
6.2 A comment regarding the role of the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument

While it is not the purpose of this thesis to test the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument, a comment on its purpose and value is warranted. The purpose of the instrument during the current research was to serve as a conversation starter; it provided the researcher with a mechanism for bringing the community together in a way that enabled the researcher to assess their capacity to engage in participatory activities. Hence, the instrument was just a tool that facilitated collection of data to address one of the objectives of the current research. Its use was only limited to the first objective in which the researcher wanted to assess the capacity of the community to mobilize, participate and analyze local situations. It is important to point out that the researcher could have used any other strategy to bring the community together. However, careful analysis of the instrument showed that the process of testing its implementation would allow the researcher to assess the three community competences that were under investigation.

The process of implementing the instrument necessitates bringing community members together. Bringing the community together is mobilization and this was found to be highly successful in the three case studies in Ghana. What is important to note is that the failure to bring the community in Optisaht together was not necessarily a failure of the instrument, but rather this result suggested a general inadequacy of community mobilization capacity. The researcher used careful observation of participants during the implementation process to determine community participation and factors that affect it. For example, it was evident that participation of women was lower than men and there was a tendency for women who were older, had positions in the community or were educated to participate more than other women. Part of implementing the instrument involves identifying and assessing community poverty dimensions as well as community assets in a well-defined format. This aspect of the instrument enabled the researcher to assess the participants’ analytical capacity. The researcher’s focus was not on the specifics or content of the poverty dimensions or assets that the participants identified, but rather on how well the participants followed the analytical process, the discussion surrounding the problem identification process and how these were presented as problems. The researcher carefully examined the capacity of the participants to articulate problems particularly how well they related the problems to their causes. The assessment also looked at whether the solutions formulated were adequately addressing the problems as stated. From the results it was very clear that analytical capacity was limited among participants in Ghana while participants in Optisaht showed remarkable analytical capacity. These differences did not appear to be caused by the instrument as such but reflected differences in competence or skill to self-evaluate and formulate initiatives targeted at overcoming poverty in the communities.
Participants in Ghana tended to propose solutions without carefully examining whether these solutions would adequately deal with the problems at hand, suggesting an inadequacy in analytical competence. Participants in Opitsaht were mostly social service workers or Band administration staffs who are educated and may have some experience undertaking analysis as part of their jobs while in Ghana participants were ordinary community members, with varying levels of education. This observation suggests that the level of education is an important determinant of analytical capacity and therefore should be taken into account when trying to undertake community capacity development to improve analytical competence.

Therefore, the value of the instrument lay in its ability to allow the researcher to use it as a tool for collecting data that helped answer specific research questions. However, as a by-product, testing the implementation of the instrument also generated important data that can be used to adapt the implementation process to make it more effective as well as enabling the process to be as participatory as possible. One important adaptation to the process of implementing the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument is the recommendation that communities wishing to implement the instrument may need to first assess the competence of the community to undertake such a participatory process prior to undertaking the actual poverty assessment and asset identification. This adaptation stems from the main finding of this research which shows that communities often do not have the full skill set needed to be able to implement participatory activities such as the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument. The rest of this chapter focuses on the issue of community competence, the framework for its analysis and how it can be improved.

6.3 Defining a competent community

In Chapter 2, a theoretical framework (Table 2-2) was developed which outlined the key domains of community competence, based on the capacity or competence domain indicators described by Eng and Parker (1994) and Labonte and Laverack (2001). This framework was then used to assess the competence of community groups to implement community-driven poverty eradication initiatives. During the assessment of community groups 35 key words and phrases, considered by the researcher to be good descriptors or indicators of community competence were identified (see Section 5.3). The indicators emerged from descriptions of conditions in the community given during open-ended interviews that were conducted with representative members of various community groups in Ghana. The key words and phrases were then matched to each of the four competence domains that they best described. The result is a new analytical framework with competence indicators that were developed from empirical data (Figure 6-1). This classification, however, is not exclusive and there is potential overlap of indicators across
domains. To facilitate cross-referencing in order to obtain better meaning of the words based on the text from which the words were derived, each indicator is conveniently numbered in the framework (Figure 6-1) as well as in the text from which they were derived (Section 5.3).

The new framework (Figure 6-1) managed to expand on the competence indicators identified by Eng and Parker (1994), and Labonte and Laverack (2001). For example, Labonte and Laverack (2001) identified leadership as an important indicator of community competence. Under the new framework, the concept of leadership can be assessed using a number of indicators such as the leadership structure, whether there is evidence of a system of accountability, ability to execute power, whether the leadership has legitimate authority and so on. Similarly, a number of indicators can be used to assess program management; such as resource mobilization, cooperation/collaboration, ability to form linkages, and target setting. The widening of indicators broadens the scope for analysis. In addition to providing an expanded list of indicators that define the same concept, the indicators identified in the new framework help to move abstract indicators (such as leadership, articulateness, problem assessment, social support) into concrete ones that can be readily measured both qualitatively and quantitatively, therefore transforming the analytical framework into a potential diagnostic tool for assessing and evaluating community competence. However, because these indicators were developed from empirical data, implementers of the analytical framework should bear in mind that the indicators produced here may be more suited to conditions similar to the ones under which they were derived and that different indicators may need to be identified for different contexts.

In this section the new analytical framework is further described, including a detailed explanation of the indicators, highlighting how they were derived and their potential use in analysis. The description is supported by evidence from the current research as well as relevant literature.

6.3.1 Assessing Governance – identifying leadership capacity

Twelve indicators of governance were identified (Figure 6-1). However, this list like the rest of the indicators for the other domains is not exhaustive and can still be built upon. Governance is a concept directly related to leadership, specifically who leads the community, how they obtain their authority or power to lead and how they exercise that power. A criticism often leveled at development organizations is their tendency to use external experts to implement development programs without giving the community the opportunity to take charge of their own development (Rodriguez-Izquierdo et al., 2010; Stoll-Kleeman et al., 2010). Yet, the citizen control or self-mobilization form of participation demands that the community takes charge of all stages of the development process (Arnstein, 1969; Rodriguez-Izquierdo et al., 2010). Labonte and Laverack (2001) noted that a strong community leadership is needed
in order to achieve participation. While there are a lot of explanations for why development agencies may not let communities take the lead in their own development, one possible reason could be because of a lack of trust in the ability of the community leadership to take on the challenge. This decision is however, likely arrived at without any analysis of the local leadership capacity. Hence, the analysis of governance is concerned primarily with establishing whether the community has the leadership capacity to support implementation of development initiatives.

Figure 6-1 An analytical framework for determining community competence
Leadership can occur in various forms in the community and the goal should be to identify where that leadership lies and to assess its competence. In the present study, leadership was found in traditional institutions, political administrative units, church groups and a variety of special interest groups such as the drumming groups. While not spelling out the role of community groups and organizations in providing leadership in community development programs, this role was alluded to in the UNDP’s human development approach. The human development approach calls for strong grassroots organizations through which people can participate in formulating and implementing development policies and programs (Griffin and McKinley, 1992). IFAD also notes that the poor are most capable of engaging in policy making and negotiating with service providers if they are organized into groups (IFAD, 2007).

Where development organizations focus on governance and leadership within communities, the question often asked is what type of leadership exists, and whether it is democratic. The democratic form of leadership, in which everyone is involved in governing of community affairs normally through elected representatives, is often equated with good governance by most development organizations. When no democratic organizations are found in the community the tendency is for the development organizations to create them. However, what is very important and appears to be often overlooked is the issue of legitimacy of the leadership and according to Peach Brown and Lassoie (2010) new democratic structures built by development agencies to provide leadership for development programs may lack legitimacy and therefore will not be recognized by the community. Having local groups and organizations, with recognized legitimate authority, in charge of directing key development processes would ensure success and sustainability of community based initiatives (Peach Brown and Lassoie, 2010; Sheppard and Bowen, 2006). Legitimate authority is authority that people will recognize and respond to and as shown in this study, it does not have to be democratic. Therefore, while democracy is linked to governance, in the analysis for community competence it may be of lesser importance than legitimate authority.

In the present study traditional leadership was found to be as effective as some of the best elected democratic leadership found in the community. In addition, traditional leadership was often deliberately included in the decision making structures of groups with elected forms of leaderships. Traditional leadership is a system of leadership often based on hereditary ties that goes back for generations and in traditional societies it is often the most powerful form of leadership and has the highest legitimacy. It works by using its power and legitimacy to enforce systems of values, norms and taboos that ensure the normal functioning of society. According to Kidegheso (2008) in traditional societies, this power is also used to regulate natural resource access and utilization. The system of traditional beliefs and taboos is used to govern which species of plants can be used, who can access certain resources
such as forest grooves and bodies of water and when, and what animals should or should not be hunted. This gives traditional leadership a unique leverage to champion conservation initiatives in traditional societies where its legitimacy often surpasses that of government agencies and other conservation officials (Kideghesho, 2008; Peach Brown and Lassoie, 2010). However, it is also possible to have traditional beliefs that hamper development efforts and hence, the potential of traditional beliefs to advance development goals needs to be carefully assessed. In traditional societies, therefore, traditional leadership has great potential to champion community development initiatives because of its power and legitimacy.

An important indicator of good governance, whether democratic or non-democratic, is having a system of checks and balances. This is when power is spread around so that no single unit or individual ends up making decisions autocratically. The traditional authority in the communities in Ghana worked with a council of elders who advised the chiefs and moderated their decisions. Democratic forms of leaderships, such as the PTA/SMC spread power by having an organizational structure made up of various executive positions. However, it is important to assess if the system of checks and balances is in place and whether it is actually operational and effective. Having community groups or organizations with well defined organizational structures is important because these represent the community’s planning infrastructure. An organizational structure allows responsibility to be delegated to people who can be held accountable. In addition, well-defined organizational structure facilitate targeted capacity building, for example a treasurer of a community group can be trained in financial management and accounting while a chairman may receive training to facilitate community meetings and strengthen leadership skills. Community groups by themselves can also be seen as the organizational structure of the community at large. For example, there could be women’s groups, youth groups, farmers’ groups, drumming groups and so on. Responsibilities for community development can be delegated to each of these groups just as it is done to people holding executive positions with each group being held accountable by the community. Having community groups as part of community organizational structure also facilitates targeted capacity building to strengthen the community’s capacity to implement development programs (UNDP, 1997).

Any form of leadership has to be accountable to those from whom they receive the mandate to lead or whoever delegated the power. Ideally, therefore, leadership that gets its mandate to lead from the community, rather than from a development organization or other external entity is best placed to lead community initiatives because then the leadership will be accountable to the community. It is often assumed that democratic forms of leadership are more accountable than non-democratic leadership. However, as long as people have mechanisms for holding the leaders accountable, non-democratic forms
of leadership can also be very effective. What is important is to establish if there are mechanisms for holding the leadership accountable and assess if these mechanisms actually work.

The ability to **execute power** is important as it ensures things get done and needs to be analyzed in determining the competence of a community to implement programs. In the current study, the chiefs used their power to mobilize the community and also to enforce participation in various community initiatives. For example, in Ghana people who failed to make contributions towards school development or to the Easter Festival were taken to the chiefs who would use their power to ensure compliance. **Structural coherence** relates to how the organizational structures of the implementing agencies are aligned in relationship to the community boundaries. In the current study often some groups had a leadership structure fragmented across a number of communities and members of the executive would belong to different geographic communities. This limits the ability of the group to effectively plan and implement initiatives in a single community. Lack of structural coherence means power is diffused across the different communities and this means the leadership’s focus will also be divided.

**Conflict resolution** is a useful capacity for leadership to have and can be viewed as part of the ability to execute power. The capacity can be important particularly in situations where community development may deal with contentious issues. For example, in the development of CBNRM programs some people or sections of community may bear the costs of the development more than others, which may lead to conflict over equitable sharing of benefits. No form of governance should be assumed to work best based solely on how it is defined, there is need to assess its competence based on how it operates in the community. As the results of the current study illustrated not all non-democratic forms of governance, for example, are incompetent, and neither is all democratic leadership good leadership.

### 6.3.2 Assessing the capacity to plan and implement – identifying motivation, skills and experience

The capacity to plan and implement community development initiatives is very critical; the analysis of this competence domain is centered on identifying skills and experiences that exist within the community that indicate its ability to implement community development programs. While governance often receives some attention prior to implementation of development initiatives in communities, the issue of skills is often overlooked or it is just assumed that the skills exist in the community. However, as seen in the current study, communities may not have adequate analytical skills needed to plan development initiatives or when they exist skills may be concentrated in only a small segment of the community. Twelve indicators for this competence domain are shown (Figure 6-1) and as mentioned before, there is
overlap of indicators across domains. For this discussion however, the focus is on those indicators that do not overlap across domains.

When a community identifies community development or poverty eradication as part of its vision, then it has given itself a developmental mandate. It can be surmised that such communities are likely to be more motivated to take up and implement development initiatives because the initiatives fit with the community’s stated goal. While establishing if the community has a development mandate is important, it is equally important to understand what development means to the community. Does it mean someone else deciding what the community needs and then bringing in the aid, for example social services and infrastructure or does it mean the community being involved in planning, mobilizing resources and implementing the kind of development the community identifies as necessary? This distinction is very important because it identifies if the community expects a passive form of participation or if it is ready for the self-mobilization form of participation. According to Nelson (2000), for many poor communities in the developing world, the notion that the community can plan and fund its own development is a surprise; they view the development of their communities as the responsibility of outsiders. Therefore, a community with an established development mandate, in which development is seen as the responsibility of the community itself, can be viewed as more competent to plan and implement community-driven poverty eradication initiatives. A development agenda is closely linked to mandate, but pertains more to actionable items. Having development activities on the community’s to do list suggests that the community has at least thought about, if not undertaken some planning on how to achieve that development goal. Therefore, a community that has a development agenda can be seen as being more competent than one that does not.

Examining the community’s experience in planning and implementing community poverty reduction initiatives is probably one of the best ways of assessing their capacity. Logically, communities with experience or a proven track record would have higher capacity than those that have never implemented any initiatives. Part of assessing experience is to look for demonstrated competence, by asking what has the community done before and what skills did they use or acquire in the process. Experience is one way of building capacity and for those communities with experience, what may be useful is to then identify any competence gaps. Planning and implementing development programs requires a certain set of skills such as analysis, mobilization, general and financial management, reporting, leadership and facilitation all of which represent technical expertise. This expertise may be found within community groups or organizations or within individuals in the community. Therefore, part of the analysis will also include identifying where the skills can be found within the community and whether the number of individuals or groups with the skill set is enough to plan and implement the community initiatives.
Expertise also needs to be relevant to the programs to be implemented. In the current study, there were community groups that had a lot of technical expertise but this was mostly associated with their experience implementing infrastructure projects such as building schools but not managing on-going programs such as the CBNRM program. Ideally, technical expertise should be endogenous to the community, but if it does not exist then it may be necessary to hire outsiders to assist with planning and implementing. Sometimes expertise is too concentrated in a small segment of the community and the risk is that they may end up implementing the development programs unilaterally with little community involvement. In the analysis of some community-driven CBNRM programs, the presence of a few highly competent individuals in a community was associated with elite capture of such programs (Peach Brown and Lassoie, 2010; Saito-Jensen, Nathan and Treue, 2010). A situation whereby skills are concentrated in a small portion of the community was evident in Opitsaht where most of the analytical skills are in the front-line service workers. Because of poor social cohesion this group is largely working on its own with little community involvement even in the planning and implementation of the Tribal Parks project. Other than the risk of elite capture, one problem with such concentration of skills is that the same people end up being involved in multiple community activities because there is no one else to do it. This can quickly create development fatigue and greatly affect the community’s ability to implement any programs.

Evidence of target setting is a good indicator of capacity to plan and equally important is whether the targets are achieved, which shows capacity to implement. The analysis would involve asking how targets are set, are they realistic, are they ever achieved and how does the community determine if targets are achieved (which assesses the capacity to monitor and evaluate projects). In the present study, target setting was evident in planning infrastructure projects in Bayive. The community already had planned what would be bought with the money from the Easter Festival for this year; targets for the PTA/SMC included building the Junior High School which was set to start in May.

Both resource mobilization and community mobilization are important capacities to be found in the community. Poverty reduction initiatives require resources and traditionally these have been provided by development organizations. However, the development environment is changing and with limited development budgets from international donors, communities are increasingly finding themselves responsible for mobilizing funding for their own development (Nelson, 2000). Ways that communities can mobilize resources include being able to make contact with external agencies and forming linkages with other groups or communities. In Ghana, there was evidence of collaboration/cooperation among community groups, to mobilize resources for community development. For example the PTA/SMC in Bayive worked with a number of community groups to raise funds for school development; they received funding from the drumming group to help hire new teachers, they also got money from the Easter
Several years back, the group worked with the Japanese Development Agency to relocate the primary school to its present site.

Community mobilization shows the ability of the community to come together to plan and implement common objectives. This capacity is often assumed but the results of the current study showed that not all communities have the capacity to mobilize. A number of factors may act as barriers to community mobilization including community fragmentation (structurally and functionally), gender and marginalization. In addition, the response of the community will also depend on who is mobilizing them. The issue of legitimate authority which was discussed earlier appeared important in mobilization and the results of the present study suggest that the community will respond when mobilized by someone whom they trust, respect or whose power they recognize.

The planning and implementation domain can be viewed as the technical domain, representing participation in action. It can be considered the product of good governance and effective participatory enabling strategies.

**6.3.3 Participatory enabling strategies – identifying barriers to participation**

Indicators of participatory enabling strategies seek to determine if the community has the capacity to implement development programs using a participatory approach. The analysis, therefore, focuses on identifying the existence of barriers to as well as facilitators of participation. Participation is a concept that is often difficult to define and is interpreted differently by different people especially in development. As already mentioned, the community participation envisioned in community development initiatives is the citizen control or self-mobilization form of participation in which the community is responsible for setting the development agenda and is in charge of the decision making process (Arnstein, 1969; Rodriguez-Izquierdo et al., 2010). The form of participation where the community is only informed of what is happening, given instructions on what to do, directed to implement activities planned elsewhere or just receives benefits or incentives from a program is inadequate. It does not empower the community, does not lead to sustainability of development initiatives and creates dependency of the community on whoever is making those development decisions.

**Decision making** capacity can be viewed as the hallmark of the citizen control/self-mobilization form of participation because whoever makes the decision sets the development agenda. The responsibility of leadership or the implementing agent in development is to facilitate the decision making process and not to make the decisions on behalf of the community. It is important to determine, when a central authority makes decisions for the community, if those decisions incorporate the views of the community and whether the community can challenge those decisions. When assessing decision making
capacity, barriers to community decision making need to be identified. These would often be similar to barriers to participation. Inclusiveness means that development activities and processes are open to all in the community and thus ensures participation. In larger communities, it may be difficult to include everyone, in which case inclusiveness may be through representation. In such cases, it is then important to determine if all sections of the community are represented. In Bayive, the meetings of the PTA/SMC executive included representatives from various community groups and organizations including the teachers, former student association, the chiefs, and other members of the community identified as opinion leaders.

Community reach is viewed as the extent to which the entire population of the community can participate in community development initiatives. Often times however, the community is segmented based on factors such as gender, age, ethnicity and religion. The capacity to get all the community segments participating is an important indicator of participatory capacity. It is important to determine if there are certain segments that are more difficult to mobilize and why. This helps to identify those who are marginalized in the community and to design ways of ensuring their participation. IFAD acknowledges the marginalization of women in some parts of the developing world which limits their ability to participate in decision making (IFAD, 2007). Ensuring gender equity in community development initiatives is very important because the participation of women is often associated with success and sustainability of programs. This is partly because in most rural areas of developing countries women tend to stay home more permanently unlike men who can leave in search of jobs elsewhere. Assessing gender equity would involve identifying barriers to women’s participation – can they hold positions in society, are there socially constructed restrictions on activities they can engage in and how can they be addressed.

The ability to mobilize the community to participate depends to a certain extent on social cohesion, or how well the community works as a unit. Nelson (2000) spoke of community homogeneity which results in a mix of people who share interests, a sense of mutual responsibility and recognized and agreed upon structures of administration. Such homogeneity is likely to give rise to more social cohesion. Social cohesion means the gaps between the haves and the have nots or the literate and the illiterate are not as obvious and do not impact how members interact with each other. It may be manifest in participating in the same community groups, sharing the same residential areas, having children attend the same schools. Social cohesion gives rise to community social solidarity in which community members are likely to identify and relate to each other based on the fact that they belong to the same community. This promotes participation in community activities. Barriers to social cohesion include individualization of society, in which people tend to address issues as individuals rather than as a community and lack of community structural coherence whereby the community is poorly defined, either geographically or
functionally. In the current study, communities in Ghana that had a history of sharing appeared to have better social cohesion, possibly because they are better at solving community problems collectively. Critical mass can be viewed as having a certain number of people in the community in order to implement development programs. Population size affects availability of manpower and the concentration of skills within the community. In the current study Wenu was the smallest of the communities and because of its small population size this impacted its ability to have a number of services such as schools, it also had the smallest number of community groups and hence the smallest pool from which to identify potential leadership to lead in community development initiatives. As a result most of the community development issues were led by the traditional authority.

Participation is often viewed as time consuming such that even when it is put on paper as part of the development strategy it is rarely implemented. Furthermore, the different forms of participation that exist mean that any form of community involvement may be labeled participatory. In order to ensure that communities can take charge of their own development initiatives, it is important to establish if the community has participatory enabling strategies in place and if these are operational. The PTA/SMC executive always held meetings with the rest of the community exactly a week after holding their executive meeting. This is a provision for participation that was in place and was actually put into effect.

6.3.4 Sustainability

The sustainability envisioned in the current study has to do solely with factors that would ensure continuity of community development initiatives. Continuity can be affected by a number of factors including the leadership or implementing agent. Many development programs implemented by external development agents often collapse once the implementing agent has left. With programs that are implemented by local leadership, it may be important to determine if changes in leadership affect the sustainability of the program. Longevity is an indicator also linked to the implementing agents of community initiatives and tries to identify if the leadership is transient and therefore will not be around long enough to see the development program through. The assessment gives more weight to leadership that has been in the community for a long time. The weakness of the indicator is that it uses the past to predict the future which cannot be guaranteed. Furthermore, it can discount leadership that is relatively young but may be even stronger. Something that was apparent from the results of the current study was that community groups or organizations that performed useful functions that benefited the whole community, and not just registered members, tended to last longer. This measure of usefulness is what is referred to here as community utility. While the drumming groups performed a useful function of helping bury the dead these benefits were only realized by those who were members of the group.
Sustainability of such groups depends on whether members continue paying their dues and if the executive manages membership funds properly. When this fails, the group also collapses as was the case with one of the drumming groups in Bayive.

6.4 Strategy for implementing the diagnostic tool

This section will provide a strategy for assessing community competence using the framework presented in Figure 6-1, consequently much of this section will be very prescriptive. The section outlines some of the potential uses of the analytical framework, who should do the analysis, and what process can be followed.

6.4.1 Potential uses of the analytical framework

The framework has a number of potential uses in community development. The most obvious use, because it is the basis for which it is developed, would be as a diagnostic tool to assess the competence of a community to implement community development initiatives. The current research showed that communities often find themselves implementing programs when their capacity to do so is inadequate. Community incompetence may explain why a lot of development initiatives fail as soon as development agencies leave. Pre-implementation diagnosis of the community’s capacity would not only help determine if the community is competent but will also help to identify capacity or skills gaps, therefore, facilitating targeted capacity development. Such diagnosis is useful for programs implemented by external agencies because then they can ensure that the community has enough capacity to sustain the program once the development agency leaves. However, the assessment is even more important for programs in which communities are totally in charge of the entire development process. In that case, competence needs to be ensured right from the very beginning; from the planning stage onwards, otherwise the initiative may never take off. Another potential use of the analytical tool is to evaluate the level of community competence after a community has implemented a development program, either alone or in partnership with a development agency to determine if any capacity was built or strengthened during the implementation process. This may be evaluated against a baseline competence level determined prior to implementing the program.
6.4.2 Who should do the analysis

Who undertakes the analysis depends on who is implementing the development program. Even though communities are increasingly expected to initiate their own development programs, the majority of programs in the developing world continue to be initiated by external development agencies. Hence, development agencies can make analysis of community competence part of their pre-implementation activities. For purely community-driven programs, that is, programs initiated by the community, then whoever is the implementing agent would take the responsibility of conducting the analysis. If the agent does not have capacity to undertake the analysis, then it may be necessary to hire external help or the community may collaborate with institutions (such as universities or development organizations) that can do the analysis for them.

6.4.3 What process can be followed

A process to be followed will depend on the context of the community and only guidelines are presented here. To begin with, three points need to be highlighted regarding the implementation process. First, the process needs to be participatory. Considering that this analysis seeks to assess the community’s competence to implement participatory development programs, ideally the analytical process should also be participatory. This will not only give the community an opportunity for self-assessment but will also build capacity within the community to implement the analytical framework. Second, the purpose of the analysis should be stated clearly to the community. The community needs to know why the analysis is being done and what it would be used for. As was evident in the current study when testing the implementation of the community poverty assessment and asset identification instrument, some communities often assume that any discussion about development means that someone will bring the development program. Hence, stating the purpose of the analysis will prevent raising false expectations. Besides, even in a situation where a development organization is planning to bring a development program, the fact that such an analysis may be followed by capacity development and not the immediate implementation of a development program means that if the purpose was not clearly stated, the community may lose interest and not participate in future community development initiatives. Finally, the analytical process should fit the local context. The analytical process should be flexible, allowing the community to add or subtract indicators as they see fit. The indicators identified in the current study may not fit the specific development context, and certainly they are not exhaustive. Furthermore, strategies for bringing the community together would need to adapt to the community context.
6.4.4 Approaches to gathering data

A process similar to the one used to test the implementation of the poverty assessment and asset identification instrument that was used in the current study is recommended as it was participatory and was able to adapt to the local conditions. Approaches that were used to bring the community together were community forums, which allow all community members to participate, and focus groups. However, kitchen table meetings, which are smaller and less formal than focus groups can also be used. In situations where participatory approaches are difficult to implement, the analysis can be done through individual interviews where the implementer and the community member can go through the analytical framework in a semi-structured discussion format which will allow capture of the member’s own opinion and views. Alternatively, where time is very constrained and bringing the community together is impossible the framework can be adapted to a questionnaire format where community members answer short structured questions. The important point to note when working with communities is that usually there is no one right way.

6.5 Community competence is a necessary pre-condition for community participation

In Chapter Two much of the focus was on community participation while community competence only formed a small part of the literature review. The shift in focus from community participation to community competence that occurred during the course of the current study was a direct response to the conditions on the ground which suggested that full community participation requires a certain minimal level of community competence. This shift was a big surprise to the researcher and warrants some discussion.

During the review of approaches to development of some of the major international development organizations, participation emerged as a significant cross-cutting theme that needed to be put into practice in order to achieve people-centered development (Baumann et al., 2004; Griffin and McKinley, 1992; Jonsson, 2003; IFAD, 2007; Offenhesier and Holcombe, 2003). The initial interest was to determine how participation is put into practice at the level of the community. The review of literature on the application of participation in community anti-poverty initiatives suggested that the participation seen on the ground often falls short of the citizen control/self-mobilization form or even the partnership/cooperative form of participation described by Arnstein (1969) and Rodriguez-Izquierdo et al., (2010). Instead lower levels of participation, such as non-participation/passive participation are more prevalent (Arnstein, 1969; Rodriguez-Izquierdo et al., 2010). Examples were drawn from participatory
poverty assessments that were undertaken in a number of countries in sub-Saharan Africa (Attwood and May, 1998; Dogbe, 1998; Milimo et al, 1998; Owen, 1998) and also from research work that evaluated the role of CBNRM programs as poverty reduction initiatives (Rodriguez-Izquierdo et al., 2010; Roe et al., 2009; Stoll-Kleemann et al., 2010; Tallis et al., 2008). At first the researcher wanted to understand why community development initiatives were adopting these lower levels of participation and how higher levels of participation could be achieved. A significant outcome from the current research was the realization that the level of participation is determined by the level of competence in the community, in other words it is a result of how well the community is organized and the compliment of skills found within the community. Thus, a certain minimum level of community competence needs to exist for full community participation to be achieved.

A lot of development organizations seem to pay little attention to the issue of community competence when implementing development programs. They erroneously assume that competence exists in the community, but competence may not exist and when it does it may not be adequate to meet development needs of modern day development programs. In describing its Triple A process, UNICEF appears to assume that capacity to undertake the process already exist within the community (Jonsson, 2003). They argue that the process of analysis, assessment and action is something that the poor do on a regular basis as they come up with adaptive strategies that enable them to survive. However, the type of analytical capacity and resulting action needed for everyday survival is very different from that needed to run successful community development programs. First, analysis and action taken as part of everyday survival is often made at a much smaller scale of individual or household level. In addition, it is likely to be made based on historical socio-cultural practices which may deviate a lot from decisions and actions needed to run modern development programs. The latter tend to be more complex and often have to incorporate elements of foreign thinking and culture (because most of these programs continue to be developed based on foreign, largely western ideas). Such a way of thinking may not be intuitive even to the most progressive communities in traditional societies in developing parts of the world.

When examining community participation and community competence, a picture that emerges is that first, community competence exists on a continuum which ranges from low competence to high competence, similar to community participation. Second, most community poverty reduction initiatives, such as CBNRM programs, are implemented without establishing if the community has the level of organization and necessary skills set to support full participation or allow the initiative to be community-driven. The type of community participation that ends up being adopted is really a reflection of the competence level of the community. When community competence level is low, lower levels of participation (non-participation/passive participation) will be adopted. In that situation most of the development decisions are made for the community by the development agency and the community
becomes a passive participant. However, development initiatives with this form of participation will likely collapse as soon as the development organization pulls out. The relationship between community competence and community participation is depicted in Figure 6-2. It is positive; meaning that as the community’s competence level increases it is likely to take up higher forms of participation such as partnerships/participation via cooperation or even citizen control/self-mobilization.

![Figure 6-2](image)

**Figure 6-2** Relationship between the level of community competence and the type of participation adopted in community anti-poverty initiatives

What this suggests is that, for development initiatives where the goal is to have full community participation such as the CBNRM programs, the analysis of the community’s competence level should be a pre-condition for implementation of such initiatives. If the assessment shows that the community’s competence is below a minimal level required to have the desired type of participation, then the next logical step would be to build or develop capacities within the community that will enable it to adopt the
desired type of participation. Without the necessary capacity building, external agencies will always be needed to fill up the skills gap. This reduces the level of participation. However, even with external agencies involved in community development a favorable lower forms of participation can be achieved which Laderchi (2001) described as a participation done as a process of mutual learning, or development done with the people. This is the partnership form of participation (Arnstein, 1969) or participation via cooperation (Rodriguez-Izquierdo et al., 2010). In this form of participation all steps in the development process; planning, analysis, implementation and decision making are undertaken jointly by the community and the development agent. The main advantage of this form of participation is that it will build community competence through experience, which will eventually enable the community to implement development initiatives on its own.

6.5.1 Addressing community competence through capacity building/development

Inadequacies in developmental competence point to the need for capacity building, where no capacity exists at all, or capacity development if some capacity exists but is seen to be insufficient for the task at hand. This was touched on briefly in the previous section but capacity development is central to the issue of community competence and hence deserves a more focused discussion. The need for capacity development is recognized by some of the development organizations that were reviewed in Chapter Two and as a result capacity development was identified as one of the cross-cutting themes for people-centered development approaches (Figure 2-1). In their human rights-based approaches to development, both UNICEF (Jonsson, 2003) and OXFAM (Offenheiser and Holcombe, 2003) indicated their strong support for capacity development particularly of claim-holders (the poor) so that they can effectively claim their rights from duty-bearers. IFAD (2007) supports the building and expansion of individual and collective capacities of the poor so that they can have a range of skills to be able to take advantage of economic opportunities.

While capacity development as a concept is well discussed in literature what is often missing is how to determine what capacities need to be developed, who should be the target for capacity development and how this can be achieved at the level of the community. The Triple A model presented by UNICEF is geared specifically towards building analytical and implementing capacity (Jonsson, 2003). A major strength of the analytical framework development in the current study (Figure 6-1) is that it recognizes that multiple capacities are needed in order for communities to undertake participatory development initiatives. Therefore, the implementation of the analytical framework can help identify which capacities are adequate and which ones would need to be built or strengthened. Such an approach allows for targeted capacity development which is efficient, in terms of cost, and increases effectiveness.
since only those capacities that are necessary for the project at hand will be identified for development. The issue of efficiency in capacity development is very important. According to UNDP (1997) capacity development is costly, both financially and time-wise, and therefore it would be best to make it as targeted as possible. Looking at the case studies in the current research, clearly capacities that would need to be developed in Ghana would be different from those that would need to be developed in Opitsaht. Targeted capacity development would mean the focus in Ghana would be on building analytical capacity which would lead to better planning and implementation of programs. In Opitsaht on the other hand, the focus should be on building mobilization capacity so that the community can work together as a unit to implement participatory programs.

Another important consideration relates to whether capacity development should target the whole community or individuals. Rocha (1997) noted that the target for empowerment (community versus individuals), will depend on the goal of the empowerment. This argument suggests that if capacity development is aimed at strengthening the participatory efficacy of the community then the target should be the whole community. It can also be argued that the competence of the community is a collective of individual competences, and hence capacity development may also be focused at the individual or household level. To resolve this debate, the issue of targeting discussed above with regards to how to choose which capacities to develop can also be applied to deciding whose capacity should be developed. What this means is that, as an example, inadequacies related to governance, such as leadership, execution of power, accountability, would require capacity development to be targeted at the leaders. Where leadership has a clear organizational structure, this can allow even better targeting of capacity building as was discussed before. For example, certain capacity development may be targeted at the chairman while others may be targeted at the treasurer, secretary and so on. Inadequacies in gender equity in participation would entail targeting the gender that is unable to fully participate, most often women. Therefore, the analytical framework (Figure 6-1), can be a valuable tool to help identify who to target for capacity development.

Finally, with reference to how capacity development can be achieved at the level of the community, obviously the approach to be taken would depend on the capacity to be developed and the target for capacity development. UNICEF presents a number of strategies for capacity development including provision of information, education and training (Jonsson, 2003). A very important capacity development strategy of course is learning through experience. This was mentioned above while discussing the issue of partnership forms of participation which allow the community to work alongside external development organizations and in so doing the community will learn important skills that will enable them to perform similar functions on their own in future. Formal and informal capacity development approaches such as training and education, will result in acquisition of specific skills.
However, community development may need to go beyond approaches that simply equip the community members with skills to do specific tasks and may need to enable transformation of attitudes and ways of thinking for the entire community. While the former may be needed to improve analytical skills in the three communities in Ghana, the latter approach seems appropriate for Opitsaht. The community in Opitsaht is already in the process of undergoing social reorganization in a bid to reconnect with their past social structures and culture. Supporting the community in achieving this transformational change may result in significant improvements in community social cohesion, making the community function as a unit once again that can readily mobilize whenever necessary.

6.6 Recommendations for future research

The current research has laid out the groundwork for future work in the area of conservation development. Since empirical data was used to develop the analytical framework for community competence; a starting point would be to test the analytical framework with communities where CBNRM programs are being developed as part of poverty reduction initiatives. Such testing would allow the framework to be adapted and improved on to enable its wider dissemination. The concept of indicators is that they should be measurable. The current study identified a number of indicators for the various competence domains. However, more needs to be done to determine appropriate measures for the indicators and also to test if the indicators are appropriate for the specific domain. There is also a need to determine how best to present competence levels, is it possible to come up with a competence value or is it sufficient to retain qualitative data.

Poverty assessment is an important process often undertaken by development agencies as a pre-condition for implementing poverty eradication initiatives and also to evaluate such programs. However, with communities increasingly expected to be fully in-charge of their own development, this is a capacity that the community needs to have. A major challenge facing poor rural communities is not having analytical tools pegged at their level of analytical capacity, both in terms of technical resources (computers for analyzing complex data) as well as human resources (having qualified people to undertake the complex analysis). The community poverty assessment and asset identification instrument whose implementation was tested as part of the current study was designed as a tool that could be of potential use to such communities. It is meant to be simple to understand and implement and part of the goal was to develop it in a participatory fashion. The current study generated some important findings that will be used to adapt the instrument to facilitate the process of implementing it within communities. However, time constraints did not permit the implementation of the entire instrument. Furthermore, the instrument was implemented only in rural traditional societies. Poverty is a pervasive issue and a study to test the
implementation in non-traditional societies such as urban centers in Canada would provide important insights that would allow the instrument to be adapted for wider contexts.

Finally, the current research has contributed to the academic discourse on poverty by providing a framework that can be used to diagnose the competence of a community to implement community-driven poverty reduction initiatives. The need for such a framework was highlighted by the findings of the present study which showed that communities often implement poverty reduction programs when they do not have adequate capacity to do so resulting in limited success of such programs. Building adequate and relevant capacity to a competence level that allows communities to exploit resources available to them in a sustainable manner will contribute significantly to poverty eradication efforts.
7 Bibliography


The Community Poverty Scan and Assets Based Approach to Poverty Reduction

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About this Manual

The purpose of this manual is to provide a method for poverty analysis and the identification of appropriate community assets for addressing the poverty issue. It will provide a simple planning framework for attacking community poverty. The manual was intended for communities adjacent to protected areas that often face unique poverty situations; however, it can also be used by any community where poverty eradication is a primary goal. While the sustainable livelihoods focus to poverty reduction is adequate and takes a positive approach to its work of creating prosperity, it has, in our view, been less adequate in building a picture of the problem it is trying to address as a first step in the process.

Further, writings that address the poverty issue are often large scale in nature and without due attention to detailed method. This monograph is an attempt to rectify that inadequacy. It is our hope to provide a process that communities can adapt as they attempt to address the poverty problem in their midst.

The manual is divided into several sections. The first part, which immediately follows this preamble, provides some suggestions for implementing the manual in the community. It outlines the options for data input and analysis based on a highly participatory approach. The second section examines the nuances of poverty and discusses some of the underlying factors that make it so hard to deal with. It also sets out an analysis protocol that can be used as presented or modified to assess the underlying factors giving expression to poverty in your community. The third part provides a method for reviewing the assets available in your community that can be applied to poverty reduction and elimination. These assets may be material and non-material alike. The last part of the manual provides a series of planning techniques that can assist your community in developing a strategy for dealing with poverty using the information generated in the earlier analysis sections of the manual. So, this manual deals with the subjects of poverty and asset analysis, information assembly, and planning for community poverty reduction. The method contained herein is constructed on an in-depth literature review on poverty and sustainable livelihood narratives as well as previous research and experience in dealing with this subject.

A note on Implementing the Community Poverty Scan and Assets based Approach to Poverty Reduction

The implementation of the community poverty scan and assets based approach to poverty reduction is intended to be a highly participatory process. Involving people in the process is as important as completing the research protocols that are provided below. That said, participation processes must be constructed based on the culture of the community in which the manual is being implemented. Essentially, there are potentially three levels of participatory strategies that can be considered.

1) Community Survey
2) Community forum of those who have an interest in the subject
3) A series of kitchen table meetings that involve citizens from various parts of the community and interest groups.
4) All of the above.

We believe that strategies two and three are the most likely tactics for rural communities to employ in dealing with community poverty and think they will provide the most inclusive and, therefore, the most effective methods if pursued with vigor and diligence. Each of these approaches to implementation is outlined in more detail in Appendix A at the end of this document.

There are three additional points that need to be considered when implementing the manual. First, it is important to note that while the data generated by the manual is important to solving the poverty issue in your community, the discussion generated by the process is as important as the outcome of the analysis as it will provide a deeper and personal understanding of the nuances of poverty. Involving people in the process who have been marginalized by poverty is critical to the process. Solving the poverty problem is not simply a numbers game. As previously stated, poverty is a complex phenomenon and too often we treat it in a simplistic manner. Second, implementation of this manual is not intended to be a singular event. The manual should be used as an ongoing evaluative tool after the initial implementation. When the manual is used in a highly discursive way each time it is
implemented, it will produce new insights and information about the community and its struggle to eliminate poverty. Each round will deepen understanding.

Experience with this process suggests that working through it in sufficient detail will not occur in one afternoon session. We recommend that each of the four activities will require a dedicated session of approximately two to four hours. Of course, this is a general estimate; in fact some communities or groups may decide to provide a more thorough analysis rather than a superficial scan. The model is sufficiently flexible to accommodate both approaches.

**The Cascade Model of Implementation**

While there are many possible methods of manual implementation we believe that a community wide dialogue is the best approach. We propose that the community consider using the cascade strategy outlined below.

We think the most effective method for accomplishing the necessary community dialogue is by working through the manual in a series of small group meetings where participants can complete the various exercises alone and then collectively in dialogue with the other members of the group. This two stage process allows people to think about the subject individually and then again collectively and in dialogue with others. This two pronged approach will encourage discussion that brings out each person’s perception of the issues about poverty in their community, and the resources that could be put to dealing with that concern, and then to reach consensus on these themes through dialogue and by hearing how others view the same matter.

Phase one: Initially, a concerned member of the community for poverty reduction should solicit other like minded people to come together in a group format for dialogue about the issue using the manual as a framework for that discussion. The meeting agenda can follow the pattern suggested above. The objective of the meeting is to complete the manual collectively as a group even though the first stage asks each member to complete it individually.

Phase two: Perhaps most important is this second step in the process. Each member of the initial discussion group selected for starting the process in phase one is asked to host a kitchen table meeting in their home subsequent to the first meeting, where the format is repeated with other members of the community in a small group setting. Again, the host of that meeting will invite from six to twelve citizens to their meeting. The host will also act as facilitator for this meeting. So the duty of the host is to invite other interested people to the meeting and to facilitate the discussion using the manual as the framework for discussion. The results of this discussion will be recorded using the manual as the format.

Phase three: A final community wide meeting is proposed that brings together all of the participants from phase one and two to hear the results of the previous discussions. The community meeting will attempt to collapse the information collected from all of the meetings into a single strategy and plan for poverty reduction in the community using the identified resources. If reaching consensus in the community format proves to be too difficult or time consuming then a smaller group can be appointed by the meeting to work on their behalf and complete the exercise over time. If this is the format chosen then the results of that process will need to be communicated back to all participants in the process once the final document is completed.

**Implementing Agent of the Community Poverty Analysis Instrument**

Who is best situated in the community to implement the manual will depend on the specific community context. However, a basic requirement is for the community to possess a minimal level of community organization and leadership. Community organization and leadership is important particularly in the implementation of this poverty scanning instrument because the community leaders can use their mandate to:

Mobilize and sensitize the community thus increasing community buy-in and participation
Plan activities for the implementation
Form linkages with other organizations or institutes who can be partners for developing strategies and mobilize resources to tackle some of the issues arising from the scanning process.
If there is a total lack of skilled local people or organizations in the community to carry out the process then an outside consultant can be used to assist the community with the implementation of the manual.

Different forms of community organizations exist in most rural communities in the developed and developing world. These include traditional forms of community, religious, local, political, social and non-governmental development organizations. Regardless of which person or organization implements the instrument, in order to ensure that this is a successful community-driven process the implementation should be participatory, socially inclusive and sustainable. This point is important because in our view poverty analysis should be a regular on-going process. It can be used as an assessment tool to establish community needs as well as an evaluation tool for any poverty eradication measures that the community may implement. Additionally, those taking responsibility for implementation should have the general community welfare in mind and without a specific self-interest in any particular outcome. Their interest should be in initiating and managing the process rather than directing the measures to be taken or the outcome.

Traditional forms of community organizations and leadership are prevalent and relevant in the developing world with well recognized leadership structures. In most cases traditional leadership organizations are not formal institutions but very often they complement central government functions and may often be the only provider of social services within the community. Because some traditional leaders are already involved in planning development programs for their communities the poverty scanning instrument may be of natural interest to them.

Traditional leadership structures are often considered top-down and in some cases have gender restrictions that affect participation by certain groups, especially women and children. In such situations efforts can be made to identify structures within the community that will ensure that the process will be implemented in a way that promotes equal participation and inclusion of all community members. Community leaders, including traditional leaders, will devote effort to ensure the success of projects they feel are of benefit to the wider community. Because traditional leadership systems get their legitimacy from the community they have in-built mechanisms for ensuring accountability to the citizens as well as citizen participation in decision making. Such mechanisms should be explored and utilized in the implementation of the poverty scan manual. In some places, traditional leaders are the gatekeepers of the community and even if they will not implement the program, any organization that chooses to implement the poverty scanning instrument will need to seek their support.

There are other community organizations such as local government (for example the village councils and district councils), social organizations (for example women’s clubs, cooperatives, farmers’ organizations etc), community-based NGOs, political parties, who can also legitimately implement this instrument within the community. The main advantage of these organizations is that they often have community development and poverty reduction as their primary agenda. However, a point to remember is that some of these organizations may be transient and once the organization ceases to exist this may also mean an end of attention to community poverty scanning and remediation.

The instrument can also be implemented through religious organizations that have an interest in poverty issues. In some communities these may exist within or alongside the traditional leadership system or they may be the central form of community organization. Religious organizations and institutions of traditional leadership often provide community social services and therefore would find this instrument of use to their cause. While generally considered inclusive, many religious congregations are broken down by gender and age making it possible to implement the instrument and collect data already stratified by gender and/or age. The advantage of religious groups is that they have regular contact with community members through the religious services, and this can facilitate community mobilization. In addition, congregational facilities can be ideal places to conduct meetings. One advantage of having traditional and religious organizations as implementers of the poverty scanning manual is sustainability. These organizations tend to be a permanent feature of the community. In using established community organizations however, one must consider the potential unacceptability of a particular organization to other community members. Any rivalries between or among groups need to be recognized and dealt with in a consensual manner before the project begins.

**About Poverty**

Poverty is a pervasive worldwide phenomenon. The planet is home to over 6 billion people and more than half of them exist in abject poverty while another significant portion live in relative deprivation. All told, it is
estimated that 81% of the world’s population live on less than $10 US a day. Suffice it to say, that these conditions are no longer tolerable in the 21st century particularly when the world’s poorest 20% of the population consume only 1.5% of the world’s available resources, while the richest 20% consume 75.6%, and the middle 60% consume only 21.9%. (World Bank Development Indicators, 2008).

As Rethinking Poverty: The Report on the World Social Situation 2010 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2009; iii) suggests, “the mixed record of poverty reduction calls into question the efficacy of conventional approaches involving economic liberalization and privatization. Instead, Governments need to play a developmental role, with implementation of integrated economic and social policies designed to support inclusive output and employment growth as well as to reduce inequality and promote justice in society”.

The analysis, or perhaps more importantly, the elimination of poverty has been a matter of debate among the academic and professional communities since the industrial revolution. Poverty has constantly been the fodder for political bickering. Either the poor are viewed as the victims of society or they are seen to be the victimizer. Some see it as social deviance while others view it as a problem of social system breakdown. Those on the political right analyze poverty as a problem of insufficient growth in the economy, while those on the left consider it to be a distributional issue. The causes of poverty have been debated as much as the design and proliferation of programs for its eradication. It seems that the debate is as much philosophical as it is a matter of pure problem resolution. Regardless of where the continuing debate now stands, how the problem is defined will dictate the methods for its study and eventual elimination. While all views and ideas regarding poverty have merit the United Nations report identified earlier sums the situation up well in our view when it states, “(t)he Report on the World Social Situation seeks to contribute to rethinking poverty and its eradication. It affirms the urgent need for a strategic shift away from the market fundamentalist thinking, policies and practices of recent decades towards more sustainable development- and equity-oriented policies appropriate to national conditions and circumstances.” (ibid, iv).

The need in the 1980’s for moving toward a poverty framework that diminishes focus on the inadequacies of the victim and stresses the potential assets for exploitation in the immediate environment appears to be the approach in vogue at present. The present passion for the sustainable livelihoods approach is not inappropriate. It does highlight the importance of local use and distribution of resources as the ultimate means for poverty eradication. What have been lessened in this approach are the fundamental problems that individuals or communities suffer that result in their poverty in the first instance. Some of these issues are not in the domain of the local but perpetuated from powerful outside influences. Poverty eradication must recognize these forces as well as those under the control of the local community. It may not simply be a matter of the under use of available resources or their pattern of distribution. It needs to be recognized that there are potential barriers to the effective and efficient use of resources by those suffering from poverty. Poverty is a multidimensional and complex social problem that requires a sophisticated analysis that identifies the unique conditions that has led to deficiencies in any given community.

Most recently, the academic community has adopted the sustainable livelihoods approach to poverty reduction that focuses on increasing and utilizing resources (human, natural, social, economic), that exist in the immediate environment. While this is a sound as well as popular strategy, it has been adopted without, in our view, appropriate and adequate attention to the analysis of the prevailing, underlying conditions of poverty that may be unique to the subject community or society in question.

A ‘one size fits all’ approach to poverty reduction or eradication is no longer seen as realistic or appropriate. Often our favourite solutions are simply a replication of past and failed attempts at problem resolution and, in some cases, built purely on political agendas rather than on focused in-depth analyses. Often, fighting poverty becomes a top-down process with solutions being imposed from above. Those not suffering from poverty often think they have the solution to the poverty situation and advocate their solutions without consultation with those directly affected by the condition. Additionally, the attempt to refocus poverty away from those that suffer from its effects, ‘in order to not continue to blame the victim’, and on positive actions is understandable and admirable. That said, it is imperative, however, that the local and global conditions that create or perpetuate poverty be understood and taken into account when solutions are fashioned. This analysis can be completed in a sensitive manner and without further marginalizing the poverty stricken in society. To proceed otherwise is to lessen the perception of the impact of the consequences of poverty on individuals and communities that suffer interminably from that condition. We must guard against euphemizing poverty into a benign condition that no longer exhibits the consequences of the deplorable condition it has become. Since WW2 poverty has increased throughout the world not diminished, so society must lie bare its conditions and effects.
Underlying Dimensions of Poverty

Poverty is often considered to be solely a function of income or lack thereof. Research (Reid and Golden, 2005) has clearly shown that not to be the case. Most definitions of poverty suggest that it is a function of deprivation of all types, social exclusion, and the lack of access to participation in one’s society and community. The United Nations (the United Nation, 1995, resolution 1, annex II para. 19) defines poverty thus:

Poverty has various manifestations, including lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure livelihoods; hunger and malnutrition; ill health; limited or lack of education and other basic services; increased morbidity and mortality from illness; homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments; and social discrimination and exclusion. It is also characterized by a lack of participation in decision-making and in civil, social and cultural life.

Therefore, poverty as it is conceived in this manual is a multi-dimensional phenomenon and manifests itself in many different ways. Some of the different manifestations of poverty are shown in Table 1. While most of these have been treated as poverty outcomes, it should be noted that some of these factors may also contribute to the state of poverty.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manifestations/causes of poverty</th>
<th>Low education levels</th>
<th>Health issues</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate housing/shelter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lack of food</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social marginalization</td>
<td>Lack of transportation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate water/sanitation services</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low self-esteem</td>
<td>Low income</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transience</td>
<td>Violence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

About the Community Poverty Scan

Before a problem can be solved it is important and necessary to understand the issue in detail. All too often communities want to jump to problem resolution before adequately understanding the complexity of the issue to be addressed. As a consequence society has not had a good track record in dealing adequately with poverty.

In addition to the purely anecdotal testimony on the one hand or sophisticated statistical analysis on the other, there is need for a method of analyzing the extent of poverty in the community in a time sensitive manner in order to determine appropriate actions for its alleviation. This section of the manual sets out a process for data collection and analysis before examining the assets that may be available to apply to the resolution of poverty in your community and before setting out a process whereby action can be generated.

Poverty Scan Matrix

Objective

The objective of the poverty scan matrix is to determine the relative level of deficiency in different dimensions of poverty within a community and also for the community to identify some of the conditions creating or perpetuating these deficiencies. This exercise recognizes that poverty is experienced differently by different segments of the community and they may attribute their poverty to different causes.

Constructing the matrix
In constructing the matrix, the community can be asked to list the dimensions that they think are important for social and economic well-being in the community; alternatively they can utilize the list we have provided in the matrix (Table 2). Communities are free to add or remove dimensions depending on their relevance to their situation. The poverty dimensions are listed on the left of the matrix. The categories under investigation are set out along the top of the matrix horizontally, for example, the different age groups in the target community.

**Scoring and analysis of poverty dimensions**

This exercise can be completed collectively by any mixed group that represents the different segments within a community or by lone interested individuals. It can be presented as a discussion agenda in a group situation or administered to individuals like a questionnaire. Those involved can score the dimensions based on their perception of how each group is impacted by poverty. We recommend the group approach. Individuals in the group could initially complete the scan independently and then compare their individual results thereby adding a dialectic component to the exercise.

The participants are asked to score each of the dimensions on a score of 0 to 3. The scoring system is explained in more detail below but a score of 0 represents little or no problem on the item while a score of 3 represents a high level of deprivation on that dimension or that the dimension contributes significantly to poverty. Age groups can be compared on how they are faring on each dimension. To get a community-wide measure, scores can be added for each dimension across all age groups to get a total score (left column). The groups score can be compared to the total possible score on each item and for the complete scan. A high scoring dimension signifies a high contribution to poverty while a low scoring dimension signifies a low contribution to poverty (and high contribution to well-being i.e. community is doing very well on the dimension). A total for each variable (bottom row) can also be obtained and this will indicate which age group is experiencing more overall poverty within the community. As they score, participants will explain what criterion they use to give a specific score or what they believe is causing/contributing to the deficiency in the poverty dimension within their community. Some of the more salient criteria for scoring may be but not limited to:

1) access to facilities and skills,
2) quality or adequacy of facilities
3) skills of service deliverers and/or institutions in the community responsible for service delivery
4) control of the service creation and provision by the community.

During discussion, facilitators will encourage participants to elaborate on these criteria in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the underlying causes or factors perpetuating poverty.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions of poverty</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Total score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Youth 0 - 15</td>
<td>Young adults 16 - 25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health</td>
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<td>Integration</td>
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<td>Shelter</td>
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<td>Food Security</td>
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<td>Water/Sanitation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Income/Employment</td>
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<td>Participation/Social</td>
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<td>Peace</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transience</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Marginalization</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Esteem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total score</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Asset Identification

There are many ways of identifying community assets, but we suggest conducting a community asset inventory and evaluation exercise. This method fits well with the structure of the community poverty analysis: it is simple and yet generates important discussion and data.

Community Asset Inventory and Evaluation Matrix

A number of poverty eradication schemes rely on senior level governments for their construction and initiation, and while there is every reason for senior level governments to focus on this issue it is also important for local communities to be strongly involved in dealing with the problem as well. Very few communities are completely without assets that can be applied to poverty reduction. Problems of availability, access, quality of assets, or their organization for use is often a contributing factor of poverty, however. The asset inventory and evaluation set out below seeks to evaluate the relevance of community assets to poverty eradication.

The purpose of this section of the manual is to identify community assets that the community can use and incorporate into their poverty eradication strategy. This inventory can be used in conjunction with the poverty scanning exercise completed previously. In fact, the modified Lewin exercise outlined below, in a separate section of the manual, brings this and other information generated in other parts of the document together for planning purposes.

The community should try to identify and record all assets that are found in their community using the table provided below. We have provided a list of some of the assets that the community might have. These have been conveniently combined into 5 classes using the sustainable livelihood framework found in the literature.

Certainly, there is no magic to the categories found in Table 4. If these categories don’t match the assets in your community then by all means make changes to the table by adding or subtracting items. Additionally, some communities may have assets that lie outside the community that could be useful to poverty eradication. Communities are encouraged to identify these also. The point here is that the inventory should be exhaustive at least initially. It may be practical for the inventory to be culled when it is decided that, for whatever reason, some assets may not be suitable to be included in the final document.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asset classification</th>
<th>Asset category</th>
<th>Asset</th>
<th>Criteria for evaluation</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Does the asset exist?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Assets</td>
<td>Agricultural (land, livestock)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rivers and Lakes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wetlands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Forest and Forestry products</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wildlife</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minerals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Assets</td>
<td>Family network</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Institutions –schools, clinics, etc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Police/Judiciary/local leadership</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community-based organizations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private sector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Assets</td>
<td>Housing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roads/Transport</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Energy/Electricity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Post office/communications</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bridge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community Hall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Assets</td>
<td>Commerce (Petty trading, shop, merchant)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Banks and savings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Micro-finances</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cooperatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Income from employment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Remittances</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Assets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Assets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradesmen (carpenter, tailor, blacksmith, etc)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer/Master Farmers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Leaders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Councilors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbalist/traditional medicine specialist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-wife (modern/traditional)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil servants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Inventories are notorious for becoming out of date soon after they are completed. Naturally, components in the environment are always changing and never stay the same. It is important, therefore, to continually keep the inventory up to date and current.

**Caution:** Community members who have lived in the community for long periods of time often become habituated to the surrounding social and ecological environment. Often this habituation results in not recognizing assets that may be valuable to poverty reduction simply because they have never been viewed with that possibility before. Try to take a fresh look at your resources for new possibilities and involve outsiders in this assessment if possible.
Bringing the Analysis Together

Now that the community has generated considerable information on the issue of poverty and has a fundamental understanding of the available resources in the community to address the issue it is time now to turn that data into useful information on which to act. The question is how to proceed and this section of the manual provides a simple process that can transform information into action. We have chosen Kurt Lewin’s Force Field Analysis as a pattern for addressing our work here.

**Figure 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lewin’s Force Field Analysis</th>
<th>Poverty Scan</th>
<th>Livelihoods Approach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td>Natural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td></td>
<td>Social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration</td>
<td></td>
<td>Political</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelter</td>
<td></td>
<td>Financial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water/Sanitation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income/Employment</td>
<td></td>
<td>Human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Legal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Marginalization</td>
<td></td>
<td>Institutional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Esteem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*How it works*

As it is used here, Force Field analysis is a method for summarizing the results of the previous poverty estimation and asset assessment. Each column in the matrix works vertically and independently. With respect to the poverty column each item is to be judged with regard to its role in producing poverty. A lengthy arrow indicates that it plays a large role in poverty creation in the community and needs to be addressed and a smaller arrow indicates that it is of little or lesser significance in producing poverty in the community. The long term goal would be to reduce the size of the arrows in this column indicating that the category is no longer a significant contributing factor to poverty in the community. Of course, it is easy to include lengthy arrows for all items in the scale but that would not be helpful when it comes to making decisions about what issues to attack first. Being precise in your evaluation here will help you to set priorities for action in the planning cycle of this manual which comes next. Determining arrow length can be done individually or in groups. This exercise will provide a focus for the group or community to set priorities for action.
Size of arrows attributed to the asset column of the scale is also important. Here, a lengthy arrow indicates that the category is either exploited to a great extent already and leaves little room for increased utilization or that the item will not play a significant role in poverty alleviation in the near or mid-term future for whatever reason that is known to the evaluator. Small arrows indicate that the category provides the potential to play a heightened role in poverty reduction and should be given attention. The idea here is to eventually develop goals and action strategies that will increase the arrow length.

**From Analysis to Action**

This section is devoted to helping you turn the information from above into goals, objectives and activities that will help your community deal with poverty reduction. The basic framework for planning is laid out in Figure 3.

**Figure 3 Basic Planning Framework**

How it works

Goals are large ideas about needed direction. They are not measurable but indicate general direction at the largest scale. There may need to be one or many goals when attempting to reduce or eliminate poverty so Figure 3 can be repeated as many times as there are goals to be achieved. Objectives, on the other hand, are smaller chunks of measurable components that if collectively accomplished will satisfy the basic goal being sought. The number of objectives is dependent on the goal to be achieved. Activities break the work down to even smaller units. They too are measurable and if accomplished will lead to the satisfaction of the objective being sought. A time line is important here in order to keep the whole project on track. The only item that is left undefined at this time is the identification of those who will be responsible for accomplishing the goals, objectives and activities. Responsibility can be assigned to an individual or group. Responsibility may change at each level of the process but outlining time lines and those responsible for accomplishing each stage of the process is critical to success.
Resources
Appendix A

Community Survey

Key players: Community leader, task force, interviewers, community members, partners.

The community survey will involve members of the community in collecting and analyzing specific information about the community. The following are important steps in conducting the survey: 1) selecting who to interview, 2) developing the survey questions, 3) conducting the survey and 4) analyzing the data. Reporting the findings as well as developing and implementing recommendations are also important steps which will be looked at in a separate section because they are common steps regardless of strategy used in data collection.

Selecting who to interview (sampling)

The objective is to get the opinion, perceptions and attitudes of the community through interviews guided by a structured set of questions. If the community is small it may be possible to interview everyone. But where it is not practical to interview the whole community, then a subset of the community can be selected. Selection of the subset or sample should ensure that individuals selected are representative of the entire community so that the variations in opinions within the community can be captured.

To be able to select the sample it is important to define the community first; this is the target population from which the sample is to be selected. While there are many different types of communities, the most common is a geographical area such as a village, ward, district or township. Next the sampling unit will be determined; this could be individuals, households, or representatives of institutions/organizations. It is necessary to generate a list of the sampling units. In some cases community lists can be obtained from local census offices, local governments, schools, health services, phone books, voters register etc. Where the list does not exist one can be generated for example from a community map that shows all the households.

Once the list is obtained, then a method for selecting the sample is chosen. Samples can be obtained using random sampling techniques, which assume that every sampling unit has an equal opportunity of being selected. For example where households are to be interviewed, random sampling may involve selecting every nth house on the street with the first house selected randomly (for example numbering the households and pulling the numbers off a hat). A random sample will allow the data to be generalized to the entire community; however the random nature may mean that inherent variations within the community may not be captured. To capture this variability the population may be stratified first, for example by gender (men, women), by age, and other characteristics and then random samples drawn from these sub-groups.

Alternatively, non-probability sampling can also be used. Non-probability sampling has the advantage of being less costly but data cannot be used to infer the results to the entire community. A number of methods are available. Convenience sampling is when respondents are chosen based on ease of accessibility, these could be households along the road, shoppers entering or leaving a single shop, people at a well or dip. The main disadvantage is that there is no way of knowing if the sample is representative. Judgmental or purposive sampling can also be used in which respondents are chosen based on the researcher’s opinion of who is thought to be appropriate for example people who are homeless, female-headed households, service providers, government officials etc. Purposive sampling may be expert sampling, where the objective is to get views of people with expert knowledge; heterogeneity sampling where the objective is to get a broad spectrum of ideas by including all the diverse groups in the sample; or snow-ball sampling where you start with someone who meets a certain criterion to be interviewed, then they can recommend the next person and so on. Snow-ball sampling is most useful when trying to reach populations that are inaccessible or hard to find.

Developing the survey questions

The questions can be open ended where no options are given and the respondent will answer in their own words. Questions can also be close-ended with ordered response categories. The matrices provided in this manual are in this format. However, we also recommend that in addition to the structured questions, the interviewers should also capture any other opinions from the respondents. Community focus groups may be
used as discussion forums to fine-tune the questions and question formats that the community would like to ask in order to gain an in-depth understanding of community well-being and poverty.

Once the questions have been finalized the community will design the questionnaire. This will entail modifying the poverty scanning and asset assessment matrices into the form of a survey document. An important consideration regarding the questionnaire is that it should clearly state the objectives of the survey, provide the name of the organization who is conducting it or any sponsors. Questions that capture important information should come first while demographic questions will come last and interviewers should explain clearly the purpose of the demographic data, for example that it is needed to help with statistical analysis. It is important to pre-test the questionnaire before implementing it in the community.

Implementing the survey

Before implementing the survey, it is important to communicate clearly to the community about the impending survey, stating the objectives and the dates when the surveys will be conducted to ensure that the community will be ready for the interviewers. This can be done through individually mailed letters, via the media, or by making announcements at schools, religious gatherings or other community groupings. A number of methods can be used to implement the survey. Surveys can be conducted through face-to-face interviews. Although this is costly and often time-consuming it has the advantage of providing personal exchanges between the respondent and the interviewer. Having other community members implement face-to-face interviews will increase acceptance by the respondents. Interviews can also be conducted via telephone, however, bear in mind that this would exclude people without telephones and also some people are hesitant to respond to telephone interviews. Questionnaires can be mailed to respondents, but will need to include clear instructions on how to return the questionnaire. Effectiveness will also depend on the reliability of the postal system. Alternatively, questionnaires can be dropped off and picked up on a set date. Mailed and dropped off questionnaires will not work where illiteracy is a problem.

An important point to remember is that surveys can be highly technical and hence community members who will implement the surveys need to be trained adequately before implementing the survey and then close monitoring of interviewers is necessary to ensure that data is being collected accurately.

Data analysis

Data analysis will vary depending on the data collection method used and hence the type of data collected. Qualitative data analysis will be needed for open ended questions which capture people’s responses in their own word. On the other hand, some statistical analysis skills will be needed for analyzing quantitative data. However, the goal of the current manual is to produce a simple enough tool that a community can implement and hence basic knowledge of addition and averaging may suffice. Where possible, the community can partner with other organizations that have technical skills to help them in analyzing their data. An important point to remember in analysis of data is to include people who did not respond and where possible give explanations of why they did not respond. Some explanations on how to analyze data collected with the poverty scan and asset inventory matrices are provided elsewhere in this manual.

Resources

Community Forum

Key players: Community leader, task force, partners (community organizations, facilitators), community members

A community forum is a gathering of the whole community in order to share and discuss issues of interest to the community. Primary conditions for a successful community forum are an effective community leadership made up of a visionary leader or someone with the capacity to motivate and mobilize the community to take action on addressing common issues, and a team or task force that is able to work together for the benefit of the wider community. A well thought out plan with a realistic time line for putting the event together is crucial for a successful community forum. Planning logistics include developing a clearly stated purpose for the forum. This will be important for publicizing the event and mobilizing the community to participate. The team should set the event date, time as well as identify a location for the event. Part of planning will involve distributing important tasks to the team members, identifying and inviting key note speakers and facilitators, making arrangements for food to be served, transportation, childcare, publicizing the event, and preparing the agenda. The team can also identify organizations that can help with the planning as well as facilitation of the event; these organizations should have interests of the community at heart and have a good understanding of the goals of the forum. In addition to the venue, materials such as flip-charts and multi-colored markers, blackboards and chalk, cameras (still and video) for capturing the event need to be sourced. It is important to ensure that the venue is comfortable for the participants.

In conducting the forum, the team leader will welcome everyone, provide an overview and orientation for the event and if possible can introduce a key note speaker who should be someone with a deeper appreciation of community poverty, charismatic and a morale booster who will increase enthusiasm among the participants. To facilitate discussion that will capture different community perspectives, we propose breaking the participants into group. Each group will have a facilitator or leader as well as a recorder who will capture all the group activities. After each activity, groups will convene and report back to allow discussion by the whole group. The forum can be broken down into three phases and the team leader should ensure that activities are on track all the time.

Phase 1: Exploring the community and identifying the dimensions of community well-being

In their groups, participants individually contribute by identifying present and past achievements within the community that have contributed to community well-being. The group then discusses community well-being and members identify core-dimensions for community well-being (any deficiency of which manifest as poverty). These are listed, thus beginning the construction of the poverty scan matrix (Table 1). The groups convene and the group leader and recorder report back to the larger group. The team leader facilitates discussion on poverty dimensions relevant to the community, a list is developed and consensus reached.

Phase 2: How is the community doing on each of the dimensions?

Participants can be allowed to rotate groups if it makes them feel comfortable. The small groups review the dimension list. If time permits, each member can give an opinion on how the community is performing on each of the dimensions (for example poorly, average and good) or the facilitator can introduce the scoring system such as the one provided in Table 1 or Appendix A. Individuals should state what criterion they are using to score the dimension or what they think is causing the deficiency in the particular dimension. The group will score the dimensions together and the criteria and causes captured by the recorder. Once the dimensions are all scored, groups come together again and report back with discussion. If possible, scoring by the whole group can be attempted with consensus reached on how the community is performing on each of the dimensions. From the criteria given for scoring, reasons can be developed for why the community is performing well or poorly on each dimension.
Phase 3: What assets does the community have and how relevant are they to the dimensions identified above?

This can involve two exercises. The group can develop a community map, identifying all the community resources. In addition, the group can also list all the community assets and discuss their relevance to poverty reduction (Table 2). The groups will report back to the whole group and a comprehensive list of community assets and their potential use in poverty alleviation developed.

The three phases will produce data that can be used to undertake and complete the analysis in the section entitled “Bringing the Analysis Together”. Once the discussions are finished, the output from the activities can be restated and plans for the way-forward made. The leader will thank all the participants and if possible a date for the next meeting can be announced at this point. The team should let the community know how they will report the results of the forum, where and when the results will be available. It is important to publicize the results of the forum to keep the community interested and informed. Posters, pamphlets and copies of the reports can be posted on the internet, at public places such as health centers, schools, religious gathering places and other community centers.

Resources:

**Kitchen Table Meetings**

*Key players: Community leader/facilitator, hosts, community members*

Kitchen table meetings are small informal gatherings where issues of community interest can be discussed. The small and intimate nature of these gatherings makes it easier for participants to express their opinions freely without fear of feeling embarrassed or being ridiculed. The meetings also require less time to organize. As described for the other strategies, to initiate these meetings it is necessary to have a community leader or facilitator who can motivate and mobilize the community. The facilitator’s role is to explain the goal of the meetings and be able to recruit a number of people willing to host the gatherings. The hosts will determine where to hold the gatherings: this could be at their house, local coffee shop, a club, community centre or any venue that the participants will feel comfortable and at ease. The host will also invite participants, these could be friends or neighbors, but ideally increasing the diversity of the participants will allow different perspectives, opinions and experiences to be discussed and captured. Personal invites are more effective and these could be e-mails, notes and phone calls, personal visits, or the host can put posters and fliers at public places where everyone can see them and participate if they so wish. Having a rough idea of who will attend helps in organizing sitting arrangements and refreshments.

Required material will include flip charts or other writing material, markers and chalk. The room can be set in such a way that participants are comfortable and can all participate freely. The host can provide refreshments or participants can be asked in advance to contribute. To initiate the dialogue, the host or another selected facilitator can introduce the agenda of the day, outline the activities to be undertaken and introduce the topic of poverty and community well-being and the importance of community participation in addressing issues that reduce well-being and increase poverty in the community. The group can then undertake the following activities outlined in a format similar to the community forum above. One member will need to record the proceedings of the meeting.

**Phase 1: Exploring the community and identifying the dimensions of community well-being**
Participants can take turns identifying present and past achievements within the community that have contributed to community well-being. The group then discusses poverty and community well-being and members identify core-dimensions for community well-being/poverty. These are listed, thus beginning the construction of the poverty scan matrix (Table 1).

**Phase 2: How is the community doing on each of the dimensions?**
The small groups review the dimension list and each member can give an opinion on how the community is performing on each of the dimensions. This can be done in an open-ended format or can follow a structured scoring system as suggested in Table 1. Individuals should state what criterion they are using to score the dimension.

**Phase 3: What assets does the community have and how relevant are they to the dimensions identified above?**
The group can accomplish this in one or both of the following exercises: 1) developing a community asset map, and 2) developing a community asset inventory where a list of all the community assets is made and their relevance to poverty reduction discussed and noted (Table 2).

**Phase 4: Analysis - how can the community improve the poor performing dimensions and what assets are available?**
The proceedings from the different kitchen table meetings can be put together by the community leadership and analyzed using the modified Lewin’s Force Field Analysis method to get an understanding of the community’s poverty situation.

**Resources:**

203

### RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD

Certification of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Human Participants

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<td>RESPONSIBLE FACULTY:</td>
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<td>The Community Poverty Scan and Assets Based Approach to Poverty Reduction</td>
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The members of the University of Guelph Research Ethics Board have examined the protocol which describes the participation of the human subjects in the above-named research project and considers the procedures, as described by the applicant, to conform to the University's ethical standards and the Tri-Council Policy Statement.

The REB requires that you adhere to the protocol as last reviewed and approved by the REB. The REB must approve any modifications before they can be implemented. If you wish to modify your research project, please complete the Change Request Form. If there is a change in your source of funding, or a previously unfunded project receives funding, you must report this as a change to the protocol.

Adverse or unexpected events must be reported to the REB as soon as possible with an indication of how these events affect, in the view of the Responsible Faculty, the safety of the participants, and the continuation of the protocol.

If research participants are in the care of a health facility, at a school, or other institution or community organization, it is the responsibility of the Principal Investigator to ensure that the ethical guidelines and approvals of those facilities or institutions are obtained and filed with the REB prior to the initiation of any research protocols.

The Tri-council Policy Statement requires that ongoing research be monitored by, at a minimum, a final report and, if the approval period is longer than one year, annual reports. Continued approval is contingent on timely submission of reports.
Membership of the Research Ethics Board: M. Bowring, CME; F. Caldwell, Physician (alt); J. Clark, PoliSci (alt); J. Dwyer, FRAN; M. Dwyer, Legal; D. Dyck, CBS; D. Emslie, Physician; M. Fairburn, Ext.; J. Hacker-Wright, Ethics; G. Holloway; CBS (alt); V. Kanetkar, CME (alt); L. Kuczynski, FRAN (alt); S. Lachapelle, COA; L. Mann, Ext.; J. Minogue, EHS; P. Saunders, Alter. Health Care; S. Singer, COA (alt); L. Son Hing, Psychology; V. Shalla, SOAN (alt); L. Spriet, CBS; L Trick, Chair; T. Turner; SOAN; L. Vallis; CBS (alt).

Approved: ______________________  Date: ______________________

per
Chair, Research Ethics Board
Appendix 3  Results of analysis of interview transcript for community groups in Suipe, Bayive and Wenu

1. Drumming groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governance</th>
<th>Suipe</th>
<th>Bayive</th>
<th>Wenu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The group has an executive. One interviewee said all executive positions are elected by the members while the other said the chairman and vice only were elected while all other positions were appointed by the chairman. However, these two could have belonged to two different drumming groups that exist in the same community.</td>
<td>The group is represented by an executive; positions are all elected by members.</td>
<td>There is no drumming group in Wenu. Instead people in Wenu are members of drumming groups in other communities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Capacity to Plan and Implement Activities

The group has a clear organizational structure that forms part of a planning infrastructure: Chairman, Secretary, Porter, Organizer, Treasurer all with well defined duties. The group has a community development focus as well. Originally when the group was formed its focus was also to help with other development projects in the community. Dunyenyo, is the name of the group and it means make the town good. According to one interviewee they have not been able to do that and they have concentrated primarily on burial. This may be in part to members belonging to multiple executive decisions; members of core function. But the other says that whenever the community needs something the group will provide. For example, they helped the school buy 10 bags of cement from the society’s membership fees. In 2009, the District Executive gave the community 10 electricity poles and the DG provided money to transport the poles to the village. The DG offers help to all 6 communities from which its members come from. This difference in views between the two interviewees indicates the disparity of the two groups that are very similar in structure and mandate yet show differences in capacity to plan community development programs.

Participatory Enabling Strategies

Membership is open to everyone including from other communities. The majority of the people who participated in the community forum indicated that they belonged to a Drumming Group. To join you pay membership fees. If a group member dies then you contribute 50 pesewas as the contribution. Contributions only cover the funeral expenses of 40 pesewas. Contributions only cover the funeral expenses of 40 pesewas. Contributions only cover the funeral expenses of 40 pesewas. Contributions only cover the funeral expenses of 40 pesewas. Contributions only cover the funeral expenses of 40 pesewas. Contributions only cover the funeral expenses of 40 pesewas. Contributions only cover the funeral expenses of 40 pesewas.

Sustainability

Drumming groups have been in the community for a very long time. Group was formed in 1979. One interviewee has been a member since the

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2. Traditional Authority

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<td><strong>Governance</strong>&lt;br&gt;The chief is an institution/organization by himself.&lt;br&gt;According to one chief, to be a chief one has to belong to the chieftaincy house, you are not elected. But the chief works with other people around him his assistants and these are chosen by the chief and have to belong to the same chieftaincy house. The Linguist carries his walking stick and acts as the messenger, 6 assistants sit beside the chief – either 6 men or if there are women then he asks them to assist. Because most of the elders are gone, he selects from their sons so some of the assistants are younger than him. The other chief said he works with assistance of 3 men and 3 women.</td>
<td><strong>Governance</strong>&lt;br&gt;The chief is the central figure of traditional leadership and is assisted by people chosen for the role. He invites them to come and help him if there is a case.</td>
<td><strong>Governance</strong>&lt;br&gt;This village has an atypical in the sense that it is an extended family; there is no chief. The family that makes up this village belongs to one person, that person was the interviewee’s father. He moved from Bayive to Wenu for fishing.&lt;br&gt;The Family head was appointed by Felix’s father before he died. The father died in 1968. Before he died the father appointed the youngest son to lead the family. The family head presides over the community with the help of elders.</td>
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<td><strong>Capacity to Plan and Implement Community Development Initiatives</strong>&lt;br&gt;The chief works with a team of elders - 6 people – 2 elder men, 2 women, 1 secretary and 1 other younger person, a Linguist (messenger). Formerly there was a community farm and now because there is no rain the community farm is no longer there. They planted sugarcane, cassava and maize. Sugarcane was used for akpetache. Cassava and maize were sold at the market; the money was saved and then there was a need they would withdraw it. For example if someone is seriously sick. Sometimes they used the funds to help get cases settled elsewhere.&lt;br&gt;The farm was worked by the community through communal labor. The farm has not been operational for 5 years now because of poor rainfall. The role of traditional leadership in planning/ implementing initiatives is through the chief’s involvement in most activities in the community: They have been having Afenyaza every Easter to raise funds for the community and he helps in the planning for the celebrations. They attend meetings and share their programs and problems with other groups. They have general community meetings 5 times in a year.</td>
<td><strong>Capacity to Plan and Implement Community Development Initiatives</strong>&lt;br&gt;The organizational structure consists of the family head, the family head is the younger half-brother and he also lives in the community. The elders include: the interviewee, Queen Mother, Family Head, other brothers’ grown sons. Interviewee is very active in planning community development activities. The community contributed 5GHC towards feeding electricity workers, but not everyone could pay. Hence they used family funds to subsidize. Family fund: the family owns a Fishing fence family organizes harvesting of fish, sell the fish and pay workers and what remains is put in the family fund. Fund should be under the care of the family head. Fund is used also to subsidize festivals in case there is no money. For the Electricity Project: they organized community labor to go and clear the path for the poles. Everyone was very eager. Announcement comes through the family head, and then the community is organized to clear the path. Community also contributed money towards feeding of electricity workers.</td>
<td><strong>Participatory Enabling Strategies</strong>&lt;br&gt;The case was reported to a far away community for settlement. Torgbui advised them to withdraw the case. For the fish and pay workers and what remains is put in the family fund. Fund should be under the care of the family head. Fund is used also to subsidize festivals in case there is no money. For the Electricity Project: they organized community labor to go and clear the path for the poles. Everyone was very eager. Announcement comes through the family head, and then the community is organized to clear the path. Community also contributed money towards feeding of electricity workers.</td>
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<td><strong>Participatory Enabling Strategies</strong>&lt;br&gt;People usually come for advice for example if anything happens to them and he advises them on what to do. One time people from Supe’s mother died. Their land was from the mother’s side. They felled the Neem trees on the land and sold them. But then it became a case with the locals. The case was reported to a far away community for settlement. Torgbui advised them to withdraw the case and settle it amicably among themselves and they did just that. While the chief has the final say in passing judgment on cases, he discusses problems with other people (who assist him). But these are part of the inner circle selected by him. There is a general understanding that the chief acts in the best interest of the community. Sometimes the Torgbuis work together to settle disputes in the community. Torgbui Somlafo II said that he always involves women in women’s cases. The Torgbui judges cases and the people will do whatever he tells them to do. Anytime that they settle a dispute, they all understand each other, they do not need the police</td>
<td><strong>Participatory Enabling Strategies</strong>&lt;br&gt;When a person has done something, if the person is invited to the chief’s palace the linguist comes with the linguist’s stuff. If you accept to come to see the chief then you hold the stick; if you do not want then you do not hold it. If a person refuses to hold the stuff he is regarded as a stubborn person and he is reported to the police. They do not have a community center but they have a family house where people come to have cases heard. Last year all the chiefs in the community had a meeting about development in the community. The meetings are part of the planning for the Easter Festival. When they ask the community to contribute money as part of the Easter Development.</td>
<td><strong>Participatory Enabling Strategies</strong>&lt;br&gt;If there is any trouble the elders gather together to settle it. For the electrification program elders called the people together and informed them that everyone would need to contribute 5GHC to feed the electricity workers. Women were selected to cook the food. When time comes to perform cultural rites they invite the whole community to come and celebrate. This is done at a special place, a shrine.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sustainability</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chiefs are a permanent part of the community. One of the chiefs became chief on 8th Jan 1969. Traditional leadership is the most visible leadership at the local level.</td>
<td><strong>Sustainability</strong>&lt;br&gt;Very sustainable&lt;br&gt;<strong>Family Fund</strong>&lt;br&gt;The family funds is used for feeding electricity workers. <strong>Festival Funds</strong>&lt;br&gt;Family funds are used also to subsidize festivals.</td>
<td><strong>Sustainability</strong>&lt;br&gt;Very sustainable</td>
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### 3. Avu Lagoon Board

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<tr>
<td><strong>Governance</strong></td>
<td>Each community elects two members to represent them on the Avu Lagoon Board. One of the members has to be female. The length of term is indefinite, only changes if Board Member chooses to leave but the community can also decide to change the board member.</td>
<td>Board members elected by the community. Each community elects two, a male and a female representative. At first they were 14 board-members before they increased the number to 28.</td>
<td>Two community members are elected by the community to represent them on the Avu Lagoon Board. At first interviewee was the member with the Family Head, but NCRC wanted women too in the board so the family head stepped down.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Capacity to Plan and Implement Activities</strong></td>
<td>Within the community there is the two board members and there is also one EET member. But overall the board has a full executive with well defined positions that is responsible for the day to day running of the Avu Lagoon Project. The project and also the Board has been in operation for only a few years and the board members interviewed felt they have not yet done anything to help the community. But in future money brought in through tourists will help in development e.g. the community centre for the community, help the school. Hope is that when money starts coming, there should be equal sharing of benefits for all the communities, no cheating. That way the community members will trust you (him).</td>
<td>The CREMA has not done anything yet to benefit the community, but they taught about how to farm, use chemicals and cut down trees. These teachings were through the EET. They are hoping that through the Avu Lagoon they can get jobs or factory (e.g. tourism or other farming project). Youth and whole community to benefit with jobs. Hope that NGOs can assist with board members or tour guides. They went to Sunyani and other tourist centers and hope if they are able to preserve this they can also achieve many things. Through tourism they had good roads; the visitors sometimes carry some children abroad due to poverty so that they can send them to school.</td>
<td>Planning is at the executive level or entire board level and usually not for one specific community but for the whole project. At the moment the project has provided the canoe, meant to transport tourists and the community can use it in case of need. Greater part of the benefit must come from us, now it is up to him to educate people. Board need to help put up visitor’s center so that tourists can come and stay. Need to help train women in cooking.</td>
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<td><strong>Participatory Enabling Strategies</strong></td>
<td>The Avu Lagoon CREMA includes everyone in the community. Decision making is fully participatory through the use of representatives; the board members take things/information from the board to the community. When they have some message from the board for example on the use of chemicals, how to conserve animals then they call a meeting. The board members (especially the chief) from the Gong-gong beater one man to go around and inform the whole community to come together by beating the gong. Meetings are chaired by Torgbui Somlafo II. They sometimes get messages from the community that they tell the board, although Torgbui felt that communication was only in one direction from the board to the community. For example the board told them not to use chemicals in the wetland. The community told the board that the use of chemicals is important for them to produce their crops and they asked the board how they would produce crops on the wetland if they stop using chemicals. The board said they would not stop them completely but they have to use the chemicals safely. Community meetings are held in the school compound and meetings are usually on a home market day. Holding meetings on a home market day ensures that most people are available.</td>
<td>When she comes back from a meeting of the board she informs the whole community about what she learned at the meeting. She organizes them through a gong-gong beater and they come for a meeting. Meetings are held under the Neem tree in the community Sometimes meet 3 or 4 times a year. Also takes issues from the community to the board, for example sometimes they tell them to go and ask the board. Some issues the community has asked the board are bush fires - how are they to clear land; chemicals – they use these for farming, what are they to do; cutting trees – some make money from firewood and would want to know how they would manage if they do not cut trees.</td>
<td>He informs the community of whatever transpired at the board meeting; what to do and what not to do. He calls meetings, walks around and ask people to come for the meeting. Normally he gathers people at the community celebration place (square near the Shrine). If the community raises any issues at the meeting then he takes it back to Akatsi.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sustainability</strong></td>
<td>Board formed 2006, male board member has been member since then. Female board member was elected 4 years ago after they were asked to provide a female board member.</td>
<td>Board members have held these positions since the board was first formed.</td>
<td>Has been member since the board started.</td>
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### 4. Traditional Groups

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<td><strong>Governance</strong></td>
<td>He is a fetish priest and he was chosen by the gods to be leader of that shrine. However the group has a democratic form of governance with elected positions. People are voted in by members of the group. However, there are no terms and positions in the executive are permanent</td>
<td>Duty as Queen Mother (QM) is to maintain peace and tranquility in the community. She is a Fetish Priest and leads in performing rites at the shrine. She does this for almost every community in the Avu Lagoon area, the shrine is not for Wenu alone bit it is for the whole area. She leads festivals in the area. Chosen by the gods.</td>
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<td><strong>Capacity to Plan and Implement Community development</strong></td>
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Initiatives
Group structure: Chairman, Vice chairman (these two are elected by the whole group), Porter, Treasurer, Secretary (all appointed by the chairman). They also have a drumming group and singers. There is not much evidence of the activities of this planning infrastructure but the interviewee said that sometimes if the community needs money they ask the group and they give them. The other chief (who is present) says that every year he invites them to play the drum at his shrine and they contribute some money towards the shrine. Thus community activities appear to be linked to spirituality.

Participatory Enabling Strategies
The executive meets at Avenorpe to advice the group and to advice that those outside can join. Those in the group can also take part in the meetings. General membership meetings are held every Friday and Saturday (this does not make sense but it could be that these general meetings are for specific rituals that the group performs). They tell the people what the executive discusses. The meetings are also held at Avenorpe.

Membership is open to anyone who wishes. If you want to be a member you pay 25GHC, 2 bottles of concentrates (foreign liquor), 2 bottles of local gin (e.g. akpete), and 2 bottles of palm oil. First you take these to the Linguist (the person to whom you pass a case before the chief). After the Linguist receives everything this is given to the Traditional Leader. After every year there is a celebration for the Gods. After every year if the gods did something good to you, you bring something to give to the Gods but the traditional leader does not tell you what to bring. He can treat anyone and one does not need to become a member. If you are a member of the group already a snake cannot bite you. If you are not a member then you have to pay for treatment. If you are a member you only get bitten because you failed to follow the rules. If you come for treatment then you also have to pay.

Sustainability
The group was formed 30 years ago.

| 5. Church Group |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| **Suip**        | **Governance**  | **Bayive**      |
| Governance      | Eleven people form the elders committee and include both men and women. The priest comes twice from Atiavi/Hartogodo parish. |
| Capacity to Plan and Implement Community Development Initiatives | Besides the elders committee (6 men and 5 women), there is also the catechist who is central to planning of church group activities locally. She remembers that the church gave some chairs to the school. For example he can remember that the church had building blocks and before the school was built the church gave all the blocks to the school. The church has some property and if the community has a festival or a funeral they also ask the church for help with, for example, benches, drums and the church gives them. They also ask the women in the church to fetch water for orphans and widows. They do it frequently even this week they |
| **Wunu**        | **Governance**  | **Bayive**      |
| Governance      | There is no church in Wunu. They attend church in Bayive. |
| Capacity to Plan and Implement Community Development Initiatives | He thinks the church can assist build the school in the community. |
| Participatory Enabling Strategies | Member of the Roman Catholic Church, member of the choir. |
Participatory Enabling Strategies

Christ the King, Corpus Christi. Harvest rally- church can choose one Sunday when people can bring produce to sell in church and the money goes to the church. Contributions by people in envelopes. Sometimes help the sick by fetching water and firewood for them. Clean up exercises within the community, e.g. sweeping the streets and the playing ground. However, resource mobilization appears to be geared primarily towards the needs of the church.

Participatory Enabling Strategies

Membership is open to all who are interested. Can join without paying. If you want to be a member you come to learn and after that the priest baptizes you. You do not pay anything. Does not know the exact number of members, do not keep a register. If they have a crusade they invite other communities to join them. They meet every Sunday (8am to 11am).

Decisions in the church appear to be made for the congregation either by the catechist or the church in Akatsi. If there is a crusade, the Priests at Akatsi, Abor and AtiAvi (they are part of Atiavi parish) would organize it and just inform the community that there will be a crusade. The Catechist informs the community. Catechist sometimes attends meetings at Atiavi to discuss annual harvesting and parish rally. If they want to clean the school, the leaders (catechist) decide that the place needs to be cleaned and they inform the whole church.

Sustainability

She joined the church about 11 years ago. She was asked to learn before she would be baptized by the priest. After you are baptized, if you are married they ask that you have a marriage ceremony in the church before your confirmation. No payments to join the church but they only contribute in church during service. They meet every Sunday for services at 8:30am at the church compound at the school compound. There are also Pentecostal and Ash Prayer members in the community. Sometimes they do things together with the other churches. For example, whenever they celebrate they invite each other and they attend each other’s festivals. In terms of decision making, the catechist asks the women to fetch water for orphans and widows. After every church service the catechist advises them. Sometimes after the church service they go round to see people that failed to come to church to advise them that they should come.

Sustainability

6. School Management Committee

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<td><strong>Governance</strong></td>
<td>The leadership composition of this group is diverse. There are the elected members of the SMC executive but in addition on this executive sit representatives from the school (teachers), a representative from the PTA, representatives from the community (old student association, patrons or simply put as opinion leaders) and also the chief. Elections for the SMC elected executive are every 4 years.</td>
<td>The leadership structure for this group consists of an executive voted in by the community and all the school teachers. The SMC also works very closely with the PTA.</td>
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<td><strong>Capacity to Plan and Implement Community Development Initiatives</strong></td>
<td>There is a very clear planning organizational infrastructure. According to one interviewee there are 9 members: 1) The Head teacher – position is automatic, 2) Secretary – also a teacher from the school, 3) Religious leader (catholic), 4) Representative of the PTA, preferably chairman – position automatic 5) Woman Organizer, 6) Representative of the Chiefs, 7) Representative of the Youth – old student association member, 8) Official member from the community preferably a woman, 9) Official member of the community – a man – The patron. The other interviewee gave a slightly different structure: Chairman, Secretary – a teacher, Treasurer – head teacher, Porter – community member, PTA, chiefs and opinion leaders are part of the executive. Various community initiatives implemented by this group: They go to the various houses to ask the reason why they have not been coming to school. They assist children that have poor parental care. Sometimes helps by providing school uniforms for them, for example they helped 4 children last year. They put up a new structure with two windows and doors for the school – classroom (Cladding the pavilion). SMC bought cement, wooden boards, shutters. Organization of sports and music festivals across the communities. They bought paint for the sign-post and hired a painter to do the sign. They pay money for the teachers to travel to the education offices in Akatsi. Pay e.g. for looking for more teachers. Other things committee could do: 1) A farm for the school that the school can raise funds from. Land can be obtained from elders in the community. 2) Build a canteen for the school so that school children can buy food. At the moment the sellers sit under the shed.</td>
<td>The group’s organizational structure is as follows: head teacher and all the staff – they always come to the meetings, Treasurer, Chairman, Secretary, Organizer / Porter (last 4 voted by community. The SMC helped form the kindergarten and it is the SMC that pays the kindergarten teachers. The SMC built a shed for the kindergarten at the compound. This was built May 2010. If the teachers are going for a meeting and they do not have money they pay for the teachers’ transport. Planning to build the JHS and a kindergarten. The school does not have enough teachers, they hired 2 teachers and the SMC is paying them. The government sent 4 teachers but the school needs 6 teachers. Therefore the SMC hired 2 untrained teachers. The groups participate in resource mobilization for community development especially for the school. But it is the PTA that calls for meetings and when there is no money they figure out where to get it. They work together with the PTA and hold meetings together. The PTA was formed first. Organize the community to provide everything that the school needs and help organize meetings to raise money for the school. Money from Capitation Grant or community fund raising - the community contribution, communal labor sell of school woodlot.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Participatory Enabling Strategies</strong></td>
<td>Everyone in the community contributes towards</td>
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### Participatory Enabling Strategies

The head teacher comes up with ideas e.g. problems school is having. He then tells the chairman, who calls an executive meeting and discuss it. The chairman then calls a community meeting. The community can say no, then usually the issue is discussed further. If they still say no then the SMC will not do anything. Executive meetings are held twice in a term at the school compound. Once in a term they call a community meeting. Will also call meetings if problems come up e.g. they can have 4 or 5 meetings if problems come up.

According to one interviewee, initially they met 3 times a year (every term) to decide how the Capitation grant from the government would be used. But now the government is no longer releasing the money as it is supposed to. Little money gets to the school. Money released to the Head teacher, SMC chairman and secretary sign up for the money. When the money comes the SMC decides how it is used.

### Sustainability

Has been chairman since 1998; the SMC was formed in 1993. Other participant says it was formed in 1987 when he was transferred to Suipe.

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<tr>
<td><strong>Governance</strong></td>
<td>The structure of the PTA is highly diverse and consists of an elected executive, representative members of the community as well as all the teachers. Elections for the executive are held every 3 or 4 years?</td>
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<td><strong>Capacity to Plan and Implement Community Development Initiatives</strong></td>
<td>The groups have a well organized planning infrastructure: Chairman and vice chairman, Treasurer, Financial Secretary, Secretary (a teacher), Porter; 5 members, all teachers. The PTA also works very closely with the SMC and together they have implemented a number of community development initiatives. The PTA helped relocate the school from the flooded area to a drier area in the village. The PTA helped build the new school compound. The PTA also helped build the kindergarten shed. A problem they are facing is that they do not have enough teachers and the junior high school. The PTA has been paying for 2 teachers. The government transferred teachers and did not replace them. When the PTA sees children playing with no teacher they look for teachers (not trained) and they pay them. The community is also paying for the 2 kindergarten teachers. Now they are planning to build the JHS; together with the SMC have started buying building material. PTA mobilizes resources for community development: contributions from the community, school woodlot -they are planning to plant more trees at the school so that they can get money for the school.</td>
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<td><strong>Participatory Enabling Strategies</strong></td>
<td>The PTA is for the whole community. The executive meets 3 times every term and the chairman calls the meetings. They had one yesterday (March 1). The meetings are held at the school compound. They hold joint meetings with the SMC executive. Each time the executive meets after that they call a meeting with the community. Usually have general meeting on a home-market day. Meetings are held at the school compound.</td>
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<td><strong>Sustainability</strong></td>
<td>The PTA was formed a long time ago.</td>
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## 8. Unit Committee

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<th>Suipe</th>
<th>Bayive</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Governance</strong>&lt;br&gt;This is a political institution under district assemblies. Five communities/villages make up one electoral area and each has to present one member to the executive of the Unit committee. Elections are held every 4 years when district assembly elections are held.</td>
<td><strong>Governance</strong>&lt;br&gt;The unit committee is the political governing unit for an electoral area. Members of the unit committee are all elected every 4 years. Each of the five communities that make an electoral area is allocated a position in the Unit Committee and they elect a person to fill the position. Unit Committee makes sure that in this electoral area nothing bad happens. If anything bad happens they report to the Assembly Man who will then convey it to the District.</td>
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<td><strong>Capacity to Plan and Implement Community Development Initiatives</strong>&lt;br&gt;The Unit Committee has a well structured planning infrastructure - Treasurer – Bayive; Chairman – Suipe; Secretary – Akivegui; Financial Secretary – Wenu ; Organizer – Akive-gui. However, it is an organ that operates beyond community boundaries. Interestingly the representative from Suipe, who is the chairman of the Unit Committee did not identify himself with the Unit Committee, instead he identified himself with another community group for which he was interviewed. Beyond its core functions, the UC does not seem to have community development initiatives that it has undertake. But the UC appears to be the communities’ mouthpiece, reporting to the District Assembly issues identified in the community. They have a problem about water; they do not have good water and good roads. So they inform the Assembly Man and they send a message to the DA. They have problems with the electricity (which is only single phase). Local level activities include: sometimes they have to organize people to go round and clear weeds around electricity poles, organize cleaning up exercises in the communities. Regulatory/policing role: sometimes some people rear animals using extensive systems and the animals go and damage some people’s farms and property. If the animal is caught it will be send to the chief’s palace and they will write the owner of the animal and fine him. The Unit committee has resource mobilizing ability: the unit committee raises money from fines, people who do not go to communal labor or people with errand animals.</td>
<td><strong>Capacity to Plan and Implement Community Development Initiatives</strong>&lt;br&gt;The committee has well defined positions filled by members from the different communities. As such planning is for the electoral area not for a specific community. Financial Secretary, Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, Organizer. The Unit Committee has done nothing in Wenu. The community in Wenu is planning to build a school. In Bayive and Akeve they are working on water, they are planning to connect water from Hartogodo to Bayive because the borehole is salty.</td>
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<td><strong>Participatory Enabling Strategies</strong>&lt;br&gt;Meetings are held at the school compound at Akivegui because it is central. The executive usually meets once in the middle of the month. The executive will then write to the Assembly Man for a second meeting. If the community is having a meeting e.g. in Bayive they will write the Unit Committee executive to attend such meetings. Every community has had such meetings.</td>
<td><strong>Participatory Enabling Strategies</strong>&lt;br&gt;Executive meetings are held twice a month, to discuss town development. For example roads, good drinking water are some of the issues they discussed so far. They can all identify that roads and water are a problem so they do not have to ask the community. They do not really call meetings with the community, but meetings with the whole community are called if something happens. Just last week they had a meeting where they discussed whether they were having problems with their roads and drinking water so that they could send someone to the DA. In Wenu he takes issue for the community after consulting with elders to the UC executive but he does not call community meetings.</td>
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## 9. Town Development Committee

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<td><strong>Governance</strong>&lt;br&gt;All positions in the executive are elected by the community. The terms are unlimited and can only resign when you want.</td>
<td><strong>Governance</strong>&lt;br&gt;The TDC works for the whole community and everyone participates in its activities. Festival called</td>
<td><strong>Governance</strong>&lt;br&gt;The TDC works for the whole community and everyone participates in its activities. Festival called</td>
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<td><strong>Capacity to Plan and Implement Community Development Initiatives</strong>&lt;br&gt;There are 5 people in the executive: Chairman, Secretary, Porter, Financial secretary, Member, thus the organization has a planning infrastructure. The TDC’s activities are centered on community development. They plan for fund-raising through the Eater Celebrations- this is how resources for community development initiatives are mobilized. As the festival is approaching the committee contacts citizens who are abroad whom they think can contribute something. They managed to assist in building the Bayive School (relocated from old site). They bought the plot for the school using proceeds from the festival. They bought building materials and sought help from the Japanese Embassy.</td>
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Afenyaza is celebrated every Easter and everyone in the community celebrates it; it is non-denominational. The chairman summons a meeting of the executive. The executive comes as well as members of the community. They discuss why they are holding the festival, what they would need and who to invite. They plan cooking and other things. There is no proper water and no structure for kindergarten; this year’s festival is celebrated to have structure for the kindergarten. On Easter Monday they hold a meeting for people from home and abroad to plan for the next agenda. Those who are born outside the village through the festival they come to know their homes, a home-knowing festival. The community contributes money during the festival and some people will denote money. The money is towards the development of the community. Members of the community who are not able to pay contributions before the festival, after the festival the committee invites them to the chief so that they can pay their arrears. This year the festival will be on 23rd April on a Saturday. The festival is held at an open space in the town.

**Sustainability**
Bayive started this festival first and last year was their 20th anniversary. Other communities are also trying to copy it.

### 10. Planning Committee

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<td><strong>Supe</strong></td>
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<td>The committee has an elected executive, elected by the community.</td>
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<td><strong>Capacity to Plan and Implement Community Development Initiatives</strong></td>
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<td>The executive consist of the Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, Porter/Organizer, C.I.D.</td>
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<td>Like the TDC, its function focuses on community development with funds mobilized from the Easter Festival. They divide the community into 3 parts. They will come and read the accounts and tell those who have not paid that they have to pay at Easter. If they have not paid the money after Easter they send the Linguist (from the Torgbui) to let them know they have to pay. The Planning Committee writes to the people who Donate, for example Doley in Accra who helped with money for the electrification. The Planning Committee works together with the town development committee. They use the money for development of the community. For example, they used the money to buy tents (canopies). They already bought 2 and they have send for 1 or 2 more that will be brought next Easter. When people die the canopies are used at the funeral and they also use them at festivals. If you have not contributed any money towards the Easter festival then you are charged for using the tent. If the community is having problems then they use the money to help. When the school did not have enough teachers they helped find teachers. They only paid a person who went to look for the teachers, but they are not paying the teachers. The planning committee can help buy a new burial ground. The burial ground is full and they have to buy new land for burial. They are now planning to get pipe water in the community. The piped water will come from maybe Hartogodo.</td>
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<td><strong>Participatory Enabling Strategies</strong></td>
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<td>The planning committee works for the whole community. The planning committee only represents Bayive. The executive meet at least 3 times before they celebrate the Easter Festival. Third meeting is at Easter when the whole community meets. The chairman calls the meeting. They meet under the Neem tree. They plan about the festival; they also send information and invite people during the festival. They never call a general meeting until the festival that is when everyone meets. (Cephas - After the executive meets and decide on what to do, then they call a general meeting where they tell the public what they decide to do. The public always accepts their decision). They make contributions once a year during Easter. Those living in the community pay as follows: men = 2.50 GHC, women = 2.00GHC. They have already been working in the community, providing communal labor. Those living outside the community pay as follows: men = 10GHC, women = 5 GHC. They keep records of who has and who has not contributed. These records are kept by the secretary. When you die they check these records. Even if you died outside the country, customarily they bring your hair/nails to bury. The PC will investigate even such burials and will not allow them unless you paid your dues. The people start paying their contributions before Easter (like now).</td>
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<td><strong>Sustainability</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Interviewees have been members for at least 26 years</td>
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