

https://dspace.org/

Development aid, non-governmental organisations, and the north-south divide in Ghana

Bob-Milliar, Gloria Kafui

2024
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
https://hdl.handle.net/10539/44047
Bob-Milliar, Gloria Kafui. (2024). Development aid, non-governmental organisations, and the north-south divide in Ghana [PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg]. WireDSpace.

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

DEVELOPMENT AID, NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS, AND THE NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE IN GHANA

By
GLORIA KAFUI BOB-MILLIAR

A Doctoral Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the

Requirements for the Award of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in the field of

DEVELOPMENT FINANCE
at

The Graduate School of Business Administration

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

Supervisor: Professor Imhotep Paul Alagidede

JANUARY 2024

Abstract

Aid effectiveness and sustainability has become topical as donor countries face more interesting demands in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, the proxy war in Europe and low economic growth. In sub–Saharan Africa, poverty is perceived and acknowledged to be profound and nearly enduring. Many multi-lateral and bilateral organisations have intervened to address concerns of poverty and under-development, as donor-funded projects have targeted needy communities in developing countries.

In Northern Ghana, years of neglect and lack of workable economic resources have culminated in its underdevelopment compared to Southern Ghana. Similarly, a plethora of third-sector funds have been channelled to the region with little evidence of their effect on poverty reduction. Despite the large inflows of donor funds, the north remains impoverished compared to the south. This thesis addresses the critical concerns of the north-south divide in Ghana, and the steps taken to lessen these development and inequality gaps. Data collection and analysis were conducted through a productive mixed-method approach, encased in a theatrically adapted grounded theory framework and technique.

The study presents an invigorating perspective on the political economy of donor aid and its heterogeneity within a narrow target area of the savannah regions. It empirically showcased the culture of aid dependency through NGO activities based on the lived vulnerabilities of beneficiary communities. This was achieved through the evaluated mission and vision statements of NGOs, and their analytically measured impacts. The empirical evidence, however, shows a mismatch of interventions between some donor-funded NGO projects and community needs. Consequently, the study concludes there is beneficiary stress degenerating into a phenomenon the research calls 'poverty dance'. As aid continue to target communities' needs through project intervention advocacies, scores of NGOs similarly strived to be aid implementers with the sole aim of poverty reduction. There were various scenarios of aid fragmentation and project duplication efforts found in the research region, signalling a principal agent problem. Further evidence from this objective unveiled an aid dependency syndrome termed the red

herring of aid implementation. The contextual conclusion to this thesis is that donor aid is producing an aid ineffectiveness conditions at the micro level, the twin phenomena of donor aid: the poverty dance of beneficiary communities and the red herring of NGO projects. This research leads the way in promoting the contestation of empirical ideas in donor aid effectiveness with robust theoretical debates on the underdevelopment of Northern Ghana. This thought-provoking research fills in the gap of the political economy of donor aid from the community perspective and proposed practical policy solutions to rural development.

Keywords: Development aid, beneficiary communities, NGOs, poverty, project interventions, Northern Ghana

OUTPUT: ONGOING/FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

Before the submission of the thesis, extracts from its chapters have been presented in academic conferences, whiles some have been presented to peer-review journal for publication and majority are still under submission review.

Published articles/Academic Conferences

1. **Bob-Milliar, G.K.,** & Alagidede, I. P., The Political Economy of Donor Aid in Northern Ghana. *Journal of African Political Economy and Development*, Vol 7, pp 25-37.
2. **Bob-Milliar, G.K.,** & Alagidede, I.P., Fragmentation of projects and the symbolism of Development projects in Northern Ghana, (**under review in VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organisations)**.
3. **Bob-Milliar, G.K.,** & Alagidede, I.P., Micro Level impact assessment of NGOs in Northern Ghana: A Community based analysis (**Under review in Journal of African Studies)**.
4. Abubakar, M.G., & **Bob-Milliar, G.K.,** Examining elements of corruption in NGOs Operations: Cultural activism and Practices presented at the *4th African Philanthropy Academic Conference (APAC), Dakar, Sally, 31st July-4th August 2023*. (Joint presentation)
5. Bob-Milliar, G.K., "from hangout to handout to handiwork; changing aid dynamics through social investment for poverty alleviation in Ghana, presented *at the APAC, Dakar, Sally, 31st July to 4th August 2023*. (Sole presentation)
6. **Bob-Milliar, G.K.,** Alagidede, IP, "Is *it the case of a dripping Basket*? The Poverty Alleviation agendas of Development NGOs in the Savannah Regions of Ghana presented at *the 4th African Review of Economics and Finance Conference, Johannesburg, South Africa, 21-22 August 2019* (Paper presentation by Bob-Milliar, G.K.).
7. **Bob-Milliar, G.K.**, Changes in the development aid Sector: the case of DANIDA in Ghana., *an oral presentation of research at the 14th International Conference of the International Society for Third Sector Research (ISTR).*
8. **Bob-Milliar, G.K.**, Alagidede, IP., *Development Aid, NGOs and the North-South divide in Ghana presented at the 5th International ISTR PhD Seminar from July 5-7, 2020, in Montréal, Canada. at the International Society for Third-Sector Research (ISTR)PhD Conference*
9. **Bob-Milliar, G.K.,** Research Design: Using an adaptive Grounded Theory for the donor aid dynamics in Northern Ghana; attended *the annual Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research, held from June 15 through June 26, 2020, at the Maxwell School, Syracuse University.; New York, USA*.

10. **Bob-Milliar, G.K.,** Understanding the dynamics of "aid fortunes" and development assistant in Northern Ghana; presented at *The Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research IQMR 2021; June 14-25, 2021, Syracuse University Syracuse, NY*
11. **Bob-Milliar, G.K.,** Alagidede IP, Donor Aid Fragmentation and Project Duplication Efforts: the mirage of participatory community development in Northern Ghana, presented at *the 7th PhD Seminar of the 15th International Conference of the International Society for Third Sector Research (ISTR), from July 12-15, 2022. at the John Molson School of Business at Concordia University, 1450 Guy Street, Montréal, Canada.*

Declaration

I, **Gloria Kafui Bob-Milliar** with student number **1969894**, hereby declare that this research report is my work except as indicated in the references and acknowledgements. It is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of **Doctor of Philosophy degree** at the **University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa**. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in this or any other university.



Gloria Kafui Bob-Milliar
Doctoral Candidate
05-01-2024

Dedication

To the memory of my mum **Mrs. Grace Anne Kumordzi (Dadavi),** 'Yes, mama I did it'! and my dad **Mr. Daniel Nortu Kumordzi** (Rainbow speaks!)

Acknowledgement

To the 'Most High, the Most Faithful, and Most Merciful Mawu' for seeing me through each step of the way!! When I thought I lost it; He showed me the Light! I am grateful Jah! The earthly ancestors and saints were ever- present to guide my way. To my supervisor Professor Imhotep Paul Alagidede ('GP. Shaka') for holding my hand on this journey. Your words of stimulus, direction, involvement, and tolerance is very much appreciated. No day passed without you telling me what and where I could be! You are in my deepest thoughts. Thank you, sir! To my proposal Defence Panellists, your zeal, response, questioning, and comments made this work possible. I am indebted to you all.

To Professor Bhekinkosi Moyo (Director of CAPSI) who invited me to his office and gave insights 'with further and better particulars' (books), I am so grateful. Professor Odongo Kodongo PhD Director, your guidance was immersed, Professor Jones Odei Mensah, Professor Thomas Dorson Anning, Mrs. Mmabatho Leeuw all at the Wits Business School, University of Witwatersrand), many thanks for your support and research guidance.

I would like to thank the University of the Witwatersrand for funding my PhD programme through the Postgraduate Merit Award and the Bradlow Scholarships, and to the African Studies Journal editorial team for awarding me the Dr. Lindiwe Makhunga PhD fieldwork Research Grant. These were the lifeline to the research. I am most grateful.

My sincere gratitude to my seniors and fellow PhD house mates, Emmanuel Ato Quaye, Maurice, Michael, Frank, Dennis, Mohammed Gali, Senyo, Peter; your quick response to my questions made my stay in South Africa a memorable one. Dr Ann Alagidede who sorted me when my health and personal issues mattered. Anty Rachel, Naa, and Abigail your little help made the difference.

I am highly indebted to my family beyond measure, Professor George Meyiri Bob-Milliar who was there when I thought I was alone, to my daughters; Vielu and Sefakor

whose care time I used for this work. God protect you. To my Jah pikins, Dr. Bright Kumordzi who helped with the conceptual ideology for this work. Yamar, you made it easy with the pointers you gave me. The continuous check-ins, education, lectures, sermons and …Agyare said so… did the magic! Fafa-de-credentials, our holiday maker, my rest point, sister and confidante, Dada Sena my babysitter, my doctor, my nurse, and my handbag. You were each visible every step of the way. Daddy Dan, your pride in us urges me on. Mama, I have done it!

I also extend upmost appreciation to the management of the University for Development Studies for granting me study leave to undertake this personal development exercise. To the director and staff of the TTFPP for granting me access to data and the students during my field work.

To Professor David Millar, who guided me to most development expert interviewed, former aid workers and some aid beneficiaries. Madam Kate and Madam Juliet, your anonymous former and current aid workers were my data source. The personnel of the Regional Coordinating Councils, the Tamale Regional Archives, the NGO Desk officers of the Planning units, I am most thankful.

To my research assistants, Agyare O Agyare, Sham, Sule, Majeed, Enyo and Juliet, it was an interesting journey with you guys. March on I have your backs. To Anty Lucy, Mark, and Ernest your insight in the progress of work is very much appreciated. To all my family and friends who kept asking…."How far with the work"!!! THANK YOU THIS FAR!!

Table of Content

Abstract **ii**

Outputs: Ongoing/Forthcoming Publications **iv**

Declaration **v**

Dedication **vi**

Acknowledgement **vii**

Table of Content **ix**

List of Tables **xiii**

List of Figures **xiv**

List of Appendices **xv**

Contents

Contents x
List of Tables xiii
List of Figures xiv
List of Appendices xv
Appendix 1: Ethics Clearance Certificate xv
Appendix 2: Interview Guide xv
CHAPTER 1: 1
THE NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE, NGOs AND DEVELOPMENT AID 1
1.0 General introduction 1
1.1 Background to the study 1
1.2 Problem statement 9
1.2.1 Realigning the nature and debates of the north-south divide. 10
1.2.2 The proliferation of NGOs and civil society organisations 16
1.2.3 Aid fragmentation and duplication of projects 18
1.3 Research objectives 25
1.4 Significance of study and contribution to the literature 26
1.5 Impediments and limitations to study 30
1.6 Structure and composition of the thesis 31
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW 32
2.0 Literature reviewed 32
2.1 Introduction 32
2.2 Theoretical framework and contextual disposition 35
2.2.1 The third sector and the development agenda 36
2.2.2 Ghana's outlook and poverty profile 45
2.2.3 Foreign aid and growth theory 50
2.2.4 Development aid and poverty 52
2.3 Empirical reviews 55
2.3.1 NGOs and participatory development 57
2.3.2 The growth and status of development NGOs 60
2.3.3 NGOs and development aid effectiveness 63
2.3.4 NGOs and development aid intervention in Ghana 66
2.3.5 The north-south dichotomy 70
2.3.6 NGOs and development aid intervention in Ghana 74
2.4 The conceptual framework of the study 78
2.5 Methodological framework and adaptation 81

2.5.1 Limitation of the adapted methodological framework 85
CHAPTER 3: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DONOR AID IN GHANA 89
3.0 General Introduction 89
3.1 The politics of aid in development 89
3.2 Donor Aid and the North-South Divide in Ghana: A synopsis 91
3.2.1 Chronological account of the divide 93
3.2.2 Post-Colonial governments response to the divide 98
3.2.3 Structural adjustment and poverty conception 103
3.3 Donor intervention and poverty financing (the Northern project) 107
3.4 Types of Donor Intervention and Beneficiary Response 113
3.5 The Micro-level political economy and beneficiary upheavals 117
3.6 Concluding remarks 122
CHAPTER 4: IMPACT OF AID IN NORTHERN GHANA 124
4.0 General introduction 124
4.1 Mission, vision, and impact of development aid agencies 124
4.2 Donor-sponsored NGOs and NPOs 128
4.3 NGOs/NPOs philosophy and mandates in northern Ghana 132
4.4 NGOs' sectorial influence and micro-level impact 140
4.5 Empirical methodology and data generation 142
4.5.1 Preliminary analysis 151
4.6 Results and discussion 152
4.6.1 Awareness, performance and impact of NGOs 152
4.6.2 Decision-making structure and processes of NGOs' operation 161
4.6.3 Community satisfaction for NGOs operations (stated impacts) 167
4.6.4 The measure of NGOs' mission versus stated impacts in community development 173
4.7 Reflection and conclusion 181
CHAPTER 5: AID FRAGMENTATION AND PROJECT DUPLICATION 187
5.1 Introduction 187
5.2 Donor influence in Ghana 192
5.3 Ghana's poverty and aid 200
5.4 Development funding and the northern project 208
5.5 Project implementation and beneficiaries 216
5.6 Methodology 221
5.7 Results and discussion (Empirical analysis) 230
5.7.1 Fragmentation and duplication of aid; (The phenomenon of poverty dance) 233
5.7.2 The phenomenon of red herring 241
5.8 Conclusion 246
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS 254

6.0 General introduction 254
6.1 General summary 254
6.2 The study objective revisited 255
6.3 Methodological insights 259
6.4 Highlights of contributions to the study 260
6.5 Recommendations and thoughts for future research 263
Chapter 7: REFERENCES 267
Appendices 292
Appendix 1. Ethics Clearance Certificate 291

List of Tables

Table 1. Results of awareness and performance of NGOs 154
Table 2. Decision-making structure and stakeholders 163
Table 3. Community measure of satisfaction of NGO operations 168
Table 4. Correlation matrix of 24 variables loading for community development 177
Table 5.The five-factor loading of the rotated component matrix 181

List of Figures

Figure 1.Below is the geographical map of the 16 regions of Ghana 49
Figure 2. Location and district map of study sites in northern Ghana 50
Figure 3. Conceptual framework for the study 79
Figure 4. Adapted methodological framework 87
Figure 5. Importance/Performance (mission/impact) Analysis 174
Figure 6. The spatial distribution of poverty in Ghana in terms of incidence and depth ... 208

List of Appendices

Appendix 1.Ethics Clearance Certificate 292
Appendix 2. Interview Guide 292
Appendix 3 Questionnaires..... 292

LIST OF ACROYNMS

ABFS	Agribusiness Financial Services Projects
AfDB	African Development Bank
ACDEP	Association of Church-based Development
BD	Burnside Dollar
CAMFED	Campaign for Female Education
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CEA	Canadian Executing Agency
CDD	Community-Driven Development
CFD	Cassie Française de Development
CHPS	Community Health Planning Services
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease of 2019
CPIA	Country Policy Institutional Assessment
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
CSM	Cerebrospinal Meningitis
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DFID	Department for International Development
DISCAP	District Capacity Building Project
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
FtF	Feed the Future
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GBAA	Ghana Beyond Aid Agenda
GOG	Government of Ghana
GONGO	Government Organised Non-Governmental Organisation
GRINGO	Government-Run Non-Governmental Organisation
GT	Grounded Theory
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Country
IDA	International Development Association
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPO	Non- Profit Organisation
NNGO	Northern Non-Governmental Organisations
NORRIP	Northern Region Rural Integrated Project
NORWASP	Northern Water and Sanitation Project
ODA	Official Development Assistance

PAMSCAD	Program of Action to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
QUANGO	Quasi-Non-Governmental Organisation
RCC	Regional Coordinating Assembly
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SNGO	Southern Non-Governmental Organisation
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SWD	Social Welfare Department
TBA	Traditional Birth Attendants
TMP	Traditional Medicine Practitioners
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programmes
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
URADEP	Upper Region Agricultural Development Programme
USAID	United States of America International Development Agency
WTO	World Trade Organisation

CHAPTER 1: THE NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE, NGOs AND DEVELOPMENT AID

1.0 General introduction

This chapter gives a general overview of development aid debates in the north of Ghana. Relating it to the problem statements and significant of study, it highlights the operations of donor funding in tackling poverty and underdevelopment in rural communities.

1.1 Background to the study

Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Non-Profit Organisations (NPOs) have appeared as decisive actors in the past century and more so now, after governments of developing and emerging economies have failed to meet the development aspirations of their populace. These third-sector organisations are contributing to the building of liberal state projects through development interventions, and they play a decisive role in the overabundance of social intervention schemes. There are currently growing indicators suggesting many new challenges faced by NGOs in developing economies (Aboramadan, 2018, Hearn, 2007).

This is more of the case in their evolution and sustainability due to the changing aid patterns for growth and development. At the Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness in 2005, with a follow-up of the Accra Agenda for Action in 2008, the ministers of developed, and developing countries, heads of multilateral and bilateral development institutions responsible for promoting development agreed in a communique to *"re-solve and take far-reaching and monitorable actions to reform the ways we deliver and manage aid as we look ahead*

to the UN five-year review of the Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)…."[1]. This suggestion was reached following the disappointment with the preceding top-to-bottom approach of most donor aid interventions. It involved governments from developed countries giving aid to governments of poor countries to implement projects for the poor, observed in part by international aid agencies. This resolution was also in response to adopting the participatory or community-driven approach. It was to attest to a result-oriented strategy of aid agencies as well as long schemes of most NGOs working in rural communities, to effectively reduce poverty and increase aid effectiveness accolade across countries.

According to (Lewis, 2014), NGOs are different from governmental agencies and not for profit business ventures. They are perceived and acknowledged as third-sector associations or bodies. As non-profit-declaration entities, their power and managerial directive are not from a party-political procedure although they function within the rules and governing powers of the given recipient economy. This is usually with a blend of their political philosophy influenced in part by the donor's political process. To persuade their constituencies that their adopted strategies work well; donor agencies cautiously advocated for rapid, visible, and smart results. Given their sizeable financial resources, they typically want to disburse them within a short period (Bourguignon & Platteau,

[1] The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness 2005 and Accra Agenda for Aid 2008 was an OECD working documents on aid effectiveness amongst member countries and organisation. Accessed on the 03/03/2019 www.oecd.org/dac/effectiveness/34428351

2015) and then spread them widely to reach as numerous communities and beneficiaries in need as often as possible. As these quick responses often brings relieve and marginal satisfaction to most communities that receive such aids, the urgency often is problematic in terms of communities' infrastructural needs, and aspirations. For the aid agencies as well, to progress and strengthen their establishment, they need to accomplish their stated aims of an all-inclusive governance for accelerated economic development. These they do through advocacy for political participation, financial growth, power, gender equality and equity issues, as well as safeguarding the vulnerable (Platteau & Gaspart, 2003) and in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Most NGOs occupy the space between the state (government) and citizenry. They forge for capacity, trust, and ownership of projects on behalf of most communities they operate in. The lack of capacity-building in organisational and management skills at the community level; and the absence of ''ownership'' of projects by the beneficiary groups, have been recognised as one of the main limitations of the World Bank's socially funded programmes. It is equally a contributing factor to the failure of many projects and programmes of donor organisations. As a result, most programmes remained motivated by donor funding rather than it being receptive to the demands and desires of poor citizens, as an all-inclusive administration and management strategies would permit (Mansuri & Rao, 2004; Narayan, 1998). Also, (Dollar, Kleineberg, & Kraay, 2013) posits that in a broader context, the requirement of a rapid and effective implementation of aid programs drives the donors to adopt strategies that are detrimental to the growth of local

capacities. This is so in most cases, if a certain measured growth is expected to be achieved for the poor within a stipulated timeframe. It may seem illogical as this threat also penetrates community-led programmes or "community-driven development" (CDD) and are not exactly meant for growing rural capacities.

These community development programmes are implemented and managed such that the rural folks are deliberately not emboldened to be aware of their rights and privileges, often through the instituted processes as well as the donor-tailored programmes. This reduces their confidence level to assert themselves as owners of such programmes. In effect, the advantages of such programmes basically elude the beneficiaries as the implementing partners and the local leaders acting on their behalf enjoy the greater benefits in the short term. This could be individuals from either the community, the aid implementing agencies, or both. Mishandling and inappropriate distribution of aid benefits usually occur in class-based villages and gender bias societies. This is where property-owning and educated leaders use their prevalent social powers, their economic prowess and political networks to amass for themselves and their cronies, the major parts of community resources given in part through donor aid, as a small fraction is used to implement the community initiated projects (Berg & Krueger, 2003; Conning & Kevane, 2002).

Community involvement in development processes, cannot be regarded as a procedure where the implementers simply empower the rural indigenes to choose their own desired

projects and do as they wish (Anggraeni, Gupta, & Verrest, 2019; Brett, 1999). This is because rapid duplication of international and national NGOs is sometimes created at the initiative of well-travelled philanthropic individuals, educated unemployed elites, politicians, or former state employees. These individuals, sometimes fronting as champions of community development, are well educated and connected to know that the registration of an NGO or a philanthropic entity is the best and appropriate ways of gaining access to donor funds meant for social intervention projects and investment in local communities (Bierschenk, Chauveau, De Sardan, & Kossi, 2002; Bierschenk & De Sardan, 2003). These development interventions are often initiated for their altruistic interests and the needs of poverty-endemic communities. According to (Chabal & Daloz, 1999; Daloz, 2003), the interventions are ‘‘an opportunistic response of downsized bureaucrats, with no real participation or local empowerment’’ ability, who inevitably become programme officers themselves. They begin their community development practices by creating local community-based groupings or associations (Conning & Kevane, 2002). These authors affirm that the risks in operationalising NGO activities are high. This is when well-coordinated, organised rural societies are non-existence before the beginning, creation, and harnessing of developmental agendas by international development agencies and/or non-state elites of the host country (Harada, Habib, Sakata, & Maryudi, 2022; Li, 2001). However, some of these non-state actors, often assume their survival and sustainability on a pre-admonition and the continuous predicament of the vulnerable people (McDermott Hughes, 2001). This brings to light the imperative disadvantages of some aid implementation operations that must be assessed, and

evaluated before real growth and progress can be made with the overall aid effectiveness for community development.

The partnership for aid effectiveness must assume a wholistic approach and not hinged on a few success stories. This enterprise must be questioned and prompted to promote cooperation among donors, NGOs, and beneficiary communities. The donors and NGOs must reduce the competition for status-seeking in implementing poverty-related projects, whiles beneficiary communities must own and seek their rights in the participation and implementation processes (Gaspart & Seki, 2003). This is because an urgency to rural community enhancement does unavoidably threaten the creation and boosting of unprincipled educated and social-class elites within these communities; but equally alters the beneficiary community's selection procedures. These selection processes include the project types, beneficiary communities, the location, and the sustainability of these development programmes. All to be supplemented through the non-governmental organisations' activities and financed by donor aid and social investment.

Ghana has over 300,000 active non-profit[2] operations and activities organised through many non-governmental organisations linked to many multi-lateral projects and bilateral cooperation in terms of development aid according to the database of the Social Welfare

[2]https://www.addtoany.com/share#url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.commonwealthofnations.org%2Fsectors-ghana%2Fcivil_society%2F&title=Find%20Civil%20Society%20expertise%20in%20Ghana accessed 17/03/2023.

Department (Bierschenk et al., 2002). Many international non-governmental agencies also front the management and implementation of donor aid investments in their quest for poverty alleviation in many developing countries. The following major international agencies in Ghana include the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Canada International Development Agency (CIDA), Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), Department for International Development (DFID), Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and Korea International Development Agency among others are aid agencies actively functioning and collaborating with many of these NGOs/NPOs in both urban and rural areas. Ghana's northern regions are known for the concentration of some of these NGOs. Despite this strong presence of aid organisations, the regions continue to be plagued with endemic poverty and deprivation.

Almost all the NGOs that come to northern Ghana come with a professed mission of serving the people and helping them fight poverty. Given its rural nature, the region is host to more than half of Ghana's local and international NGOs. These NGOs have a collective vision pivoted on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These primarily include helping communities tackle topical problems such as social and economic deprivation in education, health, sanitation and water, climate change vulnerabilities and mass poverty. They usually undertake intervention projects funded by donor aid and implemented in part by many of these international and local NGOs. The implementers do these by aiding locals in starting economically and socially workable and sustainable projects and micro loan businesses within these rural communities.

Many NGOs have been around for more than four decades, however, very little tangible reduction in poverty has been achieved within the five northern regions in sharp contrast to the volume of aid flow and the number of NGOs. An appraisal reveals that 76% of the populations of northern Ghana are still impoverished, with about 70% of these inhabitants exceptionally destitute in terms of climate change vulnerabilities and food insecurity (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Cooke, Hague, & McKay, 2016). Notwithstanding the reduction in the country's poverty headcounts from 51.7% to approximately 28.5% from late 1990s to 2006, there were nonetheless surges in abject poverty with its gender inequality challenges, and food insecurity among the five northern regions (GSS, 2014). Much of these threats are evidenced in the intensification of economic and climatic vulnerabilities; while their social exclusion from the holistic infrastructural development is apparent in both the urban and rural 'north'(Aklorbortu, 2019; Norton, Aryeetey, Korboe, & Dogbe, 1995). This naturally provokes several snooping questions: where do the funds for poverty-related programmes go? Why is the north of Ghana still not developed compared to the south? Do NGOs do what they set out to do? Are there any leaky bucket effects of NGO spending in northern Ghana?

The remaining sections of this chapter are organised as follows to address the probing questions:

Section 1.2 established the problem statement that underpins the entire research work. Sections 1.3 and 1.4 offered the research objectives, significance of the study, and its

contribution to the literature respectively. Whiles 1.5 presents the impediments and limitations to the study as 1.6, presents the structure and composition of the thesis.

1.2 Problem statement

Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia are said to be the regions where the total number of really poverty-stricken societies are on the ascendency according to the Poverty and Shared Prosperity reports by the World Bank (Castaneda Aguilar et al., 2022; Lakner, Mahler, Negre, & Prydz, 2019; Sabatino & Diaz-Bonilla, 2022). Universally, the rates of intense destitution as defined by most studies as earnings below the US$1.90 mark have dramatically declined, falling from 1.9 billion in early 1990 to approximately 736 million in 2015 (Küfeoğlu, 2022; Panagariya, 2004). In 2020, another increase of 9% in poverty growth meant an estimated 690 million people would add to the existing population in extreme poverty (Khan, Naushad, Faisal, & Fahad, 2020). Nevertheless, a projected 420 million persons in south of the equator presently are living in abject economic and social hardship, greater than one-half of the total population on earth (Amofah & Agyare, 2022; Müller-Jung, 2018). This number is expected to go higher with the current COVID-19 pandemic which is taking the world's attention from production to health management. The current situation means there are multi facet and complex dynamics at play in addressing a particular problem.

At the same time, the world's fastest-growing economies are in sub–Saharan Africa with Ghana inclusive (a country currently at a crossroads). This is what the world's governing financial and economic institutions forecasted for 2019 in the case of Ghana. The IMF

predicted a continuous growth rate of about 8.8% in the World Economic Outlook forecasts, which would have made Ghana one of the swiftest developing countries in the world in 2019, even though the nation's financial system grew by approximately 5.6% (Iversen & Soskice, 2019). However, in Ghana, the situation is highly complex because of the multiplicity of social, cultural, economic, and political circumstances and the specificity of location within the country. Ghana is sharply divided in terms of infrastructural development and the provision of social amenities. The concentration and constant drift of the population to the southern section of the country attest to this fact as poverty and in-country inequality are pronounced in the northern regions of Ghana. This research is tailored to understanding the dynamics that influence this divide. Hence this thesis was centred on three major thematic areas of underdevelopment, donor aid, and project interventions. It would begin by understanding and realigning the nature and debates of the north-south divide in Ghana relative to growth and development; and the activities of third-sector organisations in bridging the divide with donor aid. It will further focus the research lenses on plausible detection of the elements of aid fragmentation and duplication of projects efforts by the concentration of NGOs operating in the northern regions of Ghana.

1.2.1 Realigning the nature and debates of the north-south divide.

Most academics have alluded to the never-ending debate on the southern part of Ghana hosting the capital, which is more developed, and continues to receive disproportionate attention in the allocation of national resources compared to the north. This argument has largely been centred particularly on the developmental gap between the north and the

south of Ghana, and between its rural and urban areas. Not only are these considerations in terms of infrastructure development, population density, and vegetational disparity, but more so with pronounced poverty and inequality. Historically, the north of Ghana was the raiding grounds for the trans-Saharan traders from the Maghreb as contained in some oral and anthropological discoveries in the north. The British colonial policy of the 'north'(northern territories) was also largely to endorse it as a labour reservoir for the more 'natural-resourced' south, as affirmed by (Plange, 1979; Songsore & Denkabe, 1995). This subsequently led to modest investments in economic and social infrastructure and public services delivery in the northern part of the country. A conscientious effort was engineered towards the development of the forested regions and the coastal frontlines, both constituting the southern part of Ghana. The forest regions harboured the production and marketing of cash crops like cocoa alongside tropical wood products, and the exploitation of precious minerals like gold, diamond, and bauxite. The coastal belts facilitated exports through the construction of ports and harbours, roads and railways, power, and communication.

These coastal regions similarly served as the abode of the colonialists and their administrative cohorts. This further explained the disparity in housing infrastructure and road networks between the north and the south. These southern resource-biased policies contributed to the widening rural-urban comparisons in economic productivity, income, and employment variance as well as social conditions in Ghana. Fortified in part by the continuous infrastructural growth, these deprivations perpetuate the north-south divide.

As migration from the north to the south increasingly became an imperative income generating plan; it also metamorphosed into an influential boulevard for escaping economic deprivation and rural poverty. It has also stagnated the growth of many communities and households in the northern regions of Ghana (Adaawen & Owusu, 2013; Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008).

Even though the wave of migration from the north to the south of the country has been triggered by the environmental variations and the pace of its development; other indicators of poverty, such as child malnutrition, adult literacy rates and gender inequalities, are also contributing factors in the five northern regions' dispossessions. This points to the extent of underdevelopment and the depth of deprivation in these northern regions which are predominantly rural (Ashley & Maxwell, 2001; Service, 2014). Access to health care delivery is still a major challenge in the five northern regions constituting the north. The region can boast of about 22 hospitals whiles the Ashanti (forest belt) and Greater Accra (coastal) Regions situated in the south have 96 and 76 respectively, complemented by other private health facilities (Nsiah-Asare, 2017; Nsiah-Boateng, Ruger, & Nonvignon, 2019). In 2016, the doctor-to-population (or patient) ratio was 1:13,419 in the Northern Region, 1:18,986 in the Upper West Region, and 1:25,878 in the Upper East Region (Tabiri et al., 2019) while the national average peaks around 1:7500. This however shows the deteriorating nature of health service delivery in these savannah regions.

The ecological variation in soil fertility, the population dynamics and the climate change vulnerabilities have been used by several historians and academics alike to justify the comparatively weak development policies of the north of the country during the precolonial era and thereafter (Plange, 1979). These justifications are far less than the impact of the deliberate labour requirement policy of the colonial administration towards the cocoa plantations and the mines as argued by Plange. He called this school of thought the "naturalistic fallacy contenders". He alluded that before the colonial conquest, the north had been at the heart of the 18th and 19th Century trade routes and food production zones in the North African countries. However, they became weathered and underdeveloped because of the European capitalist expansionist drive and domination of Ghana, at the turn of the century. He concluded by stating that "…*to accept these conditions as 'natural' is to be ahistorical, theoretically myopic, empirically erroneous, and furthermore, to demonstrate the lack of understanding of the dialectics of man and nature and the consequences of this for the development of his society*…"[3].

Many more have alluded to this fact while others have concluded otherwise. Oduro et al. (2014) attributed the regions under development to differences in the level of urbanisation, proximity to the national capital (Accra) and ecological conditions as some of the issues (Oduro, Peprah, & Adamtey, 2014). These however show the different reasons and factors attributed to the underdevelopment of the north in relative terms to the south of Ghana.

[3] A quote from Plange 1979, Underdevelopment of Northern Ghana. 15/04/2019.

The Act of Parliament (APA 805) initiated and formed the Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA) in October 2010, in response to the broadening disparity in development between the five northern regions and the rest of the country (Guo, Akudugu, & Al-Hassan, 2013). This was a deliberate government policy towards the public and civil societies' outcry of the regions underdevelopment. The policy document has been further replaced by the Northern Development Authority (NDA) (Ofori-Atta & Botwe, 2022), mandated as an independent statutory corporation charged with the obligation and commitment to close the growth inequality witnessed between the northern regions relative to the southern part (Guo et al., 2013). This initiative failed in its vision and purpose and its operations were marred with corruption before its due date. In 2018, under the NDA, two new regions were carved out of the old ones to advance the growth and development of the savannah regions (Kwao & Amoak, 2022; Ofori-Atta & Botwe, 2022). This initiated and piece meal policy proposal for the development of the northern regions has given birth to further widening of the development gap. Although many interests is shown in the region's underdevelopment effort, no consented effort have been marshalled for it advancement creating an economic allusion, a political mirage and a social intervention playfield.

The failure of these state institutions over the years has created the arena for many third-sector players to champion poverty reduction and growth in the five northern regions of Ghana. Many development aid agencies and NGOs have equally zoomed in with funding to help these underprivileged and vulnerable communities. This was occasioned initially

on humanitarian grounds just after the disappointments of the structural adjustment programme and the extreme drought that hit the region. Sister aid organisations like USAID, DANIDA, DFID, and philanthropic organisations and foundations like the Bill and Melinda Foundation, Winrock International, World Vision, other faith-based organisations, and local NGOs all trooped into the savannah regions of Ghana. Their mandate was to do what the government and the private (profit-oriented organisations) disastrously failed to do.

Scholars have looked at different NGOs in specific sectors' growth and development in the region with (Bawakyillenuo & Kpieta, 2013; Puplampu & Tettey, 2000) examining the agriculture sector in the regions relating to growth and employment creation while (Arhin, Kumi, & Adam, 2018; Mohan, 2002) studied NGOs and civil society intervention in northern Ghana. Giles (2000) concluded that; 'tensions exist between the northern NGO and their partners'. He argued that the local NGOs create their fiefdoms of client villages, and some officers use the NGOs for "personal promotion" (Mohan, 2002). According to Awumbila, & Ardayfio-Schandorf's (2008), study on the 'gendered poverty migrations', there has been a continuous exodus and resettlement of young working-class females from northern Ghana to the slams of Kumasi and Accra in the south. This is to seek better fortunes and livelihood as they work as head porters "(kayayei)" independent of their families, even though this used to be the preserve of men (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Kwao & Amoak, 2022). Migration to 'the south' is often the strategy used to overcome poverty, as most individuals who have been to the south and are now settled

in the north call themselves 'been too'. They often encourage families and friends who are young adults to travel and see the difference infrastructure development and gain the experience.

These momentous development gaps do not augur well for the rest of the country as seen in this persistent rural-urban drift from the north to the south, with attendant problems of population pressures on the social amenities down south for instance. Lop-sided development and a tremendous waste of land resources evident in the idleness of vital labour that has no gainful activities to do in these northern regions make the north a breeding ground for exploitation by politicians and other educated elites. They use these regions and their teaming youth as a basket for electoral votes. There are also rent-seeking elites who exploit the poor with their activities as managers of donor aid through the creation of NGOs. This research, therefore, attempts to expose the causes of this development divide by giving a chronological account through history, to reduce the theoretical bigotry associated with the region and proffer solutions for fixing them.

1.2.2 The proliferation of NGOs and civil society organisations

It is no mirage that poverty and inequality are profoundly pronounced in the northern regions of Ghana. Coupled with ethnic conflicts and ongoing chieftaincy disputes, the region has been home to international non-profit and non-governmental organisations all with the strategy to advance the development of the region. Offei (Offei, 2011) studied the activities of some NGOs in the Karni community in the Lambussie District of the Upper West Region. This study emphasised that NGOs suffered from external agenda-

setting which made their programmes or projects rigidly defined and created new dependencies. This prevented most of the NGOs from carrying out other actions apart from those initially expected in the project or programme. The paper postulated that donor funds for projects were "not flexible" enough to accommodate community demands and the interventions have not helped the people. This it attributes to the lack of transparency and co-ordination among the NGOs and the District Assembly. The primary problem; clientelism weakened the District Assembly system in the study area. Equally notable in the study, was that nine different NGOs were working in the Karni community with a population of about 2000 and 319 households (Offei, 2011). This study expanded the scope contextually by investigating these concerns within 55 districts with NGO activities in the five northern regions of Ghana.

The works of Dugle et al. (2015), asserted that the underdevelopment of the Upper West Region of Ghana is visible in the levels of social amenities available in the region. These included poor school infrastructure and health facilities reducing the populations access. Of major concern is the road network linking the region to the rest of the country. The paper concluded on the importance of NGOs/ NPOs in the region as their contribution to the growth of the region is immerse and laudable (Dugle, Akanbang, & Salakpi, 2015). It postulated that sectors such as education, water and sanitation, advocacy, climate change and economic empowerment have received a boost. But the paper was quick to add that, there were registration and administrative bottle necks in exposing the partial imagery of the disjointed monitoring and governance policy of NGO processes and functions in the

communities. This was because the study could not tell the number of NGOs working legally in the communities studied. In alignment to this assession, Moyo (2009a) in her book *Dead Aid*, concluded on the failure of aid to African countries on a macro level. In another sense this thesis investigated the concentration of NGOs operations, and their impact in the five northern regions of Ghana and affirms or otherwise their effectiveness at the micro level.

1.2.3 Aid fragmentation and duplication of projects

It is no doubt that Ghana's development agenda rhetoric of "Ghana beyond aid"; anchored on investing more in its oil discoveries and other natural resources, could see several international development aid agencies fleeing the country. These donor funds could be channelled to less developing, and more disaster-prone countries within Sub-Saharan Africa. In the case of Ghana, the vacuum to be created by the absence and sustainability of some of these developmental aid efforts would help it plan, so to uphold the wealth and shared growth policies. This research is therefore important, as it systematically and meticulously analysed all NGOs and civil society organisations operating in the five northern regions of Ghana. Most studies have generally found that donor aid disintegration is a substantial challenge to its own effectiveness in growth and development cooperation among beneficiary communities.

With many donor funds for community development projects concentrated in a particular geographical area, this could make the operational expenditures of these

project skyrocket (Acharya, De Lima, & Moore, 2006; Anderson, 2012), in effect causing emerging economies' organisational capabilities and authorities to be exploited by a third force (Kanbur, 2003; McEwan & Mawdsley, 2012). More so, monitoring, supervision, and evaluations of such projects could be robbed of their ultimate outcomes (Knack & Rahman, 2007; Roodman, 2006), such that the funds theoretically lose their effectiveness relative to the expected economic growth outcome (Annen & Kosempel, 2009; Kimura, Mori, & Sawada, 2012). This often encourages new aid dependencies in the recipient country's communities at both micro and macro levels, prompting calls that aid does not work (Lundsgaarde & Engberg-Pedersen, 2019; Moyo, 2009b).

According to Gehring et al, (2017), "the most recent traditional econometric study examining the effects of aid fragmentation was cited in Kimura et al. (2012)." They conjectured whilst concentrating on the inspiring result of donor aid concentration and its effectiveness with their correlated economic development models. A compelling conclusion of their paper explained that their outcomes apply only to economies accepting a reasonably huge sum of donor aid. The paper additionally suggested this might be the case for the negative outcomes of aid concentrations. They posited these consequences to the presence of competition among these donors and the lack of peer monitoring of the projects by the funders (Kimura et al., 2012). This was well spelt out in their former study as in (Kimura, Sawada, & Mori, 2007). This somehow begged the question, '*how much aid are huge amounts of donor aids*.'? What the above study did not do, was measure the concentration of donor funding from the recipient perspective at the

micro level. This research steps up the investigation by examining the activities of donor aid in only the five northern regions of Ghana.

Given the general fragility of outcomes in the aid effectiveness literature (Doucouliagos, Hinz, & Zigova, 2022; Dreher, Lang, & Ziaja, 2017), their undisputed approval of the notion ‘‘less is more’’ remains startling. This was equally questioned by the aid recipients themselves (Eyben, Leon, & Hossain, 2007; Greenhill, Prizzon, & Rogerson, 2016). An equal indication of the global increase of these third sector community development crusaders was with intensified donor funding of world poverty and inequality as well. This is no different in the case of Ghana. By the 1960s only ten NGOs were known to have been registered in Ghana, with a projected increase to nearly 40 NGOs by 1991. These agencies excluded rural community based associations working as cooperative societies (Denkabe, 1993). By 2020, the number of NGOs registered and working in Ghana is estimated to be around 9933, but this does not include the over 30,000 companies registered and involved in the non-profit, non-governmental space (Okine, 2022). This is because the structure of identifying them legally, is non-functional and the accountability for their operations non-existent. The legal status of most of these NGOs and many more in other African countries are tremendously precarious. The statutes governing the registration and operation of NGOs in most Aid receiving countries are often ambiguous, inconsistent and not uniformed (Armstrong, 2006) which makes the non-profit and non-governmental space self-regulatory. With flexibility in their mission based on funding,

their status of either being a non-profit or non-governmental; makes the issue of NGOs coordination a problem.

Since the 1990s, there has been an explosion of both international and local self-style development entrepreneurs, serving as NGOs' administrators ready to partner with donor agents for projects and programmes in most developing countries. Development aid for health, education, climate change, sustainable agricultural practices, and human rights advocacies, and the corresponding number of implementing agencies, both local and international of these aids have similarly grown intensely. Of considerably patronage has been the health and women divisions, but in recent times, it has been the climate change advocacies.

For instance, in the case of health, from the period 1995 to 2010; Ghana gained 17 health-related-donor funding and international NGOs projects' more than most other countries that received health-sector aid during the same period (Pallas, Nonvignon, Aikins, & Ruger, 2014). But the health sector's goals of reducing the access and equality disparities in local health service deliveries in the country is far from successful. Its aim of guaranteeing viable investments for the country's health care system through some form of financial insurance for the deprived is yet to see the light of day. Equally intriguing is the little accomplishment associated with the aims of it improving the nation's health capacities for the achievement of the SDGs health-related components. Yet still, maintaining these benefits by deepening the management, control and prevention of both communicable and non-communicable illnesses within the five northern regions of

Ghana remains a major challenge (Nsiah-Asare, 2017). These challenges are of key interest to the donor community themselves and are evidenced by their continuous support through funding.

The five northern regions of Ghana even though are augmented in parts by donor efforts with the provision of health and health-related interventions through local and international NGOs; they are still far below the national average of health attainment. Apart from the eradication of Guinea worm disease, which was prevalent in the regions, it still tops in terms of other infectious diseases like tuberculosis and Cerebrospinal Meningitis (CSM). There is a high prevalence of Hepatitis B Virus HBV infection, which was attained for rural communities of northern Ghana at 13.3 % compared to that of urban settings at 12.2 % (Ofori-Asenso & Agyeman, 2016; Tabiri et al., 2019).

In the early 1990s the Upper West Region was host to a very small number of NGOs and their operation given the impression that the region was under the administration of the Upper Region and Bolgatanga was its capital. But much of this regions' development has been slow paced and it is noted to be the poorest with high poverty and poor infrastructure even after it was carved as a region. The many non-profit agencies that started out in the region to boost it growth soon phased out due to mismanagement and misappropriation of donor aid (Blench & Dendo, 2005) and when funding for a particular project runs out. In the 2000s, many more NGOs embarked on some community projects either in partnership with the local government agencies in the region or solely as

international non-governmental agencies. Many faith-based non-profit entities have also appeared, and all the major missionary associations have some type of co-operative work with the people that related to growth and development in this region. Many of these NGOs are often seen as anchors of development compared to state institutions and the private sector (Addo, 2017; Kwao & Amoak, 2022). Dugle et al., (2015) proved that most developments in terms of education, health, access to water and sanitation, climate, and agricultural improvement practices have all been championed by NGOs and their donor partners. The paper however claimed that exactly 9 NGOs were working in the 'Wa' township. (This is the regional capital of the Upper West Region). It noted that some of these NGOs took part in their study but were not registered NGOs in the Department of Social Welfare the region or the country. This hinted of the proliferation and concentration of NGOs in some parts of our research area with high prevalence of poverty (Dugle et al., 2015).

Global Giving Foundation International (GGFI), a crowdfunding community connecting non-profits, donors, and companies through different projects in about 170 countries worldwide upholds the notion that there are some NGOs on the project platforms who multi-task in their project implementation[4]. This often made the operational cost of such NGOs higher than usual, leading to less effectiveness and defeating the aim of project ownership and participation in some communities. With this GGFI organisation, for example, there are 51 NGOs from Ghana currently registered with them for project funding support. Three of these projects are found in the five northern regions. An

[4] Global Giving Foundation International; https://www.globalgiving.org/projects/end-child-marriage-in-ghana accessed 18/07/2019

example is an NGO whose core mandate was women and girl child advocacy. This NGO particularly sources funding, for women and girls in education, health, agriculture, human rights, and economic empowerment (four different mandates)[5]. Operationalising their funds in these multiple areas means working with the same group of people most times and encouraging acts of aid dependency (Moss, Pettersson Gelander, & Van de Walle, 2006; Mosse, 2001). The concerns here are that there would be beneficiary stress and poor accountability.

The determination that uneven distribution of donor aid is largely associated with "bad aid", is nevertheless, centred on an interestingly modest methodological or empirical investigations. And these findings have had a significant influence on development researchers as well as industry players. This research further expands the scope of development financing by, looking at the totality of aid and its disaggregation in terms of donor and recipient preferences. It zoomed in on the concept of cooperation and harmonisation in a narrow geographical area; the five northern regions of Ghana. As opposed to the formal model of aid coordination proposed by (Bourguignon & Platteau, 2015); this study focused on funded projects and investigated the fragmentation concerns raised in aid beneficiary communities found in these northern regions. This included high operational costs of NGOs, exploitation of local opportunities, poor supervision, and

[5] Songtaba; https://www.globalgiving.org/projects/empower-girls-in-school accessed 18/07/2019

clientelism. It concluded on the new community dependencies syndromes found in some communities based in the researched regions in Ghana. It proposed empirical backed evidence for policy recommendation and its impact on the economic development of donor aid, NGOs, and their activities.

1.3 Research objectives

In pursuance of the above discussion, this thesis broadly concentrated on the role play of donor aid as a fourth debate engineered in bridging the development gap between the northern and southern part of Ghana. Specifically, it narrows the focus of development aid through an empirical lens of desired and perceived outcomes of aid implementation. The study specifically:

i. investigates the nature and determinants of the north-south divide in terms of development and inequality in Ghana and exhumes explanatory debates and measures to close these gaps.

ii. examined the role played by development aid through NGOs' desired missions, visions and measure their perceived impacts relating to the growth and development of the five northern regions.

iii. explored and explained the plausible consequences of donor aid fragmentation and the replicated development projects in bridging the north-south divide in Ghana.

1.4 Significance of study and contribution to the literature

In recent times, the influence of aid has been very well deliberated upon in the literature. One interesting facet, however, has been aid instability and its sustainability. (Celasun & Walliser, 2008) argued that unpredicted aid deficits could force governments of developing countries to unreasonably reduce investment in some sectors of the economy. This they argued could be done through the reduction of aid in budget support, including human capital while maintaining that huge aid support could excessively boost government expenditure through its capital investments. An earlier work by Pallage and Robe (2001) envisaged that donor assistance was very unpredictable with a typical instability rate of nearly 25% among African countries' beneficiaries and about 29.5% associated with non-African states (Pallage & Robe, 2001). However plausibly, the work of Bulíř and Hamann (2003), gained the utmost first impact. They postulated that aid is significantly more volatile than national incomes in their empirical study of aid volatility (Bulíř & Hamann, 2003). This relative instability grows according to them, with a certain degree of aid dependency and their results were quite robust. They concluded that "shortfalls in aid tended to coincide with shortfalls in domestic revenue mobilisations", which is an indirect measure of the procyclicality of aid (Bulíř & Hamann, 2008). The paper further argued that countries that suffer from revenue volatility also exhibited higher volatility in aid receipts; perhaps because both revenue and "aid fluctuations were driven by domestic policy instability"(Bulíř & Hamann, 2003). This however means that countries that depend on aid for their economic growth and development are likely to face a certain level of aid dependency and insecurity. And much more the indirect

political and economic influences of the aid giver. Some scholars have since built and improved upon the above inferences.

Most development studies related to foreign aid focus on the entirety of donor funding and the issues with crucial macroeconomic parameters like key economic development relative to government investment. This research brings focus on the impact of intervention aid as it is in itself contentious. Why should sanitation aid promote economic growth in equal measure as infrastructure aid would? Or in other situations, why would environmental aids increase agricultural productivity in the same size as children's nutrition programmes sponsored by food aid in a remote community? And so questionably, why should the volatility in these different sectors have the resultant effects and extent on a whole economy? And particularly in the case of Ghana, how can project-intervention aids be the catalyst of merging the north-south developmental gap? These concerns further speak to the importance of measuring aid effectiveness from a micro perspective and equally evaluating the activities of the third sector players in their 'efficiency accolades' in the remote communities of the five northern regions of Ghana.

This research focused on analysing the impact of intervention aid and its discrepancy within a narrow target area, the savannah regions of Ghana. This is because there seems to be a concentration of development efforts by donor agencies through their implementing partners, the NGOs. All are geared towards reducing the poverty and inequality gap between the comparatively well-resourced south, and the impoverished

north of Ghana. This research segregated the collection of aid interventions and measured the sectorial impact within this relatively small geographical area where poverty and spatial inequality are endemic. This was done by mapping the activities of NGOs and NPOs within communities in the five northern regions. It did this by embracing the NGOs' developmental agendas spelt out in their desired missions and visions, measured in contrast to their perceived impacts. This was envisaged through stakeholders' engagement, focus group discussions and participation in some respective community-based programmes and projects. The research additionally explored and explained the interesting phenomena of 'red herring of project intervention' and 'poverty dance of beneficiary communities' as signs of aid dependency conditions. These were the consequences of aid fragmentation and duplication of development efforts witnessed in these communities. Evidence of these was observed through the activities of the many NGOs and NPOs on one hand, and the beneficiary communities on another, due to the lack of coordination of aid work at the grassroots level.

This research is imperative in two facets. Firstly, the activities of development partners in the five northern regions had span over four decades and counting with very little empirical evidence highlighting the performance of donor aid. In the wake of the policy 'Ghana Beyond Aid Agenda'(GBAA), other donor aid implementing partners have gradually adjusted and adopted new strategies to remain relevant with project interventions and donor aid flow into the country. Secondly, the decade of ranking Ghana as a lower middle-income country coupled with its oil discovery and operation meant the

diversion of global attention from its development and growth path to less achieving countries. This GBAA policy document, coupled with International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) indicators pointing to macro-economic stability for Ghana's growth has brought about both admiration and condemnation from both the domestic and international community. This research intends to initiate a new empirical debate on the underdevelopment of some sectors of the economy dependent on donor aid. It has redeployed the research light on the deliberation of aid effectiveness in project intervention and visibility as calls for aid sustainability in the five northern regions of Ghana is echoed. More so, it has also presented empirical evidence of the political economy of donor aid from the beneficiary perspective by answering the question on; why donors give aid, and the recipient of aid keeps asking for more at the micro level.

In summary, this research work has made theoretical contributions by providing the motives and justifications for aid dependency phenomena at the micro level contextually. This was done by igniting the discussion on the desired outcomes of project aid interventions based on NGOs' needs assessment and beneficiary communities' aspirations. It has examined the modalities of both donors and aid recipient agencies implementation processes whilst safeguarding their mutual interests in the savannah regions of Ghana. It zooms in on the perceived outcomes of aid ineffectiveness relative to its impact through beneficiary stress and donor aid fatigue and conditionalities.

1.5 Impediments and limitations to study

Although the debates on development aid and its impact on growth in a recipient economy are interesting, this research encountered challenges. Arguably, there are different forms of development aid all classified under foreign direct investments (FDIs). This research measured the indirect flow of aid through project intervention activities of aid implementing agencies. It is important to note that even though debates about the underdevelopment of the five northern regions are of public interest, this research does not give a definitive answer to why the north is underdeveloped but ignites the debate.

This research investigated the micro-level impact of aid from the community perspective. This in effect limits the scope and general understanding of development aid from the concept of donor aid inflow from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, and its management from the third sector perspective. This narrow scope of measuring the impact of aid from selected communities but not the entire region also impedes the generalisation of the results. Even though a research grant was secured for this research, the COVID-19 pandemic and academic timelines did not permit extensive fieldwork. Therefore, further research focusing on regional differences concerning the impact of aid would give a more resolute response to the issues raised. A further comparative study of the origins of donor aid within the five northern regions and a country comparative study throw more light on aid effectiveness at the micro level.

1.6 Structure and composition of the thesis

This thesis is calved into six chapters. Chapter one introduces the research, Chapter two discusses the existing literature and debates relating to the underdevelopment of the five northern regions of Ghana. It encompasses a general literature review based on the development gap relative to poverty and inequality within the country, and NGO activities within the five northern regions. It further discussed the theoretical, conceptual, and methodological frameworks employed to undertake these studies. Chapter three situated the problem that underpins the entire research; that is the political economy of donor aid and its heterogeneity in the savannah regions. Chapter four addressed the desired mission and vision statement of NGOs, against their empirically measured impact. Chapter five focused on the explored evidence of aid fragmentation challenges, and duplicative works of donors against bridging the north-south divide in Ghana. Chapter six gives policy recommendations to the challenges of aid ineffectiveness due to aid dependency in the five northern regions and proposed areas for new research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Literature reviewed

This chapter scrutinized the relevant theoretical and empirical literature in terms of development aid, the North-South divide in Ghana, and NGO/NPOs activities. It also gives the theoretical, conceptual, and methodological framework employed and the maps of the researched regions.

2.1 Introduction

Most studies have confirmed that where humanitarian aid has dominated, pride and ambition have given way to dependency and low esteem. More so, where relief packages have besieged people in-need over time; public management and services have either putrefied or collapsed, causing poverty and inequality to worsen, and promoting insecurity among the people (Fields, 1989; L. Moyo & Tsakata Mafuso, 2017).

Donor aid can be defined as the generous allocation of resources from a donor state to an alternative recipient nation or state for the delivery of essential services. This is usually at the request of the recipient in times of emergency or at the prerogative or interest of the donor. This is through developmental projects and programmes initiated most often by the donors and implemented in part by the third sector organisations which include Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs), and Non-Profit Organisations (NPOs). These transfers of funds usually include but are not limited to any flow of capital and material resources in the form of grants or soft loans. In some cases, it includes technical help initiated through project interventions. Donor aid is usually given

at the discretion of the donor country to support the recipient country in its development process.

Donor aid has always been a political dogmatic decision of the donor country for enhancing its domestic policies towards its international relations. It is remotely used to advance the 'core of humanity' in the recipient country and often used to build a relationship not of mutual economic benefits but of political escapism. 'Overseas assistance' as it is sometimes called could be valuable in poverty alleviation and human rights advocacy programmes. Its operation and effectiveness most of the time are prejudiced by the donor's interest and control; whiles its mismanagement is by the implementing agencies both local and international. These NGOs and NPOs are mostly the links to the affected communities through their mission and vision policies tailored specifically to the poverty reduction agendas.

Foreign aid does not always promote growth and development since that is not its principal aim. Some of its crucial and uncompromising goals include the support of strategic allies which flatly contradicts the interest of long-term economic growth and development; thus, contributing to the notion that aid is ineffective. For instance, Afghanistan, Israel, Egypt, Jordan, and Ethiopia are still the largest foreign aid recipients from some of the largest donors in the world. It should, however, be noted that since the end of the Cold War, US foreign aid programmes for instance have fumbled to find their bearings as there has been no single coherent strategic rationale for aid. It is stated that

the United States provides foreign assistance to nation-states that are war convalescent, to strategically important countries, and to developing economies. American aid disbursement has been categorised into five agendas. It included military aid often managed by the Department of Defence, and the other four (economic assistance, multilateral economic contribution, humanitarian aid, and bilateral development aid) all towards economic management under the supervision of USAID (Bhagwati, 2010; Frot, 2009). Different political administrations in the United States have shown different commitment levels to their foreign aid policies in terms of international relations, diplomacy, and economic development(Cole, 2022; Regilme, 2022).

The global economic turmoil of the 1970s and 1980s constituted a watershed event, that made neoliberalism and the third sector, the conventional wisdom of the world's economic growth and development. According to (Moudud & Botchway, 2008), these events needed the collaboration between donor's aid and its role in poverty reduction, advocated in part by the third sector. In the developing world, the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) austerity programmes were imposed and strictly applied. The state welfare systems of these developing economies were relegated or abolished completely. As attacks against these welfare states in the advanced economies were met with degrees of success by the opposition leftist and other social activist movements; for the developing economies, this was the era of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) (Mills, 1989). As Mkandawire and Soludo (1999) showed, "one of the widely accepted fundamentals of development is the alleviation of poverty" (Bangura, 2022; Mkandawire & Soludo, 1999).

But the SAP was the growth and development policies that would entrench the twin element of extreme poverty and income inequality in developing states of which Ghana was one. Coupled with some political instability, conflicts and civil wars, a global humanitarian crisis took centre stage in most developing economies as the hallmark of the SAP.

The evidence of widespread poverty and inequality in most developing countries after the implementation of SAP simply run counter to the ethics of many donor societies. They believed that the 'bell-shaped income gaps and high levels of absolute poverty in these countries were morally not acceptable. This certainty was shown by how some of the citizenries were sorely against the multi-lateral organisations such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the World Bank (WB), and the IMF. These organisations were called to help with debt relief in the affected economies, whiles bilateral development aid sustenance was initiated among activists across the global political spectrum.

2.2 Theoretical framework and contextual disposition

The theoretical literature supporting the works and development aid of civil society organisations, through non-governmental organisations is a blend of traditional development theories. With excesses of state failure and externality conditions of the market, the third sector is more aligned to the 'people-centred', micro-level ideas of development actions through social enterprise investments and interventionism.

2.2.1 The third sector and the development agenda

Rendering the academic debates that surround every developing phenomenon, the third sector is unequipped to any definitions because it is by its nature 'disorderly'. In projecting the American viewpoint, (Corry, 2010) defined it as "a separate sector characterised by organised, private, non-profit, and voluntary entities"; whiles the European definition sees it as, "a hybrid phenomenon combining and connecting other sectors such as state and market" through their failure (Clifford, Geyne-Rahme, & Mohan, 2013). The latter definition allowed for social initiatives and state welfare issues to be embodied in it. Given the work of (Osborne, 2008), the third sector is by nature unsuited to any remarkable definitions, as it has famously been thought of and referred to as a "loose and baggy monster" (Corry, 2010; Kendall & Knapp, 1995). It is important to note that the instigating philosophies of social innovation, social investment, and the third sector are social needs-oriented (Ma & Konrath, 2018; Salamon & Sokolowski, 2016). The expediency to target small, affected groups, made the third sector fit for detecting challenges. It helped the sector players to develop adequate and manageable cost-effective solutions for grassroots participation in growth and development.

The effects of the third sector could be evaluated by studying its involvement in social innovation within the European setting (Anheier, 2014; Anheier & Salamon, 2006), and probably with its social investments within the developing countries. It can be further contended that the fixation on the third sector in social investments would be more distinct than the involvement of the state or market. This is because this sector is 'better' at social investments and innovation with rural communities than the alternative societal

spheres. In advanced economies, the wider informed stake-holder networks, and their openness to engage, makes the third sector organisations always wanting to influence change. Not only are they able to mobilise funds for transforming concepts into result-oriented models (Ben-Ner & Gui, 2003; Ebrahim, Battilana, & Mair, 2014); but are similarly able to advance legitimate community development (Smith, 2022). This is often a critical achievement featured in their social innovation and most times, in their social investment models in general (Ogujiuba & Mngometulu, 2022; Siri, 2001). In the context of most developing economies in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), their accolade of helping with poverty reduction at the community level is unparalleled to any sector. However, the predicaments of these third-sector operatives have been a dominant issue in the socio-political and economic development discourse in its six decades of acceptance.

On the African continent, poverty is recognised to be massive, profound, and almost chronic and is dominant in rural communities as stipulated by (Ravallion, 2017; Thorbecke, 2004). The failure of the state welfare system of many of these developing African countries has equally eroded its social structures of basic amenities and infrastructural development. This made the complexity and harshness of rural poverty and income inequality in the early 1980s to be immense and intense. When the continent witnessed prolonged drought tangled with political instability, the poverty headcount index was at 58.72%, and the poverty gap was at 26.51% between 1981 and 1984 (Ravallion, 2017; Anand, 1993). With a Gini coefficient of 42.88% within the same period showing the level of inequality in SSA, one could easily gain an insight into the wellbeing

of the population being depicted (Pochun, 2002). Bourguignon (2004) also estimated that 45.5% of the rural populace from 1980 to 1984 in many of these developing economies likewise faced situations of relatively high-income inequality (Bourguignon, 2004).

The crisis of the states and the neo-liberal policies of the multi-lateral organisations led to the creation of a social and unmanageable development vacuum in the institutional framework of most nation-states in Africa. This precipitated the need for intervention by a third force. To foster relief and humanitarian aid with neutral implementers in the face of massive hunger, poverty, and destitution; development aid from the donor countries was put in the driver's seat. Civil Society Organisations encompassing NGOs and NPOs consistent with globalisation duly came to occupy this void as worthwhile implementers of the development agenda (Fowler, 1991, 2011). Fortified in part by international philanthropic foundations, these development crusaders armed with participatory, welfare and social investment policies for community development became known as The Third Sector (TTS). For many of these African countries, experiencing immense economic decline, as an outcome of huge indebtedness to the World Bank, meant desperation from the population. Coupled with the immediate collapse of their export commodities prices on the world market, the third-sector players and donor funding became a new beginning and the continent's "saviour". These changes in the international political, and economic climate, and the attendant reduction of the role designated for the state, were at a time when the continent was beleaguered by severe socio-economic problems. Coupled with failing agriculture production, most developing countries

became reliant on donor aid through international, national, and local level third sector players(Puplampu & Tettey, 2000).

According to Puplampu and Tettey (2000), these NGOs came as the reinstatement of the private sector with an altruistic motive. They were expected to take over the state's role in several areas of the social and agricultural sectors and sustain it. Indeed, there has been "a striking expansion underway around the globe through organised activities, with the conception of private, non-profit or non-governmental organisations" (Salamon & Anheier, 1992). In emphasising the new role of NGOs, Hearn (2007) argued that "they are the preferred channel for service-provision for the deliberate substitution of the state" (Hearn, 1998, 2007). The question, though, is whether 'non-governmental' and 'not for profit' market reforms, without a steady obligation to institutional rejuvenation, will lessen poverty and income inequality. Would they be solely able to promote economic growth and development in developing economies? It is against this agenda that there has appeared an extensive fixation on NGOs in developing economies as replacement vehicles for the economies in Africa.

NGOs/NPOs developed as a strong force because of the activities associated with the formation of the United Nations. It was fashioned as a grouping to "describe a specific relationship between civil organisations and the intergovernmental process. The term has been loosely applied to any organisation that is not public" (Greenhill et al., 2016). As non-public units, NGOs/NPOs have conventionally been non-profit, voluntary, and

citizen-oriented establishments. Subsequently, they often carry out diverse services with humanitarian resolutions, looking to bring the anxieties of people to the attention of nation-state governments. Principally with donor aid from the international communities, they help as activists of people-centred policies. They also scrutinise government policies and activities to safeguard the interests of the public, especially the most vulnerable people. Their wide-ranging networks and systems within communities, and their nearness to their target populace, are thought of as two of their major assets. This has empowered them to get involved and to echo the interests of the grassroots.

NGOs vary in origin, size and source of funding and function in different ways, leading to development experts classifying them into different traditions. This has given rise to an explosion of acronyms such as NNGOs (northern NGOs), SNGOs (southern NGOs), INGOs (international NGOs), GONGOs (government-organised NGOs), GRINGOs (government-run NGOs), and QUANGOS (quasi-NGOs) (Irrera, 2022; Malena, 1995).

All the different categories of NGOs have seen remarkable growth in the last three decades. The growth of these international NGOs has been accompanied by the accumulation and disbursement of enormous financial resources. In current times, external financial flows; aid, remittances, and private capital inflows into sub-Saharan Africa, have increased substantially since 2000. By 2015, the amounts received from remittances were about (US$39.2 billion), whiles private capital flows were around (US$44.4bn), and that of aid were similar to private capital flows (Cilliers, 2017; Dipama, 2022).

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), often tracks aid flows through its Development Assistance Committee (DAC). The Organisation acknowledged that aid is envisioned to promote the economic development and welfare of developing countries. Its records illustrated that US$51.2 billion in net aid flowed to Africa in 2015 (Benmamoun & Lehnert, 2013; Szirmai, 2015). However, this sum excluded many new donors and private contributions by philanthropic organisations, foundations, and China. They often channelled the aids through various non-governmental organisations' project intervention proposals (Bräutigam, 2011; Walz & Ramachandran, 2011). For instance, China's aid to African countries alone was valued at US$5.4 billion in 2015, but this was not included in the ODA figures (Ye, 2022).

Most donor aids are directed through bilateral or multilateral channels, with the average ratio for members of the OECD being around 70% bilateral to 30% multilateral (Janus, 2022). The multilateral channels would include the United Nations (UN) and its various agencies such as the UN Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank and the African Development Bank just to mention a few. Whiles Bilateral aid is supplied directly from a national agency such as USAID or the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) to the country or region concerned (DAC, 2011), the Canadian-Ghanaian bilateral relations allowed for the direct financing of projects and programme through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). The Northern Region Rural Integrated Project based in northern Ghana was a product of this bilateral agreement (Botchway, 1999).

It is worth pointing out that, NGOs are not a new spectacle on the block, and neither is their role and reputation in political, economic, and social affairs (Carroll, 1992; Najam, 1996). Nevertheless, the strength of their involvement in Africa's development since the 1980s has been extraordinary (Atampugre, 1997; Gary, 1996). This rise in NGO participation cannot be disconnected from the policy climate advocated by the IMF and the WB. These organisations propelled NGOs as the most effective means of "addressing the problems" of developing societies, and the needs of their poorest member states in a manner not matched by official governments. They expressed the notion that NGOs have learnt to work with grassroots organisations and have put together projects with minimal financial assistance. Hence "helping poor people to help themselves"(Harrigan & Mosley, 1991; Shihata, 1992).

While the literature on NGOs in Africa's development agenda is still mounting, the debacles surrounding its effectiveness or otherwise also rages on unabated (Edwards & Hulme, 1996, 2014; Mohan, 2002). Without overlooking the cost of these discussions, it is important to situate them within a broader framework of growth and development; the framework that analyses the shifting mandates and performance of these NGOs as products of current inclinations in the globalisation of economic processes. Conferring with Puplampu and Tettey (2000), "Globalisation, has however, extended beyond the economic arena as it is also political and cultural in scope". The implications of globalisation vis-a-vis the actions and inactions of NGOs in the community development

process have brought to the fore the dynamic orientations of these organisations with their participation in development (Murphy, 2000; Wright, 1999).

There have been major conceptual alterations in some of these organisations that qualify to be referred to as NGOs on the global stage. In certain jurisdictions, the literature is yet to confront the processes by which many for-profit organisations have occupied a topography of aid; as it had conventionally been earmarked for non-profit, non-governmental institutions. What is noteworthy about these changes is the fact that profit-making bodies are clamouring for NGO status while traditional NGOs are now riveting the mode of discourse and orientation of the for-profit organisations (Haller & Ralph, 2001; Hyndman, 2017). This has been occasioned by the volumes of development aid channelled to these organisations. This is evidenced by the theoretical frameworks charted by (Bebbington & Bebbington, 2001; Bratton, 1989) and others. They, however, premised that "State-NGO relations are uncertain" and in fact, this uncertainty is complicated in part by the neoliberal schematic of global reforms (Brass, 2010; Najam, 2000). This does not augur well for the long-term institutional capacity-building and social investment opportunities of developing African economies relying on NGO activities.

The evolution of many of these international NGOs has been accompanied by the accrual and disbursement of huge monetary resources. Many of these international NGOs receive funding from their national governments, philanthropic organisations, and foundations.

(Natsios, 1997), attests that ten major European NGOs received 75% of their funding from state coffers during complex emergencies, such as the crises in Somalia and Rwanda in the early 1990s. US NGOs on the other hand received 76% of their funding from the US government in 1993 (Natsios & Bush, 1997). For Canadian foreign aid, Canada's international aid spending increased by 8.9% to CAD 6.1 billion in 2018, up from CAD 5.6 billion in 2017. Its development aid accounts for approximately 1.8% of the 2018 federal budget spending slightly up from the previous year's 1.7% budget expenditure in 2017[6].

With such massive financial muscles, OECD NGOs, or 'northern' NGOs, have substantial influence at the state level of many developing African countries. The cumulative funding that these organisations receive from their governments mirrors the current line of thinking, which is that they are more competent in the delivery of goods and services than the government in many developing countries. Given the extent to which these international NGOs rely on their state revenue, there are apprehensions about 'who calls the tunes they play in Africa'. Are these organisations accountable to the donors they represent, or the governments of the countries they are helping? Does their changing mandate reflect the needs and aspirations of people and the communities they serve, or it is all for global fundraising and donor aid flows? Analysing their operation dynamics within the Ghanaian rural development dialogue would provide some answers.

[6] CIDP (2019) Canadian International Development Platform. http://cidpnsi.ca/canadas-foreign-aid-2012-2/ Accessed 25/06/2019

2.2.2 Ghana's outlook and poverty profile

The Ghanaian economy has over the past thirty years been on a steady growth path in relation to most economies, south of the Sahara. Ghana's years of smooth democratic transition politically is praised as the best within the sub-region. According to Alagidede et al, (2013) Ghana's economy, ten years into the millennium is the second largest in West Africa behind Nigeria, accounting for 10.3% of the total GDP of the sub-region. They postulated that Ghana's fiscal performance and monetary discipline have seen strong improvement as the country pursued market-led economic policies and programmes. With minimal involvement of the government in direct economic activities, they forecasted strong economic growth and development leading to an improved welfare state (Alagidede, Baah-Boateng, & Nketiah-Amponsah, 2013).

In sharp contrast to the welfare state, the economic recovery of the country from depression in the early 1980s was through the gradual deepening of the democratic oracles coupled with free market policies. The growth of the private sector and conscious donor assistance sustained the growth of the economy. In 2011, the country began commercial production of crude oil. This expansion of the economy contributed 5.4 percentage points (oil-GDP) to 15.0 % of real GDP (Aryeetey & Baah-Boateng, 2015). This made Ghana take the enviable position as one of the six fastest-growing economies in the world in the same year (Alagidede et al., 2013). The paper however admitted that these macroeconomic successes were bedevilled with less internal growth and the redistribution of wealth within the economy. The penetration and sustainability of these

growth and development indexes at the micro level were blinked in terms of poverty and inequality.

In evaluating poverty and fighting its challenges, the determination of what causes poverty is paramount (Amofah & Agyare, 2022; Bank, 2020). It is not enough to find who is poor but to understand the situations that made them poor. To control the factors behind poverty and inequality, it is necessary to scrutinise more critically the nature, and constituents of poverty (Adjasi, 2007; Easterly, 2006). In this regard, the measure of vulnerability, defined 'as the probability or risk today of being in poverty, or falling deeper into poverty, in the future (Chaudhuri, 2002) is very important. This risk should be measured with the elasticity of the people's responses to the poverty reduction elements. The economic and social issues such as income-generating activities, health and sanitation, and education for instance believed to affect welfare, are important to model. These factors and their underlying conditions determine the likelihood of being poor and resolving it (Dietz, Millar, & Obeng, 2002; Fletcher, 2005).

Though the incidence of poverty in Ghana dropped from 52% to 29% between 1991 and 2006; the proportion of people living in extreme poverty similarly declined continuously from 37% to 18% over the same period (Norton et al., 1995; GSS, 2014). These poorer people were concentrated in the rural communities in the country. But the rural-urban drift with an urban growth rate of 3.41% exacerbated the social infrastructure in the city centres (Forkuor & Agyemang, 2018; Obeng-Odoom, 2012). This placed much burden on

government in terms of the provision of sanitation, water, housing, and health facilities. This has equally skewed the government's attention to urban development at the expense of rural community development. Consequently, the working poverty rate measured by the proportion of employed people living in poor households also witnessed a consistent decline from 44% to 26% over the same period under consideration (Forkuor & Agyemang, 2018). Most of these working poor were engaged in the informal sector. A sizable majority are also found in vulnerable employment such as illegal mining and petty trading where earnings are low according to (Alagidede et al., 2013). This has entrenched poverty between the formal and informal sectors and deepened the level of inequality between the urban and rural communities.

The growing inequality in household consumption expenditure, regional disparities in welfare, and unequal infrastructural provisions are challenging the progress of sustained growth and development of the Ghanaian economy (Abdulai & Hulme, 2015; Annim, Mariwah, & Sebu, 2012). By 2012, consumption per capita among the top decile of distribution was seven times greater than among the bottom percentile, and the Gini index rose 8%, from 37.5 to 40.8 (Bank, 2020). Even though Ghana was the first Sub-Saharan nation to meet the poverty reduction goals laid out in the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); its inequality is rapidly rising. Coupled with it, is its deteriorating social infrastructure. For instance, in 2016, poverty in urban areas was at 10.6% whiles that of the rural areas was at 37.9% (Cuesta & Danquah, 2022). Also, as noted in The Ghana Poverty and Inequality Report published by UNICEF, "urban poverty has

dropped in recent years much faster than rural poverty, and as a result, the gap between urban and rural areas doubled. Rural poverty is now almost 4 times as high as urban poverty compared to twice as high in the 1990s."[7]. Dover (2017) further contended that the regional poverty and inequality in Ghana are the bluntest illustrations of the divide.

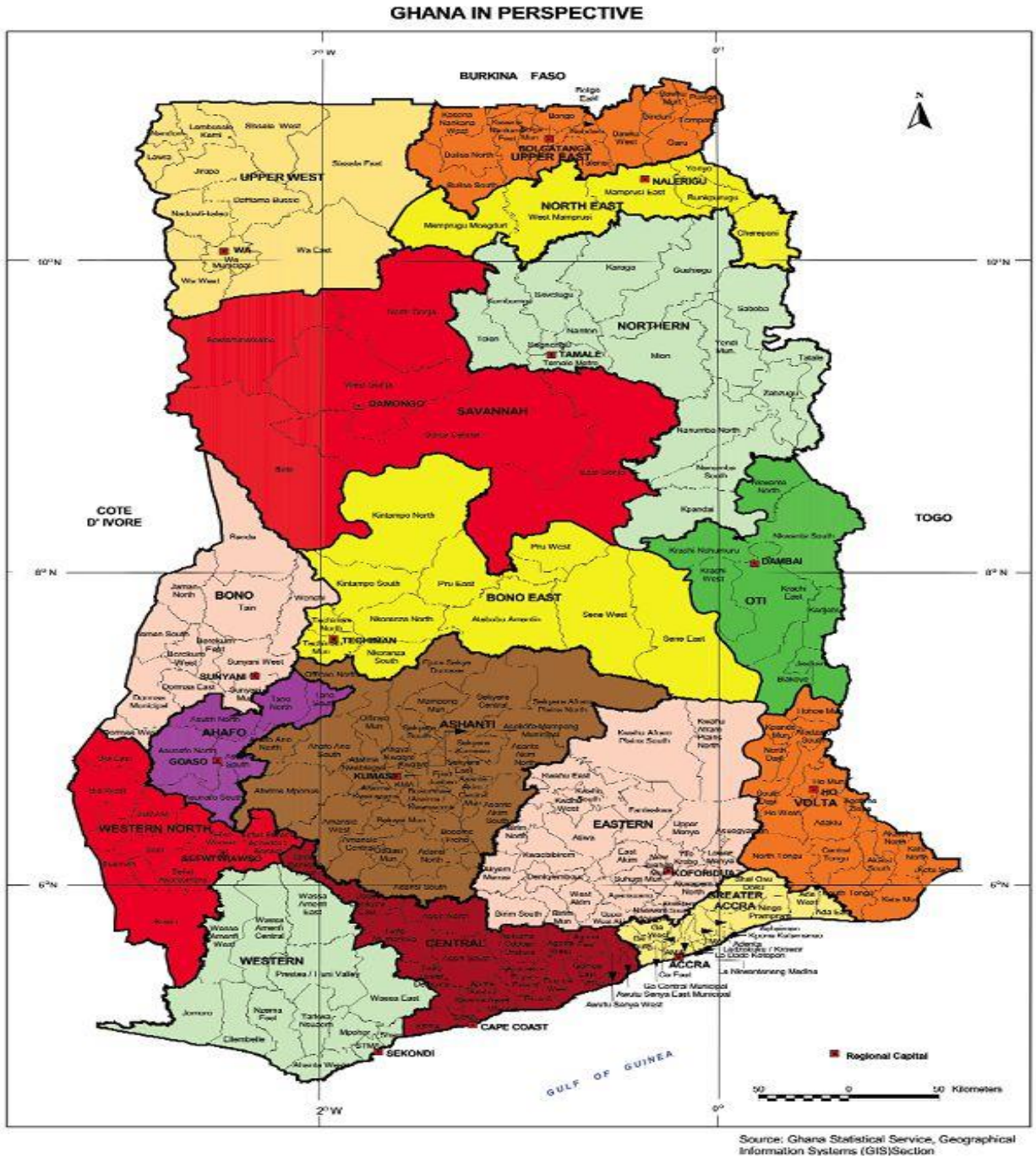
Between 1992 and 2006, the number of people living in poverty in the south declined by 2.5 million people, while in the north it rose by an estimated nearly one million people. As of 2006, the Upper East and Upper West Regions were the hardest affected as the poverty rate stood at an overwhelming 70.4% and 87.9 % respectively (Abdulai, 2017; Owoo & Osei, 2022). Although these have declined in recent times, for example in 2013, the Upper East Region poverty rate fell to 44.4%, the overall poverty reduction across the north of the country has only gone down by 5.3% (Koomson & Danquah, 2021). This implied the gains are highly uneven, making about 1.5 million people and more living in poverty in the five regions of Ghana each year.

This was affirmed by a World Bank Report in 2015 which concluded that "poverty has become concentrated in rural areas and the northern regions; with one out of every three poor people living in rural areas" (Molini & Paci, 2015). Since 2014, GDP growth has halved and is projected to flow further to 3.4% in 2015 due to energy rationing, high inflation, and fiscal consolidation. With the COVID-19 pandemic and proxy war in

[7] Dover, J (2017), Poverty and Inequality in Ghana, world News, 4 AUGUST 2017, Borgen Magazine https://www.borgenmagazine.com/poverty-and-inequality-in-ghana/ accessed 27/06/19.

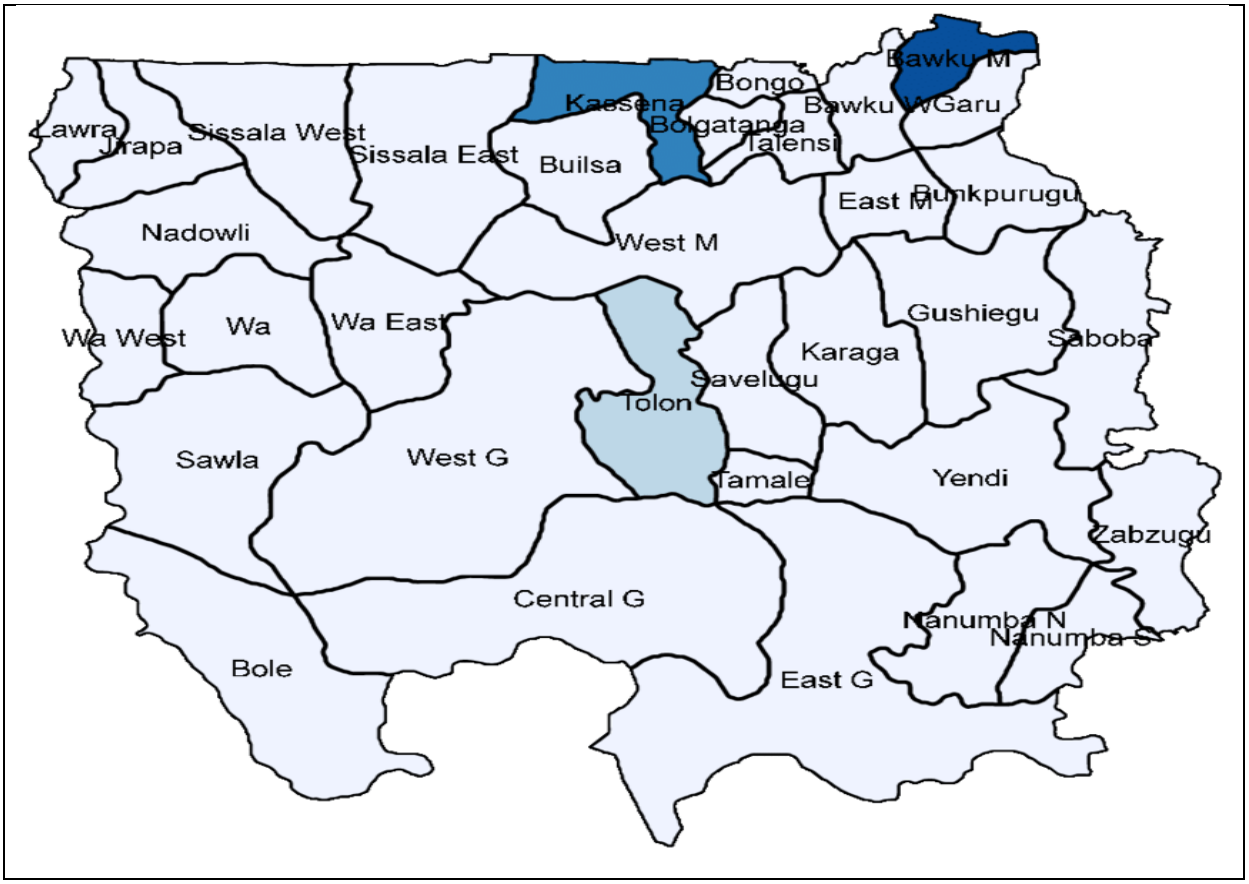
Ukraine, Ghana's economy which is very much import dependent have felt the brunt of global inflation and credit crisis.

Figure 1.Below is the geographical map of the 16 regions of Ghana



Source: Adopted from www.ghanamissionun.org/Ghana_Regional_Map.png.

Figure 2. Location and district map of study sites in northern Ghana



Source: **Adopted from the works of (Etwire, 2019)

2.2.3 Foreign aid and growth theory

The pronounced foreign aid (FA) and economic growth paradox have received much theoretical attention in the literature. The works of Burnside and Dollar hereafter (BD) gave credence to the fact that "aid investments have a positive impact on growth. This conclusion additionally caused the comment of Easterly et al, (2004,) who accented in their paper that "If aid stimulated growth only in countries with good policies, then it suggested that, aid can promote economic growth. And secondly, it is crucial that foreign aid be distributed selectively to countries that have adopted sound policies"(Easterly, Levine, & Roodman, 2004).

To affirm this claim, (Easterly et al., 2004) re-examined the connections between aid, policy, and growth, with more data as the BD initial data ended in 1993. They recreated the BD database from sources and included extra countries and variables in the data set. This was because new evidence had become obtainable since the studies were conducted, and they extended the data through to 1997. With the same BD method, the conclusions of Easterly et, al (2004) reduced the earlier enthusiasm for aid effectiveness. Moreover, they raised new doubts which proposed that policymakers and researchers should be less optimistic about concluding that, foreign aid or development aid will boost growth in countries with good policies. Hitherto these investigations, there had been long and unconvincing works that were hampered by incomplete data accessibility and choice. This nurtured many deliberations about the mechanisms through which aid could affect growth. These hesitations increased even more with the inconsistencies over estimation specifications and parameters as evidenced in the works of many scholars (Dalgaard, Hansen, & Tarp, 2004; Mosley & Hulme, 1998).

After Burnside and Dollar's works were several papers reacting to these results. These included: (Collier & Dehn, 2001) work titled "*Aid Shock and Growth*", (C.-J. Dalgaard & Hansen, 2001) article, "*On Aid, Growth, and Good policy*", (Kramar, Lebecq, & Candalh, 1999) paper on "*Aid and Performance: A Reassessment*", (Hansen & Tarp, 2000) work on "*Aid Effectiveness disputed*", (Lensink & White, 2001) article "*Are There Negative Returns to Aid?*", and (Collier & Dollar, 2002) interesting piece "*Aid Allocation and Poverty Reduction*".

These papers steered valuable disparities and extensions, and presented extra control parameters, encompassing both linear and nonlinear econometric specifications.

Even though some of these works approved the concept that aid works only in a good policy environment, others were of the view that other variables drive the aid and policy interaction. These works of literature have the typical shortfall of choosing a specification without a strong direction from theory and empirical evidence. This BD study provided more credible conditions through empirical evidence than there are under data points in earlier models for developing countries (Burnside & Dollar, 1997). These included economies with good fiscal, monetary, and trade policies. But the study concluded these conditions has little effect in the presence of poor policies.

2.2.4 Development aid and poverty

According to Collier & Dollar (2001), half of the world's population who own more than 70% of the world's natural resources lived on less than US $2.00 a day and are often found in aid-recipient countries of Africa and Asia. The top 10% of the world's population who generate 70% of the goods and services, received and accumulated 70% of the world's income. These persons with a personal net of US $30,000, averagely lived in the advanced and most donor countries. This depicted the real global inequality. To a large degree, the variations in economic productivity, growth, and income across donor and aid-recipient economies, are explained largely by the differences in the revolutionary legal and

economic institutions. Backed in parts by solid social and human welfare policies and not through the concepts of donor intervention and aid flows for development.

The main organisation of donors that is, (the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development), or DAC of OECD; in partnership with some international agencies had over the years set specific poverty reduction goals globally. This was done through the Millennium Developments Goals MDGs, which expired in 2015 and were replaced by the Sustainable Development Goals SDGs. This was to develop and implement strategies of development through aid intervention, with the presumption of ending the incidence of poverty in the world. Part of the unending discussions on poverty reduction strategies was to accept the influence of economic growth on the goals of poverty reduction. Accelerated economic growth augmented faster poverty reduction but if it is generally accepted that good economic policies can promote economic growth and development, then the fascinating question is, can poverty and inequality be reduced with the measured input of development aid allocations and policy interventions?

The provision of development aid among poorer and emerging economies can reasonably assume many purposes. Aid may be used for philanthropical missions in most cases to rebuild post-conflict communities across the globe. In some cases, it is used to meet benevolent emergencies in poorer countries, or to back the economic or strategic interests of the aid-giver. Nevertheless, a uniquely fundamental aim usually cited in support of

developmental aid on the world stage is often for poverty reduction through project intervention. It is also agreed in the literature that; the impact of developmental aid on poverty could multiply if donors pay any respect to the statistical estimations. Particularly, the parameters that drove poverty-efficient allocations and their empirical evidence. Evidence from (Collier & Dollar, 2002) admitted, that although aid allocation may be done comprehensibly, it is disbursed inefficiently for poverty reduction in the recipient countries.

Aid is nonetheless given partially for a variety of historical and strategic reasons and marginally as a stimulus to policy reforms. This yet still affirms the prior belief that aid often targeted weak policy environments and goes to countries which do not in most cases have severe poverty problems. But the diversion of development aid from poverty reduction to improvement of policy environment could still be admissible. This is with the measurable variable called the country policy and institutional assessment (CPIA) index. This captures the policy of social inclusion that features poverty monitoring and analysis, pro-poor targeting and programmes, and safety nets for the vulnerable. This consistency is in line with the conclusion of Collier and Dollar (2002, p.1498) which says; *"even with the current inefficiencies, we estimate that the present allocation of developmental aids, lifts 10 million people permanently out of poverty each year. With a poverty-efficient allocation, this would increase to 19 million per year"*. To project the concerns of poverty and inequality in the world, the question to respond to is, are economic strategies and growth policies helpful to the poor through conscientious policies of development aids?

The work of (Dollar & Kraay, 2002) instigated the notion that a variety of pro-growth economic policies could promote average incomes, with very little systematic outcome on the distribution variations. Policies such as low inflation, sizable government machinery, prudent financial development, the rule of law, and openness to international trade could necessitate this growth. This confirmed the assertion that a basic policy package for macroeconomic stability indicators and trade liberalisation would typically upsurge the income growth of the poor. And on the same scale reduce the level of income inequality of the whole economy. It is worth highlighting that the evidence of Dollar and Kraay (2004, p.219) "does not suggest a 'trickle-down' process or sequencing in income distribution. Where the rich get richer first, and then benefits eventually drip down to the poor". The signals contrary to belief, are that private property rights, microeconomic stability, and aid efficiently allocated to infrastructural development contemporaneously would produce a good environment for poor households. These in effect would increase their productivity and earnings, leading to shared growth and relative income equity across the board. But habitually the political and economic conditionalities tied to development aid do not allude to these facts.

2.3 Empirical reviews

The donor community are often aware of the chronic problems faced by the international development aid agencies and their implementing partners the NGOs. Some of these problems include more aid for strategic countries, poor donor coordination, and aid tying, or conditionalities. There is a gradual move away from food aid even though industrial pressure exists; but the use of technical assistance, and general debt relief by

international bodies are now at the forefront of most donor countries. They are currently employing strategies and frameworks for more aid effectiveness (Howes, 2014).

The widely held donor country empirical analysis has measured variables of donor aid between country differences at instinctive times. The prevailing literature offers very little systematic empirical justification for an in-country study. This is perhaps based on the conventional wisdom that donor agencies become more fatigued as they perpetuate development aid efforts in an ineffective recipient country. This unadventurous feat is emanating from the fragmentation of development efforts due to the lack of aid coordination. According to (Gehring, Michaelowa, Dreher, & Spörri, 2017), aid fragmentation is extensively predicted as being detrimental to development outcomes. Though the concept of donor cooperation or harmonisation is correlated to fragmentation in various ways, it is even more difficult to operationalise in empirical studies.

The assembly of current studies by (Klingebiel, Mahn, & Negre, 2016) supplied various viewpoints on the fragmentation within the aid system. This included a composed debate of cost-benefit analysis based generally on a country case study. To provide this differentiation, (Gehring et al., 2017) extended the efforts of (Kimura et al., 2012) in several ways. This was based on the theoretical reflections about plausible differences in the impact of fragmentation. They distinguished between different indicators of fragmentation and aid outcomes on one hand, and the recipient country contexts and the levels of donor alignment on the other hand. They concluded that different periods and

channels of aid could impact the development in recipient countries. Their emphasis was on the distinction between different indicators of fragmentation and ultimately, the amount of aid received. It should be noted nevertheless that the significance of their differentiation procedure, found clear backing in their empirical analysis. However, it was concluded that "the generally expected negative effect of fragmentation, is less robust than commonly assumed" (Gehring 2017, p.332) given the empirical evidence offered in the paper. They further cautioned against any 'generalising judgements' about the effect of aid fragmentation as it may be misleading especially if the recipient community perspectives are not evaluated. This research addresses this issue by focusing on the level of fragmentation from within-country, and in-community perspectives, and the results are robust.

2.3.1 NGOs and participatory development

The very nitty-gritty of modern-day humanitarian development works was laid by the earliest NGOs of the nineteenth century. They included the proselytiser agencies or the religious missionaries. Historically, the explorer David Livingstone in 1857, steered a lecture tour in Britain; during which he articulated his famous catchphrase. His ideology was about the combined religious and economic imperative of European colonialism in Africa: it said, "*[It] is, therefore, most desirable to encourage [trade], and thus open a way for the consumption of free productions, and the introduction of Christianity and commerce*" (cited in (Nkomazana, 1998). This began the conscious efforts towards development works by non-governmental agencies in general. Development as it was in the nineteenth century, was as much about making new markets available for exploitation, as it was about

reforming the 'soul'. It was to produce a kind of European tailor-made morally disciplined and enlightened society, as in the subject matter of 'civilisation' (Cooper & Stoler, 1989).

According to (Kurti, 2005), the colonial era also saw the rise of charitable agencies that were affiliated with formal church hierarchies, sending volunteers. (Bornstein, 2003), categorised these agencies as the pioneer of modern-day development NGOs. As the missionaries preached the gospel and worked together with colonial administrations to offer infrastructure development, these agencies worked to reform the educational and agricultural sectors of the communities they worked in (Jennings, 2008). In brief, the early missionary agencies laid the foundations as the aid implementing agencies of community development. These missionaries continued their work through the twentieth and twenty-first centuries; oftentimes guided by religious codes of conduct and acting as a source of relief and humanitarian support during emergencies. However, they were joined by a growing community of non-religious NGOs, driven in part by a "secularised discourse for humanity"(Barnett, 2011), motivated by the failures of both the state and the private sector to reduce poverty and inequality. With time, these non-state, and non-profit actors developed their activities into the newly evolving field of the third sector, fortified in part by aid with participatory development.

The emergence of a formal, secular development sector, in the 1960s and 1970s, was characterised by the process of the "NGOisation" of missions (Hearn, 1998; Paras, 2014).

The overall trend was for secular NGOs to substitute church agencies as the dominant non-state actors involved in the relief and development discourse. However, Paras in his article suggested that a few Christian NGOs, including World Vision, and World Relief, were also founded in this epoch. These organisations overtly chose to adopt the language of development (rather than a mission); and adopted the institutional model of a development NGO at the expense of a church-led agency (Paras, 2014). The gradual transition of NGOs from faith-based to secular was hinged on the dynamics of contemporary developmental aid donations and global fund-raising activities.

So, in the beginning, it was religion, followed by civilisation and exploitation. Then came relief and humanitarian welfare to reduce poverty and inequality. Now the discussions of development aids are tailored towards social investment and sustainable development. The new language of development aid is equally shifting its emphasis away from receiving charity and relief, to promoting long-term economic growth and self-reliance in developing countries of Africa. What seems to be the magnet in the dynamism of the development discourse, is the disappointment of political leadership in Africa after independence. Their failure to achieve all-inclusive growth for all its citizens, leading to massive social deprivation, human rights abuses, poverty, and inequalities are being championed by NGOs and donor aid.

2.3.2 The growth and status of development NGOs

The legitimacy of Non-Governmental Organisations in development aid operations is based on the donor countries' interest and the participation of the third-world countries they work in. Currently, development concepts like democratisation, decentralisation, social investments, and empowerment of the local population, have all gained grounds in both theoretical and empirical underpinnings. The political void left by a reduced state activity in providing social amenities and welfare for its citizens in the developing economies has allowed advocates of the market and the private sectors to claim them as the key agents for development. The public goods or government failure theory propounded by (Kingma, 2003; Weisbrod & Long, 1975) is a dominant theory underpinning the existence of these NGOs. This has served as a basis for which other theories in the field have developed. The theory of government failure explained that NGOs have emerged to cater for the unfulfilled demand of society for public goods (Matsunaga, Yamauchi, & Okuyama, 2010; Sama, 2010). In many of these situations, it has been the NGOs rather than the market that are left to fill the vacuum created by the continuous state failures.

These NGOs have experienced a melodramatic growth in numbers and funding, making them, the most important factor in building a civil society. They have come through by supplementing the work of most bilateral and multi-aid agencies. Their implementing aid agenda is seen as substituting for the state, often opposing, or disengaging from its development policies and strategies (Azarya, 1988; Chazan, 1988). The immense increase in the volume, scope and budgets of NGOs based in the third world is a subject of recent developmental debates (Marcussen, 1996; Sending & Neumann, 2006). During the last

four decades, aid and donations channelled through NGOs have increased dramatically, from US$2.7bn in 1970 to US$7.2bn in 1990 (Fowler, 1992), while current estimates by OECD stand at US$45 billion[8]. Bilateral and multilateral donors often rely on both international and local NGOs for the implementation of most of these projects.

In 1991 alone, according to Landell-Mills (1992), 44 World Bank-assisted projects in Africa were implemented by associated international and local NGOs. These corresponded to 55% of all loans and credits accorded to the continent, compared to only 7 projects from 1973 to 1987 (Landell-Mills, 1992). In recent years, the World Bank reported that Africa would receive the bulk of the estimated $75 billion in funds to be allocated by the International Development Association (IDA) (Ravallion, 2017). These would be spent to finance lifesaving and life-changing operations over the next few years mainly in 30 of the world's poorest, and most fragile countries. The funds would support anti-poverty programmes and interventions and would be disbursed through both international and local NGOs based in the host countries.

It is interesting to note that, the two most consistent explanations that stand out for the use of NGOs in project implementations are the confidence reposted by donors that NGOs are competent and cost-effective. These NGOs are believed to be able to oversee project implementation sustainably with smart ideas, particularly at the grassroots level.

[8] Schlen, L (2017) African Region to Receive $45 Billion in Development Aid. Voice of America -English, https://www.voanews.com/africa/african-region-receive-45-billion-development-aid accessed 6/21/2019

More so, donors increasingly look to them as the most adequate instrument to correct the failures of both the markets and governments. Marcussen (1996, p43) affirmed this notion that "NGO assistance is expected to be sustainable". Most community development activities supported through NGOs are complemented by bilateral or multilateral aid and technical expertise most often provided on a government-to-government basis. In other words, the functions and roles played by NGOs are mainly as efficient project implementors, particularly at the local level using their participatory methods. Another significant role played by these NGOs is as service delivery agents in acute or emergency cases of health, education, and human rights advocacies. More invariably substituting for the state, either as a fallout of stringent policy effects or the state's incapacities to deal with issues.

Recent intellectual debates have stressed that very little is known about the efficiency and impact of NGO interventions in holistic community development. Conflicting views about development aid and NGOs' effectiveness have panned out more strongly in the wake of dwindling aid flows and donor fatigue (Bratton, 1989; Lundsgaarde & Engberg-Pedersen, 2019). A UNDP Report in 1993 revealed findings about NGO performance in tackling poverty and several specific project successes. The report also added "there have also been a number of failures" and "nobody really knows", probably how much in terms of cost and numbers (Anand & Ravallion, 1993; Loxley & Sackey, 2008; McGillivray & White, 1993).

2.3.3 NGOs and development aid effectiveness

According to conservative belief, the comparative advantages of NGOs include their capacity to reach the poorest and remotest communities (McGillivray & Carpenter, 2020; McGillivray & White, 1993). The assumption that NGOs work directly with the recipient communities, implementing extensive participatory methods of development in goods and service delivery, might still be plausible (Cernea, 1988). However, the lack of clearly named target groups and beneficiary institutions that characterise NGOs' activities in developing these communities gives the impression of a 'trial and error' ploy in project implementation. Rather, it assumes a well-conceived strategy for exploiting development aid and not NGO strengths (Marcussen, 1996). This is because some of the strategies deployed by these NGOs are not particularly sensitive to the socio-culture foundations of the communities they work in let alone the economics sustaining them. For instance, (Sooryamoorty, 2003), asserted that NGOs are the 'brokers' between donors' aid and the grassroots communities. They do not empower the people to be self-reliant but serve to create a new culture of dependency. The partnership perpetuates the need for foreign aid and reduces the prospects for self and community development. Moreover, they do not always represent the interest of the poor, but the culture of the donor.

Again, reaching the underprivileged, working in remote and inaccessible areas, where development is under-prioritised by governments; is no longer the prerogative of "any particular NGO" (Marcussen, 1996). In an evaluation carried out in Mali, Marcussen (1996) asserted that several NGOs and multilateral organisations worked in "precisely the same remote areas", under similar conditions and hardships. They all "targeted the

same poorer segments" of the population and carried out project activities financed through "the same SSE Program" of "the same beneficiary communities". Interestingly, he affirmed in the report that, the partners did not "differ distinctly" in the quality of their "participatory approaches". Most strikingly, he noted the fact that there had not been any coordination efforts, nor shared experiences gained among the partners. (Marcussen, 1996). This was distinctive signage of donor aid fragmentation, culture dependency and beneficiary stress among aid recipients, and aid fatigue among donors.

In terms of operating and overhead costs, contrary to expectations, NGO projects tended to be greater than those implemented by many multilateral organisations. Only one multilateral organisation, IFAD, received contributions larger than those for the average-sized NGO project as suggested (Marcussen, 1996). He submitted that "several NGO projects were very ambitious, covering large tracts of land, and having huge target beneficiary groups". These projects were often designed to address multiple objectives, within the same project intervention. Most times, a single project design may include but is not limited to health and sanitation, water supply, education, small-scale industries, dune fixation, tree planting, relief operations and food for work campaigns. These could often be in the same geographical area, at the same time. In addition to these operations, there are large project amenities often set up, with expatriate housing facilities (most times in hotels), a huge fleet of cars, extravagant administrative routines, and procedures locally at the national headquarters of these organisations.

Whenever individuals prefer to join the NGOs (expatriates and locals), it is mainly for financial compensation and more often, adventure for volunteers. The US non-profit, and the UK charity literature, on what motivated people to join NGOs as volunteers stated different conclusions from those of (Harris, 1995; Mawdsley*, Townsend, & Porter, 2005). Very seldom were their reasons philanthropic (Smillie, 1995). Examples of reasons were the need for experience, the need to gain skills and the need for contacts and networking. Often volunteers viewed their involvement in these groups and organisations as something they did for their leisure (Korten, 1990; Pearce, 1993). As a result, they are repeatedly reluctant to be involved in the decision-making processes, as they are not willing to take the responsibility that comes with it (Edwards & Hulme, 1992; Madon, 1999). In effect, most NGOs of this nature, cease to function once donor funding ended, sometimes without the completion of projects.

NGOs are given accolades for being innovative, experimental, and most positively adaptive and flexible (Marcussen, 1996) in their operative environment. As this could hold for some NGOs, the opposite is the reality. Most often than not, NGOs are quite rigid in their project implementation processes. These NGOs are given key goals and project guidelines from the donors with stringent deadlines. Sometimes the source of raw materials and technical expertise for specific projects are even proposed by the donor. In huge project volumes, local contents are only sourced in terms of labour as drivers, cooks, and labourers. Almost all-American backed projects used American vehicles, foods, and medical supplies branded with USAID. Amongst these concerns is the use of ex-pats,

which are usually donor-driven. (Fowler, 1997) articulated that donors were usually more willing to finance projects that were headed by their country expatriates. This often meant that projects were initiated to suit donor requirements rather than to reflect the local needs and aspirations of the communities they serve. The intricate and motivational issues of NGOs' operations needed clarity to help with the effective management of local NGOs as well.

2.3.4 NGOs and development aid intervention in Ghana

Ghana in the context of this study is one of the fastest-growing economies in Sub-Saharan Africa in the past three decades. It has always been the darling of the West partly due to the relatively stable political piousness, with the introduction of the 'western styled' democratic dispensation. It has also enjoyed some relative economic growth after the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), and the famous Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) initiative programme at the turn of the century. These programmes and many others were hosted by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Ghana's smooth political transition and the discovery of crude oil in commercial quantities in 2011, made it the preferred destination for Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs), and other donor interventions. Many international organisations and countries were ready to court her in the new global partnership for business and development. Despite this glowing picture of this low-middle-income country, poverty and income inequality is widespread within its borders. Approximately 45.32% of its population is poor (Cooke et al., 2016), and is

located in the rural areas of the country, whiles some urban centres cannot escape this menace (Forkuor & Agyemang, 2018).

Several international, and local NGOs, and civil society groups have been flourishing in Ghana long before independence. Before colonisation, there were several organised social formations with different sorts of authority, ranging along an alliance from centralised to decentralised (Mohan, 2002). The introduction of indirect rule did politicise these authority structures, with District Commissioners working through traditional leaders during the colonial period. These rulers became the key political intermediaries with access to state revenue and state-backed powers. It was during this period that Mamdani's 'bifurcated state' came into being although the 'stiff departure of tradition from citizenship' was not as clear cut as it was believed (Mamdani, 1992). The only formal civil society organisations tended to be church-based and composed of missionaries but from the turn of the century, a few pro-nationalist organisations developed. They pressed primarily for greater representation, equality, and later for full-blown independence (Mohan, 2002). Following independence, the relations between the state and civil society were fluid with different degrees of integration and control. Indeed, this pattern of penetrating local society through state-supported civil society has been a hallmark of many African countries as the centralisation of authority increased (Makumbe, 1998). During the immediate post-independence period, a few professional associations and trade unions were set up. In addition to the church-based organisations, these formed the

backbone of the small and tightly constrained civil society and non-governmental organisations.

In the early 1980s, following a military coup by the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), local participation in non-governmental organisations was largely through the revolutionary organs and various village development committees. It became a continuation of what was formed in the 1960s under Nkrumah. In the early days of the revolution, the PNDC was highly apprehensive of NGOs and developed an anti-western approach as part of their anti-elitist nationalism (Kraus, 1987). As a substitute, these nationalist groups penetrated the localities with various para-statal and militia-based organisations, some of which later transformed themselves into 'non-governmental' organisations. It was not until the mid-1980s that the number of NGOs began to increase significantly (Mohan, 2002). This was in response to the austerity measures that followed the implementation of SAP (Kraus, 1991). This saw public expenditure fall because of the oil crises of 1979, and the reduced state intervention in production. Mismanagement and corruption engulfed the state institutions which led to the retrenchment and redeployment of many civil and public servants.

Poverty and social deprivation became institutionalised particularly in rural areas. This was more so the case as many of the redundant and structurally unemployed relocated to these rural communities to venture into various forms of food production. The situation became worse when the country was overwhelmed with drought and locust

infestation in the early 1980s. The associated bushfires in the northern part of the country escalated the problem. This led to the proliferation of many international non-governmental organisations with the flagship programme of poverty alleviation through humanitarian and relief aid. The NGOs were closely scrutinised by the then PNDC government, which was keen to use them to contribute to the general development effort of Ghana (Gary, 1996). By the mid-late 1980s, the Programme of Actions to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) was a turning point which saw the formalisation of linkages between the state and NGOs. However, the multilateral institutions and key ministries of Ghana devised the framework of PAMSCAD, while the NGOs "were to be the 'hands' carrying out the charity work" (Gary, 1996).

Also, the SAP favoured export-sector agriculture, mainly cocoa, oil palm, rubber, and timber. This saw some benefits flowing to large plantation farmers in the South of the country. Plantation farming drew huge migrant labours from the poverty-stricken, savannah regions to the forested regions of Ghana. For the reasons of colonial underdevelopment, and in sharp contrast to the forest regions and the coastal south; the north of Ghana lacked any major crop export base. Apart from wide shea trees which fruited annually, and were not cultivated, the farmers of the north were further marginalised by the export trade liberalisation. For these savannah regions of Ghana, civil society and NGOs' support have been much more of the 'firefighting and service delivery' approach. This is where relief and developmental aid were directed through NGOs to

maintain welfare programmes and micro-scale entrepreneurial interventions at the expense of long-term development.

Various governments in Ghana in the past, have tried some deliberate growth policies for the development of the five Northern regions, through large-scale agriculture production and mechanisation. But the lack of commitment and resources made it a failed organ at the implementation and sustainability stages (Mohan & Stokke, 2000). Likewise, the north-south disparity gap had been a major concern for most developmental aid agencies coming and working in Ghana. Although most NGOs work in the north, their headquarters are usually based in the south. Indeed, Tamale, the capital of the Northern Region, has become an absolute frontier town for the development aid industry because of its decent hotels and guest accommodations. The ethnic conflicts in the mid-1990s in the north sparked and exacerbated the large and uneven development in sharp comparisons to the south. The process of conflict resolution and advocacy towards democratisation has led to the list of desirable outcomes of some NGO interventions in the five northern regions (Van der Linde & Naylor, 1999).

2.3.5 The north-south dichotomy

Inequality among people and between topographical areas in the same country is a critical progressive issue in today's developing world. Just as it was once an issue in most advanced economies in the early stages of their development (Williamson, 1965). As is the case in Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria, Ghana's socio-economic development is spatially

uneven in favour of the southern half of the country (Cogneau & Mesplé-Somps, 2008; Konadu-Agyemang, 2000). Regional inequality in Ghana has long been and is still distinct and diverse. Discussions of it are dominated by accounts of north-south disparity, a discourse that has a geographical, historical, and socio-political basis and biases ((Ewusi, 1976; Gyimah-Boadi & Shepherd, 2005). Due to the growing level of inequality and spatial underdevelopment, Ghana recently demarcated its 10 administrative regions into 16 in furtherance of bridging the development gap.

The northern part of Ghana has economic growth and development challenges. It is a large area accounting for about half the total land surface yet, it is the least developed. It is not enough to blame the lack of economic growth in the region mainly on the problems of the savanna ecological environment. The reasons, nevertheless, must be addressed principally in the strategies adopted for the management of its development. Its sluggish growth lies in its political, economic, social, and cultural lenses. Naturally, it is less endowed compared to the southern forest regions. It's economies (market centres) are mockingly lacking in population densities and food surpluses year-round. In many regards, the Northern, Upper East, Upper West, North East and Savannah Regions, which make up 'northern Ghana', are much less developed than the regions south of Ghana. Significant spatial variations also exist both within and across the two sectors of the country, especially when one compares rural and urban areas (Oduro et al., 2014). The misguided impression created that the north consisted of a few ethnic groups and probably spoke the same language also added to the spatial underdevelopment of the

regions (Lentz & Nugent, 2000). These savannah regions consist of five separate regional groupings but have over 22 different languages and distinct cultures.

According to Whitehead (2006), contrasting agroecological restrictions of the five northern regions to its contribution to development gave rise to rather different colonial trajectories in the growth of the northern regions. Most unambiguously, this has shown up in the differences in population densities. **The Upper East Region** is the driest and most prone to drought but had somewhat better soil fertility, and an abundance of rivers and streams (Whitehead, 2006). It has become more densely settled than the rest of the north, if not for its recurrent ethnic conflicts (Van der Linde & Naylor, 1999). However, an added feature has been the marked variation between the localities of the Upper East in the levels of population density and land availability. The Bawku District remained a food surplus area much longer than other more densely populated neighbouring districts. The Upper East region's vibrant commercial activities lies in the sale of cereals to the rest of the regions at times of food shortages and this is well documented (Roncoli, 1994; Whitehead, 2006). Other indicators of variability evidence in levels of impoverishment, land availability, and economic opportunities are to be found in the rates and character of labour migration. The more heavily populated areas in and around Bolgatanga became sources of seasonal labour for the southern cocoa farms (Bawakyillenuo & Kpieta, 2013; Brukum, 1998) and the "city garden farmers" in the capital Accra. The constant threat of ethnic unrest also aggravated their migration down south.

The Upper West Region once formed part of the then Upper Region of Ghana. It was carved out in 1983 in furtherance of Ghana's decentralisation programme. Currently, the region has 11 districts with the dominant economic activity of the region being agriculture, although peasantry in nature. People of the region are engaged in subsistence agriculture with staples such as guinea corn, millet, rice, yam, beans, groundnuts, and soya beans. Their livestock; sheep, goats, pigs and poultry including, chickens and guinea fowls are raised for domestic and commercial purposes (Dugle et al., 2015). This region is the most impoverished in terms of road accessibility, network, and infrastructural development.

The Northern Region shares borders with the Upper East to the north and it was the largest of the then 10 regions covering an area of 70,384 square kilometres or 31% of Ghana's geographical space. In December 2018, the Savannah Region and North East Regions were carved out of the Northern Region to ease administration principally for growth and development. The Northern Region is much drier than the southern areas of Ghana, due to its proximity to the Sahel, of the Sahara. Its vegetation consisted predominantly of grassland, especially the Savannah Region with clusters of drought-resistant trees such as baobabs, acacias, and shea. More than 75% of the thriftily active population is into farming and livestock rearing for both domestic and commercial purposes. The Savannah Region is host to the national wildlife reserve and presents many animal species that truncated the Burkina Faso and Togo borders. The low population

density of these regions is partly caused by emigration, in addition to climatic and historical conditions.

2.3.6 NGOs and development aid intervention in Ghana

Ghana in the context of this study is one of the fastest-growing economies in Sub-Saharan Africa in the past three decades. It has always been the darling of the West partly due to the relatively stable political piousness, with the introduction of the 'western styled' democratic dispensation. It has also enjoyed some relative economic growth after the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), and the famous Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) initiative programme at the turn of the century. These programmes and many others were hosted by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Ghana's smooth political transition and the discovery of crude oil in commercial quantities in 2011, made it the preferred destination for Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs), and other donor interventions. Many international organisations and countries were ready to court her in the new global partnership for business and development. Despite this glowing picture of this low-middle-income country, poverty and income inequality is widespread within its borders. Approximately 45.32% of its population is poor (Cooke et al., 2016), and is located in the rural areas of the country, whiles some urban centres cannot escape this menace (Forkuor & Agyemang, 2018).

Several international, and local NGOs, and civil society groups have been flourishing in Ghana long before independence. Before colonisation, there were several organised social formations with different sorts of authority, ranging along an alliance from centralised to decentralised (Mohan, 2002). The introduction of indirect rule did politicise these authority structures, with District Commissioners working through traditional leaders during the colonial period. These rulers became the key political intermediaries with access to state revenue and state-backed powers. It was during this period that Mamdani's 'bifurcated state' came into being although the 'stiff departure of tradition from citizenship' was not as clear cut as it was believed (Mamdani, 1992). The only formal civil society organisations tended to be church-based and composed of missionaries but from the turn of the century, a few pro-nationalist organisations developed. They pressed primarily for greater representation, equality, and later for full-blown independence (Mohan, 2002). Following independence, the relations between the state and civil society were fluid with different degrees of integration and control. Indeed, this pattern of penetrating local society through state-supported civil society has been a hallmark of many African countries as the centralisation of authority increased (Makumbe, 1998). During the immediate post-independence period, a few professional associations and trade unions were set up. In addition to the church-based organisations, these formed the backbone of the small and tightly constrained civil society and non-governmental organisations.

In the early 1980s, following a military coup by the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), local participation in non-governmental organisations was largely through the revolutionary organs and various village development committees. It became a continuation of what was formed in the 1960s under Nkrumah. In the early days of the revolution, the PNDC was highly apprehensive of NGOs and developed an anti-western approach as part of their anti-elitist nationalism (Kraus, 1987). As a substitute, these nationalist groups penetrated the localities with various para-statal and militia-based organisations, some of which later transformed themselves into 'non-governmental' organisations. It was not until the mid-1980s that the number of NGOs began to increase significantly (Mohan, 2002). This was in response to the austerity measures that followed the implementation of SAP (Kraus, 1991). This saw public expenditure fall because of the oil crises of 1979, and the reduced state intervention in production. Mismanagement and corruption engulfed the state institutions which led to the retrenchment and redeployment of many civil and public servants.

Poverty and social deprivation became institutionalised particularly in rural areas. This was more so the case as many of the redundant and structurally unemployed relocated to these rural communities to venture into various forms of food production. The situation became worse when the country was overwhelmed with drought and locust infestation in the early 1980s. The associated bushfires in the northern part of the country escalated the problem. This led to the proliferation of many international non-governmental organisations with the flagship programme of poverty alleviation through

humanitarian and relief aid. The NGOs were closely scrutinised by the then PNDC government, which was keen to use them to contribute to the general development effort of Ghana (Gary, 1996). By the mid-late 1980s, the Programme of Actions to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) was a turning point which saw the formalisation of linkages between the state and NGOs. However, the multilateral institutions and key ministries of Ghana devised the framework of PAMSCAD, while the NGOs "were to be the 'hands' carrying out the charity work" (Gary, 1996).

Also, the SAP favoured export-sector agriculture, mainly cocoa, oil palm, rubber, and timber. This saw some benefits flowing to large plantation farmers in the South of the country. Plantation farming drew huge migrant labours from the poverty-stricken, savannah regions to the forested regions of Ghana. For the reasons of colonial underdevelopment, and in sharp contrast to the forest regions and the coastal south; the north of Ghana lacked any major crop export base. Apart from wide shea trees which fruited annually, and were not cultivated, the farmers of the north were further marginalised by the export trade liberalisation. For these savannah regions of Ghana, civil society and NGOs' support have been much more of the 'firefighting and service delivery' approach. This is where relief and developmental aid were directed through NGOs to maintain welfare programmes and micro-scale entrepreneurial interventions at the expense of long-term development.

Various governments in Ghana in the past, have tried some deliberate growth policies for the development of the five Northern regions, through large-scale agriculture production and mechanisation. But the lack of commitment and resources made it a failed organ at the implementation and sustainability stages (Mohan & Stokke, 2000). Likewise, the north-south disparity gap had been a major concern for most developmental aid agencies coming and working in Ghana. Although most NGOs work in the north, their headquarters are usually based in the south. Indeed, Tamale, the capital of the Northern Region, has become an absolute frontier town for the development aid industry because of its decent hotels and guest accommodations. The ethnic conflicts in the mid-1990s in the north sparked and exacerbated the large and uneven development in sharp comparisons to the south. The process of conflict resolution and advocacy towards democratisation has led to the list of desirable outcomes of some NGO interventions in the five northern regions (Van der Linde & Naylor, 1999).

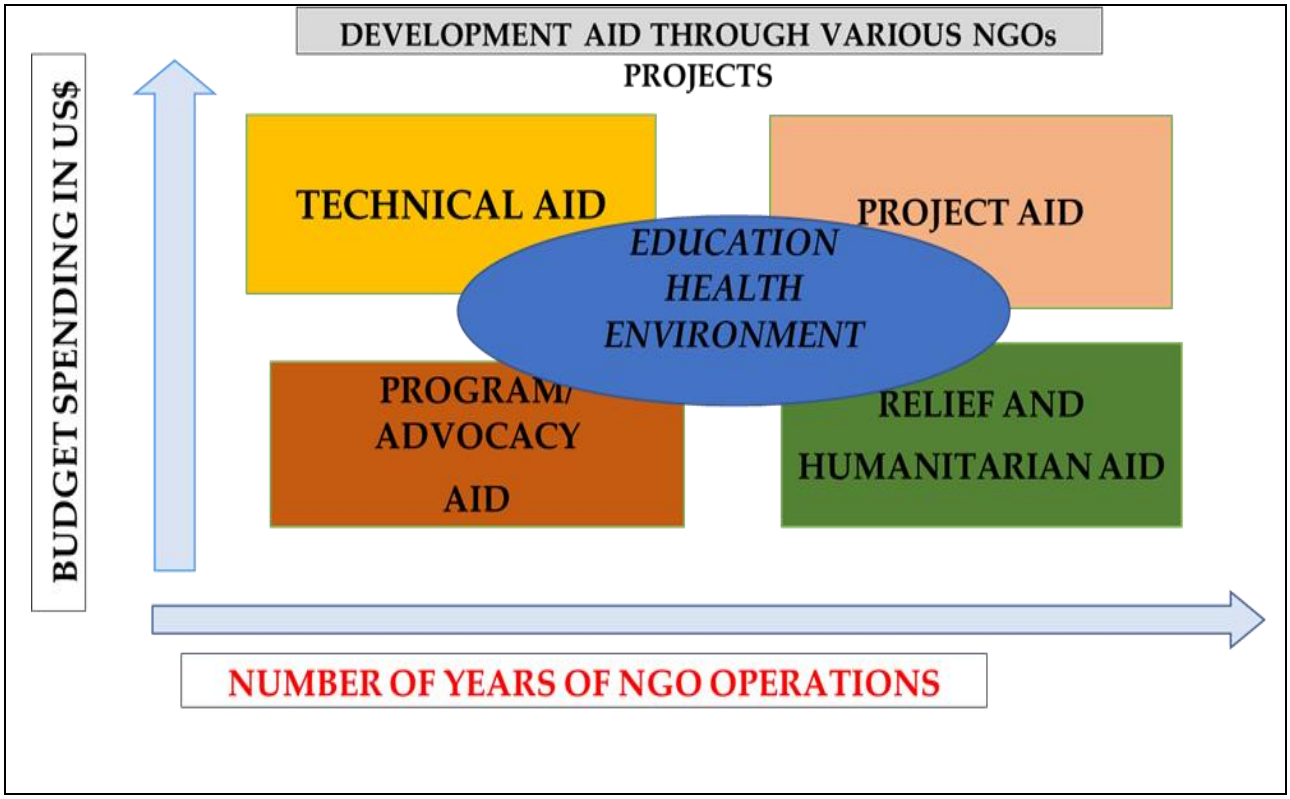
2.4 The conceptual framework of the study

Donor aid in Northern Ghana has been implemented through the concepts of project approach often initiated through either bilateral agreements or multilateral agencies. Many donors' international development agencies lead the projects based on the interest of the donors and in partnership with the host country government needs assessment. After signing of the project acceptance through a memorandum of understanding (MoU), the agreed funder calls for proposal from other both international and local NGOs with

track record of successful implementation and execution. The budget spending is then allocated to technical aid, project aid, program, and advocacy as well as relief and humanitarian emergencies. These are disbursed through educational, health and environmental sectors seen as the intersection and spread over the number of years of NGOs operation.

The four components represent donor interest in aid disbursement in dollar terms whiles the oval intersection is the recipient sectors that needs funding as depicted in the **Figure 3**.

Figure 3. Conceptual framework for the study



Source: Researcher's construct 2019

The **Figure 3** illustrates the four key components of aid distribution through the various NGOs and their planned activities in the educational, health and environmental sectors. The community-level study did explore the sub-sectorial composition in terms of

community engagement with planned NGO activities. A value assessment was done on both the participating community and the NGOs responsible.

For all the complexity and increased aid level provoked by the MDG and Make Poverty History campaigns, the literature on the effectiveness of aid flow has entered a despondent phase. The most up-to-date comprehensive recent study of aid effectiveness, Rajan and Subramaniam (2007) finds no significant association between aid and growth in any region, whatever the lag structure used. This conclusion casts a shadow over the positive result achieved by Hansen and Trap (2001), Mosley et al (2004), and Clemens et al (2004). All these studies did suggest that long-term aid flows since the 1990s, had had an optimistic impact on the performance of developing economies.

Many of the development aid studies equally argued that aid does not stimulate economic growth because of the poor policy environment in aid-receiving countries. This supposedly meant that policies in developing countries are challenging and awkward. However, none of the studies has examined the influence of sectorial targeting on the effectiveness of development aid, based on the principles and conditionalities surrounding the aid disbursement process, more so with the activities of the implementing partners, and the NGOs as the focus. This research did take up this challenge by concentrating on the NGOs working in the northern regions of Ghana. It did so by investigating the conditionalities and the processes of development aid

management for effective project implementation and sustainability at the community level using the participatory approach.

Most of the literature in this area is seriously biased towards problems of developing country inefficiencies in development aid management at the expense of the aid providers' power. Are aid providers not influential in making development decisions in the socio-economic environment they found themselves in? The dominant proposition of this research investigated the political economy of development aid (through NGO activities) from the recipient community's point of view (micro level). The central argument for the ineffectiveness of the development aid proposition was its socioeconomic influence through the consumption function, and not savings or investment which often promoted growth. A stress test on the recipient of development aid (host communities) and the implementing partners which are the NGOs was carried out. Also, the study found evidence of donor fatigue in siting interventions, coupled with duplication of projects, and beneficiary stress. The conclusion was the prognosis of the twin phenomena of 'the red herring of aid implementation and poverty dance of beneficiaries. This research was methodologically propounded and characterised by the balancing between qualitative and quantitative methods of grounded theory.

2.5 Methodological framework and adaptation

Generally, the methods applied in this study were a mixed methods approach comprising both qualitative (exploratory) and quantitative (explanatory) desk-study search, based on

primary data collected and analysed through grounded theory dictates. The grounded theory employed in this study was not designed for theory testing only but for theory creation through the study and understanding of a substantive phenomenon of interest in the given study area. It was to affirm or otherwise the empirical evidence associated with aid ineffectiveness through the theoretically observed conjectures.

Grounded theory is said to be an inductive theory discovery procedure that allows the researcher to develop a theoretical account of the general features of a topic, while simultaneously grounding the reasoning in empirical observation or data. It is fashioned with the provision that; the researcher is aware of and makes clear the liable nature of the knowledge being created. Quantitative methods, in grounded theory, however, have been gaining planetary attention in the scope of the discussions in academic disciplines and the consciousness of empirical research, Roman et al., (2017). In this sense, the intent of this study was not only to present the grounded theory as a possibility of qualitative research method demonstrating the ineffectiveness of development aid administration. But to present an account of an empirical experience about the operation of donor aid, giving prominence to some advantages and constraints associated with it at the community level. This was also to showcase some implications of the 'call for proposal method' by donors, in furtherance of the implementation and sustainability procedures of development aid.

Although other studies have focussed on the proposal of describing the research process with grounded theory, this research shows some innovative features. It does so with a focus on aid effectiveness in the current empirical problem of the administration and sustainability of development aid, from the community viewpoint using some quantitative methods. This research used varied approaches as the research questions framed implied the use of different procedures and data collection techniques. Each research question adopted and adapted a different methodological genre which included experimental, survey, and observation all anchored in grounded theory. This informed the research types which included exploratory and explanatory underpinnings. In this study, three methodological questions were answered, and these were based on:

i. A critical and systematic literature review of the debates and dynamics underscoring the north-south divide in Ghana with an exploratory appraisal. This investigated the archival, historical, and current narratives on the underdevelopment of the five regions of the north from the communities' point of view. The study used grounded theory techniques in understanding the concentration of NGOs in the northern sector of the country as the birthing of the 'Northern projects.' This it did by an inquiry into the political economy of donor aid from the recipient community or beneficiary groups' point of view.

ii. An evaluation of the impact of sectorial targeting of aid effectiveness through NGOs' missions and visions in comparison to the beneficiary perspective. It sought to understand which sectors have been targeted by aid providers through 'calls for

proposal'. The following measurable indicators were the bases of the evaluation but were not limited to:

a) *primary school enrolment*.

b) *secondary school staff support and advocacy*

c) *tertiary girl-child education* for the educational sector.

For the health sector, they were

a) *primary healthcare accessibility*.

b) *health promotion in child nutrition and malaria*

c) *community participation in health education*.

For the environment,

a) *access to water*

b) *sanitation and hygiene for girls and*

c) *fire prevention and community resource management among others*.

iii. To reduce donor fatigue and beneficiary stress, we investigated the possibilities of aid fragmentation, donor project duplications and how to reduce the extent of misalignment between development practitioners and the recipient community through aid coordination. The study proposed solutions for effective aid implementation and sustainability through policy dialogue and formulation.

As proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), there are more formal and informal theories that can be considered substantive. The first is known as great theories which are less

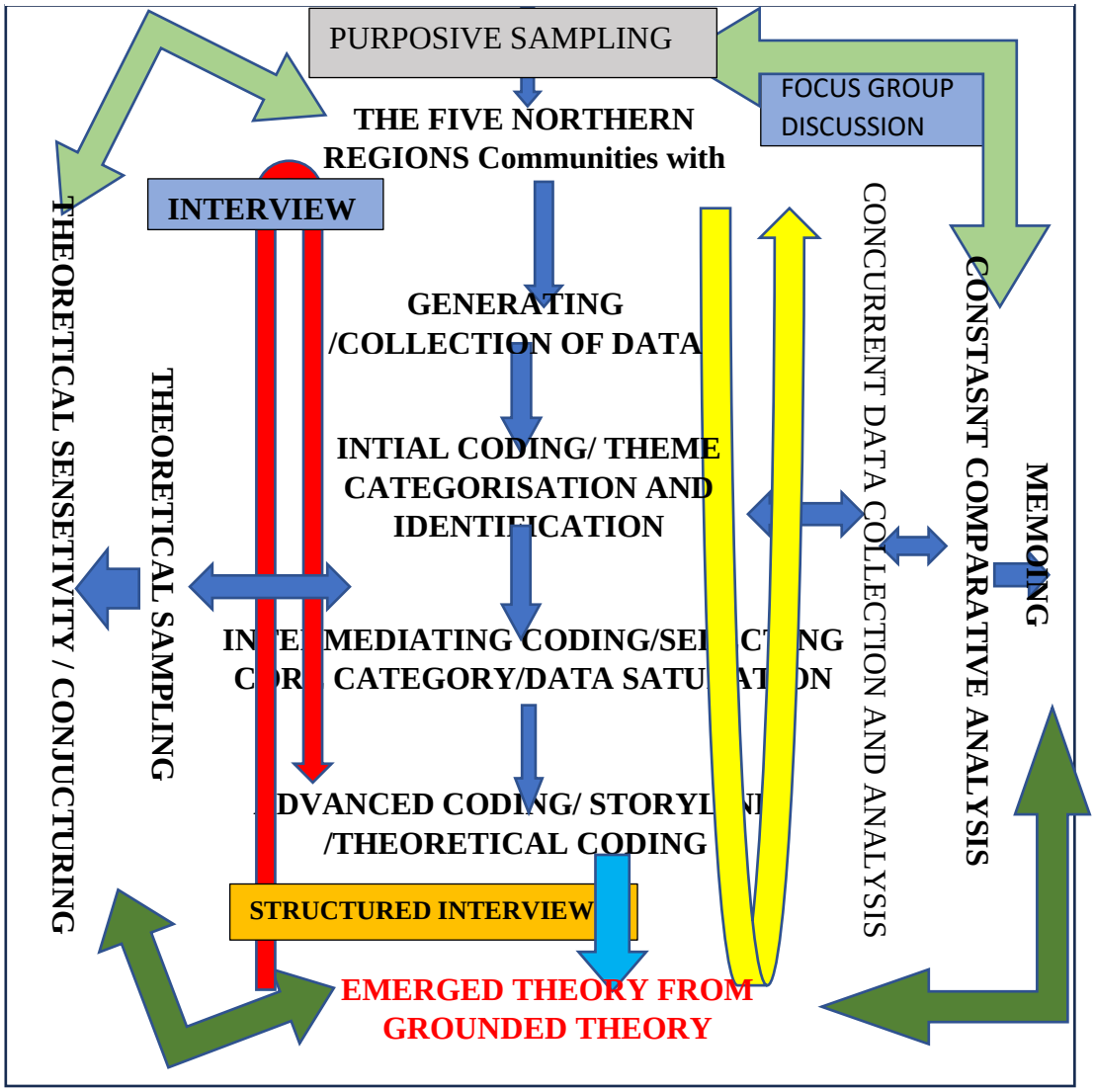
precise and can be pragmatic in a broader field. A theory as defined by Remenyi (2014), is a "systematically organised knowledge applicable in a relatively wide variety of circumstances, using a system of assumptions, accepted principles and rules of procedure devised to analyse, predict, or otherwise explain the nature or behaviour of a specified set of phenomena". It is also simply the 'best enlightenment' which is available at the time. In another way, substantive theories are concerned with specific problems in a specific context, by trying to explain a phenomenon from this context. The substantive theories can be imitated by other studies and, in this way, may incorporate features of formal theory. Following this concept of theory building, this thesis used an adapted methodological framework from Chun et al., (2019). It employed purposive sampling, followed intently by data generation and collection. The initial data collection was coded for thematic categorisation while constant comparative analysis was implemented. All three research questions were deployed with the help of intermediate coding and theoretic sampling. It was the theoretical sensitivity that aided the substantive advanced coding for the emerged theory. The next three chapters all attest to the systematic analysis and prediction of the substantive theory through a consistent storyline. **Figure *3*** shows the methodological framework used in this research.

2.5.1 Limitation of the adapted methodological framework

There are many controversies and disapproval associated to the conducting of any research, as the notion of what is written must be followed is problematic. The first and foremost concern was with the challenge of obtaining ethical clearance with the use of this methodological genre. With the use of grounded theory in an area where it has not been used, the contestations are enormous. Given it structural modelling, the flexibility

of the constructivist pragmatic theorem allows the researcher to pick and choose which sampling method to deploy (Charmaz, 2006; El Hussein et al., 2014; Mohajan & Mohajan, 2022). That in itself is a bias assumption in the start of the investigation. Although the GT process suggests practical approaches to the interpretation of a complex social phenomena as aid ineffectiveness, its application is tedious and comparatively an exhaustive process. GT does not start with testing an existing hypothesis but uses the empirical data to generate concepts. Its flaws lies in the inductive logic assumed at the start of the investigation. This research is no exception to this flaw. Given that this study fostered creativity, its potential of methodological error cannot be underestimated. As the reviewing of different literatures with developing an assumption is difficult to comprehend, its potential to conceptualise a social phenomenon is unmatched. The systematic approaches and the constant comparative data generation and analysis provides for depth and data richness, but it is limited in scope and policy generalisation. This investigative work is not immune to this blemish. The identified phenomenon cannot be generalised for all the five northern regions. The possibility of swaying the researcher into unintended thematic categorisation is a tactical risk that can derail process and cause confusion. This thesis experienced the latter, as the regeneration of the coding process saved the day. The constant visitation of the data point with a visual diagrammatic process was a real learning curve.

Figure 4. Adapted methodological framework



Adopted from Chun et al, 2019; Research Method employed during Data Collection,2020-2021.

CHAPTER 3: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DONOR AID IN GHANA

3.0 General Introduction

This chapter advances the individual understanding of the relationship between donor aid, poverty reduction, and its influence on the north-south divide in Ghana. It analyses the interdependence of these actors in the development aid discourse through the economics of the donor's impact and the recipient society's welfare in Ghana.

3.1 The politics of aid in development

Since the early 1990s, Sub-Saharan African countries have been democratising their political systems. Many states made the transition from one-party or quasi-military administrations to civilian-led multiparty systems with substantive aid investments. Donor funding for targeted political and economic development in these African countries is continuously changing and has dwindled in recent years (Swiss & Brown, 2015). The consequence of this change is that the donor aid dynamics are inadvertently changing as some traditional development partners are exiting to other strategically important countries, most often within Africa (Ananpansah, 2019; Kumi, 2019). The growth path of Ghana towards the lower middle-income status is a profound achievement, but a closer look depicts poverty reduction and inequality are very much rationalised in character. This has led to increasing levels of deprivation across and within the geographical regions of Ghana (Aryeetey & Kanbur, 2008; Clementi, Molini, & Schettino, 2018).

Donor aid is needed to complement local government efforts in actualising development and increasing growth to reduce poverty. But in most cases, they are promoted as a

standalone effort of the donor to substitute for government works in the host country. In other words, they are schemed into a 'supervisory role' over project interventions of the donor for the measure of its international relations and aid effectiveness (Gulrajani & Calleja, 2019). The current governmental strategic policy document geared towards achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) dubbed "Ghana Beyond Aid" was a strategic charter intended as a national agenda, rather than a sole government policy. The policy aimed to help Ghanaians focus on "values and mindset coupled with attitudinal changes towards aids". This was to create an environment for pursuing development for increased welfare through the use of the nation's resources rather than supervising a list of projects that the "government has to implement" in collaboration with donors (Committee, 2019).

According to (Whitfield & Jones, 2007), there is very little motivation for a government that spans four years to pursue policies or projects that cannot attract aid. But it rather has a strong incentive to go along with what donors want if it can deliver something. This however makes the call for Ghana Beyond Aid to be informed partially by the arguments that, although donor aid has played a substantial role in Ghana's growth path, the nation desires more than 'just aid'. For that matter, the implementation of development interventions must be done alongside the state's mobilisation of its resources to achieve the expected level of fiscal transformation and economic development for all (Aklorbortu, 2019; Kumi, 2020). Besides, the idea of this Aid charter was equally driven by mixed public reactions and expectations (Ananpansah, 2019).

Regions in Ghana that had been dependent on donor aid and their heterogeneous projects over the years have had limited economic growth to show for their dependence. Hence entertaining fears that a total withdrawal of aid could equally spell doom for an already susceptible region. This initiated the need to study and understand the political economy of donor aid from an aid-recipient populace. With the current political and economic dispensations within the Savannah regions, there seems to be a concentration of development efforts through NGO projects sponsored by donor aid. In examining the gap identified, the chapter is organised as follows; 3.2 gave an overview of donor aid and the north-south divide; detailing the historic account, post-colonial government response, aid, and poverty conception in its subsections. 3.3 discusses donor intervention and development financing, whiles 3.4 examined the types of donor involvement and beneficiary response. 3.5 gave the micro-level political economy and beneficiary upheavals, and 3.6 denoted the implications and conclusion.

3.2 Donor Aid and the North-South Divide in Ghana: A synopsis

Due to the mounting level of economic and social disparity with its associated spatial underdevelopment, Ghana, in its recent fourth republican dispensation through a referendum, has further demarcated its 10 existing administrative regions into 16 intending to bridge the development gap. Development experts have contended that the vastness of the northern regions makes its infrastructure and economic development slow and daunting. In the last demarcation exercise the original three northern regions were split into five to make penetration easy while improving the flow and distribution of resources to the savannah regions.

The NPP government's pronouncement of "Ghana Beyond Aid" provoked mixed public reactions as most people felt it was doing away with "free money". NGOs, NPOs and CSOs were also provoked to find an understanding of the current policy document on aid (Kumi, 2019, 2020). Even though terrestrial influences give tremendous support for a great deal of the inequalities that exist between the southern and northern parts of Ghana, poverty is predominantly the lead flag. The country's poverty is prevalent in two major sectors of the economy. Agriculture, harbouring about 60%, and the informal sector is the second, involving about 70% of the population; both are concentrated in rural Ghana. With 46% of the informal food crop farmers characterised as poor in 2013/2014, this group is the worst off as they are equally confined to the northern regions (Jackson et al., 2019; Victor, 2015). This is because the vegetation of northern Ghana is covered by Sahel savannah to the north-eastern borders of Ivory Coast, and grassland savannah to the north-western borders of Togo (Abdulai, 2017; Yaro, 2013). Northern Ghana is typically rural, characterised by one short rainy season, followed by a prolonged period of dry weather influenced by the dry harmattan wind from the Sahara Desert (Bob-Milliar, 2019; Plange, 1979). Farming is principally restricted to the brief rainy period with erratic storms, whiles in the dry season, growers nurture lands around irrigation dams and dug-outs for subsistence (Boateng, 2017). This makes most of the poverty cases in Ghana to be concentrated in the upper regions of the country, with the incidence of poverty being comparatively high (Cooke et al., 2016; Coulombe, 2005).

3.2.1 Chronological account of the divide

At the turn of the 20th century, the southern part of Ghana, which was then called the Gold Coast was said to belong climatically to the Equatorial region. The middle part had forested vegetation belonging to the tropical, whiles the northern territories were to the Sahel-savannah belt (Adaawen & Owusu, 2013; Plange, 1979). While the whole of the Gold Coast was described as an agricultural territory during the pre-colonial period, some southern parts held important natural resources. They included gold, manganese, diamond, and bauxite, in commercial quantities, with a minor incidence of other minerals. But it was still labelled led as lacking the minerals (or suitable alternatives) necessary for the development of heavy industries for the Crown (Killingray, 1982; Shaffer, 2017). A report titled *Confidential Despatch* to the secretary of state of the colonies indicated that "there may be small quantities of oil and minerals, but investigations have not yet shown that it is present in quantities sufficient to justify working it". However, the realistic view was probably to discount its presence as a factor of production. This was captioned in the report as the prospects and possibilities that were investigated. The report concluded that, "there is no prospect that the Gold Coast will become primarily an industrial country in the foreseeable future"[9] . It further contended that the practical and the most profitable approach to industrial development was likely to be in the line of processing agricultural products from the Gold Coast and its Northern territories. Hence a commission of Rural Development and Land Utilisation was formed to report on the exploration of the potential for investment in the Crown's colonies. It also detailed that

[9] Public Record and Archive Administration Department (PRAAD) (p1. NRG/8/1/48), Tamale, Northern Region.

any policy of development that involved technical changes in the existing methods of agricultural production must take account of some factors, such as "hydrographic and climatic possibilities". For the northern territories, it showed that "soil conservation" must be taken seriously. In addition, subsistence farming is "zealously guarded as a form of livelihood" based on its sparse population as opposed to mechanisation[10].

The concepts of rural administration at a lower cost for increased productivity were of concern during the colonial periods when the northern regions were referred to as the northern protectorates. A secretary of rural development and land utilisation was appointed to see to "the industrialisation of the territories, to aid the growth" of the then colony, the Gold Coast[11]. Evidence from archival documentation showed that there was a 'steady growth of animal husbandry particularly cattle in the Pong-Tamale and its environs'. Shea nuts, dawadawa, and cotton had potential in all the Northern Territories[12]. For the local textile industries in Southern Mamprusi, cloth dyeing remained a vibrant venture while 'excellent clothes' were made in the Wa District. Women in the Lawra-Tumu Districts prepared shea-butter and made baskets and pots. Men on the other hand focussed on artisanal iron smelting and the manufacture of farm implements on an industrial scale. The manufacture of bricks, tiles, and drainpipes from the Navrongo pottery, was used for many purposes. The report further mentioned that *"the experiments in pottery of European standards have so far met with enough success to cause the united Africa*

[10] PRAAD, (p12. NRG8/1/48) Tamale, Northern Region.
[11] Ibid
[12] ibid

Company to enquire into the possibilities of starting a local pottery industry, at some place in the country probably near Kumasi"[13]. Even though evidence of possible industries could be sited to the raw material base, preference was still given to places outside of the Northern Territories. Of particular interest was the mention of Kumasi located in the middle belt, an important market centre.

Comparing mechanisation within the colony and the Northern Territories for the Crown's benefits, industrial development fell largely into two categories. One that related to the processing of agricultural products from the Northern Territories, and the other to the mineral wealth of the Gold Coast. The services of the Industrial Development Corporation were secured. It was hoped that several minor projects will be executed by the subcommittee dealing with the industrial and commercial outputs. Most pressing was the hydro-electrical development project based on the revision of the 10-year plan by the colonial administrators. This, it was believed would inform the shape of the development on a large scale for the Gold Coast and its Northern Territories. The report also added that sympathetic consideration would be given to any similar proposal for the development of processing industries. Particular attention might be given to fish canning and coconut oil extraction along the coastal regions. This was believed might act as an incentive for greater productivity for the colony[14]. The commission noted in its report that, it may perhaps prove an examination that the development of the Volta River would be

[13] PRAAD, (NRG 8/3/11) Tamale, Northern Region.
[14] PRAAD, (p4. NRG 8/3/11). Tamale, Northern Region.

the most fruitful approach to the parallel increase in both agricultural and industrial activity of the northern territories.

It was understood that the river could be made navigable to and from the Northern Territories to greatly reduce the transportation costs for the marketing of groundnuts, rice, and other cereal crops from the area. The proposed irrigation schemes would enhance the productivity of these crops for the markets of the coastal towns and export overseas. For instance, 'the rice mission' was commissioned to investigate rice production on a large scale from the Northern Territories. This commission was of the view that there were areas in the region in which irrigation from the Volta River and its tributaries was largely feasible, visible, and desirable. It nevertheless proposed that there was the possibility of large-scale cultivation of several crops in addition to rice. This the report said would be reviewed together with the new prospects for processing industries, which would open the Northern Territories to urbanisation[15].

The capabilities of the river for hydroelectric power for the manufacture of aluminium from bauxite brought by the river transport from the Gold Coast mines were equally under examination by a commercial firm. A cost-benefit analysis of the project was conducted to ascertain the options that would be profitable to the Crown without the huge injection of capital investment[16]. According to the report, "*as to the development of the*

[15] (ibid)
[16] (ibid)

north to the south with the prospects of the river; it questioned the extent of the piecemeal development of the river". It noted that *"the piecemeal development would jeopardise its maximum utilisation and that the capitalisation of its potentiality should be planned"*[17].

A consensus was nonetheless reached in a separate report and arranged in another correspondence that a team of technical consultants should give detailed advice on the development of the Volta River system. It was the technical advisory committee that recommended that the partial development of the river transport for the conveyance of bauxite outweighs the development of the irrigation system and its associated socio-economic problems of industrialisation of the northern territories[18]. It stated that the problem of urbanisation associated with industrialisation could repopulate the Northern Territories and reduce the migration to the forest regions of Ashanti[19]. However, that could not "jolt immediate benefit for the proposed investment for the Crown"[20] but the minerals (gold and bauxite) wealth could. This led to the polarisation in development between northern and southern Ghana. The colonial marginalisation ploy ensued.

The colonial policy of labour requirement from the north for the new and expanding extractive economy in the south of the country equally aggravated the north-south divide in Ghana (Grier, 1981; Thomas, 1983). The cocoa plantations and mineral extraction

[17] PRAAD, (p15 NRG8/1/48). Tamale, Northern Region.
[18] PRAAD, (p35 NRG15/1/ 35). Tamale, Northern Region.
[19] PRAAD, (p15 NRG8/1/48). Tamale, Northern Region.
[20] Ibid.

industries needed an increasing labour supply which came in from the Northern Territories. This work force was not readily available and could not be easily recruited in the forest and the coastal regions. The labour policy mandate of the northern protectorates included the cautious thwarting of the educational systems introduced in the southern part. This led to the neglect of educational infrastructure and other social amenities in the north anchored on the de facto forced labour migration from the region (Bening, 1990). According to Yaro (2013), the wars in Europe also advanced the requirement of combatants for service and the existing resources of the colonies for the payment of the wars. This made the colonial administrators levy quotas on chiefs to supply labour for the mines (Killingray, 1982). Similarly, they conscripted some of the able-bodied men for the West African Frontier Force during the world wars. This was evident from the dominance of northern ethnic men in the force before independence of the Gold Coast. The accounts of several writers give vivid justifications for the labour recruitment efforts (Shaffer, 2017; Thomas, 1973).

3.2.2 post-colonial governments response to the divide

From the 1940s, the administration shifted its attention towards food production from the north to cater for the needs of the growing urbanisation in the south. Even though the comparative advantage of the northern territories in the production of cotton, tobacco, shea nuts, tomatoes, cereals, groundnuts, and livestock were documented and presented in various reports, a concerted effort was not made for its growth and expansion. The colonial administration was concerned at the time with the support of the commercial enterprises in the south. Evidence showed that the forested regions of Ashanti and the

neighbouring regions of the Bono and the Ahafo had a comparative advantage in food crops and cocoa production over the northern territories. These farms and food production entities were cultivated by migrant labour from the northern regions (Nyaaba & Bob-Milliar, 2019) and supported by the colonial administration. This further depopulated the northern regions as farmers that stayed behind were into peasant farming of cereals on a small scale, as the regions still held a comparative advantage in livestock rearing.

A model was introduced in line with livestock rearing as a commercial enterprise for the commissioning of the North and enrolling it as a meat and dairy production avenue. Special breeds of cattle were introduced to the region and given to some farmers. The selection criteria included access to roads and availability of water. The model dictated that cattle ranches be set up in each traditional area rather than helping the local population improve upon their traditional herds. This allowed some farmers in inaccessible areas to enjoy incentives such as vaccinations, disease, and pest control. The piloted cattle ranching systems, however, failed in improving the breeds of the cattle in the north as many did not know about the services supplied and the new breeds that were introduced (Boateng, 2017; Yaro, 2013). Also, the selected farmers did not have a ready market in the north and had to trek the atrocious journey to Kumasi to rather meet poor pricing. This was because the market there was saturated with cattle from all over the northern territories. This gave individual farmers no incentive to invest in the cattle breeding scheme over time. Given the poor implementation process, no one was held accountable, and the project slowly failed.

Yaro (2013) argued that "the off-the-cuff" procedures in the form of disjointed schemes dispensed over the huge countryside such as the Northern Territories, left the north during the period of independence with no significant social and economic development. This experimental scheme also set the benchmark and pace for other developmental projects introduced in the north after independence. Even though the optimisation of the river for either irrigation, hydro or transport was well thought through during the colonial era, its actualisation was only feasible during the independence era. This was when the colony (The Gold Coast) and its protectorates, the Northern Territories, and the Trans-Volta Togoland, changed its name to Ghana. Nyaaba & Bob-Milliar (2019) indicated that the effects of the establishment of colonial governance in northern Ghana could best be described as inconsistent and slow-paced. This has had long-term adverse effects which seem to outweigh the good on the regions' people and development. This was because rural development models were further advanced from the modernisation efforts of the late 1950s. After the independence of most African states with Ghana leading the way in the sub-region, different development models and ideologies were proposed hinged on the giver of the investments.

The modernisation concept which arose in the early years of independence in Africa supplied the explanation for development to take place. It indicated that there must be a change of shared customs and ideals within society towards modern and rational tendencies of growth and improvement (Nyaaba & Bob-Milliar, 2019). Although the

colonial administration created measures to incorporate the northern protectorate into their colony, its policy for the region could be best summed up as that of total neglect for its infrastructure development. This deficiency coupled with its isolation, neglect, and lack of exploration of its economic potential marked the differences in growth to the south. The region's inclusion in the growth of the country was heralded with a hand full of projects introduced as a 'sign of interest' in the region (Miracle & Seidman, 1968; Nyaaba & Bob-Milliar, 2019), as the blame on rural-urban migration from the regions could not be overemphasised. This, therefore, prompted Nkrumah's government, the first native governor to bridge the development gap technologically, economically, and socially through concerted developmental efforts and policies.

Kwame Nkrumah's Convention Peoples Party (CPP) government ushered in the eminent all-in-one import-substitution policy. This was characterised by a sweeping capital investment towards the development of education, infrastructure, and agriculture, heralding the industrialisation drive (Brukum, 1998). The administration made efforts towards the development of infrastructure in education and health in the north. It equally revolutionised agriculture through its mechanisation based on the vastness of the land and the presence of its water resources. It ushered in the regional demonstration and state farms. For instance, the rice mills were set up in Nasia along the tributary of the Black Volta; the Tomato Factory in Pwalugu, to be fed by tomatoes from the irrigated fields along the Tono and Vea dams, 13 miles south of Bolgatanga. A proposed meat factory in Zuarungu and a community cattle-holding ranch in Wulugu. These projects gave the

region an economic boost, in both disposable income and job security to the cited and neighbouring communities, and their respective farmers (Kuu-Ire, 2009). The CPPs deliberate policy of Accelerated Development Plan for Education incorporated a package known as the Northern Scholarship Scheme. It provided educational subsidies and incentives to inhabitants to reduce the regions' depopulation through the known rural-urban migration (Bening, 1990), and bridge the development gap. It was also to check and support a study growth of middle and educated man-power growth for both the agriculture and industrialisation processes.

Even though this was done to fast-track the growth of the northern regions, Ghana's internal politics coupled with the geopolitics of the time did not allow its sustainability and progress. This was because there were policy changes stemming from modernisation through to the transformational styles of the military regimes of the 1970 and 80s. Some of these regimes saw programmes like "Operation Feed Yourself and Industry" scaling up agriculture production to commercial tonnage in the northern regions. Others like the redistribution and growth dynamics, accentuated by the structural adjustment and liberalisation phase, also deflated the government-backed welfare policies and battered some gains made (Aryeetey & Baah-Boateng, 2015; Harrigan & Mosley, 1991).

The Structural Adjustment Programme brought with it the erosion of growth and untold hardships to the whole country. It reduced the sustainable livelihood pitches of government-backed productivity and equity aimed at reducing the pronounced poverty

in northern Ghana. (Ashley & Maxwell, 2001). Still, the Sustainable Livelihood Approaches (SLA) slated for agriculture and rural development emphasised that poverty reduction was not just about increasing disposable income from agricultural production, most importantly, it was about human involvement in the growth and the ability to flourish (Haidar, 2009). It can be considered as the process of putting people at the heart of the development puzzle by increasing their efficacy, efficiency, and effectiveness in development projects generally. Yaro (2013) argued that "livelihood must be environmentally, economically, socially, and institutionally sustainable"). Not only are the five northern regions environmentally underdeveloped; its institutions, economic, and social vulnerabilities are obvious across communities and ethnic groupings.

3.2.3 Structural adjustment and poverty conception

The geopolitics and global economic trends equally dictated the growth and development processes of economies in the global south. Ghana adopted the IMF/World Bank economic reforms in the 1980s through Structural Adjustment Programmes (Riddell, 1992). This led to the introduction of neoliberal values and policies across the board in Sub-Saharan Africa. This strategic policy included the devaluation of the national currency and the elimination of state subsidies to reduce government expenditure for fiscal prudence. It also involved the removal of state intervention in economic production, leaving the engine of growth to be driven by the policies of trade liberalisation (Kraus, 1991; Mills, 1989). Such preconditions were expected to reform the economy and propel it to grow through the globally competitive world. Although it was envisaged that the

tailored reforms would not breakdown the developing economies, they collapsed Ghana and made it dependent on the advanced economies. This was because the focus for growth was to increase export commodities in regions that had developed cash crop production. Cocoa, timber, and rubber plantations in southern Ghana performed better than the northern regions which were now developing shea nut, tobacco, and cotton. Even though these crops were developed as export commodities to complement their southern counterparts, they still depended heavily on government in terms of subsidies for seedlings, agrochemicals, storage, and marketing.

More so, there was a lack of incentives for food crop farming of major export and non-traditional export crops like pineapple, tuna, and cashew; which then crippled subsistence and smallholder farming activities (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000; Yaro, 2013). This contributed to the increasing poverty in northern Ghana with over 70% of the population tumbling into abject poverty by the 1990s. The withdrawal of government in economic and agricultural productivity correspondingly meant the collapse of state-own, and state-partner farms (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000). The immediate effect was labour entrenchment leading to loss of productivity. The SAPs advocated, was to back Ghana's currency devaluation, which was meant to promote its exports as comparatively cheap. But the weakness of the export crops laid in it being primary products and dependent on rain-fed agriculture. These crops could not compete favourably as other countries had a competitive advantage in their production. The underdevelopment of Ghana's export commodities and markets meant it could not compete satisfactorily on the global stage.

Also, the opening of the country's borders to the international market through liberalisation meant an influx of cheap importations. These included rice, soya, wheat, tomato puree, poultry, and dairy products (Khor & Hormeku, 2006). This further destroyed the domestic production of northern Ghana and introduced the 'taste and preference' for imported goods to most Ghanaians.

In effect, northern Ghana which lagged in its growth and development was much battered. Government infrastructure projects and other social amenities were halted, and welfare programmes were ceased by the dictates of the strategic policy changes of the SAPs. These were through the removal of financial support and concessions in agriculture, education, and health. The removal of agricultural subsidies challenged the fully dependent agrarian economy of the north, and this further tightened the living conditions of inhabitants of these regions. The element of 'adjusted' fiscal discipline meant the disbanding of key parastatal bodies such as the Ghana Cotton Development Board, Ghana Food Distribution Cooperation, and several others (Khor & Hormeku, 2006; Riddell, 1992). Services given to farmers were suspended, and it effectively threw the 'rural northern farmer' into abject destitution. For example, the rice farms and emerging processing firms in the region between 1978 and 1980, had an output of around 56,000 metric tons of paddy rice per year, which was about 61% of Ghana's total rice production (Yaro, 2013). By 2003, Ghana was importing close to 120000 metric tons of rice from the United States (Khor & Hormeku, 2006). In 2019 rice imports were estimated at 700000 metric tons compared to 200000 metric tons of local production (Taylor, 2019). This

affirmed the notion that Ghanaians preferred imported rice to local rice, thereby contributing to the collapse of the major local rice mills. This in effect reduced the commercial incentives of having stakeholders invest and upgrade the mills to improve the quality of locally produced rice (Raworth & Green, 2005).

Similarly, tomato production along irrigation dams in the north was equally rendered unprofitable because of the cheap importation of tomatoes from neighbouring Burkina Faso, and tomato puree and other livestock from the European Union. With the importation of poultry products from South America, the local economy was now beyond recovery. According to Raworth & Green (2005), unfair competition, dumping and food aid under a neoliberal global landscape wrecked the crucial linkage via industrial processing and marketing of the Ghanaian economy. Within the local economy, the major processing plants for shea butter, tomatoes, groundnuts, and rice were closed, and in some cases, sold out to private owners who could not endure the competition themselves (Raworth & Green, 2005).

The withdrawal of government subsidies limited financial support and access to basic public services such as health, education, clean water, and sanitation. However, for northern Ghana, the situation was more precarious as the region had already limited access to health, education, and sanitation facilities. These made most inhabitants opted for non-orthodox health treatment in place of health facilities. The evidence was in the high infant mortality rates recorded in the five northern regions. Poor water and

sanitation, and no electricity in some cases led to a substantial drop in the usage of health, education, and other social services within the confines of northern Ghana (Songsore & Denkabe, 1995). A combination of these negative fallouts (from internal austerity measures, the global financial crisis, access to, and preference for cheap foreign foods, clothing, and cultures) entrenched the north-south divide in Ghana in terms of poverty and inequality. Also, the five northern regions became more deserted because of drought, periodic wildfires, and poor agricultural productivity. Poverty became endemic in these regions and the locals resorted to migration, thus precipitating the need for donor interventions.

3.3 Donor intervention and poverty financing (the Northern project)

The global empathy between rich and poor nation-states in promoting social peace and justice intensifies the distinctive humanitarian benefit of reducing global poverty. This prompted the collaboration and complementarities between most public-private partnerships in resolving issues of poverty. On the local and international front, donors have also contributed through corporate social responsibilities in managing most emerging humanitarian crises. In recent times, the work of donors has however reinforced the structures of society while compensating for the disparity in wealth and power among the social ranks of participants of aid.

The plight of the savannah regions of Ghana caught the attention of both local and international donors in the early years of the 1990s. This was before the global campaign

"Make Poverty History" through the need for the partnership for philanthropic support and development aid (Fletcher, 2005). The immediate pull factor to the region was the ethnic dispute over farmland and settlement coupled with the increase in mother and infant mortality. This focused the global light of the millennium development goals on the region and led to several international governmental and non-governmental agency partnerships as the region became susceptible to disease, hunger, wildfires, and drought. Food aid, grants, and voluntary development professionals seized the opportunity to support the needy and help resolve the problem of poverty and underdevelopment. This gave birth to the "Northern project". They even at a point formed the 'collation of NGOs for conflict resolution and peace building' to help resolve the immediate humanitarian crisis (Aganah, 2022; Tsikata & Seini, 2004).

Donor intervention for poverty alleviation and development financing among poorer and emerging economies began however to assume many purposes and responses at the turn of the century. Largely notable in the case of northern Ghana, was donor aid for poverty alleviation programmes through the works of NGOs. With community participation as their modus operandi, they entered the five northern regions of Ghana. A multi-lateral development strategy was deployed for the regions called the Sustainable Livelihood programmes. It was meant for integrated rural development with a UN agency budget support. This was a collaboration of many international donors, their development agencies, and local NGOs. The first of its kind, after the failure of some of the piecemeal bilateral piloted projects in the region.

Sustainable Livelihood programmes were designed for the north of Ghana and captioned the Upper Regional Agricultural Development Project URADEP (Abudu & Ascroft, 1978; Aryeetey, 1990). This was a multi-lateral project sponsored by the World Bank, the UK, and the Netherlands in the form of technical expertise with the government of Ghana giving its sovereign land space, consent, and people. The philosophy of the project was debunking the piecemeal growth the region has seen and bringing in an integrated all-inclusive development. Its composition included sectorial incorporation focussing on reducing poverty. The mission was to increase agricultural productivity within these five northern regions with targeted food production. But its impact had more challenges than successes (Aryeetey, 1990). The absence of a proper local policy framework and physical infrastructure was challenging. Even though the Government of Ghana granted land space and human resources, the lack of policy-making processes and the external power structures were quite conflicting than complimenting. The socio-cultural factors of the beneficiary communities were equally at play with the operational dynamics of the donors and their technical ability.

This meant by the time of the project expiration, phases of the project were either incomplete or handed over but not sustainable by the local government. Individual private ability was built, which also meant the loss of institutional memory. Even though Aryeetey (1990) and Yaro (2013) blamed the national political and local power structures at the time, the sole disconnect was the absence of national and local policy structures and

frameworks to follow. The project was also limited to the Upper East and West Regions, but the impression given was as if it was for all the five northern regions. As Hesselberg and Yaro (2006) blamed the ineffectiveness of aid on the absence of local participation, capacity building and integration, their prediction on the project communication was precise. Information dissemination among participating beneficiary communities in the Upper East and West Regions in the URADEP project was more successful. It was the creation of the URADEP radio which educated the various communities on best farm practices and places to seek help (Agunga, 2012; Hesselberg & Yaro, 2006).

The Northern Region Rural Integration Project (NORRIP) was executed concurrently with URADEP. This was another large-scale bilateral aid project implemented in northern Ghana, between the Canadian Government Development Agency CIDA and the Government of Ghana (Botchway, 1999; Mohan & Stokke, 2000). It gradually developed a "creative bottom-up" approach in its implementation design as opposed to its first top-down approach used when the project began in the Upper East Region. This was because the first Canadian development agenda of creating access to water began in the Upper East Region. The region was more hopeless in accessing water than the Northern Region. This project was further extended to the Northern Region which became its headquarters even though it had much more water resources to tap from. Also, the Catholic mission through the Catholic Relief Services (CRS), based in the Northern Region had a more sustainable water management system with a basket of donors in some of the villages. NORRIP had a gradual transformation of their top-bottom approach based on the

principle of participation and sustainability after entering wider and sparsely populated rural communities of different ethnic groups and cultural settings. NORRIP extended the notion of sustainability to include effective community participation in the provision of boreholes, hand-dug wells, and pit latrines for the communities involved (Botchway, 2001).

However, the challenges of NORRIP remain unmanageable because the areas of participation in the donor projects were often isolated from the national policy agenda, and funders of these projects often dictated the pace and nature of the development of the region. The expertise and development planning initiated often mirrored that of the foreign or donor country. This also meant the choice and maintenance of the facilities supplied were new and foreign to the villages. For instance, three different 'Afridev pumps' for the communities had different technical abilities and required different after-sale services. Also, donor countries often bought and brought materials for community projects from the donor country or other donor partners devoid of local sourcing (Mohan, 2002). This meant either the products were not suitable for the communities in the long term or expert information on their maintenance was lost in operation in most host communities. In some cases, the technical expertise to help maintained the pumps travelled in from the donor country on huge implementation budgets.

Financial sustainability for the operation of some of these projects was often difficult to maintain after the project expiration. Most often, beneficiaries were made to contribute

in-kind and human resources for such projects. So, when maintenance required funding, the community members are either reluctant to pay or do not have the means. Donor-funded projects avoided the structure of command of the local government agencies but relied on the implementing agencies. Bureaucratic pitfalls often bedevilled such projects executed away from the central or local government authority and mandate. This inevitably created the problem of donor aid dependency in most host communities where such projects are brought in by NGOs. Another concern of the community was that their socio-culture ethics were ignored when for instance pit latrines were built for them (Abudu & Ascroft, 1978).

The coexistence of different ethnic groups does not easily translate into the same traditional and ethical norms of cohabitation. This is because the communities often follow their unique ethnic ritual and socialisation. This is usually the conflict when donor aid has a sole interest generated through the project proposal on one hand, and on the other hand, the beneficiary communities' expectations do not meet the goals of the financiers. Donors often created, controlled, influenced, and performed acts of "localness" in collaboration with the beneficiary communities through their implementing agencies, the NGOs. And to claim authenticity in their quest for sustainable poverty financing budgets, they follow through with acts of community immersion and stake-holder durbars (Forbes, 1999; Mohan, 2002). For the same reasons, the beneficiary communities equally and ultimately display different acts of indigenousness to different donors at different times, to court their partnership. Overall, despite various attempts at

addressing inequalities in the five northern regions of Ghana, donor intervention has stalled due to the neglect of local dynamics in the planning and implementation of development policies. This is the case because of the lack of a centrally planned framework for needed interventions leading to a mismatch between development aid and the actual expectation of beneficiary communities.

3.4 Types of Donor Intervention and Beneficiary Response

Non-governmental and non-profit relations are multifaceted and dynamic in both responsibility and accountability towards humanitarian courses. They vary across space, time, fields of activities, and approaches towards sustainable development in recent times. They are often conditioned by economic and market structures and rewarded by (political) activities carried out informally in households and local communities. The extent and nature of government-non-profit relations are perhaps the clearest and most concrete in the mix of auspices under which a wide range of common goods and services are delivered in communities. So, where the bulk of government services are delivered through partnership directly or indirectly, the relationship is likely to become one of competition between the "in-state" government and the non-profit institution delivering the service (Smith & Grønbjerg, 2006).

For instance, in the case of a state or religious-sponsored public elementary education, or primary healthcare delivery, the funders usually demanded accountability from the implementors, either the state or the agency (NGOs). More importantly, in situations

where individuals patronise services directly from the non-profit space with or without local government involvement, the state may foster direct competition among the NPO, NGO and the other commercial entities engaged in the delivery of the service. In cases of this nature, responsibility and accountability are lost politically in the quest for ownership. This implied that the mix of delivery systems through which government-supported services are carried out varies among nation-states and across policy fields, particularly in developing countries (Elliott & Salamon, 2002). Moreover, considerable evidence suggests that the so-called tools of government actions have diversified in recent years both in the United States and the world at large. This is due in part to mounting pressures from and within the third sector, and more so, from citizens of the United States given their country is the largest donor (Keijzer, Klingebiel, Örnemark, & Scholtes, 2018; Salamon, 2005).

In most developing countries where there is the absence of a well-structured framework for developing a community, the third sector usually assumes a developmental role. This is to help communities they work in assert themselves and for basic service delivery from the central government and or the donor community. The increasing delivery of publicly funded programmes (by donors) through non-profit and non-governmental organisations (as implementors) often obscure relationships of accountability. This further distorts citizens (beneficiary communities') understandings of how tax revenues are spent by their governments and the governments of donors. It nonetheless allows them to believe that donor aid is a "windfall" and requires less accountability as it

promotes humanitarianism. This likewise allows governments (both host and donor) to displace the risks of rationalising development and policy. They invariably shift the 'responsibilities and ownership' onto non-governmental entities who then assume a patriarchal role in the development puzzle within beneficiary communities (Brass, 2010; Pierson, 1994).

This is very much the case in northern Ghana. In the instances and explanations offered for donor intervention in the region, the framework for explaining the peoples' poverty situations is mystified by contentious socio-cultural underpinnings. While the structural causes of poverty are glorified in the historical, socio-political, and geographical roots of deprivation of the regions. These gave the region an array of development interventions clamouring for space in the face of ever-growing and expanding vulnerabilities. These development interventions come in from across the globe in the form of projects and programmes. They include bilateral, multilateral, country-specific, donor and (local and international) philanthropic projects and other corporate social responsibilities. Most are implemented with the help of other international NGOs that have track records of operation in the five northern regions, whiles others partner with local NGOs and Community Based Organisations (CBOs). Many of these NGOs have worked in these savannah regions for more than 30 years yet the region is still the most deprived compared to the south. The roles and impressions of these NGOs vary across the length and breadth of the five northern regions. This has invariably reduced government-tailored developmental projects for the region with the 'unspoken claims' that the non-

governmental, non-profit and donor aid are complementing the efforts of ruling governments.

The marshalled efforts of these developmental agencies in aggregation have equally not fostered growth and micro-level development of the regions too. This is clear in the creation of 'parallel and conflicting power of authority' in the face of community development. Many government officials often responsible for local government activities look up to powerful and resourced third-sector players, for direction and mandate for developing their various sectors. This often led to institutional wrangling and compromise of operations. In most cases, where the sustainability of developmental projects is handed over to local partners for continuity, they are poorly executed based on inadequate funding for continuation. The flawed sequencing of donor aid activities in some of these communities aimed at improving the livelihood of the regions frequently led to the destruction of the spirit of holistic development. This is because different donor agencies often engage in different interventions for sometimes the same beneficiary group at different times.

There are equally diverse and conflicting claims about the implications of non-profit organisations and voluntary associations for the quality of development they offer. This further goes to inform equality as well as for the efficacy of host governments in promoting the holistic development of their citizenry (Clemens, 2006). As the concept of donor aid could legitimatise the authority of community stakeholders to demand their share of development from the central government, they equally give conflicting interests

as to the culture of dependency they create. The structure of local government does not include community stakeholders as key in the development planning process. As stakeholders in donor intervention, they account for the success or otherwise of donor aid-sponsored projects in their community's development.

3.5 The Micro-level political economy and beneficiary upheavals

In the current global economic and democratic dispensations, donor aid and their implementers are generally believed to occupy the economic (non-profit) and political (non-government) space between the state and the household (Salamon & Anheier, 1992). They constitute the third sector with huge financial resources for the development intervention projects of most developing economies. They undertake projects and programmes independently to assist local communities in the quest to reduce poverty and inequality. Communities in rural Ghana, particularly the five northern regions are no exception to this phenomenon. There have been many development interventions' both secular and religious in most of the communities surveyed. Given that the strategies deployed for explaining the poverty dynamics of northern Ghana confuses the structure and causes of this phenomenon, the presentation of NGOs/NPOs with donor funding as an alternative to government is often misconstrued by most of these beneficiary communities.

From the beneficiary community perspective, there exists the triangular politics of partnership. It normally began with a collaboration between the implementors (NGOs,

NPOs, and CSOs). The donor community powered by donor funding on one hand and the alliance of cooperation between the implementors and beneficiary communities on another hand. The third branch is a relationship of empathy for poverty reduction between donors and the beneficiary communities. All three participants work with a certain level of accountability owing to their respective responsibility to their stakeholders through strategic communications. The act of cooperation between the donors and implementors for the critical decision-making processes of what intervention to undertake in each community is what Botchway (2001) and Mohan (2002) described as the "fetishism of participation". It is this relationship among the development agencies that blinkers them away from the structural causes of poverty.

Donor aid recipients very often believe that implementors and donor agencies, in their haste to encourage inclusion in the developmental process, clandestinely advocate practices which deepen poverty at the individual, community, and regional levels. Within this partnership, the stakeholders in the communities usually believe there exists a line of "occupational friction" between patrons of developmental aid and the implementors. This is often through the processes of power play and participation. Donors settle for power play as they have the financial muscles to decide to a greater degree, their policy agenda through their call for project proposals. The implementors (NGOs/NPOs) on the other hand, settle for participation as they usually have local knowledge of the communities. Owning the legitimacy of entry into the beneficiary space, NGOs act as gatekeepers, in reaching the grassroots (Mohan, 2002). Donors usually seek out reliable

and successful implementors with evidence of local knowledge in the development financing marketplace. This is measured through their collaboration, networking, and ability to deliver projects no matter the geographical location within specified time limits (Mohan, 2002). So, to source funding for their operations and survival, these implementors advance their agility and flexibility. With local innovative techniques and multiple competencies in developmental projects workplace, they are found working within the remotest communities in Ghana.

In the views of most beneficiary communities, the donors and their implementors are the same but structurally and strategically different. Their difference is often the lack of capability and the slow, inflexible ethnically specific processes of project implementation that the NGOs follow. For the donors, it is the poor accounting and audit processes of the NGOs that do not meet international accounting procedures. While these translated into poor monitoring and evaluation assessments from the beneficiaries, implementors believe donors are too rigid in their demand for accountability in traditionally immeasurable forms. They are overbearing in their demand for the projection of their image and that of their home country. This makes the implementors and their grassroots constituents move further away from the decision-making processes of development aid through their reliance on participation. The donors then concentrate on ideas, networking, education, and the decision-making processes of their interventions while the implementors concentrate on the time-bound spatially fixed and outreach projects and their "accountability for survival". The funding of acceptable priorities between these

two groups, which may not be genuine priorities for the beneficiary communities, is what they believe seldomly creates "beneficiaries stress and the culture of aid dependency" among aid beneficiaries.

It is believed that large parts of northern Ghana do not have access to basic social provisions and that, this seems to matter to some western funders sometimes (Krause, 2014). This underscored the relationship some global donors have with perceived poor communities in northern Ghana. The thoughts and processes of any development intervention in any given community are first viewed from the perspective of the taxpayers of the donor country. They often have strategic reasons for contributing to developmental projects in developing economies. Their first decisions are often for social intervention rather than economic empowerment. Beneficiaries of aid on the other hand often believe that social development without economic empowerment means the "providers would keep providing". This is often the case in some communities surveyed in northern Ghana, the researched regions. There were many different 'country branded' projects, while the communities were still looking for donors for specific interventions. The responses from some of the community members indicated that they were not part of the decision-making process regarding existing projects but were happy the projects are sited in their communities, and they are the beneficiaries. To them, their communities are visible to 'the outsiders' and "foreign donors" who with time, would understand their plight.

During the survey of community profiling and mapping, there were often different 'bilateral aid' branded projects for the same community at the same time. For instance, in a community close to Tamale, there were 4 different water projects undertaken by different donors: the USAID Water Project, the SEND Ghana Water Project, the NORRIP Mechanised Borehole and CSR Water and Sanitation Projects. These water projects were all sited near each other but only one was functioning. When questioned why there were different water projects in the community, most of the beneficiaries were of the view that even though the water was a needed resource in the community, they preferred a health post to the water projects. They showed that the water from the project's sites were salty and often dried up during the dry season, whiles the pond they often shared with farm animals was less salty and available all year-round. While some of the projects in these communities lack coordination in siting, others lacked financial resources for completion and maintenance.

Beneficiaries of aid believed that some donors employ expatriates to collect project information from local artisans because they were more experienced than the expatriates in terms of local knowledge. This they claim resulted in poor siting of some projects in the communities. Most former NGO workers interviewed were also of the view that the remunerations of ex-pats were way above the locals even though the locals were more experienced. They mentioned that often inexperienced volunteer corps from donor countries were brought in to manage some of the projects and are paid and treated well above their local counterparts. Sometimes there was contestation of authority, citizenship,

and property rights among the three participants of aid, that is, donors, implementors and beneficiary communities. The stakeholders' power struggles usually affect the success of any project or intervention. This is because most projects and community intervention lose their ownership and legitimacy right from the decision-making stage as responsibility and accountability are often not well defined. The challenge for the donor community is the absence of a well-planned framework for their intended targeted intervention.

3.6 Concluding remarks

According to Krause (2014; p4) "NGOs have come to inhabit a shared social space. This shared space produces both assumptions and debates about interventions and aid effectiveness". These assumptions and debates are common across the 'governance system of aid administration, and the governed' (the implementers and the beneficiaries). It is imperative to realise the rationale within this social space by understanding the practical logic of operation between donors of development aid and their beneficiary communities, and between the ideas of development intervention and its practice.

The ideas of development intervention with donor funding go through strategic decision-making processes. This is where decisions are prepared, and the concepts are visualised. The framework of the field operation is mapped out and auctioned on the project market through the call for proposals. Interested project implementers bid for the project and subsequent winners are offered the project contract. The implementation and completion,

through monitoring, evaluation, and sustainability are often the hallmarks of these NGOs. They are often development experts with diverse professional backgrounds in community engagement. Their routine and procedures usually help them figure out the best location for some of these projects. In the quest to produce a successful project, the chosen beneficiaries equally become part of the package.

This research has contextualised and separated the political economy of aid beneficiaries, by highlighting their perspective on donor aid at the micro level. The common belief that beneficiaries are part of the aid package should be reconsidered in the view of this research. It is envisaged that a broader comparative study of country variables in aid-dominated regions would throw more light on the beneficiary standpoint of donor aid.

CHAPTER 4: IMPACT OF AID IN NORTHERN GHANA

4.0 General introduction

This chapter elevates the discussion on the implementation of development aid, amidst the many prospecting and working NGOs in the north of Ghana. It presents the correlation between NGOs' mission and vision statements, against their empirically measured perception within beneficiary communities.

4.1 Mission, vision, and impact of development aid agencies

Global personalities and organisations campaigning against poverty in sub–Saharan Africa during the 1980s shared varied disappointment and optimism for people in abject poverty. The initial comparatively good economic growth, and well-being during the independence era of most African states through the 1960s was applauded. However, the bad news was that the continent began to experience financial crisis and mismanagement during the later 1970s and 1980s (Hansen & Tarp, 2001; Mills, 1989). This invariably increased the absolute number of people in poverty within the sub-region and on the continent. As was recorded in the colonial period, structural poverty changed far less than cyclical poverty would have it, as pointed out by (Iliffe & John, 1987; Ravallion, 2017). The conjunctional poor became the new poor of the twentieth century. They included inhabitants of neglected and under-resourced regions, the structurally unemployed, and especially, the ill-paid who fell out of the economic austerities of the time. Yet still, structural poverty continued to be a cumulative phenomenon in the countryside and among the rural folks. These included the aged, the incapacitated, unsupported and 'landless' women, the displaced by wars and conflicts. All of whom did not have any

form of institutional support. Nevertheless, the idle young who formed the working labour force became the bulk of these population. The optimism of the time was of two categories. The first was the crises of the 1970s and 1980s, which showed that the impoverished had lost little of their strength and capability for existence. While the second was the recognition and acceptance of Africa's poverty by the western world (Harrison, 2010; Iliffe & John, 1987). This awareness grew speedily with the failure of the western economic models of redemption for African economies. It was envisioned that the destitute were predominantly the rural people and earlier economic and social policies had contributed immensely to its growth. Absolute poverty was equally viewed as a measurable econometric variable and a dollarized phenomenon rather than the measure of the people's welfare and shared satisfaction.

The effect of widespread famine in the early 1970s on the continent coincided with the first modern study into *African poverty* as noted by (Easterly, 2006; Sachs, 2006). This consciousness started the possibility for donor funding, and operations with foreign aid policies, like the "Big Push" and the development growth models of the 1980s and 1990s. The enthusiasm for the third sector began in quick succession with poverty campaigns in most African countries, and Ghana was no exception. The increase in structural poverty during the introduction of structural adjustment and economic recovery programmes at the same time in Ghana prompted the call. The continuous growth of conjunctural poverty alongside this, with massive food shortages, triggered a food crisis but the political instability and drought that hit the economy were more petrifying, as famine

became widespread. The period became known locally in Ghana as the *Olonka Season*, as profiteering within the private sector was rife.

As the decade of economic emancipation unfolded, the calamities of the early 1980s were the most disastrous for northern Ghana. Food shortages emerged but humanitarian relief in the form of food aid averted the catastrophe until 1983 to 1985, when the seasonal rains failed. The five northern regions faced the most terrible drought, coupled with wildfire and ethnic conflicts in decades (Chabal & Daloz, 1999; Clementi et al., 2018). These five regions of Ghana's poverty and inequality did refocus donors' attention to themselves for the first time since the missionary campaigns of the late nineteenth century. This was propelled by the televised horrors of massive infant malnutrition and mortality coupled with low life expectancy, rural-urban migration, and refugee problems.

Meanwhile, the widespread famine across the continent also brought into many developing economies of the sub-region, the great resources of the large American food aid agencies and European aid agencies and programs (Barrett & Maxwell, 2007; Maxwell & Singer, 1979). Between 1955 and 1974, only about 5% of world food aid came to Africa. Nevertheless from 1980 to 1982, the proportion rose to 52% of total food aid of which Ghana, Somalia, Ethiopia, and their neighbouring countries became the main beneficiaries in the sub-region (Shaw, 2002). The relief and humanitarian agencies, and donors through NGOs and NPOs did massive practical good for the 'northern poor'. Food aid from the United States became a common occurrence and so was American culture, people, and influence in northern Ghana. Like development cooperation would

have it, the young volunteer cops also cemented their European/American civilisation for generations as young development workers through programmes like the gap year. They often came to the regions as programme coordinators and gained practical development experiences in these rural communities, as they assisted in their home country's developmental projects.

By the mid-1980s, relief and donor workers had changed the world's view and belief, of their commitment and confidence in solving Africa's poverty and development (Chege, 1999). In the face of 'failed states syndrome' and corruption, they championed participatory, small-scale development projects for the poorest of the poor in the rural countryside. They often relied on the project intervention model for sectoral growth, and the 'aid-for-advocacy' model for civil society engagements. The NGOs bought into the project intervention models while the Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) aligned with the aid-institutional advocacy models. The poor social and economic conditions of the five northern regions suited the requirement for the introduction of participatory development devoid of central government direct influence and bureaucracies. This led to the introduction of huge multilateral and bilateral development projects with budgets sometimes exceeding that of the host country government. The northern regions of Ghana nonetheless became host to many of these non-governmental, not-for-profit, or non-profit organisations. Armed with their mission and vision proclamation, they were ready to develop the communities as a probable alternative to central governments.

This study reviewed the empirical evidence of the mission and vision statements of some of these donor-sponsored aid organisations (NGOs) working in the five northern regions of Ghana. It measured the NGOs' desired impact on the beneficiary community's growth and development. Equipped with field surveys and interviews, this research work gives practical explanations of the perceived satisfaction of NGO activities in the beneficiary communities. It fills the knowledge gap by providing fresh insights into the dynamics of NGOs and community relations through the assessment of their desired and perceived outcomes. The contribution of this thesis to literature is diverse as it gives an overview of donor-sponsored NGO/NPO activities in the five northern regions of Ghana from a historical perspective. It further provides an account of the NGOs' philosophy and mandate in engaging with the chosen beneficiary communities. It examined the NGOs' sectorial influence and impact at the micro-level while evaluating the empirical evidence of donor aid effectiveness. The details of the research methods used are discussed as the results and the policy implications are highlighted.

4.2 Donor-sponsored NGOs and NPOs

The understanding of the third sector that encompasses the global civil society is designed based on divergent approaches with diverse repercussions on the capabilities and roles of humanitarian organisations. One approach focuses on their stated ideas or values, and the other, on their hidden interests (Fisher, 1997; Krause, 2014). NGOs/NPOs either preserve human dignity and champion the voices of the voiceless in their stated ideas, or they are portrayed as tools for the interest of the donor government or their parochial interest (Dollar et al., 2013; Krause, 2014). It is the failure of most state governments in

their service provision to their citizenry, that had inevitably emboldened NGOs/NPOs and broadened their scope, giving them the legitimacy of operation in most rural communities of most developing countries (Ashley & Maxwell, 2001).

According to Krause (2014; p17), *"A large share of scholarship on NGOs has taken for granted that they pursued their own aims and values. The tendency to focus on stated aims is particularly strong among observers of international humanitarian NGOs"*. From this perspective, the questions to answer are first, what strategies do they deploy for their resource mobilisation and management? Second, how do they position themselves regarding their approaches knowing the intervention a community needs? Third, to what extent do they achieve their stated mission (aims) and vision (expected outcome) based on donor funding?

The distinction between NGO values (standards) and interests (benefits) has an extended and intricate logical narrative embedded in the social sciences. This grouping is impaired further by the creation of a specific linear view of connectivity. This is where political economy and culture on one hand, and values and interests on the other hand, become fashioned as variables at the expense of each other (Ashdown, Dixe, & Talmage, 2021; Krause, 2014). This classification, nonetheless, also takes on a special structure in international relations and geopolitics. These disciplines are equally firmly associated with researchers and practitioners of humanitarian and developmental NGOs worldwide.

The problem with both descriptions is that the one stressing value seems to have already decided what relief agencies NGOs are: principled. Whiles the other highlighting interest is what they do for their sponsors. This is so because the theoretical discussions surrounding the activities and changes of these implementing NGOs are influenced by these two halves (Easterly & Pfutze, 2008; Kilcoyne, 2021). As in the debates of aid donors and their implementers, the relevant outside interest has long been assumed to be that of donor governments and their influences, or the beliefs and values of the humanitarian NGOs. At the receiving end are the benefits ensured to the deprived communities. A focus on the interests or values prompts a closer look at the activities of these organisations when faced with the needs of the rural communities.

Most aid-receiving agencies in their quest to alleviate human suffering and promote some form of development in rural communities, often offer some donor-country-oriented organisational model. These development models and projects are most often believed to be the best, and most African nations and communities accept and sometimes imitate them (Ball & Johnson, 1996; Banks, 2021). These third-sector development workers who have diverse backgrounds explicitly enter the rural vulnerable communities of their host countries. Their sole purpose is to transform the lives of the people in these communities with their intended developmental projects. The project however becomes the legitimacy of operation and the leading entity of entry into the deprived communities. They begin implementing an intervention for and with the people in these selected beneficiary communities. This is because most times, the initiative for a project comes from the

donors through a call for proposal. Thus, the project becomes the enabling tool of operation for the NGOs to achieve an aim and stated mission fortified by their values and visions. It connects the acquired budgets to certain targets and integrates people of different cultures and backgrounds. Equipped with different tools and materials, the projects ultimately become the tool for communicating success or otherwise among beneficiary societies and donor communities (Hearn, 2007; Mount, 2021). This ultimately makes the actions and inaction of these developmental NGOs pivotal in understanding project interventions and beneficiary behaviours in community development.

Donors pay for projects based on the scheme of intervention and expect a report detailing the achievements according to the terms of the original bid or plan. However, societies expect the field of practice to mediate between ideas, values, and the problems of the community one way, and an outside donor interest on the other way. It should mediate between a need and an emergency as the project intervention becomes the unit of production and an expected output over time.

For most NGOs and NPOs that solicit funding from individual donors, philanthropic foundations and organisations, institutional donors, government development agencies, intergovernmental agencies, and the United Nations, the projects become a key component of their fund-raising activities and evidence of experience in rural community service delivery (Juselius, Møller, & Tarp, 2014; Tarp, 2000). Thus, their act of pairing a need or an emergency project with fundraising, makes the NGOs the most important, fast, and efficient organisations in eliminating humanitarian catastrophes.

Given the notion that needs are everywhere, the fact remains that, the needs of a community must satisfy the necessary and sufficient conditions for a project capsulation to be championed by an NGO or an NPO. When these agencies decide whether to start a project in a targeted beneficiary community, it is often a decision about the need, and a decision about visible and inherent opportunities and risks. It is the decision on investment in prospects as opposed to rationalising operations with the targeted beneficiary's cooperation that is the most crucial for the survival of the NGOs/NPOs. Thus, their mission and vision statements lead their project assessment, planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation (Krause, 2014; McGillivray & White, 1993). The likelihood of accessing the next project's intervention and fundraising initiated by these non-governmental organisations for a given beneficiary community is equally important.

4.3 NGOs/NPOs philosophy and mandates in northern Ghana

There is a conscious need to understand the empirical relationship between the operations of the NGOs and their project interventions relating to their missions. And without bias, understand their choice of beneficiary communities based on their visions, particularly in the northern part of Ghana. This is because the region and its communities have seen a tremendous upsurge in the number of both foreign bilateral and local non-governmental actors over the years. They are often considered major stakeholders in these rural communities' development. The motive for the increase of NGO/NPO

activities in these five northern regions is that they are still the poorest compared to the other 11 regions because of grossly failed attempts by successive governments to undertake plans and targeted development. The vulnerabilities associated with these regions still include extreme poverty and deprivation, climate change manifestations, poor access to health facilities, poor educational infrastructure, and the presence of indigenous people (Clementi et al., 2018). These savannah regions have also been used and labelled as poor by successive governments and influential elites to lobby for global attention and donor interventions. The associated implementing agencies come to deliver social and economic services within their domain (Brass, 2010; Hearn, 2007); through a project, funding secured, and more so through the demands of the host communities.

The NGOs/NPOs are often considered a major part of the development intervention machinery, increasingly playing a crucial role in these remote communities besides central government and the private sector. They are often considered important stakeholders within the northern regions and recognised as an indispensable part of the societies and the economy at large. Even though their existence is pronounced in the northern part of the country, almost all of them have their headquarters in the Capital; Accra and are found in almost every region in the country (Gary, 1996; Victor, 2015). These NGOs adopt varying degrees of approaches, goals, and agenda to fulfil their developmental missions adapted to the profiled needs and aspirations of the beneficiary communities. The task of the NGOs/NPOs are complementary to the governments and markets of the recipient countries but often varies according to the regulations of the

donors and the directives of the NGOs' governing bodies. These NGOs/NPOs' roles can be practically analysed as entailing three key modules: the implementers, the catalysts, and the partners (Aboramadan, 2018; Townsend, Porter, & Mawdsley, 2004). In each case, they are said to be the new channels of control for development and civilisation and are manipulated in part by the new world order.

The implementer role involves the mobilisation of both human and financial resources to provide goods and services to people living in remote communities in need of essential services. This role is often, but not always need driven. This service delivery option through project intervention is carried out by NGOs across a wide range of fields such as healthcare, education, environment, microfinance, emergency reliefs, and human rights-related issues. This role has magnified in proportion as NGOs/NPOs have been increasingly contracted by the donor communities to undertake projects and reforms and governance and public sector reforms in young democracies and equipped with privatisation policies to carry out specific tasks in return for payment. NGOs/NPOs have also developed more prominently to not only being the first to respond to natural crises or man-made disasters with humanitarian aid; but similarly handling it (Banks & Hulme, 2012; Sisaye, 2021). In terms of success, NGOs have had little influence in confronting the more intrinsically deep-rooted causes of the northern regions' poverty and underdevelopment.

The NGOs' catalyst agenda and philosophy can be depicted as their ability and mandate to encourage, assist, or promote individual or group thinking and behaviour to improve actions and interests to promote social and political transformation. This effort may be directed towards individuals or groups in local communities, or among other players in the development space such as donors, private sector businesses and/or local government initiatives. It often includes grassroots formation to facilitate a given agenda such as gender and social empowerment and protection, advocacy, and lobbying tactics, with attempts to sway a wider policy process through innovation, and policy dialogue (Smith & Grønbjerg, 2006; Townsend et al., 2004). Even though these programmes improve the economic and political empowerment of the beneficiary communities, their motivation is far-fetched due to their selective nature and capabilities.

The role of partnership mirrors the growing and gleaming trend of shared responsibility for NGOs/NPOs to work with the government and its agencies, donors and their governments and the private sector on joint ventures. Such alliances usually provide shared contributions within a broader spectrum of programmes or projects with well-defined responsibility and accountability for social, political, and business initiatives. This option involves activities that take place among NGOs and with their chosen communities such as capacity building. These improve and strengthen the recipient's capabilities and generate mutual satisfaction. The current plan rhetoric of sustainable partnership seeks to bring NGOs into mutually beneficial relationships with the other stakeholders of development; donors and beneficiary communities, and their

engagement within the respective sector's needs of recipient governments (Schneiker, 2017; Sisaye, 2021). Given their level of influence in their partnership agenda, NGOs/NPOs are gradually becoming the third force in every decision-making process of management and governance globally, making them more political than humanitarian.

NGOs/NPOs play a dynamic and sometimes persistent activism role in the development of discourse and narratives. They focus on the needs and apprehensions of deprived groups in society that are incorporated into the formal power structures within these communities. Their primary philosophy is to promote or defend a specific cause of action for mutual satisfaction. Their rewards are intrinsic and financial and for their beneficiary community's growth and development. As opposed to operational project management, these organisations usually try to raise awareness and promote the acquisition of knowledge. This is by lobbying the powers that be, through press events and works of advocacy to highlight the needs and voices of the poor (Edwards, 2020; Forbes, 1999).

Some of the advocacy works of NGOs are researching and informing the public about issues, mobilising citizen action through media campaigns, and bringing global attention to local community issues. They further lobby governments and business leaders on climate-related issues and analyse policies that affect the majority of the underprivileged. Aside from influencing policy, they also act as watchdogs of duty-bearers and promoters of democracy. They are similarly tagged as promoters of neoliberalist agenda in most emerging economies as well (Almog-Bar & Schmid, 2014; Smith & Grønbjerg, 2006).

Given their increasing numbers and operations, some of them are casting doubt on their role in strengthening the global democratic and civil processes, as well as their financial accountabilities and transparency in many field operations.

As a visionary statement bestows an intellectual framework for an organisation's strategy and defines direction. It offers the conceptual plan as to how the organisations move from their current reality to an expected or desired future. Thus, a vision becomes the motivational driver of purpose anchored on a strategic plan with an action-oriented purpose (Mirvis, Googins, & Kinnicutt, 2010; Palma Carvajal, 2021). NGOs and NPOs in their quest for legitimacy have coined both mission and vision statements as their guiding principles and autonomy. They have often collaborated and cooperated based on these mission and vision statements. In most cases, NGOs/NPOs' impact has been championed through these mission and vision statements and this had given them visibility in the donor communities and amongst international governments. However, the multi-sectoral nature of NGOs and their cooperation with governments and markets often blurs their vision and independence. Given that their community operations are anchored on donor funding, their missions are often misguided by the dictates of donor interests.

The primary mission or purpose of these NGOs/NPOs is the design, implementation, and evaluation of development-related projects. One classification that is commonly used is the division into relief-oriented (emergency) organisations, emanating from disasters; or development-oriented (needs) organisations emanating from government and market

failure (Nyamugasira, 1998; Palma Carvajal, 2021). They can be categorised into secular or religious, public, or governmental or private-market-oriented organisations. Operational NGOs are often community-based, national and international, and often undertake short-term developmental goals and projects but are present in some communities for a long period. They contribute to developmental projects by adopting strategies and adapting them to the local context by involving local stakeholders. They act as gatekeepers of government in developmental activities by ensuring responsibility and effectiveness hence contributing to real results of growth and development. In so doing, most NGOs/NPOs have become classified as developmental partners (Banks & Hulme, 2012; Lewis & Opoku-Mensah, 2006). These operational NGOs/NPOs in community development must often mobilise resources in the form of financial donations, fundraising, materials, or volunteer labour, to sustain their projects and programmes.

Major fund-raising events, another hallmark of NGOs, require skills in advertising, media relations and motivating supporters to give to a worthy cause. They bid with a proposal to the donor communities for projects. This is where the internal conflict between their mission, vision and value statements becomes difficult to operationalise most of the time. The process may, however, require quite complex organisations as most of the time, the bids they win do not align with their core values. However, to survive, they fill in these gaps in society through the mobilisation of resources to provide services for those who need them during emergencies. Over the years, they have earned the reputation of being

responsive to emergencies faster than government agencies (Banks, 2021; Mansuri & Rao, 2012). The prospective turnout of funds and other resources from the donor communities, the multi-lateral organisations, foundations, and their quasi-agencies, are principally the significant risk to their independence and survival, as to their growth and influence.

Despite the complex and tedious nature of their community development ventures, NGOs have gained recognition as capable channels for development operations in most communities in the northern regions of Ghana. Over the last four decades have been progressively contracted by governments and donors to undertake certain tasks in return for payment (Igoe & Kelsall, 2005; Palma Carvajal, 2021). This role has given NGOs working in the regions unprecedented leverage and access to many stakeholders' consultative meetings. Despite the huge financial interest and attention given to NGOs and NPOs to bridge the development gap as an alternative to the government and the market, their operations are still in doubt in some communities. Based on their mission and visionary philosophies, there is still a huge development vacuum created in the areas in which they operate given their use of the community participatory development module. Some have questioned this in terms of aid effectiveness (Edwards, 1998; Mansuri & Rao, 2012) and others blamed them for fragmentation and lack of coordination (Bourguignon & Platteau, 2015; Grigoriadis & Gaibu, 2019). Still, other scholars consider them amateur development experts, pursuing neoliberalist agenda (Gulrajani & Swiss, 2019; Kilcoyne, 2021). The basic concerns addressed in this chapter were to understand and promote cooperation among the NGOs, and their beneficiaries' whiles preserving

their distinct sovereignty and uniqueness with aid at the micro level. The evidence gathered advocated policy guidelines to governments, donors, NGOs, and beneficiary communities to enhance donor aid effectiveness.

4.4 NGOs' sectorial influence and micro-level impact

Many explanations account for the substantial rise in the number of NGOs working within the five northern regions of Ghana. The most important is the increasing vulnerability present in the region. Most beneficiaries of donor aid have contended that the number of non-governmental organisations working in their communities has increased in recent years because of the realisation that NGOs can better help promote growth and alleviate poverty through their various project interventions. Also, the rise and the increasing presence of NGOs/NPOs can be attributed to the collective loss of trust in both governments and the private sector. This is because the collective community trust in the public (government) and private (market) sector organisations has declined due to excessive partisanship and prioritisation for profit. This invariably is because of the failure of central government through its local district and administrative profiles to provide the basic amenities in these remote communities. Most of the government-backed interventions within these rural communities are largely politicised along party lines, making NGOs/NPOs the only known alternative to care for the general masses in poverty within the five northern regions of Ghana, irrespective of their political affiliations.

Another noteworthy reason for the surge in the number of NGOs/NPOs can be credited to the rise in funding received by the sector through fundraising events and global connectivity. Although the exact amount obtained from the donor communities is still unknown, the only evidence is the different intervention projects in the various communities. Most aid is sourced globally from private sources including corporate, and public donations, charitable, philanthropic foundations, and trusts (Aboramadan, 2018; Mount, 2021) and can be identified by the notice of sponsorship billboards associated with most projects in the five northern regions of Ghana. NGOs are playing a vital role in addressing the poor conditions of the people and redressing the imbalances between rural and urban areas in Ghana in terms of development. Many NGOs are undertaking several activities in agriculture and environment, health, education, research and most importantly, social and gender equity and inequality issues. Some NGOs associated with rural development include World Vision International, Plan Ghana, ActionAid, Catholic Relief Services (CRS), Adventist Development and Relief Agency, Concern Universal, and Advance, just to mention a few. The NGOs provided them with clean drinking water, a clinic in the village centre, the afforestation project, credit facilities, a school building, extension services and many more. They are extremely important mechanisms in rural development and enjoy the goodwill and acceptance of the communities they work in. NGOs have therefore become very important players in the field of social upliftment and are considered key stakeholders in the development processes of the five northern regions.

The democratisation of Ghana has opened new opportunities for NGOs to make a meaningful contribution to the development of Ghanaian society, especially at the grassroots level. NGOs have a major role in developing countries, and can sometimes constitute the main international presence in some regions or locations (Hammad & Morton, 2011). This is particularly the case in the five northern regions as most of the communities are quite remote, affected by conflicts and environmental challenges, and have bad roads. They are often less important economically or politically and have the presence of indigenous people. However, not all these remote communities experience the aid system in Ghana's north. There is a need to understand why this is the case and what accounts for the choice of a beneficiary community. This has been achieved through this empirically grounded research.

4.5 Empirical methodology and data generation

Little is known about the aggregate and overall impact of NGO/NPOs activities in Ghana, especially in the northern parts where they are often concentrated. This impact is neither measured within government circles nor perceived within the NGO platform or arena itself. Presently, there is no conventional or effective informal structure and system in place for getting a wide range of information on NGOs' activities to make a sound assessment of their progress. There is no central data bank listing the number of NGOs/NPOs, their areas of speciality, the number of volunteers and employees, and data on their source of income and expenditure. While external or International NGOs/NPOs are required by law, to register with the host government through the Regional Coordinating Councils (RCC), before operating within the country, empirical evidence

gathered shows that, there is no uniform system of registration. Some, but not all, are required to re-register after working in the country for a maximum of 2 to 3 years with the Social Welfare Department (SWD). This department is solely responsible for its operation at the district and community levels. Yet still, many NGOs/NPOs are oblivious to the fact and information requirement for the renewal of registration and mandate for operation. These are just a few of the institutional frameworks needed to kick-start the effectiveness of NGOs' operations in Ghana.

Indeed, some NGOs are working in the community but are not registered with the social welfare or Regional Coordinating Council's registers. This research undertook an independent and empirical evaluation of the activities of NGOs relating to donor aid in 67 communities sampled from the 55 districts in the north of Ghana. It investigated the areas of aid operation and influence from the beneficiary perspective. It detailed the challenges the NGOs face from an unbiased outlook. Also, this research sought to understand the relationship between donor funding and their beneficiary communities through the activities of NGOs (aid implementers). It contributed to the literature by creating an understanding of the interdependence of aid relief and beneficiary behaviours, taking the analysis further by providing insight into the activities of NGOs. These were based on the evidence of their interaction and functions with aid recipients in their selected communities.

We deployed a mixed method approach, under-pinned by the philosophy and procedure of 'an adapted' grounded theory practice and fortified by various analytical methods (Chun Tie, Birks, & Francis, 2019). The organisation of this study employed the fieldwork procedure of 'community immersion' which was the exploratory part. The process of community profiling guided the data generation processes purposefully, to evidence of aid activities through community resource mapping. We engaged key stake holders and informants on the activities of NGOs within the selected communities. The initial coding process helped identified theme categorisations like "multiple aid projects" and "concentration of NGOs/NPOs activities" through *awareness of aid activities*. This shaped the research design, the choice and use of data generated for the analytical processes, and to answer the research question as affirmed by (Guetterman, Babchuk, Howell Smith, & Stevens, 2019; Seaman, 2008). For the explanatory underpinning to support the core categorisation of the identified themes (*performance*); we concurrently deployed survey instruments which included close-ended questions centred on a list of twenty-two desired outcomes. It appraised key sectors of NGOs/NPOs' services delivery as 500 respondents were chosen purposively to include adult males, females, youth, opinion leaders and beneficiaries of any form of aid.

The choice of this empirical method was to pick ethnographic information on NGOs operations within the selected communities. The epistemic inference was to gather experiences, reasoning, and intuition from community members through lived

experiences of aid implementation. The information gathered through these means was further used to explore the meanings of the survey findings through focus group discussions. The questions and statements appraised four key sectors such as education, health, environment, (and socio-economic activities which was not part of the conceptual framework designed at the start of the research). But were nonetheless part of NGOs/NPOs' services to cover their desired outcomes in these regions. Some of the expected outcomes include a distinct range of activities and factors such as the awareness and performance of NGOs in your community, stakeholder-ship, the importance of donor aid and the level of improvement in service provision with NGOs involvement. The survey instruments were administered randomly in selected households in different communities in the study area. These communities were selected based on stratified sampling during the inceptive community mapping and profiling using grounded theory techniques. The households were selected randomly within communities that had had NGO activities in the past and are ongoing.

The research equally relied on a collection of documents and report analysis, interviews with former and current NGO/NPO workers, and households. The documents were analysed to gather background information about the NGOs' philosophy, mission, and activities as well as the desired outcomes. They included NGOs' annual reports, community reports and journals, socioeconomic and survey reports, as well as consultants' evaluation and mission reports on NGOs/NPOs in Ghana. The interviews were conducted with people in the communities to collect a variety of factual materials

based on first-hand experiences, life stories, personal reactions, and introspective observations. The focus group discussions centred on themes emanating from the community survey conducted. It gathered common traits and experiences and separated emotional opinion from intellectual fiction. The participants in some focus group discussion ranged from 8 to 10. The iterative process of the grounded theory employed afforded us semi-structured and carefully planned questions depending on the donor countries whose aid agencies were present in the community. The scope of insights and level of focus was high given aid activities were a common phenomenon amongst the participants.

From the positivist constructivist approach, the researcher's neutrality was guaranteed as she is not an aid worker and has not worked for any aid organisation. In terms of the emerging theory, the data was guarded towards the specific themes emerging from the community profiling, that is *aid implementation and recipients' action*. This was done to co-construct experience and meaning with the participants (being former aid workers and aid beneficiaries) by the enhanced methodological framework of triangulation with interviews and focus group discussions.

During the community immersion, there was a process where some of the interviews and focus group discussions were held in "pǒǒŕźeer"[21] drinking grounds. Often in the evenings, men usually would entertain the crowd by playing draft at the "pǒǒŕźeer" as the community including children would gather around to watch them play. This was an

[21] A local term for where men gather to drink locally brewed millet beer(pito/brukutu)

all-male sport and the women only cheered on. Most of the women who participated in the research were often targeted in the market and on market days. Here we often choose midday when the trading activities were low, and they were on a break from the morning trading. At noon, when the sun was hottest, the women gathered to rearrange their wares and catch up on the gossip of the week as an informant mentioned. It is interesting to note that, by noon, the men's market (often traders in livestock and birds of various kinds that begins earlier than the women's goods market) was often over.

Some of these processes afforded us the opportunities to have informal conversation about aid activities with many ordinary people. Recruitment for interviews of some aid beneficiaries as well as participants of some focus group discussions were met during the above activities. The casual nature of some of our data collection procedure metamorphosed into some aid workers and beneficiaries given us further information on their lived experiences in personal documents and files.

The approaches employed during this data collection included the generation of information through the observation of the activities and evidence of NGOs' influence in the communities. An interesting observation made was, any visitor who did not speak the local language was assumed to be a foreign aid worker. Information gathered was taken through a thorough examination of the standards and dictates of the adapted GT process. This started with the purposeful information choice through community mapping and profiling; (the phenomenon of aid dependency syndrome) trailed by simultaneous generation and collection of data through informal conversation on the

subject matter. Next was the deployment of the survey questions and conducting of interviews. Former aid workers were sampled based on snowball sampling as the first few we met by chance led us to their general hangouts. We randomly sampled and interviewed those who were interested in speaking to us. The interviews took a series of one-on-one interactions. It started with an informal conversation and when permission was sorted, we made it formal. A series of questions were asked, and the subject of the questions yielded data. Here impressions of the aid given, and the trends associated with it were quizzed. These generated recollections and gave expert assessments of the causal process and observations of the attitudes of the beneficiaries.

A co-construction of meaning unfolded as some gave us contacts to development experts who confirmed most of our findings. We recruited the members for the focus group discussion based on what the members of the communities' thought were the aid implementation trends of NGO activities. The memberships of the groups were diverse, so no particular interest group dominated. These group discussions were based on the outcomes of the beginning coding process during the community survey and mapping to enrich the data. We had 10 participants per each local FGDs in 15 districts across the researched region. 5 to 7 participants per FGDs for foreigners who were aid workers in Tamale, Wa, and Bolgatanga. We had groups that were beneficiaries of aid as well. The conversations among participants yielded data from the individual level to group affirmation after further interactions. This helped in the triangulation process as multiple opinions were gathered simultaneously. The constant, concurrent comparative analysis

was deployed to advance the emergence of the substantive theory. This was done through an orderly coding process and seen through the systematic process of detecting intangible re-occurrences of events and actions, grouping similarities into an association, and finding disparities in the information sets. The key components of *donor funding* and *beneficiary activities* generated two key biases: **donor fatigue in the face of increasing climate change challenges** and **deprivation on the part of relief agencies**. On the part of recipients, it was **beneficiary stress because of the repetitive nature of community participation in aid implementation for development**. The triangulation was done both quantitatively through the survey data and qualitatively through the interviews and focus group discussions.

Our purposive information choice at the beginning of the data collection showed that not all communities in northern Ghana had encountered NGO or donor activities. This shows that the phenomenon under study was peculiar to communities and places that had different NGOs or donor organisations. It was evident that communities that were enjoying NGO activities praised them, while communities that had experienced NGOs activities in the past were somewhat indifferent. The initial community immersion also steered the researcher to communities that had enjoyed NGO activities. This helped exclude communities that had not had any NGO activity from the survey question administered randomly. There was no targeted population in the community so, those that were willing to take part were given the opportunity. The researcher relied on market days in the various communities for the focus group discussions and interviews. These

were conducted at the convenience of the participants. Respondents were invited to evaluate the level of importance they assigned to each of the 29 outcomes using a five-point Likert Scale as follows (1) "no importance at all" (2) low importance" (3) "medium importance" (4) "high importance" or (5) "very high importance". This was done as in the case of (Oh, 2001; Tzeng & Chang, 2011). The benefit of using the importance-performance on the Likert Scale was to aggregate all the prospects and challenges associated with all the multi-projects of the NGOs working in the five northern regions. In another request, respondents were questioned to evaluate the same list of 29 outcomes concerning how satisfied they were with the achievement of each of the outcomes, also using a five-point Likert Scale as follows: (1) "very unsatisfied;" (2) somewhat unsatisfied;" (3) "not sure;" (4) "somewhat satisfied;" (5) "very satisfied." This was to measure the magnitude of change and address any validity concerns.

For the fieldwork, seventeen research assistants were trained and deployed into various communities. Fifteen of them were based in the region, three from each region as they were only used in the communities within their region. This was because the protocols for community immersion were different and so was the language. The survey instrument was pre-tested, vetted and adjusted accordingly. The researcher and two assistants visited all the various communities in the five regions. The survey was administered from January to April 2020 in the Upper East and North East regions as this was the dry season and most of the inhabitants were home and processing their harvest from the previous year. Data from the Northern Region was collected between June to

August 2020. Even though the COVID-19 restriction was in place, the rural community was sparsely populated which did not affect our people management processes. Our community incentive of supplying nose masks and tablet soap for each participant encouraged willing respondents. The Upper West Region survey was administered between March to April 2021 and the Savannah Region was used as the validation station ay to July 2021. Here, beneficiaries of aid and former aid workers were recruited to participate. The surveys were administered face to face and emphasis was placed on making a distinction between desired (importance) and perceived (performance) outcomes by the interviewers.

4.5.1 Preliminary analysis

The Importance–Performance (IP) analysis was used to scrutinise the outcomes (Martilla & James, 1977). With this IP analysis, we use a simple graphical technique that was designed to compare the mean scores values of a given desired (importance) outcome, with their corresponding perceived (performance) outcomes using a two–dimensional grid. This analysis utilised the collection of economic and social outcomes or (causality) that actors and benefactors of aid take into consideration. The IP analysis measured importance and evaluated them against the perceived levels of satisfaction (ramification) that these players assign to each of the desired outcomes. A two-by-two matrix dividing the grid into four equal halves points showed where *importance* and *performance* (*satisfaction*) were equally ranked. This was used as a way of distinguishing areas of dissatisfaction by concentrating on the differences in the mean values of importance and performance. It captured the interaction between the use of relief funds and beneficiary

satisfaction in terms of aid effectiveness. The emphasis on mean scores even though contested, is essential because of the tendency of some respondents to inflate importance ratings beyond measure (Tonge & Moore, 2007). However, based on the changing functionalities of these NGOs and their growing numbers, it is significant to measure the interrelation between the satisfaction of their beneficiaries and the importance of their projects. Items in the lower quadrant have higher satisfaction scores than importance scores needing NGOs' attention.

On The Contrary, items above the quadrant show where perceived outcomes are perhaps not matching the desired outcomes. An item distance on the graph reflected the size of the inconsistency between a desired outcome and its perceived counterpart. The greater the distance the more critical the need is for attention. The insinuation was that if the stakeholders of aid assessments were understood, then managers of aid could evaluate the desired outcomes and be able to adjust accordingly. This would help resolve any disequilibrium between desired and perceived outcomes thus promoting aid effectiveness.

4.6 Results and discussion

4.6.1 Awareness, performance and impact of NGOs

This study measured the awareness and perceived performance of NGOs in the various communities of the researched region. It evaluated the visible works of NGOs in the communities and discussed how these elements may have affected NGOs' effectiveness

positively or negatively. Several survey questions assessed the views of respondents about their awareness of NGOs' activities within their communities. These awareness questions were asked to gauge whether local connections of the authority of NGOs were active and practical within the various communities' networks. It also evaluated the views of the community members about the decision-making processes of NGOs' projects, from initiation to completion. It further checked whether rural people find donor aid-related activities satisfactorily attractive to merge them into their daily livelihood (aid dependency syndromes) and umpired whether it affected their behaviour. This was hinged on the peoples' level of responsiveness to the performance of NGOs locally.

In the survey instrument, respondents were queried to rate their level of satisfaction through their affirmation of agreement or otherwise assigned to each of the 29 desirable outcomes of NGOs. This was on a five-point Likert Scale as follows: (1) "strongly disagree" (2) "somewhat disagree" (3) "not sure" (4) "somewhat agree" or (5) "strongly agree". The research question was posed as 'First, I should like to know your views about the decision-making processes of project initiation and completion in your community? For which the respondents were to pick their preference on the above agreement to the 15 possible inferences relating to awareness and performance as depicted in the table below. In the respondent analysis, statement marked A represented awareness and statements marked P represented performance.

Table 1. Results of awareness and performance of NGOs

	Percentage of Respondents						
What is your position on the following observations about awareness and performance of NGOs.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**4&5**	**Mean**
I have heard about NGOs (A)	3.6	0.6	3.4	16.2	76.2	92.4	4.61
I am aware of NGOs activities (A)	4.6	3.2	7	22.4	62.8	85.2	4.36
The NGOs needs more donor aid and actors to make them more effective(P)	2.8	5.4	10.2	26.8	54.8	81.6	4.25
I know the functions of NGOs (A)	4.4	2.2	16.2	22.4	54.8	77.2	4.21
I am aware of the community development intervention of an NGO in my community (A)	3	6.6	20.6	24.8	45	69.8	4.02
The NGO meets the community members during project phases (P)	2.8	4.8	21.4	32.2	38.8	71	3.99
The NGOs consults all the various Stakeholders before the start of a project (P)	2.2	7.2	27.6	22.8	40.2	63	3.92
I know it functions in relation to the community projects (A)	4.2	4.8	25.2	27.6	38.2	65.8	3.91
The community is briefed fully on the decisions of the NGOs (P)	4.2	5.6	23.4	30.6	36	66.6	3.89
The NGOs has been successful in implementing a development intervention (P)	3.6	7	20.6	34.6	34.2	68.8	3.89
Decisions of the NGOs reflect the most important benefits and concerns of the community's development (P)	4	8.8	20.8	34	32.4	66.4	3.82
I am satisfied with the operation of the NGOs (P)	6	7.2	21.6	37.2	28	65.2	3.74
The presence of NGOs' is enough to assure effective development project interventions (P)	15	12	19	21.2	32.8	54	3.45
The NGOs meets us regularly (P)	15.2	11	25.6	25.6	22.6	48.2	3.29
I know the rules and regulations of the NGOs' operation in the community (A)	14.4	12.6	32.4	19.8	20.8	40.6	3.2
I am aware of the donor country of the NGOs operating in my community (A)	25.8	8	25	24	17.2	41.2	2.99
I am aware of the NGOs bye law from the District Assembly (A)	27.6	14.8	32	13.8	11.8	25.6	2.67
I or a member of my family is a member of an NGO (P)	43.6	7.6	15.4	12	21.4	33.4	2.6

Notes: Likert Scale of agree; 1=strongly disagree; 2=somewhat disagree; 3=not sure; 4=somewhat agree; 5=strongly agree.

The results of awareness and performance of NGOs as presented in **Table *1*** augmented with information from interviews and focus group discussions. The results show a high recognition of NGOs and their related activities across the five northern regions. For instance, over 92% of respondents agreed that they had heard of NGOs and were aware of NGOs' activities in their respective communities. This resultant awareness is crucial for effective community development as it promotes mutual collaboration and is

reflective of the shared responsibility and commitment between some communities and the NGOs' project interventions. For instance, in a community in Kpasenkpe, the informant showed us projects that were financed by donor aid through World Vision. It has the inscription: '*through the joint effort of the people and these donor countries*. Here the names of the donors were written, and the people's effort was quantified as labour capital.

The researcher was told the people supplied their labour effortlessly till completion. This in effect makes NGOs well-placed to help plan and execute development interventions and more importantly help avert and mitigate disasters in these beneficiary communities timelier. Between 69% to 77% of respondents agreed that they knew the functions of the NGOs in community project(s) and the rules and regulations of some of the NGOs working within their community. This makes the NGOs working within these communities' worthy stakeholders and forebearers of development interventions. It also implies that with better coordination and cooperation, these NGOs can be better placed to bring legitimate orientation of public policy to bear and help in practical agenda setting for community development through participation.

The survey quizzed whether the respondents could identify the donor countries of the NGOs working in their community. Only 41% confirmed they knew. When a similar question was posed in the focus group discussions, the response was that some NGOs had positioned themselves as *gatekeepers* and worked with funding and not with a particular country. These NGOs are often headquartered in Accra but have leaders of community-based organisations who help them in project implementation. They

undertake projects in all sectors irrespective of the donor country, are often time-bound and most completed in single phases. A development expert affirmed that bigger NGOs (International NGOs) often get funding and partner with local NGOs to undertake projects. In cases where the turnaround is short, they want to avoid the bureaucratic bottlenecks of local NGOs and usually do not want to go through the community development project concepts. They rely on the CBOs and sometimes breakaway or freelance project implementors who are often local elites. These people know the local terrain and can implement the projects with less overhead cost but with smart results. When probed further, he mentioned that the freelance project implementors were often former aid workers of big international NGOs who have folded up but have developed the competence and technical knowledge of community project development. They often know the community leaders, other stakeholders and the community profiles and needs such that they can manage the projects and get results in the shortest possible time.

On the virtues of performance, respondents were asked whether NGOs working within their communities engage them regularly. About 71% with a mean of 3.99 agreed that the NGOs met them regularly during project phases, while 63% with a mean of 3.92 affirmed that the NGOs consult all the various stakeholders before the start of a project. It is interesting to note that any consultative meeting undertaken by the NGOs comes with a sitting allowance or appearance fee. This appearance fee according to most NGOs working in these communities, makes cooperation possible, while the community beneficiaries affirmed it promoted participation. When asked, "is the community briefed

fully on the decision of the NGOs"? 66.6% (3.89) agreed that when NGOs decide to implement a project in their community, they are fully informed on the specificity of the project, including its duration and the donor's expectation. As to how successful NGOs implement their projects, the respondents rated the question at 68.8% with a mean score of (3.89). The implementation scored the same mean as the decision-making process. This is because the focus group affirmed that once the community is informed about a project, they become very cooperative and contribute their quota till completion. A healthy majority of community project stakeholders and beneficiaries affirmed that most projects started by NGOs in their communities are completed on time unless "funding dries up".

When respondents were asked about their level of satisfaction with the operations of the NGOs in their community, 65.2% with a mean of 3.74 agreed they were. The range of means tells a small difference between the decision to start, implement and complete projects. These show the welcome gestures from the community in terms of the evaluation of the activities of NGOs. It also shows that once NGOs secure funding, they go straight to start the projects and produce results. The question, "does the decision of the NGOs reflect the most important benefits and concerns of the community's development"? 66.4% with a mean of 3.82 agreed NGOs' decision concerning community development was valuable to them. A respondent further explained that the projects are done within the best possible time and the community members are usually part of the process and can ask questions during information dissemination durbars. This gives them

a sense of ownership compared to state-sponsored projects where timelines are not feasible.

This same question was posed during a focus group discussion. The general view was that since the NGOs make the greater part of the decision as to the type of project to implement, they can follow through because according to most FGD participants, the funding of the projects is "usually at hand and therefore spending is the problem"[22]. When scrutinised further, the responses were that the projects decided by NGOs through their initiative often get executed on time while interventions requested by the community members do not get priority. Their concerns were that they welcome all sorts of projects if their communities are chosen, but not all the projects are good for them. A development practitioner explained that, when a community is chosen for a development intervention, it is not what the community wants but rather what funding is available for. He gave an instance where a community needed safe access to drinking water because the source of water was shared by the indigenes, their domesticated livestock, and some wildlife. When asked about an intervention, the community proposed that access to water was their foremost request, so they do not have to share the same water with the wildlife.

In response to their initiative, funding was received for the "censoring of all the different wildlife that visited the pond"[23]. In implementing this project, some funds were allocated

[22] Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Tamale, June 14,2020. How do NGOs work?
[23] Development expert, FGD, Bolgatanga,27 January 2020. How do NGOs work?

for a public toilet (pit latrine) in the same community. The community welcomed the projects and took part fully. During an evaluation process initiated by the donor agency through this development expert, it was realised that the toilet facility was used for a few days and neglected. When asked why the community neglected the facility, they mentioned that they were not consulted and more importantly the custom and traditions of the community do not allow men and women to share the same toilet facility.

When we followed up with the NGO, they explain that the funding available was for siting and counting of wildlife and the surplus funds were put to good use to deliver the toilet facility. We also chanced and checked the development report of the NGOs which narrated that the funding was not sufficient for two toilet facilities but one. The NGO further requested more funding to tackle the water problem and then take care of the second toilet facility. An informant in the community mentioned that if they had refused the single toilet facility, they would have lost on the censoring project too, as neighbouring community stakeholders were lobbying for the projects to come to them. This gave the signal that funding often preceded most development agenda (mission) of NGOs in pragmatic community engagements.

The rising influence of NGOs working in the five northern regions of Ghana is taking place in the face of growth opportunities as well as major challenges. Many of these NGOs working in the communities have adopted strategies that make them good partners in their community of operation in the face of increasing competition from other NGOs. The

growing numbers of these NGOs are equally exerting pressure on their accountability processes and changing their functionalities. This is because the increasing number of local NGOs are competing for the same source of funding which requires a track record of successful implementation of projects with audited accounts. Apart from a few religious-based NGOs, most of them are diversifying their mission and changing their operation dynamics through global networking to meet the demands of global fundraisers and donors.

The increasing change of policy direction of donor countries is equally making local NGOs intensify the network building and the choice of beneficiary communities. This was evidenced by the community mapping and profiling process. Some communities in the five northern regions have a concentration of NGO projects, while the neighbouring communities have no contact with NGO intervention at all. Even in cases where both communities have the same or similar challenges. In their survival and the measure of their impacts, NGOs are deliberately choosing beneficiary communities that had a track record of successful cooperation with a donor agency. This is because most of these NGOs are engaging in collaborative planning with willing community beneficiaries to avert uncertainty, conflicts, and the complexities of project management. Based on the availability of funding, some local NGOs working in the northern regions of Ghana do "focus intervention". These types of interventions are not driven by community needs and emergencies, nor by NGOs' mission statements immediately, but by the avoidance of unexpected outcomes due to beneficiaries' stress. These beneficiaries' stress emanates

from the multiple and simultaneous project implementation by different NGOs in the same communities.

Based on the increasing vulnerability presence in these regions, there are many multi-lateral and bilateral organisations like the European Union and World Bank-sponsored projects alongside local and international NGO projects. This gives the impression that donor aid is visible and solves the problems of these communities. However, most of these interventions do not tackle the structural causes of poverty and underdevelopment but rather produce the 'leaky bucket effect'. This is where the projects often initiated are wasteful compared to the expected outcome of eliminating poverty. Link to the above outcome, is the processes associated with the decision-making structures of project implementation.

4.6.2 Decision-making structure and processes of NGOs' operation

This empirical evaluation explored the important nodes of NGOs' decision-making structures, needed to guarantee effectiveness in the aid operations by NGOs. *The question was framed as; "this question concerns your views about which organisations and or actors should participate in the decision-making structures and processes of NGOs operations to achieve you and your community expected important benefits for your growth and development, (stake-holder ship)?* The respondent's selection criteria (*a little about you*); included any adult male or female living within the given community, with demographic characteristics. See appendix for sample questionnaire and demographic characteristics.

Table 2 appraised the important nodes of NGOs' operation; measuring decision-making, implementation and evaluation processes needed to improve donor aid effectiveness. In this assessment, respondents were questioned to specify their affirmation through a five-point Likert Scale. This was based on the participation of each of the actors listed, in the decision-making structures and the processes of NGO engagement to reach their desired outcomes (visions).

The results in Table 2 showed that in the decision-making processes of NGOs' operation in project execution, stakeholders are key components to achieving the community's expected benefits while the NGOs usually succeeded in their advancement through the concepts of community participation. The desk officer (project lead) who superintended operations in at least one but usually several communities (most times countries), often prepares the decision to undertake a particular project. The decisions on the type of projects are prepared at the operation centres (head office) based on potential and available funding. The most detailed knowledge of internal structures and events is found here, not at the highest level in the organisational hierarchy. Decisions on this level also set the frame for implementation on the ground as affirmed by Krause (2014). It is the implementation stage that makes NGOs search for possible beneficiary communities with similar needs. The decision for implementation is what involves key stakeholders who are beneficiaries of the projects. A series of meetings are often organised first with the chiefs/traditional leaders, elders, and other local hosts and then with the larger groups of constituents. When such meetings are taking place, the NGOs would normally create a

list of community desires or interventions and then describe the list of activities that they (NGOs) would be able to help them undertake. Thus, the respondents were asked if their views on the level of actors were included in the decision of project acceptance, implementation, and evaluation.

Table 2. Decision-making structure and stakeholders

Participation of this organization or actor in NGOs decision making is crucial to the achievement of you and your community's expected important benefits from Donor Aid **(Stakeholder ship)**	STRONGLY DISAGREE [1	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE [2]	NOT SURE [3]	SOMEWHAT AGREE [4]	STRONGLY AGREE [5]	4 & 5	Mean	Level of node	Rank Order Position
Assembly Members	1.0	4.0	3.6	11.2	80.2	91.4	4.66	Local	1
Chiefs/ Traditional Leaders	2.0	1.8	7.6	6.8	81.8	88.6	4.65	Local	2
Farmers	1.6	3.0	11.4	16.6	67.4	84.0	4.45	Local	3
Youth Groups	1.2	4.6	9.4	20.6	64.2	84.8	4.42	Local	4
Unit Committee Members	1.6	3.2	9.8	26.2	59.2	85.4	4.38	Local	5
NGOs Sponsored Partners	1.6	3.0	12.6	23.6	59.2	82.8	4.36	International	6
Religious Leaders	4.6	2.2	7.2	27.2	58.8	86.0	4.33	Local	7
Opinion Leaders	3.2	3.8	12.0	19.8	61.2	81.0	4.32	Local	8
District Assembly	2.6	5.2	8.2	26.8	57.2	84.0	4.31	District	9
Landowners	3.4	4.8	11.4	19.0	61.4	80.4	4.3	Local	10
Community Based Organizations	.8	3.6	14.8	27.0	53.8	80.8	4.29	Local	11
Women's Groups	3.2	4.8	11.6	21.4	59.0	80.4	4.28	Local	12
Ministry of Health	2.0	3.8	15.2	24.6	54.4	79.0	4.26	Regional	13
Ministry of Agric	2.8	4.4	14.0	22.8	56.0	78.8	4.25	Regional	14
Financial Institutions	2.8	4.0	15.6	22.0	55.6	77.6	4.24	Regional	15
Ministry of Education	3.6	4.4	16.6	23.6	51.8	75.4	4.16	Regional	16
Environment Protection Agency	2.4	5.0	16.6	27.4	48.6	76.0	4.15	Regional	17
Other NGOs in the community	3.2	5.4	18.6	24.6	48.2	72.8	4.09	Regional	18
Research Institutions	5.0	4.8	14.4	29.8	46.0	75.8	4.07	Regional	19
National Board for Small Scale Industries	2.6	5.4	25.8	26.8	39.4	66.2	3.95	Regional	20
Regional Coordinating Council	2.8	7.0	22.6	29.8	37.8	67.6	3.93	Regional	21
Political Leaders	10.2	9.4	13.4	24.4	42.6	67.0	3.8	Regional	22

Notes: Likert Scale of agree; 1=strongly disagree; 2=somewhat disagree; 3=not sure;4=somewhat agree; 5=strongly agree.

The results showed that 91% with a mean of 4.66 agreed strongly that the assembly members should be the lead in terms of the decision-making structures for project beneficiaries. Following closely are the chiefs/traditional leaders with a mean of 4.65 being 88.6% of respondents. The farmers were next with a mean of 4.45 being 84%. The youth groups followed with a mean of 4.42 84.4%. The unit committee members came fifth with a mean of 4.35. When this was explored during the focus group discussions, their justification included the fact that the assembly members are head in terms of the decentralisation system of government. More so their position as local representatives in charge of development could help in the choice and determination of the projects. Their role and responsibility to the communities are to tell them what projects and interventions are from governments and other third parties. The justification for chiefs/traditional leaders was that they as guardians of the lands and customs, should stand in for the people and give guidance. The farmers and the youth group logics came as they are the active workforce locally and could always follow through with any project started.

It is interesting to note that NGOs sponsored partners featured strongly with a mean `of 4.36 being 82.8%. The explanation given for this in some focus group discussions was that NGOs should not be the final say in any community development projects. According to a participant, they should be accountable to their sponsors, "as they enter the community with a project, we are grateful they choose us…but they are not accountable to us". A development expert further reiterated that when NGOs lobby for funding to undertake a project, their sole aim sometimes is to stay in business and not the values that drive them

in the first place. Some NGOs consider the community in need as the justification for their existence but in fact, the choice of communities in need is part of the motivation and validation for NGO activities. Also, the NGOs' community missions are a principal unit of helping people, but it is also a prime part of their fund-raising (Dollar et al., 2013; Krause, 2014). It must be noted that to make aid more responsible through NGOs' vision statements, these NGOs have resolved the abdication of their responsibility sometimes, far beyond the very specific project missions.

Another fascinating result was how well the political leaders and the regional coordinating councils fared. The political leaders were ranked last on the scale with a mean of 3.8 by a significant total of 67.0% of respondents quizzed. This was very interesting because, in the focus group discussion, the political party representatives alluded to the fact that, they had lobbied for development intervention in their communities more than the others. The consensus was that since the activities of NGOs were not partisan, no political party should claim credit for their operations, as it is the joint failures of all political parties and their governments that had caused the increase in NGOs' activities.

The Regional Coordinating Council (RCC) which synchronises all activities of the social welfare department under which NGOs work, was also relegated to the last but one position. 67.6% of respondents with a mean of 3.93 mentioned there was no need for the RCC at the local level as depicted in **Table 2**. Their reason was that they add to the bureaucracies that delay and weaken local development. An informant mentioned that:

These officers from the government see the works of NGOs as extra income and therefore want to be "paid for every step" they take even if they are legally mandated by the dictates of their responsibilities.

An NGO manager also remarked that "…these guys think we owe them a duty of care! Any time we invite them to project meeting, they expect us to pay for the fuel and maintenance…"[24].

At a focus group discussion, some opined that "the RCC's role in the regions and more importantly at the community level is to tell us who is doing a particular intervention and where they are, and not demand fees for their supervision. If NGO works are duplicated or concentrated in one community, it is the fault of the RCC"[25].

To verify this, a visit to all five regional coordinating councils individually showed that, they did not have data and know all the NGOs, NPOs, and CSOs working within their regions. The RCC can improve their work through community visits and ascertain first-hand, projects and interventions taking place within their region, take stock and update their offices. This bottom-up approach would make them visible and better coordinators of NGO activities.

When asked to rank the top three most important actors to include in NGO's **decision-making processes**, the chiefs/traditional leaders, the assembly members, and the youth groups were ranked top in order of importance. For the most important groups to be involved in NGOs' **implementation processes**, assembly members came first, followed

[24] K. Duah, Personal Communication, May 10,2020
[25] FGD, Wa, March 21. What is the role of Government?

by chiefs/traditional leaders and youth groups. In terms of the three most important actors to include in NGOs' **project evaluation**, the District Assembly (to stand for RCC), followed by assembly members of the community in question and religious leaders were top on the lists. When discussed with the focus groups, they showed optimism that the selection would optimise results as religious leaders would be honest and straightforward. Senior members from the assembly can also follow the evaluation process to "check" their members. Interestingly, women groups and other NGOs in the decision-making processes in the community were left out. However, respondents considered these as very important actors in other sessions of the questionnaire. The inclusion of representatives from a diversity of groups including the District Assembly, chiefs/traditional leaders and religious leaders was instructive as no single group could dominate and manipulate the processes. These can supply significant multiple-scale relationships to assure cooperation and harmonisation for more effective outcomes in NGO operations and donor aid.

4.6.3 Community satisfaction for NGOs operations (stated impacts)

The evaluation of the people's satisfaction with the expected benefits of NGOs' operation (mission) in the community's development was paramount to this study. This measured the impact of NGO activities through donor aid in beneficiary communities. Most philanthropic organisations worldwide often assumed that "the population in need" is the justification for their existence and functions. Krause (2014 p. 40) argued that while beneficiaries serve as a resolve to relief work, managers of aid funds work hard to deliver goods and services to "populations in need" (beneficiaries). These beneficiaries also become a means of delivering relief work and are a necessary element of any successful project. Hence a population in need serves as part of the results that aid agencies strategize with, and account for during fundraising if they work for donor institutions. To undertake their not-for-profit businesses, "NGOs need beneficiaries,

rather than being just recipients". Thus, it was important to measure the level of community beneficiary satisfaction with the activities of NGOs independent of these organisations' evaluation processes.

Table 3. Community measure of satisfaction of NGO operations

Community's level of satisfaction of the achievement of NGOs following expected important benefits	Very Unsatisfied [1]	Somewhat Unsatisfied [2]	NOT Sure [3]	Somewhat Satisfied [4]	Very Satisfied [5]	4 & 5	Mean	Rank Order by Mean
Increased health awareness	6.2	10.0	8.2	34.0	41.6	75.6	3.95	1
Improved water access and quality	4.8	9.4	12.0	38.2	35.6	73.8	3.9	2
More and better- quality health care	4.2	13.8	10.6	39.2	32.2	71.4	3.81	3
Constancy of kids school attendance	6.4	11.6	13.0	43.6	25.4	69.0	3.7	4
Better farmlands management for increased food production	6.6	16.0	12.8	35.2	29.4	64.6	3.65	5
Capacity building and training in income generating enterprises	5.8	11.8	20.2	42.6	19.6	62.2	3.58	6
Shea nut/daw adaw a tree protection	7.4	15.6	20.2	27.6	29.2	56.8	3.56	7
Collective community action and unity	7.2	14.0	19.4	37.2	22.2	59.4	3.53	8
More health post construction materials	9.0	15.6	20.4	26.6	28.4	55.0	3.49	9
Micro loan facilities	8.4	15.4	19.6	33.6	23.0	56.6	3.47	10
Improved Social Infrastructure	7.4	20.6	15.2	37.4	19.4	56.8	3.41	11
Girls vocational training	10.0	22.6	14.8	23.8	28.6	52.4	3.38	12
Reduced chemical contamination of water during farming	9.0	20.4	21.6	26.2	22.8	49.0	3.33	13
Increased income through economic activities	9.8	17.2	22.4	32.2	18.4	50.6	3.32	14
Reduced Bush Fires	12.0	19.8	19.6	22.4	26.2	48.6	3.31	15
Access to credit/financial assistance	11.8	16.8	20.4	30.6	20.4	51.0	3.31	16
Educational Scholarships	14.8	20.8	14.4	22.2	27.8	50.0	3.28	17
Girls educational scholarships	15.8	18.6	17.0	19.8	28.4	48.2	3.27	18
Better disaster management processes	11.2	19.4	22.2	26.0	21.2	47.2	3.26	19
Irrigation farming (Dry Season Farming)	17.6	16.8	13.2	27.2	25.2	52.4	3.26	20
Increase education on government policies	8.0	20.4	25.8	30.6	15.2	45.8	3.25	21
Increased employment	9.8	24.0	20.8	23.2	22.2	45.4	3.24	22
More and better-quality traditional medicines improvement	9.6	20.2	25.2	27.2	17.8	45.0	3.23	23
Religious, Cultural, and Historical uses	9.4	22.6	24.4	28.0	15.6	43.6	3.18	24
International recognition and pride	13.2	15.4	31.4	22.8	16.8	39.6	3.15	25
Wind break to prevent disaster	13.8	21.0	22.8	24.0	18.4	42.4	3.12	26
Improved supply and quality of firewood and charcoal production	11.0	23.6	28.0	21.8	15.6	37.4	3.07	27
Ecologically sensitive areas being protected and well managed	12.8	18.4	33.0	23.6	12.2	35.8	3.04	28

**Likert scale of satisfaction; 1=Very unsatisfied; 2=somewhat satisfied; 3=not sure; 4=somewhat satisfied; 5=strongly satisfied.

Table 3 above showed the various levels of satisfaction with the achievement of the expected important benefits of NGO operations in the various communities. The respondents were asked; given the expected benefit of NGOs activities in your

community development, what is your level of satisfaction on the Likert Scale of satisfaction; with 1=very unsatisfied; 2=somewhat satisfied; 3=not sure; 4=somewhat satisfied; 5=strongly satisfied. Given the nodes of variables to decide on satisfaction, the following were adjoined with a very high percentage of respondents. An increase in health awareness and better-quality health care had a high satisfaction rating with a mean of 3.95 and 3.81 respectively. This was evidence for instance in the NGO-ACDEP (Association of Church-based Development). This NGO in alliance with many donor partners had undertaken health screening and sensitisation projects in primary health care delivery. They had championed adolescent reproductive health activities in ten principal districts across the five northern regions. They had in collaboration with other faith-based organisations 'strengthened the capacity of 300 Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs)' in 100 rural communities in Northern Ghana towards promoting SDG 3 (good health and well-being). Their intermediary or implementing agency role led to a 'linkage between 700 (TMPs) traditional medicine practitioners' and 14 health facilities in the project catchment areas[26].

Improved access and quality of water ranked second with a mean of 3.90. WaterAid Ghana as part of the global campaign of 'Climate Change, Water and Me', are working to provide water to over 5.5 million Ghanaians without portable water mostly found in the north. World Vision International, Plan Ghana, Care International Ghana, and ActionAid Ghana with technical support from USAID, DFID, DANIDA, and CIDA have visible

[26] www.acdep.org accessed 15/03/2021

water projects in all five northern regions. The constancy of children's school attendance ranked fourth with a mean of 3.7 being 69.0%. The NGO 'Chance for Children' has helped reintegrate the youth into mainstream economic ventures through skills training and social investments. Also, SOS Village is educating the needy and orphans in Tamale and its catchment area. Over 379 youth and adults attended workshops on health education, child development and family planning held in Banvim and Cheshe communities in the Northern and Savannah Regions organised by 'Save the Children Ghana'. The NGOs whose advocacy included health care, access to clean drinking water and efforts to educate children in the various communities were rated satisfactorily.

Table 3 shows that efforts by NGOs to increase income-generating activities also had satisfactory ratings. These included better farmland management for increased food production which had a mean of 3.65, followed by shea nut/dawadawa tree protection with a mean of 3.56 and collective community action and unity scored a mean of 3.53 respectively. Presently, there are over twenty church-based agricultural projects in the five northern regions working in over 500 communities. They assisted more than 30,000 women in agricultural production with small-scale farming and irrigation facilities to sustain their livelihoods. Major funders for these projects include International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD), and Africa Development Bank (AfDB) through the Northern Rural Growth Program (NRFP).

In terms of capacity-building for income-generating activities, the mean score was 3.58. The Agribusiness Financial Services Project (ABFS), an intervention of ACDEP and funded by CORDAID of the Netherlands, is an example. This project has proven itself as a self-financing and self-sustaining institution working with the rural poor and enterprising smallholder entrepreneurs in the five northern regions. It works in the agricultural value-addition development chain activities and is now in the third project phase. These interventions by NGOs are believed to empower these communities to be self-sufficient and independent of any donor aid and thus rated satisfactorily. The community beneficiaries saw the capacity building for income-generating activities of NGOs as a private investment into individual lives. From the interview, most beneficiaries were of the view that these kinds of interventions empower them economically and reduce the urge to travel down south to seek menial jobs. A former aid worker stated:

"In Phase I, we were able to link up over 6,000 smallholder farmers (3,811 men and 2535 women) with 6 rural banks in Tamale, Yendi, Saboba, Bolga, Garu and Tumu"[27].

According to the ACDEP programme's journal, the total loan portfolio disbursed because of ABFS' credit facilitation increased from GH¢127,047 (€47,840) in 2008 to over GH¢382,000 (around €143,842) in 2010[28] . Most of the farmers were engaged in the maize, soya and sorghum, value chains of the ACDEP-ICCO-EU FAMAR Project. Even though some of the programmes and project advocacies of these NGOs working in the five

[27] Private Journal/logbook of J. Asitibasi-Don, March 12,2021(IQ) What was your role in ending poverty?
[28] www.acdep.org accessed 20th March 2021

researched regions improved the economic empowerment of their beneficiaries, their motivations are far-fetched due to their selective nature and the reduced capacity in eliminating poverty.

Interestingly, NGOs that are associated with climate change and environmentally sensitive issues were rated low even though they were very much concentrated in the regions. More and better improvement of quality traditional medicines was rated 45.0%, Wind breaks to prevent disaster scored 42.4% points and *ecologically sensitive areas being protected and well managed* scored 35.8%. These responses reflect that the beneficiaries of aid in areas of climate change vulnerabilities can choose economic prosperity over ecological gains. Also, some beneficiaries were undecided about choosing between economic prosperity and conservation.

Analysing beneficiaries' responses as part of a consequence of the NGOs production process allowed the researcher to go beyond the *beneficiaries in need* to the *beneficiaries being packaged as needy and poor*. It also signifies that gains are made in helping them under the pretext and contexts over which they have very little or no control. As Krause (2014, p.24) portrayed, these values are partly economic (funding from donors), and partly symbolic (activism for the poor and needy) by aid agencies. For the beneficiaries in these contexts, it is their economic and social well-being first, so a further investigation became necessary to ascertain whether communities can attribute community development to the presence and management of NGOs working among them. This was done by matching the missions of NGOs to actual project interventions (stated impact) in the communities.

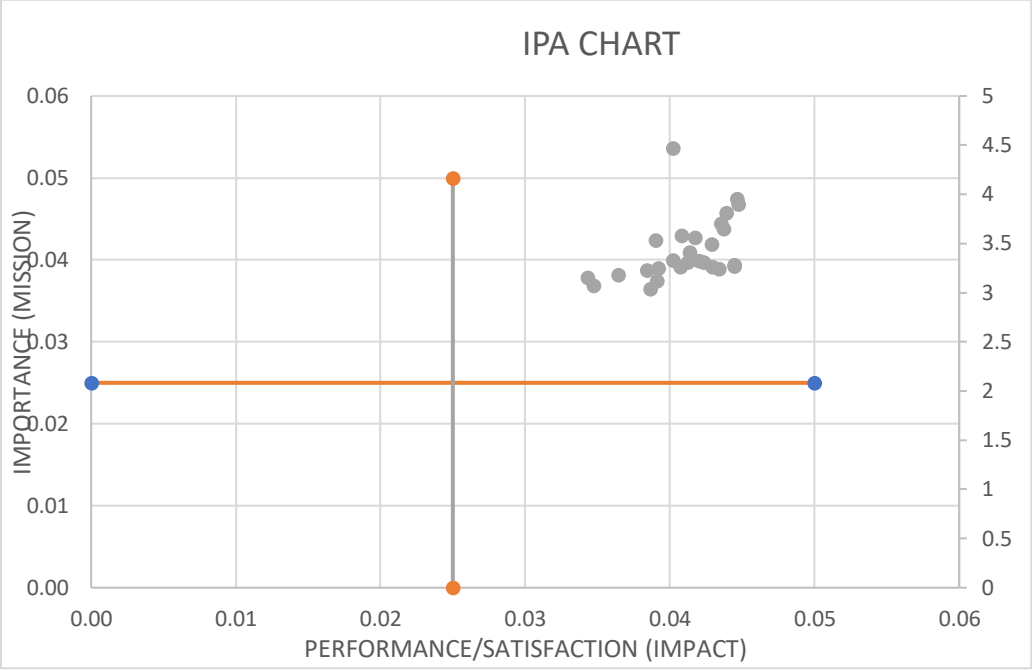
Beneficiaries were asked to assess them on a Likert Scale of strongly disagree (1), somewhat disagree (2), not sure (3), somewhat agree (4), and strongly agree (5).

4.6.4 The measure of NGOs' mission versus stated impacts in community development

It was essential to match up the importance (missions) of these NGOs' activities in the researched regions to their achievements (stated impacts), with an evaluation from the beneficiaries' perspective using the Importance-Performance Analysis (IPA). The IPA was applied to determine how satisfied people were with the introduction of interventions and or the quality-of-service delivery they received from NGOs. This analysis helps in prioritising resources based on the level of satisfaction people associate with a given project (Azzopardi & Nash, 2013; Eskildsen & Kristensen, 2006). The IPA was employed as it helped present an insight into the NGOs' stated mission through their interventions depending on the quarter of the quadrant in which the variables appeared. The use of the IPA was significant as a rating of the community's satisfaction furthers the agenda of community development through the effectiveness of donor aid and participation. It gave validity to the interventions and operations of NGOs for better and improved management. This is because most of the activities and advocacy projects of NGOs are intangible in the short run, which then presents several problems in the measure of the quality of service and impact and evaluates the importance of NGOs' vision statements overall in the long run.

In the Importance-Performance Analysis (IPA) on some of the activities of NGOs found in the communities of the five northern regions of Ghana, 29 identifiable variables which measured the level of satisfaction were picked from the researched region. These variables, directly and indirectly, evaluated the impacts of NGOs' operation in the four key sectors chosen. They include health, education, socio-economic and environment. Figure 5 shows the graph depicting the Importance-Performance Analysis.

Figure 5. Importance/Performance (mission/impact) analysis



The Figure 5 demonstrated the relationships between expected important benefits (missions) and the expected level of satisfaction (stated impacts) of donor aid through NGO activities. It shows a positive correlation between the importance and performance variables outcomes in the upper right quadrant, depicting *keep up the good work*. It illustrates that all the chosen variables' outcomes are all concentrated in the probable areas of satisfaction (high performance). The graph also revealed that individual outcomes were homogenous and of high importance. This was the case as the decision

for the type of project intervention was not dependent on the community's needs, but rather on what the NGOs received funding for and the absence of intervention from the government meant the NGOs were the only choice. The graph further emphasised the importance of the *presence* of NGOs in the five northern regions as well as the justification for how best they achieve their mission through donor funding.

The need to understand beneficiaries' satisfaction with NGOs' activities is key to ensuring long-term sustainability and management of the structural problems of underdevelopment of the researched region. The structural problems include endemic poverty and climate change vulnerabilities which most NGOs working in the regions are helping to resolve. This in effect represented their collective vision statements because NGOs have become an integral part of these communities and have the vulnerability profiles of almost all of them. However, their lack of mandate and capacity makes them inadequate to resolve the structural cause of these communities' underdevelopment.

The many NGOs working in these five northern regions have all developed and supported community development through engagement with the people and in most cases have managed the difficulties associated with the different forms of poverty within some of these communities. They are often the first communities would call for help before government agencies. The promptness of the response to most communities' plights has given NGOs both opportunities and threats in the management of community development. To further understand some of these complexities and assist NGOs in

resolving them, the levels of community development attributed to NGOs' presence, management, and achievement were investigated. This was done by matching the project interventions of different NGOs (stated impact) in the communities and asking beneficiaries to assess their management and achievements based on an assigned node of agreements. Using Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA), the researcher computed the groupings, and how the variables showed their underlying variation in the structure of intervention delivery in the data. This was to show the strength of the relationship between each factor (NGOs' collective vision anchored on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)) interventions and the observed outcomes (stated impacts). These provided insight into the NGOs' interventions as regards the communities' satisfaction.

Our first step in the analysis of the factor loadings was the computation of the correlation coefficients. This depicted the statistical interactions between the 24 variables employed for the factor groupings (i.e., 1 to 24) as shown in the correlation matrix in **Table *4*** below. See appendix 3 factor loading presented.

Table 4. Correlation matrix of 24 variables loading for community development

Correlation Matrix	Increased health awareness v1	More and better-quality health care v2	More health post construction materials v3	More and better-quality traditional medicines improvement v4	Shea nut/dawadawa tree protection v5	Improved water access and quality v6	Improved supply and quality of firewood and charcoal production v7	Better farmlands management for increased food production	Reduced Bush Fires v9	Irrigation farming (Dry Season Farming) v10	Wind break to prevent disaster v11	Reduced chemical contamination of water during farming v12	Ecologically sensitive areas being protected and well managed v13	Religious, Cultural, and Historical uses v14	Micro loan facilities v15	International recognition and pride v16	Access to credit/financial assistance v17	Constancy of kids school attendance v18	Educational Scholarships v19	Increased income v20	Increased employment v21	Capacity building and training in income generating	Improved Social Infrastructure v23	Collective community action and unity v24
Increased health awareness v1	1.000	.661	.541	.337	.236	.257	.211	.473	.247	.324	.367	.319	.176	.176	.276	.165	.290	.349	.252	.312	.371	.274	.333	.326
More and better-quality health care v2	.661	1.000	.508	.344	.221	.300	.252	.455	.287	.235	.335	.301	.267	.194	.247	.179	.298	.345	.244	.328	.309	.341	.347	.350
More health post construction materials	.541	.508	1.000	.358	.167	.208	.205	.357	.285	.298	.392	.413	.289	.225	.250	.200	.306	.320	.292	.307	.403	.360	.474	.351
More and better-quality traditional medicines improvement v4	.337	.344	.358	1.000	.301	.092	.393	.194	.410	.362	.428	.280	.323	.349	.222	.272	.253	.167	.299	.393	.339	.326	.262	.288
Shea nut/dawadawa tree protection v5	.236	.221	.167	.301	1.000	.440	.334	.238	.496	.339	.326	.208	.281	.296	.189	.300	.167	.139	.255	.288	.241	.189	.133	.172
Improved water access and quality v6	.257	.300	.208	.092	.440	1.000	.281	.372	.257	.316	.155	.217	.129	.205	.138	.171	.186	.233	.227	.222	.175	.142	.224	.167
Improved supply and quality of firewood and charcoal production v7	.211	.252	.205	.393	.334	.281	1.000	.284	.357	.364	.290	.271	.318	.350	.096	.285	.129	.162	.243	.278	.256	.179	.130	.213
Better farmlands management for increased food production v8	.473	.455	.357	.194	.238	.372	.284	1.000	.307	.251	.243	.327	.242	.212	.267	.097	.290	.323	.259	.265	.345	.224	.289	.276
Reduced Bush Fires v9	.247	.287	.285	.410	.496	.257	.357	.307	1.000	.490	.510	.382	.485	.364	.198	.301	.283	.252	.292	.372	.327	.223	.205	.214
Irrigation farming (Dry Season Farming) v10	.324	.235	.298	.362	.339	.316	.364	.251	.490	1.000	.481	.427	.340	.329	.190	.192	.291	.204	.335	.333	.334	.182	.221	.209
Wind break to prevent disaster v11	.367	.335	.392	.428	.326	.155	.290	.243	.510	.481	1.000	.442	.446	.323	.212	.312	.272	.211	.384	.462	.418	.287	.315	.243
Reduced chemical contamination of water during farming v12	.319	.301	.413	.280	.208	.217	.271	.327	.382	.427	.442	1.000	.529	.330	.228	.220	.253	.208	.311	.354	.381	.249	.273	.244
Ecologically sensitive areas being protected and well managed v13	.176	.267	.289	.323	.281	.129	.318	.242	.485	.340	.446	.529	1.000	.461	.165	.366	.212	.192	.276	.287	.297	.214	.199	.168
Religious, Cultural, and Historical uses	.176	.194	.225	.349	.296	.205	.350	.212	.364	.329	.323	.330	.461	1.000	.151	.234	.164	.162	.211	.309	.222	.158	.221	.178
Micro loan facilities	.276	.247	.250	.222	.189	.138	.096	.267	.198	.190	.212	.228	.165	.151	1.000	.356	.625	.324	.320	.359	.345	.253	.290	.292
International recognition and pride	.165	.179	.200	.272	.300	.171	.285	.097	.301	.192	.312	.220	.366	.234	.356	1.000	.377	.301	.296	.341	.291	.269	.234	.119
Access to credit/financial	.290	.298	.306	.253	.167	.186	.129	.290	.283	.291	.272	.253	.212	.164	.625	.377	1.000	.395	.422	.461	.403	.362	.358	.331
Constancy of kids school attendance v18	.349	.345	.320	.167	.139	.233	.162	.323	.252	.204	.211	.208	.192	.162	.324	.301	.395	1.000	.356	.404	.438	.369	.371	.401
Educational Scholarships v19	.252	.244	.292	.299	.255	.227	.243	.259	.292	.335	.384	.311	.276	.211	.320	.296	.422	.356	1.000	.605	.613	.369	.346	.307
Increased income v20	.312	.328	.307	.393	.288	.222	.278	.265	.372	.333	.462	.354	.287	.309	.359	.341	.461	.404	.605	1.000	.584	.486	.345	.342
Increased employment v21	.371	.309	.403	.339	.241	.175	.256	.345	.327	.334	.418	.381	.297	.222	.345	.291	.403	.438	.613	.584	1.000	.461	.426	.356
Capacity building and training in income generating enterprises v22	.274	.341	.360	.326	.189	.142	.179	.224	.223	.182	.287	.249	.214	.158	.253	.269	.362	.369	.369	.486	.461	1.000	.416	.520
Improved Social Infrastructure v23	.333	.347	.474	.262	.133	.224	.130	.289	.205	.221	.315	.273	.199	.221	.290	.234	.358	.371	.346	.345	.426	.416	1.000	.520
Collective community action and unity v24	.326	.350	.351	.288	.172	.167	.213	.276	.214	.209	.243	.244	.168	.178	.292	.119	.331	.401	.307	.342	.356	.520	.520	1.000

The first correlation coefficient matrix is the indicator that computed the linear connections between the 24 measurable variables of community development. The conclusions related to this statistical interaction helped to emphasise the nature of the measurable intervention classification structure. This in turn strengthens the investigated variables at the empirical level. The qualitative data analytic method of the adapted grounded theory was equally used to assist in the interpretations of the respondents' opinions on the stated impacts (NGO missions) of their interventions (NGO collective visions).

A scrutiny of the coefficients of correlation shows the variation, pattern, and location of the responses to the surveyed constructs by the participating communities. Table 5 below showed 24 variables that appeared to measure 5 underlying factors. This is because only the first 5 components have an eigen value of at least 1. Largely, variables (**v13, v11, v9, v12, v14, v10,** and **v4**) displayed high positive values in the structure in terms of environmental advocacy as the first component and were labelled as such. Variables (**v22, v24, v21, v20, v23, v19,** and **v18**) indicated high positive values denoting community empowerment, representing the second-factor components. On the other hand, variables (**v1, v2, v3,** and **v8**) exhibited high positive values in the structure signifying good health and well-being for the third-factor components. The fourth component factor registered high positive values for the variable (**v15, v17,** and **v16**) posturing towards economic growth. The fifth and final component factor had variables (**v6, v5,** and **v7**) and they corresponded to clean water and affordable energy.

The interesting pattern in how the participants responded to the statements suggests some underlying context which was disclosed through the application of the Factor Analytical Method. For instance, the fifth component had the Likert Scale statement couched in the words "shea and dawadawa tree protection" (**v5**) associated with the statement "improved supply and quality of firewood (**v7**). After the rotation method using the Varimax and Kaiser normalisation process, the variable (**v5)** was the only variable that was significant in two components, that is 1 and 5. This was because some NGOs were campaigning or advocating for community members to stop cutting down

dawadawa and shea trees for firewood during the dry season. In some cases, community members were often paid for not cutting these (economic) trees on their farms. It is fair to say component 1, associated with environmental advocacy was championing climate action which is SDG goal 12. Also, some NGOs in creating awareness of the ecological benefits of managing the forest reserve and wildlife have won the trust of some communities along the national wildlife reserve. They have educated the communities about mutual responsibility and information sharing which has led to a stronger commitment from the managers of the game reserve and the community members. This has also promoted the cordial cohabitation of humans and wildlife in some of these communities along the fringes of the game reserve in the Savannah Region of Ghana.

Component factors 2 and 4 focused on community empowerment supported SDG goal 8 and affirms decent work and micro-level economic growth. The variable within these components included capacity building and training for income-generating activities (**v7)**, associating with microloan facilities **(v15)**. Component 3 advocated for SDG goal 3, which is good health and well-being. This showed that the factor components and their underlying constructs influenced all the sets of responses. The 24 variables under consideration do not exist in total isolation or are statistically independent, however, they, in turn, proved the relationship that exists amongst themselves.

The collective vision statements of NGOs working in the five northern regions of Ghana are achieved through the collective will of the communities to engage. These

communities welcome most NGO activities. The factor loading coefficients affirmed this through the factor groupings. It is interesting to note that the variables associated with education were very prominent as those associated with community empowerment and capacity building. This was the case as these variables related to individual social and economic investments. Many educational-related NGOs in the five northern regions promote children and particularly girl-child education. Technical and vocational training sponsorships and educational scholarships from some NGOs have however helped many girls in the five northern regions to acquire education and be self-sufficient. For instance, NGO CAMFED is increasingly becoming a household name in sponsoring girl-child education from the primary to the tertiary level. Many young and working females claimed to have had some help from CAMFED and Mastercard partner NGOs. School enrolment at the basic level was very high in almost all the communities visited. Even though the infrastructure, teaching and learning aids were woefully inadequate.

Table 5.The five-factor loading of the rotated component matrix

24 Variables loadings	Component 1	2	3	4	5
Ecologically sensitive areas being protected and well managed **V13**	.755				
Wind break to prevent disaster **V11**	.677				
Reduced Bush Fires **V9**	.644				.337
Reduced chemical contamination of water during farming **V12**	.620		.336		
Religious, Cultural, and Historical uses **V14**	.601				
Irrigation farming (Dry Season Farming) **V10**	.568				
More and better-quality traditional medicines improvement **V4**	.561	.350			
Capacity building and training in income generating enterprises **V22**		.752			
Collective community action and unity **V24**		.694			
Increased employment **V21**	.302	.617			
Increased income **V20**	.348	.604		.343	
Improved Social Infrastructure **V23**		.593	.361		
Educational Scholarships **V19**		.578		.348	
Constancy of kids school attendance **V18**		.468		.372	
Increased health awareness **V1**			.773		
More and better- quality health care **V2**			.740		
More health post construction materials **V3**	.320	.316	.643		
Better farmlands management for increased food production **V8**			.620		.348
Micro loan facilities **V15**				.792	
Access to credit/financial assistance **V17**				.753	
International recognition and pride V**16**	.353			.566	
Improved water access and quality **V6**					.779
Shea nut/dawadawa tree protection **V5**	.352				.692
Improved supply and quality of firewood and charcoal production **V7**	.464				.466

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
a. Rotation converged in 8 iterations.

4.7 Reflection and conclusion

Donor aid and their implementing agencies in recent years have invoked the prospects and challenges associated with poverty reduction through community development. Many debates have degenerated into 'aid work and aid does not work'. This research

aimed at evaluating the impact of NGO activities in the five northern regions of Ghana based on their mission (projects) and their collective vision statements anchored on the SDGs. The objective was to understand the underlining practices of project implementation of NGOs within these communities in northern Ghana, where they seemed concentrated. This research contributed to the debate on aid effectiveness by focusing on the mission, vision, and stated impacts of donor aid projects in the beneficiary communities.

Almsgiving or benevolence within the five northern regions is seen as a socio-cultural phenomenon and has sustained the continuous growth and welcome of almost all NGOs operating in the communities. This has moderated the NGOs to develop and support a trans-local flow of ideas for community development through their participatory approach. It has unenviably created a niche for NGOs to become key stakeholders in their area of operations and most cases has helped manage the complexities of rural development within some of these communities. The study found several interesting causalities in the awareness and performance of NGOs working in various communities. It also distinguished the difference between project decision-making by NGOs and that proposed by beneficiary communities. The study affirmed the expected important benefits of NGO operations and perceived outcomes (satisfaction) independently within these communities.

An overwhelming majority of people living in the five northern regions of Ghana are collectively aware of the presence and performance of donor aid through NGO activities. Many beneficiaries of aid often see NGOs as the most reliable in sharp contrast to government agencies. Thus, community members attest to the good works of NGOs. As all human institutions are imperfect, NGOs also have flaws. Project decision-making by NGOs is characterised by the available funding and donor interest while the beneficiary communities are influenced by the zeal of stakeholders' acceptance and community participation. So far, the operations of some NGOs in the five northern regions of Ghana have been plagued with the principles of project implementation and donors' interest. This is because these NGOs have fashion themselves as fund chasers through their proposal writing and fund-raising activities to remain relevant other than to follow through with their mission. This has given the impression in some communities that commitments to NGO project interventions are often short-lived and based on donor interests. This was evidenced particularly in the provision of portable drinking water.

The five northern regions are bedevilled with poor and in most cases, no drinking water. NGOs through multi and bilateral cooperation funded most water projects in these communities, yet the problem persists. During the community mapping, it was observed that several water-generating reservoirs and pump stations with broken-down pumps were in the communities. Information gathered was that these pumps were imported and the cost of purchase for replacement and maintenance was more than the communities could afford. Also, different NGOs used different pumps and the variations in the pumps

depicted the specificity of the donor country's product. In another community, the reservoir was constructed in the rainy season when water was readily available but accessing water in the dry season became a challenge due to the dryness of the wells.

Although the impact of these NGOs was felt at the time and completion of these projects, they are often short-lived. This has created the impression in some communities that once an NGO is done and gone, another would be on its way. The evidence of some NGO activities in the communities visited was that some projects run concurrently. These implied the stakeholders in these communities were expected to attend two or more of these programmes most times at the same time. This implied the community member choose and pick which programme to attend based on the community participation fee being given. These engagements were making some key stakeholders lose interest in some ongoing projects. The process was causing some beneficiary stress in some communities and for others, fostering signs of aid dependency. This has caused some disaffection for some NGOs working in these communities leading to total mistrust and a lack of commitment to taking part in some NGOs' activities. In some communities in the Bunkpurugu Yonyon District of the Northern Region, some indigenes were of the view that NGOs are in their community to take advantage of them.

One respondent remarked:

"…my participation in NGO projects must earn me money directly… else am not dancing"![29]

[29] Focus Group Discussion, Mma Bawa Lamisi, Bunkpurugu-Yonyon, 18th May 2020 Are NGOs helpful to you

Another beneficiary in the community was equally of the view that:

"…Donors give us aid, but NGOs misappropriate the funds as they seek to take pictures of us"!![30].

This was affirmed by a notion created by some NGOs that, 'rural destitution is easy to justify to donors for funding, but puzzling to resolve among the poor'. This impression is created because some NGOs working to alleviate poverty are wasteful and extravagant. In some communities in the West Mamprusi District of the North East Region, there were several uncompleted NGO projects in the communities. Also, the NGOs who came to the community to undertake health sensitisation programmes were asked by the community to help with a health post, often referred to as Community Health Planning Services (CHPS) compound. After the project began, the community was to supply labour, but the timing of the project coincided with the farming season which meant their livelihood was at stake. Another NGO was in the community with seedlings and was prepared to help the community members with best farm practices. So, the health-related NGO did not get the commitment from the community. The health project was abandoned as the building materials for the project was purchased and left at the mercy of the weather.

It is imperative and essential that NGOs in undertaking and championing development projects in these researched regions must confront the socio-economic structures of poverty. This must include understanding the distinctive cultural identity and the politics in each region. If their activism in rural communities is to lead to progressive,

[30] Focus Group Discussion, Mr. Abubakar Sumaila, Bunkpurugu-Yonyon, 18th May 2020, Are NGOs helpful to you?

transformative, and valuable outcomes; these actors need to identify and appreciate the effectiveness of commitment and cooperation to reduce the level of beneficiary stress. This should be done by creating social and economic openings that empower the local communities within which they work and operate.

The current guidepost to most NGOs' vision statements is fastened to the standards of the SDGs. This nevertheless makes their mission statement changeable by the demands and dictates of donor funding. There is no overwhelming evidence to show that NGOs and donor aid are working to bridge the development gap between the relatively well-endowed south and the five northern regions of Ghana given this research undertaken. The elusive aid culture has left more indigenes of these regions relatively poorer and debt laden. It has also rendered governments visionless in their core mandates and responsibility, making the region less attractive for private investment. This has caused an increase in civil unrest in the regions making them volatile for the activities of political parties and their bandits. Whatever the weakness and strengths of NGO activities were in these regions, this thesis further investigated whether there are duplication and fragmentation of donor aid efforts and shared recommended solutions going forward.

CHAPTER 5: AID FRAGMENTATION AND PROJECT DUPLICATION

5.0 General Introduction

This chapter illustrates the many replicated donor-sponsored development projects in selected beneficiary communities' whiles highlighting the fragmentation of different donor efforts in bridging the North-South divide in Ghana. The chapter theorises on the observed phenomena associated with aid ineffectiveness at the micro level.

5.1 Introduction

Scrutinising the aid-growth relationship is still a focal area in development financing as evidence keeps mounting for the past five decades. Although methodological independence varies, the third sector has made efforts through empirical observations to analyse the effectiveness of aid in promoting development. Most research findings range from 'aid works' to 'aid does not work.' Yet in most scholarly instances, aid works only under certain conditions as stipulated by (Mekasha & Tarp, 2019). Affirming this, Burnside and Dollar (1997) concluded with an in-depth analysis that; "foreign aid spurs growth in developing economies that practice sound policies, and this further reduces the country's poverty index". Even though this may be consistent with some academic literature, the measure of 'sound policy' and for that matter 'sound economic policy' is equally generating debates. This is because the country-specifics and policy road maps varied in each aid receiving economies, as well as the flip-flopping from one policy diagnostics to another.

The power of country affiliations through colonial ties, conditionality and the influence of political associations nonetheless were the significant issues registered with aid ineffectiveness. The ambiguities associated with project implementation phases were equally exploited by the aid recipient governments as well (Hamid & Jahan, 2020; Whitfield & Fraser, 2009). This led to the introduction of benchmarks and trenches to measure aid effectiveness. However, the economic and governance conditionalities introduced through the Structural Adjustments Programmes (SAP) in the 1980s and Economic Recovery programs (ERP) in the 1990s produced mass poverty yet again in most developing countries.

By the turn of the twenty-first century, the donor aid business frantically needed a new storyline. This was not to imply that there was any substantial decrease in the disproportionate wave of economic and political influence that fortified the hitherto unsatisfactory aid regimes. Rather, it was to make international NGOs from donor countries the sole drivers of rural community development in the host countries. There was a marked reorientation and redirection of the 'aid dogmatisms' towards poverty reduction. This was to be done through the processes of partnership with the host countries' community participation by the beneficiaries, and utmost facilitation by the developmental non-governmental or non-profit agencies. These contemporary aid regimes were distinct by the donor country's philosophy and pushy projects organised through most bilateral agreements. Championed by the donor country developmental

agencies, a principal characteristic of the new roadmap for foreign aid was agreed upon by all to be progressively more, or entirely, 'poverty oriented.'

The vague poverty-focus goal initially was clouded with media hype and motion pictures of dehumanising imagery of poverty. The entire process was then given the legitimate nod by the UN General Assembly, which in 2000 approved the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This was a framework designed for thinking about international development (Mawdsley, 2017; McEwan & Mawdsley, 2012). These projects were meant for the revolutionary make-over of the poor African and Asian communities. Thus, the period from 2000 to 2006 became known as 'the Partnership Era with a firmer consensus on poverty reduction' (Agénor & Aizenman, 2010; Becker, 2019).

The focus on partnership and participation appeared at the centre of a profound authority contest experienced by donor funds in the 1990s, between the donor and recipient countries. This later became the moral compass to redirect and rejuvenate the foreign aid business in the period since then. This approach was equally intended to reverse the continuous decline in the volumes of aid flows to recipient economies by justifying to the donor aid countries its impact in terms of 'rural community development.' Here, bilateral agreements meant the altering of the aid connection as a partnership between donors and recipient governments, with their people's poverty as a focus. In return, international developmental agencies would support more capital mobilisation for rural projects and human resources development for human rights advocacies. These international Non-

Governmental Organisations (INGOs) would improve the facilitation and coordination of aid by standing for the donor country's interest in supporting domestically owned development strategies of the host country (Becker, 2019; Fisher, 1997). In response to achieving consistency between their funding and projects which will then affect these developing countries, the developmental agencies would monitor and evaluate these growth indices. The recipient governments were expected in return, to commit strictly to poverty reduction goals with good governance frameworks and cooperation.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), now Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) became the poverty-reduction strategies that gave bilateral and multilateral aid agencies a means to revive and justify the validity of their donor projects in poorer countries. The crusade built around the SDGs was motivated by a wide range of mouth-watering developmental strategies and associated fundraising events of these many international Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs) and their donor-driven interventions. These third-sector players through the development of their international relations agencies like USAID, DFID, CIDA, DANIDA, and JiCA and others steadily laid out specific social and microeconomic policy programmes. Most of these agencies were often backed by the UN special agencies for growth and development. Their social and economic intervention programmes primarily included increasing social spending in primary health care, basic education provision, access to clean water, provision of micro-credit facilities and women empowerment. These peculiar focuses on basic social interventions were in-mark responses to the high social and economic costs of the earlier

growth policies of the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and their unsatisfactory impact on the poorer communities of the recipient countries.

A growing number of donor countries through their international development agencies showed increasing commitment to reverse the fall in foreign aid contributions and to achieve targets that affect the rural poor. The poverty-laden agenda of the MDGs/SDGs brought renewed confidence among aid practitioners in all fields. It further brought the political humanitarian rhetoric of donor governments in partnership with developing countries and the work of INGOs and their local counterparts, with the beneficiary communities much closer.

Following the adoption of the MDGs in the 2000s, and the shift to the SDGs in 2015, donor countries have channelled most of their support to social and environmental sectors. These included education, health, advocacy, and climate change as well as poverty-related interventions of recipient countries. With these multiple goals, aid effectiveness needed to go beyond assessing the role of donor aid on economic development, to examine its impact from the beneficiary perspective. Even though these new development aid theorists have found solid manifestation in the works of several new donor agencies, their processes of project interventions have since been and remained with "the same old recipients of aid": The poor beneficiary communities. If this is not done, the MDGs/ SDGs would in themselves simply be, a desecration of what could have been done through the industrial revolution in Africa as opposed to the mere belief that 'aid would help in the reduction of poverty amongst the poor.' The first evidence

presented here is not the full story of aid ineffectiveness in Ghana, but an initiation and a contribution to the process.

Advocating for economic growth is often not the central and direct aim of any donor-funded projects, and neither should it be. The narrative on donor aid projects entails principally a discussion between academics in donor countries and their international aid practitioners. Many key debates were authored by development theorists who advocate how effective aid should be theoretically, and the empirical contributions often written by aid practitioners authorised and paid for by the donors. Almost often, all are directed toward recognising 'the best practices' that would help the poor and the rural community at large. As a result of these discussions, donor aid and developmental projects have been evaluated mainly from the perspective of donors, concentrating on the approaches they should approve to safeguard their foreign policy predispositions. The sources of influence for host governments, their beneficiary perspectives, and the negotiating schemes of the project implementers (NGOs) have been mostly neglected. Also, there is an urgent need to supplement the existing empirical evidence on developmental aid projects with in-country-specific stories of successes and failures, which are often neglected viewpoints in the debate surrounding aid effectiveness. Our main aim is to redress this imbalance.

5.2 Donor influence in Ghana

Being the first Sub-Saharan country to gain independence, Ghana became the 'policy charm' of the West in terms of collaboration towards liberalised economic growth and

development. This was because, after gaining political independence, the country plummeted into a deep recession, but the World Bank and IMF intervened with policies from 1980 to the 2000s. As the country began its reorientation towards the *laissez-faire* economy, the policy redirection led to the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programmes of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in the late 1970s. The policy bearing was thought to lead economic and financial stabilisation of the economy to promote growth. With this came a consequential affirmative influence on the peoples' development. While growth output in terms of production gradually declined, there was a steady increase in population. As world prices drove Ghana's export commodity volumes and values down, foreign exchange constraints stagnated the importation of essential commodities onto the Ghanaian markets. Stagflation became a common phenomenon leading to the devaluation of the local currency. This began the gradual socio-economic decline of the economy.

Following the structural change of the economy through the reorganisation of some state institutions' functions to the private sector through the removal of subsidies, public sector workers faced job cuts, reposting, and wage reduction. The agriculture and service sectors were the hardest hit. Given that Ghana had a huge part of its population in the informal economy of agriculture and services, massive poverty and deprivation became the order of the economy. The SAP policies meant a mechanical rejuvenation of the economic fundamentals while the peoples' welfare in terms of poverty and deprivation was neglected. This led to calls by international nongovernmental organisations to put a

"human face" to the structural policies of growth and development (Sowa, 2002). The responses were equally fast-tracked when Ghana began to experience massive drought with bush fires, a natural occurrence, and the repatriation of its citizenry from neighbouring Nigeria through the Aliens Compliance Order. A humanitarian-engineered spectacle was invoked.

The exhibited internal financial and structural weakness coupled with the external trade shocks emanating from the over-reliance on monocrops like cocoa caused credit limitations. Whiles the absence of value addition to other export commodities like gold and timber led to domestic economic mismanagement (Sowa & CEPA, 2002). The overreliance on cocoa and the undiversified agricultural productivity meant the misuse of the limited import cover for the importation of essential non-Ghanaian manufactured products. Coupled with the devalued local currency, and the pricing of imported goods in dollars, food and essential commodities became expensive. These led to the reduction in volumes of the Ghanaian food basket. United in this grief was the level of political capriciousness the country was experiencing. The immediate consequence of the economic decline was the overwhelming poverty in both the urban and rural countryside. The hardest hits were the informal sectors of agriculture and rural dwellers. Many NGOs and NPOs trumped the shores of Ghana to offer relief and humanitarian aid. The plight of the savannah regions with drought and some self-inflicted bush fires made the NGOs move swiftly to Tamale to help the upper regions.

By the first quarter of 1983, the Government embraced another IMF-World Bank-supported policy called the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) to curtail the deterioration in the Ghanaian Economy (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000). This policy was to reinforce the structural macroeconomic changes that the economy faced, neglecting the social and humanitarian hardships once again. The INGOs and bilateral agencies in the country offered numerous relief programmes that had a poverty reduction focus and humanitarian reliefs in Ghana at the same time. As the technocrats were fixated on the political and economic institutional reforms, the International NGOs were collaborating with the local NGOs in dealing with the humanitarian crisis. This collaboration began gaining the trust of the people and the northern project was birthed. This was the sole economic and social drive of the third sector to salvage people in poverty and economic deprivation at the expense of the state and market.

The PAMSCAD project for instance, was the first-ever agenda explicitly intended to protect the vulnerable and deprived in Ghanaian society from the hostile concerns of the policy adjustment processes (Addo, 2017). The concerns about the impact of the policies were initially tabled during the 1985 Consultative Group meeting. A year afterwards a special 'social sector donors' meeting was organised and chaired by the World Bank. This was after the research conducted in Ghana by another multilateral agency (UNICEF) in collaboration with other NGOs. The government of Ghana was officially and jointly made to lead the presentation of PAMSCAD to the Consultative Group Meeting held in Paris in 1987 (Donkor, 2002). After thorough deliberation and contribution from the many

bilateral and developmental agencies present in Ghana, the final approved programme was formulated by a multi-agency team spearheaded by the World Bank itself. This became the first-ever 'social-sponsored-policy model' of the World Bank (Sowa, 2002). It had the much-needed financial muscles with world-acclaimed development experts, leading the implementation processes, and staff of the IMF-WB as monitors and evaluators.

PAMSCAD and the many other World Bank-sponsored projects that followed were often not part of the initial policy adjustments agenda, nor were they designed into any set of economic policy implementations. Rather they were more of an afterthought. Projects and programmes assessment and evaluation were usually added on when the international developmental agencies became concerned about the social and humanitarian costs. These were as a result of the many different social and economic policy admonitions and subsequent alterations. For instance, in the case of PAMSCAD, a total of $84 million was to be spent over two years between 1988-89; with most of it as tied and technical aid (Donkor, 2002; Sowa, 2002). The initial plan of the programme was designed to cover twenty-three different projects in five principal areas across the country but most importantly, places hardest hit. These were the five savannah regions and parts of the Volta Region. The projects included were but were not limited to education, the basic need for vulnerable persons, rural community initiatives, employment generation and actions to help the redeployed.

However, by March 1990, only eight out of the twenty-three projects were considered successful. The mining sectors had a boost with employment as small-scale mining of gold and diamond was encouraged. Over one million children between the ages 6 and 12 were dewormed and most deployed adults went into other skill training like baking, tailoring and blacksmithing (Cornia, 2001). Agriculture was believed to have the greatest share of the programme funds. Agricultural reorienting schemes and credit facilities for peasant farmers through farmer associations in the savannah regions (URADEP) and Volta Region (VORRADEP) had been financed and provided with equipment (Yaro, 2013). Much attention was given to the northern regions because of the pronounced poverty, deprivation, and the presence of vulnerable people. Here again, 'the food-for-work project' in Northern Ghana under the sponsorship of the Adventist Development Relief Agency (ADRA) a religious-based NGO had helped about 2,500 people (Atampugre, 1997; Sowa, 2002).

Despite the ten mobile district planning teams that had been established to be responsible for the implementation and monitoring of PAMSCAD projects, very few were dedicated. The majority were the underpaid public sector staff and local elites taking control of the local NGOs in partnership with some self-style philanthropists. These groups who were well paid for the projects were also in charge of the projects for the long stand consolidation of the decentralised implementation of the social sector programmes. As the PAMSCAD secretariat closed practically after 3years of operation, there were still programmes running in most districts. These programmes became the responsibilities of

the implementing agencies who did not have the full mandate and financial authority, and challenges arose alongside.

The lack of logistical support from the donor partners to most farmer organisations meant a **lack of ownership and mistrust** in the accomplishments and future of the projects. The cumbersome and stringent accounting measures to follow in accessing the little available funds meant the projects could not be **sustained**. More so the sluggish disbursement of the funds meant the projects could not be **accounted for** on time, but the wages of the officials were paid, nonetheless. The absence of permanent staff to check the progress of these projects meant the utmost disregard for accountability, ownership, continuity, and institutional memory. In some instances, enormous amounts of money were often given to end up some programmes in the shortest possible time. This led to bogus procurement of logistics, disbursement, and quick disposal of project equipment often to be acquired by known persons to the originations.

Besides all these challenges, close to 70% of donor funding went into monitoring and evaluation of such projects, making it a lucrative business for some. For example, with the end of PAMSCAD by early 1990, an instigated multi-donor evaluation process including a high-powered delegation from the World Bank and IMF was undertaken. They found that PAMSCAD had not shown substantial support in alleviating 'the social costs of adjustment,' be it deprivation and poverty or the welfare of the people. It concluded that "nearly 80 percent of the funds for PAMSCAD went to the non-poor (redeployed public sector workers above the poverty line) while the vast majority (over

90 per cent) of the poor received no benefit at all" (Crawford & Abdulai, 2009). What was not mentioned was the total cost of the technical expatriates and the monitoring team.

Many projects and programmes followed suit and bear a marked resemblance to PAMSCAD. For instance, the National Poverty Reduction Programme (NPRP) was a programme followed by PAMSCAD with huge donor budget support. This processes and programmes equally encouraged other bilateral-community development projects to be dotted all over the five northern regions for the past four decades. The continuous presence of these projects and their 'half-headedness' in nature have compelled these regions to become aid-dependent in terms of their growth and development. Projects like the Village Infrastructure Projects (VIPs), a $ 60 million investment had laudable ideas but have all fizzled out with no tangible success stories to point to, and new ones keep coming after every 'monitoring and evaluation' process.

An aid dependency syndrome emanating from this vicious cycle of aid operation in these regions is producing donor fatigue among aid implementers and beneficiary stress among aid recipients. These aid ineffectiveness predicaments is generating the twin phenomena of "Red Herring and Poverty Dance." The Red Herring is the upshot of asymmetric information associated with a lack of ownership and accountability in the procedures and strategies of project implementation deployed by the NGOs. While poverty dance is the moral hazard connected with the lack of ownership, culpability and mistrust of project implementers shown by the beneficiary communities. These two

spectacles seem to be the obstacles clogging the productivity and efficacy wheels of aid operations in the five northern regions of Ghana.

5.3 Ghana's poverty and aid

The accumulated evidence of bilateral and multilateral aid in Ghana's history has had a positive impact on poverty, growth, and development during the past half a century. The recent economic slowdown since the COVID-19 pandemic has had a significant impact on production, households' welfare, and consumption in general. The poverty rate of the country was expected to have marginally risen by 0.5 percentage points to 25.5% in 2020 (Cooke et al., 2016; Wiemers, 2021). More precisely, this was due to the redirection and coordination of some aid towards donor countries' own remedies for the relief of the populations hardly hit by the COVID-19 pandemic. Despite these recent challenges, Ghana's socio-economic woes have deliberately persisted in terms of poverty since the 1960s through to recent times. This has been occasionally orchestrated in part by political instability and financial mismanagement, but largely due to policy misdirection towards infrastructural development.

By the turn of the millennium, Ghana's poverty indices dropped noticeably after the country set itself as one of the fastest-growing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa politically, with the commencement of the fourth republican constitution. It achieved a lower-middle-income per-capita threshold, 10 years after the establishment of the MDGs in 2000. But the inconsistent nature of its policy choice caused a lingering deficit in its

infrastructure development. This has stunted its population's welfare and growth compared to other countries within the sub-region. The mastermind of the problem has been the sporadic infrastructural development arrangements and its poor management. These have affected the people's welfare based on the socioeconomic and spatial inequality in the sub-region even though it has had massive attention in the growth and development nexus (Aryeetey & Baah-Boateng, 2015). The in-country spatial inequalities and socioeconomic disparity are often counted among the petitions that characterise the appeal for a financial bailout, donor technical support and funding. Wide discrepancies still exist in access to education, health care delivery, income, and other social services, not only among the regions but also between genders and locations. Its socio-economic inequality is quite pronounced between the north of the country compared to the south.

Geographical inequalities seem to have predated the colonial and post-independence eras but have increased steadily throughout the 1960s and 1970s. The determination of reversing the uneven development between the north and south was started by the first post-colonial government. This was done through firmed operational changes, calculated towards instituting manufacturing industries in the northern regions. While development pillars through the harnessing of natural resources were considered, agricultural productivity was given a mechanisation boast at least to kick start the setbacks. Large-scale production was instituted with the creation of irrigation dams, demonstration, and state farms. Manufacturing was given the necessary support with the establishment of factories close to their agro-resource base. This also included vigorous

human resource development to drive these production centres. Free education and the establishment of schools from primary to tertiary level were promoted in, and across the regions. Healthcare delivery was made affordable and accessible with the construction of hospitals and clinics. Massive road infrastructural connectivity was high on the development agenda by land and water. An inland port was built to help with the transportation of goods while food silos were built to manage postharvest losses between 1960 to the late 1970s.

These attempts at socio-economic growth through state-sponsored institutions and subsidies became worse for the economy. But particularly awful for the northern regions following the world oil crisis of the late 1970s (Aryeetey, 1990). The predicament hampered the conscious infrastructure development. Attempts at structural policy changes led to cost cutting, cost transfer, and cost recovery in the 1980s and 1990s of these state institutions and state-subsidised programmes. Some of these advances were nonetheless overturned with the introduction of the IMF-WB structural adjustment policies, through the financial diagnostics of these 'three-costs-components.' Agricultural productions that did not have export orientation were put on the back burner. This made the cash crop economy of the south further develop faster than the underprivileged north. The mineral-rich south had massive capital investment through trade policies directed towards the mines and their associated infrastructure. These investments became a pull factor for labour mobility from the northern regions to the mines, the cocoa plantations, and the timber sawmills. The production of the country's stable food in the form of rice,

wheat, millet, and maize which is associated with the northern economy was substituted with tonnes of importation. Also, animal husbandry set up to produce dairy and meat products at their infancy stages was given no protection but to cost recover.

In terms of education and health infrastructures, spending was reduced, logistical support withdrawn, and cost transferred to beneficiaries. The already precarious situation did not help these northern regions culturally in terms of gender equity and equality challenges. The situation became lethal when drought and bush fires hit the five northern regions in the early 1980s (Gariba, 1991; Gyimah-Boadi & Shepherd, 2005). This led to the quasi-approaches of more policy booster doses like ERP, PAMSCAD and many more IMF-sanctioned plans. The humanitarian situation became tougher after the inevitable failure of these policy recommendation across the countries that accepted it including Ghana. These led to the introduction of the MDGs to globally address these challenges at the turn of the century.

Ghana's ruling class by the 2000s expressed conscious assurance to embark on more economic prognoses. The projection was over the medium term for the country's fiscal consolidation to reduce spatial inequality. Its capability was believed to lay in regaining and sustaining economic growth through agricultural development. With hopes to expand and diversify the economy to a manufacturing base. This was so as the agriculture sector continued as the major source of inputs to the manufacturing sectors. And more precisely an imperative contributor to the country's export earnings. At least two-thirds of non-oil manufacturing are contingent on agriculture for raw materials as well as

agribusiness. This sector accounts for a key segment of all commercial activities and incomes of informal smallholder farmers. If professionally managed, the agribusiness sector has a large multiplier effect on employment, creating over 750 jobs for every added US$ 1 millions of output generated (Awunyo-Vitor & Sackey, 2018; Enu, 2014).

Conversely, the organisation of the agriculture economy continued to be subjugated by subsistent production with limited value-addition through agro-processing, as the prominence of the extractive subsectors continued to rise. With Ghana's oil discovery and exploration with further production reaching commercial quantities by 2010, the agro-sector progression had slowed down. The touted growth of the crude oil industry found in the south of the country further complemented the increasingly in-country infrastructural disparities. It further perpetuated ecological inequality, and entrenched poverty between the north and the south of Ghana.

The agriculture sector nonetheless experienced its lowest growth rate of 0.8% in more than two decades in 2011 (Group, 2018) and this continued to deteriorate with the fear of the country catching 'the Dutch disease'. Those regions and populations dependent on agriculture production consistently saw a decline in growth. The latter food price spikes in 2010–2011 overwhelmingly drove many vulnerable households in the northern parts of the country into abject poverty (Addai, Ng'ombe, & Temoso, 2022; Rosche, 2016).

Regardless of the incidence of poverty and the number of poor people per household found in the rural part of Ghana, the high concentration of poverty is noticeable in both rural and urban towns of the five northern regions (Cooke et al., 2016; Nsiah-Boateng et al., 2019). With presently approximately 2.2 million people and more living in abject poverty in these parts of the country, only a pocket of rural towns down south had the relative incidence of poverty. Between 2013 and 2017 alone, the five northern regions formed 67.2% of households in poverty in Ghana complicated in part, by population growth and food insecurity (Addai et al., 2022; GSS, 2018). With the demarcation of these regions from three to five to enhance development, the current Northern Region is perceived to have the largest variation in population. It secured an almost 50% rise in its population growth as the 2010 census revealed. The two other regions that made up the 'then Northern Region in 2010, now North-East and Savannah Regions, had the second and third largest inter-census increases of 41.7% and 38.4% of the population respectively between 2010 and 2020 (Tsiboe, 2022).

The high concentration of destitution in the country is increasingly found in the north-western part of Ghana (the Upper West Region) than in any district in the southern parts. The highest poverty rate of 70.7% was recorded as the regional average for the Upper West; with some districts like Wa West, recording 92.4%, Wa East at 83.8% and Sissala West having 81% (GSS, 2018). These three districts equally recorded the highest depth of poverty in the country as well. In terms of poverty intensity, many poor people were found in the northern districts of East Gonja at 84.2%, followed by Bole at 79.9% and

Kpandai recording 76.9%. These were more than any districts envisaged in the southern part of the country as affirmed by (Abdulai, 2017).

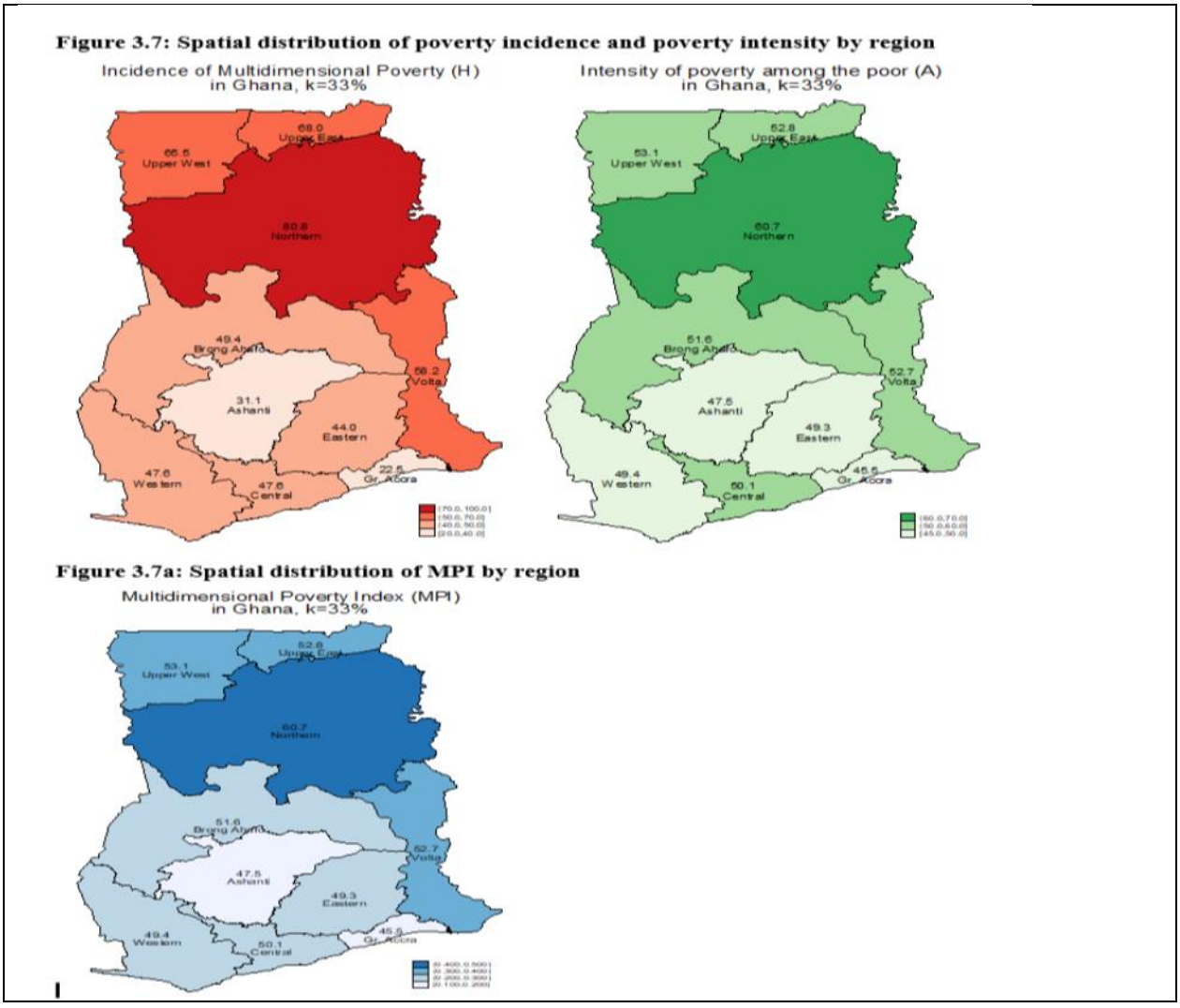
Even though inequality exists across the country and follows no pattern, female-headed households in communities in the northern parts of Ghana show a high incidence of poverty and inequality. The social and cultural discrimination against women in terms of land and property ownership, education, widowhood rites and migration all play a significant role. The Upper East Region ranked fourth in female inequality with districts like Builsa South scoring 84.4%, Bawku West, 68.1% and Bongo, 67.4% (Hjelm & Dasori, 2012). This in-country poverty and intra-regional inequality have all made the many systemic-female-headed households of these regions endure the most poverty compared to their counterpart in the south (Annim et al., 2012; Oxfam, 2014), making them targets for advocacy by the NGOs.

The paucity of information on the economic and social welfare indicators in these rural and poor communities has been a challenge due to their remoteness. Nevertheless, this has been enhanced in recurrent times with the advancement of mobile telecommunication. Scrutinising some government interventions in these rural communities where mobile phones can be used to access these services, some benefits of some social policy interventions like the National health insurance scheme (NHIS) were observed. Introduced in 2003, many NGOs encouraged and helped most inhabitants, particularly women in the five northern regions to sign up for it. The health coverage through the number of persons registered on the insurance scheme in these five northern

regions averaged around 74.82% far above the national average of 68.8% (Jackson et al., 2019). The Upper East Region has the highest average of 86.4% followed in part by the Upper West region at 83.8% and the Savannah Region, at 63.7%. This however does not imply there is a great deal of access to health care and well-equipped facilities in these regions. The doctor-to-patient ratio is still high compared to the southern sector where well-equipped private health facilities and insurance schemes augment the publicly managed ones. There is, therefore, no doubt that appropriately resourced health facilities with staff in these remote areas of the north, coupled with fairly priced healthcare delivery would receive high patronage. The many success stories of charitable and NGO-managed hospitals, clinics, and health posts as well as health sensitisation advocacies dispersed throughout the five northern regions may substantiate this assertion.

The Ghana Living Standards Survey often conducted in the country gives a signal of the consumption-based expenditure of households at the regional and national levels. This assessment does not allow for the appraisal of well-being at the community and districts level, but in the preparation of the poverty map, both this survey and country census are used to predict capita consumption and welfare for each spatially censured household (Coulombe, 2005; GSS, 2018). This then only gives a near representation of the country's poverty incidence per headcount. **Figure 6** depicts the spatial distribution of the incidence of poverty in Ghana.

Figure 6. The spatial distribution of poverty in Ghana in terms of incidence and depth



Source: *Adopted from the MPI poverty map of Ghana (2020).

5.4 Development funding and the northern project

Ghana's heavy reliance on donor aid is the import of its debt burden in relation to its chequered infrastructural development. Much of the development aid to the country has been in the form of concessionary loans, tied grants and untied aids. These loan burdens made Ghana endure substantial levels of external debt servicing after its independence, dwarfing its growth and reducing its population's standard of living. The many inconsistent policy choices and funding gaps coupled with the different ideologies for

political governance have further created a huge pothole on Ghana's path to development. Of immediate mention is the 1980s policy and reforms introduced to change the economy with neo-liberalist principles. With these, Ghana's external debt obligation increased due in part to excessive lending from the IMF and the World Bank to correct the so-called structural defects of the economy.

The economic and social recovery policies introduced to augment the structural adjustment ones similarly stalled the country's successes (Mills, 1989; Whitfield & Fraser, 2009). With substantial balance-of-payment challenges rollovers, charred in part by the continuous and sharp fall in the country's cocoa prices by 1988 (Quartey, 2005; Wanye, 2019), the reform processes further caused the sharp deterioration in agricultural expansion. As urban infrastructure and macroeconomic stability became the new focus, the five regions of the north of Ghana became hard hit with state-sponsored entrenchment within the agricultural sector, with massive cutbacks on subsistent-farmer investments, deepening poverty, and inequality. These conditions were correspondingly worsened by an already existing 'colonial marginalisation plague' of the north, poor infrastructural development, and marred in part, by ecological related vulnerabilities. These conditions spurred on the constant flow of migrants from the north to the urban south of Ghana.

By the turn of the millennia, Ghana opted for debt relief from the World Bank and IMF under the Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) Initiative (Geddes, Mensah, Natali, & Quartey, 2009), another economic rescue policy. Donors' interests and participation in

this policy was tied to poverty-reduction strategies. Neo-liberally influenced government 'white papers' were developed in haste by recipient countries of this policy initiative. Ghana used the economic hardship of the country and not too surprisingly, the poverty conditions of the five northern regions to launch the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) paper. This in effect increased Ghana's reliance on donor aid as its policies, projects, and programmes were now sector-aligned and managed with the tactics of 'reigning in more aid' (Whitfield & Jones, 2007). There was not enough motivation to pursue developmental projects and policies that did not attract funding, and the incentive was to go along with 'donor-initiated' projects that had financial support. Donors however adopted a wide range of modalities and instruments for their untied aids. The disbursement of some of these aid modalities showed that over 40% of bilateral Official Development Assistance (ODA) was directed through programmatic instruments (Geddes et al., 2009; OECD, 1996). Many bilateral projects were by this time visible in the five northern regions of Ghana as concerns over poverty ebbed in the south but remained a leading public issue for the north.

Poverty-related issues were heightened particularly in Ghana by the four-year political cycle, as the imperative to produce observable interventions to electoral constituencies became high and competitive. This also meant the beginning of the disaggregation of donor efforts as bilateral agreements made the donor countries guard their interest independently, devoid of collaboration with other donor partners (Monye, Ansah, & Orakwue, 2010). Many of these donor countries signed quick-result-oriented agreements

with the recipient governments based on their political agenda and not the general welfare of beneficiary communities. The poor working conditions of public and civil servants who functioned as government officials in the negotiation for the Memorandum of Understanding (MoUs), helped these alliances as most of them were likely to 'benefit.' During the economic recovery programmes of the 1990s, workers' redeployment and the continuous poor working conditions of civil servants meant their heavy dependence on the donor aid system (Committee, 2019). These bilateral and multilateral project interventions gave them resources to work with, and the donor-pay structures were more attractive, allowing the sector-aligned negotiators to be managed by small teams of like-minded civil servants. This suited the donors as the whole bureaucracies of government machinery and protocols were seldomly used. It also meant theoretically that donor agencies and their technical teams were apolitical.

The period of "Make Poverty History," MDGs, and SDGs also saw the increased and renewed commitment of official aid agencies who opened country offices and augmented their specialist development operators in the field (Aryeetey, Peretz, & Secretariat, 2005). This was because much of the untied aid was arranged under bilateral agreements and spearheaded by the donor country's development agencies. Most of these aids were in effect disbursed through a project approach. In the case of Ghana, Tamale, the capital of the Northern Region became host to many of these agencies as head offices and guest houses sprang up. The state officials found it tricky to oppose the assertive nature of donors and their aid implementing system due to the lack of proper planning and the

non-existent aid coordination framework. The government in an urgent response, created the International Economic Relations Department under the Ministry of Finance to centrally coordinate the negotiation and aid flows into the country (Harrigan, Younger, Aryeetey, Harrigan, & Nissanke, 2000; Harriss, 2002). This did marginal damage control up to a point.

By 2001 with an aid-dependent central budget and decentralised donor-aid-default programmes, the focus was now moving to the rural communities of countries that applied for debt relief. A review of ODA based on the donors' credit reporting data found that Ghana was receiving 75% untied aid and 11% partially untied. Another 11% tied aid and a further 3% of aid was not reported, during 2005-7 (Geddes et al., 2009). This disbursement equally involved the country's procurement systems which included general and sectoral budgetary support and some forms of basket funding from these donor countries. The rest of the aid spent was through a project approach, and as emergency reliefs present in rural communities through charities with a philanthropic approach. Pooled funding of projects involving the collaboration of NGOs and other donor agencies in the target area was a newer modality that was associated with untied aid and acknowledged as rising in prominence, based on the basket funding (Mawdsley, 2017).

With Ghana's poverty reduction strategies, attention was given to poverty-focused NGOs that worked in the northern part of Ghana by both donors and the government. These third-sector players became the unaccustomed drivers of community development. Their

programmes and advocacy received both attention and aid (Mansuri & Rao, 2004). Many NGOs sprang up in Ghana and the concentration and direction were to the north. The 1990s and 2000s also saw the growth of media influence through think tanks and NGOs that voiced their criticisms of government policies related to poverty and the people's development. The international NGOs nevertheless became the moral guards to micro sector investments and social justice in the five northern regions of Ghana (Banks & Hulme, 2012). The IMF and the World Bank became formidable forces in supporting and supervising the economic reforms of the central governments through fiscal discipline and prudential regulation. Their social intervention meant projects and programmes were to be directed at rural communities. Communities in northern parts of Ghana were the first to receive the World Bank-donor-supported social intervention programmes (Wiemers, 2021), and many more followed.

To reinvent aid to advocacy, the rural countryside became the new playground for development aiders. This was possible as idealist liberalisation descended into the third sector, as state-sponsored scepticism of the private sector as managers of growth remained flamboyant. The mistrust and distaste between these two sects were rife. These made the international NGOs and NPOs concentrate their social development efforts in the rural communities of northern Ghana. Many branded vehicles of donor aiders and social influencers became the norm for rural communities (Wiemers, 2021). As a result, the donors were left to effectively implement their projects and coordinate their country's aid. As one of the largest donors of development aid, the World Bank inevitably signalled

to the donor community, Ghana's commitment to public and social policy reforms. This indirectly fostered the country hosting the world aid effectiveness conference dubbed 'Accra Agenda for Action' in 2008 (Lundsgaarde & Engberg-Pedersen, 2019; Wood & Betts, 2012). It was initiated after the consultative forum for aid effectiveness and coordination. With macroeconomic policy management leading the charge, and political incentives fuelling aid dependence, there was no major effort to expand and create medium to long-term poverty strategies that could affect the infrastructural development of northern Ghana.

With this situation at hand, the incentives and resources supplementing donor-funded programmes and projects in the short term, created an enabling environment for the educated and political elites including civil servants to indulge in donor-sponsored projects. These made state officials fixated on doing whatever donors wanted, to access the funds. Politically motivated public spending, and the lack of a strategic development plan to transform the rural economy, led to a 'rural needs assessment' by the various non-governmental agencies working in the northern part of Ghana. Many multilateral and bilateral projects were seen running concurrently in these regions based on these needs assessments. By the 2000s, the following projects funded by different agencies were present in the five northern regions. They included CIDA funded Northern Water and Sanitation project (NORWASP), CIDA in collaboration with IFAD in food security, DANIDA capacity building programme, World Bank-funded community water and sanitation projects, and UNICEF-supported community-based programs. JICA funded

integrated human resources development projects and the DFID budget support projects just to mention but a few (MLGRD, 2002).

The presence of many projects running concurrently meant a lack of coordination among donor partners. It also signalled exploitation of aid meant to complement government efforts by some aid implementers. This prompted the organisation of the first annual general meeting of members of the Northern Ghana Network for Development, an association of NGOs working in Northern Ghana (ISODEC, 2001). This group with a membership of 76 NGOs at the time, had sponsorship from OXFAM and ActionAid to help donors in the regions coordinate their activities (Bank, 2011).

The coordinated action plan was impossible as the country-specific requirements and timelines meant difficulty in harmonising funding, the various projects, and their beneficiaries. Linking the donor-country resources and aligning them with the partner (beneficiary) assessment frameworks was non-existent as they were so many, and the country-specific interest dictated the performance indicators sorted. For instance, there were disparities in donor practices with the UK, Canada, Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, Switzerland, and France as well as World Bank/IMF and European Commission (EC), firmly advocating for programmatic agreements (Aryeetey et al., 2005), while other donor countries like Japan and the USA prefer to establish project-related activities or just create new parallel project-type arrangements (Geddes et al.,

2009; Sinyangwe, 2020). These processes ostensibly were out of line and tune with the Paris Declaration Accord for Aid Harmonisation.

This also meant refraining the donor country from requesting performance indicators that were consistent with their host country's development strategies. Duplication was at its peak as different projects had different timelines and outcomes. It is interesting to note that many civil servants and beneficiary communities had multiple donor presence at the same time. Most consultative meetings and stake holder engagements meant some civil servants stood in for the same community but on different projects and programmes. This also meant development aiders were competing for the attention of beneficiary communities as working for NGOs became a lucrative venture for the teaming Ghanaian graduate migrating up north (Bob-Milliar, 2005). For some beneficiaries of aid in these communities, it became 'fashionable to act poor'.

5.5 Project implementation and beneficiaries

Ghana choosing to go HIPC meant a more donor-driven implementation scheme tied to the expectation of more aid for its debt relief. The government's approach was using the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (GPRS I and II), to target the poorest sectors of the economy, and geographically the five northern regions. The pre-existing vision 20/20 policy document and plan meant for the long-term infrastructural development of the country were seldomly consulted (Sampson, 2014). These GPRS documents also inserted the political priorities of the New Patriotic Party and extracts from its manifesto. The

direction in effect polarised the debates and strategies for Ghana's holistic development. This was then criticised by some donor partners, as not pro-poor enough for the medium term (Whitehead, 2006; Whitfield & Jones, 2007). With the proliferation of government-donor partnership fora, policy discussions centring on donor aid coordination and harmonisation were promoted. The donors took part actively in the call for project proposals, with their agents (NGOs) managing the implementation, monitoring, and evaluation reporting.

By 2005, more than ten bilateral donor aid agencies and internationally acclaimed NGOs had substantial aid portfolios concentrated mostly in northern Ghana. Canada and CIDA, Denmark and DANIDA, United Kingdom and DFID, United States and USAID, Sweden and SIDA, Japan and JICA, France, Italy, Germany, Spain, and the Netherlands all had more than two projects somewhere in the researched region (Gary, 1996). The age-old scramble for Africa has now become more localised through the activities of donor countries' development agencies, all spotted in rural communities of northern Ghana. The struggle for control of these rural spaces with donor projects through pushing the substantial amount of funds in the name of development aid had reached a crescendo; as new donor billboards replace old, expired, and rotten ones most times at the same spot.

The race nonetheless includes multinationals like the United Nations and their various agencies on children, labour, and development. The IMF and World Bank, the African Development Bank, and the European Commission all had projects or programmes and

functioned as monitors. Many inhabitants saw the multiplicity of donor-branded vehicles cruising the length and breadth of the five northern regions. These regions became the hotspot for all forms and types of NGO activities. This is often reflected in their operation and overhead costs.

The engagement of NGOs and their beneficiary communities through practices like community profiling and immersion informally often increases the overhead and operation costs as well as the impacts of these NGOs. The transient nature of NGOs' interventions negates their need to get permanent infrastructure in terms of building and fixed assets for their operations. They naturally justify their high overhead costs of consultancy services and an expert workforce. The frequent use of NGO finances as a ratio of the measure of their effectiveness is easy but misleading at times, compared to other metrics such as results and ethics. For most NGOs, the use of overhead and operation costs as a rough gauge does not satisfactorily evaluate their performance and effectiveness. However, these NGOs sometimes do not consider their spending as extravagant and wasteful. In the advanced countries where activities of charities and foundations are audited and taxed in many cases, excesses are often detected, and the culprits are brought to book.

For rural communities in the five northern regions of Ghana, working for an NGO is a lucrative business and the show of wealth is seen in their working conditions and the types of vehicles they use for these projects. The presence of an NGO in a community

climaxes an aura of donor capital, a windfall of aid and a solution to all the community's problems. Proposed managers of such projects visitations to the project sites are often greeted with excitement and a sign of relief from the beneficiary communities.

Many NGOs were of the view that donors and international NGOs do not respond promptly enough to their plight for funding during crises. The resultant effects of late funding means executing projects in the shortest possible time. In other cases, the materials and donation of items for relief to communities do not match the expectation of the people, resulting in wastefulness and persistence of the problems (Nancy & Yontcheva, 2006). Even though stronger indicators of impact are far more reaching and meaningful, the donor communities usually show vigorous dislike for NGOs with high administrative and overhead costs. Extreme emphasis on these types of costs as a measure of effectiveness often leads to NGOs and NPOs underinvesting in key services and more so keeping two books, one for public audit and the other for their pilfering activities.

In the case of Ghana, the 'Multi-Donor Budget Support' (MDBS) system under the Ministry of Finance, in collaboration with Local Government agencies was introduced in 2003. This was a 'collective donor tool' for supporting the implementation of the GPRS projects and NGO interventions. It created a common platform for both donors and government agencies for the sake of NGOs' integrity and accountability (Offei, 2011). By 2005, about nine donor countries had signed up for this budget support system, which expanded to eleven donors in 2007 (Whitfield & Jones, 2007). Although these donors only

give a fraction of their aid quota through the budget support system, a substantial part of this aid remains outside the normal budget system. According to (Aryeetey et al., 2005), an estimated 70% of aid support through Donor Partner Envelope (DPE) was managed by the international NGOs through their project approach. The disbursement by donors had the multi-national organisations through the principal international partner agencies leading the charge. The rest of the donor funds meant for community projects and advocacy were micromanaged through their country agencies and other 'self-accredited' international NGOs (Foli, 2015).

The poor financial reporting systems of Ghana coupled with massive politicisation of the public sector administration and the general economic decline meant the legacy of donor-driven processes still championed the 'aid-development-business.' Given the weaknesses in aid coordination, and fragmentation in the planning and budgeting of projects, there was duplication of development aid programmes by the multiple development aiders in the beneficiary communities. The result was a chaotic picture of multiple processes of project funding and implementations. For some communities in the northern savannah regions, donor aid was helping, whiles for others, the limited and selective development projects were producing beneficiary stress. For local governance and planning, donor aid was complementing their effort whiles some citizens feel neglected in the share of the national cake. The global imagery portrayed was that donor aid and development were reaching the people whiles poverty and inequality were still the hallmark of the regions.

5.6 Methodology

This research was to investigate and advance the body of knowledge surrounding the theory of development funding and donor projects in the five northern regions of Ghana. It has set up facts on how fragmentation and duplication of donor efforts had influenced the participatory behaviours of both the implementors (NGOs) and the beneficiaries. Interdisciplinary methods involving systematic discourse analysis embedded in an adopted grounded theory technique were used. The research design adopted an eclectic approach and strategies to answer the research question.

Grounded theory has since its inception and acceptance as a methodological framework (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), been regarded as a valuable way to conduct social and educational research. However, recent constructivist and postmodern insights are challenging long-standing assumptions, most notably by suggesting that grounded theory can be flexibly integrated with existing theories (Seaman, 2008). This notion was centred on the trans-positioning of grounded theory from a method with positivist foundations to a method that can be integrated with diverse theoretic contexts or frameworks. Given that grounded theory is from a naturalistic inquiry, its strength lies in a situation where the researcher makes an inquiry when no relevant theory existed. However, the method gives the researcher a creative approach without confining him or her to an already existing realm of theory (Suddaby, 2006). It, therefore, allowed the researcher to look at the phenomena from new perspectives without restriction within an already existing hypothesis. This proposal of grounded theory was "a reaction to positivism, which followed a scientific falsification and verification" (Cho & Lee, 2014).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggested that a researcher could achieve a theory that was meaningful in certain contexts from observations and Suddaby (2006) proposed the "observers' consensus".

For the construction of a substantive theorem with this research, about a multifaceted social institution and its varying situations from a historical and cultural perspective; it was understood that the researcher desired two important considerations (Porter, 2002). "First, it requires a clear picture of the interactions of individuals and institutions, both at the level of action and of motivation.". Such a depiction could only develop through the exploration and use of close observational techniques. "Secondly, it requires theoretical work to explain why individuals' interactions take the patterns that are observed during those techniques"(Porter, 2002). Although Porter offered these dual tasks in straightforward terms, achieving them involves many thorny pinpointing steps and theoretical curiosities. This then implied that grounded theory involved an iterative process with the use of an intensive, open-ended technique that simultaneously included "data collection, coding (data analysis), and memo-writing (theory building)" (Groat & Wang, 2013), with the intent of theoretical inundation. The adapted grounded theory analysis yielded more than just data reduction, abstraction, and core categorisations. It generated a substantive theory that explained the given phenomena.

The organisation of this research employed fieldwork of 'community immersion' and focus group discussion which shaped the research design, the choice and use of data

generation for the analytical processes, and to answer the research question as affirmed by (Guetterman, Babchuk, Howell Smith, & Stevens, 2019; Seaman, 2008). As this research goal has both an exploratory part and a further explanatory underpinning, the researcher deployed community survey questionnaires, reviewed 'aid-sponsored' project reports, and undertook expert interviews in the aid beneficiary communities of the five northern regions of Ghana.

Given that Grounded Theory (GT) has a methodological choice that is structured, its flexibility in relation to procedure allowed the researcher to assume a choice of genre which best suited the research purpose, particularly when little was known about a phenomenon. To conceptualise or construct an explanatory theory that uncovers a process integral to the substantive area of investigation inductively, this research investigated the 'given and said' roleplay of development aid. With NGOs as 'implementing vehicles' in addressing poverty and inequality in recipient communities,' the research focused on the growth or otherwise 'aid dependency phenomena' at the micro level in the five northern regions of Ghana.

After Glaser and Strauss's (1967) launch of grounded theory, it has developed in many ways with interesting variants with both authors going their separate ways and views. Many followers have proposed new ways and directions but are still anchored on some of the original processes. To prove this, Glaser accentuated openness and creativity in the interpretation of data, while Strauss and Corbin stressed meticulous and rigid sequences in data analysis (Tan, 2010). Interestingly (Charmaz, 2006) recommended a social

interaction approach in using the grounded theory that underscores the researcher's collaboration and commitment with participants in constructing the theorem. Samples of these variations were what motivated this research work to adopt the "Positivist Pragmatic Constructivist" approach of grounded theory (GT). This was a blend of the Glaserian positivist position, suggesting the researcher's neutrality, and allowing the emerging theory to discover the real condition of a specific setting from the empirical data (Barney Glaser, 1978). Associated with it was the pragmatist's GT procedure, which offered ways to apply a critical qualitative inquiry to, and within the volume of data to be generated. With this study, it was done through the community profiling and immersion processes.

According to Denzin (2017), critical inquiry is embedded in the transformative paradigm that seeks to expose, oppose, and redress forms of oppression, inequality, and injustice. It began with concepts of justice and injustice, that is through abstraction and encompasses moral judgement. It shaped ethical action in both the *subjects* and *objects* for ultimate *outcomes* in the *community* (Denzin, 2017). The subject here referred to the individual or sub-group whose agency is chosen as the 'point of view' in the analysis. In the case of this research, it was the NGOs. The object referred to the "raw material" (development aid) at which the activity is directed. This development funding effort was then designed and transformed into 'outcomes' (community impact). With the help of physical and symbolic gestures (implementors/beneficiaries); external, and internal mediating instruments (participatory development), including both tools and signs of

partnerships. The 'community' then included multiple individuals and/or sub-groups (in the research regions), who share the same general object and construct themselves as distinct from other communities based on their motivations (Seaman, 2008). Thus, the researcher evaluated the effectiveness of aid from the community perspective with a further investigation to ascertain the cause of the disaggregation and fragmentation of development aid efforts within the regions.

Critical inquiry usually begins from a researcher's 'explicit value position;' and usually defines the meaning of the research questions in advance of conducting the study. This research did look to understand the culture and historical dealings of poverty and inequality. It situated the findings within the development aid agenda of donor countries in reducing poverty and measures its progress from the perspective of the beneficiary. Qualitative critical inquiry does help us focus on the plight of disadvantaged people and the effects of structural inequalities on them. Finally, the constructivist GT's procedure underpinned its focus on how participants constructed meaning about the area of review. Here the constructivist (researcher) co-constructed experiences and meanings with participants that included NGOs, former aid workers and community beneficiaries, through this adapted methodological framework.

The adapted grounded theory framework used in this research involved the thorough application of specific methods and processes. The methods were the systematic approaches, procedures or tools used for collection and analysis of data in the research

regions. GT studies can begin with a variety of sampling techniques (Chun Tie et al., 2019). This research started with the purposive sampling of development projects sited in beneficiary communities in the north of Ghana. The reason for the purposive sampling was that the phenomenon under study was peculiar to the five northern regions of Ghana. It is generally underdeveloped in terms of infrastructure, predominantly rural in settlement and there is pronounced poverty and inequality compared to the rest of the country. Interestingly the region is host to many development-aid projects and programmes with a concentration of NGOs. Their aim were improving the livelihood of these indigenes and complementing government efforts. Coupled with this was the constant surge in migration of the indigenes to most often the slums of the urban centres to escape poverty and deprivation with the regions.

The purposive sampling was trailed by concurrent data generation and collection through community mapping and profiling as survey questionnaires were distributed. The researcher found through selective sampling, NGOs with functions and advocacies in education, health, and environment over the past 30 years in many communities in the five northern regions of Ghana. Individuals who worked with development aid agencies (past and present) and community beneficiaries were given the survey instruments and sometimes, were followed up with interviews. Given the vastness of the region, snowball sampling was used to find the aid workers. This formed the bases for the first coding of the emerging thematic scopes which then informed the next data collection and generation stages. The data analysis began through various stages of coding, undertaken

in conjunction with constant comparative analysis. The comparative analysis was achieved through focus group discussion and triangulated with interviews. The researcher selected participants from beneficiary communities, NGOs, and foreign aid workers to form the focus groups. They answered the research questions based on the thematic abstraction generated in project duplication.

The open coding helped distinguished the direction of the data choice and ensured further data collection on aid fragmentation. After the introductory analysis based on the themes surrounding the political economy of micro aid, theoretical sampling was deployed to direct the collection of more data based on the theme abstraction. This process helped to group similarities and differences in the substances and behaviours of micro-level aid and inform the emerging 'embryonic theory.'

The process advanced into the intermediate coding phase as classification began to develop. This intermediate coding employed the selective/ focus coding progressions after the re-occurrence of the emerging concepts, their differences, and their similarities. The operation dynamics of NGOs working in the five northern regions were identified and their impact was assessed from the community perspective. Here the categories transformed into more abstract ideas allowing for the gradual growth of the emerging concepts from the data.

Theoretical sampling was deployed with most expatriate aid workers and development experts interviewed until theoretical saturation was reached. These methods and processes created an unfolding, iterative system of actions and interactions integral to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006). For this research, some communities were visited more than once. The presence of the COVID-19 pandemic also allowed virtual meetings and online interviews. During this diagnostic stage, data was reviewed and sorted, and similar ideas that were found were incorporated based on their visible properties. The siting of different project times and completion in the same community was signalling an idea, whiles the behaviour and the absence of some development projects in sister communities meant there was a missing link. This stage of the investigation prompted the review of old project journals of some NGOs to affirm the existing abstraction. It allowed for theoretical data saturation which ensured that the new data analysis did not supply extra material to the existing theoretical dimensions. The fragmentation of the reports collected and interviews with development experts helped to categorise and further explain sufficiently the level of theoretical maturity (Chun Tie et al., 2019). At this stage, the synchronised data collected were treated through continuous comparative analysis with elements of theoretical saturation and sensitivity.

To achieve theoretical saturation, the theoretical theme sampling was also evaluated during the snowball sampling of former aid workers. This began with memo writing aided by the daily logbook. Most of them spoke in anonymity but allowed follow-up formal interviews when themes and concepts surfaced. The data-generating processes

also included surveys that found first-hand the projects and activities of some of the NGO's reports and impact assessment journals in the various communities. Other data sources such as newsletters, NGO audit and financial reports, newspapers, grey literature, oral sources, and artefacts in the study area were consulted. This was to affirm the responses emanating from the iterative process of the selected code categorisation to advanced coding. This elicited data produced and directed by the participants were equally fed into the research as the agency to co-construct the data with the participants who are stakeholders in the research process.

The final/advanced coding stages helped the final integration of the 'emerged substantive theory' of *the red herring and poverty dance of aid* into the grounded theory dictates. This phase also known as theoretical coding engaged the tools of the storyline for the integration process. The storyline as defined by (Birks & Mills, 2019), is an advanced analytical technique used in grounded theory research for both integrating and articulating theory. It is the strategy used for the integration, construction, formulation, and presentation of research findings through the production of a coherent grounded theory. This advanced coding was indispensable to the construction of a theory anchored in the data and has the explanatory power and poise to clarify these specific phenomena.

The grounded theory process deployed in this research was challenged by theoretical sensitivity as it engaged and recognised the basic extracts for the formulation of the emerging theory. It equally kept the balance between sampling and saturation which helped to discover the theoretical significant ideas in the data-generating and analysis

stages. This proposed adapted Positivist Pragmatic Constructivist approach of grounded theory deployed during this investigation, signified that the process was both iterative, interactive, dynamic, and not one-directional or dimensional. It was this art of theoretical sampling, perpetuated by the proposed data saturation, tied to conjecturing with a sensitivity that led to the answering of the research questions and theorising to fill a research gap (Cassia, De Massis, & Pizzurno, 2012; Ratnapalan, 2019).

5.7 Results and discussion (Empirical analysis)

For the records, the financial data and audit reports on aid agencies' overall spending patterns are unjustifiably poor. Most of these development aid agencies are often not transparent about their operational expenditure, particularly staff costs and fieldwork. But the justification given by some of these NGOs is attributed to the informal nature and operation of fieldwork. The proposal stage of NGOs and NPOs' budgets to their donors often spells out how the estimated cost of staff and field work would be. Secondly, donor and development aid efforts are arguably fragmented by many factors and along different dimensions. As small NGOs and NPOs split their efforts among different communities and sector needs, so do the donor countries. Their funds and resources are shared among different recipient countries and International NGOs based on the different sectors and the vulnerabilities present. The urgency of relief sort during disasters also distorts the donor-recipient coordination, collaboration, and planning efforts. These types of fragmentation produce poor management of donor funds linked with aid inefficiencies. It is often associated with high overhead costs for both the recipients and donor countries.

Most of the time many challenges surface after the evaluation of these projects making the work of donor aid look like a 'work in progress.'

Donor funding disbursed through tied aid often formalised and organised through channels like food, human, and resource aids continue to worsen with the third sector's participation in development given their levels of criticism. Technical aid, according to the OECD's definition, "is the activities whose primary purpose is to augment the level of knowledge, skills, technical know-how or productive aptitudes of the population of developing countries" (Easterly & Pfutze, 2008). This is the most *bound* aid, often reflecting the donor's interests rather than the beneficiary's priorities. There was evidence of tied aid projects that required the recipient country (Ghana) to buy goods and services from the aid-granting country found in several communities in the five researched regions of the north. It was however interesting to note that, there were countless donor-funded developments visible in these researched regions that are from untied aid. These projects are implemented through the initiative of NGO activities, backed by the donor advertised interest and justified by a community needs assessment.

The technical assistance related to fieldwork personnel often referred to as 'foreign experts' with knowledge in 'innovative community development,' continues to pose a challenge to the overall costs of rural development. In situations where the socio-economic dynamics of community participatory development are different, they are often the core resource group. Most of these development specialists begin as volunteer corps

during their gap year from the donor countries and are attached to projects and other international NGOs working in the recipient countries. They are implicitly part of the overall project costs. Their stipends and travel expenses are often paid in the currency of the donors, while that of their local counterparts are paid in the host country's currency.

With a certain number of years of attachment and country rotation, they become experts and are often packaged as 'Chief of Party' having local knowledge and expertise of where they are going. Their appointments are often tied to the implementation of some of these aids. The remunerations of some of these 'Chief of Party' and their 'foreign support staff' are quite substantial and often affect the overall staff costs relative to the amount of aid given. For example, there was a 'Canadian Resource group under the District Capacity Building Project (DISCAP) in 2000 in Ghana sponsored by CIDA. The project described them as "a team of a flexible pool of qualified high skilled Canadian professionals from a wide range of disciplines and fields of practice." They consisted of "11 proven experts in community water supply, local governance, participatory methodologies, monetary management, management information systems, Public Finance and taxation, gender equality and decentralised planning." The group used in this case consisted of: "An MIS specialist, a water sector capacity building specialist, a participatory development specialist, a specialist in institutionalizing participatory development, a social development specialist, a project administrator/ financial management specialist, a public finance specialist, a specialist in local government and decentralization, specialists in civil society development, a specialist in civil society and good governance information, education and communication specialist." (MLGRD, 2002,)

This technical group was 'assembled from across Canada', Vancouver, Calgary, Montreal, and Ottawa the report said. "Several members of this group have worked in Ghana previously." and several specialists in the group have "worked extensively in francophone West Africa," and are believed to connect and bring their expertise to bear on the DISCAP projects. The report further emphasised that the 'Youth Professional Program' was the sole responsibility of the Canadian Team Leader who was expected to 'recruit and deploy three Ghanaians and one Canadian' over the five years duration of the programme (MLGRD, 2000). The report mentioned that by the start of the project, the young Canadian Youth was in the country with sponsorship from the CIDA's Youth Action Program whiles their Ghanaian counterparts were yet to be recruited.

5.7.1 Fragmentation and duplication of aid; (The phenomenon of poverty dance)

Development aid practices in the host country such as giving money to bureaucratic officials to pave the way for negotiation and project acceptance and to local chiefs and some beneficiaries through some processes of 'community immersion' are also contributing factors to aid ineffectiveness. Much of these aid activities and projects also drive government officials into giving up the prospects to scale up on successes gained from their participation in such projects. They needlessly continue to encourage new projects into the same community as they often are not aware of the source, volume, and duration of some of these projects. Given that these government officials can be changed at any time, there is a loss in information and institutional memory with some projects.

There is also the concern that the district officials do not know the full scale of the project from start to finish. Some projects are such that, the national office in Accra, mediates for the project to go to communities that have needs assessment based on the information gathered. But less of that information is passed on to the district implementing the projects.

There is also the situation where donor agencies through their field directors find communities in need through the processes of 'community needs assessment' and the national officials are often not aware. Through the project cycle, they assess the needs of a given community through the process of community immersion. This process in partnership with beneficiaries' helps NGOs name and define the problems of the community and are grouped into community infrastructural needs and service needs based on the total cost of capital needed for execution. Most often, the NGOs go for service needs provision and select a project goal aligned with their interest. They follow with the determination of activities and prepare a work plan. From here the budget is developed to cover staff and operation costs. All expenditures associated with these types of projects are usually variable costs. Once budget or funding is secured, they go ahead to start up and undertake activities and continue with monitoring and evaluation if needed. It is through evaluation that another need is found, and the process starts again.

To collaborate with other NGOs to secure bigger funding, or regularly obtain funding for other projects, NGOs often include record-keeping systems and rigorous monitoring and

evaluation processes. This is because they are the key requirements in most proposal assessments, and evidence of history in project execution. These NGOs often prove their accountability by keeping two reports for the project's execution. The audited accounts of funding are used in defence of their proposal to most donor agencies. In other cases, local NGOs and CBOs lobby the international NGOs for implementation contract and survive based on the continuous operation of these international donors. This is because once they start working in a community, they produce a portfolio of community needs and aspirations. As most projects are based on community needs assessment instead of infrastructural-based assessment. This is often done when the NGOs go for community profiling and immersion. It is a widespread practice for community members to gather as stakeholders and welcome aid workers and donor projects. This is a sign that help is coming their way as the community members readily address these calls.

The proliferation of many small NGOs and CBOs playing crucial roles in the community development effort is nearly underestimated. So is the case of many bilateral and multilateral donors in collaboration with these NGOs in Ghana. Many of these international development aid agencies have more than one agency giving aid to the country. The multiplicity of their activities is clear in a host of sectors and communities found in the research regions. For instance, the United States through USAID has direct projects in some communities in the north while World Vision International, also a US-based organisation has the same or similar projects. So are charities and foundations like

the Ford Foundation, Winrock International, Bill and Melinda Gate Foundation and others, all managing different projects in many of these host communities.

Of particular interest to this study are the activities of INGO, Winrock International. In implementing the 'Feed the Future' (FtF) programme of USAID, the Ghana Agriculture and Natural Resource Management (AgNRM) project was designed in collaboration with Winrock International to reduce poverty in the five northern regions of Ghana. They proposed to do this through a sustainable increase in nutrition and wealth creation from natural and non-traditional agricultural products. So, in partnership with other locally based NGOs and CBOs, Winrock International advertised and called for proposals for implementing seven different projects. The diverse schemes included AgNRM-targeted natural resource products which included:

- the production, knowledge, and use of dawadawa, moringa, tamarind and shea.
- the proposed gender empowerment and integration within community-level governance structures
- positive nutrition behaviours among children
- climate-smart agriculture techniques and practices
- land and resource access, use, and tenure security
- Village Savings & Loan Associations (VSLA) and
- natural resource management and stewardship (Winrock International, 2022).

There is evidence of the above projects' components found in different communities in the five regions of the north. These projects run concurrently and in phases usually

involving sometimes the same government officials as mediators, and same beneficiaries in some of the communities. The collaborating projects are also not done in isolation, as the competing NGOs are usually engaged in other USAID projects. Their track record of one successful project implementation enhances their chances with other USA country projects, procedures, and funding. The cooperation of the organisers and their recipients also means continuity and progress as well as fatigue and complacency project management and efficacy.

Many other donor nations have parts of their foreign aid budgets implemented by several other organisations whose main purpose is not aid-giving. For instance, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) fully approves all matters that involve the Government of Canada's contribution to development in the recipient countries. With the implementation of the district capacity project to strengthen the local assemblies with budget support, the District Capacity Building Project (DISCAP) was designed and introduced to the then 'three' northern regions. The CIDA project team leader based in Ottawa was made responsible for the decision-making of the DISCAP project and any other 'related business of interest' to the Government of Canada in Ghana. He was to consult with the project director to monitor the performance of budgets, timelines, and results of the project and the 'other partner interest' of the Canadian government. The field representative, based in Accra for this case, managed cooperation with the government of Ghana and the Canadian Executing Agency (CEA) team leader (MLGRD, 2002).

This was to ease progress towards the expected results from the projects with subsequent monitoring and evaluation processes. His role was to remain in contact with the project stakeholders to enable informed decision-making by CIDA and coordinate and link other projects of other donor countries to ensure mutual learning and interest. Thus, the implementation of the DISCAP was to be closely coordinated with activities of other projects and programmes initiated in local governance, and capacity building found in northern Ghana. According to the operation report, "every effort must be made to maintain an open communication and information sharing" with other projects found in northern Ghana. This was to avoid duplication and repetition. Special reference was then made regarding the following projects which were running concurrently in the three northern and the Brong Ahafo regions. They included the following projects.

- CIDA-funded Northern Region Water and Sanitation Project (NORWASP) being implemented in the eastern corridor section of the northern region between 1999-2006[31].
- CIDA and IFAD collaborate in preparing and implementing food security programmes in northern regions from 1998 to 2001[32].

[31] Fuest, Veronika (2005) : Policies, practices and outcomes of demand oriented community water supply in Ghana: The National Community Water and Sanitation Programme 1994 - 2004, ZEF Working Paper Series, No. 5, University of Bonn, Center for Development Research (ZEF), Bonn, https://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0202-2008091141 , accessed 12/10/2023

[32] https://webapps.ifad.org/members/eb/74/docs/EB-2001-74-R-14-Rev-1.pdf, accessed 17/11/2023

- DANIDA-funded District Assembly Capacity Building Project being implemented in the Upper West Region between 1999 to 2003[33].
- World Bank-funded Community Water and Sanitation Project II being implemented in the Upper East and Upper West Regions from 1994 to 2000[34].
- Proposed EU and Cassie Française de Development (CFD) sponsored projects in water and sanitation are expected to commence shortly in the Northern Region. (expected timelines 2002-2005)[35]
- UNICEF-supported community-based development program in six districts of the Northern and Upper East Regions between 1999-2002[36].
- JICA-funded integrated human resource development project in selected districts of the Upper East Region from 2001-2003.[37].
- DFID-funded Brong-Ahafo District Support Project in selected districts of the Brong Ahafo region between 2001-2005[38](MLGRD, 2002)[39].

The DISCAP director was to seek coordination of the activities and share ongoing learning suggestions with CIDA's NORWASP, food security initiatives and these other

[33] Joint Evaluation of the Ghana-Denmark Development Co-operation 1990-2006 (2017): https://um.dk/en/danida-en/results/eval/Eval_reports/publicationdisplaypage/?publicationID=78EEFD4A-6547-4CB8-A628-C0C3981817E1, accessed 10/10/2023

[34] Ibid

[35] Hodzic, S. (2006). *Performing development: Women's NGOs, donors, and the postcolonial Ghanaian state* (Doctoral dissertation, UCSF)

[36] ibid

[37] Hodzic, S. (2006). *Performing development: Women's NGOs, donors, and the postcolonial Ghanaian state* (Doctoral dissertation, UCSF).

[38] Fuest, V. (2006). *Demand-oriented community water supply in Ghana: Policies, Practices, and outcomes* (Vol. 2). LIT Verlag Münster.

[39] MLGRD, 2002, Operation manual for Project Implementation.

projects found in the regions. All the above projects were being executed in the selected regions, where DISCAP was also being implemented.

The observed consequence of these types of fragmentation is that each beneficiary community must cope with the many small projects and programmes from the many different donors' sources at most times. This unintended duplication by donors in turn creates beneficiary stress among aid recipients. They are made to take part in ongoing projects whiles new ones are introduced to them. This in turn feeds into the aid dependency culture where most of these beneficiaries are indoctrinated to think more aid would come their way no matter what happens. With many years of direct and indirect 'associated work experiences with aid-related interventions,' and the continuous presence of donor aids through NGO activities, many of these recipients of aid are hopeful of new and better forms of aid. They 'so act and remain poor' hence "*the phenomenon of poverty dance*." This is defined as the portent of any aid beneficiaries in a poverty laden community to anticipate the windfall of aid by the rendition of homogenised dramatic art of dearth. Most of these beneficiaries are always living in constant anticipation of aid handouts. They so act and believe their livelihoods must be such that, aid implementers and donors would always find them in need of donations.

5.7.2 The phenomenon of red herring

Most government officials who were 'former aid workers' interviewed, were of the view that the untied nature of donor funding to their countries, particularly during implementation stages of rural development is very disjointed. It is purposely designed to prevent the host government from having the full picture of the resources offered for any projects in terms of disbursement. This is because they believe substantial portions of funds are often outside the control of the host government. But invariably under the direct responsibility of the donor's executing agencies. Most district officials similarly think that most donor funds are regulated, managed, and accounted for, using the donor's legal reporting framework instead of the host government-controlled procedures. This is to give full control of the project prospects to the donor agency, which then clouds the fair judgement of funds usage.

They generally agree that it is difficult to undertake a comprehensive appraisal of the impact of aid activities, as donor funds and activities stages are outside the government recording systems. More importantly, most donor activities are often in segments, and the host government managers cannot be held answerable through performance appraisals as they are not in control of these resources and timelines. At times, when government officials push to piece together donor funding for community projects of structural and strategic importance, they find themselves competing openly with contradictions and tensions of community development work. Even though the rhetoric of 'participation' and sometimes 'empowerment' was used in the design and implementation of such projects, its practice often resulted in conflicts directly between

NGOs, the donors and some of these government officials. This is because sometimes, NGOs ask community members to contribute labour and time as resources for such development projects. The likely events are that these parameters and visions are largely predetermined by the international donors in the accepted proposals. To then use these arrangements to justify inclusion and participation for themselves; the implementing NGOs either local or international, then press for the district officials to assimilate these demands for labour into their existing work structures. This decentralised decision-making of community project development often allows both the donor and the implementing NGOs to exercise some power and autonomy over community projects. As affirmed by Wiemers (2021), "when World Vision began its work in Ghana in the late 1970s, it relied heavily on government staff to both plan and implement development projects under the umbrella of World Vision Agenda".

NGOs on the other hand are not accountable to the host government officials nor the community beneficiaries but to the 'aid giver.' This is where information asymmetry is at play during the selection processes associated with the call for proposal in rural development projects. There is the problem of adverse selection choices that occurs to a degree, in connection with the 'interests associated with the calls for proposal by the donor countries and their choice of the implementing NGOs. And more importantly, the moral hazard questions are also linked to the type of response to these calls by the developmental NGOs implementing these proposals. In certain cases, NGO managers additionally affirm that the 'aid-giver' can be the third or fourth agent to the donor funds.

This is where the donor country through its overseas development agency sublets the contract to an international NGO working in the host country. These INGOs then look for a 'credible partner' NGO in the host country, who in turn look for 'local' NGOs in the proposed project area with a history of successful implementation. This stage must necessarily include evidential reports of the implementation budget, monitoring and evaluation based on impact assessment. In some other jurisdictions where the beneficiary communities are spatially dispersed, the local NGOs team up with CBOs in the selected project community to then execute a given project. This creates a long chain for the fund usage before it gets to the beneficiary communities. The perception therefore created is that aid implementers (NGOs) live large on donor funds whiles beneficiaries wallow in abject poverty. This perception nurtured over time becomes concepts associated with aid in the minds and behaviours of aid recipients.

Many NGOs to remain relevant repeatedly have the various communities' profile needs ready at hand. This makes them ever ready to spring into action as soon as funding is available. Some of the independent project implementers (often led by local elites) who collaborate with some NGOs and CBOs were of the view that, sometimes, funding for community needs is only available towards the end of a project phase. Of particular interest is the DISCAP of CIDA in the 3 northern regions. A report cited during this research showed that funding was still available towards the end of the project and there were calls for the local NGOs to submit proposals for gender mainstreaming. The Report

addressed to the regional directors of the National Commission on Women and Development (NCWD) stated among other things:

"… As you are probably aware, DISCAP is in its final month of work in the three northern regions"

… "At this point in time there still remain funds to be disbursed to support the district's gender strategy…"

we asked that it be used to support the gender network process in reviews in the twenty-four districts…. whiles we recommend new proposals in the ten new districts…"

This should be part of the post-DISCAP plans as already outlined…! A one-page proposal stating the target audience, activity and budget should be submitted to DISCAP no later than a week…" (MLGRD, 2007)

Here, the implementing agencies usually, the INGOs give extremely limited time for the project to be executed. This makes the executing local NGOs opt for a needs assessment that can be achieved in the shortest possible time. As one manager puts it, "we are only answerable to the immediate aid-giver and not the community''. The INGOs sometimes come to do the impact assessment and are answerable to the 'donor communities' who are only accountable to their home government. They are only "acting responsibly to humanity." This creates 'the vacuum of exploitation' as responsibility and culpability ownership are lost.

Many development aid connections and operations in some rural communities of northern Ghana are characterised by an information asymmetry between the aid implementers and their beneficiaries too. Specifically, some community beneficiaries are confronted with both 'adverse selection' with the type of aid they want; and 'moral hazard problems' with the type of aid they receive from these NGOs. This involves the ambiguity about the characteristics and operation dynamics of some of the NGOs working in these communities. This is clear in the quality of their accountability processes, their risk of survival and operations in the third sector space.

To affirm this, there are no legal and legislative instruments governing NGOs in their operation in rural Ghana, and no single institution is mandated by law to oversee their activities, apart from the desk officer who works in the office of the Regional Coordinating Council. As witnessed during this research, the desk officers did not have a comprehensive list and details of all NGOs working in the regions. The Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, which is mandated to manage rural development, and the planning aspect of rural development falls under the Ministry of Finance. The Department of Social Welfare and the Regional Coordinating Council in the regions may be involved with the activities of development funding but are not solely responsible for the civil society space or the third sector. This is because the decentralised system of governance creates pockets of institutions with an overriding responsibility and liability. This creates an environment for exploitation by some aid implementers (NGOs) sometimes in 'coerced partnership' with community beneficiaries. This, 'coerced

partnership' coupled with the 'space for exploitation' and the lack of ownership of projects is what is referred to as '*the Red Herring of Aid.*'

The research proposes that these agency problems among aid beneficiaries can be resolved with beneficiary bonds with the donor community through targeted planning and the infrastructural development of these rural communities in the five northern regions. The problems of NGOs working in these regions can be addressed with incentives to the aid implementing agencies for rural infrastructural development of various kinds. The research data show that operational differences with size, mandate, ownership, decision, and accountability structures can affect how these agency problems are tackled and managed within the development aid locus.

5.8 Conclusion

The choice of investigating donor aid fragmentation and project duplication is due to the decision that existing studies do not give a vivid understanding of what the actual causes of aid ineffectiveness from the community perspective are. More so, not much is known about the actions that can be undertaken by managers of aid projects and programmes during the implementation and sustainability phases to reduce poverty and inequality in this researched region. Hence this research explored how micro level aid implementation through development projects have contributed to micro-level growth, and or its stagnation in the five regions of northern Ghana. The evidence gathered showed a great deal of aid ineffectiveness through what we called the twin-trends of aid dependency

syndrome; that is 'poverty dance of beneficiary communities' and 'red herring of aid implementation'.

Using the adapted grounded theory technique with critical discourse analysis, this research concludes with the agreement that transparency is paramount to the operations of development aid to poverty reduction at the community level. As the third sector players continuously advocate for greater accountability and openness to all beneficiaries of donor funds, host governments to development aid must have strategic plans that reduce poverty and inequality within their beneficiary communities. This consensus is upheld, as donor countries must coordinate their activities as several donor funds concentrated in selected countries, regions or sectors for a particular donor should be avoided, but harmonised. The same beneficiaries used for multiple programmes and projects concentrated in fewer communities should be averted.

Furthermore, the concept of underdevelopment and the assessment of poverty in developing economies usually includes a constellation of humanitarian challenges and emergencies. It is often not clear, which specific problems donor funding is intended to address in rural communities of the aid beneficiary countries. This is because many NGOs focus on development aid management and poverty financing for the long haul, with calls for 'sustainability.' Thus, the recipient government should at all costs have a national development planning policy focusing on targeted infrastructural development of rural communities. This would help donor funds to be directed towards development with

infrastructural needs assessed as specific projects. This should be measurable and centrally coordinated to avoid duplication of efforts. Also, it would promote transparency of bilateral aid agreements between countries more readily, as the executing/implementing agencies (NGOs) can manage and report on the projects with impact assessment. This would unenviably involve the interest of the donor and approved priorities of the recipient countries with the intending beneficiaries being uplifted from poverty. This then makes the third sector players 'watch-guard' to development rather than being development implementors.

The intention to incorporate donor aid into each stage of the public fiscal management systems of the recipient country would promote accountability to the donor countries and the beneficiary communities. This would reduce the level of exploitation, mismanagement, and misappropriation of donor funding for rural development. This can lessen the complexities associated with the operationalisation of NGO activities, given the informal nature of project implementation and its misguided priorities.

Improving the planning and approval of donor funds should nevertheless include increasing the coverage of these funds in the estimate of total resources available to a particular infrastructural project. In reviewing the strategic plan and estimates of rural community development in Ghana for instance, the Ministry of Finance (MOFA) must review the consistency of donor-funded activities with the ministries, departments, and agencies (MDA) goals and policies. This would help to assess whether the results

correspond with the expected outputs and outcomes set out during the implementation stages. More so, there should be estimates of the funding gap for MOFA by comparing the funds to be provided by the host government that is the Government of Ghana (GOG) and the donor's aid, with resources needed for both GOG and the donor interested in the funded activities. This would reduce the control and power of the executing agencies and promote mutual benefits by using the medium-term expenditure framework (MTEF) process, to agree with donors on funding priorities and areas for further support from them. The MTEF process can be agreed upon as the only mechanism for authorisation of both GOG and donor funds. This would mean no new donor-funded project can be approved unless they are reviewed and included in the plan and estimates for the next phase of the projects.

With the improvement of the execution, supervising, and appraisal of donor-funded community development projects, donors and their expert staff must be encouraged to use the Government of Ghana's financial system. They must be persuaded as much as possible to pass all donor funds through the 'consolidated or merged accounts' even if they are lodged in separate donor-held accounts. This can help by using GOG charts for accounting and record keeping of their expenditures and management. Also, this would supply reports of projects in an agreed and acceptable format for both the donors and the GOG. It will further help ease the prompt and proper integration of donor resources into a government of Ghana donor-funded reports and documentation. This eventually will support the work of government agencies with improvements to procurement

procedures to meet the donors' requirements and legislation. It will also help with the collaboration of donors to participate in a Government of Ghana evaluation mission. The efficacy would reduce the time taken with separate donor guidelines and evaluations.

There could be an improvement in the regional planning and coordination of donor activities if the central government has laid down administrative procedures devoid of political interference. The Regional Coordinating Councils must be mandated as the agency in charge of harmonising host country governance and community development financing among districts in their control. They can support NGOs in coordinating development efforts at the regional level. This function can include general administration to cover the entrance and departure of donor agents, and the choice and harmonious initiation of donor projects towards accelerated poverty reduction and community development in the regions. They can also oversee monitoring in partnership with NGOs in the impact assessment of these initiatives.

The RCC which has two divisions, the Regional Directorate of Administration (RDA) and the Regional Planning and Coordinating Unit (RPU) must further enforce the latter division. This section should have oversight authority, responsibility, and overall accountability to donor-funded developmental projects in the country. The government can strengthen the coordinating unit by facilitating a process for refocusing its development monitoring, coordination, and specialist assistance to the communities within the district assemblies. The independence and competence of this RPU unit staff

can support strategic planning and monitoring of development projects to reduce poverty and inequality nationwide. To increase the performance and reach of the RCC, they must be equipped with facilities for information management and communication as they become the principal agents between the state, the donor community, and the beneficiaries. Given that most bilateral projects in the five northern regions were related to access to water and sanitation, there should be an improvement in the national policies on the management of water and sanitation infrastructure.

This can be decentralised to give special attention to the five northern regions with these peculiar problems. The sections designed for rural communities should involve the facilitation and integration of best practices in the management of water supply and sanitation. As this can be fed into the overall regional policy framework for community governance to enhance support for the process of policy dialogue among communities, with donor support initiatives coordinated through the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development. This is because there have been several 'donor-water projects' in the northern part of Ghana, sponsored by different donor countries over the years. As the regions can boast of water resources, like the tributaries of the Black and White Volta, the River Oti, and the waters of the Tono and Vea dams. There should be a planned and calculated attempt towards a strategic water infrastructural development to produce potable water for the communities in the regions. The Ghana Water Company, a state institution, can be empowered with donor resources to integrate the staff of RPU on water resource management and capacity building.

The absence of feedback from aid beneficiaries to aid agencies has been widely noted in recent times as contributing to aid ineffectiveness. This research has highlighted some advantages of their inclusion. Beneficiary communities must demand some level of transparency and accountability from the implementing NGOs on project finances. More importantly on how community projects are prioritised and selected during stake holder engagements. This feedback must come from the community members to all stakeholders especially if need assessment fora are included in strategic planning and consultation. To ease this process, there must be an independent audit and further research into the activities of the donor community, the implementing agencies (both INGOs and local NGOs) and the host government officials. A consensus towards shared and targeted infrastructural development of the five northern regions at the expense of community needs assessment would signal to all stakeholders' the stage of project implementation and monitoring. An agreed legislation through a consultative assembly to control and manage the civil society space is paramount. This will serve as a disincentive to exploitation and mismanagement of both state and donor funds.

Ghana has an excellent opportunity to accelerate its economic development through the steady transformation of the economic fundamentals. This can be done through the planned and targeted infrastructure development of the five northern regions. The process in effect would create jobs for its citizenry and redirect migration to the north to reduce the in-country inequality and poverty dynamics associated with the regions. The policy document of Ghana Beyond Aid can be reviewed so donor aid can be directed to

infrastructural development to augment government efforts. Until then, the country faces its most challenging hurdle of in-country inequality and pronounced poverty in the north with the aftermath of the global recession and climate change.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 General introduction

This chapter summarises the contents of the thesis by looking at the set objectives, the methodology employed, and highlights the contribution to literature. It further gives policy recommendations and proposes thoughts for future research.

6.1 General summary

This thesis began with understanding the nature of the north-south divide in Ghana in terms of poverty and inequality with the workings of development aid through NGOs activity. The focus was to trace out why the five northern regions seemed poor and poverty laden whiles there are concentration of development aid projects and philanthropic foundations. This is important as it provokes our basic understanding of the achievement of donor aid and its implementors, and highlights evidence-based outcomes of development aid. It features the beneficiary communities' perspective in harnessing and reducing the potentials of poverty and inequality within the five northern regions of Ghana. This is because existing literatures have championed the importance of Donor aid in reducing poverty; whiles the third sector players (NGOs/NPOs), have been projected as credible alternative to governments and the private sector in driving development in most African countries. With all its acclaimed prospects, the debate on aid development inefficiency is raging unabatedly. What is of empirical concern in Ghana, is how well donor aid through NGOs activities have performed in reducing poverty and increasing rural growth. This thesis attempts to address these concerns by exploring the varied features of aid implementation and the critical benefits of development projects to recipient communities. It unearths some unethical attitudes in

relation to aid inefficiency conversations and props the industries' perspectives to keep the debate alive and ahead.

6.2 The study objective revisited

This study is based on the argument that, measuring the success of NGOs development project implementations and evaluations are incomplete without analysing the perspective of the community beneficiaries. The study contributes to the debates on the levels of poverty and inequality in Northern Ghana, by focusing on the nature of the divide and NGOs related activities. Three objectives relevant to poverty, donor aid and sustainability were investigated and are discussed in the sections below.

I. Objective one: investigated the nature and determinants of the north-south divide in terms of poverty and inequality in Ghana and exhumes explanatory debates and measures to close these gaps.

The study found poverty and inequality changes are in effect gradual, just like continental drifts. But their visible effects are evidence in the poor health, education, and lack of other social amenities, lowering the standard of living of those affected. Many communities in the researched regions have had a continuous neglect of their development needs from the precolonial and colonial times, through to the proclamations of the independence of most African states. The failure of definite policy and systematic approach to development as witnessed in most donor countries was also bulldozed by different ideological posturing dictated by the geopolitics of the 1960s and 1970s. The evidence was a flip-flopping of both economic and political policies that led to total collapse of most

African countries including Ghana by the late 1970s. The World Bank and IMF brought in, economic and social policies that further eroded the little social structural pillars mounted. The Structural Adjustment policies collapsed all state-supported welfare systems through liberalisation. Unstable yet dynamic economies like Ghana were characterised by the frequent change of governments through 'the barrel of the gun' and the continuous policy redirection. Coupled with these was a glaring humanitarian crisis of hunger and degenerating poverty that ensued. The five northern regions though typically rural and savannah in nature, lacked most mineral resources found in Ghana, in comparison to the south. It made the north an easy target as labour reserve for the much more resourced and infrastructural endowed south. These conditions made the gains of SAP more evidence in the south than the north. Hunger, deprivation, and poverty coupled with wildfires began the calls for donor aid into Ghana but particularly the five northern regions.

The evidence of global poverty travelled down the world's consciousness and led to fundraising efforts of donor organisations towards humanity. Proposals for MDGs and SDGs received donor funding and calls for its sustainability. But both governments and markets of these comparatively poorer countries have equally failed in providing the necessary infrastructural development of these communities even with foreign direct investments. This has necessitated a plethora of social services to be performed by non-state and non-profit actors. These third sector development actors are sometimes church based and secular, have become key stakeholders in the rural community development

discourse through the 'northern project' in Ghana. But their lack, and loss of total accountability to either the communities they serve, the country they operate in or the donors they receive funding from has dwarfed their efforts in development aid efficiencies.

II. Objective two: examined the role played by development aid through NGOs desired missions, visions and measure their perceived impacts in relating to the growth and development of the five northern regions of Ghana.

As donor financing and development projects poured in to address poverty and inequality in Northern Ghana, so has been the conscious effort by the third sector players. Many have implemented projects in service provision through participatory development and co-production. These NGOs and NPOs have designed their project missions based on poverty reduction and anchored on the MDGs now SDGs. Their vision statements have transgressed the delivery of humanitarian services to the provision of social services, some public goods, and human right advocacies in the long haul. There are equally huge donor fund raising activities globally supporting the humanitarian disasters, philanthropy projects and ideologies as well as social investments implemented by most NGOs in many developing economies. In Ghana, the trawled statistics produced by many NGOs to paint a picture of what is going on in rural community development also touts a shadowing world of aid inefficiencies. The government of Ghana's earlier calls of 'Ghana Beyond Aid' and the COVID pandemic in recent times in effects is milking the waters of donor aid and philanthropic investments. Its continuous growth and

sustainability in rural communities of Northern Ghana is being questioned. The objective in the research analysed the key characteristics of NGOs activities and impact in relation to evidence from the beneficiary communities. It measured beneficiaries desired outcomes against the perceived outcomes of most NGOs operating within these communities.

III. Objective three: explored and explained the plausible consequences of donor aid fragmentation and the replicated development efforts in bridging the north-south divide in Ghana.

Though there is evidence of the combined influence of the colossal contribution of donor aid to Ghana, it measured impact in various economic activities and social infrastructure development in the rural countryside is catastrophic. The toxic mess created by overdependence on donor aid is propelling the vicious cycle of aid dependency in these regions. As different donor countries and many Philanthropic organisations have greeted the five northern regions of Ghana with the aim of reducing poverty, so has their progress and outcome been eventful. Different countries finance different project through similar NGOs within the same geographical areas. The passage of knowledge and tradition to maintain links with the past has sustain some donor countries and organisations with their beneficiary communities. But the different rules, values and practices of different implementing NGOs, conflicts with many beneficiary communities. The loss of projects in phases coupled with changing dynamics of projects accountability has had a negative effect on many beneficiaries and the state. As host governments awaits NGOs and NPOs

to take up rural community development, citizens are often empowered by the NGOs to demand their share of development from central government. The different communities need assessment motivated by the different NGOs is generating the lack of project coordination. Whiles the different donor funding for specific-country oriented projects is hampering the harmonisation of donor efforts. These are generating signs of beneficiary stress among aid recipients and subsequent donor fatigue for global fund raisers.

6.3 Methodological insights

The adapted grounded theory technique deployed in this research mingled well with the mixed method approach. With the use of community mapping and profiling, and desk study research, this thesis is enriched with sound ethical consideration. Its flexibility allowed the researcher to choose and follow the thematic considerations visible during the study. Community survey instruments and questionnaires were deployed whiles key stakeholders such as NGO managers, former aid workers, foreign aid workers, volunteering corps, community beneficiaries of aid, and development experts were interviewed. Factor analysis and use of mean score values, coupled with critical discourse analysis helped our triangulation processes. The bulk of raw data was given a boost from the first-hand community profiling documents of students on the Third Trimester Field Practical Program (TTFPP) of the University for Development Studies. As a faculty, I visited most of the communities in the five northern regions where we sent our students for a 12-week work and assessment. The Tamale Regional Archives and the five Regional co-ordinating councils including the desk officers in the Regional Planning units of the district assembly provided first hand and secondary information. Many community

stakeholders who we fraternised with during community mapping were of immerse help and provided me with key informants, information, and documentary evidence. The justification for this methodological approach is that it assumes theoretical consideration and queries social economic behaviour using empirical evidence which to measure statistically and or qualitatively. The blend of a contextual phenomenon with empirical evidence is presented in a mixed method study and this is what this researched to do.

6.4 Highlights of contributions to the study

Weighing in on the debates that characterise the north south divide in Ghana; this study chronologically reviewed the various determinants to the regions' underdevelopment. It updated the works of (Gyimah-Boadi & Shepherd, 2005; Jackson et al., 2019; Oduro et al., 2014; Plange, 1979). This research unearth the believe that the under development of the five northern region is pivoted on the colonial marginalisation ploy. This informed the deliberate infrastructure development of the south in relation to the north. The different policy change since then could not sustain or change the growth dynamics. These and other socio-economic factors have created the avenue for poverty and inequality to thrive in the north of Ghana. There has been a wide range of actors and elements involved in poverty works, donor aid and development management across multiple facets and scales with, and within poverty striking communities across the globe. The five northern regions represent the Ghanaian evidence of poverty laden community contextually.

The political economy of project management has empowered NGOs and NPOs to become an integral part of rural community development in most emerging economies. In fact, based on the vulnerability's presence in these communities, Many NGOs have displayed their commitment to the world and have earned global attention as best managers of donor aid. In most rural communities in the five northern regions of Ghana where they are recognised, they are well respected and form part of the strategic decision makers. They most often have strong community engagement and advocacy outlook. The practical logic of their existence is to provide relief and reduce the adversities against poverty within these communities. But the share volumes of development operations make some actors function in a more coordinated ways than others, but not necessarily efficient.

This thesis contributed to knowledge in the field of development aid and financing especially from the methodological front, by deviating from the usual and causal approaches of an adopted methodological genre. The incorporating and adaption of relevant information sets for the iterative and comparative analysis in general shows a mark of simplifying the variational iterative aspect to an adapted grounded theorem.

This thesis provided an empirical-oriented perceptions on the motives and values associated with aid to beneficiary communities based on the donors' priorities in Ghana. From beneficiary insights, the study equally depicted how the NGOs and NPOs deploy strategies based on the available opportunities associated with donor aids, against the challenges accompanying community development within a given period. The study

found that although many NGOs projects remain impactful to several community needs and aspirations, there are most often mismatch of interventions. The lack of tailored community based-infrastructural developments create pockets of opportunities for donor interventions. Since most of these interventions are based on the aid giver's prerogatives and the business opportunities of the aid implementers, the beneficiary communities are packaged as part of the problem. This in effect has produce aid inefficiency conditionalities within most beneficiaries and communities due in part to lack of aid coordination and harmonisation.

Many gaps remain in the execution of many donor-led community projects leading to 'purposeful fragmentation' in the nature of development projects. As different donor undertake rural project intervention indiscriminately, there is the failure to achieve desire poverty reduction outcomes, despites it many achievements. These loopholes are exploited from the designing of project implementation, accountability, monitoring, and evaluation by some NGOs. Whiles most project functionality, and viability are equally undermined by some beneficiary communities. In most instances, it is for the 'flow of aid' by the beneficiaries; and the 'sustainability of aid' by NGOs within the concepts of poverty reduction, that propel these inefficiencies. The empirical research findings associated with fragmented aid projects and the duplicated donor efforts are what significantly feeds this vicious cycle of aid dependency in development projects management. It is these inefficiencies propounding the development aid ideologies and its sustainability within the researched regions that we termed the twin element of aid

implementation. Thus, the phenomena of "Poverty Dance of beneficiary communities and the Red Herring of project implementation".

Poverty dance is the presage of beneficiaries of some poverty laden communities to anticipate the windfall of aid by the rendition of homogenised dramatic art of dearth. Most of these beneficiaries are always living in constant anticipation of aid handouts. They so act and believe their livelihoods must be such that, aid implementers and donors would always find them in need of donations. This is so as a result of many years of direct and indirect 'associated work experiences with aid related interventions. Fuelled by the continuous presence of donor aids through NGOs activities; many of these recipients of aid are hopeful of new and better forms of aid. They thus 'so act and remain poor'. On the other hand, red herring of aid implementation is the creation of an environment for exploitation by some aid implementers (NGOs) sometimes in 'coerced partnership' with community beneficiaries. This, 'coerced partnership' coupled with the 'space for exploitation' and the lack of ownership of projects proposes asymmetric information. Coupled with this is the lack of aid coordination and harmonisation efforts that affords individuals with moral hazards of aid project implementation. Hence the red herring of aid implementation.

6.5 Recommendations and thoughts for future research

Despite the half a century of continuous development aid flow into Ghana, the five northern regions remain poor and NGOs activity is gradually losing steam. This is

because the donor aid dynamics are equally changing based on the twirling shocks of recent global geopolitics. Humanity is accurately encapsulated in global uncertainty in terms of the COVID pandemic and its changing variants. The record-breaking deaths recorded from the pandemic afforded governments to look to solve domestic health systems at the expense of aid transfers. The Russian-Ukrainian war is diverting resources from food and energy production to war machinery and technology, whiles the ensuing humanitarian crisis is exerting undue pressures on the macro-economic and financial management of the West, and most donor countries. These are compounding the issues for most African countries with mounting debts and poor infrastructural deficits.

In the case of Ghana, these current predicaments and debts restructuring and payments, mimic the SAPs period of 1980s. Giving the new age of donor aid uncertainty, our perspective must be to redirect the little aid received towards rewarding prospects. This must be based on empirical and intelligent debates curated on topical issues galvanised from the opinions of those who are most affected.

- The first chance is the continuous debate that most developing countries including Ghana need aid and in sustained quantity and quality to support community development.
- The second track is to propel growth through infrastructural development and value addition rather than substitute growth with import substitution.

- Our defence no doubt is to recommend prudent management of projects based on the demographical and infrastructural needs of the people.

- NGOs and NPOs must remain advocate for community development through social investments and must further improve their accountability processes. They must seek to balance Advocacy and Development with their approaches between community needs assessment and infrastructural needs assessment.

- Community orientation towards socio-economic project sustainability must be encouraged. This research has shown that most of the communities visited have high value orientation toward socioeconomic outcomes. These included increased income related activities such as micro loans, credit facilities towards farming inputs and employment. These as well as social investment opportunities such as educational scholarships (particularly for girls), children school feeding programs, health, and hygiene sensitisations.

Given the empirical nature of this study, further research could focus on country-origin of development projects in Ghana and measure their success rates. This would afford individual international organisations and donor countries, a comprehensive evaluation of their humanitarian development agendas over the years through impact assessment.

- Future research could look at functional fragmentation in development project implementation based on donor rules, values, and practice in beneficiary communities.

- To affirm the findings of this thesis, a further study could investigate the causalities of donor aid inefficiency in the five northern regions with some control factors and parameters.

Chapter 7: REFERENCES

Abdulai, A.-G. (2017). The political economy of regional inequality in Ghana: Do political settlements matter? *The European Journal of Development Research*, 29(1), 213-229.

Abdulai, A. G., & Hulme, D. (2015). The politics of regional inequality in Ghana: state Elites, Donors and PRSPs. *Development Policy Review*, 33(5), 529-553.

Aboramadan, M. (2018). NGOs management: a roadmap to effective practices. *Journal of Global Responsibility*, 9(4),372-387.

Abudu, A., & Ascroft, J. (1978). "Story of URADEP". Ghana farmer. 18(1).

Acharya, A., De Lima, A. T. F., & Moore, M. (2006). Proliferation and fragmentation: Transactions costs and the value of aid. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 42(1), 1-21.

Adaawen, S. A., & Owusu, B. (2013). North-South Migration and Remittances in Ghana. *African Review of Economics and Finance*, 5(1), 29-45.

Addai, K. N., Ng'ombe, J. N., & Temoso, O. (2022). *Food Poverty, Vulnerability, and Food Consumption Inequality Among Smallholder Households in Ghana: A Gender-Based Perspective*. Social Indicators Research, 1-29.

Addo, A. (2017). *NGO and Poverty Reduction: A Case Study of Danish and Ghanaian in Ghana. Unpublished MA thesis*. Aalborg University.

Adjasi, C. K. (2007). *Links between stock market development and key Economic growth variables: the case of selected African Countries. Stellenbosch University Working Paper. Stellenbosch*, South Africa.

Aganah, G. (2022). State-Society Collaboration in Peacebuilding: Ending Interethnic Conflicts in Northern Ghana. *African Conflict & Peacebuilding Review*, 12(1), 55-81.

Agénor, P.-R., & Aizenman, J. (2010). Aid volatility and poverty traps. *Journal of Development Economics*, 91(1), 1-7.

Agunga, R. (2012). Communication for development: A personal experience with implications for development policy. *The Journal of Agricultural Education and Extensio*n, 18(5), 509-524.

Aklorbortu, F. K. E. (2019). *An Examination of Ghana beyond Aid: Prospects and Challenges*. University of Ghana, Masters thesis, University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh. Accessed 21-2-2022.

Alagidede, P., Baah-Boateng, W., & Nketiah-Amponsah, E. (2013). The Ghanaian economy: an overview. *Ghanaian Journal of Economics*, 1(1), 4-34.

Alesina, A., & Dollar, D. (2000). Who gives foreign aid to whom and why? *Journal of Economic Growth*, 5(1), 33-63.

Alesina, A., & Weder, B. (2002). Do corrupt governments receive less foreign aid? *American Economic Review*, 92(4), 1126-1137.

Alkire, S., Bebbington, A., Esmail, T., Ostrom, E., Polski, M., Ryan, A., Dongier, P. (2001). *Community-driven development*. PRSP Source Book.

Almog-Bar, M., & Schmid, H. (2014). Advocacy activities of non-profit human service organizations: A critical review. *Non-profits and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 43(1), 11-35.

Amofah, S., & Agyare, L. (2022). Poverty alleviation approaches of development NGOs in Ghana: Application of the basic needs approach. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 8(1): 2063472.

Anand, S., & Ravallion, M. (1993). Human development in poor countries: on the role of private incomes and public services. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 7(1), 133-150.

Ananpansah, S. (2019). *An Examination of the Sustainability of the Ghana Beyond Aid Agenda: Challenges and Prospects*. University of Ghana.

Anderson, K. (2012). Civil Society: Do NGOs Have Too Much Power? UCLA *Journal of International Law and Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring 2011), pp. 1-40.

Anggraeni, M., Gupta, J., & Verrest, H. J. (2019). Cost and value of stakeholders' participation: A systematic literature review. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 101, 364-373.

Anheier HK (2014) International aspects of globalization. In: Anheier HK *(ed)* Nonprofit organizations: theory, management, policy, 2nd edn. Routledge, London, UK

Anheier, H. K., & Salamon, L. M. (2006). *The Nonprofit Sector in Comparative Perspective. In The Nonprofit Sector (pp. 89-114)*: Yale University Press.

Annen, K., & Kosempel, S. (2009). Foreign aid, donor fragmentation, and economic growth. *The BE Journal of Macroeconomics*, 9(1).

Annim, S. K., Mariwah, S., & Sebu, J. (2012). Spatial inequality and household poverty in Ghana. *Economic Systems*, 36(4), 487-505.

Arhin, A. A., Kumi, E., & Adam, M.-A. S. (2018). Facing the Bullet? Non-Governmental Organisations' (NGOs') Responses to the Changing Aid Landscape in Ghana. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations, 29(2), 348-360.*

Armstrong, M. (2006). *A handbook of human resource management practice, Tenth Edition* Kogan, Publishing, London, p. 264.

Aryeetey, E. (1990). Decentralization for rural development: exogenous factors and semi-autonomous programme units in Ghana. *Community Development Journal*, 25(3), 206-214.

Aryeetey, E., & Baah-Boateng, W. (2015). *Understanding Ghana's growth success story and job creation challenges* (No. 2015/140). WIDER Working Paper. *(9292560298)*.

Aryeetey, E. & Kanbur, R. (2008*), The Economy of Ghana: Analytical Perspectives on Stability, Growth & Poverty, Oxford Accra, Ghana:* James Currey Woeli Publishing Services.

Aryeetey, E., Peretz, D., & Secretariat, C. (2005). *Monitoring Donor and IFI Support Behind Country Owned Poverty Reduction Strategies in Ghana.* Report for the Commonwealth Secretariat, Marlborough House, London, 1-35.

Ashdown, B. K., Dixe, A., & Talmage, C. A. (2021). The potentially damaging effects of developmental aid and voluntourism on cultural capital and well-being. *International Journal of Community Well-Being*, 4(1), 113-131.

Ashley, C., & Maxwell, S. (2001). Rethinking rural development. *Development policy review*, 19(4), 395-425.

Atampugre, N. (1997). Aid, NGOs and grassroots development: northern Burkina Faso. *Review of African Political Economy*, 24(71), 57-73.

Awumbila, M., & Ardayfio-Schandorf, E. (2008). Gendered poverty, migration and livelihood strategies of female porters in Accra, Ghana. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift-Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 62(3), 171-179.

Awunyo-Vitor, D., & Sackey, R. A. (2018). Agricultural sector foreign direct investment and economic growth in Ghana. *Journal of Innovation and Entrepreneurship*, 7(1), 1-15.

Azarya, V. (1988) `Reordering State-Society Relations: Incorporation and Disengagement', pp. 3-21 in D. Rothchild and N. Chazan (eds), *The Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Azzopardi, E., & Nash, R. (2013). A critical evaluation of importance–performance analysis. *Tourism management*, 35, 222-233.

Ball, R., & Johnson, C. (1996). Political, economic, and humanitarian motivations for PL 480 food aid: Evidence from Africa. Economic development and cultural change, 44(3), 515-537.

Bangura, Y. (2022). Development discourse in Africa: thinking about Thandika Mkandawire. *Journal of African Transformation*, 7(1), 1.

World Bank. 2011. *Tackling Poverty in Northern Ghana*. Report No. 53991-GH. World Bank Africa Region, Washington D.C.

Banks, N. (2021). *The Role and Contributions of Development NGOs to Development Cooperation: What Do We Know? In The Palgrave Handbook of Development Cooperation for Achieving the 2030 Agenda (pp. 671-688):* Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Banks, N., & Hulme, D. (2012). *The role of NGOs and civil society in development and poverty reduction.* Brooks World Poverty Institute Working Paper (171).

Barnett, Michael. 2011. *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. https://doi.org/10.7591/9780801460616

Barrett, C. B., & Maxwell, D. (2007). Food aid after fifty years: Recasting its role: Routledge.

Bawa, S. (2013). *Autonomy and policy independence in Africa: a review of NGO development challenges*. Development in Practice, 23(4), 526-536.

Bawakyillenuo, S., & Kpieta, B. (2013). *The trajectories of irrigated agriculture and rural development in Northern Ghana. Rural development in Northern Ghana*. New York: Nova Science, 123-145.

Bebbington, A. J., & Bebbington, D. (2001). Development alternatives: practice, dilemmas and theory. Area, 33(1), 7-17.

Becker, F. (2019). *The Politics of Poverty: Policymaking and Development in Rural Tanzania (Vol. 143):* Cambridge University Press. 249-280

Ben-Ner, A., & Gui, B. (2003). The theory of nonprofit organizations revisited. In The study of the nonprofit enterprise (pp. 3-26): Springer.

Bening, R. B. (1990). A history of education in Northern Ghana, 1907-1976: Ghana Universities Press.

Benmamoun, M., & Lehnert, K. (2013). Financing growth: comparing the effects of FDI, ODA, and international remittances. *Journal of economic development, 38(2), 43.*

Berg, A., & Krueger, A. O. (2003). *Trade, growth, and poverty: A selective survey.* Paper presented at the Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics.

Bhagwati, J. (2010). Banned aid: Why international assistance does not alleviate poverty. *In: JSTOR*. 120-125

Bierschenk T., Chauveau J. -P., De Sadan J. -O., Kossi A. (2002). *Local development brokers in Africa. The rise of a new social category*. Mainz, Germany: IFAS.

Bierschenk, T., & De Sardan, J.-P. O. (2003). Powers in the village: Rural Benin between democratization and decentralisation. Africa, 73(2), 145-173.

Birdsall, N. (2005). The Seven Deadly Sins of Donors: Reflections on Donor Failings.

Birdsall, N., Kharas, H. J., Mahgoub, A., & Perakis, R. (2010). *Quality of official development assistance assessment*: Center for Global Development Washington, DC. 269-293, https://doi.org/10.1596/978-0-8213-8439-8_ch9.

Birks, M., & Mills, J. (2019). Rendering Analysis through Storyline. The SAGE Handbook of Current Developments in Grounded Theory, Page: 243.

Blench, R., & Dendo, M. (2005). The Booni language of Bongo district, Upper East Region, Northern Ghana. In: Рукопись. 1-12.

Boateng, P. K. (2017). Land access, agricultural land use changes and narratives about Land degradation in the Savannahs of Northeast Ghana during the pre-colonial and colonial periods. Social Sciences, 6(1), 35.

Bob-Milliar, G. M. (2019). Place and party organizations: party activism inside party-branded sheds at the grassroots in northern Ghana. Territory, Politics, Governance, 7(4), 474-493.

Bornstein, G. (2003). Intergroup conflict: Individual, group, and collective interests. Personality and social psychology review, 7(2), 129-145.

Botchway, K. (2001). Are Development Planners Afraid of History and Contextualization? Notes on Reading a Development Report on Northern Ghana. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue canadienne des études africaines*, 35(1), 32-66.

Botchway, K. (2001). Paradox of empowerment: reflections on a case study from Northern Ghana. World Development, 29(1), 135-153.

Botchway, K. Q. (1998). *Interrogating" development" in Ghana: The case of the Northern Region Rural Integrated Program (NORRIP)*. New School for Social Research. 1-24

Bourguignon, F. (2004). *"The Poverty-Growth-Inequality Triangle."* Washington D.C.: World Bank.

Bourguignon, F., & Platteau, J.-P. (2015). The hard challenge of aid coordination. World Development, 69, 86-97.

Brass, J. N. (2010). Surrogates for government? NGOs and the state in Kenya. UC Berkeley, (3445456) 1-24

Bratton, M. (1989). The politics of government-NGO relations in Africa. World Development, 17(4), 569-587.

Bräutigam, D. (2011). Chinese development aid in Africa: What, where, why, and how much? Where, Why, and How Much (ed), *The Development of China's FDI Laws and Policies after WTO Accession*, 85-99.

Brett, E. A. (2003). Participation and accountability in development management. *The journal of development studies*, *40*(2), 1-29.

Brukum, N. J. K. (1998). Studied neglect or lack of resources? The socio-economic underdevelopment of Northern Ghana under British Colonial Rule. Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana (2), 117-131.

Bulíř, A., & Hamann, A. J. (2003). Aid volatility: an empirical assessment. IMF Staff papers, 50(1), 64-89.

Bulíř, A., & Hamann, A. J. (2008). Volatility of development aid: From the frying pan into the fire? World Development, 36(10), 2048-2066.

Burnside, C., & Dollar, D. (1997). Aid spurs growth-in a sound policy environment. Finance & Development, 34(004).

Burnside, C., & Dollar, D. (1998). *Aid, the incentive regime, and poverty reduction* (No. 1937). World Bank Publications. 1-16.

Carroll, T. F. (1992). Intermediary NGOs: The supporting link in grassroots development: Kumarian Press. 288-321.

Cassia, L., De Massis, A., & Pizzurno, E. (2012). Strategic innovation and new product development in family firms: An empirically grounded theoretical framework. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, *18*(2), 198-232.

Castaneda Aguilar, R. A., Dewina, R., Diaz-Bonilla, C., Edochie, I. N., Fujs, T. H., Jolliffe, D., Mahler, D. G. (2022). April 2022 Update to the Poverty and Inequality Platform (PIP). 1-49. http://hdl.handle.net/10986/37479

Celasun, O., & Walliser, J. (2008). Predictability of aid: Do fickle donors undermine aid effectiveness? Economic Policy, 23(55), 546-594.

Cernea, M. M. (1988). *Nongovernmental organizations and local development* (No. 40). World Bank.

Chabal, P., & Daloz, J.-P. (1999). *Africa works: disorder as political instrument*. Oxford: James Currey, 0852558198, 1-170

Charmaz, K. (2006). Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis: sage. 96-151

Chazan, N. (2019). Patterns of state-society incorporation and disengagement in Africa. In *The Precarious Balance* (pp. 121-148). Routledge.

Chege, S. (1999). Donors shift more aid to NGOs. Africa Recovery, 13(1), 6.

Cho, J. Y., & Lee, E.-H. (2014). Reducing confusion about grounded theory and qualitative content analysis: Similarities and differences. The qualitative report, 19(32), 1-20.

Chun Tie, Y., Birks, M., & Francis, K. (2019). Grounded theory research: A design framework for novice researchers. SAGE open medicine, 7, 2050312118822927. 1-8

Cilliers, J. (2017). Fertility, growth, and the future of aid in sub-Saharan Africa. Growth and the Future of Aid in Sub-Saharan Africa (October 10, 2017). 1-24, https://ssrn.com/abstract=3099369

Clemens, E. S. (2006). The constitution of citizens: Political theories of nonprofit organizations. The nonprofit sector: A research handbook, 2, 207-220.

Clementi, F., Molini, V., & Schettino, F. (2018). All that glitters is not gold: polarization amid poverty reduction in Ghana. World Development, 102, 275-291.

Clifford, D., Geyne-Rahme, F., & Mohan, J. (2013). Variations between organisations and localities in government funding of third-sector activity: evidence from the national survey of third-sector organisations in England. Urban Studies, 50(5), 959-976.

Cogneau, D., & Mesplé-Somps, S. (2008). Inequality of opportunity for income in five countries of Africa. In *Inequality and opportunity: Papers from the second ecineq society meeting* (Vol. 16, pp. 99-128). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Cole, W. M. (2022). Aiding Human Rights? The Effect of US, European, and Chinese Development Assistance on Rights Practices in Recipient Countries, 2001 to 2017. *International Journal of Sociology*, 1-31.

Collier, P., & Dehn, J. (2001). Aid, shocks, and growth (Vol. 2688): World Bank Publications. 1-22

Collier, P., & Dollar, D. (2001). Can the world cut poverty in half? How policy reform and effective aid can meet international development goals. World Development, 29(11), 1787-1802.

Collier, P., & Dollar, D. (2002). Aid allocation and poverty reduction. European economic review, 46(8), 1475-1500.

Committee, G. B. A. (2019). Ghana Beyond Aid Charter and Strategy Document. In: Accra, Ghana: Ghana Beyond Aid Secretariat. 1-61

Conning, J., & Kevane, M. (2002). Community-based targeting mechanisms for social safety nets: A critical review. World Development, 30(3), 375-394.

Cooke, B., & Kothari, U. (2001). Participation: The new tyranny? Zed books. 16-32

Cooke, E., Hague, S., & McKay, A. (2016). The Ghana poverty and inequality report: Using the 6th Ghana living standards survey. *University of Sussex*, UNICEF, 1-43.

Cooper, F., & Stoler, A. L. (1989). introduction tensions of empire: colonial control and visions of rule. American Ethnologist, 16(4), 609-621.

Cornia, G. (2001). Social funds in stabilization and adjustment programmes: a critique. Development and change, 32(1), 1-32.

Corry, O. (2010). Defining and theorizing the third sector. In Third sector research (pp. 11-20): Springer.

Coulombe, H. (2005). Ghana census-based poverty map: District and sub-district level results. Accra: Ghana Statistical Service.

Craig, G. (2002). Poverty, social work and social justice. British Journal of Social Work, 32(6), 669-682.

Crawford, G., & Abdulai, A.-G. (2009). The World Bank and Ghana's Poverty Reduction Strategies: Strengthening the State or Consolidating Neoliberalism? Labour, Capital and Society/Travail, capital et société, 82-115.

Cuesta, J., & Danquah, M. (2022). Urban cash transfers and poverty in Ghana. Review of Development Economics, 26(1), 133-155.

Dalgaard, C.-J., & Hansen, H. (2001). On aid, growth and good policies. *Journal of Development Studies,* 37(6), 17-41.

Dalgaard, C. J., Hansen, H., & Tarp, F. (2004). On the empirics of foreign aid and growth. *The economic journal*, 114(496), F191-F216.

Daloz, J.-P. (2003). " Big men" in sub-Saharan Africa: how elites accumulate positions and resources. Comparative sociology, 2(1), 271-285.

Denkabe, A. (1993). Ghana: Country Overview'in Copestake & Wellard, Non-Governmental Organizations and the State in Africa. In: Amanor, K., Denkabe, A., & Wellard, K. (1993). Ghana: country overview. In *Non-Governmental Organizations and the State in Africa* (pp. 183-194). Routledge. London: Routledge.

Denzin, N. K. (2017). Critical qualitative inquiry. Qualitative Inquiry, 23(1), 8-16.

Dietz, A. J., Millar, D., & Obeng, F. (2002). *By the Grace of God, the day will come when poverty will receive the final blow: the impact of NGOs supported by Dutch co-financing agencies on poverty reduction and regional development in the Sahel: Northern Ghana report*. 1-176 https://hdl.handle.net/1887/15416

Dipama, S. (2022). G20 Rising Powers and South–South Development Cooperation: Trends and Features. In G20 Rising Powers in the Changing International Development Landscape (pp. 93-113): Springer.

Dollar, D., Kleineberg, T., & Kraay, A. (2013). Growth still is good for the poor: The World Bank.

Dollar, D., & Kraay, A. (2002). Growth is Good for the Poor. *Journal of economic growth,* 7(3), 195-225.

Donkor, K. (2002). Structural adjustment and mass poverty in Ghana. In World poverty (pp. 197-232): Policy Press.

Doucouliagos, H., Hinz, T., & Zigova, K. (2022). Bias and careers: Evidence from the aid effectiveness literature. *European Journal of Political Economy, 71, 102056*.

Dreher, Axel and Lang, Valentin F. and Ziaja, Sebastian and Ziaja, Sebastian, Foreign Aid in Areas of Limited Statehood (February 20, 2017). CESifo Working Paper Series No. 6340, Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=2932759

Dugle, G., Akanbang, B. A., & Salakpi, A. (2015). Nature of non-governmental organisations involved in local development in the upper west region of Ghana. *Ghana Journal of Development Studies,* 12(1-2), 142-163.

Easterly, W. (2006). Reliving the 1950s: the big push, poverty traps, and takeoffs in economic development. *Journal of economic growth*, 11(4), 289-318.

Easterly, W., Levine, R., & Roodman, D. (2004). Aid, policies, and growth: comment. *American economic review*, 94(3), 774-780.

Easterly, W., & Pfutze, T. (2008). Where does the money go? Best and worst practices in foreign aid. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 22(2), 29-52.

Ebrahim, A., Battilana, J., & Mair, J. (2014). The governance of social enterprises: Mission drift and accountability challenges in hybrid organizations. Research in organizational behavior, 34, 81-100.

Edwards, M. (1998). Are NGOs overrated? Why and how to say no. Current Issues in Comparative Education, 1(1), 55-61.

Edwards, M. (2020). Have NGOs 'Made a Difference'? From Manchester to Birmingham with an Elephant in the Room. In *NGO Management* (pp. 13-25). Routledge.

Edwards, M., & Hulme, D. (1992). Scaling up NGO impact on development: learning from experience. Development in Practice, 2(2), 77-91.

Edwards, M., & Hulme, D. (1996). Too close for comfort? The impact of official aid on nongovernmental organizations. World Development, 24(6), 961-973.

Edwards, M., & Hulme, D. (2014). NGO performance and accountability: introduction and overview. In *Non-Governmental Organisations-Performance and Accountability* (pp. 3-16). Routledge.

El Hussein, M., Hirst, S., Salyers, V., & Osuji, J. (2014). Using grounded theory as a method of inquiry: Advantages and disadvantages. *The Qualitative Report*, *19*(27).

Elliott, O. V., & Salamon, L. M. (2002). The tools of government: A guide to the new governance: Oxford University Press. 156-186

Enu, P. (2014). Analysis of the agricultural sector of Ghana and its economic impact on economic growth. *Academic Research International*, 5(4), 267-277.

Eskildsen, J. K., & Kristensen, K. (2006). Enhancing importance-performance analysis. *International Journal of Productivity and Performance Management*, *55*(1), 40-60.

Ewusi, K. (1976). Disparities in levels of regional development in Ghana. Social indicators research, 3(1), 75-100.

Eyben, R., Leon, R., & Hossain, N. (2007). *Participatory action research into donor–recipient relations: a case study*. *Development in Practice*, 17(2), 167-178.

Fields, G. S. (1989). *Changes in poverty and inequality in developing countries*. The World Bank Research Observer, 4(2), 167-185.

Fisher, W. F. (1997). *Doing good? The politics and antipolitics of NGO practices*. Annual review of anthropology, 26(1), 439-464.

Fletcher, M. (2005). *Make Poverty History campaign*. The Canadian Nurse, 101(8), 9.

Foli, R. K. (2015). *Transnational actors and anti-poverty policymaking in Ghana*: An ideational perspective. In: PhD dissertation). University of Saskatchewan. (226161010), 92-173

Forbes, A. A. (1999). *The importance of being local: villagers, NGOs, and the World Bank in the Arun Valley, Nepal*. Identities Global Studies in Culture and Power, 6(2-3), 319-344.

Forkuor, D., & Agyemang, S. (2018). *Fighting urban poverty in Ghana: The role of non-governmental organizations*. Paper presented at the Urban Forum.

Fowler, A. (1991). *The role of NGOs in changing state-society relations: perspectives from Eastern and Southern Africa*. Development policy review, 9(1), 53-84.

Fowler, A. (1992). *Distant obligations: speculations on NGO funding and the global market*. Review of African Political Economy, 19(55), 9-29.

Fowler, A. (1997). *Building partnerships between Northern and Southern NGOs.". Development and Patronage, edited by Deborah Eade.* London: Oxfam Great Britain, 31-40.

Fowler, A. (2011). *Development NGOs*. The Oxford handbook of civil society, 42-54.

Fraser, N. (1995). Recognition or redistribution? A critical reading of Iris Young's Justice and the Politics of Difference. *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 3(2), 166-180.

Frot, E. (2009). *Aid and the financial crisis: Shall we expect development aid to fall?* Available at SSRN 1402788.

Gariba, Sulley. 1989. The Peasantry and the State in Ghana: *The Political Economy of Agrarian Stagnation and Rural Development in Northern Ghana.* Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Department of Political Science, Carleton University, Ottawa.

Gary, I. (1996). *Confrontation, Co-operation or Co-optation: NGOs and the Ghanaian state during structural adjustment*. Review of African Political Economy, 23(68), 149-168.

Gaspart, F., & Seki, E. (2003). Cooperation, status seeking and competitive behaviour: theory and evidence. *Journal of economic behavior & organization*, 51(1), 51-77.

Geddes, M., Mensah, E. J., Natali, L., & Quartey, P. (2009). OECD DAC–PDE thematic study on untied aid: Ghana country study. *London: Overseas Development Institute, ISSER*, 1-87.

Gehring, K., Michaelowa, K., Dreher, A., & Spörri, F. (2017). Aid Fragmentation and Effectiveness: What Do We Really Know? World Development, 99, 320-334.

Glaser, B. G. (1978). *Advances in the methodology of grounded theory: Theoretical sensitivity*. Mill Valley, University of California, Sociology press.

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). The Discovery of Grounded Theory Aldine Publishing Company. Hawthorne, New York.

Greenhill, R., Prizzon, A., & Rogerson, A. (2016). *The age of choice: developing countries in the new aid landscape.* In The fragmentation of aid (pp. 137-151): Springer.

Grier, B. (1981). *Underdevelopment, modes of production, and the state in colonial Ghana*. African Studies Review, 24(1), 21-48.

Grigoriadis, T., & Gaibu, S. (2019). Economic Models of Aid Effectiveness in Moldova, *the Open Society Initiative for Europe.* EXPERT-GRUP Centrul Analitic Independent 1-35.

Groat, L. N., & Wang, D. (2013). Architectural research methods: John Wiley & Sons. Page

Group, W. B. (2018). *Third Ghana economic update: Agriculture as an engine of growth and jobs creation:* World Bank.

GSS. (2018). Ghana living standards survey (GLSS7): *Poverty trends in Ghana; 2005–2017*. In: Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) Accra, Ghana.

Guetterman, T. C., Babchuk, W. A., Howell Smith, M. C., & Stevens, J. (2019). Contemporary approaches to mixed Methods–Grounded theory research: a Field-Based analysis. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 13(2), 179-195.

Gulrajani, N., & Calleja, R. (2019). The principled aid index. *Policy brief. London: ODI (www. odi. org/opinion/10502-principled-aid-index)*.

Gulrajani, N., & Swiss, L. (2019). Donor proliferation to what ends? New donor countries and the search for legitimacy. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d'études du développement*, 40(3), 348-368.

Guo, E., Akudugu, M. A., & Al-Hassan, S. (2013). *The savannah accelerated development authority:* Factors to consider in modernising agriculture in Northern Ghana. *Journal of Agricultural Extension and Rural Development,* ICEIR, 1-9.

Gyimah-Boadi, E., & Shepherd, E. (2005). *Bridging the North South Divide in Ghana Accra*. In: Ghana Universities Press.

Haidar, M. (2009). Sustainable Livelihood Approaches. Paper presented at The Framework, Lessons Learnt From Practice And Policy Recommendations. Expert Group Meeting on Adopting the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach for Promoting Rural Development in the ESCWA Region Beirut.

Haller, B. A., & Ralph, S. (2001). Profitability, diversity, and disability images in advertising in the United States and Great Britain.

Hamid, M. O., & Jahan, I. (2020). Beneficiary voices in ELT development aid: ethics, epistemology, and politics. Language Policy, 1-26.

Hammad, L., & Morton, B. (2011). *Greater Influence, Greater Responsibility: Are INGOs self-regulatory, accountability standards effective? The North–South Institute*. http://www. nsi-ins. ca/english/pdf/INGOFinal. pdf.

Hansen, H., & Tarp, F. (2000). Aid effectiveness disputed. *Journal of International Development*, 12(3), 375-398.

Hansen, H., & Tarp, F. (2001). Aid and growth regressions. *Journal of development Economics*, 64(2), 547-570.

Harada, K., Habib, M., Sakata, Y., & Maryudi, A. (2022). *The role of NGOs in recognition and sustainable maintenance of customary forests within indigenous communities: The case of Kerinci, Indonesia*. Land use policy, 113, 105865.

Harrigan, J., & Mosley, P. (1991). Evaluating the impact of World Bank structural adjustment lending: 1980–87. *The Journal of development studies*, 27(3), 63-94.

Aryeetey, E., Harrigan, J., & Nissanke, M. (Eds.). (2000). *Economic reforms in Ghana: The miracle and the mirage*. Africa World Press. 168-209.

Harris, M. (1995). *The organization of religious congregations: Tackling the issues.* Nonprofit Management and Leadership, 5(3), 261-274.

Harrison, G. (2010). *The Africanization of poverty: A retrospective on 'Make poverty history'*. African Affairs, 109(436), 391-408.

Harriss, J. (2002). *Depoliticizing development: The World Bank and social capital*: Anthem Press.

Hearn, J. (1998). *The 'NGO-isation' of Kenyan society: USAID & the restructuring of health care*. Review of African Political Economy, 25(75), 89-100.

Hearn, J. (2007). *African NGOs: the new compradors?* Development and change, 38(6), 1095-1110.

Hesselberg, J., & Yaro, J. A. (2006). *An assessment of the extent and causes of food insecurity in northern Ghana using a livelihood vulnerability framework*. GeoJournal, 67(1), 41-55. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-006-9007-2. doi:10.1007/s10708-006-9007-2

Hjelm, L., & Dasori, W. (2012). *Ghana comprehensive food security & vulnerability analysis, 2012.* Ghana comprehensive food security & vulnerability analysis.

Howes, S. (2014). A framework for understanding aid effectiveness determinants, strategies and tradeoffs. Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies, 1(1), 58-72.

Hudson, J. (2015). Consequences of aid volatility for macroeconomic management and aid effectiveness. World Development, 69, 62-74.

Hyndman, N. (2017). The charity sector—changing times, changing challenges. In (Vol. 37, pp. 149-153): Taylor & Francis.

Igoe, J., & Kelsall, T. (2005). Between a rock and a hard place: African NGOs, donors and the state: Carolina Academic Press.

Iliffe, J., & John, I. (1987). The African poor: A history: Cambridge University Press.

Irrera, D. (2022). Civil society and the politics of development. In Handbook on the Politics of International Development (pp. 183-196): Edward Elgar Publishing.

ISODEC, A. (2001). Institutionalising the PRSP approach in Ghana.

Jackson, E., Phillips, J., Oduro, A., Welaga, P., Wak, G., Kachur, S. P., & Bawah, A. (2019). The Impact of Community-Based Primary Health Care Services on Parental Health Seeking Behavior and Child Survival in a Rural Impoverished Locality of Northern Ghana. Available at SSRN 3347105.

Janus, H. (2022). OECD DAC development cooperation. In The Routledge Handbook of Global Development (pp. 71-81): Routledge.

Jennings, M. (2008). Surrogates of the state: NGOs, development, and Ujamaa in Tanzania: Kumarian Press.

Juselius, K., Møller, N. F., & Tarp, F. (2014). The long-run impact of foreign aid in 36 African countries: Insights from multivariate time series analysis. Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics, 76(2), 153-184.

Kanbur, R. (2003). Development economics and the compensation principle. International social science journal, 55(175), 27-35.

Keijzer, N., Klingebiel, S., Örnemark, C., & Scholtes, F. (2018). Seeking balanced ownership in changing development cooperation relationships. Keijzer, N.,

Klingebiel, S., Örnemark, C. & Scholtes, F., Seeking Balanced Ownership in Changing Development Cooperation Relationships, EBA Rapport, 8.

Kendall, J., & Knapp, M. R. J. (1995). Voluntary means, social ends.

Khan, N., Naushad, M., Faisal, S., & Fahad, S. (2020). Analysis of poverty of different countries of the world. Available at SSRN 3701329.

Khor, M., & Hormeku, T. (2006). The impact of globalisation and liberalisation on agriculture and small farmers in developing countries: The experience of Ghana.

Kilcoyne, K. R. (2021). Neo-Colonial Actors?: Analyzing French NGOs in Francophone West Africa.

Killingray, D. (1982). Military and labour recruitment in the Gold Coast during the Second World War. *Journal of African History*, 83-95.

Kimura, H., Mori, Y., & Sawada, Y. (2012). Aid proliferation and economic growth: A cross-country analysis. *World Development*, 40(1), 1-10.

Kimura, H., Sawada, Y., & Mori, Y. (2007). Aid proliferation and economic growth: A cross-country analysis. Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry.

Kingma, B. R. (2003). Public good theories of the nonprofit sector. In The study of the nonprofit enterprise (pp. 53-65): Springer.

Klingebiel, S., Mahn, T., & Negre, M. (2016). Fragmentation: A key concept for development cooperation. In The Fragmentation of Aid (pp. 1-18): Springer.

Knack, S., & Rahman, A. (2007). Donor fragmentation and bureaucratic quality in aid recipients. *Journal of development Economics*, 83(1), 176-197.

Konadu-Agyemang, K. (2000). *The best of times and the worst of times: structural adjustment programs and uneven development in Africa: the case of Ghana*. The Professional Geographer, 52(3), 469-483.

Koomson, I., & Danquah, M. (2021). *Financial inclusion and energy poverty: Empirical evidence from Ghana*. Energy economics, 94, 105085.

Korten, D. C. (1990). *Getting to the 21st century: Voluntary action and the global agenda* (Vol. 19): Kumarian Press West Hartford, CT.Kramar, A., Lebecq, A., & Candalh, E. (1999). *Continual reassessment methods in phase I trials of the combination of two drugs in oncology*. Statistics in medicine, 18(14), 1849-1864.

Kraus, J. (1987). *Ghana's shift from radical populism*. Current History, 86(520), 205-228.

Kraus, J. (1991). *The struggle over structural adjustment in Ghana*. Africa Today, 38(4), 19-37.

Krause, M. (2014). *The good project: Humanitarian relief NGOs and the fragmentation of reason:* University of Chicago Press. 1-180

Küfeoğlu, S. (2022). SDG-1 *No Poverty. In Emerging Technologies* (pp. 191-208): Springer.

Kumi, E. (2019). Aid Reduction and NGDOs' Quest for Sustainability in Ghana: Can Philanthropic Institutions Serve as Alternative Resource Mobilisation Routes? VOLUNTAS: *International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations, 30(6), 1332-1347.*

Kumi, E. (2020). From donor darling to beyond aid? Public perceptions of 'Ghana Beyond Aid'. *Journal Modern Africa Studies*, 58, 67-90.

Kurti, L. (2005). *Making space to breathe: Values, identity and accountability in a faith-based NGO*. University of New South Wales,

Kuu-Ire, S. M. (2009). Poverty reduction in Northern Ghana-A review of Colonial and Post-Independence Development Strategies. *Ghana Journal of Development Studi*es, *6(1).*

Kwao, B., & Amoak, D. (2022). Does size really matter? The prevalence of NGOs and challenges to development in Northern Ghana. Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift-*Norwegian Journal of Geography, 1-15.*

Lakner, C., *Mahler, D. G., Negre, M., & Prydz, E. B. (2019). How much does reducing inequality matter for global poverty?* World Bank Policy Research Working Paper (8869).

Landell-Mills, P. (1992). Governance, cultural change, and empowerment. *The Journal of Modern African Studies, 30(4), 543-567.*

Lensink, R., & White, H. (2001). Are there negative returns to aid? *Journal of Development Studies, 37(6), 42-65.*

Lentz, C., & Nugent, P. (2000). *Ethnicity in Ghana: A comparative perspective. In Ethnicity in Ghana* (pp. 1-28): Springer.

Lewis, D. (2014). *Non-governmental organizations, management and development*: Routledge.

Lewis, D., & Opoku-Mensah, P. (2006). Moving forward research agendas on international NGOs: theory, agency and context. *Journal of International Development, 18(5), 665-675.*

Li, G. (2001). *An analysis: The impact of non-governmental organizations on the practice of public relations.* Public Relations Quarterly, 46(4), 11.

Loxley, J., & Sackey, H. A. (2008). *Aid effectiveness in Africa*. African Development Review, 20(2), 163-199.

Lundsgaarde, E., & Engberg-Pedersen, L. (2019). *The aid effectiveness agenda: Past experiences and future prospects*: DIIS Report.

Ma, J., & Konrath, S. (2018). A century of nonprofit studies: Scaling the knowledge of the field. VOLUNTAS: *International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations, 29(6), 1139-1158.*

Madon, S. (1999). International NGOs: networking, information flows and learning. *The Journal of strategic information systems, 8(3), 251-261.*

Makumbe, J. (1998). *Post-Colonial Development Management. Zimbabwe Post Independence Public Administration:* Management Policy Issues and Constraints. Codesria. Dakar, 33-50.

Malena, C. (1995). *Working with NGOs: a practical guide to operational collaboration between the World Bank and nongovernmental organizations:* The World Bank.

Mamdani, M. (1992). Citizen and subject. In: Princeton University Press. Mbodj, M.

Mansuri, G., & Rao, V. (2004). Community-based and-driven development: A critical review. The World Bank Research Observer, 19(1), 1-39.

Mansuri, G., & Rao, V. (2012). Localizing development: Does participation work? *Source*

Marcussen, H. S. (1996). *NGOs, the state and civil society*. Review of African Political Economy, 23(69), 405-423.

Martilla, J. A., & James, J. C. (1977). Importance-performance analysis. *Journal of marketing, 41(1), 77-79.*

Matsunaga, Y., Yamauchi, N., & Okuyama, N. (2010). What determines the size of the nonprofit sector?: A cross-country analysis of the government failure theory. VOLUNTAS: *International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations, 21(2), 180-201.*

Mawdsley, E. (2017). *Development geography 1: Cooperation, competition and convergence between 'North' and 'South'*. Progress in Human Geography, 41(1), 108-117.

Mawdsley*, E., Townsend, J. G., & Porter, G. (2005). *Trust, accountability, and face-to-face interaction in North–South NGO relations*. Development in Practice, 15(1), 77-82.

Maxwell, S. J., & Singer, H. W. (1979). *Food aid to developing countries: a survey*. World Development, 7(3), 225-246.

McDermott Hughes, D. (2001). *Cadastral Politics: The Making of Community-Based Resource Management in Zimbabwe and Mozambique*. Development and change, 32(4), 741-768.

McEwan, C., & Mawdsley, E. (2012). *Trilateral development cooperation: Power and politics in emerging aid relationships*. Development and change, 43(6), 1185-1209.

McGillivray, M., & Carpenter, D. (2020). *Complex Development Aid Evaluations: The Aid Quality Evaluation Framework.* In Long Term Perspectives in Evaluation (pp. 137-153): Routledge.

McGillivray, M., & White, H. (1993). Measuring development? The UNDP's human development index. *Journal of International Development, 5(2), 183-192*.

Mekasha, T. J., & Tarp, F. (2019). *A meta-analysis of aid effectiveness: Revisiting the evidence.* Politics and Governance, 7(2), 5-28.

Miller, D. A. (2023). Research method: Constructivist Grounded Theory. *Aspect*, *2*, 1-9.

Mills, C. A. (1989). *Structural adjustment in sub-Saharan Africa*: World Bank Washington, DC.

Miracle, M. P., & Seidman, A. W. (1968). State farms in Ghana. Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. 3-58

Mirvis, P., Googins, B., & Kinnicutt, S. (2010). *Vision, mission, values*. Organizational Dynamics, 39(4), 316.

Mkandawire, P. T., & Soludo, C. C. (1999). *Our continent, our future*: African perspectives on structural adjustment: Idrc.

Mohajan, H. K., & Mohajan, D. (2023). Glaserian grounded theory and Straussian grounded theory: Two standard qualitative research approaches in social science. *Journal of Economic Development, Environment and People*, *12*(1), 72.

Mohan, G. (2002). *The disappointments of civil society: the politics of NGO intervention in northern Ghana*. Political Geography, 21(1), 125-154.

Mohan, G., & Stokke, K. (2000). *Participatory development and empowerment: the dangers of localism*. Third World Quarterly, 21(2), 247-268.

Molini, V., & Pierella, P. (2015). *Poverty reduction in Ghana 2015: Progress and challenges*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Monye, S., Ansah, E., & Orakwue, E. (2010). *Easy to declare, difficult to implement: The disconnect between the aspirations of the Paris Declaration and donor practice in Nigeria*. Development policy review, 28(6), 749-770.

Mosley, P., & Hulme, D. (1998). *Microenterprise finance: is there a conflict between growth and poverty alleviation?* World Development, 26(5), 783-790.

Moss, T. J., Pettersson Gelander, G., & Van de Walle, N. (2006). *An aid-institutions paradox? A review essay on aid dependency and state building in sub-Saharan Africa.* Center for Global Development working paper (74), 11-05.

Mosse, D. (2001). *'People's knowledge', participation and patronage: operations and representations in rural development* (pp. 16-35). Zed Books.

Moudud, J. K., & Botchway, K. (2008). The search for a new developmental state. *International Journal of Political Economy, 37(3), 5-26.*

Mount, L. (2021). *"Funding does something to people": NGOs navigating funding challenges in India.* Development in Practice, 1-13.

Moyo, D. (2009a). Dead aid: *Why aid is not working and how there is a better way for Africa:* Macmillan.

Moyo, D. (2009b). Why foreign aid is hurting Africa. *The Wall Street Journal, 21, 1-2.*

Moyo, L., & Tsakata Mafuso, L. (2017). The effectiveness of foreign aid on economic development in developing countries: A case of Zimbabwe (1980-2000). *Journal of Social Sciences, 52(1-3), 173-187.*

Murphy, B. K. (2000). *International NGOs and the challenge of modernity*. Development in Practice, 10(3-4), 330-347.

Najam, A. (1996). *Understanding the third sector: Revisiting the prince, the merchant, and the citizen.* Nonprofit Management and Leadership, 7(2), 203-219.

Najam, A. (2000). *The four C's of government third Sector-Government relations.* Nonprofit Management and Leadership, 10(4), 375-396.

Nancy, G., & Yontcheva, B. (2006). *Does NGO aid go to the poor*? Empirical evidence from Europe.

Narayan, D. (1998). *Participatory Rural Development in Agriculture and the Environment.* In: Washington DC: World Bank.

Natsios, A. S. (1995). NGOs and the UN system in complex humanitarian emergencies: conflict or cooperation? *Third World Quarterly*, *16*(3), 405-420.

Natsios, A. S., & Bush, G. (1997). *US foreign policy and the four horsemen of the apocalypse: Humanitarian relief in complex emergencies*: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Nkomazana, F. (1998). Livingstone's ideas of Christianity, commerce and civilization. *Botsw. Journal of African Studies*, *12*, 44–57.

Norton, A., Aryeetey, E. B.-D., Korboe, D., & Dogbe, D. T. (1995). *Poverty assessment in Ghana using qualitative and participatory research methods. World Bank Poverty and Social Policy Department*. Discussion Paper Series, 83.

Nsiah-Asare, A. (2017). *The health sector in Ghana: facts and figures 2017. Accra*: Ghana Health Service.

Nsiah-Boateng, E., Ruger, J. P., & Nonvignon, J. (2019*). Is enrolment in the national health insurance scheme in Ghana pro-poor? Evidence from the Ghana Living Standards Survey*. BMJ open, 9(7), e029419.

Nushiwat, M. (2007). Foreign aid to developing countries: Does it crowd-out the recipient countries' domestic savings. *International Research Journal of Finance and Economics, 11(11), 94-102.*

Nyaaba, A. Y., & Bob-Milliar, G. M. (2019). *The Economic Potentials of Northern Ghana: The Ambivalence of the Colonial and Post-Colonial States to Develop the North*. African Economic History, 47(2), 45-67.

Nyamugasira, W. (1998). *NGOs and advocacy: how well are the poor represented?* Development in Practice, 8(3), 297-308.

Obeng-Odoom, F. (2012). *Neoliberalism and the urban economy in Ghana: Urban employment, inequality, and poverty*. Growth and Change, 43(1), 85-109.

Oduro, C. Y., Peprah, C., & Adamtey, R. (2014). *Analysis of the Determinants of Spatial Inequality in Ghana Using Two-Stage Least-Square Regression*. Developing Country Studies, 4(20), 28-44.

OECD, D. (1996). *Shaping the 21st century: the contribution of development cooperation. Paris:* Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

Offei, S. (2011). The role of NGOs and local government in the socio-economic development of Lambussie Karni district, Ghana. MA thesis, Sweden: Linkoping University.

Ofori-Asenso, R., & Agyeman, A. A. (2016). *Hepatitis B in Ghana: a systematic review & meta-analysis of prevalence studies (1995-2015)*. BMC infectious diseases, 16(1), 130.

Ofori-Atta, K., & Botwe, D. (2022). *Financing Agreement (Gulf of Guinea Northern Regions Social Cohesion Project) between Republic of Ghana and International Development Association*. Parliament, Accra, (pp 1-52).

Ogujiuba, K., & Mngometulu, N. (2022). *Does Social Investment Influence Poverty and Economic Growth in South Africa: A Cointegration Analysis*? Economies, 10(9), 226.

Oh, H. (2001). *Revisiting importance–performance analysis*. Tourism management, 22(6), 617-627.

Osborne, S. P. (2008). Key issues for the third sector in Europe. In *The Third Sector in Europe* (pp. 15-18). Routledge.

Oteng-Ababio, M., Mariwah, S., & Kusi, L. (2017). Is the underdevelopment of northern Ghana a case of environmental determinism or governance crisis? *Ghana Journal of Geography, 9(2), 5-39.*

Owoo, N. S., & Osei, R. D. (2022). Exploring the Dynamics of Inter-Household Consumption Inequality in Ghana. *Journal of African Development, 23(1), 87-111*.

Oxfam, G. (2014). *Oxfam House, John Smith Drive, Cowley*. In: Oxford, OX4 2JY, UK.

Pallage, S., & Robe, M. A. (2001). *Foreign aid and the business cycle*. Review of International Economics, 9(4), 641-672.

Pallas, S. W., Nonvignon, J., Aikins, M., & Ruger, J. P. (2014). *Responses to donor proliferation in Ghana's health sector: a qualitative case study*. Bulletin of the World Health Organization, 93, 11-18.

Palma Carvajal, J. F. (2021). Advocacy NGOs and the neoliberal manufacture of the street voice. *Journal of Education Policy, 1-21.*

Panagariya, A. (2004). *Growth and Reforms during 1980s and 1990s*. Economic and Political Weekly, 2581-2594.

Paras, A. (2014). Between missions and development: Christian NGOs in the Canadian development sector. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d'études du développement, 35(3), 439-457.*

Pearce, J. (1993). *NGOs and social change: agents or facilitators?* Development in Practice, 3(3), 222-227.

Pender, J. (2001). *From 'structural adjustment' to 'comprehensive development framework': conditionality transformed?* Third World Quarterly, 22(3), 397-411.

Pierson, P. (1994). *Dismantling the welfare state?: Reagan, Thatcher and the politics of retrenchment:* Cambridge University Press.

Plange, N. K. (1979). *Underdevelopment in northern Ghana: natural causes or colonial capitalism?* Review of African Political Economy, 6(15-16), 4-14.

Platteau, J.-P., & Gaspart, F. (2003). *The risk of resource misappropriation in community-driven development.* World Development, 31(10), 1687-1703.

Pochun, M. (2002). Measures of poverty and inequality in developing countries. *University of Mauritius, Department of Economical Statistics Réduit, Mauritius mpochun@ dove. uom. ac. mu*.

Porter, S. (2002). *Critical realist ethnography*. Qualitative research in action, 53-72.

Puplampu, K. P., & Tettey, W. J. (2000). *State-NGO relations in an era of globalisation: the implications for agricultural development in Africa*. Review of African Political Economy, 27(84), 251-272.

Quartey, P. (2005). Innovative ways of making aid effective in Ghana: tied aid versus direct budgetary support. *Journal of International Development, 17(8), 1077-1092*.

Ratnapalan, S. (2019). *Qualitative approaches: Variations of grounded theory methodology.* Canadian Family Physician, 65(9), 667.

Ravallion, M. (2017). *Poverty comparisons*: Routledge.

Raworth, K., & Green, D. (2005). *Kicking Down the Door: How upcoming WTO talks threaten farmers in poor countries*: Oxfam International.

Regilme, S. S. (2022). *United States foreign aid and multilateralism under the Trump presidency*. New Global Studies.

Riddell, J. B. (1992). Things fall apart again: structural adjustment programmes in sub-Saharan Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies, 30(1), 53-68.*

Roncoli, M. C. (1994). *Managing on the Margins: agricultural production and household reproduction in northeastern Ghana*: State University of New York at Binghamton.

Roodman, D. (2006). *An index of donor performance*. Center for Global Development working paper (67).

Rosche, D. (2016). *Agenda 2030 and the sustainable development goals: Gender equality at last? An Oxfam perspective*. Gender & Development, 24(1), 111-126.

Sabatino, C., Diaz-Bonilla, C., Nguyen, M. C., & Wu, H. (2022). October 2022 Update to the Global Database of Shared Prosperity. What's New. Global Poverty Monitoring Technical Note;25. © World Bank, Washington, DC. http://hdl.handle.net/10986/38204

Sachs, J. D. (2006). *The end of poverty: Economic possibilities for our time*. Penguin.

Salamon, L. M. (2005). *The changing context of American nonprofit management*. The Jossey-Bass handbook of nonprofit leadership and management, 2, 81-101.

Salamon, L. M., & Anheier, H. K. (1992). In search of the non-profit sector. I: The question of definitions. VOLUNTAS: *International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations, 3(2), 125-151.*

Salamon, L. M., & Sokolowski, S. W. (2016). Beyond nonprofits: Re-conceptualizing the third sector. VOLUNTAS: *International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations, 27(4), 1515-1545.*

Sama, T. B. (2010). Conceptualizing Non-Governmental s: Still Searching for Conceptual Clarity. *Journal of Social & Psychological Sciences, 3(1).*

Sampson, D. A. N. S. O. (2014). *Ghana's vision for development: a study of Ghana Vision 2020 and the GPRS I and II* (Doctoral dissertation, Doctoral dissertation, University of Ghana).

Schneiker, A. (2017). *NGO–NGO Relations. In Palgrave Handbook of Inter-Organizational Relations in World Politics (pp. 319-336)*: Springer.

Seaman, J. (2008). Adopting a grounded theory approach to cultural-historical research: Conflicting methodologies or complementary methods? *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 7(1), 1-17.*

Sending, O. J., & Neumann, I. B. (2006). *Governance to governmentality: Analyzing NGOs, states, and power*. International studies quarterly, 50(3), 651-672.

Service, G. S. (2014). *Poverty Profile in Ghana (2005–2013*). In: Ghana Statistical Service Accra.

Service, G. S. (2018). *Poverty trends in Ghana (2005–2017)*. In: Ghana Statistical Service Accra, Ghana.

Shaffer, P. (2017). *Seasonal hunger in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, 1900-40.* Economic history of developing regions, 32(3), 270-300.

Shaw, D. J. (2002). Food aid in sub-Saharan Africa: policy lessons for the future. Canadian *Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d'études du développement, 23(3), 571-599.*

Shihata, I. F. (1992). World Bank and non-governmental organizations. *Cornell Int'l LJ*, 25, 623.

Sinyangwe, P. (2020). *Success factors for delivery of development aid in Zambia: the case of the pilot program for climate resilience (ppcr) project* (Doctoral dissertation, The University of Zambia).

Siri, G. (2001). *Targeting Assistance Toward Those Most Affected by Disasters: The Role of Social Investment Funds*. Paper presented at the Paper draft for the Wharton-World Bank Conference "Innovations in Managing Catastrophe Risks: How Can They Help the Poor.

Sisaye, S. (2021). The influence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) on the development of voluntary sustainability accounting reporting rules. *Journal of Business and Socio-economic Development.*

Smillie, I. (1995). *Alms bazaar: altruism under fire; non-profit organizations and international development*: IDRC, Ottawa, ON, CA.

Smith, S. R. (2022). *Scholarship, Leadership, and Institution Building: Helmut Anheier and the Nonprofit and Philanthropic Sectors*. In Civil Society: Concepts, Challenges, Contexts (pp. 13-28): Springer.

Smith, S. R., & Grønbjerg, K. A. (2006). *Scope and theory of government-nonprofit relations. The nonprofit sector*: A research handbook, 2, 221-242.

Songsore, J., & Denkabe, A. (1995). *Challenging Rural Poverty in Northern Ghana: A Case study of the Upper West Region*. University of Trondheim, Centre for Environment and Development Unit–SMU.

Sooryamoorty, R. (2003). *The Elusive Promise of NGOs in Africa: Lessons from Uganda.* In: JSTOR.

Sowa, N. K. (2002). *An assessment of poverty reducing policies and programmes in Ghana*: Citeseer.

Sowa, N. K., & CEPA, A. (2002*). Managing Ghana's Domestic Debt*: Centre for Policy Analysis.

Stiglitz, J. E. (2002). *Participation and development: Perspectives from the comprehensive development paradigm*. Review of Development Economics, 6(2), 163-182.

Suddaby, R. (2006). From the editors: *What grounded theory is not*. In: Academy of Management Briarcliff Manor, NY 10510.

Summers, L. (2001). Speech at World Bank Country Director's Retreat. Washington DC.

Swiss, L., & Brown, S. (2015). *The aid orphan myth.* Third World Quarterly, 36(2), 240-256.

Szirmai, A. (2015). *Socio-economic development*: Cambridge University Press.

Tabiri, S., Jalali, A., Nelson, R. E., Damah, M. C., Abantanga, F. A., Price, R. R., & Katz, M. G. (2019). Barriers to Timely Presentation of Patients with Surgical Conditions at Tamale Teaching Hospital in Northern Ghana. *World Journal of surgery, 43(2), 346-352*.

Tan, J. (2010). Grounded theory in practice: issues and discussion for new qualitative researchers. *Journal of Documentation, 66(1), 93-112*.

Tarp, F. (2000). *Foreign aid and development: lessons learnt and directions for the future:* Routledge.

Tavares, J. (2003). *Does foreign aid corrupt?* Economics Letters, 79(1), 99-106.

Taylor, J. (2019). Ghana Grain and Feed Annual 2019 Annual Report.

Thomas, R. G. (1973). Forced labour in British West Africa: The case of the northern territories of the Gold Coast 1906-1927. *Journal of African History, 79-103.*

Thomas, R. G. (1983). The 1916 Bongo 'Riots' and Their Background: Aspects of Colonial Administration and African Response in Eastern Upper Ghana. *The Journal of African History, 24(1), 57-75.*

Thorbecke, E. (2004). *Conceptual and measurement issues in poverty analysis* (No. 2004/04). WIDER Discussion Paper.

Tonge, J., & Moore, S. A. (2007). *Importance-satisfaction analysis for marine-park hinterlands: A Western Australian case study*. Tourism management, 28(3), 768-776.

Townsend, J. G., Porter, G., & Mawdsley, E. (2002). The role of the transnational community of non-government organizations: governance or poverty reduction? *Journal of International Development, 14(6), 829-839.*

Townsend, J. G., Porter, G., & Mawdsley, E. (2004). *Creating spaces of resistance: development NGOs and their clients in Ghana, India and Mexico*. Antipode, 36(5), 871-889.

Tsiboe, F. (2022). *Nationally Representative Household Level Food Consumption and Nutrient Availability Data for Ghana from 2005-2017*. Available at SSRN 4172481.

Tsikata, D., & Seini, W. (2004). Identities, Inequalities and Conflicts in Ghana. CRISE (Department of International Development, University of Oxford).

Tzeng, G.-H., & Chang, H.-F. (2011). Applying importance-performance analysis as a service quality measure in food service industry. *Journal of technology management & innovation, 6(3), 106-115.*

Van der Linde, A., & Naylor, R. (1999). *Building sustainable peace: Conflict, conciliation, and civil society in northern Ghana:* Oxfam GB.

Victor, O. (2015). Analysis of Poverty Trends in Ghana. *Journal of Economic and Social Thought, 2(1), 36-49.*

Walz, J., & Ramachandran, V. (2011*). Brave new world: a literature review of emerging donors and the changing nature of foreign assistance*. Center for Global Development working paper (273).

Wanye, E. D. (2019). *Ghana Beyond Aid: Exploring the role of hubs in closing the social impact gap* (Doctoral dissertation).

Weisbrod, B. A., & Long, S. H. (1975). *The size of the voluntary nonprofit sector: Concepts and measures:* University of Wisconsin.

Whitehead, A. (2006). Persistent poverty in north east Ghana. *The journal of development studies, 42(2), 278-300.*

Whitfield, L., & Fraser, A. (2009). *Introduction: Aid and sovereignty*. The politics of aid: African strategies for dealing with donors, 1-26.

Whitfield, L., & Jones, E. (2007). *Ghana: The political dimensions of aid dependence* (No. 2007/32). GEG Working Paper.

Wiemers, A. (2021). *Village Work: Development and Rural Statecraft in Twentieth-century Ghana*: Ohio University Press.

Williamson, J. G. (1965). *Regional inequality and the process of national development: a description of the patterns*. Economic development and cultural change, 13(4, Part 2), 1-84.

Wood, B., & Betts, J. (2012). Article 4: Results of the Paris Declaration Evaluation. *Canadian Journal of Program Evaluation, 27(3).*

Wright, G. (1999). *The impact of globalisation*. New Political Economy, 4(2), 268-273.

Yaro, J. A. (2013). Rural development in northern Ghana, New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Ye, M. (2022). *The Dragon's gift: an empirical analysis of China's foreign aid in the new century*. International Trade, Politics and Development(ahead-of-print).

Appendices

Appendix 1.Ethics Clearance Certificate



G Bob-Milliar H20 04 03.pdf

Appendix 2. Interview Guide

Appendix 3 Questionnaires

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET



Graduate School of Business Administration: Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management
Johannesburg, South Africa.

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is **Gloria K. Bob-Milliar** and I am a **PhD student** in Management at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. As part of my studies, I have to undertake a research project, and I am investigating **Development Aid, NGOs and the North-South Divide in Ghana**. The aim of this research project is to find the contribution of Development Aid through NGOs for the Development of the five northern regions of Ghana.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in **an interview**. This activity will involve following an interview guide on the impact of development aid through NGOs stated mission, vision and impact in your community and will take around 60 minutes. With your kind permission, I would also like to record the interview using this voice recording device.

This is an academic exercise and you will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this research, and there are no disadvantages or penalties for not participating. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. The interview will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for your name or any identifying information, and the information you give to me will be held privately and securely and not disclosed to anyone else. I will be using a pseudonym (false name) to represent your participation in my final research report. If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the interview or resume another time

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through **the university library website**. If you wish to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone **+27(0) 11 717 1408**, email **Shaun.Schoeman@wits.ac.za**

Yours sincerely,

Gloria K. Bob-Milliar, gkmilliar@gmail.com, +233 54 962 2224.
Prof. Imhotep P. Alagidede; Imhotep.alagidede@wits.ac.za; +27 78 178 1310

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET



Graduate School of Business Administration: Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management
Johannesburg, South Africa.

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is **Gloria K. Bob-Milliar** and I am a **PhD student** in Management at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. As part of my studies, I have to undertake a research project, and I am investigating **Development Aid, NGOs and the North South Divide in Ghana**. The aim of this research project is to find the contribution of Development Aid through NGOs for the Development of the five northern regions of Ghana.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in a **Focus Group Discussion**. This activity will involve following a questionnaire guide to discuss the contributions of development aid through NGOs stated mission, vision and impact in your community and will take around 90 minutes. With your kind permission, I would also like to record the discussion using this voice recording device.

This is an academic exercise and you will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this research, and there are no disadvantages or penalties for not participating. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. The interview will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for your name or any identifying information, and the information you give to me will be held privately and securely and not disclosed to anyone else. I will be using a pseudonym (false name) to represent your participation in my final research report. If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the discussion or resume another time.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through **the university library website**. If you wish to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone **+27(0) 11 717 1408**, email **Shaun.Schoeman@wits.ac.za**

Yours sincerely,

GKMilliar

Gloria K. Bob-Milliar, gkmilliar@gmail.com, +233 54 962 2224.
Prof. Imhotep P. Alagidede; Imhotep.alagidede@wits.ac.za; +27 78 178 1310

Graduate School of Business Administration: Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management
Gloria K. Bob-Milliar* PhD Candidate

Development Aid, NGOs and the North-South Divide in Ghana

This **Questionnaire guide** aims at soliciting information on the importance of Development Aid through the activities of NGOs for the growth of beneficiary communities in the Savannah Regions of Ghana. The study is an academic exercise with a broader aim of understanding why donors give aid to beneficiary communities through the stated impacts of NGOs' mission and vision. You have been randomly chosen to participate in providing information to the best of your knowledge on each question. Your participation is free and voluntary. Your identity as well as information volunteered shall be respectively kept anonymous and confidential.

Ques 1. About the awareness and performance of NGOs in your community.
First, I should like to know your views about the decision-making processes of project initiation and completion in your community. As you read the following lists, please indicate for each, whether you "strongly disagree" (1) somewhat disagree" (2) "not sure" (3) "somewhat agree" (4) or "strongly agree (5).

What is your position on the following observations?	**STRONGLY DISAGREE 1**	**SOMEWHAT DISAGREE 2**	**NOT SURE 3**	**SOMEWHAT AGREE 4**	**STRONGLY AGREE 5**
A. I have heard about NGOs					
B. I am aware of NGOs activities					
C. I know the functions of the NGOs					
D. The presence of NGOs' is enough to assure effective development project interventions					
E. The NGOs needs more donor aid and actors to make them more effective					
F. I am aware of the Community development intervention of an NGO in my community					
G. I know it functions in relation to the community project(s)					
H. I or a member of my family is a member of an NGO					
I. The NGOs meets us regularly					
J. The NGOs consults all the various stakeholders before the start of a project					
K. The NGO meets the community members during project phases					
L. The community is briefed fully on the decisions of the NGOs					
M. I know the rules and regulations of the NGOs' operation in the community					
N. I am aware of the NGOs bye law from the District Assembly					
O. I am aware of the donor country of the NGOs operating in my community					

Appendix 2: Interview Guide



Graduate School of Business Administration: Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management
Gloria K. Bob-Milliar* PhD Candidate

Development aid NGOs and the North South Divide in Ghana.

This **interview guide** aims at soliciting information on the importance of Donor Aid through the activities of NGOs for the development of beneficiary communities in the Savannah Regions of Ghana. The study is an academic exercise with a broader aim of understanding why donors give aid to beneficiary communities through the stated impacts of NGOs' mission and vision. **As a former aid worker**, you have been randomly chosen to participate in providing information to the best of your knowledge on each question. Your participation is free and voluntary. Your identity as well as information volunteered shall be respectively kept anonymous and confidential if you so wish.

Thank you for your contribution to the study.

The ROLE OF NGOs IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WITH DONOR AID *(Projects and programmes depicting the key roles and rationale of NGO's development activities)*

1. What informed your choice of community and beneficiary groups?
2. In which area(s) was your organisation engaged in your chosen community (ies)?
3. What are your main concerns when you enter a community?
4. What is your expectation of community members when you enter a community?
5. How do you announce yourself when you enter a community for the first time?
6. How do you explain your intervention to the community?

CONCENTRATION OF NGOs EFFORTS IN THE COMMUNITIES OF NORTHERN GHANA

1. How many of other NGOs including yourself (your organisation) are present in your community?
2. How many projects and programmes of sister organisations are present in the communities you work in?
3. Are these projects and programmes related or different to your line of programmes and projects?
4. Do they have different timelines and different approaches to implementations?
5. Do other NGOs in the same community contact you when working in your chosen community?
6. Do these projects often have concurrent timeline and beneficiary groups?

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET



Graduate School of Business Administration: Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management
Johannesburg, South Africa.

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is **Gloria K. Bob-Milliar** and I am a **PhD student** in Management at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. As part of my studies, I have to undertake a research project, and I am investigating **Development Aid, NGOs and the North-South Divide in Ghana**. The aim of this research project is to find the contribution of Development Aid through NGOs for the Development of the five northern regions of Ghana.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in **an interview**. This activity will involve following an interview guide on the impact of development aid through NGOs stated mission, vision and impact in your community and will take around 60 minutes. With your kind permission, I would also like to record the interview using this voice recording device.

This is an academic exercise and you will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this research, and there are no disadvantages or penalties for not participating. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. The interview will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for your name or any identifying information, and the information you give to me will be held privately and securely and not disclosed to anyone else. I will be using a pseudonym (false name) to represent your participation in my final research report. If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the interview or resume another time

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through **the university library website**. If you wish to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone **+27(0) 11 717 1408**, email **Shaun.Schoeman@wits.ac.za**

Yours sincerely,

Gloria K. Bob-Milliar, gkmilliar@gmail.com, +233 54 962 2224.
Prof. Imhotep P. Alagidede; Imhotep.alagidede@wits.ac.za; +27 78 178 1310

UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND
JOHANNESBURG

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Bob-Milliar

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER:** H20/04/03
PROJECT TITLE	Development Aid, NGOs and the North-South divide in Ghana
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Mrs GK Bob-Milliar
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Wits Business School
DATE CONSIDERED	24 April 2020
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Risk Level Low
EXPIRY DATE	20 July 2023
DATE 27 July 2020	**CHAIRPERSON** _____ (Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Professor I Alagidede

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical).

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ Date ___/___/___
Signature

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Graduate School of Business Administration: Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management
Gloria K. Bob-Milliar* PhD Candidate

Development aid, NGOs and the North South divide in Ghana.

This **interview guide** aims at soliciting information on the importance of Development Aid through the activities of NGOs for the growth of beneficiary communities in the Savannah Regions of Ghana. The study is an academic exercise with a broader aim of understanding why donors give aid to beneficiary communities through the stated impacts of NGOs' mission and vision. You have been randomly chosen to participate **as Development expert** in providing information to the best of your knowledge on each question. Your participation is free and voluntary. Your identity as well as information volunteered shall be respectively kept anonymous and confidential if you so wish. Thank you for signing the Participant Information Sheet.
Thank you for your contribution to the study.

DONOR AID IN COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE NORTHERN PART OF GHANA ***(political economy of donor aid and development intervention through community participation approach):***

1. Why is your community a choice for any (development agent) NGOs when they enter your region?
2. Can you tell how many different NGOs and CSOs have entered and exited your community?
3. How many development interventions are on-going in your community?
4. How many development interventions have been completed in your community?
5. How many beneficiaries can be counted or impacted with a completed project or programme of an NGO?
6. Are they evidence of improvement in your community members as a result of the impact of development projects and programme?
7. Do you have concerns about some of the (development agents) the NGOs that enter your community?
8. What would you want done differently in relation to the implementation of a project or programme?
9. What needs and wants, do you present to the (development agents) NGOs who enter your community?

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET



Graduate School of Business Administration: Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management
Johannesburg, South Africa.

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is **Gloria K. Bob-Milliar** and I am a **PhD student** in Management at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. As part of my studies, I have to undertake a research project, and I am investigating **Development Aid, NGOs and the North-South Divide in Ghana**. The overall aim of this research project is to find the contribution of Development Aid through NGOs activities for the Development of the five northern regions of Ghana.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in **an interview as an NGO manager**. This activity will involve following an interview guide on the impact of development aid through NGOs stated mission, vision and impact in your community and will take around 60 minutes. With your kind permission, I would also like to record the interview using this voice recording device.

This is an academic exercise and you will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this research, and there are no disadvantages or penalties for not participating. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. The interview will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for your name or any identifying information, and the information you give to me will be held privately and securely and not disclosed to anyone else. I will be using a pseudonym (false name) to represent your participation in my final research thesis. If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the interview or resume another time

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. This study will be written up as a research thesis which will be available online through **the university library website**. If you wish to receive a summary of this thesis, I will be happy to send it to you. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone **+27(0) 11 717 1408**, email **Shaun.Schoeman@wits.ac.za**

Yours sincerely,

Gloria K. Bob-Milliar, gkmilliar@gmail.com, +233 54 962 2224.
Prof. Imhotep P. Alagidede; Imhotep.alagidede@wits.ac.za; +27 78 178 1310

Graduate School of Business Administration: Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management
Gloria K. Bob-Milliar* PhD Candidate

Development Aid, NGOs and the North-South Divide in Ghana

This **Questionnaire guide** aims at soliciting information on the importance of Development Aid through the activities of NGOs for the growth of beneficiary communities in the Savannah Regions of Ghana. The study is an academic exercise with a broader aim of understanding why donors give aid to beneficiary communities through the stated impacts of NGOs' mission and vision. You have been randomly chosen to participate in providing information to the best of your knowledge on each question. Your participation is free and voluntary. Your identity as well as information volunteered shall be respectively kept anonymous and confidential.

Ques 1. About the awareness and performance of NGOs in your community.
First, I should like to know your views about the decision-making processes of project initiation and completion in your community. As you read the following lists, please indicate for each, whether you "strongly disagree" (1) somewhat disagree" (2) "not sure" (3) "somewhat agree" (4) or "strongly agree (5).

What is your position on the following observations?	**STRONGLY DISAGREE 1**	**SOMEWHAT DISAGREE 2**	**NOT SURE 3**	**SOMEWHAT AGREE 4**	**STRONGLY AGREE 5**
A. I have heard about NGOs					
B. I am aware of NGOs activities					
C. I know the functions of the NGOs					
D. The presence of NGOs' is enough to assure effective development project interventions					
E. The NGOs needs more donor aid and actors to make them more effective					
F. I am aware of the Community development intervention of an NGO in my community					
G. I know it functions in relation to the community project(s)					
H. I or a member of my family is a member of an NGO					
I. The NGOs meets us regularly					
J. The NGOs consults all the various stakeholders before the start of a project					
K. The NGO meets the community members during project phases					
L. The community is briefed fully on the decisions of the NGOs					
M. I know the rules and regulations of the NGOs' operation in the community					
N. I am aware of the NGOs bye law from the District Assembly					
O. I am aware of the donor country of the NGOs operating in my community					