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# LANGBINSI WORKSHOP REPORT by Fred Zaal, Ton Dietz & Martha Lahai

PADev Working Paper No. W.2009.1

















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This working paper is part of series of papers reporting on a participatory and holistic evaluation of development initiatives in Northern Ghana and Burkina Faso, organised in the framework of the 'Participatory Assessment of Development' project. In this project the following organization are involved: the University of Amsterdam (UvA), the University for Development Studies (UDS, Ghana), Expertise pour le Dévelopment du Sahel (EDS, Burkina Faso), ICCO, Woord en Daad, Prisma, the African Studies Centre (ASC) and the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT). The workshop in Langbinsi took place from 10 to 12 Septemper 2008. The methodology is described in detail in the PADev Guidebook by Dietz et al (2011). The guidebook and more information about this project is available at <a href="http://www.padev.nl">http://www.padev.nl</a>.

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### **Abstract**

The PADev workshop in Langbinsi, which took place from 10 to 12 September 2008 was the first in a series of nine. Langbinsi represented an area with current involvement of Dutchfunded NGOs, in particular the Presbyterian Agricultural Station (PAS), funded by ICCO. Langbinsi has no clear dominance of Christian or Muslim population. Compared to the other research sites, in many ways, Langbinsi took an intermediary position in the continuum between most and least 'developed' or 'modern' in terms of education levels, deagrarianization, fertility decline and adherence to traditional beliefs and practices.

In the timeline exercise, almost all events recalled were from the 1970s onwards. Natural hazards, disease outbreaks, and development interventions dominated the timeline. The Langbinsi Area has experienced many changes over the past twenty to thirty years. Most changes are perceived as positive (better access to education, clean water, healthcare and agricultural extension services, more non-farm opportunities, better roads and telecommunication, a stronger position for women, etc.), but some negative changes were also highlighted (land degradation, declining crop yields and livestock holdings, poor maintenance of roads and dams, more social vices, growing inequality, falling standards in education and healthcare and loss of traditional values and culture).

Among the development interventions that people recalled, most had been initiated by Christian organizations, closely followed by the government. Most projects were in the area of agriculture, followed by environment, education, infrastructure and water. In general, the impact of projects was judged very positively, especially in the area of primary education, boreholes and health services. According to the workshop participants, none of the projects had had a negative impact, but they said that a few – a dam, a bridge and non-formal education – had had no impact. In addition, some interventions were thought to have a non-lasting impact, e.g. the introduction of cotton and cashew, the school feeding program, the police station and some public toilets. People perceived most impact of interventions on human and economic capabilities. The impact of interventions by the government was judged less positively than those of other actors, but the report also shows that the type of intervention is more important than the implementing agency.

In terms of best and worst projects, some interesting gender differences were found. Women mentioned boreholes and crops most often, while men mentioned education and livestock more often. Projects by PAS dominated the list of best projects, but were also listed several times among the 'worst' (read: not very positive) projects. Among the worst projects many were in the area of crop cultivation. Expectations were not met due to high costs of inputs and/or poor marketing possibilities.

An important finding from the Langbinsi workshop is that the very poor and poor often do not benefit from interventions. This is because they cannot afford the use of new services (e.g. health insurance and electricity); because projects are not applicable to their livelihood situation (e.g. veterinary services) or because they are/feel excluded. The rich sometimes do not benefit because they do not need the services. The average seem to benefit most from development interventions.

# Part 1 Timeline of important events and interventions, Langbinsi area

This Part presents the results of an exercise to generate a history of the Langbinsi area. The events are presented here as they were reported by participants in the Langbinsi workshop. For this exercise, the participants were divided in groups along gender and age lines, with the chiefs of the area and other 'officials' (teachers, priests and project staff) as a separate group. It was thought that their information would be of a more official nature, which would influence the contributions of the other men.

The groups of informants were thus the Chiefs (Ch), the Young Women (YW), the Elderly Women (EW) and the Adult Men (AM).

#### **Before 1970** Ca 1925 Primary schools and evening schools started (EW) 1965 Grinding and pounding by hand; introduction of fertilizer and of cotton; big measles outbreak (EW) The 1970s 1970 Drought; insects ate crops (EW) 1973 Big famine, first food aid (sorghum and big beans) (EW) 1973-75 There was a strange skin disease called 'Kuksku', that affected the people for three years (AM) 1974 Introduction of vaccination of five killer diseases (EW) 1975 Introduction High-Yielding maize (EW) Rinderpest, that affected cattle in Kparigu and spread out (AM) 1976 TBA training (EW) Good harvests for some time (!) (EW) 1977-85 1978 The Presbyterian Agricultural Station introduced fertilizers in the area (AM) The 1980s 1982 Malnutrition (YW) 1982-83 Serious drought and outbreak of a skin disease called 'Jaga' (AM) 1983-87 Elephants destroyed crops on the farms at Samini (AM) 1985 Presbyterian Agricultural Station starts introduction of soybeans (EW) Good yield (YW) 1987-88 1988 Construction of the Langbinsi Clinic 1989 Clinic starts (EW) 1988-1993 New Langbinsi Chief > Peace and development stimulated (Ch) Drought and army worms > food shortages and suffering (Ch) Provision of hand-dug wells and boreholes > good drinking water (Ch) 1989 High rate of school enrolment; loss of wildlife, loss of dawadawa trees (YW) The 1990s

Presbyterian Agricultural Station started education on non-burning of the bush

Nigerians in Langbinsi were asked to leave Ghana (AM)

Clinic was built on a new location (EW)

(anti-bush fires) (AM)

1992

1993

1002.04	
1993-94	Outbreak of measles and meningitis (YW)
1994-98	Community cash contributions to development projects (e.g., feeder roads and
	electricity, but feeder roads not completed) (Ch)
	Community afforestation projects > proceeds used for development projects
	(Ch) Construction of four ISS and 40 Drimony schools > school shildren no langua
	Construction of four JSS and 49 Primary schools > school children no longer
	have to walk long distances (Ch)
	Construction of Namongo outreach clinic > health care close to the people
	(Ch)
	New crop varieties introduced (soybeans; 3 maize varieties, cowpeas) > higher
	crop yields; increased incomes (Ch)
	Beekeeping intensified after study tour to Sababa > high incomes (Ch)
	Variety of agricultural inputs imported and distributed to farmers (donkey
	carts, ploughs, chains, etc) > agricultural production improved (Ch)
	Visit of selected men and women farmers to Burkina Faso to learn new
	conservation methods > composting etc improved (Ch)
1007	Shea butter extraction project at Gambaga > increased employment (Ch)
1996	Meningitis; many deaths (EW)
1997-98	Cholera outbreak; start of ambulance service (EW)
1998-99	Reduction in maternal mortality (YW)
1999-2000	Insect infestation; influx of grinding mills (YW)
The 2000s	
2000-2004	Death of King of Mamprugu, sad event (Ch)
	Building of Langbinsi Market > commerce improved (Ch)
	Large-scale cashew cultivation > increased incomes for farmers (Ch)
2000	Insects ate all crops and grass; sheanut harvest lost by hard winds (EW)
2002-03	Worms and ants destroyed cereals on the fields (AM)
2003	Rains coming at the wrong times: too late, too much (EW)
	Outbreak of cattle disease (AM)
2004	Government introduced non-payment of school fees at primary school level
	(AM)
2005-08	Introduction of water melon production > a good income-generating crop (Ch)
	Tree seedling distribution by Masloc > afforestation improved (Ch)
2007	Floods (YW)
	Drought for two months followed by two months of heavy rains, causing
	floods that damaged crops, livestock and houses. Then the rains stopped earlier
	than expected (AM)
2008	Cholera; famine year; food prices went up fast (EW)
	Floods (AM).

# Part 2 Trends in capabilities

After the time line exercise, the memories of the participants were sufficiently focused on the past, and a more thorough investigation followed to elucidate the trends in the various capitals available to people in the past 25-year period (we referred during the discussion to the period when the participants' parents were the age of the present participants, that is, one generation ago). Again the group was divided along gender and age lines:

EW = Elderly Women; YW = Young Women; Ch = Chiefs; EM = Elderly Men; MM = Middle-aged Men (2 groups); YM = Young Men (2 groups)

The trends were asked for the six capitals that we had defined before the start of the exercise.

# 1. Perceptions about positive and negative changes in *natural* capital during the last few decades

	Changes	
Natural	Positive	Negative
Land/Soil	Banned bushfire practice;	Fertility of land becomes a problem
	Manure (dung) is now being used as	('land is tired'); low crop yields;
	fertiliser; composting; increased land	rotation patterns changed (50 years
	fertility (exchange visits with Burkina	ago: 1 yr yam; 2d yr; corn or sorghum
	Faso) (EW).	now hardly any yam);
	New land acquiring system and	Striga is a sign of poor soil fertility; is
	purchasing for building homes	on the increase (EW).
	(protection and ownership for women	Less land for agriculture for women;
	if husband dies) (YW).	poor soil; soil erosion (YW).
	There still is enough land: no change;	Land conflicts from time to time; too
	composting helped to increase yields	much soil erosion (Ch).
	(Ch).	Soils are getting poorer (MM1).
	No change in land sizes (EM).	More infertile soils; pollution of the
	New farming methods (land rotation,	environment by agrochemical usage
	crop rotation, applying manure,	(MM2).
	animal traction, contour ploughing)	Soil infertility; soil erosion;
	(MM2).	desertification (YM1).
	Composting; improved land	Reduced soil fertility; increased soil;
	management (YM1).	erosion increased demand for land
		due to population growth (YM2).
Forest/trees	Seedlings from NGOs and	Sacred trees disappear (indiscriminate
	afforestation; individuals now plant	cutting of trees for charcoal
	trees around farms and homes (YW).	purposes); No wind barriers when
	Re-afforestation interventions are	trees are cut; therefore houses loose
	very acceptable to us now; anti-	their roofs (EW).
	bushfire campaign too (Ch).	Loss of primary forest; less tree-
	More fruit trees (MM1).	felling for firewood possible;
	Started re-afforestation (YM1).	extinction of some tree species (e.g.,
	Increased re-afforestation efforts;	dawadawa) (YW).
	increased plantations of economic	Forest cover has reduced and is still
	trees (YM2).	reducing; trees have been felled for

		use; numbers of trees have reduced (EM).  The number of trees has decreased, generally; more bush but more severe bush fires due to less vegetation generally; no trees planted due to lack of ownership of land (MM1).  Deforestation and bush burning (MM2).  Some tree species getting extinct; low availability of herbs; decreasing forest cover (YM1).  Reduction of natural forests; reduction of numbers of trees grown in the wild (YM2).
Water	Water pumps resulted in potable water in stead of water from the river; Improvement in hygiene because of better water availability (no more urinating in open fields) (EW). Different sources of drinking water; Untreated water from rivers can now be easily treated with filters (YW). Rivers still flow normally (Ch). Water volumes have not changed (EM). Fisheries have increased in the dams; dams provide water for irrigation for dry season farming and are a source of water for animals; they are a habitat for water animals; provide water for building and drinking; and you can do swimming; potable water has improved thanks to the increase of boreholes (for cooking and bathing); borehole water has a good chemical composition; it reduces water born diseases (MM2). Improved drinking water (YM2).	Drying up of ponds, streams and rivers because trees around the rivers were cut (EW). Rivers have dried up; silt from erosion (YW, YM1). Water dams are silting (Ch). Rivers silted up due to tractor use, erosion due to poor soils and fewer trees and more cultivating along the river banks; there is less groundwater and slower recharge (MM1). People are drowning in the dams; water animals in the dams attack people; dams contain water-born diseases; financial costs of building and maintaining boreholes are high; they generate conflict when the boreholes are few (MM2). Drying up of water bodies (YM2).
Crops/Plants	Regeneration of <i>sheabutter</i> (last 5 years); promotion of fruit bearing trees like the <i>shea</i> tree; introduction of soy bean and its use in meals (EW).  New crops (soybeans) used in mixed cropping to control weed (YW).  New varieties of maize (3x), cowpeas, soybean; high yielding and increased income (Ch).  We now have more crops and many	Low crop yields (YW). Crop yields have reduced as a result of diminishing soil fertility (EM). Less sorghum due to poor soils; less yams (MM1). Loss of some traditional crops; reduced biodiversity (YM1,YM2).

	types (EM). More groundnuts as a cash crop; shift to short duration crops such as maize and cowpeas (MM1). Increased availability of improved crop varieties; new crops introduced (YM1, YM2).	
Animals	More effective animals around the house; fencing for animals; animal vaccination (better prices for animals when sold) (EW).  Proper shelter and care for animals (and vaccination); there has been a change in the care for animals (medication; deworming, etc.) (YW). Domestic animals are increasing in number (EM).  More animals are available now (more pigs, sheep, goats and cattle), due to good selling of crops (MM1). Improved breeds and better housing for animals; better crop-livestock integration; proper animal health management; improved livestock management (MM2).  Increase in production; Improvement in breeds; less animal diseases, increased veterinary services (YM1, YM2).	Not as many animals as before; they die easily; no trees and grass to feed them (YW).  Animals in the wild have almost disappeared (EM).  Overgrazing (MM2).  Reduced stock holdings; increased theft of animals (YM2).  More animal stealing around the house (EW).

# 2 Perceptions about positive and negative changes in physical capital during the last few decades

Physical	Positive	Negative
Roads	Better roads/transport;	Roads deteriorated (YW).
	(in 50s and 60s bad roads and	There are problems with road
	everybody had to walk; from	construction (Ch).
	Walewale to Langbinsi took two	More accidents on the roads (MM2;
	days; now Langbinsi to Tamale less	YM2).
	than one day) (EW).	Poorly constructed culverts (YM1).
	More access roads and more bridges	
	(YW).	
	Feeder roads with community	
	contributions (Ch).	
	More roads have been constructed;	
	better network; very good; now we	
	have bridges on some of the rivers	
	and streams, making movement	
	easier (EM).	

	T	T
	Roads instead of footpaths,	
	government instead of themselves	
	building them now (MM1).	
	Easier transport of farm products;	
	easy access to markets, clinics,	
	hospitals, schools, cities, etc. (MM2,	
	YM2).	
	Roads improved between	
	communities (YM1).	
Physical:	There are many roofing sheets now	Buildings have become very expensive to
Buildings	in the communities (since 40 years);	build (YW, YM2).
Dundings	before this every three years the	
		The many immigrants build houses and
	thatch had to be changed (EW).	abandon them to go back to their home
	Better building structures; good	areas; these houses are now usually
	ventilation of houses now (YW,	collapsing and are being used as toilets:
	YM2).	this brings diseases (YW).
	Many block and zinc buildings in	Buildings cost a lot (a.o. cost of labour;
	many communities, in stead of mud	disasters happen while building (MM2).
	and thatch (Ch., MM1)	High cost of building materials;
	There are now more buildings and	unplanned buildings, causing congestion;
	they are still increasing: very good	building on waterways: risky (YM1).
	(EM).	
	Improved housing; stronger building	
	structure; good roofs (MM2).	
	Improved building technology	
	(YM1).	
Physical:	Man-made dams (still very few) for	Dams have silted; cannot be used for
Water and	dry season farming and animals to	irrigation anymore; borehole repair and
Boreholes	drink (EW).	maintenance is a challenge; borehole
Dorchoics	Boreholes/hand dug wells: many	water pumping requires a lot of time and
	constructed in the 1990s by	energy (YW).
	•	
	NORRIP (Ch).	Dams silted (Ch; MM1; YM2).
	We have more dams now; boreholes	Poor maintenance of dams (YM1).
	keep increasing (very good) (EM).	High maintenance costs of boreholes
	Boreholes are now available but	(YM2).
	they break down often due to using	
	wrong metals; when better metal is	
	used they are better but the water	
	table is low; hand dug wells are still	
	important (MM1).	
	Dams: more water available for	
	animals; increase in number of	
	boreholes; water and sanitation	
	committee installed to manage water	
	(YM1).	
	Dams are a source of water for	
	animals and domestic use now;	
	boreholes provide safe drinking	
	water (YM2).	

Farm tools	All kinds of mechanised tools;	Farm tools are expensive (YW).
	animal traction; before, hand hoes	Overuse of tractors leads to soil fertility
	were used and fathers did the	problem; tractors cost a lot (MM2).
	weeding; the last thirty years animal	
	traction has become more common;	
	donkey carts introduced; before	
	women carried all loads on their	
	heads (EW).	
	A variety of farm tools is now	
	available; individual farmers now	
	independent in the use of tools; and	
	they can now do farm activities at	
	appropriate times (weeding,	
	ploughing etc.) (YW).	
	Donkey carts, ploughs, etc made	
	available (Ch).	
	Many new farm tools have been	
	introduced, e.g. bullock ploughing;	
	tractor ploughing and harrowing	
	(EM).	
	Ploughing with animals now;	
	tractors going even faster (MM2).	
	Reduced drudging due to improved	
Elanduiaid	tools now (YM2).	
Electricity	Electricity is available now (MM1).	
Telecom	Introduction of cell phones (more	
	information about prices, etc.) (EW).	
	We have mobile phone and TV and	
	are able to see the world (MM1).	

# **Perceptions about positive and negative changes in human capabilities during the last few decades**

Human	Positive	Negative
Capabilities		
Knowledge	Education: primary plus JSS since	Increased teenage pregnancies (YW).
	1960s; school for deaf children in	Knowledge interventions are too short,
	Bolgatanga (EW).	for example Agric. agents stopped
	Increased knowledge on family	visiting farmers on land conservation
	planning and about the importance	before the message was clear (Ch).
	of education for girls (YW).	Decreased knowledge in traditional
	A lot of learning is now going on in	practices (YM2).
	farmer groups (mainly women)	_
	(Ch).	
	Knowledge (on the farm) has	
	increased (EM, YM2).	
	More knowledge in the farm and	
	home; we know more ways to get	
	knowledge; more knowledge about	

	family planning (MM1).  A lot of group formation and capability building; new methods of farming; access to capacity building for better farming; inter-community visits; planning before doing things; records keeping; links with different institutions (MM2). Increased knowledge on animal traction; capacity enhanced through workshops and training with PAS (YM1).	
Education level	Improvement in education levels with locals who are trained teachers (YW). Higher rate of literacy (MM2; YM2). Education improved greatly; number of primary and JHS increased (YM1).	Low quality of education (more children fail final exams) (EW) Reduction of labour availability because of schools (Ch). Falling standards in education; poor staffing; lack of trained teachers (YM1). Reduced quality of formal education (YM2).
School enrolment	Increased school enrolment (YW). Parents now insist on children attending school (Ch). Many more children go to school; more school buildings (EM). More kids go to school (MM1).	High drop out rates due to high school fees (for SSS) (YW).
Health	Health centre in Langbinsi centre; plus ambulance service (in Gambaga); vaccination against five killer diseases, since mid 1970s; medicine against leprosy (in Gambaga Hospital); Improved maternal health; training of TBAs since 1976; Changing practice to start breast feeding immediately after birth (thanks to TBA training) helps to remove placenta and lowering maternal death rates; growth monitoring of children (since mid 1970s); birth spacing through family planning, which has led to healthier children and women; medicine for epilepsy (EW). Trained local nurses in health posts; more health centres and clinics in the communities; improved	New diseases (HIV/AIDS); result of young people going elsewhere and bring it back (EW). Increase in abuse of drugs; addiction to drugs (YW). More diseases due to indiscriminate defecation; CSM (meningitis), convulsions due to malaria, TB and HIV/ AIDS are now more in the area; shorter lifespans (MM1). Population growing faster; people grow old early; high rate of diseases (MM2). Decreased number of traditional healers (YM2).

sanitation; reduced	d child mortality;
reduced maternal	mortality (YW).
Namongu outreac	n clinic has
brought health ser	vice closer too the
people; training of	traditional birth
attendants (Ch).	
More health posts	and clinics in
many communitie	s; treatment has
been improving (F	EM).
Less communicab	le diseases; lower
infant mortality (N	MM2). Better
access to health ca	are (YM1, YM2).

# 4 Perceptions about positive and negative changes in economic capital during the last few decades

Economic capital	Positive	Negative
Overall income levels and 'well being'	Women now more engaged in farming and petty trading (YW). There are more ways of making money; many more people now have a lot of money (EM). Increased income generating opportunities by community members (YM1).	Also in the past there was richness and poverty, but the differences were smaller. Smoking of cannabis is on the increase (addiction). So many things to be bought, but money is lacking (need for cash is big: get education, clothing, etc). Growing of cannabis because it sells well. Smoking of cannabis is introduced here, and young men are getting mad (EW)  Need for more money is difficult as prices are low when selling and high when buying; need to increase our productivity due to the need for cash and prices for products we want to buy; children now earn money so they can go to music halls and buy drinks (MM1).  Increase in development brings conflict (YM2).

Access to credit (banks) and money	Banks enable them to make some savings; Rural banks/Agric Station (EW).  More access to money; improved access to credit; banks are now available; they can save and withdraw at will; banks provide access to loans (YW).  Credit given to women groups is very helpful; the Gambaga Rural bank and BESSFA Bank are now available (Ch).  Access to financial institutions has improved; easy to get an account now and to exchange money; money helps to pay school fees, hospital, transport, light and water bills, to buy items and to do many things; money earns you respect (MM2).  Banking services now available through banking agency; credit union available to provide loans (YM1, EM).  Stability in currency use; increased access to credit; increased number of banks; saving habits have improved (YM2)	Banks need guarantees and charge high interest rates; repayment of loans is difficult and often too soon; banks are too bureaucratic; it costs a lot of money on transport to visit the banks several times to apply for a loan (YW).  Money in the past had 'weight', now it has no weight, and it is difficult to get (Ch).  Money encourages stealing and robbing; disrespect; it causes conflicts; encourages prostitution; and this causes diseases (HIV/ AIDS); money is a cause of injustice (bribing) (MM2).  Increase of social vices; high interest rates; cost of actions against defaulters; low investments in agriculture (YM2).
Migration and Remittances	More remittances sent to the people (EM). Remittances assist the development of the family, and to get money; help to pay education; brings pride to the family; develop the communication; promotes unity in the family (MM2). Increase in remittances (YM1; YM2).	Very little remittances (Ch, YW). Remittances are a cause of conflict in the family; brings disrespect between the family and the community; causes laziness in the family (MM2). Increased dependence on people elsewhere (YM2)
Work/Jobs	There are more paid jobs now (YW; YM2). A lot of labour is available (many from Upper East); jobs with wages are better than in the past (Ch). More wage jobs (teachers, health workers, agric workers, etc) and increasing wages; more labour available (EM). Increased skilled labour (YM2).	Communal labour has become very expensive; Sometimes there is delayed salary payment (YW).  Labour has become expensive; schooling has made family labour less available; paid jobs are still limited (Ch).  Decreasing demand for non-skilled labour (YM2).

Shone/	Potter against to markets Manay	Chang promote individualism annity
Shops/kiosks/market	Better access to markets. Money to open stores (same variety as in	Shops promote individualism, enmity (jealousy) and stealing; markets
KIOSKS/IIIai Ket	_ · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
	Accra/Towns) (EW, YM2, MM1).	stimulate stealing and cheating;
	There are proper market structures	encourage child trafficking and child
	now and nice stalls; there are	labour; and cause school dropout
	many shops and kiosks (YW).	(MM2).
	Langbinsi market was built;	Reduced investments in agriculture
	Wundua market also, but still	(YM2).
	thatched stalls; many shops now in	
	towns (Ch).	
	More markets have started in	
	communities and the old ones	
	have improved; many shops are	
	coming up (EM, YM1).	
	It has become more easy to find	
	markets and transport for farm	
	produce; shops make it easy to	
	take care of your family; they	
	provide jobs; they give money;	
	help to get what you want and	
	bring development to the	
	community; markets help to get	
	the items you need; help sell the	
	products; bring development	
	(MM2).	
Transport and	Transportation instead of carrying	Driving is not nice due to bad roads
Buses	things on your heads (EW).	(YW).
	Many affordable buses now (YW).	Very bad roads (Ch).
	Transport is better now (Ch).	Increased organised crime (YM2).
	More vehicles, motorbikes,	<i>g.</i>
	bicycles; transportation much	
	easier (EM).	
	We have motorcycles and bicycles	
	now and transport is better;	
	transport with donkey carts	
	increased (MM1).	
	Motorbikes and vehicles now	
	more available for transport of	
	goods to market places; more	
	commercial vehicles available	
	(YM1).	
	Easy transport of goods, people	
	and services; increased migration	
	(YM2)	

# Perceptions about positive and negative changes in social and political capabilities during the last few decades

Social/ political	Positive	Negative
Family relationships	Improved family relationships; unlike in the old days husband and wife now make decisions together and they can discuss (YW). Good family relationships bring solidarity and peace (MM2).	Individualisation of production within one compound. There could be enough land, but now scarcity. Older women in compound not always taken care of in the father's house; sometimes daughters have to take care. Social network of support is decreasing. Common granary empty after six months. Wives more responsible for feeding children, husband, and husband's mother (EW). Family relationships were better in the past; now people don't care about family members (EM). There is a breakdown of families, communities, groups and high marital breakdowns (MM2, YM1, YM2).
Social relationships	Sharing ideas with females is more normal now (MM2). Better understanding and tolerance between tribes, religions and political parties; better inter-family relations through membership in various groups (YM1).	Individualisation, also for farming (chiefs no longer decide time for sowing, etc; no coordination anymore); population growth makes it difficult to live from the small plots; armed robberies in last 3-4 years (EW). Increased stealing by children; increased prostitution (YW). Less respect for the elderly (MM1). Armed robbers on the roads; a lot of crime; a lot of early marriages; no control of younger people by parents; disrespect for elders (MM2).
Leadership	Leadership no longer shared between State and traditional authorities; only traditional leaders (no imposed leaders anymore) (EW).  A new Langbinsi chief was installed; the new King of Mamprugu took many new initiatives (Ch).  Traditional courts are still good (but better in the past?); more cases are settled in the traditional courts than in the official courts (EM).  Good leaders help to better	Chieftancy (in royal family) can be bought with money in stead of earned by respect; this leads to devaluation of the position; disrespect for traditional and political leaders (EW).  Some leaders are not effective and some not active (YW).  The King of Mamprugu Traditional Area died; a sad event (Ch).  Leadership was better in the past than now; there is no respect for leaders as some people (non leaders) have more money; State courts have many cases and are very slow (EM).  Some leaders become dictators (MM2).

Political parties	manage the communities; they help to take good decisions and to change life and they bring unity and respect; there is a separation of power now (MM2).  In these areas there are no problems with political parties; has always been peaceful (YW). Improved democracy (YM2).	Formal local governance (assemblyman) is less effective (YM1). Increased struggle for leadership positions by both men and women; reduction of power of traditional leaders; increased mistrust between leaders and followers; diminished traditional methods of solving conflicts; increasing instances of corruption, injustices (YM2).  More political parties, but they bring problems because of separation and fights (EM). Increased conflicts (YM2).
NGOs	More NGOs (help to improve skills and give loans, etc); there are more associations now (women, youth, men); these provide opportunities to discuss issues (YW).  NGOs CRS, WV, WFP supply food to schools (Ch).  NGOs have been increasing and are very helpful in the area (EM, MM1).  NGOs have increased the capacity of local people to develop themselves; increased number of NGOs (YM2).	NGOs often are not long term; pilot projects (YW).  Lack of accountability to the local community; duplication of development efforts (YM2).
Associations	Many more meetings, with all different groups, for exchanging ideas; learning is appreciated; we are used to work with white people now (50 yrs ago people would be very afraid) (EW).  Now many more groups and associations have emerged and are helping the community (EM).  There are more groups for decision making in agriculture and other terrains (MM1).  Increased co-operations and groups for economic reasons (YM1).  Increased level of participation of local people in associations; promotion of unity (YM2).	Brings about social exclusion (YM2).

Land	In villages land is there for	Men not women own land; women
ownership/	common use, can't be bought, also	always get infertile land; if they happen
tenure	for building; good if you build for	to get fertile land the next season it is
	renting out; then you should pay	taken away again (YW). It is a problem
	for the land; for own residence	that migrants cannot plant tree crops
	land should be used without	(Ch).
	payment (EW).	Land tenure was better in the past; now
	In-migrants can easily get land to	you have to pay for land for any
	farm (Ch).	purpose (EM). Land fragmentation;
	Improved security of land tenure;	increasing rent of land for farming
	reduced land related conflicts	(YM1).Land sale now on the increase;
	(YM2).	immigrants cannot harvest or plant
		trees; landlord reserves right to take
		land back after every harvest (YM1).
		Reduction in family holdings; reduction
		of communal farming (YM2).

# Perceptions about positive and negative changes in cultural capital during the last few decades

Cultural	Positive	Negative
Traditional	Older people still keep the	Old dances/music dying out; now
beliefs and	tradition of ancestral worshipping,	money is needed to celebrate;
customs	while also going to mosque or	traditional dances (at funerals) are not
	church (EW).	performed any longer (EW).
	Less pagans (YW).	Cultural rituals are dying out (EM)
	Traditions you can't afford have	Decreased performance of rituals due to
	disappeared (MM1).	infiltration of Islam and Christianity
	Reduction in number of African	(YM2).
	religions (negative?) (YM2).	
Christianity/	In the past people would worship	
Islam	ancestors; now more Muslim and	
	Christian religion (people realising	
	idol worship is not good) (EW).	
	More people converted to	
	Christianity and Islam	
	There is unity between Christians	
	and Muslims (YW, YM1).	
	The numbers of both Christians	
	and Moslems are increasing (Ch).	
	More Christianity and Islam now,	
	so less cost of traditional religion,	
	and better and clearer rules to	
771	follow (MM1).	
Ethnicity/	Main languages still exist, but now	There are a lot of different people in the
languages	there are inter-lingual marriages;	area now, which may cause problems
	there is understanding; more	(YW).
	ethnic groups living together area	Increased ethnicity, leading to conflicts;
	without problems; understanding	corruption of local dialects (YM2).
	multi-culturality (EW).	
	Many more people are migrating	

	T	
	into the area esp. from the Upper	
	East Region; are very welcome	
	(Ch).	
	Now we have a very diverse	
	community, but this is good for	
	development; due to	
	intermarriages, travels and	
	immigration (and their	
	settlements) now more languages	
	are spoken in the area (EM).	
	More integration between people	
	and different ethnic groups (YM1).	
	Improved communication due to	
	English (YM2).	
Music and	People in the neighbourhood are	Modern music replaces traditional
dance	unaware when there are few	music; loss of traditional dances (most
	visitors to a funeral due to the	youth do not know how to do the
	musical installation you can rent	traditional dances) (YW).
	now (MM1).	Music was better in the past; now they
	Change from traditional to foreign	are only making noise (EM).
	music; improved musical	Musical dances instead of cultural
	instruments (YM2).	dances, so loss of cultural values; music
		is spoiling young people, school
		children: smoking and early sex
		(MM1).
		Decline of traditional dancing and
		music and the rise of western music;
		profane lyrics from some western
		music songs (YM1).
Clothing	To own your own clothes (male	Some clothes are too revealing;
	and female) is a good thing (in the	contradicts traditional culture (YW).
	past husband and wife shared	The quality of ornaments was better in
	clothes; children did not wear	the past (EM).
	clothes at all) (EW).	Indecent dressing by the youth (YM1).
	People have more and better	Adoption of foreign dressing styles
	clothes now; more ornaments	(YM2).
	(EM).	
	More clothes available and better	
	shoes (MM1).	
	More clothes and materials,	
	western materials and second hand	
	clothes (cheaper than traditional	
	clothes), and more tailors and	
	seamstresses now available	
	(YM1).	
	Access to high quality clothes;	
	increased use of ornaments by	
	local people (YM2).	

Food/ diet	More varieties in food (maize,	Knowledge about certain food types	
	wheat, rice) (EW).	gets lost (the young do not know that	
	Not much change in food diets, but	you can use millet for the preparation	
	people eating more rice now (Ch).	of TZ) (YW).	
	Improved diets and eating styles	Better food in the past; now more	
	(YM2).	chemicals (EM).	
Migration	More migration now (MM1).	Young women go down south to earn	
		money; migration southwards because	
		of infertile soils here (EW).	
		Migration is encouraged to the South to	
		look for greener pastures (YW).	
		Even girls and women migrate now	
		when the money and food is finished;	
		they take back diseases and come back	
		pregnant (MM1).	

# Part 3 Integrated assessment of poverty in Langbinsi

This assessment of the poverty situation and the differences between the rich and the poor has been derived from group discussions on September 11, 2008 with seven participants from Langbinsi South (S), ten men from Langbinsi Northwest (NwM), and six women from Langbinsi Northwest (NwW), facilitated by Saa Dittoh, Francis Obeng and Ton Dietz/Alice Azmin Iddir-Gubbels.

In three groups participants tried to make a profile of five poverty classes for people living in the rural areas around Langbinsi Centre, in Northern Region, Ghana. Definitions of 'rich and poor' are not always straightforward, as people tend to differentiate between the 'moneyrich', the 'wealthy' (in a more traditional sense) and the 'influential' (e.g. the Chiefs). The participants from the southern villages mainly tried to look at who the people are in the five categories, which had been made beforehand. The people from the north-western villages tried to look at various criteria, with the men looking at some other characteristics compared to the women. Together we think it presents a very useful overview of the ways local people view poverty and wealth.

### Very rich

<u>Who</u>: Mainly traders especially women traders. They buy large quantities of farm produce at very low prices and store to resell and also transport down south. They are 'big-time' businesswomen. They deal in groundnuts, maize, millet, beans, sheanuts etc. They also buy some commodities from down south to sell up north. The very rich are mainly a few women (S). Local name: Bundan kahle (NwM).

Social characteristics: The men among the very rich have many wives and many children because every woman wants to be in his house; they are able to educate children very well; often seen as an arbitrator (resolves conflicts between people); cause poor people to withdraw from conflict settlement because they do not want to appear before the very rich; support development projects in community; very generous ones support others; but some may be greedy; well respected by the police (sometimes regarded as above the law because police will not arrest them even if they commit a crime) (NwM); some help others; others are greedy and not really respected in the community (NwW).

<u>Farm characteristics</u>: Use tractor (services) for farming; produce high yielding crops; in the area there is no big difference (yet) between farm families in land entitlements, although the rich make use of the social custom to ask for land that is idle (often owned by the poor), and expand their cropped area (make use of tractor and/or bullocks); they have or hire truck to transport food; buy sheanut when it is very cheap and buy in large quantities; many cattle, sheep and goats; hired shepherds (NwW).

<u>Food</u>: Always eat three times a day; always fish or meat; wives take good care of husband and children (NwW).

<u>Clothing</u>: Always high quality; clearly visible that all clothes are expensive (NwW).

<u>Child care</u>: Have shoes in schools and always nice clothes, often new; pay fees for SSS and tertiary education (or bribe their way in schools for which (high) fees have to be paid, even after children have failed JSS exams) (NwW).

Health care: If ill: always go to hospital (NwW). House: Owns a complete block house with zinc roof (NwM); in the lean season there are still many sags of food stored, even outside; and one room full with grain; evening: light in the house; own generator; whole house has roofing sheets; high quality doors, borehole on the compound (and some sell water to the poor); rooms all painted; armchairs, 'real' beds, tv and generator (NwW). Transport: Own vehicles (sometimes many) (NwM); own vehicles, even trucks (NwW). Funerals: Lots of people, also from (very) far; lots of food and drinks, many days of drumming and praise saying (NwW). Who: Animal farmers and animal traders are the rich. These are mainly Rich men. Animal farmers with many cattle and sheep are rich. Also animal traders who buy to sell down south are rich. Also women money lenders are in the rich category (S). Local name: Bundana (NwM). Social characteristics: Some men among the rich have many wives and children; generous ones are well respected in the community; everybody agrees with whatever he says; takes good care of wife and children; supports wives to get into business (NwM); help others (NwW). Farm characteristics: Diversified income sources (often into trading); have very large farm sizes and many kraals; own bullocks, ploughs and other accessories; can own 40 – 50 cattle; some with many cattle (prestige) but will not sell to take care of family and children's education (NwM); use bullocks for farming; crops do much better: use fertilizer; in the area there is no big difference (yet) between farm families in land entitlements, although the rich (like the very rich) make use of the social custom to ask for land that is idle (often owned by the poor), and expand their cropped area (make use of tractor and/or bullocks); buy agric produce to sell later, but not in large quantities; one or two cattle; many goats, some sheep (NwW). Food: Able to feed family daily from own barn (NwM). Clothing: High quality, but not as expensive as the very rich; people wear their clothes with confidence ("you can know a rich person by the way he/she walks") (NwW). <u>Child care</u>: Send children to SSS or tertiary education, but with problems (NwW). Health care: Modern treatment (NwW). House: House is built of blocks and roofed with zinc (NwM); always: light in the evenings: candles or torches; no 'real' bed; but good mat; floor well plastered; chairs and tables; most houses have roofing sheets, although it may take time to buy them for all structures (NwW). Transport: Own motor bike (NwM); own vehicles; sometimes hire a car/truck; own several bicycles (NwW). Funerals: Last more than one day, long drumming and praise saying; lots of food and drinks (NwW). Who: Most crop farmers who do not undertake other activities are in this Average group. Also salary earners, even though those are very few (S). Local name: Desoa zagla (NwM) Social characteristics: Able to send some of their children to school; can support other relations in times of need (where there are no resources to

support he is always physically present in times of crisis) (NwM); beg others for help in difficult years, but not during normal years (NwW). Farm characteristics: Always have seeds for planting; feed family though not throughout the year; own few small ruminants (1-7) (NwM); may share a bullock to form a span for ploughing and other farm work; balanced selling and buying of farm produce; own goat/sheep (NwW).

Food: Take care of basic needs (NwW).

<u>Clothing</u>: Buy clothing for wife and children during festivals (NwM); normal clothes, but nothing special (NwW).

<u>Child care</u>: No money to send children to SSS, but children go to PS and JSS (NwW).

Health care: Mixed treatment (NwW).

<u>House</u>: House is well organized, well roofed with thatch with cemented floors and walls; rooms have doors and windows; no sofa chairs in rooms (NwM); mostly: light in the evenings: candles or torches; some stools, no table; often no cement floor; gradually roofs are sheeted, but it takes a long time (NwW).

Transport: Some have bicycles (NwW).

<u>Funerals:</u> Many people come, but mainly from around, day long drumming and praise saying; enough food and drinks (NwW).

Poor

<u>Who</u>: These consist mainly of crop farmers with small farm land sizes. Many migrant farmers – from Upper East or Burkina Faso - and women crop farmers are poor (S; however, there is an exceptional immigrant community in Wundua –Moshi immigrants since the 1950s – who do remarkably well).

Local name: Fara dana (NwM)

<u>Social characteristics</u>: Have children but often cannot take care of them; give children to others to be taken care of when they are in school (if children go to school); hire children out to others to herd cattle (shepherds) (NwM); beg for help/food in lean season (NwW).

<u>Farm characteristics</u>: Have a few poultry and do not keep them for long because always selling them (NwM); use hoes for farming; can sometimes afford to organise work parties of tillers using hoes; occasionally sell crops, but at the 'wrong' moments with low prices; own some (guinea) fowls; maybe one goat (NwW).

<u>Food</u>: Work as casual labourers in order to get food for family; cannot feed himself and family all year round; eat seeds for sowing and rely on others for planting seeds (NwM).

<u>Clothing</u>: Try to keep clothes tidy, but not easy (NwW).

<u>Child care</u>: Children drop out of school in difficult times (labour needed; children hungry; bad clothes) (NwW).

Health care: Mainly use traditional medicine (NwW).

<u>House:</u> Dilapidated house walls not well plastered; thatch for roofing not properly made (NwM); no mats to sleep on; only stalks; floor not cemented; no roof sheets, unless grown-up children go 'down south' and send money to buy sheets (NwW).

Transport: mostly walk (NwW).

<u>Funerals</u>: Not much food and only limited drumming/music (to be paid!), unless assisted by family and others (NwW).

### Very poor

<u>Who</u>: Old women and men without children or anybody to take care of them are very poor. Also young widows who have not remarried and have small children who cannot earn a living (S).

<u>Local name</u> for the very poor: Farad dan kahle (NwM)

<u>Social characteristics</u>: Men without wives or children; always isolated from others in society (NwM); old women without relatives taking care; some young widows with young children; handicapped people who are left to fend for themselves; start begging for food and help even before the lean season starts; depend on charity (NwW).

<u>Farm characteristics</u>: Very poor crop harvest because of no resources to farm; have no poultry or livestock (NwM); only use hoes for farming; do not have crops to sell; no goats or sheep, let alone cattle; if they have guinea fowls or chicken there is no time to wait for young ones: they always need money and sell, before allowing fowls to expand (NwW).

<u>Food:</u> Depend on others for meals most of the time; do often not eat supper during lean season, or even before (no signs of cooking in the house; no smoke coming out of the roof; and no washing of utensils); no bought vegetables in the sauce, only those collected in the bush (NwW).

<u>Clothing</u>: Difficulty in getting clothing (NwM); dirty, torn clothes of men, women and children (NwW).

<u>Child care</u>: If children are sick they never can go to hospital or clinic, depend on herbs and roots; often do not send children to school (hungry, labour needed) (NwW).

Health care: Never go to hospital; depend on herbs (NwW).

<u>House</u>: Sometimes have no place to sleep (NwM); if they have a house, it is dark in the evenings, no candles or torches; dilapidated house; shack; nothing in the house; sleep on stalks on bad floors (NwW).

<u>Transport</u>: Always walking (but not getting far; the very poor often consist of handicapped and old people; you may find them on the local markets on market days, begging) (NwW).

<u>Funerals:</u> Few people are coming and paying respect; hardly any drumming (too expensive) and praise saying (but depends on family; they may assist with food, drinks and some cash, but often social relationships are limited) (NwW).

### Part 4 Summaries of intervention lists

This Part presents in summary tables the results of the inventories of interventions. Langbinsi was the first workshop to be organised and the groups were not systematically split between women and men. For this reason the valuations of the various projects are similar for men and women, and we included one table per geographical area only.

North-West Langbinsi area Valuation of interventions per type of organisation

Type of organisation	0	1	2	3	4
G		1	2		5
С			1	1	10
P/C					1
P					2
G/P					1
G/P/C			1		
N		1			
N/C			2		
G/N			1		
N/P			1		
0			1		
Total	0	2	9	1	19

The meaning of the scores (0-4) is as follows:

0 = negative impact

1 = no impact

2 = was useful but there is no effect any more

3 = ongoing

4 = positive impact.

The type of organisations are the following:

G = Government

C = Christian NGO

P = Own initiative or private enterprise

N = Non-religious NGO

M = Islamic/ mosque-related initiative

O = Other initiative

### Central Langbinsi area Valuation of interventions per type of organisation

Type of	0	1	2	3	4
organisation					
G		1	2	2	9
C			1		11
P/C					1
P					9
G/P					1
G/P/C					1
N				3	2
N/C					1
G/N					
N/P					
0					2
Total	0	1	3	5	37

North-East Langbinsi area Valuation of interventions per type of organisation

Type of organisation	0	1	2	3	4
G		1	4	1	31
С			3	1	31
P/C					
P					1
G/P					
G/P/C					
N	1			2	8
N/C					
G/N					
N/P					
0				10	
Total	1	1	7	14	71

Generally, most project were evaluated as having a positive impact, or having had a positive impact but with very little of that found at present. Compared to workshops in the other areas, that is a relatively positive outcome. Also, the large number of government interventions that are evaluated as having (had) a positive impact is remarkable (see below for a more detailed analysis).

# Part 5 Comparing the lists

What is interesting generally is the high level of technical knowledge of the population in discussing the values of the interventions. Roads design seems a technical issue far from many people's expertise, but the type of material used and the location of culverts and drainage systems were mentioned during the discussions. Of course, crops and animals are within the expertise area of most people we met, and a high level of sophistication can be expected, and was actually met. The impact of new crops was valued using the productivity, the marketability, the input needs (labour in weeding, harvesting, application of other inputs, and also bird chasing, as some introduced types of sorghum for example were more vulnerable to birds eating the seeds than the traditional types).

### **Analysis**

First of all, it is clear that either only the successful initiatives were remembered, or that there are very few projects with a negative impact. As we will see, in other areas there are certain initiatives that were considered negatively, so probably the second explanation applies for the fact that there are no projects/ interventions with a score 0.

Second, one third of the initiatives are older ones, but they are evaluated positively. This is good to know for the second and third series of workshops, as it means we can actually discuss earlier projects on the basis of knowledge of the local population.

Third, in all, Christian NGOs have been more active in this area than Government or other organisations.

Fourth, in terms of the type of intervention, we had a look at which projects appear where in the table. All primary schools, financed by whatever organisation, are evaluated positively. This applies also to all the crops (C-type of intervention) that were introduced except cashew, and all the new types of animals (C-type) that were introduced (both for milk and neat production and for traction). All boreholes, from every type of organisation, were considered positively. None of the non-primary school activities (school food program, non-formal education, etc) were evaluated positively. All health services (G-type of intervention) were evaluated positively. None of the formal banking services were evaluated positively. And finally, all P-type and O-type interventions (mostly by people or groups of people themselves) were considered positively.

Here too, we see some interesting generalisations on the valuation of the interventions. First, again, all boreholes, primary schools, infrastructure (roads and markets, etc), and general purpose buildings (or buildings that were built for a particular purpose but were subsequently used for other purposes as well) are evaluated positively. It is the service that counts, not the donor, and apparently the context is conducive to a good service delivery as schools by all types of donors are evaluated positively. Less positive or negative are evaluated the crops that ultimately were not successful or not appreciated for various reasons, and public toilets and similar facilities. Maintenance in that case was the problem.

Again, we see a remarkably positive attitude towards certain activity, no matter which organisation provides them. All primary schools, all credit facilities, all health facilities, all marketing infrastructure and other marketing activities (Savannah for example, the organisation liaised with CREDO that buys produce from farmers), all government administration buildings and services and all boreholes are evaluated positively. Also all introduced types of animals were evaluated positively (both for milk and neat production and for traction), but again this did not apply to all the crops introduced. Some crops were

evaluated positively (both food and cash crops), others were either bad (or had bad practices linked to them such as the use of certain expensive or damaging pesticides or fertilisers) or not positive (as when other crops had the same positive impact such as nitrogen fixation in the soil, but also had positive aspects such as a crop that could be sold, or a better drought—resistance profile). Roads were evaluated in a more nuanced way than in the other areas, as roads had been built (positive evaluation) but not always maintained (less positive). In this area, a shift to a more differentiated view of men and women was achieved, and it appeared that certain marketing initiative were not mentioned by women (as the crop was a cash crop for men mostly), and that women were much more positive about beekeeping than men.

The South Langbinsi area list of interventions followed another format, part of the learning curve that took place in this respect, and therefore we cannot give the same detailed view on the Langbinsi South area.

# Part 6 Summary of impact of projects on capabilities

In this list we have simply added up the number of times any of the capabilities were mentioned as having been influenced by the intervention. If more than one type or organization was mentioned as having contributed to the intervention, than both types of organization were give points for having influenced the capability.

# List by area, gender, sector, type of agency of capacities on which the intervention had impact

	N	Р	Н	E	S	С
Infrastructure						
G	0	7	10	21	12	2
С	0	0	2	1	0	0
O/P	0	1	2	0	0	0
N	0	1	1	1	1	0
Crops						
G	14	0	16	22	0	1
С	14	0	23	27	1	0
O/P	3	1	3	8	0	2
N	2	1	2	4	0	1
Livestock						
G	4	0	3	8	0	2
С	9	1	6	20	1	6
O/P	0	0	1	4	2	0
N	0	0	0	0	1	0
Nat Env						
G	10	5	5	12	0	0
C	14	3	6	15	1	0
O/P	1	1	0	2	0	0
N	3	1	3	0	0	0
Water						-
G	0	3	5	3	1	0
C	0	1	6	5	0	0
O/P	0	3	8	4	1	0
N	0	1	5	5	0	0
Energy	-	•	_	-	-	•
G	0	1	1	2	1	0
C	0	0	0	0	0	0
O/P	0	0	1	3	0	Ö
N	0	1	1	0	1	1
Education (All schools)	Ū	·	·	Ū	•	•
G	0	3	13	0	4	0
C	0	4	19	2	5	0
O/P	0	2	6	0	2	0
N	0	1	11	2	1	0
Health	U	•		_	•	O
G	0	2	12	4	0	0
C	0	3	13	0	0	0
O/P	0	0	2	1	0	0
N	0	0	0	0	0	0
1.4	U	J	J	U	U	U

Over dit Desciones							
Credit Business				•	•	_	
G	0	1	1	6	6	2	
С	0	0	1	5	4	1	
O/P	0	1	1	4	0	1	
N	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Marketing							
G	0	0	0	3	0	0	
С	0	0	1	5	0	0	
O/P	0	0	0	2	0	0	
N	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Religion							
G	0	0	0	0	0	0	
C	0	1	1	0	2	1	
O/P	0	1	1	0	9	16	
N.	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Social	Ū	Ū	Ü	Ū	Ū	Ü	
G	0	3	3	3	4	1	
C	1	1	1	2	4	2	
O/P	0	2	0	5	3	0	
N	1	2	2	2	2	1	
Admin	ı	2	2	2	2	ı	
	0		0	0	0	0	
G C	2	1	2	2	6	0	
	1	0	1	1	0	0	
O/P	0	1	0	1	0	0	
N	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Other			_	_	_		
G	0	0	2	2	0	0	
С	0	0	1	1	0	0	
O/P	0	0	0	0	0	0	
N	1	0	1	1	0	0	
		_		_	•	•	
Talal	N	Р	Н	E	S	С	
Total					0.4	_	
G	30	26	73	88	34	8	259
C	39	14	81	84	18	10	246
O/P	4	13	25	34	17	19	112
N	7	8	26	15	6	3	65

Type of organisation

G = Government

C = Christian church based NGO

O/ P = Private initiative or Other type of organisation

N = Neutral NGO (non-religious)

### Capability

N = Natural resources

P = Physical resource

H = Human capital

E = Economic capability

S = Social capital

C = Cultural capital

# Part 7 Comparison of capabilities of inventories

What we presented above is the number of times a certain intervention focused on a certain capability of the people interviewed. First of all, we have to remember that the scores on capabilities are subjective, and reflect the ideas of the participants in the workshop. They may have experienced certain parts of the intervention and not all of them, so this list is incomplete in the sense that unknown parts may have focused on other capabilities. Second, like elsewhere in this report, the estimates as to the impact on certain capabilities are subjective, but that is part of the method and fully understood. The precise focus of the intervention, or the intention of those who organised it, may not and probably is not reflected in this assessment.

An interesting point first of all is that the projects that are considered the best projects by workshop participants are generally projects that have an impact on a larger number of capabilities. A crop may have a fertility enhancing effect (N), a product for sale (E), it may reduce erosion (N), it can be used for animal feed (N), and by covering the ground reduce the need for weeding and thus labour (H). Crops with only a fertilizing effect do not appear in the list of best interventions.

The capabilities most commonly affected are the Economic one and the Human capital, in particular for Government agencies and the Christian NGOs. Following this, government interventions usually focus on Natural, Physical and Social capabilities (or rather, have an impact on these capitals), while the Christian NGOs seem to impact on Natural capital first, and less on the others. Other or private interventions are having an impact Economic and Human capitals, but after that seem to impact cultural capital, mostly because this concerns churches, mosques etc, and those who have linked themselves with these religious organisations usually are positive about the Cultural impact, those who are not are less enthusiastic. Interestingly, neutral NGOs impact most of all the Human capital, and less so Economic capital.

Of all the sectors, that of crops is mostly affected by far, and impact of activities in that sector are mentioned twice as often as any other sector. This sector is very often where the activity takes place as well of course, but the difference is quite large with the impact on other sectors. After this follows the natural environment, education, livestock, and infrastructure. Within these sectors, different types of organisations as far as impact on capitals is concerned take up the dominant position. With crops, there is a balance between government and Christian NGOs, which is a bit of a surprise. In the natural environment, the impact is also balanced between those two types of organisation. In the education sector, impact mostly comes from Christian NGOs, with Livestock it is also Christian NGOs and with infrastructure it is of course the Government.

# Part 8 The best and worst projects

In this Part, we will discuss the selection made by the participants in terms of the best and worst interventions. In practice, the 'worst project' was often translated as 'the least positive projects', in order not to antagonise the donors who at the same time may have been the initiators or funding agencies of the best projects as well. What we did to make this feasible, was to put together in one table the opinions of the groups in the various geographical areas, differentiated by gender, in the sectoral order in which they appeared in the list of interventions. We will start with the best projects, and the analysis is given below, on the nexct page is the table on which this analysis is based.

#### Analysis

Apart from mentioning the specific position as number one or two etc best project per group, we also wanted to make a comparison across sectors possible. For this we calculated the total score. The total score was calculated using the inverse value of the scores (first place got five points). In addition, these scores were aggregated per sector, and the number of times the intervention was mentioned was counted.

Schools came out as the most important or rather most appreciated intervention, either all schools, or occasionally the nearest of a certain denomination, with 22 points. Men mentioned this more often than women. The boreholes came second place, either all boreholes, or particular nearby boreholes. There was a community initiated borehole that was too shallow and occasionally was excluded, but the other boreholes (see the notes) were all considered very favourably. Women, not surprisingly, mentioned this intervention more often and gave higher priority or appreciation than men. Generally, this means it is the type of intervention and its technical merits rather than the particular organisation that implemented it that is considered. The health clinic by PAS came third, though based on the fact that only in one area, the importance was considered so high that both men and women considered it their number one intervention. Men mentioned the insurance scheme, women mentioned the nutrition centre slightly more often. Interestingly, both men and women have mentioned various agricultural interventions as their best projects, but women gave higher appreciation to crops introductions, and livestock introductions were appreciated by both men and women. Food crops were mentioned (by women), but certainly not exclusively those food crops, also cash crops and other innovations. And higher-performance sheep and goat breeds were appreciated very much by both men and women.

If we look at the number of times the particular intervention was mentioned, schools and boreholes came out first (six times mentioned among the best five interventions), followed interestingly by the introduction of improved sheep and goats (four times) and soybeans (three times). This points at the importance given to the interventions in the agricultural sector: if we add up the scores per sector, education and health come out first again (total score of 28), but they are followed by the agricultural sector (total score of 16), only then followed by the water sector (total score of 14).

Of particular interest is the recurrence of interventions initiated or managed by PAS. They appear in all sectors accept roads, and this may well be because PAS is not active in road building as such rather than the fact that they are not among the best five projects in that sector of infrastructure. The arguments to include these interventions will be discussed when we discuss the impact per wealth category and capital.

#### Best projects Langbinsi

			south	south	northwest	northwest	northeast	northeast	central	central	total	times	total
Sector	project	details	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	score	mentioned	sector
Infra	Roads	all through roads	2						5		5	2	5
Crops	Maize	technoserve/ PAS			3	1					8	2	
	Seedlings	afforrestation PAS		3							3	1	
	Soybean	MoA/ PAS	4	5				4			5	3	16
Livestock	Livestock	Veterinary PAS		2							4	1	
	Livestock	sheep and goats PAS			5	2	4***	5***			7	4	11
Nat Env	Shea butter extraction	District Assembly				5					1	1	1
Water	Boreholes	all	5		4		1*	3++	4~~	5~~~	14	6	14
Education	Schools	All primary	1	1	2		2**		2~	2~	22	6	
	Schools	Junior High school/ RC							3	3	6	2	28
Health	NHIS	Gov.			1		3				8	2	
	Health	weighing clinics CRS/ MoH	3								3	1	
	Health	Clinics PAS							1	1	10	2	
	Nutrition centre	CRS/ community				3		2+			7	2	28
Credit	Rural banks	SFMC		4							2	1	
	Rural banks	EMCB-PAS				4					2	1	
	Market	Central/ District Assembly								4	2	1	6
Other	PAS							1			5	1	5

<sup>\*</sup> numbers 1 to 5 were all boreholes (NORIP, CRS, Adra, OIC and Community) and were taken together here.

<sup>\*\*</sup> numbers 6, 7 and 8 were all schools (Government and private regilious) and were take together here.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> numbers 10 and 11 were all 'Improver breeds of goats and sheep' (MoFA and PAS) and were taken together here.

<sup>+</sup> all nutrition centres were taken together (CRS, Government, PAS)

<sup>++</sup> see \*, though the women excluded the community borehole

<sup>~</sup> In particular Roman Catholic primary school

<sup>~~</sup> In particular the NORRIP one.

<sup>~~~</sup> in particular the District Assembly/ Technoserve one

#### *Analysis*

We did the same analysis for the worst projects. Again, a total score was calculated using the inverse value of the scores (first place got 5 points). In addition, these scores were aggregated per sector, and the number of times the intervention was mentioned was counted. Surprisingly, some crops came out as very bad interventions, partly because they needed lots of inputs (the cowpeas for instance), partly because the marketing was very unreliable (the cotton), partly because they didn't do as well as expected or as other crops. Perhaps surprisingly, both men and women had very definitive ideas about this, and gave high scores on these interventions. Cotton through INCOF received almost universally low appreciation due to the fact that it was grown and not collected by the corporation, it has the highest score in the table. And surprisingly, PAS came out again as having started interventions that feature among the list of worst projects. This is partly because crops are introduced as trial, and when they succeed, they are among the best interventions, but when they do not, they appear here in the list of worst projects and interventions. Mucuna is interesting for example: it does well in binding and covering the soil and adding nitrogen through its root bacteria, but groundnuts do the same and yield a crop and stover. However, PAS is not the only organisation appearing in both best and worst lists: Technoserve features similarly, as well as the Government. The case of Government introduced cotton was also interesting: apparently the insecticide prescribed killed domestic animals too (though the cotton was also not paid for like the case of INCOF). Of the non-agricultural interventions, bad roads and public toilets were mentioned with high scores (thus low appreciation), with both 7 points. In central in particular (Social Infrastructure: Public toilets, Police station, Leprosy hospital, also the Dam, etc), a number of interventions came on the list again not because they were bad or detrimental, but mostly because they were no longer functional, and thus they were actually 'old' interventions, not 'bad' interventions. Women mostly gave these low scores.

#### Worst projects Langbinsi

			south	south	northwest	northwest	northeast	northeast	central	central	total	times	total
Sector	Project	Details	men*	women	men	women	men	women	men****	women	score	mentioned	sector
Infra	Feeder road	Govt.						3		2****	7	2	2
Agric	Cowpeas	PAS		4							2	1	
	Fertiliser	PAS		3							3	1	
	Cotton	INCOF/ Govt.		1			1	2	3	3	20	5	
	Cashew	PAS			2	1					9	2	
	Mucuna	PAS			3						3	1	
	Teak trees	Forestry Dept.			5						1	1	
	Composting	PAS				5					1	1	
	Sorghum Kapala Var.	PAS/ MoA/ Technoserve/ SARI					2***				4	1	
	Liquid fertiliser	NGO						1			5	1	14
Nat Env	Anti bush fire	Care								4	2	1	1
Water	Dam	Govt			1						5	1	1
Energy	Solar panels	Technoserve				2					4	1	1
Educ	Uniforms	Equal				3					3	1	
	NF educ	Govt							3		3	1	2
Health	TBAs all communities	PAS**		5							1	1	
	Elephantiasis Medic	МоН			4						2	1	2
Credit/ Business	Credit scheme	MASLOG		2							4	1	
	Savannah	Linked to PAS				4					2	1	
	Rural banks	all						4			2	1	3
Social	Public toilets	all							3	1	7	2	
	Police station	Govt							3		3	1	
	Leprosy Hospital	Baptist church								5	1	1	4
Admin	Intro Unit committees	Govt					4		3		5	2	2
Admin	Tax collectors	Govt					5	5			2	2	2

notes \* There were no data for worst project for this category.

<sup>\*\*</sup> this referred to the earliest PAS interventions, staff are considered too old, and this should be considered an 'old' intervention

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> we grouped together 2 and 3 as the intervention was the same but with different actors

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> As interventions were identified as worst but no ranking was given, we gave them all a 3 here.

<sup>\*\*\*\*\*</sup> a number of different roads were mentioned and they are grouped together here.

# Part 9 Comparing the best and worst projects

Comparing the two lists, there is a lot of information that can be derived again. One is that the best projects seem to be related to either (agricultural) production (the introduction of certain crops, inputs, livestock types etc), income generation (marketing facilities, infrastructure to get to these marketing facilities such as roads (and occasionally, though not in these lists, transport possibilities such as the bus), or to services that are of direct survival or developmental interest to people such as primary education, health facilities and maternities and water provision (boreholes only, the wide diameter wells are dry too quickly most of the time). This is fairly straightforward, but interestingly enough, apart from certain crop introductions that were introduced and failed and are therefore mentioned as worst projects, but we do not see service-related interventions that failed and thus were mentioned in the second list, at least not the service itself. What we do see is parts of these services failing to deliver or hampering the provision of the interventions to people, such as school uniforms (rather than the school), or a certain medication considered useless (rather than the health station or service). There is sophistication in the way people interpret these lists, appreciating the general aim of the service or activity, but criticizing certain individual organizations, aspects of the introduction, or particular activities.

The other aspect seems to be that in relation to the above, the aggregate number of best projects seems to be limited, while the aggregate number of worst projects is large. This means that each gender group in each locality has its particular bad projects, and this relates to the incidental character of the bad projects. They are local exceptions to general rules. At the same time, there is general consensus about the identity of the most appreciated initiatives, and these are formulated in general terms (schools are good), not in particular terms (this particular school is good).

The most important relationship between the method as it is used by us, and the ICCO/W&D/Prisma – ACDEP/PAS – village Project activities aid chain is the mentioning of PAS activities in these lists. the full lists is of course more comprehensive and longer as far as PAS activities is concerned, but we do find PAS activities, and interestingly enough in both lists. As far as the introduction of crops is concerned, that is a logical statement as we saw already that these sometimes succeed and are considered best projects, and sometimes fail, and are considered worst (people are disappointed but have also invested in the crop, and therefore there is a cost at the end, not a lack of profit). However, we see PAS appearing more often. It is related to the worst projects: in agriculture (crops and livestock), TBAs (though this may be the reflection of the project being 'old') and a marketing organisation. It is also related to the best projects in agriculture (crops, livestock, and veterinary care), boreholes, health clinics, and rural banks). Thus, fortunately, we do see the main linkage between ICCO/W&D and Prisma funding agencies, and one of their main partners, back in the field.

# Part 10 Summary of the impact on wealth groups

Summary table of impact of best projects on wealth classes, all areas and groups

Best Projects	1	very poor	poor	average	rich	very rich	Group
Sector	project						
Infra	Roads	+	+	+	+	+	C/M
			+	++	+++	++++	S/M
	Mosques and Churches	+	+	+	+	+	C/M
Crops	Maize	+	+	+	+	+	C/W, NW/M
			+	+			NW/W
	Seedlings	+	+	+			S/W
	Soybean	+	+	+	+	+	C/W
				+	+		C/M
			+/-	+	++	++	S/W, S/M
Livestock	Livestock Vet. PAS						
	Livestock small stock PAS		+	+			NW/W, S/W
Nat Env	Shea butter extraction		+	+			NW/W
Water	Boreholes	+	+	+	+	+	C/W, C/M,
							NW/M
				+	++	+++	NE/W
_		+++	++	++	+		S/M
Energy	Electrivity *				+	+	C/W
Education	Schools Primary	+	+	+	+	+	C/W
			+	+	+	+(+)	C/M, NW/M, S/W, S/M
					+	+	NW/M
	Schools Junior high				+	+	C/M, NW/M
Health	NHIS	+	+	+	+	+	NW/M
				+	+		NE/W
	Health Weighing clinics	++	+++	+++	+	+	S/M
	Health clinics PAS	+	+	+	+	+	C/W
			+	+	+	+	C/M
	Nutrition centre		+	+			NW/W
Credit	Rural banks		+	+			
	Marketing services (Sav.)		+/-	+	++	++	S/W
	Market				+	+	C/W
		+	+	+	+	+	C/M
Other	PAS	+	+	+	+	+	C/M
			+++	++	+	+	NE/W
	Group formation *	+	+	+	+	+	NE/W
*	Some items were added later						

C/W Langbinsi Central/ Women
C/M Langbinsi Central/ Men
NW/W Langbinsi Northwest/ Women
NW/M Langbinsi Northwest/ Men
NE/M Langbinsi Northeast/ Women
S/W Langbinsi South/ Women
S/M Langbinsi South/ Men

# Part 11 Analysis of the impact on wealth groups

In this Part, we discuss the results of correlating the best projects with their impact on particular wealth classes, discussed above. Of course, the aggregation in the Part on wealth classes now makes the discussion on the impact of the various best projects slightly fuzzy (we will not discuss the worst projects, people found it conceptually difficult to talk about the worst effects for the worst projects for certain types of wealth class), but we do think there is enough similarity in how the various groups described wealth classes to allow that classification to be used here.

There are some very interesting remarks made by the participants of the workshop, which we will discuss here. Sometimes, all categories of people seem to benefit. However, sometimes, the rich or very rich benefit more than the others, often the poor do not benefit at all. We will discuss the various sectors/ capitals here.

For example, the introduction of maize according to women in Langbinsi central benefited all, but the rich more as they could also acquire fertilisers to which the new types of maize responded very well. The Central Langbinsi men were less convinced and thought that the rich and average were the only groups benefiting from the crop introductions: the rich didn't need them, as they have no strong dependence on agriculture, and the very poor and poor cannot afford the implications, or have no land for them. Something similar is seen with smallstock introductions: the poor don't have the resources to keep them, they have to sell for food etc. the very rich and rich have so many that they do not need additional animals, and the others may benefit if they do not need to sell due to emergencies. Only the seedlings seem to be beneficial to all three less wealthy groups, as they were provided for free. Whether they were useful seems another thing: maintenance required labour and water, at least initially. The rich didn't care about tree planting. Marketing of crops also benefited the rich and very rich most, because they had more crops for sale than anyone else.

Even with basic services, the very poor often do not benefit. They do not dare risk not being able to pay the bills, for example for medication after a visit to the clinic. The rich can even afford to travel and go to better clinics further away. On the other hand, the men in Langbinsi Northwest state that the Health Insurance scheme NHIS is so cheap that it is accessible to all, and very beneficial. The women in Northeast Langbinsi are less sure: they state that the poor can't afford the Scheme, while the rich do not need it. To have local health facilities has made the Langbinsi South men aware of the fact that the transport fees can now be put in care, so that the very poor also benefit, the poor and average even more, while the rich and very rich go to other clinics further away.

With schools, it is clearly recognised that with increasing levels of schooling, first the poor and then the average drop out due to high costs. The women in Langbinsi South even stated that the very rich benefited most as they can afford to send all of their children to any level of school, something that not all people can. Children are needed for the farm and the household chores too, something the rich can avoid for example when they have servants, bullocks for land preparation, or car(t)s for transport. When the water reaches their house, even getting water is no longer a daily task. However, the ideas differ about the level of wealth needed to have an education. In particular the increase in school fees after it having been free has made a difference for those less than rich.

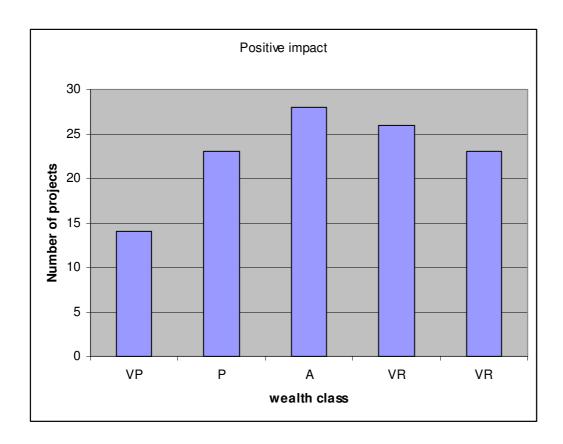
Boreholes have benefited everyone according to the Central Langbinsi and Northwest Langbinsi men, as well as roads. They may have a lower expectation than their wives: the men also think the market has benefited everyone as the very poor and poor can do odd jobs on the markets, rather than sell crops. The women in Northeast Langbinsi have a different view. They state that the very poor and poor do not benefit equally, as they can't afford the regular fees to be part of the water-group around the borehole. On the contrary, they benefit less because they have to pay to the rich who take water and sell it in smaller amounts to the very poor. These women see the rich and very rich benefiting more than the average people. In most of the other best projects, they see the poor equally not benefiting due to lack of other resources (land in case of the maize, collateral in the case of loans at banks, etc). Interestingly, the Langbinsi South men think the poor benefit more than the average and higher income groups, in this case it is the rich buying water from the poor so that they do not have to fetch it themselves and wait in the queue. These payments going both ways according to different groups may both be true, depending on the season. The very rich either have their own tap or borehole, or get water by hiring water trucks to bring it.

For other types of introduction it was more clear that the rich and very rich benefited more while the rest did not; markets because only the rich and very rich have much produce to sell, and electricity as it needs to be paid for. This is reflected in the high utility of raods for the rich from the point of view of the Langbinsi South men. They state that the poor don't even use the road: they have nothing to transport. The richer you become, the higher spatial level of mobility you have, and the more useful the roads.

The women in Langbinsi Central also made an overall assessment of the benefits of the interventions per wealth class. The average people benefited most, since he or she had the resources (land, animals, children, etc) that were targeted by the projects. The rich benefited most after the average person, because they have all the resources that are targeted, but they also can afford all the interventions and have money to introduce them fully. Third place came the very rich, though for them it is a matter of choice to participate or not, as they could have afforded these interventions themselves. Fourth came the poor, who do not always have the resources on which the interventions are targeted. If one doesn't have much land, the introduction of certain crops is not very useful. The last group to benefit were the very poor. They are unable to use most of the interventions (they have no land, children, able body, knowledge, etc to make the most of the intervention), but worse even, they are mostly not recognised and they don't show up because they are not informed.

This is a rather sobering conclusion, but most other groups corroborate it: mostly, the average people, after that the poor and rich, and sometimes the very rich benefit. The very poor hardly ever benefit from most of these interventions.

If we add up all the positive scores in the table above (the +/- score is not added up, all ++ and +++ are counted as one +), we arrive at the following graph.



According to the workshop participants, and not only to the women group referred to above, this is the number of times a project seems to have had a positive impact on the various wealth classes (VP = very poor, A = average, VR = very rich). It reflects very precisely what the women had in mind.

This can mean two things: one, perhaps there is a pre-selection bias and people with a certain profile were selected. This seems less likely in the sense that both officials and farmers (men and women) were participating. But on the other hand, the very rich do not need to participate (and the 'rich' that were there, the chiefs etc, were influential rather than rich), and the very poor cannot participate, or were not aware as they never are. So this mat still be a point for further study. And second, we may need to add to our method in finding ways to specifically get the very poor's ideas by organising another activity. Perhaps this should not be a group discussion, but rather an individual survey-type enquiry.

# **Annex 1: List of participants**

Area group composition

		Men	Women
Central	Langbinsi	Akanpone Adenda	Salimu Alhassan
		Samuel Adiwe	Hon. Gladys Boasa
		Taguriga Agongon	Alice Azmin Iddir-
		Mbire Agundaa	Gubbels
		Ayiye Agul	
		Adabo Anaho	
		Apoba Anaho	
		Frank Apuba	
		Franci Awindure	
		Alhaji Issaka Bawah	
		Kabunaba Kala (Chief)	
		Zandaguri Kanduwe	
		Bajeweh Kopiah	
		Agana Kumolga	
		Alhaji Adam Sulemana	
		Alhaji Ibrahim Sulemana	
		Abdulai Tiiga	
		Agana Yelguna	
		Tampulima Zongonkolog	
	Langbinsi Gov. agencies	Charles Abonkra (Distr	Belinda Adiaba
l	and PAS	Assembly Planner)	(PAS)
l		Mahamadu Abudu (PAS)	Alice Awindago
		Stephen Adaa (PAS)	(PAS)
		Albert Asampana (Vet.	
		Officer)	
		John Gamba (PAS)	
		Zakaria Issahaku (CARE)	
		Daniel Kotia (GES)	
		Patrick Kungazore (GHS)	
		Wuni Kuntoba (Town Area	
		Council)	
		James Kwame (PAS)	
		David Moari (GES)	
		Joshua Nabila (Credit Union)	
		George Nadzie (MoFA)	
		Chief Sandow (Cooperative	
		Off., Gambaga)	
		Dan Sandow (PAS)	
		Moses Tampuri (PAERED	
		Nalerigu)	
		Emmanuel Wandat (PAS)	
	Yaroyiri		Poayanga Atibila
	Mimima		Amia Sobukongri
Northwest	Samini	Tibila Maami	Tani Wumbila

		Tia Yinzoa	
	Timpela	Tindan Boar	Bariban Matilda Tenbil
	Tangbini	Sule Tigui	Avugi Sofo
	Buzulungu	Mumuni Issifu Mahami Mumuni	
	Kasape		Hawa Abdulai Atika Yakubu
	Bumboazio	Bukari Iddrisah Bukari Iddrisu	Salimu Bugiri
Northeast	Gbangu	Rabi Abdulai Ibrahim Yidana	
	Gbingbiriga	Amidu Gamini	
	Bowku	Munkaila Tia	Kande Tindana Ayishetu Ziblim
	Namangu	Rev. Issifu Bukari Baba Mahami	Fatima Shaibu
	Namiyela	Mahama Tia	
South	Wundua	Hon Sumaila Abubakari Abdullah Issah Chimsi	
	Burugu	Chimsa II Issaka (Chief) Paul Shaibu Yimbasi	
	Boayini	Paul Dingana	Martha Yakubu
	Poanayiri	Bukari Iddrisu	
Unknown	Tisungo	Abukari Alhassan	
	Nanori	Yahada Odim	