

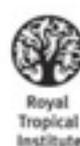
Participatory Assessment of Development

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WULENSI WORKSHOP REPORT

by Richard W. Nartey Yeboah

PADev Working Paper No. W.2011.2



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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 Développement du Sahel (EDS, Burkina Faso), ICCO, Woord en Daad, Prisma, the African Studies Centre (ASC) and the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT). The workshop in Wulensi took place from 18 to 20 January 2010. The methodology is described in detail in the PAdDev Guidebook by Dietz et al (2011). The guidebook and more information about this project is available at <http://www.paddev.nl>.

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Contents

List of tables	4
List of figures	6
Abstract	7
Introduction	8
1. Timeline of historical events	9
2. Perceptions about changes in capitals	18
3. Wealth classification	33
4. Interventions, initiators and perceptions about them	37
5. Ranking of interventions as best or worst	41
6. Historical analysis of best and worst interventions	44
7. Impact of best and worst projects on wealth classes	57
8. Relations between trends and interventions	71
9. Conclusion	78
Appendix 1: List of participants	79

List of tables

Table 1.1: Time line of important historical events and their effects on communities.....	9
Table 2.1: Perceptions About Changes in Natural Capitals.....	18
Table 2.2: Perceptions About Changes in Physical Capitals.....	20
Table 2.3: Perceptions About Changes in Human Capitals.....	23
Table 2.4: Perceptions About Changes in Economic Capitals.....	26
Table 2.5: Perceptions About Changes in Socio-Political Capitals.....	29
Table 2.6: Perceptions About Changes in Cultural Capitals.....	31
Table 3.1: Criteria for Wealth Classification in Wulensi.....	33
Table 3.2: Mean distribution of Wealth Classes in the Communities (%).....	36
Table 4.1: Summary of Number of Interventions per Agency.....	37
Table 4.2 : Impact of the Interventions on Beneficiaries.....	39
Table 4.3: Impact of Agencies Interventions on Capitals.....	40
Table 5.1: Ranking Best Five Interventions.....	41
Table 5.2: Reasons for considering these projects best.....	42
Table 5.3: Ranking Worst Five Interventions.....	43
Table 6.1: Ideas About Best 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Wulensi North Group (WN).....	44
Table 6.2: Ideas About Worst 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Wulensi North Group (WN).....	45
Table 6.3: Ideas About Best 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Wulensi Women Group (WW).....	46
Table 6.4: Ideas About Worst 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Wulensi Women Group (WW).....	46
Table 6.5: Ideas About Best 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Men and 1 Woman Group (M&1W).....	47
Table 6.6: Ideas About Worst 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Men and 1 Woman Group (M&1W).....	49
Table 6.7: Ideas About Best 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Wulensi North Group (WN).....	50
Table 6.8: Ideas About Worst 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Wulensi North Group (WN).....	51
Table 6.9: Ideas About Best 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Wulensi South Group (WS).....	52
Table 6.10: Ideas About Worst 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Wulensi South Group (WS).....	53
Table 6.11: Ideas About Best 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Officials (O).....	55
Table 6.12: Ideas About Worst 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Officials (O).....	56
Table 7.1: Impact of first Best Project of M&1W group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	57
Table 7.2: Impact of Second Best Project of M&1W group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	58
Table 7.3: Impact of Third Best Project of M&1W group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	58
Table 7.4: Impact of Fourth Best Project of M&1W group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	59
Table 7.5: Impact of Fifth Best Project of M&1W group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	59
Table 7.6: Impact of First Worst Project of M&1W group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	60
Table 7.7: Impact of First Best Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	60
Table 7.8: Impact of Second Best Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	60
Table 7.9: Impact of Third Best Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	60
Table 7.10: Impact of Fourth Best Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	61
Table 7.11: Impact of Fifth Best Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	61
Table 7.12: Impact of First Worst Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	61
Table 7.13: Impact of Second Worst Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes then and Now..	61
Table 7.14: Impact of Third Worst Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now ...	62
Table 7.15: Impact of Fourth Worst Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now..	62
Table 7.16: Impact of Fifth Worst Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now	62
Table 7.17: Impact of First Best Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	62
Table 7.18: Impact of Second Best Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	63
Table 7.19: Impact of Third Best Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	63
Table 7.20: Impact of Fourth Best Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	63
Table 7.21: Impact of Fifth Best Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	64
Table 7.22: Impact of First Worst Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	64
Table 7.23: Impact of Second Worst Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	64
Table 7.24: Impact of Third Worst Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	64
Table 7.25: Impact of Fourth Worst Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	65
Table 7.26: Impact of Fifth Worst Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	65
Table 7.27: Impact of First Best Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	65
Table 7.28: Impact of Second Best Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now ...	66
Table 7.29: Impact of Third Best Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now.....	66

Table 7.30: Impact of Fourth Best Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now	67
Table 7.31: Impact of Fifth Best Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now	68
Table 7.32 : Impact of First Worst Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now	68
Table 7.33: Impact of Second Worst Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now	69
Table 7.34: Impact of Third Worst Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now ...	69
Table 7.35: Impact of Fourth Worst Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now..	70
Table 7.36: Impact of Fifth Worst Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now	70
Table 8.1: Relations Between Natural Trends and Interventions	71
Table 8.2: Relations Between Physical Trends and Interventions	72
Table 8.3: Relations Between Human Trends and Interventions.....	73
Table 8.4: Relations Between Economic Trends and Interventions	74
Table 8.5: Relations Between Social-Political Trends and Interventions	76
Table 8.6: Relations Between Cultural Trends and Interventions	77

List of figures

Figure 3a: Distribution of the population by wealth class	36
Figure 4a: Number of interventions per the major initiators.....	38
Figure 4b: Percentages of interventions.....	38
Figure 4c: Interventions and the initiators	39

Abstract

The research team, in the process of developing the model for participatory evaluation of development, organized a three-day workshop at Wulensi in the Nanumba South District of Northern Ghana. Nine modules were tested in all. Groups made up of Officials (O), Older Men (OM), Young Men (YM), Older Women (OW) and Young Women (YW) were used for the first 3 modules, Gender groups were used for modules 4 to 6 and for modules 7 to 9 Area groups made up of participants from north Wulensi, south Wulensi and Wulensi Township were used.

For module 1 the groups recalled historical events of the district. The Old Men were able to recall events as far back as 1948, the Old and Young Women started from 1960, the Officials from 1961 while the Young men started from 1981. There were some common events to the groups, but sometimes with different dates. There were fifty events that brought negative effects on the communities, such as tribal conflicts, droughts and floods. Forty-nine events had positive effects on the community.

The perceived changes in capitals were mostly positive, but often with some negative side-effects. Changes in natural capital were judged most negative.

In the wealth categorization exercise, the groups found it quite easy to describe the very poor, poor, rich and very rich but had difficulty in describing average people. They gave several characteristics of each group. They were also able to identify people in the community who fell into the various categories. They think that the area is made up of about 34% very poor, 27% poor, 22% average, 14% rich and 3% very rich people.

The groups identified 321 interventions/projects that have ever taken place or are on-going in the district. The main initiators were the government with 39.9% of the interventions; private individuals/community with 16.2%; the Church with 12.1%; donor projects with 11.5% and NGOs with 9.7%. The major sectors of intervention were education (23.7%), infrastructure (13.7%), crop cultivation (11.5%) and health (10.9%).

About 59% of the interventions were graded double plus (++), which was the highest score. Double plus means that the perceived impact of the project was positive for the majority of the intended beneficiaries. In general most of the interventions met the expectation of the participants.

Boreholes, health/clinic, roads, the Oti bridge, electricity and primary schools were ranked best projects by the majority of the groups. There was less consensus about the worst projects. Most of the projects judged as 'worst' were mentioned by one or two groups only.

It came up clearly that some projects benefited one wealth class better than others, with some classes not benefiting at all from some projects. Most of the projects were found to affect more than 2 capitals, which was judged positively by the people. Projects that were listed among the best projects often had a positive impact on several domains.

The people had different ideas about most of the project at the time they were introduced as against now. In most cases they did not understand the projects when they were introduced hence their expectations were not met.

Introduction

As part of the development and testing of the PADEV manual, the research team organized a workshop in Wulensi in the Nanumba South District of the Northern Region of Ghana. The rationale behind choosing this area is that it has not been influenced much by development interventions that were sponsored by Prisma and ICCO.

A team of 16 members was in Wulensi for 3 days to interact with the selected participants from all sectors of the district. Participants included representatives from all government departments and agencies, traditional leaders, the clergy, traders, youth groups, women groups, farmer associations, community leaders and NGOs.

The methodology adopted is as in the PADEV manual. The participants were divided into various groups and team members took them through the modules 1 to 9. The results of the discussions on the modules are presented in this report.

1. Timeline of historical events

On the first day of the workshop, we asked the participants to draw a timeline of important events in the Wulensi area. Important events would be events that have become part of the collective memory of the people in the area and/or that have had a lasting impact on the area. The aim of this exercise was to get a quick impression of the local history of the area, seen through the eyes of the workshop participants. It also helped the participants to mentally prepare for the following exercises that were more complicated and that often involved comparing the present and the past. In our analysis, the timeline helps to embed our findings on the impact of development interventions in a historical context.

To recall the past events that the people consider as important to them groups were formed from the participants. The groups here include: Officials (O), Older Men (OM), Older Men 2 (OM2), Young Men (YM), Older Women (OW), Young Women (YW). Each of these six groups tried to recall historical events of the district, their effects on the community and finally indicated whether the effect was positive or negative. The result is presented on table 1.1

Note: The list of events mentioned in the timeline are ordered by year. However, in some cases, the participants estimated the year in the event had occurred. For some of the events mentioned in the timeline, different groups came up with different years (see below). The exact timing of the events is of minor importance, however.

The Old Men were able to recall events as far back as 1948, the Old and Young Women started from 1960, the Officials from 1961 while the Young men started from 1981. Some of the events mentioned were common to some of the groups but in some cases the dates varied hence were verified. Fifty of the events had negative effects on the communities while 49 had positive effects on the community. Some of the events bring back bad memories such as the tribal conflicts, droughts and floods. Between 1981 and 1985 all the events mentioned had negative impact on the communities hence they were periods the people will not want to experience again in life. Development interventions with positive impact such as introduction of bus transport, establishment of schools, and creation of a new district were also mentioned.

It became clear that the people do not have any written record of historical events hence this documentation will be useful to them. It will also serve as a reference material for the district.

Table 1.1: Time line of important historical events and their effects on communities

Year	Event	Effect on Community	Source	+/-
1948	Hunger because of army worm outbreak		OM	-
1950-60	Animal immunisation done centrally at Bimbila, sometimes 4 days walking to get there.		OM	+
1956	Big floods		OM	-

1957	Famine, because De Gaulle tested a bomb in the Sahara and poisonous material reached here	Many people died, became deaf etc.	OM	-
1957-1966 (presidency of Nkrumah)	Introduction of primary education in the community	At first education was still far away (Bimbila) which meant separation of families; more awareness and consciousness; ability to write; could assist others (e.g parents). Increase in employment. At first only one boy child per family was sent to school. The others had to assist in the fields, chasing monkeys. It had to be a boy since they believed that girls would loose their traditional values by becoming educated.	OW	+
1960	Epidemic of chicken pox Invasion of insects (destroyed crops and fruit trees)	Many deaths; blindness and deafness (e.g. 8 out of 12 died in one family) Famine, child trafficking (selling/ renting children in order to get money for food)	OW YW	- -
	Exposure to transportation (people shied away upon sight of the first car!)	Opened up the village; facilitated communication and increased economic productivity (e.g. selling yams directly in the markets)	OW	+
1961	Accidental landing of an helicopter		O	-
1961-62	Opening up of area through roads	More vehicles started coming (before: only 1 vehicle came sometimes)	OM	+
1962	Building of several dams by Dr Nkrumah (Wulensi, Langi, Nakpayili, Gbangbalaga) Health service available in community	Water became more available Dying out of leprosy as disease, and increase of farm productivity	OW	+
1963	Nakpayili market opened	More commerce	OM	+
1964	Building of first dam	The water in the dam had to be protected against pollution and water-borne diseases, the still water caused guinea worm disease. Women don't have to walk far to fetch water (12 miles to go to the river)	OW	+
1964/65	Outbreak of boils / anthrax (<i>Ankarazukwale</i>)	Many people died or made deaf. 'Half the population'	OM	-

1965	Big floods Guinea worm infection	Decrease of economic productivity	OM OW	- -
1966	Construction of first borehole	Availability of clean drinking water	OW	+
1968-69	Introduction of pit latrines Building of slaughterhouses	Toilet available for visitors, cleaner environment Less flies on meat, less diseases	OW	+ +
1969	Eye disease, <i>Apollo</i>	Many infected	OM	-
1970s	Introduction of grinding mill Conflict over community bushfire	Saving time of grinding, more time for farming, spare time to make medicines for pregnant and lactating women. People leaving community temporarily because fire destroyed some households.	OW YW	+ -
1972-73	Heavy rains	Flooding, destroying crops, famine	YW	-
1972	"Operation Feed Yourself" This occurred during Acheampong's government	Agric inputs were subsidized by government. Women were encouraged to farm. This resulted in increased total output. The market prices of produce was also good	OM2	+
1973-81	Regular guinea worm outbreaks. In Gbangb. Even till 2003, then 6 boreholes and guinea worm clinic built.	Many children affected, even going to church was difficult	OM	-, +
1975	First school in Kpansu	Reading, writing, no more going to Wulensi for everything	OM	+
mid-1970s	Conflict over the community bush fire	People leaving the community temporary because fire destroyed some households	YW	-
1976 (Acheampong's presidency)	Construction of first borehole National Reconstruction Programme	Availability of clean drinking water State farms were made. The produce of the farms were sold to community members	OW OM2	+ +
1978-79	Outbreak of a crop disease (yam and cassava)	Famine	YW	-
1979	Floods	Roads to go to Accra were blocked		-
1980s	Stimulation of girls' education	Less teenage pregnancies -> improved girl's health	OW	+

1981	Tribal conflict locally referred to as Batul conflict (named after the instigator of the conflict). Nanumba-Konkomba Tribal Conflict	Loss of lives, property and hunger due to inability of farmers to produce. Dormitory block of the only secondary school in the place burnt down and almost all teachers fled leading to the close down of the school for about 3 years. Houses destroyed, Cattle killed, Farms destroyed, Human lives lost, occurrence of diarrheal sicknesses, Government workers refused postings, Seeds for farming destroyed	O, OM YM OM2	-
1981, 1984	Floods in Jima area	Farm crops, fishermen affected	YM	-
1982	No seeds for farming	No farming; hunger. Depend on food aid	OM2	-
1981-83	Droughts	Famine, increase in child mortality, outbreak of cholera and other diseases related to malnutrition; secondary health problems	YW	-
1983	Severe drought Occurrence of wildfires	Poor yield, Occurrence of bushfires, Water sources dried up, Neighbouring communities like Lungni and Damanko came to fetch water from the Wulensi dam Burnt vegetation and farms	OM2	-
1984	Severe hunger	No food. Barley, yellow maize, wheat food support was given by the USA government	OM2	-
1983/84	Drought Cholera outbreak	Famine and malnutrition Loss of valuable lives	O, OM, YW	- -
1984	Locust plague across the area	Infestation eating crops, reducing food supply	YM	-
1984-86	Guinea worm	Affected farmers' ability to work, school attendance, people stayed home and did not work	YM, OM2	-
1984	Locust plague across the area	Infestation eating crops, reducing food supply	YM	-
1985	Heavy rains (Floods) Cholera outbreak	Buildings collapsed, Thunder killed some people, Farms were destroyed Loss of human lives	OM2	-
1985-86	Good yields (partly as a result of introduction of new variety of crops - water yam)	End of famine	YW	+
1986	Influx of Fulani herdsmen (cattle)	Increasing pressure on land	YM	-

1986	Boreholes were built by Japanese and later Canadian government	Good quality drinking water	OM2	+
1986-90	Outbreak of unknown diseases (general body pain)	Many people died; food shortage, as farmers mostly affected	YW	-
1989-1998	Tribal war	Market closed - decrease in economic activities, migration, vanishing of some traditional events, unrest, lack of leadership, land tenure issues	YW	-
1989	Introduction of water pumps	Reduces affect of guinea worm	YM	+
1990s	First schools, health centres built across the region		YM	+
1991(1992?)	Establishment of Wulensi Secondary School.	Boosted human resource development of the area through increased access to secondary education.	O, OM	+
1992 - 2000	Introduction of second borehole	Availability of clean drinking water	OW	+
1993	Bus system started, public transport till Wulensi		OM	+
1993/94	Outbreak of measles	Many children died	O	-
1994	The guinea fowl conflict locally referred to as Konkomba war 2	Loss of lives, property and hunger due inability of farmers to produce. Over 50 villages totally burnt down and many people migrated to safer parts of the country.	O, OM, YM	-
	Nanumba-Konkomba Tribal Conflict	This was more severe than the earlier conflict leading to massive destruction of lives and property. The immediate cause of the conflict was over a guinea fowl.	OM2	-
	Visit by President Rawlings	Help calm down the escalated conflict and facilitated the peace process.	O	+
1994/95-present	Dispute over chieftaincy	Market closed - decrease in economic activities, migration, vanishing of some traditional events, unrest, lack of leadership, land tenure issues	YW	-

1995	<p>The Kokomba - Nanumba conflict locally referred to as Kokomba war 3.</p> <p>Conflict continued</p> <p>End of regular measles outbreaks, because of vaccination + de-worming. End of regular outbreaks of '<i>ja-aja</i>' (big sores and boils), because of injections given</p>	<p>Lost of lives, property and hunger due inability of farmers to produce. Economic activities came into a halt leading to poverty. Students could not go to school and Wulensi Secondary School had to be taught along side those of Bimbila Secondary School which negatively affected their performance. Smaller communities such as Lungni and Nakpayili had to migrate to the bigger communities like Wulensi</p>	<p>O, OM, YW, YM</p> <p>OM2</p> <p>OM</p>	<p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>+</p> <p>+</p>
1995/96	<p>Guinea worm outbreak</p> <p>Bridge replaced the need for a ferry to cross river Oti</p>	<p>Productive time lost and food production slowed down because farmers could not go to farm. Water sources got polluted following the conflict hence the outbreak of the sickness. The water bodies were subsequently treated and the people taught to sieve their water.</p>	<p>O</p> <p>OM2</p> <p>OM</p>	<p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>+</p>
1996	Bi-election violence	Violence	YM	
1996	<p>Commissioning of bridge</p> <p>Visit by president Rawlings</p> <p>ADRA Support - introduced tree crops, especially cashew</p> <p>CRS came, support</p>	<p>Boosted free movement of goods and services to and fro the district.</p> <p>Peace process accelerated and since then no conflict has resurfaced in the area.</p> <p>regular source of income ADRA supported community members with soya seed and cashew seedlings and also food aid of maize and rice to enable the people re-establish their livelihoods.</p> <p>helped a lot in education CRS rehabilitated school buildings, help restore schools back to action</p>	<p>O</p> <p>OM</p> <p>OM2</p> <p>OM OM2</p>	<p>+</p> <p>+</p> <p>+</p> <p>+</p>

1997	Chief of Nanumba (Wulensi King) died Outbreak of Cerebrospinal meningitis (CSM)	Traditional customs and practices almost halted. Disruption of dispute resolution in the community Loss of life and panic among residents as an old woman had her room burnt down and she was banished on suspicion that she was the cause of deaths resulting from CSM infections.	O OM2	- -
1998	An outbreak of army worms/locusts	Widespread hunger due to poor crop harvest, food insecurity and related issues.	O	-
1999	Commissioning of mechanised water system Commissioning of electricity	Improved access to potable water and reduction in guinea worm and other water borne diseases in the area. Boosted economic development	O O	+ +
2000	Paramount Chief En-skin Construction of feeder roads to communities, e.g. Wulensi-Kpansu Electricity came to Wulensi	Tradition continued Exposure to the world, possibilities for external communication negative: electricity bill has to be paid, not everybody connected, only those able to buy meters, electrical shocks	O, OM2 OM OM, OW	+ + +
early 2000	Outbreak of guinea-worms disease	lots of amputation, affected mostly farmers => lack of food => famine	YW	-
2003	Floods Use of metal containers for carrying water	 Reducing workload for women	OM OW	-
2004	Visit of President Kufuor Drought	Promised to create new district and did created it. Crops were destroyed and many animals died.	O, YW	+ -
2004/05	Creation and inauguration of the new Nanumba South District	Enhancement in socio-economic and political development of the area.	O, YM	+
2005	Launching of District Medium Term Development Plan Creation of Nanumba South district	Help shaped the development agenda of the district. Development opportunities Wulensi is the district capital so it would develop	O OM, OM2	+
2005/06	Exceptional good year for harvest. Good rains	Even hard to find enough trucks to bring to Accra	OM	+

2006	Rumour of renewal of Konkomba-Nanumba war Communication arrived: mobile phone network Prayer camp in Lumni Huge storm	People lived in fear and this affected their productivity and economic activities of the area. Many houses destroyed, homeless people	O OM, YW YM YW	- + + -
2006	Prayer camp killing		YM	-
2007	Floods occurred		OM2	-
2007	Sister city relations Storm	Exchange visits with Otiho city in USA to discuss areas of possible co-operations. Many houses, schools and health posts had their roofs blown off because of the strong winds. People were rendered homeless, school children could not go to school and the sick could not seek treatment from health centres.	O O, YW	+ -
2007/08	Floods	River Oti flooded as a result of opening dams in Burkina Faso; villages along the river (Jimmam) got affected -> many people lost their lives and households, causing severe flooding and damage to lives and property	YW, OM2	-
2008	Return of fire festival		YW	+
2008/09	Floods occurred around the Oti River Fertilizer services came Bumper harvest of cassava and yam Bimbila-Wulensi road completed	Foodstuff carried away and whole communities washed away. Some communities were also cut off from the main communities as bridges collapsed. Farms including the local best farmer's farm were destroyed. Poor yield of tubers are expected in the coming farming season due to the effects of flood deficit. Happiness. Easier movement, but more road accidents	O, OM2 OM YW YM	- - + + +
2009	Too much rain SIFs and IDC working in Wulensi	Poor harvest, flooding Improving agriculture	OM YM	- +

2010	Road gravelled for first time since 1981		OM	+
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Note: Officials (O), Older Men 1 (OM1), Older Men 2 (OM2), Young Men (YM), Older Women (OW), Young Women (YW)

2. Perceptions about changes in capitals

A second activity during the first day of the workshop was to assess the perceptions about changes in six domains (or capitals/capabilities): the natural, physical, economic, human, social-political and cultural domain. People were asked to use a time perspective of 25-30 years. We asked the participants to “compare the situation now, with the time when your father/mother was your current age”.

The purpose of this exercise was to assess how the people in the area have perceived the positive and negative changes in their surroundings. This is the context in which development interventions have taken place. In subsequent exercises we try to find out to what extent these interventions can be linked to the changes that have occurred in the different domains.

The findings about change are presented in six tables (2.1 to 2.6), one for each capital.

Table 2.1: Perceptions About Changes in Natural Capitals

Domain	Positive changes	Negative changes
Land	Reduced land related conflicts (OM, O) Women now have farms; this supports the family. The man's income is for the use the whole clan while the woman's income is for the family (OM2). Women have access to land and can possess land titles (OW).	We used to have enough family land, but reduced because of in migration. Building land was easily available. Now you have to pay to the chief (OM) Double sales of lands causing misunderstandings (O) There is reduced availability of land due to increased population. The timing of the harmattan season has charged (OM2). Overgrazing of land reducing quality; Fulani people setting fires reducing soil fertility and erosion; (YM).
Soil	People shift to other income generating activities due to decreased social fertility (OM, O). Introduction of fertilizer (YM).	Soil fertility declined. To get a good yield we now need to apply chemical fertiliser. (OM) Decreased soil fertility leading to poor crop yields. (O). Soil fertility has reduced weed infestation has increased They now have to use increasing quantities of chemical fertilizer (OM2). Decrease of soil fertility by climate changes and overpopulation (overuse) and use of chemical fertilizers (OW). Fertility reducing, herdsman cattle is making soil harder to work (YM). Decline in land fertility (YW).

Water	Improved water availability (O). There are now boreholes and dams so we do not need to go far to fetch water. (OM). In almost every community there is a borehole Some are mechanized (OM2). Increase water availability and quantity (OW)	Availability problems due to incoherence of rain intensity and distribution needed for farming use (OW). Rain times have become irregular; fewer bodies of water (YM).
Animals	Introduction of new and cross breeds of animals increased stock numbers (O). Fulani herdsmen are now looking after our cattle and therefore our children can go to school. Our cows are now cross-breeds with Fulani cattle which is very good. Increased veterinary services. Young people can now own cattle (OM). Rearing of small ruminants is picking up again after a fall due to the ethnic conflict (MO2). Rearing guinea fowls for income (YW).	Group hunting of wild animals, destruction of farm produce, overgrazing (O). Fulani herdsmen cause overgrazing. They also cut down economic trees and burn wildfires (OM2). Decrease of animals due to diseases. Fulani farm workers badly taking care of cattle (OW). Herdsman drive away wild animals; population pressure has led to increased tree felling reducing wildlife; less fish catch because of overfishing (YM). Decline of fish in Oti-river, because of the flood (YW).
Forest	Introduction of teak plantations (OM). Agro-forestry is practiced. Teak and cashew nut plantations also established a nursery for moringa, oil palm and grafted mango established (OM2). Better to have open spaces in surroundings (like nowadays) than dense forest (wild animals) (OW) Some limited forestation of cash crops, teak, mango, palm (YM). More discriminate bush fires > enhance the production of "economic trees" (shear and dawa dawa) [in some of the areas] (YW).	Deforestation (O). Deforestation because of charcoal burning. This causes the land to become infertile and it reduces the rain (OM). Deforestation leaves the land bare (OM2). Deforestation due through overpopulation (OW). Felling of trees leading to erosion (YM). Indiscriminate bush fires => lowering the production of "economic trees" (shear and dawa dawa) [in some of the areas] (YW).
Plants and crops	More early-maturing and high yielding crop varieties and fruits introduced (O). Increase in dry season gardening. Introduction of new crops like soya beans, vegetables, cashew, moringa and new varieties of rice and cowpea. We now have chemicals to weed for us (OM). Dry season vegetable gardening is practice. Water melon, yellow melon, green pepper etc grown (OM2). Introduction of new seeds (soybeans and black beans) (OW)	It has become difficult to weed because of spear grass (OM). Late burning is practiced (OM2). Crop yield lower because of environmental changes (YM).

The changes in **Natural Capital** due to introduction of new interventions were all considered positive but the changes due to activities of the people in the communities were all negative (table 2.1).

Though there were more positive changes mentioned the overall change as a result of the worsening nature of the environment seems negative.

Table 2.2: Perceptions About Changes in Physical Capitals

Domain	Positive changes	Negative changes
Roads and bridges	Improved road network that facilitates movement of goods and services to and fro the district (O). More and better roads and feeder roads. Bridges now made of concrete. Used to be made of wood (OM). Bimbila - Wulensi road rehabilitated (OM2). Improvement of roads: cars can go faster, more comfortable travel, visitors can access the area (OW). Generally improved/more roads, bridges and transport (YM). Improvement in roads (YW).	Over speeding have increased causing accidents (OM). There is more dust and accidents now (OM2). Roads are not yet finished (dust) (OW).

Buildings Structures /	<p>More houses roofed with zinc and block houses now being built. Traditional architecture of circular buildings now gives way to rectangular buildings (O). We used to have thatch roofs. Now more and more people have zinc roofs and some have cement block walls. So we don't need to maintain our houses every year (OM). MoFA Office, District Assembly Buildings, schools are now in community. Also the number of sandcrete buildings increased replacing the mud buildings which are not strong. Young are also now allowed to move out of their father's houses and build their own houses. (OM2). Grinding mill: saving time of grinding -> more time for farming, spare time to make medicines for pregnant and lactating women (OW). Concrete housings diminish fear of burning (OW). Increase of schools, hospitals, library, religious schools (YM). More school buildings instead of teaching under the trees (YW). More permanent housing structure (use of cement and stones instead of mud and wattle) (YW).</p>	Zinc roofs cause erosion when it rains (OM).
Dams	<p>Construction of dam leading to increased water availability (O). Now there are dams that we use for gardening and drinking water, both for livestock and humans (many of us prefer to drink the dam water when we work on our farms) (OM). Wulensi dam constructed in 1963 (OM2). Water more easily available: women have more time available for farming (OW). 3 dams for irrigation (and sometimes drinking) created (YM). Thanks to wider spread of water-pipes and boreholes, the use of dam in Wulensi can be limited to agric-related activities (YW).</p>	Siltation of dam and seepage (O). The dam wall is allowing seepage of water in recent years (OM2). Water-borne diseases introduced (OW).

Wells and boreholes	Potable water leading to reduction in guinea worm and other water borne diseases (O). See natural capital (water) (OM). Many have constructed following the guinea worm outbreak (OM2). Women have more time available for farming; water more easily available perception of women: contribution to decrease/eradication of leprosy and communicable diseases (OW). More boreholes mean less guinea worm (YM). More boreholes and water pipes => improvement in people's health(YW).	More borehole breakdowns (YM). Water in boreholes not very tasty (according to the elderly of the villages who still prefer the dam water) (YW).
Farm tools	Introduction of tractors and other improved farm tools such as bullock ploughs (O). More people use tractors which enables them to farm more land. Introduction of machines to process cassava into gari (OM). Use of metal containers for carrying water: less fragile than traditional clay pots, less physical labour needed by availability of shared tractors (OW). Weedicide use reducing need for labour; SIF sometimes ploughs for you and provides seeds and fertiliser; sometimes can hire tractor driver for mechanised ploughing (YM).	Heavy farm machines if not well used can lead to land degradation. (O).
Telecommunication	More access to mobile phones than before. (O). Better communication because of mobile phones and because of TV we are more aware of events in the rest of the country and world (OM). Improved due to the presents of mobile phones (OM2). Availability of mobile phones stimulates communication (OW). Computers but no internet; mobile phones connecting to Bimbila in 2000 (YM). More wild-spread of mobile phones, speakers and radio improved community communication (YW).	Post office now redundant, free night calls affecting studies of youngsters and increase crimes (O). Armed robbers use mobile phones and it also makes it easier for women to cheat on their husband.TV used to watch pornography (OM).

Electricity	Increased economic activity (O). Electricity has come to Wulensi and some villages along the main road (OM). Most communities have electricity since 1996 due to the national rural electrification programme (OM2). Exposure to the world through external communication (OW). Link to Bimbila main electricity grid in 1999 (YM). More wild spread use of electricity (YW).	Fire outbreaks due to electric faults (O). Houses can burn down because of electricity or people can be electrocuted (OM). Electricity has to be paid not everybody connected, only those who are able to buy meters, electrical shocks (OW).
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There have been some **Physical** development interventions that have brought enhancement in the lives of the people hence their assertion that the physical changes are positive. This is true of the area because the increase in physical infrastructure has opened up the district. The roads for example have made movement easier but have increased the dust and may result in respiratory diseases (2.2). Wells and boreholes have brought relief from water borne diseases, electricity has increased economic activities and enhanced pupils and students studies. The positive outweigh the negative.

Table 2.3: Perceptions About Changes in Human Capitals

Domain	Positive changes	Negative changes
Knowledge	Improved knowledge of modern farm techniques and post-harvest storage (OM). People are now more knowledgeable than before (O). More knowledge on yam farming (introduced by Konkumba), checking crop prices before selling (mobile phones) (OW). More long-term planning because of surplus through agri-business. Agriculture extension taught women "alternative farming" (e.g. rearing guinea fowls). Family planning: less children, but better educated. Agriculture extension taught more long-term crop planning (YW).	

<p>Education levels / enrolment</p>	<p>Increased school enrolments, literacy and more young people get into the teaching profession (O). Twenty years ago there was only one school in Wulensi Town. Now there are seven primary, 4 JHS and a SHS plus schools in the communities. Reduction in years of school due to system reform. Positive because you can enter the labour market early (OM). Increased enrolment in schools (OM2). Increase of employment more awareness and consciousness, ability to write (OW). Generally improved education levels makes people feel like they can associate with others who have more education/knowledge creating a flow on effect; numbers of educated increasing especially up to end of primary schooling (YM). More schools in villages. More children go to school. Non-formal adult education. "Alternative farming" increased women's income that is spent on children's education (YW).</p>	<p>Loss of traditional values (OW).</p>
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Health	<p>Reduced child mortality due to elimination of six childhood killer diseases (O). Nowadays the health workers come to us for vaccinations and child measurement. Before we had to go to them. Introduction of National Health Insurance Scheme. Now there is a clinic in Wulensi. Family planning has reduced the number of children (OM). Increased number of health post in the area. High birth rate due to improve health care delivery e.g. occurrence of cholera, guinea worm, polio has reduced (OM2). Decrease maternal death western hospital and medicines available, treatment possible for all kind of communicable and other diseases (e.g. hernia) (OW). Before the health centre was in Tamale, now they are in Wulensi though not at village level; improved access to treatment for symptoms; improved health knowledge generally (YM). Improvement thanks to introduction of electricity -> use of fans and lights keep people indoor that improved personal safety. "Alternative farming" increased women's income that is spent on health-care for children. Increase in men's life-expectancy, because of tractors and use of farming implements and fertilizers (YW).</p>	<p>High deaths among youth and increasing HIV/AIDS cases, decreasing number of traditional birth attendants (TBAs) (O). The cost of health care is high. Stroke is now a common occurrence in the community. Knee and sight problems have also increased (OM2). Health services have to be paid for; some mistrust government and also their HIS, others claim to be poor and end up spending more on health cost (OW).</p>
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Hygiene	Improved sanitation and environmental hygiene due the presence of Zoomlion Ghana (O). Now we have containers for disposal of refuse. Stopped indiscriminate disposal of refuse (OM). Introduction of pit latrines: toilet available for visitors. Cleaner environment, building of slaughterhouses: less flies on meat -> fewer diseases (OW). People are educated not to drink stagnant water or are given purification pills if they must (YM). Improved in hygiene, because of extra clothing (underwear) and personal care (YW).	Public toilets have all broken down (OM).
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Though there few **Human capital** interventions mentioned their effects are very important bringing a lot of change in the area (table 2.3). Knowledge gained has improved school enrolment, health facilities and treatment improvement has raise live expectancy resulting in high productivity. These interventions will result in a changed society for the better in the near future. They are good indicators of development.

Table 2.4: Perceptions About Changes in Economic Capitals

Domain	Positive changes	Negative changes
Women in farming and trading	More women getting involved in trading and farming and now win best farmer positions (O). Many women now engaged in tie & dye batik making (OM). Introduction of female farming -> increase in income for women (OW). Now women work in agriculture in groups, before only men; shift to cash crops as well as food crops (YM). Food prices increased because of food scarcity => extra profit (for some). Improvement in roads enhanced and facilitates economic activities. Mothers learned how to process and market cassava, so they don't have to carry firewood to the markets any longer (YW).	Food prices increased because of food scarcity (YW).

Access to money	<p>There is improved access to money (O). Better marketing opportunities for our farm produce, hence more money. In the olden days yam farmers had to sell their yams in the market. Nowadays the traders come to them to buy produce (OM). Women able to spend money (for sending girls and boys to school and paying for school necessities) (OW). Through youth employment more paid work from which money can be reinvested into farming; before traders cheated locals but now less so because of education (YM). "Alternative farming" increased women's income; better spread of income all over the year (YW).</p>	<p>Still difficult to get access to money (OM). Decline of fish in Oti-river => less trading of fish => decline in income of some women (YW).</p>
Access to credits / banks	<p>Improved access to credit as a result of operations of NGOs (O). It now easier to do bank transactions because of increased services in Bimbila (but still no bank in Bimbila) (OM). Access to credit via bank savings (OW). Increased access to loans/credit especially from Bimbila for investment (YM). Group formation (women's saving groups) (YW).</p>	
Market structures	<p>Improved market sheds and stores (O). Increased market surroundings (OM). Latrines have been built (OM2). More people buying on markets due to increased awareness on their existence (OW). New markets for selling produce; mechanisation of agricultural processing (YM). Restoring local markets (because of the conflict yam market was moved to Accra) (YW).</p>	<p>Decreased patronage of local market due to previous conflict (O). Reduce market patronage due to the conflict and the bad condition of the road (OM2). Market imbalance: more opportunities to buy, less to sell (trading and wholesaling) (OW).</p>
Shops and kiosks	<p>Increased number of shops and kiosks (O). Increased availability of goods and services to buy (OM). More shops and drugstores (OW). More shops etc to buy products which "Improves quality of living" (YM).</p>	<p>Lack of money to buy things (daily own consumption) (OW).</p>

Transport	More vehicles are now being used and this has made travelling easier (O). There are more and better vehicles now and there is a huge increase in motorbike ownership. It is easier to travel now. In the olden days we believed that if a black man rides a bicycle or a motorbike, he will die (a taboo). This belief no longer exists. Then it took about a year to reach Mecca by foot. Now it is much easier by plane if only you have the money (OM). Most young men have motorbikes. The bus service is helping the community (OM2). Transport possibilities available to sell produce, keep social network (OW). More transport availability generally (YM).	Rough riding, lost of lives and dust through motorbikes. (O)
Paid jobs	Increased number of paid jobs (O). Increase in paid jobs and increase in money paid (OM). More work > improvement of economic situation (OW). National Youth Employment Scheme (YM).	Increase in army enrolment > increase of domestic violence (OW).
Remittances	Increased remittances by migrant workers (O). Remittances from our migrants in Saudi Arabia increased greatly and are used to build houses (OM). Children send money > support for economic base of household (OW). Temporary migration and remittances during the conflict time (YW).	Our women who go to Accra to work as kayayei (head porters) (OM). Family that go "south" contract diseases and bring back little money (YM).

Economic capital development has positive effects on the community as a whole (table 2.4). Traditionally women were not allowed to engage in economic activities hence they were suppressed and all the financial burden of the family lay on the men. The exposure of women to economic activities has resulted in increase in household income which is mainly used to feed the family and provide for the children. The opening up of the community to trade facilitated by the construction of the market, provision of credit from the few financial institutions in the area has enhanced their economic power. Though there are few negatives that have developed as a result of the economic interventions generally it is more positive.

Table 2.5: Perceptions About Changes in Socio-Political Capitals

Domain	Positive changes	Negative changes
Family relations	<p>Women are now more involved in decision-making. Used to be only men. More unity in families (OM). More independence of the youth. Women can now also put up their own buildings although they still with their husbands in his house (OM2). Introduction of mobile phones: family relations could be maintained despite distance (OW). Less eating together from the "same bowl" reduces diseases (YM). Less arranged marriages because of education "Alternative farming" increased women's income => increased role of a woman in family's economic planning together with a husband [for some]. Fewer children because of family planning. Intra-household decision-making increased as a result of education and increased in relative income of women (YW).</p>	<p>Breakdown in extended family system and early marriages (O). Persons who cause teenage pregnancies are unpunished (OM2). Less eating together from the "same bowl" less unity (YM). Alternative farming" increased women's income =>some men fear loss of respect (YW).</p>
Political parties	<p>Increase number of political parties that help deepened democracy (O). Less conflict and violence in election times (last elections were very peaceful). Women can now have high positions in political parties (OM). Constituencies increased from 1 to 2 Youth and women are now given a voice (OM2). Current government (NPP) has more interest in N-Ghana (OW). 2 political parties dominate (YM).</p>	<p>Increased tensions among people rivals (O). Some politicians are telling tribal lies nowadays which cause confusion (OM). Politics has been used to cause trouble among and between ethnic groups. The youth have also become lazy, loitering and discussing politics (OM2). Uncomfortable talking about political topics. Afraid they will be assigned to a certain political party (OW). 2 political parties dominate, Konkomba do not really participate (YM).</p>

NGOs	<p>More NGOs that assist community develop through formation of functional groups (O). First NGO activities were concentrated in Bimbila. Now they are also coming to Wulensi (OM). Grameen Ghana, TechnoServe, TIDA, CRS, CAMFID, CIFS. They have about 12 NGOs (OM2). More NGOs and more NGO projects e.g. SIFs, IDC, Grameen Ghana, Action Aid (YM). Increased presence of NGOs (YW).</p>	<p>Introduced snacks and per diems at meetings making community mobilisation especially by extension agents more difficult (O). Some work along political and other favoured group lines. The level of intervention is also inadequate (OM2).</p>
Associations (women, youth, men)	<p>More women associations formed and women more empowered (O). There is more group formation (e.g. Farmer network, yam sellers association), often to access credit (OM). Farmer groups (these are communal labour groups). They also have commodity groupings eg yam farmers (OM2). Schools build social relationships; more community groups; more religious association in buildings (YM). Group formation (women's saving groups) (YW).</p>	<p>More women giving little attention to child upbringing leading to child delinquency (O)</p>
Leadership	<p>Improved leadership at both the community and district levels (O). Now less/none of agricultural harvest going to chiefs; more opportunities to take on leadership roles (YM).</p>	<p>The chieftaincy succession system changed which causes more conflict (in whole Nanumba Area) (OM). Leaders command less respect than before (YM). Conflict over the chieftaincy (lack of paramount chief) (YW).</p>
Land tenure	<p>Reduced conflicts relating to land ownerships (O). Access to land for women (OW). Chiefs decide on land use and "give it out" and do not charge to work the land, however you have to pay for the land if you want to build a house (YM).</p>	<p>More pressure on land which causes disagreements about boundaries (also within ethnic groups) (OM). Some negative because you have to always go back to the chief (YM). Conflict over the chieftaincy put the traditional land distribution arrangements on hold (YW).</p>

There have been a lot of positive **Socio-political Capital** (table 2.5) changes as a result of influences from other societies but the few negatives are very disturbing. Political misunderstanding brings a lot of tension in the area. Some traditional values are being lost and this is a concern to the elderly in the communities. The breakdown in the extended family system has its negative effects that need to be seriously considered for development.

Table 2.6: Perceptions About Changes in Cultural Capitals

Domain	Positive changes	Negative changes
Christianity and Islam	Increased presence of Islam and Christianity (O). Conversion to Islam and Christianity (OM). Christianity and Islam viewed positively because past gods were "not so good and created problems" ... they were "heretics"; it has helped them move freely, helped with education, ended forced marriages, interethnic marriage possible because of this (YM).	Breakdown in the traditional system due to Christianity and Islam which are lenient in meting out punishments for wrong actions by individuals (i.e. the Christian or Moslem God is too lenient unlike the traditional one). (O)
Ethnicity	More ethnic groups now move into the district (O). More peace and unity among Nanumba and Konkomba (more conflict in the past). Example - Konkomba children from the villages who go to JSS or SSS in Wulensi now stay with Nanumba families (there are virtually no Konkomba families in town) (OM). Ethnic lines less strong/absolute because of a mix of religion and education, now "a union together" (YM).	Increasing heterogeneity of district lead to population growth and pressure on the land and other resources. (O). Negative consequences of Fulani herdsmen in-migration (their cattle destroy farms, cases of rape) (OM).
Languages	More diversity in language (i.e. More languages now spoken) (O). Education has "transformed:"and "sophisticated" language (YM).	
Music and dance		Increased patronage of record dance at the expense of traditional music and dance (O). Traditional dance and music is disappearing and replaced by modern music and dance that is profane and without respect (OM). Western record dances lea to sexual promiscuity and teenage pregnancies (OM2). Some old dances are being lost (YM). Conflict over the chieftaincy result in ban of cultural events (e.g. fire festivals) (YW).
Clothes	More clothing: don't have share own cloths with men (OW). Change in dress positive because before showed out "tribal marks" in the cities, modern dress still used on special occasions and use of modern dress is a personal choice (YM).	Changing fashions and dressing that negatively influence morality of the youth (O). Women now wear trousers (OM). Women now wear short dresses and also trousers which are not culturally acceptable (OM2). Modern dress is not modest (YM).

Food	More nutritious and variety of foods that improve healthy growth (O). Better utensils for cooking, buckets, etc (OM). Increased food diversity (introduction of soy milk; soy bean porridge) (OW). Rice is now accepted; maize easier to get; Fufu (traditional pounded yam) is still a sign of wealth if able to be made in the house; cooking bowls now have covers; more food variety eg soy, millet (YM)	Some chemicals used in food production have serious health implications (O). Drunkenness among the youth ha increased. The use of Magi flavouring instead of the traditional dawadawa (OM2)
Appropriate behaviour	No more marriages by betrothing Child labour reduced. Family heads are no longer allowed to inherit the property of the diseased but the children are (OM2). Television also prompt adequate behaviour (which parents want their children to copy change: mothers stimulate girl's education (OW). Modernisation processes couple with a declining respect for elders, means people pay less attention to juju (negative ritual [superstition?]) (YM)	Deteriorating code of conduct and proper behaviour among youth (O). Respect for politicians has reduced. Increase of theft cases because materialism and jealousy (OM). No punishment for culprits of teenage pregnancies (OM2). Introduction of TV: loss of cultural identity (OW).
Migration	Migrant workers to south of the country remit to families back home (O). Large number of migrants since British rule > knowledge on yam farming (OW)	Migrant workers live in harsh weather conditions in the big cities (O). More and more girls and women go to Accra to work as kayayei. This brings a lot of problems (e.g. Undesired pregnancies) and they almost don't contribute to the household (OM). Overpopulation (OW). More migration "to become rich", people move may contract (unspecified) diseases, become thieves, and/or try to break control family has over you (YM). Temporary migration caused problem of HIV/AIDS (YW).
Ritual performance	Decreasing ritual performances which are good for Muslims and Christians (O). Killing and battering of women accused of witchcraft has stopped and betrothing of daughters also. Most have changed rather than been lost... the function of the ritual has changed so that it is now practiced as tradition and "cant protect your life" (YM)	Chief of Wulensi do not longer go to Bimbila to celebrate Damba festival and breakdown in societal norms, customs and values (O). Strong reduction in celebration of yam festivals (traditional) due to advent of Christianity and Islam (OM)

3. Wealth classification

One of the objectives of the Participatory Assessment of Development project is to learn more about local perceptions of the differential impact of development interventions on different wealth groups. Which types of interventions are most capable of reaching the poor and very poor? Before we asked the workshop participants to express their views on project impacts, we first needed to investigate local perceptions on these wealth groups. Are there specific names/labels for these groups in the local language. How do people in Wulensi distinguish the poor from the rich? Which criteria do they use? What kind of people belong to the different groups? Most research dealing with local perceptions of wealth and poverty use three categories (poor, average, rich). To achieve a higher level of nuance, we used five categories (very poor, poor, average, rich, very rich).

We also asked how the wealth groups were distributed in the workshop participants' communities. To answer this last question, the workshop participants were asked to distribute twenty stones among the wealth categories, each stone representing five percent of the community's population.

Table 3.1 describes the local perceptions of wealth and poverty and table 3.2 shows the local perception of the distribution of wealth categories in the participants' communities.

There is a generational difference as well as gender differences to the criteria for wealth classification. The same groups based on generations and gender, were used for this classification. It was quite difficult for the groups to agree on the local terminologies for the various wealth levels. When the agreement was arrived at defining the criteria became easier.

Factors used in wealth classification in the area include: the number of people under ones control, ability to feed and solve family problems, the type of clothing worn, number of vehicles and animals, the type of house one lives in, the size of farm and the ability to assist the community.

Table 3.1: Criteria for Wealth Classification in Wulensi

Category	Criteria and characteristics	Type of individuals or functions / jobs
Very rich Bundantale	(also Iarlantale) Born rich/inherited, always plenty of food, fleet of vehicles to earn money, able to do the economic planning, some are philanthropists and some greedy, ability to borrow/provide for the poorest of the community so they can attend the social functions; provides for local social services (e.g. school) (YW)	traders, businessmen (YW)
Bundana	Has many cattle, Has many people who depend on him, Helpful to community, has a big house and many people, Uses sophisticate farms tools like tractors and cars. Can buy things to his satisfaction (OM)	Big time community farmers and traders. Often combine farming with trading (OM)
Naa	Owns all land and all trees in community status (all visitors are introduced to the chief upon arrival in community) (OW)	Chief (OW)
Bundaba	More than 4 concrete houses, More than 6 cattle, A lorry and a tractor, (Billionaire) (OM2)	Commercial Farmer Employs labour in his

		business. Sits far and manages his employees (OM2)
Bundana	12000 yam lines, 30 cows, 10 acres maize or rice, more than one tractor (YM) They have more than 50 cattle heads; They have a block house; They own 20 ha of land; Tractors; 2 or more wives; Give money to committees in case of needs; Responsible for the family, pays school fees, 3 squared meals a day; Possession of a commercial vehicle (O)	Very big farmer (YM) Politicians; transport company owners; Commercial farmers; Chiefs, NGO directors (but not all of them); Committee director (O)
Rich Bundana / larlana	Enough to eat through the year, can provide enough for the family members, can afford to send children to best schools, children are wearing fashionable/fancy cloths (YW)	Boutique-owner, formal jobs, businessmen (YW)
Ligrelana	Always has appreciable ready cash on him/her to solve immediate problems, Dresses well and does not depend on others for his livelihood. Has many depends but not as many as Bundana (OM)	Traders/Commercial traders and high level politicians (OM)
Ligrelana	4 cattle, 4 tractors, Farms, 2 - 4 houses, Lorry or tractor but not both, (Millionaire) (OM2)	Commercial farmer, trader, transport owner Does not manage his business from far. In contact with employees (OM2)
Bundana	Two types: wealth (income and material) and size of family, animals they possess can't be counted, bed with a mattress clean (white) floor, good and clean clothes, give financial and social support to others (but ask interest for this) (OW) 4 acres of rice, 4 acres of maize, at least 10 cows, able to look well after family, yams: 4 acres, tractor (YM)	Farmers and traders (money lenders or lending of food, e.g. yams) (OW) Farmer (YM)
Lahalana	Block house property; commercial vehicle; 1 or 2 wives; 5 - 10 cattle heads; Grinding mill (O)	Contractors; Business people, Commercial farmers; Public and civil servants, transport owners; (O)
Average Sunsumi	Can get three meals per day, have four sets of cloths, including one for special occasions, is not able to help others, enough to access health care, "moderate life" (YW) Can cater for himself and family but not much more. May own a motor bike from high purchase. Does not need support of others to meet his basic needs. (OM) Can feed and cloth family is self reliant (OM2)	Mostly farmers, some small table-top and head-top businesses (YW) Civil servants, small farmers (OM)

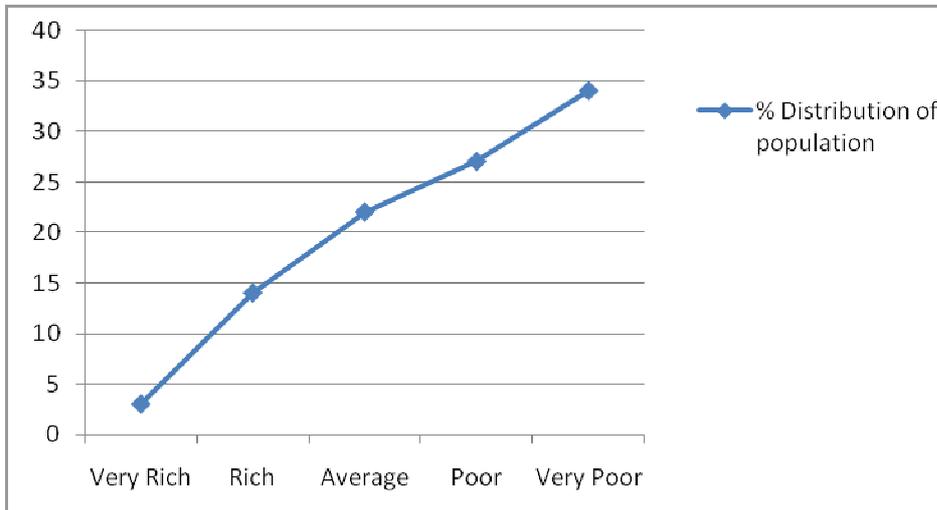
	No average category mentioned also not when prompted (OW)	
	Somebody who can feed the family and does not need to rely on anybody can cover health problems. Has good house, concrete floor, children fed. (YM)	Some farmer (YM)
Malsasa (O)	Lancrete house; 5 rooms in the house; motorbike; goats and sheep (around 10); fowls, yams farm (2ha); They can feed their family and offer gifts to relatives and needy people (O)	Teachers; small income generating activities; Civil servants (O)
Poor	Sometimes experience lack of food, lack of proper clothing/ ragged clothing, lack of choice, no fixed income source/ occupation, children walk barefooted, not able to pay for children's health care, malnourished children, walking on slippers self-fixed with grass (YW)	maids, beggars (YW)
Faralana	Live in mud houses with poor flooring children malnourished and sick looking naked children (OM2)	
Faralana	Struggles to meet some of his basic needs but not all. Depends largely on his labour and nothing else for his survival. Works very hard yet does not meet all his basic needs. (OM)	Small community farmers (OM)
Fara	Houses: ridged, moving and leaking, cook only with one ingredient; not able to buy salt, clothes are very bad (torn) and dirty, only a mat to sleep on, no cattle (OW)	Sell grass they have harvested and make mats (for housing) out of this farm labourers (OW)
	Has tattered clothes in very tattered home. Children no not cared for, naked, look sick, poor feeding. Wife always has the same clothes on. Round house with thatch and mud floor, so not able to dry food. Rest of compound looks dirty. (YM)	Very small farmer (YM)
	1 acre of yams, old bicycle; thatch roof; 3 rooms house, 1 wife malnourished wife and children (O)	Self employed; small scale farmer; watchman truck pusher (O)
Very poor		
Faradante-tale	Lack of assets, look through trash in search of food => not able to grow their own food, suicidal behaviours (YW)	Beggars, prostitutes, thieves, (YW)
Nandana	Depends on others to survive (OM)	Beggars, sick people and disabled people (OM)
Nandana	Can't afford even a meal (OM2)	
Nandana	Disabled and having diseases don't know when they have their next meal (OW)	Do not have anything to do beggars (OW)
	A person who cannot cover his own needs. He relies on other people to give him food.(YM)	
Nundana	Difficulty to afford a meal; may live in the family house, married or not, children or not; no bicycle; no education for children; the house is thatched; they are not careful about the way they dress (O)	Labourers, employed daily (O)

Table 3.2 and figure 3a show the participants' perception of the distribution of the various wealth classes in the communities. They are of the opinion that there most people in the community are very poor or poor, based on their own criteria for their classification. According to the group of young women, most of the very rich "escaped" to the cities because of the conflict, while for those who stayed, their assets were destroyed

Table 3.2: Mean distribution of Wealth Classes in the Communities (%)

	Very Rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very Poor	Total
YW	0	15	35	30	20	100
OM	5	5	40	35	15	100
OW	5	35	0	40	20	100
O	0	5	20	10	65	100
OM 2	5	10	15	20	50	100
Average	3	14	22	27	34	100

Figure 3a: Distribution of the population by wealth class



4. Interventions, initiators and perceptions about them

During the second day of the workshop the participants created a list of all interventions they could remember that had taken place in the Wulensi area. In the second part of this exercise, men and women were asked – separately – to judge the impact of the projects and to indicate on which domains the interventions had an impact (natural, physical, human, economic, socio-political and cultural).

In all 321 interventions were listed by the participants as having taken place in the area. These interventions cut across sectors as indicated on table 4a. The majority of the interventions were in education, infrastructure, crops and health. Government (G) through the District Assembly was the major initiator of interventions covering 39.9%, followed by private interventions (P) 16.2%, Church (C) 12.1% and Donor (S) interventions 11.5% (table 4.1). There were several other initiators contributing less than 10% each. There were a few interventions that were jointly initiated by 2 or more initiators.

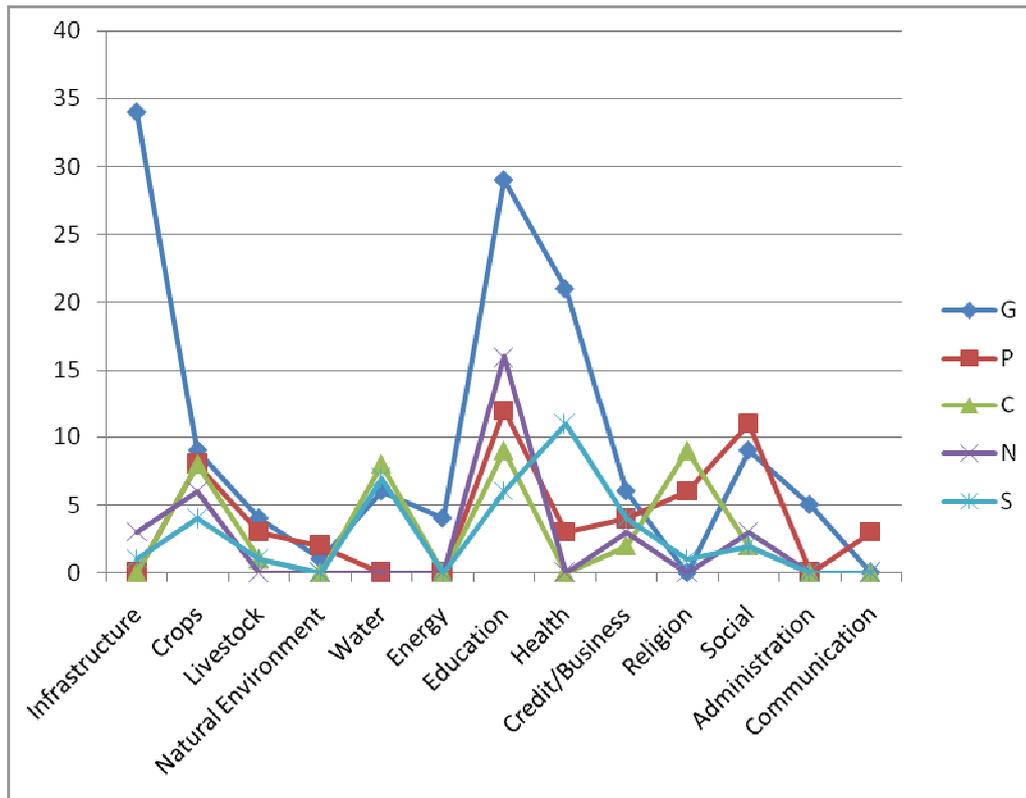
Table 4.1: Summary of Number of Interventions per Agency

Intervention	Name of Initiator/Total number of interventions													
	G	P	C	N	S	M	N local	SG	SPG	SN	NSP	PG	Total	%
Infrastructure	34	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	4	2	-	-	44	13.7
Crops	9	8	8	6	4	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	37	11.5
Livestock	4	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	12	3.7
Natural Environment	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	0.9
Water	6	-	8	-	7	1	3	-	-	-	-	2	27	8.4
Energy	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.2
Education	29	12	9	16	6	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	76	23.7
Health	21	3	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	10.9
Credit/Business	6	4	2	3	4	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	21	6.5
Religion	-	6	9	-	1	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	26	8.1
Social	9	11	2	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	28	8.7
Administration	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1.6
Communication	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	0.9
Total	128	52	39	31	37	11	3	5	4	7	1	3	321	100
Percentage	39.9	16.2	12.1	9.7	11.5	3.4	0.9	1.6	1.2	2.2	0.3	0.9	100	

G = Government; S = Donor (bi/multi-lateral); N = Non-religious NGO; C = Church-based NGO; M = Mosque-based/Islamic NGO; P = Community/Own initiative/Association/Private

Apart from a Mosque that was initiated in 1936 most of the interventions were between 1995 and 2009.

Figure 4a: Number of interventions per the major initiators



The Government (G) has initiated most projects, especially in areas of infrastructure, education and health. The major area of intervention by the NGOs is education and agriculture (mainly crops). The Church is more into agriculture (crops), water, education and religion. Private intervention by individuals and community are more in the social domain, education and agriculture as shown in figure 4a.

Figure 4b presents the percentages of the various interventions. The major interventions were in education, infrastructure, agriculture (crops), health water, social and religion. The areas of education, health infrastructure and water are government priorities and geared towards the attainment of the millennium development goals of the United Nations.

Figure 4b: Percentages of interventions

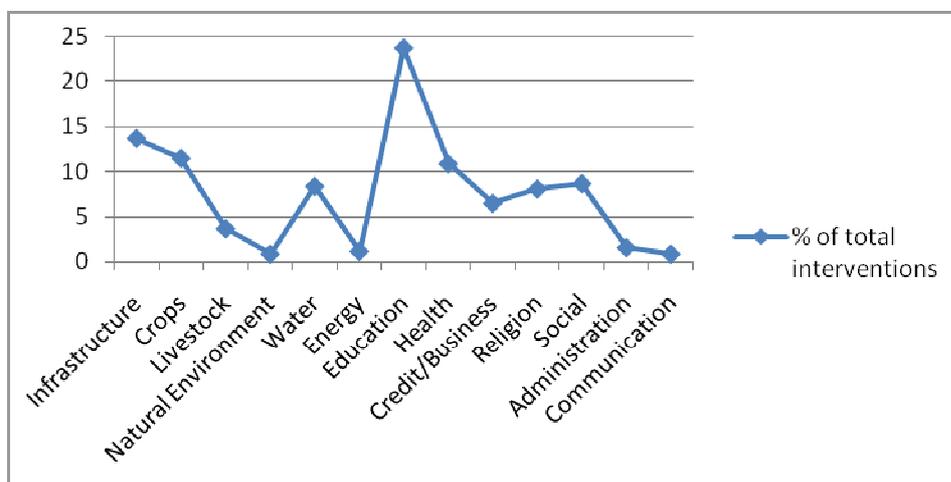
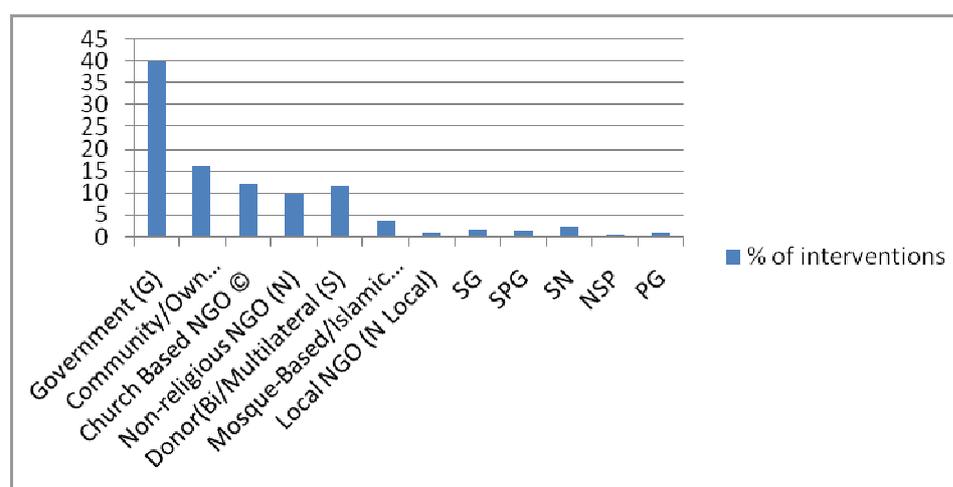


Figure 4c: Interventions and the initiators



Participants assessed the impact of all interventions on beneficiaries for whose well-being the interventions were initiated. There were seven assessments categories, from very positive to very negative. The categories are described under table 4.2. In all 59.4% of the interventions were graded ++, meaning that the Project had a positive impact (or: the perceived positive impact dominated) for the majority of the intended beneficiaries. In general most of the interventions met the expectation of the participants. A few though were too early to assess while others were assessed as not beneficial to the people.

Table 4.2 : Impact of the Interventions on Beneficiaries

Initiators/Grades	--	-	0	*	+	++	+/-	N	Total	%
C			2	2	25	24	2	1	56	12.3
S		1	1	5	3	39	1	2	52	11.4
N			2	4	7	30		1	44	9.6
G	1	4	10	17	39	120	6	4	201	44.1
NS					7	5			12	2.6
M					11	3			14	3.1
P		2	1	3	7	42	2	2	59	12.9
SPG						4			4	0.9
GP			1	2		2			5	1.1
MP							1		1	0.2
PS							1		1	0.2
SNG						1	1		2	
NG							1		1	0.2
NLocal							3		3	
GC						1			1	0.2
Total	1	7	17	33	99	271	18	10	456	100.0
%	0.2	1.5	3.8	7.2	21.7	59.4	4.0	2.2	100.0	

-- Project was very negative; should never have started

- Project never really took off, just words

0 Project cannot be judged yet, as it is too new, and no real results can be seen yet

* Project had some positive results, when it was implemented, but now you cannot see anything anymore

- +/- Project had both positive and negative impacts and neither the positive nor the negative impacts dominated; or: within the subgroup people can not agree
- + Project had a positive impact (or: the perceived positive impact dominated) for at least some of the intended beneficiaries
- ++ Project had a positive impact (or: the perceived positive impact dominated) for the majority of the intended beneficiaries

An assessment of the impact of the interventions on the capitals shows that most of the interventions affected more than one capital, which can generally be considered positive. The 321 interventions affected 866 capitals, an average of 2.7 capital per intervention with a range from 1 to 6.

Table 4.3: Impact of Agencies Interventions on Capitals

Initiator	Capitals affected						Total
	Natural	Physical	Economic	Health	Social	Cultural	
G	18	86	93	105	65	16	383
C	10	13	26	33	6	5	93
N	5	9	20	25	8	5	72
P	10	16	27	24	20	14	111
S	10	12	20	31	12	5	90
M		10	2	5	3	7	27
N and S	4	3	10	4	5	4	30
Nlocal		3	3	3			9
S and G	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
N and G	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
GSN	2	1	3				6
C and G			1	1			2
P and G	1	2	1	1	1		6
SPG		4	4	3	3		14
MP		1	1	1	1	1	5
Total	63	163	214	239	127	60	866
Percentage	7.27	18.82	24.71	27.60	14.67	6.93	100.00

5. Ranking of interventions as best or worst

Participants were grouped by other criteria hence new groups were formed. Each group had the opportunity to rank the interventions mentioned and pick up the best five and the worst five giving reasons for their choices. Table 5 shows the best five that were chosen by each group by their ranking. One is the best and runs down to five.

Five interventions were mentioned by most of the groups. These are boreholes, mentioned by all the 8 groups, Health/Clinics mentioned by 7 groups, Electricity and Road and Oti bridge mentioned by 5 groups and Primary School mentioned by 4 groups. Two other interventions were mentioned by 2 groups each and the rest by one group each. Reasons were given for their choices but only those mentioned by many groups are indicated on table 5.2.

Table 5.1: Ranking Best Five Interventions

Interventions-Projects/Ranking	WN	W1	M&1W	M	NM	O2	O1	WS	Frequency
Boreholes	2	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	8
Health/Clinic	3	5	2	2	5	4		3	7
Road and Oti bridge			3	4	1	5		4	5
Electricity			4	5	3	2	3		5
Primary School	4					3	1	2	4
SHS	5			3					2
School Feeding Programmes		1			4				2
Extension service								5	1
Telecommunication							5		1
Food Security Project (CIF)							4		1
Dam	1								1
Market		3							1
Women's rights project and capacity building by CRS and DANIDA		4							1
Church and Mosque			5						1
Total	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	40

WN –Wulensi North; W1 – Women's Group 1; M&1W – Men and 1 Woman; M - Men; NM – North Men; O2 – Officials group 2; O1 – Officials group 1; WS – Wulensi South.

Each of the groups gave reasons for selecting the projects as best and ranking them in that order. The benefit of the project to the people and the sustainability were considered in making their judgement. Most of the projects they ranked high had impact on more than 3 capitals. Where the groups mentioned the same intervention their reasons for choosing them are not necessarily the same. This is due to gender and age as well as exposure.

Table 5.2: Reasons for considering these projects best

Best Project	Reasons for being best
Health	They had to go all the way to Wulensi and Bimbila in the past (W1). Reduction of death rates, six killer diseases (tbc, measles, diptheria, polio, +2), it helped to unite the community. Communal labour started from there. It attracted the government to come and do more in health area - easy access to medical care. No longer to Bimbila (now also in Nakpayile, Lungni), it gives employment to some youths, as nursing assistants (get training + allowances) (M&1W). Need to be healthy before you can do other work. Health care delivery is now near hence travel cost (money and time) is saved (WM). Most communities have access to health services (WS). Operate in rural communities; Increased access to health services; Improved maternal health (O2)
Road and Oti bridge	Easy transportation; main link to the rest of Accra (shortest road from North to Accra, 6 hours by car), selling farm produce, referral to bigger hospitals: Binda - Yendi - Tamale (in that order) (M&1W) Helps transport our farm produce to southern Ghana. Allows for other persons to visit and interact with us and bring projects (WM). It is better than paths, transportation is better, transportation of sick people, free movement, even if they are not finished, an improvement (WS). Improved economic activities; Boosts agric. production; Access to Bimbilla (O2).
Electricity	It has given us light repair, farm tools with advanced mechanisation, like welding, attracted business men, increased population, attracts business men and villagers come here. We get something from them. This increase is good (M&1W). Created jobs for welders, ice water sellers. It provides lights for our students to study. It also allows us to know about the outside world through television, radio, mobile phone (WN). Enhance development and sound economic activities (O1). Electricity is used for many activities including powering grinding mills; Helps communication; Reduce migration; Boosts economic activities; Creates more jobs including electricians; Access to information through televisions (O2)
Primary School	As it is a beginning and foundation of education for the children (WN) Education for children, economic opportunities, literacy (WS). There cannot be development without education (O1). Are many; Have wider coverage; Encouraged enrolment; No more running of shifts (O2)
Boreholes	Women do not need to walk long distances any longer in search of water; protection against guinea worm and other water diseases (WN) She would have to be in the field to search for water, we would be in the field for weeks talking about this (W1). Helps to eradicate guinea worm, easy access to good drinking water, women have more time to work (no more long walking), business men + farmers also have more time (men also use bike for water) (M&1W). Good drinking is a fundamental need; It prevents us from getting guinea worm and other water borne diseases. Women do not struggle to get water, making them more available work (WM). Reduction of the guinea worm infection, most women used to wail far for water, now it is not the case, leave more time for other activities (WS). Water is life (O1). Source of income for some people; Potable drinking water (O2)

WN- Wulensi North; W1- Women Group 1; M&1W – Men and 1 Woman; WM – Wulensi Men, WS – Wulensi South; O1 - Officials Group 1; O2 - Officials Group 2

Table 5.3: Ranking Worst Five Interventions

Interventions/Groups	WN	W1	M&1W	M	NM	O2	O1	WS	Frequency
CIF Small Ruminants Project				3	5	1		1	4
Feeder Roads					2		4		2
Area Council					3		1		2
Teachers' accommodation						2		4	2
Toilet facilities	4						2		2
Culverts on Bangu road		3						3	2
Police Station and Charge office				2		4			2
Gari processing machine from MoFA/FAABs			4		4				2
Tarmac road (Bimbila-Kpandai)	1								1
Market	2								1
Construction of Feeder roads	3								1
Electricity	5								1
CAD		1							1
CAMFED		2							1
Sanitation Project		4							1
Youth Employment Programme		5							1
Record Dancing Group			1						1
Farmers' Project by MoFA			2						1
Non-formal adult education			3						1
Introduction of donkey and donkey cart			5						1
ADRA Agro-forestry Project				5					1
Wulensi Community Centre				1					1
Community Library				4					1
Soka Pump					1				1
Accommodation for District Assembly Junior staff						3			1
Veterinary Clinic						5			1
Post Office							5		1
Guinea fowl								2	1
Tractors								5	1
Total	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	40

WN- Wulensi North; W1- Women Group 1; M&1W – Men and 1 Woman; WM – Wulensi Men, WS – Wulensi South; O1 - Officials Group 1; O2 - Officials Group 2

The groups were divided in their judgement of worst projects. Apart from the CIF Small Ruminants Project which was mentioned by 4 groups, and 7 other projects that were mentioned by 2 groups each, all the other projects that were mentioned as worst were mentioned by one group each as shown on table 5.3.

6. Historical analysis of best and worst interventions

For each of the five best and worst projects that the groups had selected (see chapter five), the workshop participants were asked to indicate what their ideas about each of these projects were at the start of the projects and at present. With this exercise we tried to find out more about the processes behind success and failure of the development interventions that have taken place in the area.

This module revealed the perception as well as the reality of the interventions. It could bring to bear reasons why beneficiaries accept or reject interventions as well as the participatory way the interventions were started. In some cases the people understood the project so their perception at the beginning is not different from now while in some cases they seem not to understand the project at the beginning. It is also interesting that when the benefits begin to accrue they change their minds quickly about the project either for the negative or the positive. Table 6.1 to 6.12 give the responses of the participants on their ideas of both the best five and the worst five projects at the time they were initiated and now.

Table 6.1: Ideas About Best 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Wulensi North Group (WN)

	Name of project	Reasons for ranking as best project	Ideas when project was introduced	Ideas now
1	Dam	It helped people to survive; thanks to it, boreholes are drying up less frequently	Everybody was happy, as it will bring clean and drinking water accessible for everyone (WN)	Now, mostly very poor and poor fetch water from the dam, as those who are better off are having tap water in their households (WN)
2	Boreholes	women do not need to walk long distances any longer in search of water; protection against guinea worm and other water diseases	Everybody was happy, as it improved the quality of the drinking water; more accessible (WN)	Everyone is still happy, as even the poor and the very poor benefit from the boreholes through the rich and very rich if they beg or pay (WN)
3	Clinic (maternity clinic)	women can deliver their children safe and under proper conditions	People were happy, as it was built for everyone, but only the very rich can always afford the health care, the rich, but only for the smaller family; the average only sometimes (WN)	More people can benefit through National Health Insurance card (WN)

4	Primary School	as it is a beginning and foundation of education for the children	Everyone could go to school, poor and rich as it was a free schooling for everyone. Some were people were not happy about it, as they would prefer their children to work in the households (WN)	Now, the schooling is very costly, so very poor and the poor are left behind (WN)
5	Secondary School	More children has a chance to continue their education when the secondary school is closer to their villages	Kids of the poor and very poor were not sent to secondary schools, as they were sending to the farms (WN)	Only the very rich will send all the children to secondary school; while the rich and the average still need to make a decision which children will go to school; while for the poor and very poor it is very painful, as they wish to send their children to SSS but they cannot afford it (WN)

Table 6.2: Ideas About Worst 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Wulensi North Group (WN)

	Name of project	Reasons for ranking as best project	Ideas when project was introduced	Ideas now
	Tarmac road (Bimbilla-Kpandai)	unfinished and dusty; people over speed		
2	The market	There is not enough buyers; people do not know about this market, so people are going to Bimbila for a market		
3	Construction of the feeder road	the construction is not finished; there is lots of dust; people over speeding that cause deaths; it is impossible to cross the road during the rainy season		
4	Toilets facilities	Construction is not finished; they are all not functioning any longer;		
5	Electricity	Not all communities are covered		

Table 6.3: Ideas About Best 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Wulensi Women Group (WW)

	Name of project	Reasons for ranking as best project	Ideas when project was introduced	Ideas now
1	school feeding programme and programme for female education.	see the impacts in the last exercise		
2	water: the mechanised pump	she would have to be in the field to search for water, we would be in the field for weeks talking about this		
3	Market	it provides them with income, they also have social contacts and can speak to people from far.		
4	women rights project and capacity building by CRS and Danida	capacity building		
5	antenatal health project and Child health delivery	they had to go all the way to Wulensi and Bimbilla before		

Table 6.4: Ideas About Worst 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Wulensi Women Group (WW)

	Name of project	Reasons for ranking as best project	Ideas when project was introduced	Ideas now
1	CAD			
2	CAMFED	The names of the politicians and chiefs are always there.		
3	culverts in Bangu Road			
4	sanitation project			
5	NYEP			

Table 6.5: Ideas About Best 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Men and 1 Woman Group (M&1W)

	Name of project	Reasons for ranking as best project	Ideas when project was introduced	Ideas now
1	4 boreholes of DA (of which one mechanised)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - helps to eradicate guinea worm - easy access to good drinking water - women have more time to work (no more long walking) - business men + farmers also have more time (men also use bike for water) 	we have water problem, fortunately now we will get good drinking water. Today these problems will be over. Even mechanised ones. You will be in your house and get water. This is the promise they are giving, maybe it will come. Our question is: will it really be good water? and will it be able to serve the purposes of all of us in Wulensi township (Wulensi 2)	this project was very good, the 4 boreholes have been drilled and 1 mechanised. The drinking water is good, we use it for domestic and commercial use. We have enough water for the whole community. Now we sit inside the home and pull water (or in immediate surroundings). And it is always available (Wulensi 2)
2	Construction of health centre by the community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - reduction in death rates - six killer diseases (tbc, measles, diptheria, polio, +2) - it helped to unite the community. Communal labour started from there - it attracted the government to come and do more in health area - easy access to medical care. No longer to Bimbala (now also in Nakpayile, + Lungni) - it gives employment to some youths, as nursing assistants (get training + allowances) 	Maybe it will come to a time where we cannot continue the work. Are we able to do it? We are also praying that when it comes to a time where we cannot continue, someone will come to help us to finish it for us. (Wulensi 2)	It has been established. Assistance came and things are moving well,. We have good health services now. As a community we have done this and we did better than we expected. Makes us proud. (Wulensi 2)

3	Re-grading of Binda-Wulensi road	<p>'-easy transportation; main link to the rest of Accra (shortest road from North to Accra, 6 hours by car)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - selling farm produce - referral to bigger hospitals: binda - yendi - tamale (in that order) 	Too recent (Wulensi 2)	Travelling to Binda was a big problem for us. Today it is very easy, and we are happy plying that road (Wulensi 2)
4	Electrification of Wulensi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> '- it has given us light - repair farm tools with advanced mechanisation like welding - attracted business men - increased population, attracts business men, villagers come here. We get something from them. This increase is good. 	we are in darkness, and now they bring electricity to commence our businesses and to fast track and expand development and increase population(Wulensi 2)	we have light, we are using it judiciously and happily, population has increased, businesses are moving faster. It performs better than we expected. Occasionally goes off for short times for repair. (prompted) however the cost has increased over time and that is affecting us so much. (Wulensi 2)
5	Mosques and churches (do not want to choose between them)	<p>Has brought about peace, unity and understanding (reference to the conflict. Spiritually, religion brings prayers to stop the conflict; religion also educates people on the effects of conflict. Imam and pastor preach directly about ethnic diversity and living together in peace and cooperation.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - it checks the moral behaviour - without churches and mosques it would have been much worse 		<p>fulfilled expectation (Wulensi 2)</p> <p>Comment: Difficult. The reason for choosing this is not the building but the religion itself. The projects however refer to the building. For the building it is less useful to ask these questions.</p>

Table 6.6: Ideas About Worst 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Men and 1 Woman Group (M&1W)

	Name of project	Reasons for ranking as best project	Ideas when project was introduced	Ideas now
1	Record dancing groups	'- see explanation in ex. 4 - immoral behaviour linked to it - already abolished by community. Public thing is gone now, you can do in your house or shop. - was blocking education (throughout the night, not to school or very un-attentive) - Invited DJ's from everywhere, later people bought their own systems and made money from it, thereby spreading it very wide.	this is a new thing. It is entertaining and makes one happy. It engages one in dancing and we are happy that it comes. Everybody participates in it (except the religious leaders). IMAM: I had already these doubts from the very beginning: it makes you happy, but is it good? (Wulensi 2)	this turned out to be a very bad thing for the community, esp much impact on the youth. All religious and traditional elders are happy that it is abolished it, but 90% of the youth is not happy with it. Example: meeting at chiefs place, one of the youth leaders pleaded for reinstatement and all youth shouted. young married and middle aged men: 60% happy. (Wulensi 2)
2	Farmers project by MOFA	'- it did not come at all, just promised. Promise was to come and make a tree nursery in Wulensi	it was hardly announced. It was like a secret. It means people who were leading it are probably going with the money, since nothing is happening. (Wulensi 2)	it didn't benefit us at all. We didn't see any sign of it. (Wulensi 2)
3	non formal adult education from Govt	'- is promised, but not much is done - organised older people for teaching, like 3 times a week. In reality maybe twice a week. In Nanumba.	even before govt did it, people were already teaching others during the night. We welcome that the government is bringing this now to us. We will now benefit more and learn better. (Wulensi 2)	we do not have it as expected. Those who were doing it voluntarily have now stopped, and the government paid ones are not really functioning. Therefore it has become worse. (Wulensi 2)
4	Garri processing machine from MOFA / FABS	'- just promised, machine came but has never worked. Only signboards.	it will reduce our labour, both men and women (women did it, men sometimes helped. Now women will be more available for other work). (Wulensi 2)	the machine has never worked and we still do it by hand. It has come to nothing. We still hope for better. (Wulensi 2)

5	introduction of donkeys and donkey carts	'- it's only the owners who benefit and they are not many (4). Others hardly have any benefit from it. They are not useful here: there is no water problem to use it for, we have tractors, etc. They are more useful for the villages.	it will reduce costs, because donkeys don't consume fuel, they only eat grass. (Wulensi 2)	whether you have one or not does not matter, they are not very useful. The amount the machine / car collects is the same amount that the donkey asks for using it. (Wulensi 2)
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Table 6.7: Ideas About Best 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Wulensi North Group (WN)

	Name of project	Reasons for ranking as best project	Ideas when project was introduced	Ideas now
1	Mechanised borehole	Good drinking is a fundamental need; It prevents us from getting guinea worm and other water borne diseases. Women do not struggle to get water, making them more available work.	We get good drinking water and reduce guinea worm. We would not suffer to get water (Wulensi Men)	People are employed through the revenue tax, and those who service the machines (Wulensi Men)
2	Wulensi Health Centre	Need to be healthy before you can do other work. Health care delivery is now near hence travel cost (money and time) is saved	They expected it to help them healthwise (Wulensi Men)	It is very useful but there is a need to expand it to cater for the huge demand(Wulensi Men)
3	Wulensi SHS	Training and knowledge acquisition is necessary for development. Nearness of school reduces costs and encourages local people. Some natives have been employed as cooks, watchmen, labourers.	Education would be near and hence transport would be reduced. Expected that their wards would get good quality jobs after attaining higher education (Wulensi Men)	There is infrastructural development at the school. It also employs our people. Better interaction with people who come from other areas to school here (Wulensi Men)

4	Oti Bridge	Helps transport our farm produce to southern Ghana. Allows for other persons to visit and interact with us and bring projects.	There were a lot accidents using the ferry so we were happy to have a bridge constructed (Wulensi Men)	It is useful to us and has allowed free and better movement of goods and services (Wulensi Men)
5	Electrification Project	Created jobs for welders, ice water sellers. It provides lights for our students to study. It also allows us to know about the outside world through television, radio, mobile phone.	Because it was political we were doubtful if it would come through (Wulensi Men)	It project is very useful to all of us. No political divisions (Wulensi Men)

Table 6.8: Ideas About Worst 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Wulensi North Group (WN)

	Name of project	Reasons for ranking as best project	Ideas when project was introduced	Ideas now
1	Wulensi Community Centre	Because the entertainment programmes lead to sexual promiscuity and distracts the students from learning	To have a common place for entertainment and raise revenue for government (Wulensi Men)	Promoted record dance which made students especially girls go out of school. No income for Assembly. (Wulensi Men)
2	Police Station and Charge Office	Though communal labour was used to put up structures it is not in use. Thieve and Wee smokers now use the place for their bad deeds. The District Assembly also spent its resources and yet it not in use because personnel have not been posted to man the place	To improve community security To reduce social vices (Wulensi Men)	Useless because no policemen at post since the last 6 years. (Wulensi Men)
3	CIFS Small Ruminants Project	The animals that are meant to be distributed to the community members are given to people to unknown to the community	would help us raise more livestock (Wulensi Men)	Useless because no it was not implemented in the community (Wulensi Men)

4	Community Library	Although the building is present there are no books for use.	Would promote community literacy Make learning easier (Wulensi Men)	No useless because it not in operation since it has been built. (Wulensi Men)
5	ADRA agroforestry Project	There is no market for the harvested cashew nuts.	Expected the project to improve their incomes. Expected to protect land fertility expected to create employment (Wulensi Men)	No market for cashew nuts Teak trees now available for roofing and other purposes (Wulensi Men)

Table 6.9: Ideas About Best 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Wulensi South Group (WS)

	Name of project	Reasons for ranking as best project	Ideas when project was introduced	Ideas now
1	Bore holes	Reduction of the guinea worm infection, most women used to wail far for water, now it is not the case, leave more time for other activities	It takes less time to have a greater amount of water, less gossiping of women while fetching water (Wulensi South)	They now have a healthy life because there is less guinea worm infections. Take less time in their daily activities. (Wulensi South)
2	Schools	Education for children, economic opportunities, literacy	We now get enlightened children they do not sit under the trees to learn, it is better to have a building, better concentration, not affected by weather (when it would rain, there would be no school (Wulensi South)	Reduced the vacation period. Parents don't have to work to erect shelters for school. The building has improved (zinc roof). Parents do not have to renovate the building, any reparations are reported to the Assembly (Wulensi South)
3	health post	most communities have access to health services	we get a health post and will be a little free of diseases; it will be saving our lives (Wulensi South)	it really has improved our lives; everyone who is sick should go there. Important in a community. Family planning, breast feeding education, reduced infant and mother death rates. We are proud to have a health post (Wulensi South)

4	feeder roads	It is better than paths, transportation is better, transportation of sick people, free movement, even if the are not finished, it is an improvement	They are happy they can transport there food crops to the market; it reduces time to bring products to the markets even while people wouldn't help them these days when trucks got stuck in the sand; brings improvement since development projects of the DA could reach them; possibility of exchanges; (Wulensi South)	They are still means of access to market but there is no happiness anymore. Not helping because the bridges were not constructed. There is no maintenance, this increases the burden of the residents (Wulensi South)
5	extension services	Improvement of seeds and animals,	Happy to have this service because input for farming(seeds and fertilizer) were given for free; they (extension workers) will explain about new farming methods (how to use inputs in a new way) (Wulensi South)	So happy because they learnt a lot through this project, helps us how to keep/ grow certain crops for feeding ourselves and selling. Listening to extension workers is beneficial to farmers (Wulensi South)

Table 6.10: Ideas About Worst 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Wulensi South Group (WS)

	Name of project	Reasons for ranking as best project	Ideas when project was introduced	Ideas now
1	small ruminants project	animals died, the NGO did not consult the community	we are yet to see how it will work; we will be given new breeds, and we hope that it will improve our life stock (Wulensi South)	At first we thought the animals were better than our own varieties. But in the end they nearly all died. There was no proper consultation with our own specialists (DA) here. The variety used from Burkina Faso had to heavy rams for the female goats, they couldn't mate. If mating succeeded, than the goats had problems in delivering the huge young animals and died. (Wulensi South)

2	guinea fowl project	Only benefit one community	New breed of guinea fowl would give more eggs. The women expected that they would be better than her own local ones (Wulensi South)	Although the number of guinea fowls has increased, we try to sell eggs to other farmers. We don't have money to buy the necessary vaccinations and medicines for the animals (local bread doesn't need these). Also building sheds for the fowls is too expensive (necessary for hatching in one place to be able to collect the eggs for sale) (Wulensi South)
3	Bridges/culverts	they are not completed	We are happy that a bridge will be built. They promise to build it. If they keep their promise is it fine. They promise a lot without doing. When there is a bridge we could send our harvested crops to Wulensi / Bimbala market (Wulensi South)	Dupani bridges are hanging, so no lorry can pass. Only people by feet no vehicles. Apeya bridge broke down so no car could pass any longer. They don't know where the constructors are, they have run away. (Wulensi South)
4	teachers quarters	they are not all in use, but at least, some visitors may use them	Teachers will come and stay, they will come regularly. We are very happy (Wulensi South)	We are very sad: the buildings are there but the teachers refused to stay there because there was no electricity in the village (can't watch television). Teachers also say there are no nice girls in the villages to spend the evenings with. If the government would bring electricity to the community the teachers might stay. They also should improve the motivation of rural teachers. (Wulensi South)

5	tractor project	not for all the farmers	We are happy because our people will benefit from the tractor services (in land preparations e.g ploughing and carry on harvested crops to their homes). They thought to get the tractor services to be free of charge, that the project was intended to help others with tractor services. (Wulensi South)	We are deceived: they promised to give us tractors. It was only meant for party members, who are not farmers (they mean that they themselves don't do the farming -> have labourers for this). They bribed to get the tractors (giving envelopes to get the tractors). Now they hide them. The tractor owners deceive you and ask high prices for ploughing. The tractor owners are the rich people and they enrich themselves in this way. Furthermore they come on the wrong timing, after first having labourers plough their own fields. We can't plant in time (Wulensi South)
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Table 6.11: Ideas About Best 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Officials (O)

	Name of project	Reasons for ranking as best project	Ideas when project was introduced	Ideas now
1	School Building Projects.	There cannot be development without education.	would have access to entertainment. Reduce reptiles, electricity bills not thought off, procedures in acquiring meters not thought off.	not same
2	Water (Borehole projects)	Water is life	Walking distance would be reduced, more children going to school	Same
3	Electricity	Enhance development and sound economic activities.	Expected some micro finance component, whether not one of the exploitative NGOs, Only thought of food security component.	More positive results than expected.
4	CIFS (NGO), food security project.	Food is a basic need of life and this project tries to ensure that the very poor get food and ensure sustainability in provision.	Saved from water borne diseases, thought it would have been free, reduce walking distance. Did not think of water bills and boreholes.	Water rationing, reduced distance, water bills,

5	Telecom	Improved communication and spread of ideas.		Thought would boost telecom business, did not expect that it would be expensive to possess, did not expect network fluctuations.
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Table 6.12: Ideas About Worst 5 Projects at Introduction and Now by Officials (O)

	Name of project	Reasons for ranking as best project	Ideas when project was introduced	Ideas now
1	Public Toilets	Something meant to improve the sanitation of the place has not only failed to serve the purpose because people still defecate around but has also become a source of bad odour, polluting the environment.	Save us from snake bites, stop free range defecation, thought it was free, did not think of it stinking,	As a result of poor management, creating environmental and sanitation problem.
2	Area Council office	Is not used for the purpose it was meant for because area council Committee members are non-functional. However, it is sometimes used for other purposes.	Did not know what it was about, a structure for meetings and workshops, thought that area council executives were going to occupy there.	non-functional
3	Post Office	It is as if is not in existence as we still travel far away to post and receive letters. The DCE is thinking of converting it into offices.	Would not travel long distance to post letters,	Non functional, only the inscription on it tells that is a post office.
4	Wulensi-Binda Road construction	In its present untarred state, we wish it was not there as it has aggravated our health problems by blowing dust on us. When it rains, it is even worst because the potholes become deep. If the road is however done properly and complete, is likely to be one of the best projects.		
5	Police Station		Thought crime rate would reduce because our policemen would stay there	not staying there. The district is considering turning it to accommodation

7. Impact of best and worst projects on wealth classes

During the last exercise of the workshop in Wulensi the groups were asked to indicate the extent to which the five wealth groups had benefited from the best five projects in their list and the extent to which these groups had suffered from the worst projects. The participants were asked to use ten stones to distribute over the wealth categories according to the impact of each of the projects (each stone representing ten percent). After distributing the stones, the groups explained why they distributed the stones the way they did.

Table 7.1: Impact of first Best Project of M&1W group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
4 boreholes of DA (of which one mechanised)	Then	4	3	2	1	0
		They have many people. People serve them with the water, has many utensils to wash, many children and strangers who also use the water. In case of meetings, occasions it is in his house. He uses most of the mechanised one	same argument as very rich	same argument as very rich, a bit less	uses a bit	fellow is sick and cannot go for water. He has to come and beg from very rich. Has no container to come and fetch water
	Now	3	2	3	2	1
		have many people, so use it a lot. Do business with water. They sell the water to the poor.		sometimes have strangers and use the water	they are many so together they use a lot	now the water is abundant. So easy to get the water, even if sick, someone will get the water

Table 7.2: Impact of Second Best Project of M&1W group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Construction of health centre by the community	Then	1	1	2	2	4
		they went to hospitals somewhere else	they went to hospitals somewhere else	have some small money to eat good meals, more hygienic, less sick	have some small money to eat good meals, more hygienic, less sick	they are sicklers, they have relatives who helped them to go to regular health checks. The rich and very rich helped them to pay their bills. Rich take them to clinic.
	Now	0	1	2	3	4
		they do not use local clinic at all	use sometimes, otherwise Tamale		Some have health insurance, not all. But they are many.	most sick

Table 7.3: Impact of Third Best Project of M&1W group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Re-grading of Binda-Wulensi road	Then					
		Very recent	Very recent	Very recent	Very recent	Very recent
	Now	4	3	2	1	0
		has lorries and other vehicles. Has many activities carried out elsewhere			petty trading, small products. May sell a goat at Binda	don't ever leave their place

Table 7.4: Impact of Fourth Best Project of M&1W group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Electrification of Wulensi	Then	4	3	2	1	0
		Use most appliances, in cities. Now they brought their electrical stuff, fridges, cooking, fans, TV			meter was free, 6 months not charged, so <i>faralana</i> could also use it, only light bulb, radio	
	Now	4	4	2	0	0
			now also have same things as very rich		when bills started coming, they disconnected	

Table 7.5: Impact of Fifth Best Project of M&1W group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Mosques and churches (do not want to choose between them)	Then	1	2	3	2	3
		Too busy to attend	Too busy to attend	Can afford to take time off	Is needy, engaged by very rich in labour, no time to attend church / mosques	Always at home, so have time for prayers. Mostly still has at least one suitable cloth
	Now	1	2	3	2	3
		Too busy to attend	Too busy to attend	Can afford to take time off	Is needy, engaged by very rich in labour, no time to attend church / mosques	Always at home, so have time for prayers. Mostly still has at least one suitable cloth

Table 7.6: Impact of First Worst Project of M&1W group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Record dancing group	Then					
	Now	0	1	5	4	0
		Negative impact just before it was abolished. Has no time for it	Negative impact just before it was abolished. Limited involvement	Negative impact just before it was abolished. Most girls from this group were impregnated	Negative impact just before it was abolished	Negative impact just before it was abolished. Did not attend. Don't go out. No money for contribution.

Table 7.7: Impact of First Best Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Dam	Then	2	2	2	2	2
	Now	0	0	0	4	6

Table 7.8: Impact of Second Best Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Borehole	Then	6	4	0	0	0
	Now	2	2	2	2	2

Table 7.9: Impact of Third Best Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Clinic (Maternity Clinic)	Then	4	3	3	0	0
	Now	3	3	2	2	0

Table 7.10: Impact of Fourth Best Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Primary School	Then	2	2	2	2	2
	Now	5	3	2	0	0

Table 7.11: Impact of Fifth Best Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Secondary school	Then	5	3	2	0	0
	Now	6	3	1	0	0

Table 7.12: Impact of First Worst Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Tarmac Road	Then	4	3	3	0	0
	Now	4	3	3	0	0

Table 7.13: Impact of Second Worst Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Market	Then	4	3	3	0	0
	Now	4	3	3	0	0

Table 7.14: Impact of Third Worst Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Feeder Road	Then	2	2	2	2	2
	Now	3	3	2	1	1

Table 7.15: Impact of Fourth Worst Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Toilets	Then	2	2	2	2	2
		Everyone can use it				
	Now	2	2	2	2	2
		Now, all are broken, so nobody can benefit				

Table 7.16: Impact of Fifth Worst Project of Women North (WN) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Electricity	Then	4	3	3	0	0
	Now	4	3	3	0	0

Table 7.17: Impact of First Best Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Wulensi SHS	Then	1	2	5	2	0
		Most rich send their children out of town				
	Now	1	2	5	2	0
		Made education affordable for them. no need for journey				

Table 7.18: Impact of Second Best Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Mechanised borehole	Then	1	1	3	3	2
		thought water would be free for all		Safe from health cost as a result of drinking ad water		
	Now	3	3	2	2	0
		Use water for commercial purposes	Safe from health cost as a result of drinking ad	water		

Table 7.19: Impact of Third Best Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
electricity	Then	4	3	2	1	0
	Now	5	3	2	0	0

Table 7.20: Impact of Fourth Best Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Oti Bridge	Then	4	2	2	2	0
	Now	2	2	2	4	0
				Now pay less fares to Kumasi, cars now more readily available		

Table 7.21: Impact of Fifth Best Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Health centre	Then	0	0	2	4	4
					poorer groups can now access health services.	
	Now	0	0	2	4	4

Table 7.22: Impact of First Worst Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
ADRA Agro-Forestry	Then	1	2	2	3	2
	Now	5	3	2	0	0

Table 7.23: Impact of Second Worst Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Community Centre	Then	1	2	2	3	2
	Now	5	3	2	0	0

Table 7.24: Impact of Third Worst Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Police Station	Then	0	1	1	3	0
	Now	6	2	2	0	5

Table 7.25: Impact of Fourth Worst Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Community Library	Then	0	3	5	2	2
		Not Operational	Not Operational	Not Operational	Not Operational	Not Operational
	Now	0	3	5	2	2
		Not Operational	Not Operational	Not Operational	Not Operational	Not Operational

Table 7.26: Impact of Fifth Worst Project of Wulensi 2 (W2) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
CIFS Small Ruminants Project	Then	2	2	2	2	2
		Not Operational	Not Operational	Not Operational	Not Operational	Not Operational
	Now	2	2	2	2	2
		Not Operational	Not Operational	Not Operational	Not Operational	Not Operational

Table 7.27: Impact of First Best Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Bore holes	Then	0	3	3	2	2
		a chief (rich and very rich have) has a bore hole				
	Now	0	0	2	4	4
		general: made an end to the guinea worm epidemic; women save time to be invested in e.g.. Farming activities				

Table 7.28: Impact of Second Best Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Schools	Then	0	3	3	2	2
		the rich can always afford school, but if schooling is free, then more poor people are entering school. Also now most communities in W.S have primary schools, some have JSS				
	Now	0	0	1	4	5
		If you are very clever you can go to JSS schooling				

Table 7.29: Impact of Third Best Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Health post	Then	0	5	4	1	0
		Most community members have access to health facilities				
	Now	0	2	4	3	1
		Both very rich and rich have money and can afford to go to hospital; make less use of health posts				
				Because of HIS make more use of health services		

Table 7.30: Impact of Fourth Best Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Feeder Roads	Then	0	0	4	4	2
			Go by car to Yendi or Tamale	Feeder roads mean free movement; by the former paths the villages couldn't be reached by cars and trucks brining food and taking people to hospital		
	Now	0	0	4	4	2
				Go by motorbike to Bimbila	Has a bicycle	Have no money, travelling by feet takes time, they can reach Lugni market

Table 7.31: Impact of Fifth Best Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Extension services	Then	2	2	2	2	2
			don't have time to listen to message of extension workers			chemicals and fertilizer still were for free
	Now	0	4	3	3	0
		the rich can farm up to 10 acres, average to 5 acres, poor to 2 acres or are labourers, very poor don't have land. Both very poor and poor work for the rich and very rich Agric service brought new technology on better farming methods; improved varieties of seeds and other species of animals				now they have to be paid for

Table 7.32 : Impact of First Worst Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Small ruminants	Then	0	0	2	4	4
		The rich already had cattle, they don't need, it. Ranking is not applicable because most animals are dead, the project is not working anymore		Project was meant for lower average/ poor/ very poor to strengthen their economic position		
	Now	0	0	0	0	0

Table 7.33: Impact of Second Worst Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Guinea fowl project	Then	0	3	3	2	2
		Project only did implemented in one community (Tampuya); but was initially meant for everybody				
	Now	0	0	1	5	4

Table 7.34: Impact of Third Worst Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Bridges	Then	0	1	3	3	3
		Situation then, when the road was there without bridge. Roads not completed since bridges are not there. Cars spoil the road by making the detours.				
	Now	0	0	2	3	5
				Need to bring produce to market		

Table 7.35: Impact of Fourth Worst Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Teachers' quarters (some are used not all; could also be made into quarters for visitors)	Then	0	0	0	0	0
			When there were no quarters, the teachers stayed at their homes			
	Now	0	1	1	4	4
				At first they said that there was no accommodation, now they do not want to stay in the community following groups are a representation of the most suffering, because it is the only way to educate children and the teachers that are not coming		

Table 7.36: Impact of Fifth Worst Project of Wulensi South (WS) group on Wealth Classes Then and Now

Best Project	Then/ Now	Wealth Class benefited and why				
		Very rich	Rich	Average	Poor	Very poor
Tractors	Then	0	0	3	5	2
		Both the rich and the very rich don't want to work for others			With the lack of money, the poor cannot afford to hire the tractor, so they are suffering from the project	Labourers on other people's land
	Now	0	0	3	5	2

8. Relations between trends and interventions

After the first workshop day, we summarized the perceptions of changes in the different capitals, as perceived by the five groups of workshop participants (see chapter 2). On the last day of the workshop, we presented our synthesis to the participant groups and asked them to what extent each of these – positive and negative – changes could be attributed to interventions that they mentioned on the second day. We also asked which interventions or other factors mitigated these trends.

Tables 8.1 to 8.6 present the views of the participants on the attribution of change in the six different capitals.

Table 8.1: Relations Between Natural Trends and Interventions

Short description of the trend	Positive / Negative	Which intervention caused this trend?	Which intervention <i>mitigated</i> this trend
More drinking water	Positive (NW). (W2). (WM1). (WW). (WS:MW).	Building of dams and boreholes by CIDA and government (NW). Before then they depended on the dam. Now they have boreholes + well. Some people still like the dam water more (W2). Piped water project JICA boreholes mechanised borehole (WM1). Mechanised borehole. When this does not work the dam is there (WW). Boreholes projects, most of them are hand pump, except in Wulensi where it is mechanised (WS:MW).	Fulani cow introduction reduced this trend. Cows pollute water. Dry season gardening too, silting + organic manure pollutes water from dam (W2).
Introduction of new commercial crops	Positive (NW). (WS:MW).	Agric Station and CIDA (NW). Soybeans; rice; maize; cashew; (mango trees) (WS:MW).	(Comment: new crops maize, rice, beans, cassava (MOFA) Government project. SEND and ADRA are also involved)
Reduced Soil Fertility	Negative (NW). (WW). (WS:MW).	No (WW).	Distribution of fertilizer by ADRA and CIDA (NW). ADRA agro-forestation. The leaves provided manure (WW). Bush fires, MOFA introduces a program of crop rotation , tree crops permit the control of bush fires, extension work of MoFA helps to mitigate

Deforestation (WS:MW).	Negative (W2). (WM1).	All infrastructure buildings, especially roads, because trees have to be cut. (W2). ADRA tree planting Operation feed your self-trees were fell to make farms (WM1).	ADRA project (W2). ADRA project and teak plantation (WS:MW).
Increased planting of trees	Positive (W2). (WS:MW).	ADRA project (W2). Teak plantation, for economic used and not for reforestation, mango and cashews, Project of ADRA, Acacia (WS:MW).	All infrastructure buildings, especially roads, because trees have to be cut. (W2). (Observation: Some people do not have the same interest, bush fires are discouraging. Cashew project only reached some of the farmers).
More available fertilizer (and seeds)	Positive (WM1). (WS:MW).	YARA company project (WM1). Availability to improve the crops - GO MOFA, subsidy of the government to afford the fertilisers and seeds, before these would be given for free (WS:MW).	
More availability of chemicals	Positive (WW)	Govt of Ghana (WW).	
Mechanisation	Positive (WW) (WS:MW).	When manual, only men did farming. But now women can engage the services of a tractor and farm herself (WW).	Community tractor (private initiative), District Assembly and MOFA projects through which FBOs could apply for Grameen Ghana loans (WS:MW).
Reduced land availability	Negative (WS:MW).	Sensitisation of people to send their children to school and get other jobs than farming afterwards (WS:MW).	No specific projects; education / sensitisation projects needed so that less people would like to be farmers (WS:MW).

NW-North women; W2-Wulensi group 2; WM1- Wulensi Men group 1; WW –Wulensi Women; WS:MW – Wulensi South Men and Women

Table 8.2: Relations Between Physical Trends and Interventions

Short description of the trend	Positive / Negative	Which intervention caused this trend?	Which intervention mitigated this trend
Improved roads	Positive (NW). (W2). (WM1). (WS:MW).	GoG(NW). Road projects, especially Binda-Wulensi (W2). Oti River ridge, Wulensi-Binda road (WM1). All feeder roads project have contributed to the improvement of the roads (especially if they are finished altogether) (WS:MW).	Not (W2). But some are not finished. With no bridges a car can fall in the river, and definitely they will damage the roads by seeking a way to pass the river. No mitigation yet. The solution (mitigation) would be just to finalize the started roads (WS:MW).

Negative effect of new communication on behaviour	Negative (NW). (W2). (WM1). (WW). (WS:MW).	3 mobile poles (+ TV's) (W2). Mango tree plantation project based on political parties (WM1). Network providers (WW). No projects mentioned (WS:MW).	Education by school teachers, community leaders, mosques and churches (NW). Police station, monitoring all mosques and churches (W2). Not yet (WW). Schools were mentioned where this is taken up in the curriculum (WS:MW). (Observation: connection to 'the world' (especially loss of certain cultural traditions and imitation of violence shown in TV both inside and outside the homes)
Better communication (mobiles)	Positive (W2). (WM1). (WS:MW).	3 mobile poles (W2). MNT, TIGO, VodaFon poles for mobile phones (WM1). No projects mentioned (WS:MW).	
Better houses	Positive (NW). (WS:MW).	Own initiative (NW). No specific projects mentioned; also not the ones which contributed to the improvement of their economic situation (WS:MW).	
Dust & over speeding	Negative (WM1). (WW). (WS:MW).	Wulensi-Binda road (WM1). Roads Dept (WW). The cause of this is the way in which roads are constructed (WS:MW).	Nothing done yet, two weeks only (WW). None yet (WS:MW).

NW-North women; W2-Wulensi group 2; WM1- Wulensi Men group 1; WW –Wulensi Women; WS:MW – Wulensi South Men and Women

Table 8.3: Relations Between Human Trends and Interventions

Short description of the trend	Positive / Negative	Which intervention caused this trend?	Which intervention mitigated this trend
Better hygiene	Positive (NW). (WW).	GoG and NGOs brought water and toilets (NW). DA ministry of water and sanitation, supported by EU (WW).	
New diseases appeared	Negative (NW). (W2). (WM1). (WW).	Record dancing (W2). Wulensi dam (malaria, eradication) (WM1). No project (WW).	NGOs and GoG who give education on HIV/AIDS (NW). Mosques and churches (W2). Vaccination by Min of Health (WW).

More enrolments and schools	Positive (NW). (WM1). (WW). (WS:MW).	GoG and NGOs (NW). Girl child education CRS/CAMFED (WM1). All (WW). Free school feeding programme, free basic compulsory basic education (so paying less for schooling, capitation grants, supplies of books and furniture (WS:MW).	
More basic health facilities / services (better health)	Positive (W2). (WM1). (WS:MW).	All health projects (W2). Wulensi health centre Guinea worm eradication project. Health insurance office (WM1). Building of health offices, better facilities given, introduction of the health insurance, government project on health services (WS:MW).	Record dancing (W2).
Quality of teaching goes down	Negative (W2). (WS:MW).	None (W2).	Action Aid project (W2). Upgrading classes for teachers, scholarship for teachers (from the district assembly for the indigenous people of the area to get their grade), building teacher's quarters in remote areas, subsidies to get teachers in the far regions(WS:MW).

NW-North women; W2-Wulensi group 2; WM1- Wulensi Men group 1; WW –Wulensi Women; WS:MW – Wulensi South Men and Women

Table 8.4: Relations Between Economic Trends and Interventions

Short description of the trend	Positive / Negative	Which intervention caused this trend?	Which intervention <i>mitigated</i> this trend
More means of transport	Positive (NW). (W2).	GoG and Agric Station (NW). Routes (W2).	
Women earning more income (from agriculture)	Positive (NW). (WM1). (WS:MW).	NGO: CIDA and ADRA with the introduction of new varieties of crops and GoG who gave women loans (NW). FABS ADRA-Soya, maize farming (WM1). Through processing of agricultural products because of machines and facilities (the many mill projects and processing projects mentioned (WS:MW).	

Negative economic impact of conflict/insecurity	Negative (NW). (W2). (WS:MW).		GoG, NGOs, Mosques and Churches, schools, various associations (NW). Mobile communication. If you hear something, suspect some problem, you call police, they come immediately police station. Education projects: understand that quarrel is not good. Mosques / churches (W2). NGOs coming to the districts (WS:MW).
More access to money / credit	Positive (W2). (WS:MW).	None (understood as: gaining more money: better crops / yields) (W2). Community based group (2005) (MOFA), selling the products of some other projects, connected to banks and processing machines, Grameen Ghana bank access (WS:MW).	
More paid jobs	Positive (WM1). (WW).	National Youth employment National Health insurance Schools Feeding programme (WM1). Youth employment programme, employed people as asst nursing, and asst teaching. Zoomlion gathering rubbish. GoG, Youth in Agriculture, 2006 (WW).	
Negative conflict Impact	Negative (WM1). (WW).	Operation "Gong-Gong" - supply of foodstuff, clothing, etc stepped (WM1). Idea is that Konkomba wanted to take the land from them. Nanumba wanted no marriage with the K. but: most of the projects stay here in the Wulensi town, and not in the villages, they felt they were being cheated. Even access roads were not catered for (WW).	There are now schools and health posts in the villages, and also the Youth employment scheme is there and provides jobs (WW).
More and better markets	Positive (WW).	DA and EU. The EU paid a percentage as co-financing arrangement. In other markets it was the Canadian govt. (WW).	(observation: Zoomlion 2007, payment by GoG from vat and between Agic dev bank and GoG) (WW).

NW-North women; W2-Wulensi group 2; WM1- Wulensi Men group 1; WW –Wulensi Women; WS:MW – Wulensi South Men and Women

Table 8.5: Relations Between Social-Political Trends and Interventions

Short description of the trend	Positive / Negative	Which intervention caused this trend?	Which intervention mitigated this trend
Women are more involved into decision making	Positive (NW). (W2). (WM1).	NGO: CIFS (NW). All education projects (W2). ADRA tree planting Operation feed your self-trees were fell to make farms (WM1).	None (W2).
Political tension	Negative (NW). (WS:MW).		GoG: peacekeeping education (NW). NGOs Send foundation, mediation process (WS:MW).
Increase of various associations	Positive (NW).	NGOs: ADRA, CIFS, Schools and GoG; Mosques and Churches(NW).	
Men are less in control in their families	Negative (W2). (WM1). (WW).	Women empowerment projects of NGO's (W2). CHRAG organised sensitisation talks which have increased social revolt within families (WM1).	None. If men literate it is easier to regain control. If job also (W2). Campaign for female education has helped them gain strength (WW).
Increased presence of NGO	Positive (W2).	Partly because of district creation. No project caused this (W2).	
Women are more in positions of leadership	Positive (WW).	Capacity building for women rights and human rights, many NGOs did contribute. There was a programme to promote women in education (CAMFED) and they were told they could be educated and have rights (WW).	With the change of government, a number of NGOs that contributed to their knowledge of their rights (WW). (Observation: Generally men and women are interacting more than before).
Conflict around leadership: chieftancy	Negative (WW).		Not one, but some NGOs came and tried to solve the conflict by taking the youths of both groups first apart and than together (WW). (Observation: the market was negatively affected)
More young people are involved in political activities	Positive (WS:MW).	Through campaign activities, political leaders are important in decision making (WS:MW).	

NW-North women; W2-Wulensi group 2; WM1- Wulensi Men group 1; WW –Wulensi Women; WS:MW – Wulensi South Men and Women

Table 8.6: Relations Between Cultural Trends and Interventions

Short description of the trend	Positive / Negative	Which intervention caused this trend?	Which intervention mitigated this trend
Increased presence of Islam and Churches	Positive (NW).	Islamic groups and Churches (NW).	
Loss of traditional activities like festivals	Negative (NW). (WM1). (WS:MW).	Churches and Mosque preach against tradition (WM1). Traditional poetry is disappearing and the young do not want to hear the traditional clan poetry and songs (WW).	Various associations (NW). The chief has tried to support the traditional dances and forbid the new dances (WW). Education, history making this part of the curriculum in schools (WS:MW).
Less harmful traditional practices	Positive (NW). (W2). (WW). (WS:MW).	Social change (NW). Mosques and churches education projects (W2). All schools and the women education programmes (WW).	Education, part of the school curriculum, gender sensitisation (MOFA) (WS:MW).
Improved food situation	Positive (W2). (WM1).	New crops introduced + mechanisation (W2). All agric projects (WM1).	
Negative effects of migration	Negative (WW).		Chief forbid record dancing and wearing of short skirts and trousers (WW).
Less parental control	Negative (W2). (WM1).	Record dancing (W2). Firm shows, dances, pornographic pictures	Mosques and churches (W2).

NW-North women; W2-Wulensi group 2; WM1- Wulensi Men group 1; WW –Wulensi Women; WS:MW – Wulensi South Men and Women

9. Conclusion

The project has been revealing to both the participants and the team. It can be said that the manual is very effective for the evaluation of development of specific areas in general and could also be used for specific projects. The amount of data and knowledge generated is very useful for community people to track projects in order to get the best out of it.

Though the exercise takes a lot of time the outcome is worth it.

Appendix 1: List of participants

Nr	Gender	Name	Function	Village	Group	Area
1	Male	Imoro Bawa Abdulai		Nakpayili	OM-II	N
2	Female	Amushetu Mohammed Kore		Wulensi	OW	W-1
3	Male	Afa Mumuni Zakari		Wulensi	OM-II	W-1
4	Male	Azumah Alhassan Adam	Farmer and teacher	Nakpayili	OM-I	N
5	Female	Akidu Adama		Nakpayili	OW	N
6	Female	Alhassan Salima		Nakpayili	OW	N
7	Male	Mohammed Ben Ibrahim		Wulensi	OM-II	W-1
8	Male	A.A. Mamani	Chief and teacher	Wulensi	OM-I	W-1
9	Male	Salifu Mohammed	Farmer and regent (trad. Author)	Gbungbaliga	OM-I	S
10	Male	Afa Samidu Wahab		Wulensi	OM-II	W-1
11	Female	Salima Salifu		Tampoaya	YW	S
12	Female	Fati Dakurugu		Nyankpani	OW	N
13	Male	Mahami Konkomba. Majeed		Id	YM	N
14	Male	Afa Abukari Fushevi	Farmer	Wulensi	OM-I	W-1
15	Female	Mohammed Zulfawu		Wulensi	YW	W-1
16	Male	Mumuni Mohammed		Wulensi	YM	W-1
18	Female	Shahadi Abdul-Rahaman		Wulensi	YM	W-2
19	Male	Sugri Sulemana Sibri	GHS	Wulensi	O	O-2
20	Female	Yatarbu Adjua Yakubu		Gbungbaliga	OW	S
21	Male	Gabulja James		Yadoya	YM	N
22	Male	Wakii Kojo		Langkani	YM	N
23	Male	Jacob Wasah		id	OM-II	N

24	Male	Imam Alhaji Huduwahabu	Imam	Wulensi	OM-II	W-2
25	Male	Alhaji Yalansu	Farmer and mosque functionary	Wulensi	OM-I	W-2
26	Male	Ustaze Ibrahim	farmer	Wulensi	OM-I	W-2
27	Male	Nkrumah Tikayi	farmer	Kpansu	OM-I	S
28	Male	Abdulai Yakubu	farmer	Nakpayili	OM-I	N
29	Male	Yunusah Yahaya		Wulensi	YM	W-2
30	Male	Anthony Kwasi	farmer	Kpansu	OM-I	S
31	Male	Memunatu Ibrahim		Wulensi	YW	W-2
32	Male	Alhassan A. Iddrisu	MOFA	Kabriya	O	N (O)
33	Male	Alhassan Vida Adamu	MOFA	Lungni	O (female)	S (O)
34	Male	Rockson Konkomba. Ganu	MOFA	Lungni	O	S (O)
35	Male	C.A.Saba	MOFA and traditional authority	Kpayansi	O	S (O)
36	Male	Prince Y.N. Dennis	MOFA	Wulensi	YW as translator	O-1
37	Male	Natogmah Dahamani	MOFA	Nakpayili	O	N (O)
38	Male	Abdulai Osman	MOFA	Wulensi	O	O-1
39	Male	Fuseini Dukurugu	MOFA	Wulensi	O	O-1
40	Male	Mohammed Zulfawu	MOFA ext volunteer	Wulensi	O (female)	O-1
41	Male	Faustina Tikuri	MOFA ext volunteer	Lungni	YW	S (O)
42	Male	Oyom Francis	IDC Wulensi	Wulensi	O	O-2
44	Male	Ziblin Mumuni	Information Services Division Wulensi	Wulensi	O	O-1
45	Male	Emmanuel Buorokuu	Idem (ISD) Wulensi	Wulensi	O	O-2
46	Male	Alhassan Abukari	Distr Assembly NYEP Nat Youth Empl Progr.	Wulensi	O	W-2
47	Male	Mahama Wuni Baba	GES Wulensi	Wulensi	O	O-2
48	Male	Mohammed Majeed	MILTISDEC	Wulensi	O	O-1

49	Male	Namasam A. Daniel	Dept of Community Devt Wulensi	Wulensi	O	O-2
50	Male	Nanewotor Samuel	Catholic Church pastor	Wulensi	O	W-2
51	Male	Frikon Kwodjo	Assembly man	Jimam	YM	S
52	Male	Iddisah Zaharatu	NADMO	Wulensi	O	O-1

Gender/age groups on January 18:

O = officials (facilitated by Richard, Mahmood and Genevieve) n = 14

OM-I = older men (facilitated by Frederick, Wouter and Kees) n = 8

OM-II = older men (facilitated by Conrad and Fred)

OW = Older women (facilitated by David, Christi, Dieneke and Anika)

YW = Young women (facilitated by Nicky and Agnieszka) n = 4+1

YM = Young men (facilitated by Samuel and Roger) n = 6

Area groups on January 19:

N = North (women and men); S = South (women and men); W = Wulensi Town (I and II); O = Officials (I and II):

- Arrangement of the facilitation of the area groups (Jan. 19 and 20):
 - o North: Nicky, Agnieszka (women), Roger, Sami (men)
 - o South: Dieneke, Genevieve, David
 - o Wulensi-1: Fred (women), Conrad (men)
 - o Wulensi-2: Wouter, Frederick
 - o Officials-1: Richard, Christi
 - o Officials-2: Mahmood, Anika
 - o Personal files: Kees
 - o Overall coordination: Francis, Ton