

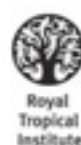
Participatory Assessment of Development

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SYNTHESIS REPORT ROUND 1

by Fred Zaal

PADev Working Paper No. W.2009.4



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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 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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The Team

Fred Zaal wrote the main text of this report. Ton Dietz developed the original idea of the workshop and the tools presently used in the first two days of the workshop and the life histories. Wouter Rijnveld consolidated those tools in Appendix 1 and wrote the text of that appendix. Kees van der Geest further developed the life history questionnaire devised by Ton Dietz into the concise survey form presently used; added to this report as Appendix 2. Adama Belemvire translated and added to the workshop tool kit for use in Burkina Faso and was the organiser of the workshop in Southern Burkina Faso, and Francis Obeng was the organizer of the workshop in Northern Ghana. Further contributions to the workshop and the reports came from Mamudu Akudugu, Frederick Bebelleh, Margaret Akuribah, Martha Lahai, Agnieszka Kazimierczuk, Dienneke de Groot, Richard Yeboah Narthey, Saa Dittoh, David Millar and Ziba.

1 Introduction

This report presents the findings of the first series of workshops organized in the framework of the Participatory Assessment of Development (PADev) project. This project was funded by a consortium of donor agencies (ICCO, Woord en Daad, and Prisma), and implemented by AMIDSt/ University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands, with UDS in Tamale, Ghana, and EDS in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso.

The aim of the project is to develop innovative participatory methods of evaluation of development-related interventions both in the countries concerned, and in general for the benefit of the above-mentioned donor agencies and their partner organizations in the countries in which they are active. The project organises four series of workshops, starting in September 2008, in various regions in Northern Ghana and southern Burkina Faso where the donor agencies mentioned above support local organisations. This first series of workshops took place in Sandema and Langbinsi, northern Ghana, and in Tô, southern Burkina Faso. The reports of these workshops are available separately, and this report is based on them using them as annex to the present text (see PAdEv Working Paper 2009.1, 2009.2 and 2009.3).

The method used in this PAdEv project started with the selection of three types of areas in which the partners of the above-mentioned donor agencies are; active, have been active, or have not been active to date, requiring three series of workshops to elucidate information on the interventions and their mode of operation. After these three visits of the three different areas, one revisit of the first set of areas is organised after three years for an historic analysis. In all, twelve workshops are foreseen. The first set of three workshops (in three different areas) on which this report is based were organised in September 2008. Representatives of the population concerned were invited. This group of people consisted of men and women, young and old people, representatives of various ethnic and religious groups, and citizens and officials, to capture as broad a view on development interventions in the region as possible. The focus was not necessarily on the activities of the partner organisations of the donors concerned. Rather, in a series of activities, the general economic, environmental, social as well as cultural trends in the area were discussed, the *whole* list of interventions/initiatives/projects found in the area of study was established, as well as the qualitative assessment of their success or failure according to the local population. Among these were the activities funded by the donor agencies and implemented by the local partners. The impact of all the interventions was ascertained through discussions on these interventions by separate groups of men and women, young and old people and officials and others, to be able to compare notes, and to facilitate a free and open discussion. A description of methods used in this first series of workshops can be found in appendix 1 of this report. Appendix 2 contains the survey on the personal life histories of the participants, used to assess the representativeness and characteristics of the participants compared to the population at large.

Subsequently, based on a standard format, the workshops were reported on in the three workshop reports mentioned above (PADEV Working Paper 2009.1, 2009.2 and 2009.3). The findings were brought back to the intervention area for discussion with the local population and officials and staff, and a final version of the report was published. The present report gives an overall analysis and summary of the first series of workshops of September 2008, both in terms of methods and in terms of findings.

2. The population invited: who are our participants

As one of the exercises (though detached from the main methodology), we gave the participants a sheet with some questions related to their own background and those of their children and parents, and their brothers and sisters. This allows a multi-dimensional perception of the characteristics of our participants. The following tables and graphs are presented to be able to assess their values, based on age, gender, education, religion and other variables. The following table gives some basic data.

Table 1. Workshops participants by gender and average age.

	Langbinsi	Sandema	Tô	Total
Country	Ghana	Ghana	Burkina Faso	
Region	Northern Region	Upper East	Sud-Ouest	
District	East Mamprusi	Builsa	Sissily	
Number of participants	62	56	60	178
Of whom women	17	17	15	49
Average age	52	42	45	47

Source: life history survey 2008

The table above refers to the population participating in the workshop. The percentage of women participating is relatively low unfortunately. It is still an indication of the lower freedom of movement women have in society in the Ghana-Burkina border zone.

The following graph shows education levels of the participants and their family members for which we have data.

Figure 1: Highest education levels by birth decade (N=1777)

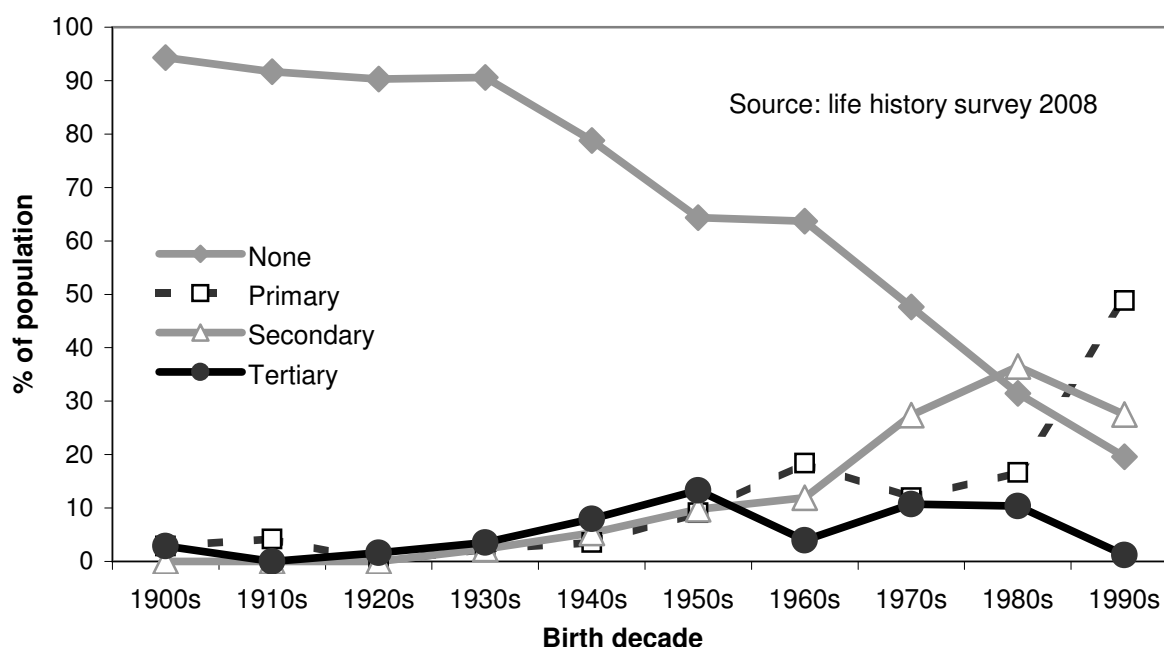
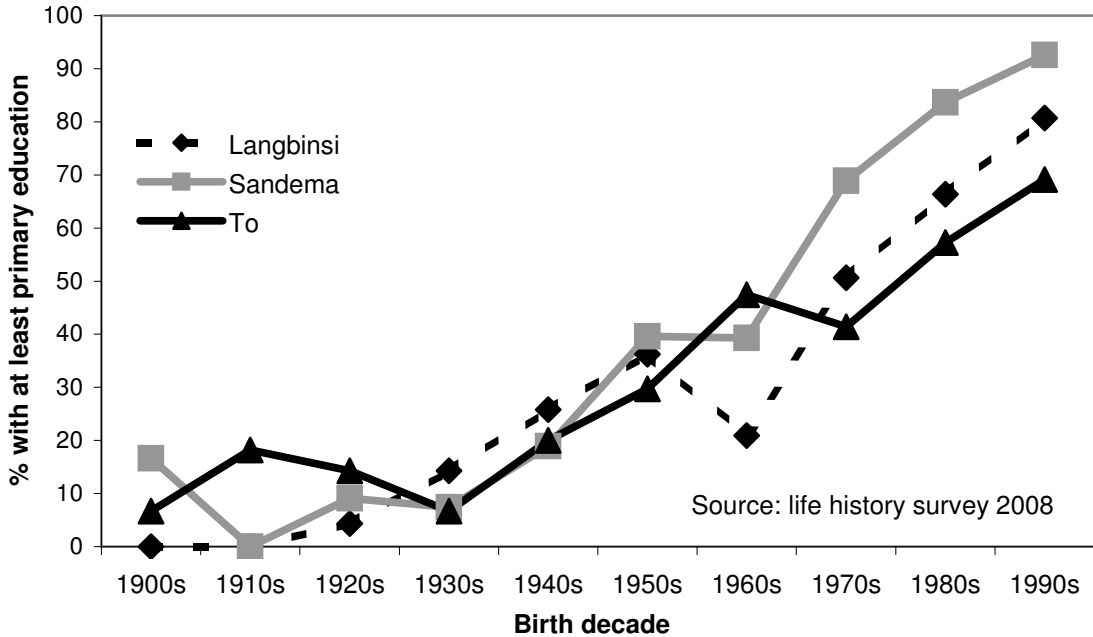


Figure 1 shows the steady increase in education levels. Of the people born in the first three decades of this century, only very few ever went to school. In contrast, of those born in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s more than half has been to school. The drop in secondary and tertiary education in the 1990s is because many children born in the 1990s have not yet reached the

age of secondary school and none are old enough to attend a university. Children and siblings born in the 2000s have been excluded from this figure and the figures below because most of them are not yet of school-going age.

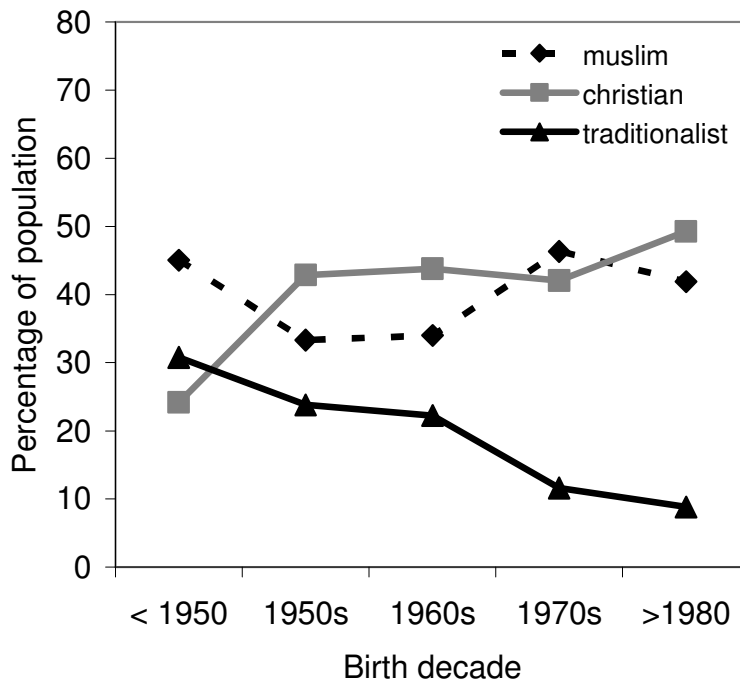
There are substantial differences in education history between the relatives of workshop participants in the three research areas (see Figure 2). Since the 1970s Sandema has consistently had the largest proportion of people with at least primary education followed by Langbinsi. In Tô one out of three children born in the 1990s still has not attended school. We have to be careful not to automatically generalise the findings for relatives of workshop participants to the overall situation in the three research areas. It could just be that more ‘officials’ had been invited to the Sandema workshop and that their relatives are also better educated.

Figure 2: Education history by research area (N=1777)



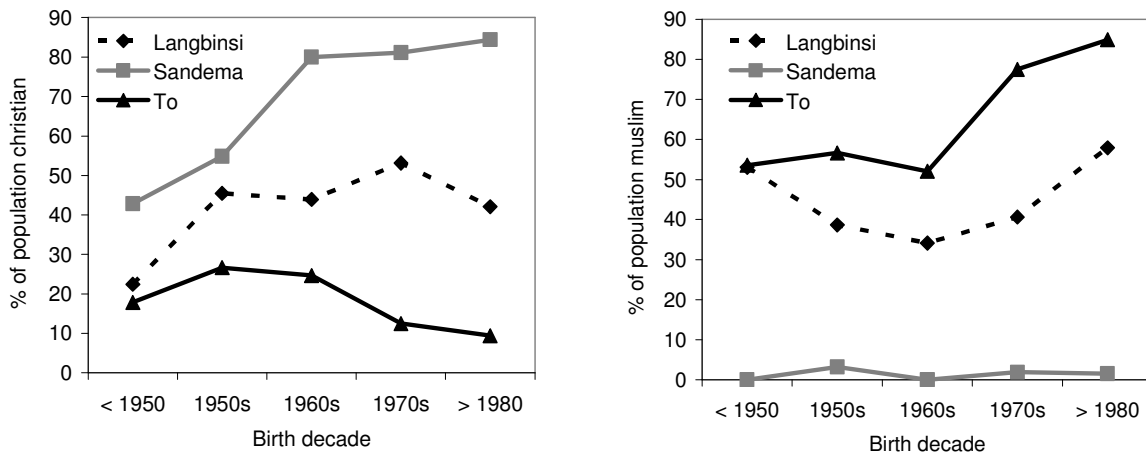
An important variable is religion, especially as we want to assess values in relation to interventions. The following graphs show the religious preferences of the population as a whole, and give details on specific religions.

Figure 3: Proportion of total population by religion



Clearly, the traditional religions are losing ground, and the rest of the population is either Muslim or Christian in almost equal proportions. There are differences between the areas though, as the following graph shows.

Figures 4a and 4b: percentage of population Christian and Muslim respectively, per area.

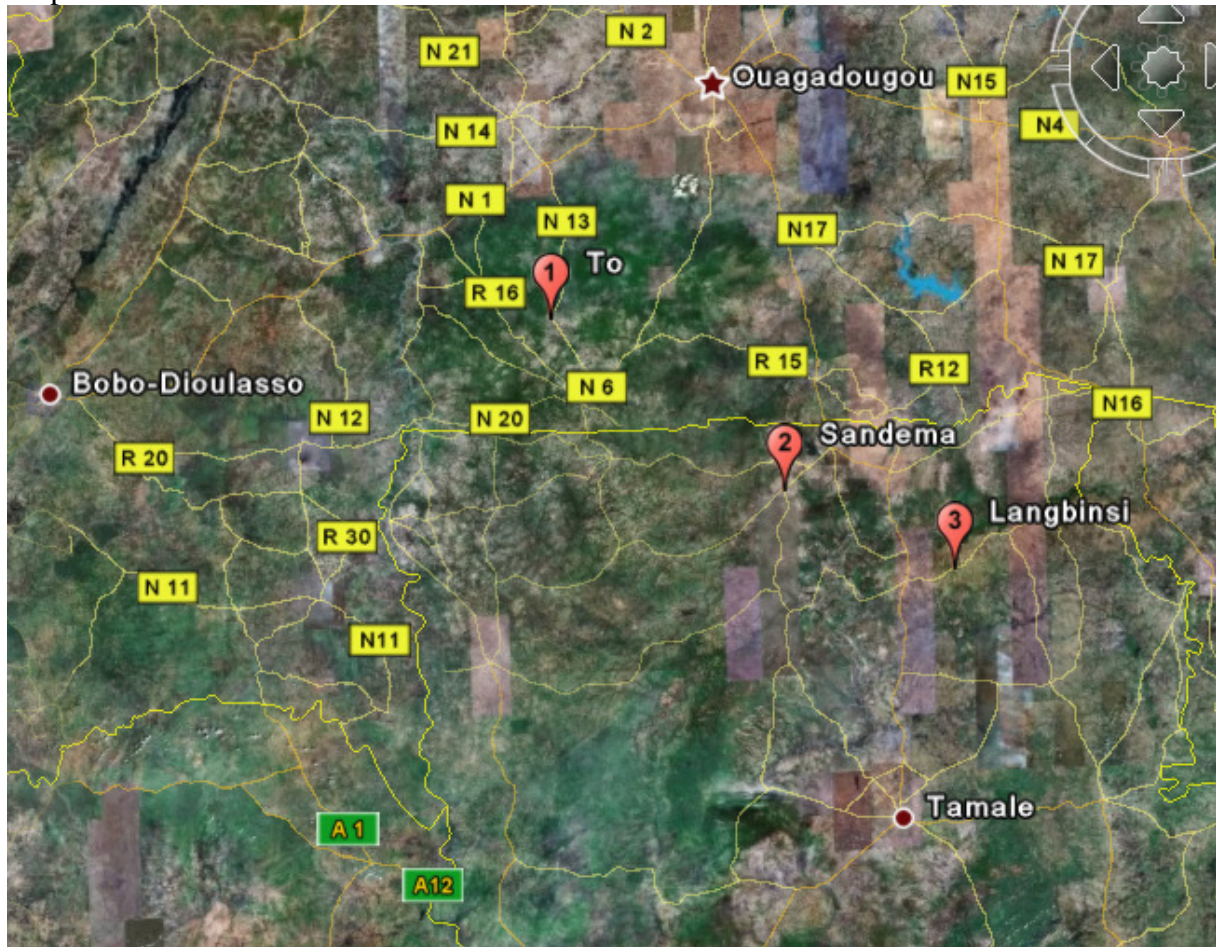


Tô experiences a steady growth towards an almost 100% Muslim society, while Sandema is becoming almost completely Christian, with the younger generations in our population almost exclusively tending towards those religions. Adherents of traditional religions are hard to find among the youth.

3. Perceptions about recent local history

In this chapter we will discuss the historical trends in the three locations. The data go back quite a long time in history, a reflection of both the age and the memory of the oldest participants. The earliest date for which we have information is 1923. The ‘timelines’ in the three locations are different. Not only because in each workshop there were subgroups made along age and gender lines and events remembered differently between groups, but also because the areas are somewhat distant from each other: there are completely different local histories. The following map shows the location of the three research areas.

Map 1: location of the three research areas.



Of course, Tô being located in a different country from the two other cases also makes for a quite different local history: national policies increasingly make a difference to people in recent decades. For this reason, we will focus on the main events in the various areas, and indicate when similar events took place in the other country or area.

Before the 1970s

The earliest memories of events focused on the introduction of services by the colonial government and the churches. Roads started being constructed in Sandema area around 1924, and from 1925 we hear from schools (Langbinsi) and churches (Sandema, Catholic church in 1926, Presbyterian church in 1931, the first mosque in the early 1930s) being opened. In the 1930s and 1940s, activities other than the building of schools and churches are being

mentioned, such as the introduction of taxation, the first water dams, and in the 1960s the introduction of the first new crop varieties (sorghum sp), new crops (cotton) and fertilisers and animal traction (Sandema and Langbinsi). It is also clear that in terms of gender roles, things were different: it is remembered that women were considered far inferior to men, and that they were married out at a very young age. Markets were scarce and barter universal, roads were of bad quality if they were there at all.

The 1970s

Due to the fact that the 1970s are not too far back in time for most adults, we see the number of remembered events rapidly go up for this period. This period is characterised by the introduction of the state and its services. Districts were created (Sandema) as were regional development organisations (Tô), further development of schools, health facilities and roads took place (all three regions), and the first African Catholic Priest (Sandema) started his work in the area. This period was characterised by the first serious droughts of the Sahel too, and the population still has vivid memories of both famines in the early 1970s (Langbinsi, Tô), as well as of food relief (Langbinsi). This period saw the first massive vaccination campaigns against the most common killer diseases of people, but also livestock diseases were taken up and campaigns started to eradicate rinderpest (Langbinsi, Tô). Agricultural innovations are remembered: the Presbyterian Agricultural Station started high yielding maize and fertilisers (Langbinsi) and boreholes were drilled to provide water in the face of steadily drying aquifers (Sandema).

The 1980s

The pace of changes and of innovations being introduced goes clearly up in the 1980s. It becomes hard to mention them all in any meaningful way, but in general, when looking at the three areas with a bird's eye view, a number of important events can be discerned. Of course, the drought of the early 1980s stands out and is vividly remembered by all in the three areas, though it seems that the severity starts to become worse in the south sooner than in the north. In Langbinsi, the drought hits already in 1982, while in Sandema it is in 1983, and Tô in 1984. A whole series of effects is linked to these droughts. Food aid was given (Langbinsi 1982, Sandema 1983, Tô (1984). Skin diseases in those same years were frequent. Fires and charcoal burning destroyed the forest even faster than was already happening (Sandema, Tô). Seeds are being distributed to allow people to sow again (Sandema). Migration of destitute people from the north becomes a regular occurrence in Tô, and pressure on resources makes people migrate further south. Divorce, illness, and deaths due to drought are mentioned (Tô). By the end of that period of drought, a dust storm covers the whole of the Sahel, as the participants in all three areas mention a red cloud, strangely illuminating the sky in both day and night time. Increased levels of spending by government and donors alike speed up the building of schools, clinics and roads, and a general increase in well-being is mentioned: more and better drinking water, better health, higher crop yields and higher enrolment rates (Sandema and Tô). The first banks appear in Sandema. On the other hand, probably before but certainly after the drought, the first signs of environmental degradation start to become noticed: forests decline in size and quality (certain species disappear as in Langbinsi, tree planting starts to be promoted in Sandema). The Presbyterian Agricultural Station in Sandema has not been able to help the people much in the late seventies and early 1980s as due to mismanagement, it was closed until mid-80s. In Burkina Faso (Tô) and Ghana (Langbinsi) alike, a new drought causes havoc again in the second half of the decade, with massive migration towards southern and central Ghana as a result.

The 1990s

The 1990s of course show again an increase of interventions mentioned by the participants, if only because of their recent character. A number of trends are obvious. The penetration of government organisations and their services continued at an increased pace. New clinics and hospitals were built in all areas (though some by the Presbyterian and Catholic churches). Especially in Sandema we know of many administrative activities, if only because of the fact that the participants were very knowledgeable on these issues as there were a number of officials among them. District Assemblies were established (Sandema) and *Commissariats de Police* (Tô), village infrastructure programmes created dams and irrigation facilities, and upgrading and tarring of existing roads made markets that developed within easy reach (Sandema, Tô). This period sees the introduction or further rolling out of the electricity net in Ghana, which makes a massive change, also because a more general use of telephones is now possible (Sandema, Langbinsi). A larger variety of donors came into the area, among which were IFAD, new NGOs and commercial banks (Sandema, Tô). Though in all three areas the construction of wells and the drilling of boreholes continued, the lack of potable water continues to be mentioned and in some cases, due to disrepair, the need has become greater in this period, also because of rapid growth of the population. Regardless of the increased effort to eradicate communicable diseases through vaccination programmes (Sandema), severe epidemics hit all three areas repeatedly, in particular meningitis, cholera during periods of flooding, and measles. Floods seem to increase in number and severity, and though the drought of the early 1990s was severe everywhere, it seems to have hit the northern areas most (Tô, in 1994, it is not even mentioned in northern Ghana). The whole of the period, new crops, new varieties and new types of animals have been introduced in the whole area, mostly apparently by the Agricultural stations in Langbinsi and Sandema: soybeans, cowpeas, new types of maize, mango, new types of chicken and guinea fowl, new types of goats and sheep, donkeys, etc. Also the introduction of new land management methods, conservation farming, composting etc seems to have been taken up more strongly (Sandema, Langbinsi). In Tô the accent seems to have been on organising the population for better access to services, while at the same time decentralising the government apparatus.

The 2000s

Again, the last decade shows an increase in the number and range of activities, both because they are more recent, but also because in the last few years, a lot of activities have started in areas where few took place before. In the northern Ghana area, this is mostly because of the impact of severe floods: relief was given, seeds given for the new agricultural year, and infrastructure of various kinds (roads, but mostly clinics and schools) show up close to the villages that before had seen none. In the Langbinsi area, we see an improvement of the marketing chain with the development of new markets, new crops being introduced that are shown to be beneficial, but also a number of diseases in livestock, plants and humans devastate the area, the latter particularly after the floods of 2007. In the Sandema area, a decidedly more 'urban' flavour is given to the interventions. Feeder roads improve the access of many villages to the main town, administrative buildings crop up, small-town water development takes place, and private initiatives are found more often too, both in education and in commerce, in particular the buying of crops and the provision of inputs. The impact is felt to be positive but quite often for a more limited group of people, as we shall see later. Some national level programmes are mentioned as well: school fees for primary schools are waived, and the National Health Insurance System is introduced. The floods, in this area both in the early years of the decade as well as in 2007 cause a lot of damage, but also a surge in the number of initiatives to repair the damage and to prepare for future disasters. The general trend is a sort of 'fine-tuning' of the projects that were there before: schools get day-care

centres, grants are being given to successful but poor pupils, water sources are being treated, mass transport is being developed, new health services added to the existing ones (HIV screening for example). In Tô, similar 'urban' trends are discernable, though of course we have to remember that Tô is a very small place in the range of urban areas. But the first thefts in the place are clearly remembered, and when solar power was introduced and the panels stolen, this was very much described in terms of 'town' problems. We see a slow trend towards commercial crops to the expense of tubers for example, and the introduction of mobile telephone. As in the Ghanaian villages, diseases are still very common, such as meningitis and *rougeole*. And much more than in Ghana, droughts and flooding seem to hit the villages in the Tô area. Like Sandema, the drought of 2003 hit Tô, but also in 2006 and 2007 (the latter in the same event as happened in Ghana), and 2008 the rains had been either too much (2007) or too little or not timely, stopping too early or starting too late. Crop failures caused regular famine and related diseases. We do see that treatment starts relatively early after these outbreaks occur, and generally the level of service delivery of the government is increasing, but not as fast as in Ghana.

4. Changes in capabilities

The trends discussed above were to a large degree similar in the various areas: State development, the changes in the natural environment, the occurrence of diseases, all these trends are occurring roughly at the same time as the villages and research areas are not too far from each other, and the climate and diseases usually do not stop at the borders. Government does and so a number of trends related to state development and its service delivery do differ somewhat more. This part presents the results of a further probing into the changes that have taken place in the more recent past. Even though there is a slight overlap in methods or at least their results (the trend discussion above also yielded changes in capitals and capabilities of course, but also the introduction of various innovations as will be discussed in the next paragraph), it is worthwhile to dig deeper into the changes of capabilities as experienced by various groups of people. Were the previous trends relatively 'age and gender' neutral, the following exercise was not: officials, men and women were grouped separately, and split up in age groups too, to elucidate a more personal level description of the changes in capabilities. More details were provided, as the period for which we wanted to discuss these changes was one generation. We asked about the changes that took place within the various capitals, for the period between now and the time their parents had their age.

What is clear from the descriptions is that many changes for the better have occurred, although (not surprisingly) different in character for the different groups. However, what is also apparent, and this is interesting for the discussion on the valuation of the impact of the interventions, quite often, positive changes have in turn lead to negative impacts in the longer term, and these are either noticed and discussed separately, or unnoticed and taken along in the valuation of the initial intervention. 'Good' changes have also 'bad' effects in the long run. We will discuss these by discussing the trends in the various capitals/ coherent sets of capabilities.

Natural environment

From Tô to Langbinsi to Sandema, once again we see a gradual shift in the availability and quality of various capitals. Land in Tô is still available, while in Langbinsi it is still available (also because the distribution is better organised), but tensions have arisen. In Sandema however there is a relative shortage of land: as women have increasingly acquired rights to land, as population pressure mounts, as the history of land use becomes longer, land becomes more scarce. Also, in Sandema and Tô, land has become a commodity and parcels are being sold; sometimes large parcels (Tô). The net effect of this is overworking of the soil: the negative trend here is one of reduced fertility, increased erosion (also due to the occurrence of more frequent severe rains ascribed to climate change), and reduced availability of fertile soils. Severity depending on the specific developments in the various areas, this trend of reduced fertility is found in all three areas. Some projects have taken up this challenge and have started the introduction of fertiliser, manure, and composting (in later years). New farming methods including land rotation, crop rotation, and contour ploughing have also been introduced. However, the negative trends are still being mentioned and this shows that these innovations are either not enough, or difficult for many people to adopt. The weed *Striga*, an indicator of monoculture and reduced fertility of the soil, is an increasing occurrence.

Trees and forests have dwindled everywhere. In Tô, in-migration and population growth have caused an increase of agricultural land use, domestic animals have to graze the forests now and destroy the young shoots, fuel wood is increasingly sold to traders for transport to Ouagadougou, and the rain has diminished again (after the droughts of the 1970s

and 1980s, the 1990s had been rather generous in terms of rainfall). These causes also affect the forests in Langbinsi and Sandema: all groups unanimously declared the forest to be reduced in density and extent, certain useful trees to be almost extinct due to indiscriminate cutting (trees for medicine, for condiments, even in sacred groves). Bushfires are increasingly common and the fire hotter and more destructive due to the dense low growth rather than high trees. Charcoal is also a product with increasing monetary value for urban markets, and this has caused a more rapid reduction of forest cover. Here again, tree planting has now been taken up as a solution to scarcity. Useful trees such as mango are planted quite extensively, and other fruit trees, live hedges and various less useful trees (eucalyptus, teak) have been introduced. This area seems to go through the same transition as other areas before them (Machakos and Kitui Districts in Kenya, Atakora in Benin, etc), and the question is whether these more positive trends are timely and fast enough to prevent degradation and permanent damage to the soils.

Water availability has become a problem in all three areas too. Especially in Tô, rainfall seems to have decreased in recent years (after an initial recovery after the early 1990s), and rivers dry up much earlier in the season than before. Ponds, streams and rivers dry up in Langbinsi too, and also in Sandema area, rivers dry up and are silted, though here the impression is that elderly men and women are less negative than young men. We assume that the older generation still remembers the level of drought prevailing in the 1980s and 1990s, and perceive present levels of rainfall and water availability in this light. In Tô however, a negative assessment of precipitation trends is universal; in Ghana there is more diversity in opinion and the reduction seems to be less pronounced. Everyone agrees however that the number of water sources in the form of boreholes, dams and wells has increased tremendously after the 1970s, and that in almost all villages wells and boreholes now provide the drinking water. Hygiene has improved around those sources, except for the dams where malaria is increasing. These dams have contributed to other trends: there is more brick making, more irrigation in the dry season and more fisheries than before.

Trends in crops and plants are also both positive, due to the benefits, and negative, due to related (although often delayed) impacts, and most agencies have followed up on earlier interventions to try to mitigate the negative impacts these interventions have had later on. The soils have diminished in fertility. Rainfall is lower than before. The introduction of short cycle crops has therefore done a great deal to solve a difficult situation. In all three areas, new (short cycle) types of sorghum and maize, non-grain crops such as soybean, cowpeas and various types of groundnuts have been introduced, but they are not always appreciated due to their different taste. Many types of fruit trees have been introduced as well as types of tomatoes, peppers and other garden crops for cultivation around the dams. There are also disadvantages: the old varieties of certain important crops have all but disappeared, and biodiversity has decreased. This may be a problem for the future resilience of the farming systems. Also, some crops or types of crop have disappeared due to the fact that commercialisation has increased, so commercially interesting crops such as groundnuts have displaced other crops such as yams.

Domestic animals seem to be doing relatively well, though some people maintained that their number had decreased. Due to the introduction of veterinary care, the number of animals seems to have increased, and there are many more species and types of animals. Donkeys have been re-introduced where they had disappeared before, and new types of sheep, goat and cattle were introduced, but also new species of birds and types of chicken. Production from these animals has increased due to better care, and the opportunity to increased benefits from the sale of products from these animals. Sometimes crop sale proceeds are used to buy animals, and integrated cropping-livestock systems are starting to appear. However, there are drawbacks. Due to the increase in land area used for arable

agriculture, grazing is more difficult and stabling is increasing, though this is labour intensive. More productive animals need more care and this is expensive. New diseases affect these new or crossbred animals more than they affected the old types of animals. And they are generally less mobile: the old, stronger cattle breeds were better for transport on the hoof to the southern markets.

Physical capital

In terms of physical capital, there have been many changes as well, in particular with road construction and transport. Roads have become much more numerous and of better quality with tarmac being used for the more important ones. Access roads, feeder roads, bridges and the availability of means of transport have greatly increased the opportunities to travel and to transport produce. Before, footpaths were in use in many of the areas. However, road maintenance is a problem, and there is an almost universal idea that the roads are deteriorating with every rainy season that passes. Also, the fact that more traffic accidents now happen is mentioned, due to the increased numbers of vehicles and their increased speed.

Buildings have also improved in quality, generally. Cement, iron sheets and metal windows and doors have contributed to better and safer houses. At the same time, markets, public buildings such as regional offices of ministries and council (*mairie*), churches and mosques and maternities were also built of better materials. Schools and health centres are well built, easy to clean and reliable. Of course, this comes with a cost: building your house with these materials is much more expensive, and it is a sign of wealth to have more than a certain number of metal sheets as a roof. Latrines are also increasingly built, specially the Ventilated Improved Latrines on the compounds of the households. This has increased sanitary conditions, but again, not everyone can afford them, and again this is a sign of wealth now.

One of the greatest changes in the last decades, and in some areas (Tô in Burkina Faso) this means the last two decades, is the construction of boreholes, wells and urban drinking water facilities. In all areas, praise for the construction of these facilities is universal. The sheer availability, the fact that it is often in the village itself rather than at some remote river site, and the quality of the water makes all the difference. Less time is spent fetching water, the lack of security between the village and a remote water source is no longer an issue, and the reduction of diseases related to open water bodies are important positive points as well. Wells are also increasingly used for small-scale market gardening in the dry season, and of course livestock are being watered more easily, with the loss of human and animal life due to trekking long distances now being reduced. Of course, increased numbers of inhabitants in the villages are putting pressure on the available sources, and it seems that the increase in water points never keeps up with population increase. Maintenance is now the main problem, and this is costly in terms of money and time. Poor sanitation around boreholes was also mentioned in Sandema, and the fact that sometimes there are still worms in the water.

Farm tools are another important category of physical capital that has increased in the last decades. In all three areas, the introduction of the animal-drawn plough, and later mechanised ploughing with a tractor implied an increase of productivity of land and labour. Donkey-drawn carts implied a greatly reduced burden of goods that had to be carried on the head by the women in the village before. Donkeys and bullocks are owned by an increasing number of people, mostly so in Sandema, less in Langbinsi and Tô. Again, the costs have gone up, though productivity has gone up further. Still, a number of people have not been able to afford these improved materials and can't borrow them, and this may have increased inequalities.

Two very important and very new trends are the introduction and increasing use of electricity in Ghana mostly, and the introduction of mobile phones in both Ghana and Burkina

Faso. Electricity is so recent, that people are still adapting to this: in some health facilities it is now possible to stock medication (though reliability of electricity is still not very high, especially during periods of droughts and heavy rains). Video shops and TV being shown in small kiosks are greatly appreciated and especially the mobile networks are appreciated as they open up the villages to the world. Information about prices on the market is only one purpose; people generally maintain their network much more closely and regularly now. No negative impact or trend related to the introduction other than unreliable billing is mentioned.

Human capital

Knowledge levels have increased in the last decades, and with knowledge we mean both practical knowledge of people due to exposure to new sources of knowledge, and also enlightenment: a higher level of abstraction due to the fact that people now know of other areas, ways, meaning. This includes the fact that people see the roles of children and gender roles differently. Importance is attached to girls being educated, to the application of knowledge in the farm, better planning, better organising, and knowledge of how decision-making power is distributed differently elsewhere. Knowledge also has a down side; abuse of power leads to conflicts, and drugs and alcohol are now also known to be social vices frequently found.

Education is universally seen as having improved tremendously in recent years. Enrolment rates have gone up everywhere, special alphabetisation courses have started, and training and information through workshops have all contributed to a much better schooled nation. Especially in Ghana, with the introduction of free schooling up to JSS level (no fees, but course materials and school uniforms still need to be bought) there is almost universal enrolment (97 percent). On the other hand, the quality has been affected due to the rapid increase in the number of pupils, and training local people to become (non) qualified teachers has led to a decrease in quality. Labour in the household is also reduced now that children are at school, though some say that due to increased availability of consumption goods, children still start working early to earn money to be able to afford that. And, again, the income of the parents determines the level of schooling a person can have: superior and university levels are unaffordable for the lower and middle classes.

Due to the increased number of health centres, and because of the successful introduction of the National Health Insurance Scheme, health has improved very much. As a result of accessible, sometimes free, health services, post-natal services for children under five, and the introduction of the Community Health Improvement Programmes (CHIPS), improved levels of health care have been realised. Vaccination campaigns have eradicated some diseases, though regularly, diseases such as meningitis and other contagious diseases still occur. But especially for the health sector it applies that there are many issues not taken up, and many recent developments make the health service inadequate. New diseases such as HIV/ AIDS have cropped up and were taken on as urgent tasks relatively late. Migration has a large role to play in the increasing prevalence of this disease. Smoking, drinking and relaxed sexual mores have led to diseases that previously were not common. Though expensive, western medicine is very popular and the local healers are no longer consulted so much and have lost much of their knowledge. Other afflictions such as hypertension, stroke and diabetes are also more often experienced; diseases that often are related to life styles rather than pathogens. In Ghana at least (not in Burkina Faso), life expectancy is assumed by the population to be going down rather than up. Sanitation, partly related to knowledge and to the general health situation, has improved, though. However, latrines are still not universally available, and new unsanitary and polluting behaviour is more common now. Plastic bags are everywhere in the environment, new toxic waste is polluting the streets and mosquitoes are now found year round due to the improved water facilities, increasing the level of malaria.

Personal hygiene has improved particularly in Burkina Faso it is stated, and latrines are found there more universally.

Economic capital

There are many more jobs in the areas of study than before: untrained labour needs are increasing due to activities in the markets and on the fields, especially when it concerns market gardening. Women also increasingly find a job and this is a recent trend here. Farming and training is also accessible to many of them. This makes them independent and they now increasingly take charge of school costs of their children. The down side is that men have trouble following this trend and seem to respect their wives less when these wives have a good job. On the other hand, the feeling is that poverty has increased; this was particularly heard in Ghana. The point is that though many more people now have an off-farm income, needs and prices have gone up even faster and people feel much poorer as a result. Theft and violence, and the abuse of drugs related to the availability of money among the youth (it is said) are other drawbacks.

Loans are much easier to get these days in Ghana: on the basis of personal income, political patronage, and groupings, the banks provide loans, though the interest rates are quite high. Local small-scale savings and credit schemes, always difficult to manage, are on the decrease. There are still many difficulties in the process. If a group borrowed money that they haven't fully paid back, the members can't apply for another loan. As indicated, the interest rate can be high, up to almost 40 percent. And of course one needs collateral and the poor do not have this and therefore can't have access to the banking services. In Burkina Faso, the banking sector seems not to have developed as fast as in Ghana in this region. In Tô in particular, it was stated that only the rich people can go to the bank. This is a private sector; the state has withdrawn completely from this sector. Loans for particular crops are given by buying agencies, but the experiences are rather mixed, depending on the reliability of the agency.

Migration is generally assumed to increase incomes through remittances. Experiences are very mixed in this area and the opinion of people is ambiguous. In Ghana, migration to local 'towns' and to the south seems to have increased, but the money earned or at least sent back seems to have declined in recent years in Sandema, though it increased in Langbinsi. Women are now also migrating more than before (when they hardly did). Of the participants, most of those without formal jobs had migrated. In Burkina Faso, migration seems to have increased and remittances are very important for the survival and investments of the families. There are clear disadvantages too: the social networks break down due to the frequent and long-term absence of so many members of the family. Also, remittances can give conflicts on its use or abuse in the family; it increases dependence and causes laziness. HIV/ AIDS is contracted in the south when people are gone for longer periods and against the migration of women young men in Sandema maintained that they combine migration with prostitution and contract HIV/ AIDS.

As stated above, there are many more opportunities for work in the area now. Often people find work as teacher, health worker, and extension worker or a similar paid job. Other paid jobs however are also available and generally there is the feeling that money can be earned: seamstress, hairdressers, but also jobs in commercial agriculture and agricultural trade. Some women have done very well in this sector, and many women can earn an income now. Generally, the situation in Sandema seems to be the most commercially oriented, followed by Langbinsi and Tô. Again, the downside is there: youth having acquired money sometimes spend it on alcohol and drugs, whether in fact or fiction. Communal labour is more difficult to organise especially in Sandema where commoditisation of labour has progressed more.

Opportunities to sell and earn money, or to buy goods have increased: the market system has developed enormously in the last decades, with most villages now having a small market and being integrated in a schedule of market days. The physical environment has improved with actual market squares and stalls, and kiosks are numerous now in all areas, especially because young people are taking the initiative (and dare to take the risk). In Sandema, there are even streetlights and the market goes on until late in the day and early evening. Transport to these markets, of both people and produce, has also become more easy: the transport system has improved very much, not only due to the buses that are more regular now, but also because people have acquired bicycles and motorcycles themselves. Both private and public services are available. However, the costs of transport are high and the poorer people can generally not afford the ticket. Donkey carts also contribute to a much easier involvement of farmers in the market, as there is almost no limit to the amount of produce one can bring to the market.

Social and political capital

According to most participants in Sandema and Langbinsi family relationships have improved. In the realm of socio-political and cultural capitals, it is much more difficult to say that any change is good rather than bad, than with the other capitals. Man and wife now take decisions on a more equal basis, though on the other hand men still determine the use of land and what parcel the women can use. Within the communities, relationships are also described as better than before, and this is a general feeling in all three areas. Inter-community relationships, and also inter-ethnic and inter-religious relationships are generally cordial. Society seems to be more organised, nowadays. On the other hand, these achievements are threatened by migration as we have seen, when social relationships can break down after long absence or large numbers of people being away. Obligations can no longer be met in that case. Also, relationships are more individualistic and this means more disrespect for the elders and the parents, and deviant behaviour as a result of that. Also households become more nuclear these days, in line with the changing social landscape.

As a result also, leadership is no longer taken for granted, and especially when it becomes a political job, it starts to command less respect when it can be bought. Leaders are more approachable, but less respected. The relationships between the village authorities, both traditional and new, and the outside institutions of power are becoming ambiguous and respect for lower-level authorities by higher levels of state is being reduced. Traditional courts are still in place and still have more cases than the modern courts.

Political processes are full of tension. Power playing is becoming more of a rule, but at the same time there is an increase in the number of organisations and NGOs that focus on the possible negative impact of multi-party democracy, particularly in Ghana. The recent elections have seen a flurry of initiatives that have been very effective in reducing tension and solving crisis situations, though conflicts have always been there of course. A high level of understanding with those people who have followed the courses provided by these NGOs has ascertained that few violent conflicts have arisen. In Burkina Faso, decentralisation has made the relationships between the various old and new roles in the state administration at the lower level rather ambiguous and conflicts have arisen there. However, this seems to have relatively little impact in society as far as we have been informed.

NGOs are now very much part of the institutional landscape. In all areas, they are and have become very numerous, and of a large variety. There are the larger NGOs traditionally focused on development, but the number of private enterprise-based organisations (or partnerships), and the number of local initiatives has increased very much, in all areas. The response rates of these organisations has improved, and their help has been more open for influence from outside, including the population, and this has helped the relevance of their

activities. The disadvantage is that many initiatives are unreliable as they are often short-term, accountability to the local population is low and duplication of efforts also exists. Local level organisations have also gone up in number as indicated above, in particular women's associations. In Burkina Faso this seems to be the strategy towards a better-organised and better-led society: the many associations and *groupements* (for example of the youth) are used to target the leaders of these associations and train them in leadership skills.

Land ownership, land tenure and in general access rights to resources has also changed, in line with the above statements on the changing and increasing roles of women in society in all three areas. They now have more access to land, though the majority of men still have the informal rights of distribution, and if women are not given the most infertile pieces, quite often the land is taken away from them again to be substituted for a less fertile area. When land is sold (which is more often every year), sometimes women are the buyers. Land tenure is becoming more secure due to formal registration. Migrants can still have land, though they can't plant tree crops; an old rule.

Cultural capital

Ideas about this type of capital are the most subjective. Ideas about the impact of Christianity and Islam depended on these religions being adopted, but Christians and Muslims quite often agreed on certain issues, with which those adhering to indigenous beliefs did not agree. Older people still often adhere to the old beliefs, while also going to church or the mosque, so the division is not always clear. People were happy that with the demise of traditional beliefs, unaffordable traditions were also getting less important, though the increasing importance of funerals was a burden to many. The number of Christians and Muslims generally is increasing, the youth seem to be attracted to the charismatic churches, while migrants from the North generally are Muslims. The different faith groups seem to live together in peace in all three areas, though a slight intolerance on the part of the Christian and Muslim faith seems to be noticeable.

The multiplication of religious traditions, languages and clothes is generally welcomed. The decline of taboos is welcomed, and also the diminishing threat of witchcraft, ghosts, etc. Traditional sacrifices and rituals are said to be dying. FGM also is reduced though not yet completely gone. On the other hand, there is still a strong tradition of traditional beliefs to which people turn when the 'modern' ways do not seem to help, and often a mixture is seen. Aspects related to the changes in religion are also mourned: traditional roles of leadership are eroded, and behaviour of especially the young is often described as "deteriorating". Less costly and important rituals seem to disappear too and this is regretted.

Diversity is the trend in languages as well. People generally speak increasing numbers of languages in recent years, and communication has become easier. A cultural richness is appreciated, and people are aware that they can and do learn from each other. English and French are increasingly spoken, but are not the lingua franca. The local languages however are at the same time "adulterated", and this is regretted in Ghana, while in Burkina Faso there is even an active movement, very much bottom-up and unknown to many outsiders, that leads to singing and dancing contests in the local languages at schools. In Burkina Faso, there seems to be an active movement that tries to save the diversity and quality of language, dance and music. Traditional music and dances are still alive, and appreciated, though again, it is increasingly an individual choice and many people regret that the modern western style of dancing is being adopted by the young generation. This is also seen as linked with young people going to discos, dancing, drinking and generally being involved in "bad behaviour", according to many of our participants.

Clothing is now cheaper, more freely available and of a larger variety, and this is appreciated. People have more sets of clothing, men and women separately and also children are clothed. Also ornaments are increasingly being used. For our participants, the downside is that modern clothes can be quite “revealing” and “not decent”, and that even at funerals people no longer wear the traditional clothes any more. Generally, there is more choice, and this applies to clothing, rituals and religions as well. Even young people within the family can now choose their religion, different from when their parents were young.

With food too, variety has increased. Modern additions are more easily available, though at the expense of traditional condiments. There is more variety in the type of food and vegetables, though meat is no longer eaten so much in Burkina Faso it seems as it is increasingly expensive there, while in Ghana it seems to be in the diet more regularly. As local foods are being replaced by food from elsewhere, as these food items increasingly need to be bought, the diet is improving but getting more expensive at the same time. And again: the loss of certain traditional dishes or ingredients is regretted.

Finally, migration has also influenced life in a cultural way: when people move they take up new habits, and these are introduced in the area of departure. There is more migration though as we saw not always more income is being sent back or earned, and the participants in the workshops generally regret the impact in terms of health problems, disrespect and changed habits or behaviour.

5. Wealth classes

Interventions have their impact on a local population. However, as a population should be considered a collective of social categories, of social groups, we need to deconstruct the concept of population and assess the impact of the interventions on every category of actors and on every actor. In the framework of this project, we have chosen to take into account categories of gender and age, ethnicity and religion, geographically distinctive areas, and also wealth classes. The first set of variables is relatively unproblematic, but the last category may need elucidation and discussion before we can use it as a descriptive concept within discussions with the participants of the workshops on the impact of interventions on social categories. For this reason, we included a discussion on wealth classes, and separated again the men and women, and older and younger participants. Comparing the outcomes of the various groups, there is a striking similarity in what people consider very rich and very poor people. Between the various locations, the differences are also relatively small, and therefore we can describe in general terms the various descriptions of the wealth classes here.

We asked the participants to divide the population in five wealth classes and describe the various classes, both in terms of who the people belonging to the classes are, and how they can be described. The number of wealth classes we would need was initially discussed and five was assumed to be an adequate number of classes in which to divide society. The way these classes were described was left open and was defined during the discussions. Clearly, monetary criteria were hardly used. One issue complicated the matter: to be rich is not the same as to be influential, or to have a high status. Apart from money and material goods, one's behaviour and background would also determine influence, and status was also linked to achievements and the way people take up their responsibilities.

The very rich

In all three areas, it was clear that the very rich were mostly the large traders who import and export products and (agricultural) produce. Both men and women are found among them. They buy crops after the harvest, and sell to the south, or later in the year to the same people for higher prices. They have large storage spaces, they have retail or wholesale shops, and more than one house often. Some own grinding mills, or exploit guesthouses. Generally, they have invested the profit from their trade not only in the expansion of that trade and the construction of buildings that they need for that trade, but also in the more exclusive, high capital diversification strategies: processing facilities and non-trade facilities such as guesthouses.

They use their profit also to expand in the more traditional sectors of the economy: they generally have large areas of land either in possession or on loan, which they most often work on using tractors rather than by animals traction or by hand. They focus more than others on cash crops for sale to the south. They have motorised transport to move the crop to markets, or they hire a truck. Also, they have bought a large herd in the course of time, and some own hundreds of cattle and numerous sheep and goats. Numbers vary, but the number of cattle is generally assumed to be between 50 and 100, with 70 as an average that was often mentioned by the participants. Small stock should number above 200 head for a person to be called rich.

The proceeds of all those activities made the person rich in the eyes of his or her social environment: the house such a person would live in would be big (in Burkina Faso: more than 20 metal sheets for the roof), made of concrete blocks, with a concrete floor, and well furnished, painted rooms, and often electricity, sometimes with their own generator. Water would be on the compound. The people of the compound would be well dressed with new and

clean clothes, would have more than one set of clothes, and children would even have more than one set of school uniforms. The people would eat well, at three meals a day. Women's hair would be nicely done and braided. Schooling was universal for all the children of the compound, and they would always have the necessary materials for school such as books. Schooling would be possible up to higher levels of secondary school and even university. They are healthy as they eat good and sufficient food, and can go to private hospitals when they need to. They can buy all the medicine they need.

In social terms, the rich men have more wives: all women would want to live on his compound. Rich men and women would have large numbers of dependents, and many children. Their behaviour marks them as very rich: they always take the initiative, they always take priority, and they are "above the law" as even the police hesitate to address them. When they walk on the market, they show their confidence, and 'talk a different language'. When they die, the very rich have very elaborate funerals, with many people bringing presents and food, music the whole day for a week, and many people attending.

The number of people it concerns is limited, though of course the families being large, there are quite some people who live the life of the very rich. Generally, there are only a few, up to 4 or so) very rich families in the villages we visited, with the villages being several hundred households large. About 5 percent of the population is assessed to be very rich, in all areas of study.

The rich

Traders, shop owners, civil servants of higher level, cattle producers and traders and women who are moneylenders are rich. They have a regular income and can easily solve problems they have in the family and in the families that rely on them.

These people too have invested in agricultural activities but are not as important as the very rich though they are closer to the community than the very rich, and if generous, are well respected. They have above 50 acres of land, and above 50 heads of cattle and some 100 small stock. Many have a tractor, they can hire labourers when they need them, and they produce both food and cash crops for sale. They have hired help in the household, and sometimes have a car and means of transport to bring the produce to markets. They diversify their sources of income as a means of accumulation and may be on their way to becoming very rich. When they use animal traction they own their own bullocks and use fertiliser, pesticides and other inputs so that their crops do well and produce enough to feed the family. They generally have enough in stock to last them throughout the year, and they can share with others who own allegiance to them. They buy crops after the harvest to sell later in the year when demand increases again as most other people have exhausted their stock, but the rich do this not as much as the very rich.

Their house is made of concrete as well, with iron sheet roofing and well finished inside, with concrete floors. They do not have their private water facilities (boreholes) but they have water close by and sometimes piped water from the communal facilities. They always have light in the evenings, though it is not always electricity, but lamps and candles. They have tables and chairs and other furniture, but not always a real bed. In that case they have good mats to sleep on. They often have their own means of transport, either a car or more often a motorcycle. If needed, they can hire trucks.

Like the very rich, their clothing is of good quality and clean, but unlike the very rich they don't always need to dress well, as they don't need that status. Their family is taken care of throughout the year, and the children all go to primary and secondary school but not generally to university. Tertiary schooling is generally too expensive for them. They can take charge of others when these are in need. When their family members are ill, they can take

them to hospital, and modern medicine are usually bought for them, not the traditional medicines. They also walk with confidence, but not as arrogant as the very rich.

Generally, they make up about 10 percent of the population in the areas of study, though there are differences between the areas: it seems the number of rich in Burkina Faso is slightly higher than in Ghana.

The average people

These are the farmers and small traders, and some of the lower earning salaried people. Also livestock producers and traders are among the average people. Very few have diversified in other sectors of the economy.

Agriculture is their main activity. They have a number of bullocks for animal traction in the farm, and possess some cattle, and generally not more than 10 small stock. Their farms are large enough and adequately taken care of for them to feed the family all year round. They always have enough seeds for planting. Their production is adequate even when they sell produce after the harvest: generally they manage to buy enough later in the year to feed the family, but perhaps not three times a day. Basic equipment is available, among which are ploughs and carts.

The house is generally of mud brick, with metal sheet roofing when they can afford it, otherwise they are saving to buy these sheets and have the house thatched, and most often the house has a cemented floor. Furnishings are minimal as usually there are no tables and chairs to eat on, no sofas and very few other items. The house has doors and windows, but on the whole is rather basic.

The family is taken care of, but little remains to help others in times of need. In very difficult years they may have to beg for assistance even. 'They manage to help themselves' is a very adequate way of describing this group. The children go to school, but secondary school is difficult, and higher-level education is impossible. If in need, not all children will go to school in these families. Health care is adequate; they can manage to access medication and health facilities without having to ask others. However, both modern and traditional ways of curing are sought in case of need. Transport is provided by motorcycle, but more often by bicycle. Clothing is adequate, but at a minimum, though during festivals new clothing can be bought. Usually it is second hand clothing for the children that is bought, and the lower quality cloth for dresses.

The funeral of the average people is taking almost as much time as that of the rich, but the children of the deceased have to bring money and food to the funeral, as do the guests sometimes. Many people come to these funerals, but mostly from around. There is enough music and drumming is all day long. If the funds are not readily available, one may consider changing religion, as the funeral of the Catholics take one day only, and not the whole week as in the case of the traditional funeral.

In all, this is a large group, and between 20 and 40 percent of the population belong to this group (in most cases, the percentage was put at 30 percent, in all three areas, by the various sub-groups).

The poor

The poor are mostly widows with small children, who cannot farm large areas of land because she has little help. Or they may be poor elderly widows with poor children who cannot help her. Small farmers with large families also belong to this category, or (food) crop farmers with small pieces of land. Many of the migrant farmers from the north (Burkina Faso in the case of Ghana) and who have fled worse conditions belong to this category, and finally (casual) workers, people without land, are part of this group. When children have migrated to the south, they are unable to send back money to help the family.

If the poor have land, they will cultivate it to the best of their ability, but as the land is either not there or inadequate in extent, they have to work for the wealthier members of society as well as daily labourers. The poor have very few animals, no cattle and perhaps some small stock, and chicken, or in exceptional cases a donkey. The animals they have do not last long, as they either have to be eaten or they have to be sold to solve a problem: there is no autonomous growth of the herd. They have no implements apart from hoes to work the land, though they may borrow a bullock and plough. The timing of the preparation of land is therefore often inadequate. There is no labour power or time available to diversify so apart from some agriculture and labour, there are few other opportunities. When labour is needed on the field, they organise work parties, but they can hardly afford the food that needs to be given to people who come to these work parties. When crops are sold, it is usually at the wrong time when prices are very low, as selling crops is only done to solve a problem, not to exploit the possibilities of the market. The poor are not reliable in paying back loans, so they are seldom member of a credit group that could have solved these problems. They often have to borrow money but default regularly on paying back.

The houses of the poor are of mud brick, with thatched roof, and generally not well maintained. Even the thatch is often of poor quality, and the only cases the poor can have metal sheets for roofing is when migrant children send back enough money (remittances) to buy these. The floor is not cemented, which causes all kinds of insects to get into the house. There is no furniture in the houses of the poor, not even good mats to sleep on, so they have stalks to sleep on. When the poor have a bicycle, they can often not afford to repair it when it breaks down.

The poor cannot solve their own problems. They can't feed the family adequately, and have only one or two meals a day, and this for only a few months after the harvest. They eat the seeds they should have saved for sowing, and have to beg for seeds when planting date arrives. They have to sell their assets and their labour halfway the year when their supplies run out. Education is a problem for the poor, and when they have a child in school, it drops out when the money runs out, or when their labour is needed in the field. Sometimes they have to give the children to wealthy family members so that the number of mouths is reduced in the household, and the children can have food elsewhere. The clothing of the family members is very poor: they try to keep the clothes clean but it is difficult to do so. They source those clothes from second hand clothes sellers, and they are usually torn. In terms of health care, they use traditional medicines only as these are cheaper, and any formal health care is too expensive and inaccessible; the poor have to walk, as transport is too costly. Some however can nowadays afford health insurance, as the fee is very low. Otherwise, the neighbours are asked for leftover medicine. When the poor die, the rich will pay for their funeral and the drumming. The clan will contribute some money but they don't provide for the food. If a Christian person dies, the church may pay for the coffin if the church can afford it. Also marriages are very basic.

Around 35 to 45 percent of the population belongs to the class of poor people, and this is quite similar between the three areas. That means it is the largest group in the area.

The very poor

The very poor are old people who have no children who can take care of them. They are crippled, or people suffering from leprosy, or they are handicapped, blind or otherwise too weak to work. Widows need not always lose all when the husband dies: the belongings of the man are taken away by the family, but the land is still hers and when she is strong enough she can manage her life again. However, old widows are a very large group within the category of very poor people, with orphans a good second. And there is also a group of people who have

become poor due to their own incapability: they are lazy, drunkards; they have mismanaged their resources or spent their money on 'improper marriages'.

The very poor have no resources: if they have some land, they do not have the resources to use it. They have no animals, no capital goods, and very often not even a house. If they have a dwelling place, it is usually made of stalks, carton boxes and rubbish. Unfinished buildings are their place to sleep. They may be able to find some work they can do but generally they have to beg, borrow and steal to make ends meet. They never have cattle, and they may have small stock or fowls, but their needs are too great to allow the animals to breed, and they sell before the flock expands. The very poor have to beg for food most of the time, and you will find them in the market begging and scavenging.

When the very poor have a family, the children in theory now can go to school, as primary school is free, but the uniform and books may be prohibitively expensive, and they will be hungry and learn little. Also, their labour is needed too often. Health care may be provided through the wealthy people who pay for health insurance, but mostly the very poor rely on herbs and other traditional medicine. They eat poorly and are often ill. The very poor have difficulty finding clothes to wear: they are torn, dirty and smelly, and you see the skin through the clothes.

When the very poor die, there are very few people attending, if at all. The clan will make available some money for the funeral, but there will be hardly any drumming and praise singing. The family usually also does not help out with food and money, as social relationships of the very poor are limited. So it is the community that has to pay for the funeral. This group is estimated to be between 10 and 13 percent of the population.

In general, it is quite remarkable that the ideas on who is very rich and very poor and everything in between is so similar across space. The participants in the various areas were very much in agreement as to the identity and characteristics of the various wealth classes, including even the percentage each group forms of society. This seems to support the idea that the choice of area was good: environmental possibilities and thus productivity, societal institutions of (re) distribution and livelihood strategies seem to be rather similar in the three areas.

6. Interventions: impact of agencies on capitals

In this section, we give summary data on the interventions, initiatives and ‘projects’ that have been mentioned by the participants of the workshops. More details can be found in the three reports on which this report of the first round of workshops is based. Generally, the period for which we asked for the list of initiatives extended until around 1980, the time the participants’ parents were their age. This proved a useful time limit. At the start of this project, there was still no full definition of the concept of ‘intervention’, so it was broadly described as a collective action or private activity meant to benefit a number of families, which could, but not necessarily would be supported by agencies or persons from elsewhere. It was also difficult sometimes to identify the organisation that initiated the activity, as the participants were not always aware of its name or background, or more than one single actor was responsible for the intervention. And lastly, there were difficulties establishing the initiator when a series of similar activities was going on, for example in the health, water and sanitation sector where more than one series of wells and boreholes was constructed by different organisations. The question was: is every well a separate initiative, or should the well-building activities of one single organisation be taken together. In the minds of the people, all the wells taken together were one single intervention, as they addressed one single need: a lack of drinking water. We were interested in not only the need addressed, but also the strategy employed, so we focused on the level of the initiator in our analysis. Sometimes, the initiator was established with some doubt, showing the remoteness of the initiator from the population in implementation.

Table 2. Number of interventions/initiatives/projects, mentioned by workshop participants in Langbinsi, Sandema, and Tô; total and four categories of agencies

	Langbinsi	Sandema	Tô	Total	
Gov	62	151	74	287	
Christian/Faith-based NGO	66	81	29	176	
Other and Private	20	52	26	98	
Secular NGO	12	33	10	55	
Total	160	317	139	616	

In total the participants of the three workshops mentioned more than 600 different interventions, initiatives or ‘projects’. Government agencies had initiated almost half of those, and faith-based organisations almost 30%, and almost all of those by Christian organisations, as the workshop participants mentioned almost no NGOs with an Islamic background. Almost 10% of all initiatives came from secular NGOs, and 16% from private and other initiators, which included community-initiated projects without external support. At the Sandema workshop the participants mentioned most initiatives, in Tô the least. Both in Sandema and in Tô government initiatives were the most numerous (in Tô even slightly more than the majority), in Langbinsi initiatives by faith-based organisations (read: Christian organisations) were the most numerous. In all areas, in a small number of cases initiatives were a result of different types of agencies working together.

Many of the interventions have an impact on more than one of the six capitals or capabilities that have been differentiated in this research; in fact the best projects always do. Hence there are many more scores on ‘impacts on capitals’ than there are initiatives (as given in table 2 above). Also: we have always asked these questions about the impact of initiatives on capitals to groups of men and groups of women separately, which already doubles all scores

Starting with Langbinsi, the following tables show the number of impacts that were mentioned by workshop participants for all initiatives that the various intervening agencies have started. In these tables, we have assumed that activities that are initiated by more than one single agency can be connected to both agencies.

Table 3a. Number and percentage of interventions per type of agency, Langbinsi

	N	%	P	%	H	%	E	%	S	%	C	%	Total	%
G	30	12	26	10	73	28	88	34	34	13	8	3	259	100
C	39	16	14	6	81	33	84	34	18	7	10	4	246	100
O/P	4	4	13	12	25	22	34	30	17	15	19	17	112	100
N	7	11	8	12	26	40	15	23	6	9	3	5	65	100
Total	80	12	61	9	205	30	221	32	75	11	40	6	682	100

Table 3b. Number and percentage of interventions per type of capital, Langbinsi

	N	%	P	%	H	%	E	%	S	%	C	%	Total	%
G	30	38	26	43	73	36	88	40	34	45	8	20	259	38
C	39	49	14	23	81	40	84	38	18	24	10	25	246	36
O/P	4	5	13	21	25	12	34	15	17	23	19	48	112	16
N	7	9	8	13	26	13	15	7	6	8	3	8	65	10
Total	80	100	61	100	205	100	221	100	75	100	40	100	682	100

Source: workshop results

Column: G = government, C = Christian (Faith-based) NGO, O/P = other and private organisations, N = Secular NGO

Row: N = Natural, P = Physical, H = Human, E = Economic, S = Social, C = Cultural capital

Of all the interventions that are primarily being initiated by the Government, the focus is most of all on economic capital, as is also the case with the Christian (Faith-based) NGOs and the private and other organisations. The latter includes local groups that have started their own projects. Secular NGOs focus primarily on human capital. Generally, economic and human capitals dominate, making up two thirds of all impacts of activities in the area of Langbinsi. If we look at the table and ascertain which type of organisation is more than others focusing on every particular capital, we see that government and the Christian NGOs dominate generally, and that Government is more active than other intervening agencies in natural and human capital, the Christian NGOs more than others in physical, social and economic capital, and other/ private agencies are more active in activities with a cultural impact than any other type of intervening agency.

For Sandema, interestingly, we get quite different results. The following tables show the impact on capitals in Sandema area by the various types of agencies.

Table 4a. Number and percentage of interventions per type of agency, Sandema

	N	%	P	%	H	%	E	%	S	%	C	%	Total	%
G	31	7	51	11	141	30	169	36	58	12	19	4	469	100
C	15	6	12	5	76	33	77	33	26	11	27	12	233	100
O/P	9	6	12	8	59	38	39	25	28	18	7	5	154	100
N	19	15	7	6	40	31	49	39	9	7	3	2	127	100
Total	74	8	82	8	316	32	334	34	121	12	56	6	983	100

Table 4b. Number and percentage of interventions per type of capital, Sandema

	N	%	P	%	H	%	E	%	S	%	C	%	Total	%
G	31	42	51	62	141	45	169	51	58	48	19	34	469	48
C	15	20	12	15	76	24	77	23	26	21	27	48	233	24
O/P	9	12	12	15	59	19	39	12	28	23	7	13	154	16
N	19	26	7	9	40	13	49	15	9	7	3	5	127	13
Total	74	100	82	100	316	100	334	100	121	100	56	100	983	100

Source: workshop results

Column: G = government, C = Christian (Faith-based) NGO, O/P = other and private organisations, N = Secular NGO

Row: N = Natural, P = Physical, H = Human, E = Economic, S = Social, C = Cultural capital

Table 3a and 4a do not really differ between Langbinsi and Sandema. The impact on economic and human capital dominates, and in more or less the same order, the agencies have taken their place except that the secular and other/private agencies have changed places. However, Tables 3b and 4b are different: In Sandema, the government dominates the activities in each and every impact on capital types, except that of cultural capital, which, as we could expect and didn't see in Langbinsi, is dominated by the Christian NGOs. The differences between the first and second agency in terms of share of impact is also much bigger in Table 4b than in Table 3b: in Langbinsi, government and Christian NGOs share the dominant position, while in Sandema it is either government or the Christian NGOs that clearly dominate.

Table 5a. Number and percentage of interventions per type of agency, Tô

	N	%	P	%	H	%	E	%	S	%	C	%	Total	%
G	11	10	47	44	29	27	19	18	1	1	0	0	107	100
C	3	10	3	10	14	45	10	32	1	3	0	0	31	100
O/P	0	0	10	22	18	39	10	22	3	7	5	11	46	100
N	2	14	2	14	7	50	3	21	0	0	0	0	14	100
Total	16	8	62	31	68	34	42	21	5	3	5	3	198	100

Table 5b. Number and percentage of interventions per type of capital, Tô

	N	%	P	%	H	%	E	%	S	%	C	%	Total	%
G	11	69	47	76	29	43	19	45	1	20	0	0	107	54
C	3	19	3	5	14	21	10	24	1	20	0	0	31	16
O/P	0	0	10	16	18	26	10	24	3	60	5	100	46	23
N	2	13	2	3	7	10	3	7	0	0	0	0	14	7
Total	16	100	62	100	68	100	42	100	5	100	5	100	198	100

Source: workshop results

Column: G = government, C = Christian (Faith-based) NGO, O/P = other and private organisations, N = Secular NGO

Row: N = Natural, P = Physical, H = Human, E = Economic, S = Social, C = Cultural capital

In Burkina Faso, the situation is very different from the other two research areas. For one, the Burkinabe government is much more active in the region, relatively, than the Ghanaian government seems to be. More than half of the projects are initiated or introduced or at least supported by the government. In some cases, the funding came from outside sources (IFAD, EU, etc) but the implementation was in the hands of the government. The Burkinabe government also dominates most of the activities in the various sectors and hasn't limited itself to certain sectors apart from those with an impact on social and cultural capital, where other and private organisations are active (including the churches in their religious form (not as development organisations: they were building church buildings in this case). Also, we find a rather prominent presence of the mosques in the region of Tô, though they are mostly limited to construction of the buildings themselves (also included in 'other'). However, when viewing Table 5a, it seems that the government of Burkina Faso does not so much focus on human and economic capital, as in the case of Ghana, but limits its role to that of building infrastructure. Apart from roads, markets, water facilities and similar projects are implemented. Christian (faith-based) and other / private organisations are more focused on human and economic capital. The limited number of projects dealing with social and cultural capital is in the hands of the churches. There are two remarks: many impacts of water facilities were put in the category of human capital by the respondents, as they saw the health impact as more important than the physical capital that it entailed, and as stated above, building churches and mosques is put here under the category of 'other/ private'.

7. Interventions: Valuation of agencies on impact

In the various areas, we asked the participants for an assessment of impact at the general level (for the community as a whole) of the various interventions. This resulted in all the interventions being assessed, a long list of valuations. In the following section, we will put together the data collected on this in the three areas, to assess how the various routes by which the initiatives have come to the population, are assessed. We use the same order as in the other sections.

Table 6. Valuation of interventions by type of organisation, Langbinsi.

Organisation	Neg.	%	no impact	%	only in past	%	ongoing	%	Pos.	%	Total	%
Government	0	0	3	5	8	13	3	5	48	77	62	100
Christian/Faith-based	0	0	0	0	8	12	2	3	56	85	66	100
Other/ Private	0	0	0	0	3	15	0	0	17	85	20	100
Secular NGO	1	8	1	8	4	33	3	25	3	25	12	100
Total	1	1	4	3	23	14	8	5	124	78	160	100

Source: workshop results

Notes: Neg. = negative evaluation, Pos. = Positive evaluation

Though the differences are not spectacular, it is clear that the Christian NGOs and the other and private agencies are valued more positively than the other two types of organisations, even when we add the ongoing projects to the positively evaluated interventions. Especially the secular NGOs have projects that in one quarter of all cases are valued as negative, having no impact, or had an impact in the past but which was no longer felt. In the order in which they appear in the table, when we add the ongoing projects to the positively evaluated interventions, we arrive at percentages of 82, 88, 85 and 50 percent. Christian NGOs and private NGOs are doing better than the Government.

We have to take into consideration here that the projects NGOs engage in may be systematically different from the interventions taken up by the Government; the latter interventions are in principle for a larger part of the community, if not the whole community, and not a particular part of that community. Thus, a smaller portion of the population may be actually targeted for any particular activity. Schooling is relevant only for those who have children. And so, the average appreciation of Government interventions may be lower than more targeted NGO interventions.

There was only one intervention with a purely negative assessment according to the workshop participants in Langbinsi. It appeared from a later study (Lahai 2009) at a lower, village level, that some interventions with a negative score at that local level had been left out of the list made at the regional level for which we organised the workshop. People were ashamed to present negatively evaluated projects when representing their village at the regional level for which we organised the workshop. However, it appeared also that the interventions left out were all very small, and sometimes even only small-scale projects, initiated by private local inhabitants¹. We will later see that the research approach, which

¹ In a follow up research by Agnieszka Kazimierzczuk, the workshop was repeated at the level of three small villages in the Langbenshi area, and with pupils of three schools in the same region. Her findings indicate that the composition of workshops indeed has an impact on the lists of initiatives that you get, and the type of value judgements given. At village level people with average wealth levels more easily come forward to participate and express their opinions than in the regional workshops that were the basis of this report, although she

explicitly asked for ‘the five worst’ projects resulted in more explicit negative judgements, and more insight in peoples’ motives behind those negative judgements.

The projects that were regarded to have had a positive and sustained impact are mostly dealing with education, health and water, irrespective of the type of organisation that implemented it. In agriculture, the feelings were mixed: some interventions (certain crops such as certain groundnut varieties) were seen as useful interventions, others were evaluated more negatively (certain less useful or less broadly impacting crops such as a green manure crop that did not produce anything else). Also some animal introductions were not considered favourably. Credit facilities and marketing infrastructure and services are considered favourable, though opinions about roads were mixed. They had advantages, but also disadvantages, certainly when they were not maintained. There were different attitudes between men and women, as the men were generally more in favour of cash crop introductions, while the women were very positive about all the labour saving activities such as bore holes providing good quality water close by, but also about productive activities that provided them with their own independent income such as market gardening and beekeeping. As the leading Christian NGO (the Presbyterian Agricultural Station) was most active in all these fields, they generally are evaluated more positively. We will look into that when we discuss the five best and worst projects in the various areas.

Another point to note is the very low number of government projects assessed as ‘ongoing’. Only three projects were given that valuation, and it seems to point at a retreating government if it weren’t for the fact that the other types of organisations also had very low scores on ‘ongoing projects’. This might indicate that ‘new development initiatives’ seem to be few in this area. Of course, some recently started interventions were already considered a success even when they were still ongoing and were judged as such and consequently came in the category ‘Positive’, such as the National Health Insurance Scheme, or free primary education.

For Sandema, somewhat similar conclusions can be drawn, though the scores are a bit more extreme (Table 7). Of a number of interventions we have not added the data as their impact is mixed, depending on the type of activity within the programme of the intervention having a different result for men and women. For government, Christian, other/ private and Secular NGOs, the number of these mixed activities was 21, 7, 10 and 6 respectively. Also, we have added two successful categories that are discussed separately in the more detailed report on Sandema: those activities that were successful and those that were successful but for a limited number of people. In the workshop, the participants wanted to distinguish those two categories. In the same order, these numbered 12, 3, 6 and 7 respectively. This reflects the ongoing thinking in the present project, where innovations brought along by the participants were taken along as much as possible. Also, in two cases the scores on projects were divided between valuations, and we have put those cases in the highest scoring valuation. This does not change the conclusions.

concludes that even at village level the very poor and poor people shy away from these activities (and from many of the development initiatives), not always as a result of exclusion, but often as a result of self-exclusion. The very interesting results of the school research show that children generally have a broad knowledge about the (recent) ‘development history’ of their village, and are far more detailed in mentioning separate educational interventions. They also appear to be more critical than their parents in judging the success or impact of interventions. Her findings suggest that the involvement of school children and their teachers in an exercise of this type is a very valuable addition (Kazimierczuk 2009).

Table 7. Valuation by type of organisation, Sandema

Organisation	Neg.	%	no impact	%	only in past	%	ongoing	%	Pos.	%	Total	%
Government	4	3	3	2	13	9	16	11	115	76	151	100
Christian/Faith-based	0	0	0	0	2	2	17	21	62	77	81	100
Other/ Private	2	4	1	2	6	12	11	21	32	62	52	100
Secular NGO	0	0	0	0	3	9	11	33	19	58	33	100
Total	6	2	4	1	24	8	55	17	228	72	317	100

Source: workshop results

Notes: Neg. = Negative evaluation, Pos. = Positive evaluation

In Sandema the number of interventions, and hence also the number of impacts mentioned, was much higher than in the other two areas. Partly this reflects the situation of an area bustling with development initiatives (it indeed is our impression that Sandema is more 'development oriented' than either Langbinsi or Tô). But it might also be a reflection of the composition of our workshop, as the officials in this area were very meticulous in mentioning every intervention they knew of. In the other workshops, the participants were less often described as officials, and their list of interventions more often reflected their own experiences. From a methodological point of view this means that we will have to select either ordinary villagers systematically, or select a large enough group of knowledgeable officials who then sit apart and come up with their own list. We should in that case analyse the results separately in future workshops. A second observation is that the number of negatively evaluated projects is somewhat higher than in the case of Langbinsi, as is the case with the 'no impact' and 'ongoing' categories. This means that the successful projects are fewer, and percentages are not above 80 (as in the previous case). But again, the Christian NGOs score highest, and the secular NGOs score lowest, and again not much above half of their initiatives are considered an outright success. This is partly of course because their activities were still ongoing, much more so than in Langbinsi. Sandema seems to be an area with a more densely involved 'development scene', relative to Langbinsi at least.

Christian and secular NGOs in this area had remarkably few negative scores, and government and other/ private organisations relatively high negative scores. The relatively positive assessment of initiatives in Sandema was particularly high for religious activities and for those in transport infrastructure, health care and water facilities (bore holes and wells), and education. Lower assessments were given for activities in the sectors livestock, natural resources (forestry in particular) and economic activities in general. As indicated above, quite a number of activities were considered positive, but only for a limited number of people, and these were mostly in the energy sector and in social initiatives. These were also ongoing quite often, more than in other sectors. Projects considered as negative and minimal were particularly in credit (economic) projects and in the sectors of crop development, administration (offices built but nothing being done) and natural resources. The mixed results were mostly in the livestock, crop and economic sectors, as the results were often controversial: between men and women and between households the benefits were unevenly distributed.

In the case of Tô, there are interesting issues that so far have stayed out of the tables in this section, but were discussed in the case of Sandema. There is a large number of initiatives with mixed results, that is to say, men and women have very different viewpoints on many

projects, much more so than in the case of Sandema. The following table gives the scores on unambiguous valuations per type of organisation.

Table 8. Valuation by type of organisation, Tô.

Organisation	Neg.	%	no impact	%	only in past	%	ongoing	%	Pos.	%	Total	%
Government	0	0	2	3	8	11	2	3	62	84	74	100
Christian/Faith-based	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	28	97	29	100
Other/ Private	1	4	3	12	0	0	3	12	19	73	26	100
Secular NGO	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20	8	80	10	100
Total	1	1	5	4	8	6	8	6	117	84	139	100

Source: workshop results

Notes: Neg. = Negative evaluation, Pos. = Positive evaluation

For the organisations in the order they are given in the table, there were 32, 7, 14 and 4 interventions for which men and women could not agree what impact they had had. This is a very high percentage, and it shows how important it is to have separate groups of men and women, so that each group can be as outspoken as they want to be. In most cases, the difference was quite considerable, between negative and on-going, or no impact and positive. The interventions that men judged much more negatively than women were mostly in the sectors of infrastructure (centres for literacy, health support etc) that were actually not always used but that women found useful for other purposes in that case, and grain mills that men judged negative or as having no impact, while the women, the actual users, judged them positively. Also, equipment for (mostly) women for market gardening (wells, fences, implements, etc) and small-scale livestock production interventions were judged as being with no impact, or impact in the past but no longer felt by men, while the women were very positive about these initiatives. Other activities where women were more positive were the cereal banks (judged no impact, impact in the past or on-going by men, while women were invariably positive) and some boreholes and wells. Also, men judged that maternities, health centres and dispensaries were having no impact, while women were positive about these types of initiatives. Certain credit programmes were also judged along similar lines, though here we found opinions the other way around as well: women found some credit programmes (government and private owned credit schemes) to be more negative than their husbands did. Clearly, there is quite some competition or at least a controversy between men and women: many services and initiatives that are very important for women (water close by, grain mills, health care centres and access to productive capital) for their potential and actual income or for time saving purposes are not seen as useful by men at all.

As in the previous cases, Christian NGOs score nil on the negative, no impact and even 'no longer' impacts of their interventions. The same applies to the Secular NGOs. Government and other/ private organisations have a more negative score: apart from the fact that there are more controversies between men and women about the interventions initiated by these types of agencies, the interventions that we do have similar scores for are judged more negatively than those of the NGOs. This is mostly about projects that had started but were never active (buildings constructed with local labour and contributions, but never used properly), credit schemes that were far too rigid or inappropriate, or the construction of buildings for religious purposes by private organisations other than the two major churches (Catholic and Presbyterian) and mosques (locally funded), as judged by members of another religion. The latter point is interesting, as it is the first and up till now only area where these

religious activities were judged negatively, but it has to do with the fact that outside sources were the funding agencies, not local populations or well known religious organisations.

Again, not so many interventions are ongoing, and again the Christian NGOs have the highest scores on valuation. This time, it is not the secular NGOs but the private and other organisations that score rather badly.

8. Interventions: The best and worst initiatives

The workshop participants were asked to select the best and the worst five initiatives from among the list of projects. This was done in new groups, which were no longer based on gender and age, but on gender and group of villages. It was considered that participants from certain closely located villages would all be knowledgeable about the same projects, and they would be able to judge on them reliably. Participants of villages far away may not have known about certain projects in other and far away villages. The reports on the workshop results differ slightly in their focus, so we have summarised them in this report in one singular fashion: we have counted the numbers of best and worst projects for the various sectors (not capitals, see tables below), and we have given the sectors a score, based on the priority that was given in the various groups to each and every initiative. So, when a project was given a one (1: (Best project of all projects) by the men in a certain group of villages, it was counted as one (1) for that particular sector (say health), and the score was five (5). This means that the number of projects mentioned and the scores are dependent on the number of areas as well, and this would complicate matters. We have therefore calculated an average score from the resulting numbers and scores per sector. We arrive at an indication of which sector is regarded to have the best projects according to the men and women in Langbinsi, Sandema and Tô. The same was done for an overview of values given to interventions per intervening agency, and the same was done for the worst projects mentioned by the participants.

The value of this table is limited to the comparison of the importance given by the various types of participants (officials when they were present in a separate group, men and women), and to the weight they each gave to the various interventions. Each group within a certain area had the same projects to choose from, as the list was the consolidated list of interventions discussed earlier in the workshop. Only the grouping of people was different.

In Langbinsi, the best projects were distributed over the various sectors as in the following table (Table 9). The number of times the project was indicated is mentioned, and multiplied by the score. The average score per sector is also calculated. PAS, the Presbyterian Agricultural Station, should not appear in the list as it is an agent, not an intervention, but it does get the highest score and average score per sector. Apart from that, Health and Education are getting the highest score, followed by productive sectors such as Crops (introductions of crops mostly) and Livestock (also introductions of new types, and veterinary care), almost jointly with Water (boreholes and wells) and Infrastructure (roads). The scores are high and this means that many groups share a preference for these best projects: there is a focus on these sectors and very few other sectors receive high scores (such as social and cultural interventions). We also see that many activities in certain sectors are organised by PAS. In health and productive sectors they dominate the sector and score high: they focus on the right sectors. Their score in schools and roads is hidden in the sectors: all schools and roads are mentioned as one sector, though PAS is also engaged in those activities. PAS has clearly chosen relevant sectors or rather they do their work in the relevant sectors well. From the list of projects we can conclude that this is indeed what they focus on: projects in the social and cultural or administrative sectors are rare or absent).

Table 9. Best interventions/initiatives/projects in Langbinsi by sector

Sector	'Project'	Score	Mentioned	Sector	Average score per sector
Education	Schools (all primary)	22	6	28	3.5
	Schools (Catholic)	6	2		
Health	NHIS (Govt.)	8	2	28	4
	Health (CRS/ MoH)	3	1		
	Health (PAS)	10	2		
	Nutrition centre (CRS)	7	2		
Crops	Maize (Technoserve/ PAS)	8	2	16	2.7
	Seedlings production (MoLFNR/ PAS)	3	1		
	Soybean introduction (MoFA/ PAS)	5	3		
Water	Boreholes (all)	14	6	14	2.3
Livestock	Livestock care (PAS)	4	1	11	2.2
	Livestock introduction (PAS)	7	4		
Infra	Roads (all)	5	2	5	2.5
Credit	Rural banks (SFMC)	2	1	6	2.0
	Rural banks (EMCB/ PAS)	2	1		
	Market (District)	2	1		
Other	PAS	5	1	5	5
Nat Env	Shea butter extraction (District)	1	1	1	1

Source: workshop. NHIS = National Health Insurance Scheme, MoH = Ministry of Health, PAS = Presbyterian Agricultural Station, CRS = Catholic Relief Service, MoLFNR = Ministry for Lands, Forestry and Natural Resources, MoFA = Ministry of Food and Agriculture, SFMC = Savannah Farmers Marketing Company, EMCB = Economic Managing Capacity Building Project.

When reduced further and looking at the type of intervening agency only, we arrive at the following table (Table 10).

Table 10. Best “projects” in Langbinsi by intervening agency.

	Score	Mentioned	Average score
Government	9	3	3.0
Faith based NGOs	61	20	3.1
Secular NGOs	0	0	
Other/ private agencies	4	2	2.0
Mixed	40	14	2.9

It is clear that the activities of the faith-based NGOs (PAS, CRS) which are regarded as the best projects are both much more numerous, and also have the highest average score. Both the government and private/other agencies are hardly mentioned among the ‘best projects’, and if they are mentioned the private and other agencies are not scoring very high (in the few cases a government-initiated project was selected among the best projects it scored almost as high as the best projects of the Christian NGOs. Secular NGOs have no intervention among the best five interventions in any region in Langbinsi.

The same is done for the worst projects in Langbinsi. The following table shows the result (Table 11). There are a very large number of failures in the Agricultural sector. Most of these are PAS initiated, and the fact that PAS appears a lot in this table and also in the earlier table

of best projects shows that it depends on the type of activity, or the result, what the assessment is, not on the actor.

Table 11. Worst interventions/initiatives/projects in Langbinsi by sector

Sector	'Project'	Details	Score	Mentioned	Average score	
					Sector	Per sector
Agric	Cowpeas	PAS	2	1		
	Fertiliser	PAS	3	1		
	Cotton	INCOF/ Govt.	20	5		
	Cashew	PAS	9	2		
	Mucuna	PAS	3	1		
	Teak trees	MoLFNR (Forestry Dept.)	1	1		
	Composting	PAS	1	1		
	Sorghum Kapala Var.	PAS/ MoFA/ TS/ SARI	4	1		
	Liquid fertiliser	NGO	5	1	48	3.4
Social	Public toilets	all	7	2		
	Police station	Govt	3	1		
	Leprosy Hospital	Baptist church	1	1	11	2.8
Credit/ Business	Credit scheme	MASLOC	4	1		
	Savannah	Linked to PAS	2	1		
	Rural banks	all	2	1	8	2.7
Infra	Feeder road (Govt)	Govt.	7	2	7	3.5
Educ	Uniforms	Equal	3	1		
	NF educ	Govt	3	1	6	3
Water	Dam	Govt	5	1	5	5
Admin	Intro Unit committees	Govt	5	2	5	2.5
Energy	Solar panels	TS	4	1	4	4
Health	TBAs all communities	PAS	1	1		
	Elephantiasis Medic	MoH	2	1	3	1.5
Nat Env	Anti bush fire	CARE	2	1	2	2
Admin	Tax collectors	Govt	2	2	2	1

Source: Workshop. In addition to table 8: INCOF = International Cotton Foundation, TS = Technoserve, Equal = Equal Opportunities (=NGO by that name), MASLOC = Microfinance and Small Loans Center.

The participants were generally very positive about PAS, but had to acknowledge that some experiments taken up by PAS (Mucuna as a cover crop, cashew, teak trees, etc.) sometimes failed.

Apart from experiments gone wrong in the Agricultural sector, we see many “bad” interventions in sectors that we did not see in the list of best projects (Social, Credit, Administration, Energy). In Langbinsi these sectors are apparently very difficult to work in. The highest average scores (and hence the highest negative judgements) are with water, energy and the list of experiments in the Agricultural sector. When projects go wrong in those sectors, people really are very negative about them. Others are infrastructure and education, and a number of administrative failures were regarded as bad projects, but people did not feel the impact so much. Table 12 gives the summary by intervening agency.

Table 12. Worst interventions/initiatives/projects in Langbinsi by intervening agency

	n	Score	Average score
Government	11	28	2.5
Faith-based NGOs	7	19	2.7
Secular	3	11	3.7
Private/ Other	3	9	3.0
Mixed	9	33	3.7

Source: workshop

Interestingly, it is now the government that is mentioned most often, while at the same time the average score is not very high: many ‘bad’ projects, but with a minor irritation factor. These were all projects that were a failure, but that did not do the most damage: teak tree introduction and the construction of all kinds of offices that are hardly (yet) used at all. Also low is the score for faith-based organisations for interventions such as the introduction of some crops that were considered less useful than existing crops, or the organisation of Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs). Very high negative average scores are received by Secular NGOs and interventions by mixed agencies: agricultural innovations there were touching on important crops or the application of fertilisers that failed, energy (solar panels, expensive and easy to steal) and failed credit schemes were mentioned here. These were interventions that cost people money instead of contributing to their well-being and wealth.

In Sandema, we have data on the officials’ view of which projects they valued as best and worst, and of the men and women in five different groups of villages. The following table shows the result of the best interventions exercise².

Interestingly, infrastructure is now on the top of the list, and roads have a very high score. After that come the usual sectors: water, health and education, followed by the productive sectors. The high position of infrastructure is the only difference with the situation in Langbinsi. The rest of the table is quite similar to the one in Langbinsi. In terms of appreciation (the ratio between score and number of times mentioned), education, infrastructure and water provision have a high average score, followed by energy and livestock introductions.

² These figures differ from the figures given in the report by Ton Dietz of the workshop in that area in that the best five (and worst five) interventions are being considered, not the best (and worst) ten as in his report

Table 13. Best interventions/initiatives/projects in Sandema by sector.

Sector	'Project'	Score	Mentioned	Sector	Average score per sector
Infra	Roads (all)	22	7		
	Irrigation (Govt and Private)	15	4	37	3.4
Water	Boreholes and wells (all)	29	8	29	3.6
Health	Clinics (Govt)	6	2		
	Vaccination (all)	6	2		
	Community health (Private)	3	1		
	Weighing in school (Govt)	3	1		
	Health insurance (Govt)	5	2		
	Mosquito nets (Govt)	2	1	25	2.8
	Public PS and JSS (Govt)	18	4		
Education	Community school (Private)	6	2	24	4
	Veterinary care (Govt)	2	1		
Livestock	Introduction sp. (PAS)	10	3	12	3
	PAS activities	2	1		
Crops	Improved vars. (all)	2	2		
	Seed aid after flood (PAS/ NGO)	1	1	5	1.3
	Electricity (Govt)	7	2	7	3.5
Energy	Market (Govt)	4	2	4	2
Credit/ Business	Youth group (Private)	2	1		
Social	Radio station (Mixed)	2	2	4	1.3
	Tree planting (PAS)	1	1	1	1

Source: workshop

Crop introductions have a low average score, and this may be both because the impact of the introductions was limited, or because there have been limited interventions of this kind. However, we also think that the importance of this sector is slowly being eroded due to the slow change from a purely agricultural society towards a more urban society, a process that is taking place in Sandema.

When we focus on the type of agency, the following table is derived from table 13.

Table 14. Best interventions/initiatives/projects in Sandema by intervening agency

	n	Score	Average score
Govt	90	30	3
Faith-based NGO	18	6	3
Secular NGO	1	1	1
Other/ Private	12	6	2
Mixed	29	12	2.4

Source: workshop

A much higher number of Government interventions are favourably considered in this case, compared to the Langbinsi case, mostly because the government is very successful in this case in the infrastructure and water sector, and the health sector. The Government is also much more involved in these sectors than in the case of Langbinsi, where various actors have engaged in the water sector successfully for example. Also, the absence of clear successes lately in the crop and livestock sector in Sandema as compared to the Langbinsi case makes quite a difference: they would have appeared more often in this table had that been the case,

as these are generally strong points of the Agricultural Stations. Government and the Faith-based NGOs are both however doing well in this table, whether they have many projects, or just a small number of. The other agencies are doing less well apparently in the Sandema case compared to Langbinsi. They are among the best projects, but the scores for these best projects are modest.

The worst interventions are in Table 15. From this table it appears that failed business-related interventions are the worst: they cost money, and gave people in the area a bad reputation when they failed. From this table it appears also that it is not for lack of trying that there are no crop-focused interventions in the best interventions list for Sandema. There are many failures apparently in that domain. This raises the question whether there is any exchange of information between the various PAS organisations, or whether there are fundamental (social, economic and/ or ecological) differences between the two areas discussed here so far. We have already seen that the ecology was quite similar, and the areas were selected for that, but there may be more differences than is acknowledged here. Again, we see a number of sectors that have not appeared in the list of best projects: interventions in the administration and natural environmental sectors are generally unappreciated as sectoral interventions, both in Langbinsi and in Sandema. Interestingly, infrastructural projects appear among both the best and the worst interventions, though roads are generally appreciated, and dams that contain no water or buildings that are not used are considered negatively.

Table 15. Worst interventions/initiatives/projects in Sandema by sector.

Sector	Project	Score	Mentioned	Sector	Average score per sector
Credit/ Business	Poverty alleviation funds (Govt)	7	2		
	Credit (mixed)	17	4		
	Market (PAS)	2	1		
	Loans to traders (PAS)	9	3	35	3.5
Crops	Cash crops (PAS)	3	2		
	Crop intro (Govt)	13	3		
	Mill (Mixed)	4	2	20	2.9
Admin	Council, Unit and taxation (Govt)	17	5	17	3.4
Livestock	Pig production (PAS)	7	2		
	Veterinary services (Govt)	2	1		
	Improved breeds (Govt)	6	2	15	3
Infra	Fascom Depot (Govt)	4	1		
	Dams (Private)	4	2		
	Road (Govt)	5	2	13	2.6
Education	TV donation (private)	6	2		
	Material (Govt)	4	2	10	2.5
Social	Bars (Private)	5	1		
	Groups (Private)	5	3	10	2.5
Water	Wells (PAS)	10	2	10	5.0
Nat Env	Woodlots (Secular NGO)	1	1		
	Acacia (PAS)	4	1		
	New tree sp. (Private)	6	2	11	2.8
Health	Breast feeding (Govt)	1	1		
	HIV/AIDS Screening (Govt)	5	1	6	3

Source: workshop

In terms of the least appreciated interventions, with the highest average scores, the list is headed by water projects that failed, which was a PAS intervention, followed by failed credit and economic projects and useless administrative activities. Actually the average scores are generally quite high, indicating that there are ‘bad’ projects in all these sectors.

The above data sorted by intervening agency shows the following result (Table 16).

Table 16. Worst interventions/initiatives/projects in Sandema by intervening agency

	n	Score	Average score
Govt	64	20	3.2
Faith-based NGO	35	11	3.2
Secular NGO	1	1	1
Other/ Private	26	10	2.6
Mixed	21	6	3.5

Source: workshop

Surprisingly, the mixed interventions have the highest (negative) score with respect to the degree with which the interventions are considered as bad. Following this are Government and Faith-based NGOs. Water and credit schemes that failed add considerably to this very low esteem that the participants had of these interventions. Private/other and secular agencies are doing slightly less bad. Again, government activities score the highest in terms of number of activities that are considered bad, mostly because they are implementing so many interventions.

In Tô, for the moment we have no similar analysis of the best and worst projects. In a later version of this report we will try to address these lacunae.

Finally, a methodological observation should be added. Before, we have noted that few initiatives were judged as purely negative when people are being asked to judge all initiatives on a scale from negative to positive, as in section 7 of this report. We suggested that it has to do with reluctance to be seen as using negative qualifications. Specifically asking for the five worst projects also was not always easy, as some groups (particularly the ones from more remote villages) first refused to do so, as they did not want to be seen as ungrateful, or as they wanted to avoid that ‘their village’ was pictured in negative colours. However, when they did come with these lists of ‘worst projects’, it generally appeared a good way to get opinions about things that really went wrong. Hence, even a number of projects that initially were judged positively, have now been included among the worst projects. This could mean that they were seen as generally positive, but with some flaws (as it is an ordinal scale, and the worst projects could in theory still be rather good projects). However, in practice this approach of asking for the five worst projects (in each subgroup) did reveal a much more critical attitude with regard to projects, and hence it can be said that if we use the qualification ‘bad project’ when we talk about projects which were mentioned among the five worst ones, this probably is a genuine interpretation of what people really felt.

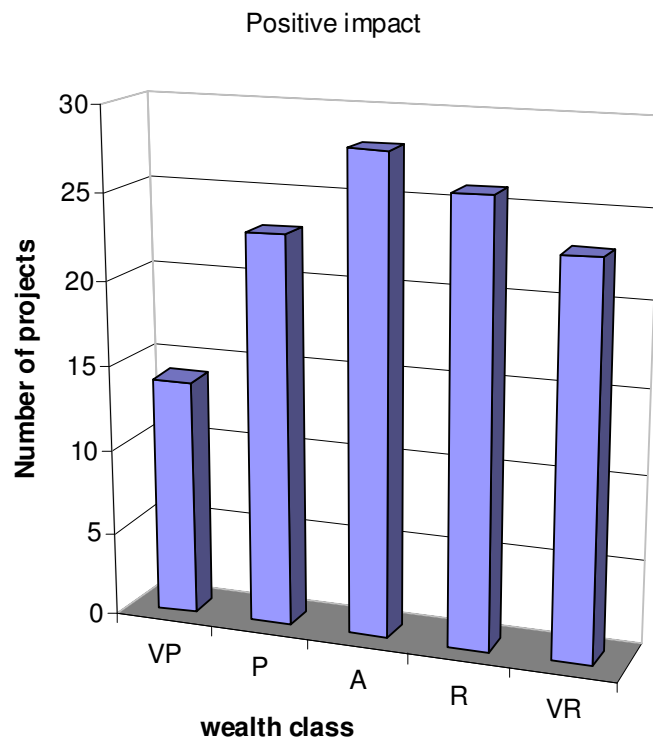
Impact on wealth classes

In the course of this series of workshops, we considered that it would be very useful to know something about the impact on the various wealth classes of the various interventions. In Langbinsi, this was done using pluses and minuses, and only for the five best projects. In the other two areas, we had the participants estimate the impact using percentages (Exercise using ten stones which had to be distributed among the wealth classes for each intervention

mentioned as best project). Therefore, the results for Langbinsi are slightly less accurate and calculated as number of projects with a positive impact per wealth class. However, for comparison sake, we have added the result of this recalculation here. We will present the data in the same order as above.

The detailed table can be found in the report on Langbinsi. Here we only present the summary data. Figure 5 shows the result of this exercise.

Figure 5. Number of interventions in Langbinsi with a positive impact, per wealth class



Contrary to the most commonly found rhetoric, the Very Poor (VP) is not the wealth class for which most of the interventions with a clearly positive impact are organised. Rather, it is the Average (A) wealth class, followed by the Rich (R) and similar scores for the Poor (P) and Very Rich (VR). This is a somewhat unexpected conclusion perhaps, though we should consider the many arguments that are being brought forward by the participants to explain this outcome. In Langbinsi, all categories seem to benefit to some degree, which is the positive news. But for an important category of interventions, health and education, the arguments are sobering. The very poor and even the poor do not risk having to pay for the medication that is being described even after a free consult in the clinic. The NHIS is asking for very low fees, but even then the very poor cannot afford these fees. The very rich often do not benefit (score lower in this graph) as they do not need the service: they go to hospital in town, not to the clinic in the village. Also, though schooling is free up to JSS, the additional costs are excluding the very poor often from sending their children to school, and the children, if they are there, have to work in the family farm as well. The rich can afford paid household help and servants, and have their children go to the better schools outside of the village anyway. Crop introductions show a similar picture. The very poor either have no land, so can't benefit from new crops, or they do not benefit as the rich and very rich do, as the new crops have to have fertiliser, pesticides and herbicides to be able to grow well. The best crops are indeed obtained by using the new varieties, but the lack of fertiliser in particular reduces the yield and increases the risks. The same applies for the introduction of smallstock: the poor have to

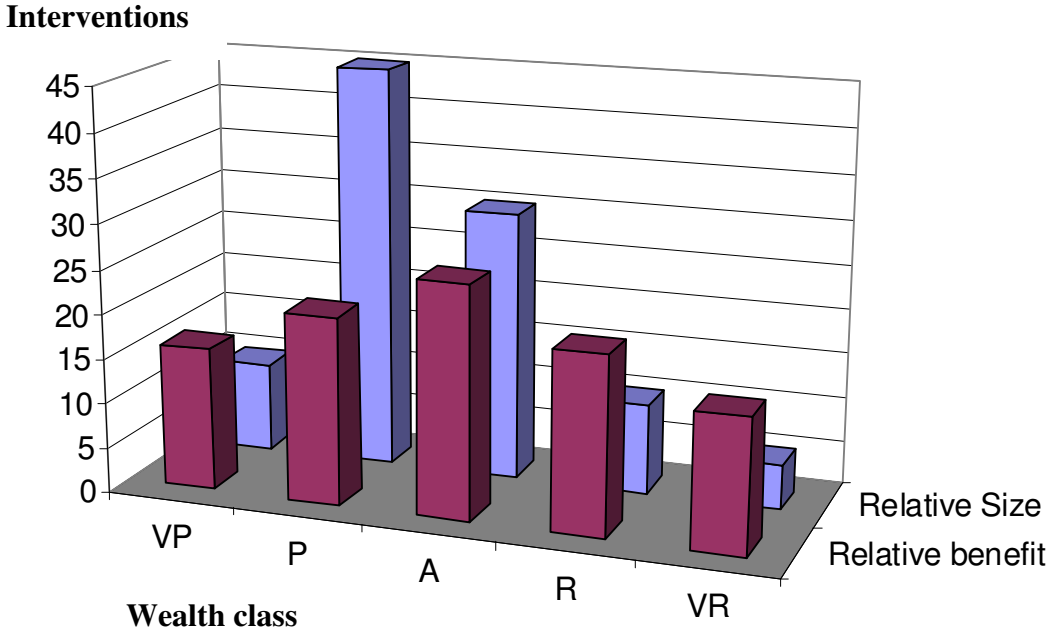
sell their animals too often to sort out problems, and the improved species do not stay long enough to grow into the herd and improve them. Only the free seedlings seem to profit everyone. For other services the picture is somewhat better: water from boreholes seems to benefit everyone as there is a low cost or waiver for those who cannot afford to pay that fee. Markets benefit everyone: the people in the average category sell their produce for better prices than before, and the poor and very poor have opportunities to work as day labourer.

Per gender group, the ideas differ as well: men and women have slightly different ideas about the impact on the various wealth classes. Men are more optimistic about the positive impact of health interventions, in particular the NHIS, than women. Probably this reflects the lower accessibility for women of wealth facilities in general. The same applies to water and economic services: the men seem to be optimistic about the accessibility of water and the benefits of the market, while the women state that the benefits are there, but that water fees continue to hamper access for the poorest women, and markets benefit only those who produce enough to sell there. On the whole however, the difference between men and women do not negate the conclusion that the average groups in society benefit the most, while the relatively large group of poor and particularly the poorest people benefit much less.

For Sandema, we had more accurate estimates, and there was an effort to obtain an estimate for the relative importance of each particular wealth group in society as a whole. The following graph was therefore obtained.

The estimation of relative distribution of wealth and poverty in Sandema society is necessarily rather uncertain. In later editions of this workshop approach, we have increasingly tried to triangulate the data obtained from discussions with the population with survey data. In a later report we will synthesise the available information for Sandema and Langbinsi, but for now it becomes clear that the majority of the population can be considered to be poor or very poor.

Figure 6. Interventions in Sandema with a positive impact, per wealth class, and relative size of the wealth classes.



The benefits however, based on an estimate by the participants of the effects and impacts of each and every intervention (and this by a large number of groups from within the area:

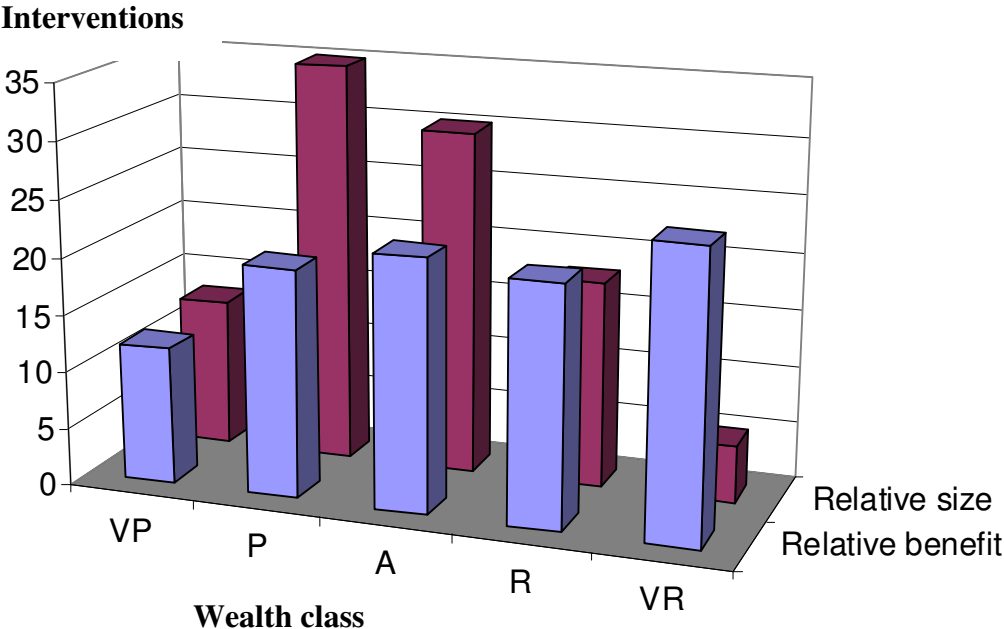
groups of villages and gender being separated), are quite dissimilar to the distribution of the impact of the best interventions. In order of importance, according to the participants: the average wealth class benefits most, followed by the poor, the rich, the very and very poor. This may be a finding that many who have been working in these areas would have expected; however it is quite sobering to find that the local population coldly estimates this to be the case.

We need to give the nuance that comes with looking at the various agencies. Government interventions seem to be seen to benefit the average, rich and very rich slightly more than this average picture shows. The faith-based agencies seem to be perceived to benefit the poor more. However, interestingly, when faith-based agencies work together with other agencies (e.g. the government), their results are slightly compromised, usually when they work with private organisations. For government agencies there is not much difference. Government agencies seem to be very strong-headed in their implementation of programmes and when they err, they are hardly corrected, whereas the faith-based organisations seem to be influenced negatively.

There are also differences between groups within the participants though. These difference are similar to those found in Langbinsi: the women, having less control over the resources, services and benefits, seem to give a somewhat lower estimate of the usefulness of the interventions than the men. Especially when it applies to services that they use regularly themselves such as water, health and education.

In Tô, the following results were obtained, using the same methodology as developed in Sandema.

Figure 7. Interventions in Tô with a positive impact, per wealth class, and relative size of the wealth classes.



Perhaps not surprisingly, the relative sizes of the various wealth classes are very similar to those in Sandema; the average group is the largest, though not as large as in Sandema where it was almost 50 percent. Here the largest group reaches 35 percent, which is still sizeable. The relative benefit as perceived by the population is slightly different however, with a very

unequal distribution of benefits skewed towards the very rich. This is partly because of the types of project that were supported: infrastructure was important, and productive activities in agriculture, both cash and food crops. Apart from that, the services that were supported were generally not free and thus inaccessible to the very poor and poor population. Roads, markets, credit and information services (mobile phones) are generally favouring the rich and very rich most.

9. Conclusions

Based on these findings, some conclusions may tentatively be given. First of all, it seems that the methods developed are very effective in producing the type of information that is needed to know what the various social groups in society think of the initiatives that have come their way. They have an intimate knowledge of these interventions, certainly as a group as a whole. The large number of interventions shows the long, broad and intensive relationship of the population in this area with the outside world through 'Development Aid' or government assistance, of whatever kind.

Apart from that, the order adopted to discuss the various issues was also correct. From the one-dimensional time line, to the multi-dimensional list of interventions with their impact on various capitals, and the valuation of the best and worst five projects, to the multi-dimensional method of assessing the impact of interventions per wealth class by various social groups in society, the whole exercise increases in complexity. To develop this insight enhanced the commitment of the population: they found valuable information in the exercises as well. Complex analysis by the population of this type allows the collection of data and insight and value judgments of a participatory kind in a very short time.

In terms of content, also some conclusions can be drawn, though these are mostly contained in the text itself and in the supporting reports.

To take a long term perspective gives a unique view of society. There is rapid change going on in the three workshop areas, with traditional religions disappearing, with their taboos, but also their valuable traditions. Islam and Christianity are becoming the dominant religions, and this comes with certain views on trends in society.

Better educated, with fewer children per parent, better fed and provided with relatively higher levels of service, society experiences change also due to interventions from outside agents. The work these agents do, and the agents themselves, are sometimes evaluated critically, but on the whole very positively. Depending on the area, Government and Faith-based NGOs are the dominant agents in this respect, with Faith-based usually meaning Christian organisations. Production-related and service related activities that have a long-term impact on people are appreciated. These generally also have an impact on more than one type of capital.

There is a difference however between men and women, as the impact is felt differently by men and women. As production is usually in the hands of men, improvement in those sectors are appreciated by them more, and the same applies for women and their access to services such as water provision, health and education. They generally have less access and control over these resources and are usually therefore slightly less positive about these interventions when they do not fulfil their expectations.

One other important point was presented in this report and that pertains to the impact of interventions by wealth class. It appears that contrary to the relative size of wealth classes (with the Poor and Average being most numerous), it is above all the Average and in Burkina Faso even the very rich who benefit most, in the eyes of the participants. And also this statement needs nuance: the Government and private NGOs seem to bias their interventions towards the Rich, while the Faith-based NGOs favour the Poor more. However, the Very Poor continue to be the most deprived group in society, benefiting least of all from the interventions.

Appendix 1.

Methodology of the first series of workshops in Ghana and Burkina Faso, September 2008. Text written by Wouter Rijnveld.

1 Introduction

ICCO, Prisma and Woord en Daad are involved in the development of a new evaluation methodology. This project is carried out by the University of Amsterdam (AMIDSt) and the University for Development Studies (Tamale, Ghana) together with EDS (Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso).

The methodology is being developed in Northern Ghana and Burkina Faso and its main characteristics are: people assess the changes in their livelihoods over a long period. They make an inventory of all interventions, by all actors and value these interventions and their impacts on their lives. They also discuss the reasons behind their valuation and the impacts these interventions had for different groups of people. For further description of the research, see the Terms of Reference.

This document describes the use of this methodology, as far as it is developed after a first round of three workshops, for a stand-alone exercise that can be used to get a very good and deep impression of people's livelihoods, perceptions of interventions and relations between different development actors.

2 Objective and use

Objective

To gain insight in the way people's livelihoods have changed over a period of 20-30 years, the different interventions (by different actors) that have played a role in people's lives, the way people value these interventions, and the reasons why.

Use

This exercise can be used in the following circumstances:

- When the partner organisation wants to get more insight in the perceptions and views of the target groups on changes and developments.
- When strategic considerations in a changing context are needed and there is no time or need to do an elaborate evaluation.
- When it is important to find out the reasons behind people's perspectives and assessments of interventions.

3 Description

Step 1 – determine the area

An area should be selected, with approximately 10-30,000 people, where a relevant number of interventions took place, preferably different types of interventions. In almost all situations there will also be interventions from other actors in the same area, incl. government, businesses and other NGO's.

Step 2 – find a consultant or local researcher

The essence of this inventory is to get insight in people's perceptions on different types of interventions from different actors. The perspective of the method is not based on specific interventions, but on people's livelihoods and changes that affect them. For this reason it is important that the process is not led by any of the organisations involved in the interventions.

A local researcher or consultant needs to take the lead, while the experience and knowledge of the partner organisation could still play a key role in the preparations.

Step 3 – prepare a list of participants

Some 60 persons should be invited from the following categories:

- Representatives from each village within the selected area
- Male and female as equal as possible
- Younger and older people
- Chiefs, local opinion leaders, e.g. headmaster of a school
- Local government officials
- Key field staff from NGO's who live themselves in the selected area

The people selected should be people who are representative of the population in the area. However, they must be able to express themselves (in national or local language). The selection should not be the specific beneficiaries of any specific project. Care should be taken that the number of officials (incl. NGO representatives) does not become dominant: e.g. maximum of 10 persons.

Step 4 – do the workshop

Have the three days workshop, with the following arrangements:

People can be given feeding and some compensation (e.g. equivalent of local teacher's salary for three days)

Day 1

- Brief plenary introduction and welcome by the researcher
- Groups by social divisions (e.g. younger women, older women, younger men, older men): divisions to be adapted as relevant. Each group needs a facilitator and will
 - o Develop a time line with major events in their area as far back as they remember (but at least 20-30 years back)
 - o Discuss the positive and negative changes in their livelihoods (not linked to projects or interventions at this stage). The six capitals³ (or capabilities) could be used as a guide, but no extensive explanation about capitals is needed: the explanation can be very direct and concrete. See Annex 1 for a simple format.
 - o Discuss the characteristics of poverty and wealth in their area, e.g. by asking how they would describe people in their area who are 1) very rich, 2) rich, 3) average, 4) poor, 5) very poor.
People should not be asked to classify themselves.
- Optional: people can be requested to write individual life histories. This can serve as triangulation with the results from the group sessions. Literate people can write this and can then help illiterate people. People can also be requested to briefly describe the situation of their brothers / sisters in order to get insight to what extent the people are representative for the area. See Annex 2 for a format that can be used or adapted.

Day 2

The whole group is split into groups, divided by sub-area, e.g. by village. It is important that a separate group is formed of officials and NGO representatives so that they can give their own (probably wider) perspective and will not influence the other groups. Each group needs a facilitator and will develop a list of all interventions / projects in their area and indicate which

³ Natural, physical, human, economic, social/political, cultural

type of actor is involved, e.g. G(overnment), C(hristian or Faith-based NGO), N(secular NGO), other categories as relevant.

Men and women should do the following steps separately:

- Rate each intervention on a scale 0-4 as follows; 0 = negative impact, 1 = no impact, 2 = was useful but effect no longer felt, 3 = ongoing, not yet known, 4 = positive impact
- Give the reasons for each intervention for the rating
- Note down the capitals/capabilities on which the projects had impact. This could be done based on the reasons people give for their rating.

For all the steps above, the format in Annex 3 can be used.

Day 3

In the same groups as the previous day (men and women separate), the following steps should be done:

- Select the 5 best projects (ranking 1 – 5) and the 5 worst projects (ranking 1 – 5) and note down the reasons why
- For each of the 5 best projects, refer to the 5 poverty categories that people have developed on day 1 and ask people to describe for which category of people the projects had impact. For this purpose, the group can be given 10 stones, representing the impact of the project, to be divided over the 5 categories of people. Record reasons.
- For each of the 5 best projects, rate the impact (rating scale of 0-4 as above) per poverty category and per capital. Record reasons.

For these steps, the form in Annex 4 can be used.

Step 5 – record and analyze the data

All the results of the groups and sub-groups should be recorded and typed, using the formats in the annexes.

For further analysis, the following 15 steps are suggested:

1. Timeline

Combine all timelines of the groups for the area as a whole, but indicate which group(s) suggested which element. Also add quotes from personal life histories if these were done (good and bad years).

2. Capabilities

Combine the capability assessments per group in one capability changes overview (matrix with 6 x 2 main cells (six capabilities x positive/negative change) and within each of the six: sub-cells). But indicate which group(s) suggested which element.

3. General poverty profile

Combine all the descriptions of the subgroups and give combined characteristics for very rich, rich, average, poor and very poor, plus general remarks (e.g. on interpretations and methodology). Indicate from which subgroup the various elements came.

4. Summarize the LIST of projects/activities/interventions per subarea

a) make a matrix for TYPE OF ACTOR and SCORE (0-4). If there are more actors involved in the same project, make a separate line (e.g. G+C).

b) idem of SECTOR (number of projects) x SCORE (0-4)

c) idem of TYPE OF ACTOR x SECTOR (nr of projects)

For the ratings, men's and women's ratings should be shown in a double matrix. Add interpretations and make a story of the remarks and explanations given.

5. Compare the LISTS

Compare the lists of these (2x) 3 matrixes for all sub areas and come to general conclusions for the area as a whole.

6. Summarize the impact of project LIST on CAPABILITIES

Per sub-area and for Men and Women: make an overview per SECTOR per TYPE OF AGENCY of all CAPABILITIES on which projects had impact (simple counting) and add an interpretation, comparing gender-specific assessments; and sector-agency specificity on capabilities.

7. Compare the impact of project LIST on CAPABILITIES

Compare the Scores on CAPABILITIES (divided by ACTOR x SECTOR) for all sub-areas, and make an overall interpretation

8. Summarize the Best and Worst projects

Per sub-area and for men and women: which ACTORS, which SECTORS, impact on which CAPABILITIES are included in the five Best and the 5 Worst projects? Give an interpretation, including reasons why. Contrast best and worst, and contrast gender.

9. Compare the Best and Worst projects

Compare findings of best and worst projects for all subareas, and make an interpretation.

10. Summarize the impact on wealth groups

Per sub-area and for men and women: use the tables (stones division) to analyse the impact of the project on the various wealth groups.

11. Compare the impact on wealth groups

Compare the findings for the best and worst projects for all sub-areas and contrast gender; make an interpretation for the impact of the best and worst projects on the various wealth groups.

12. Summarize the impact on wealth groups and capabilities

Make an analysis of the findings per sub-area about the impact of the best projects on the six capabilities of the very rich, rich, average, poor, very poor; and do so for men and women, and compare. Write a story about the reasons given by the groups and an interpretation.

13. Compare the impact on wealth groups and capabilities

Compare these findings for all sub-areas and write an overall assessment of the best projects for the area as a whole, and compare the sub-areas. Try to give reasons why there are geographical differences.

Steps 14 and 15 can only be done when the personal life histories are included in the exercise.

14. Describe the group based on personal life histories

- Age profiles (self (make two groups: men and women 'themselves' and their:), father, mother, sons, daughters, brothers, sisters): demographic pyramid for the sample as a whole using ten-year cohorts and m/f. % of fathers and mothers still alive?
- Married status profiles: self, brothers and sisters
- Geographical profiles: self (living where now, in the past, born where), brothers, sisters; add knowledge of languages and ethnicity for self.

- Economic profiles: compare jobs and job history for self (men separate from women), father, mother, brothers, sisters.
- Education profiles: compare educational status for self (men separate from women), father, mother, own children (boys/girls), brothers and sisters. Make age-gender cohorts of ten years (1920-30 etc) and compare educational levels reached.
- Religious profiles: compare self (men separate from women), with brothers and sisters.
- Add interpretations and 'other information'. Use quotes where appropriate and refer by saying: (wo)man from area x.

15. Analyse the personal life histories

Make an analysis of the Personal Life Histories for the area as a whole, and compare the data between own life histories; father and mother; brothers and sisters, and own children. Write an interpretative story about the differences.

Step 6 – follow up

The follow up given to the workshop depends on its purpose. Making the results of the workshop available to (some of) the participants of the workshop is suggested. Implication could be drawn for existing projects and strategies and for new projects to be started or strategies to be followed.

4. Format for timeline

The participants describe the most important events in the past years, as far back as their memory allows. The type of event wanted is the type that can be used to link certain activities or other events to, events that are not so memorable but that can be linked to memorable events that DO have a year linked to them. Take note of the year and the event, and add a description. The definition of event can be wide. In fact, some interventions appear often that are later mentioned in the list of interventions (see below).

5. Format for changes in six capitals

The major changes in the capitals according to the participants are noted for the period between now and the time when their parents were their age: about 25-30 years.

		POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
NATURAL	Land: Soil: Water: Animals: Forest: Plants and crops:		
PHYSICAL	Roads and bridges Building structures; Dams: Boreholes Farm tools		
HUMAN	Knowledge Education levels School Enrolment Health Sanitation;		
ECONOMIC	Women in farming and petty trading; Access to money Access to credit Banks/loans Market structures Shops and kiosks Buses Paid job Remittances		
SOCIAL-POLITICAL	Family relationships; political parties; NGOs Associations (women, youth, men); Leadership Land ownership/tenure		
CULTURAL	Christianity and Islam Ethnicity Languages Music and dance Clothes Food diet/food types 'Proper' behaviour Migration behaviour Ritual performances		

Groups: young women, older women; young men, older men; Chiefs, functionaries

6. Format for listing and rating projects

List of projects and assessment of their impact

Area:

Nr (1)	Project	Initiator / organisation Name	Initiator Type (2)	Project Details (3)	Impact assessment 0-4 (4)	Impact on capabilities N P H E S C (5)	Best five	Worst five
Infrastructure								
Crops								
1.								
Livestock								
2.								
Natural Environment								
3.								
Water								
4.								
Energy								
5.								
Education								
6.								
Health								
7.								
Credit/Business								
8.								
Marketing								
9.								
Religion								
10.								
Social								
11.								
Administration								
12.								
Other								
13.								

- List as many projects as you have found as detailed as possible, count from 1 to end of table
- Type = Government G, Non-religious NGO = N, Church-based NGO = C, Mosque-based NGO/Islamic NGO = M, Own initiative/association or private business = P, Other = O
- Add details, if necessary on separate sheet, indicating numbers: e.g. years, details of what they did
- Rate each of the projects according to the following scale. Note down the reasons why.
 - 0 = negative impact/should never have started
 - 1 = no or minimal impact, never started, useless
 - 2 = has been useful in the past, but now results no longer to be seen/experienced
 - 3 = ongoing and no impact yet to be established
 - 4 = positive impact
- List the impact of the project on the six capitals / capabilities: indicate which. This should be obtained from the
- Select the 5 best and 5 worst projects

7. Format for wealth class description

Ask the respondents to give the following information:

- Name in the local language that can be given to the class of Very Poor, Poor, Average, Rich, Very Rich (How are they called)
- Type of person (type of job) typical of each group (Who are they)
- Description of their characteristics. Use for example the various capitals to assess a wide range of characteristics (What are they)
- Give the relative distribution of each class in society, using ten stones or seeds to visualise that distribution (How many are they)

8. Format for the analysis of the five best projects

AREA/group:MEN OR WOMEN:.....

REPORT BY:

Ia Best five projects

	Name	Why
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		

Ib Worst five projects

	Name	Why
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		

II Impact of the best five projects on five wealth groups; general

Each project: distribute ten stones among the five wealth groups
and if relevant ask: why?

	Impact on Very Rich	Impact on Rich	Impact on Average	Impact on Poor	Impact on Very Poor
1					
Remarks					
2					
Remarks					
3					
Remarks					
4					
Remarks					
5					
Remarks					

III Impact per project on the six capabilities of the five wealth groups

0 = negative impact; the project diminished their capabilities and access to capitals

1 = minimal impact

2 = positive impact in the past, but no longer

3 = impact not to be judged as project is still too new

4 = positive impact and still to be seen/felt.

1 Best project (nr 1). Repeat this table for each of the five best projects

	Impact on very rich	Impact on rich	Impact on average	Impact on Poor	Impact on the very poor
Impact on natural capital/their access to natural resources					
Impact on (their access to) physical capital					
Impact on their human capital					
Impact on their economic capital and capabilities					
Impact on their social and political capabilities					
Impact on their culture and religion/ cosmovision					
Remarks					

20. YOUR CHILDREN (if more than 11, please write others on other side of paper)

	Name	Boy / Girl	Birth year	Education
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				

21. YOUR BROTHERS – SAME MOTHER AS YOU (if more than 5, please write others on other side of paper)

	Name	Birth year	Where does he live?	Job / function	Education level	Religion	Married?
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							

22. YOUR SISTERS – SAME MOTHER AS YOU (if more than 5, please write others on other side of paper)

	Name	Birth year	Where does she live?	Job(s) / function(s)	Education level	Religion	Married?
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							