

# A Community-Based Program in a Non-Existent Community

KWADWO ADUSEI-ASANTE

**Abstract:** Community is one of the idealized terms used frequently in contemporary development discourse. This paper argues that community is a complex and portrays the outcomes of development programs that apply it loosely. It draws on qualitative research methods and a case study of the World Bank's Community-Based Rural Development Project implemented in Abaase in the Eastern Region of Ghana between 2005 and 2011. The analysis suggests that while the concept of community seems appealing, it may not practically exist or may be weak in localities labeled as communities. Thus, the paper argues for the need to design and implement community-based or driven programs in a way that identifies, develops, and targets specific community groups or members, particularly in migrant and transient populations.

## Introduction

The concept of community is often applied in contemporary development discourses and programs. Although the literature variously portrays it as being complex, political, "controversial," and a myth, the concept of community continues to gain popularity among many development brokers. This is particularly true of the World Bank, which has since 2000 been championing Community-Driven Development (CDD) programs and investing nearly USD two billion annually in the approach.<sup>1</sup> This article draws on lessons from a Community-Based Rural Development Project (2005-2011), which was implemented in Abaase in the Yaago Plains of Ghana.<sup>2</sup> It seeks to provide empirical grounds for appreciating (1) the complexity of the concept of community; and (2) the need to design and implement community-based or driven programs in a way that identifies, develops and targets specific community groups or members. Theoretically, the text aims to provide a conceptual framework for examining the concept of community.

The first part of the paper describes the methodology. This is followed by a brief exploration of the literature to show the complexity and conceptual controversies around the concept of community. An analytical framework for examining what "community" is and what it is not is established in the section. The last part of the paper discusses Ghana's Community-Based Rural Development Project (CBRDP), which was used as the case study, and presents an empirical case study of Abaase, a town in the Kwabre North District (Yaago Plains) of the Eastern Region of Ghana. The dynamics of Abaase, a beneficiary of the CBRDP and the data,

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suggest that while “community” did not practically exist in the locality, the implementers of the CBRDP seemed to have ignored the need to nurture one there, through targeting traders, for example, leading to the abandonment of the project.

## Methodology

The data was drawn from the review and analysis of relevant academic literature and qualitative data during a seven-month (September 2010-March 2011) doctoral fieldwork conducted in nine localities from the Eastern, Greater Accra, and Volta Regions of Ghana. The thesis sought to unravel the manner in which the application of contested complex concepts impacted Ghana’s CBRDP. This article is based on the case of Abaase in the Eastern Region (Yaago Plains) and formed part of the five case studies in the doctoral thesis proper. The qualitative data was generated from participant-observation, focus group discussions, and individual interviews with local government officials (LGOs), Traditional Chiefs, CBRDP managers, key informants, and residents of the CBRDP beneficiary localities.<sup>3</sup> A total of fifty formal and in-depth individual interviews and ten focus group discussions were conducted in the nine research localities. Two hundred and twenty-five questionnaires were also distributed to residents of the research localities who were not included in the individual interviews and focus group discussions.<sup>4</sup> Respondents were purposively sampled and had to reside in Abaase and possess intimate knowledge of the implementation processes of the project in the locality (Abaase). Relative to Abaase, the semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, and open-ended questionnaires elicited information on the (1) processes leading to the selection and implementation and the state of the CBRDPs; (2) the participants’ understanding of “community,” their sense of belonging and obligations to Abaase and what they considered as the most important needs of the locality vis-à-vis the project implemented; and (3) issues affecting local tendencies in Abaase. The data was analyzed manually and the themes that emerged are presented this paper.

## Community: Conceptual Controversies

Community tends to generate a great deal of discussion and debate. Some scholars argue that it is a political term, and that its recent romanticization is a return to local organizing after it was jettisoned for neoliberalism in the 1980s. In the wake of the obvious failures of the neoliberal market economy to deliver what it promised (trickle down growth), community organizing (communitization), they argue further, has been revived and repackaged as the Third Way to reduce public spending by complementing government efforts in meeting citizens’ needs.<sup>5</sup> The other issue that makes community contested relates to its definition.

Etymologically, “community” comes from the Latin *cum*, which means “together or among each other” and *munus*, which means “the gift.”<sup>6</sup> From its roots therefore, the term connotes the sharing of “something” usually among small [human] groups, what Ferdinand Tönnies referred to as *gemeinschaft*.<sup>7</sup> Even so, the internet, new technologies and urbanization have given the term a “new seductive appeal” by stretching its connotation beyond group sizes, territoriality, and even as a form of manageable human organization.<sup>8</sup>

Consequently, many people now live in small localities they do not consider as their community, but claim “communitiship” with such larger entities encompassed as a university

or country or their workplace, some of which have no geographical boundaries. It is common to read about a community of animals or even plant species; or that we live in an “international community.”<sup>9</sup> In Australia, for example, not-for-profit positions are classified as the community sector, while suburbs whose residents only share spaces (e.g., a suburban community); or a people who share characteristics as Africans, are often referred to in the media and policy documents as, for instance, an or the “African community.” In addition, penologists, criminologists and corrective services worldwide use the term community to mean an entity into which ex-offenders must be reintegrated, as if they had always been a part of it.<sup>10</sup>

The broadening of the implication of community has given rise to three situations. The first is that of the labeling of localities and groups as communities, where in reality “community” does not exist, or exists but not in the traditional and romantic sense. In some cases, the ground settlement and mobility patterns of people in localities labeled communities may not support interaction to the levels required for a coherent community to exist. Because interaction and membership is a choice, “community” cannot be forced on people, even if they share spaces or interests.<sup>11</sup> Tellingly, some scholars have observed that the labeling of community is sometimes a deliberate policy action to direct attention away from the internal politics and from questions of the nature of actual social relations in a locality.<sup>12</sup>

Second, there is also the tendency, as Mansuri and Rao observed, to conceptualize the term “to denote a culturally and politically homogeneous social system, or one that, at least implicitly, is internally cohesive and more or less harmonious.”<sup>13</sup> Referred to as “spatialization” by Amin, the homogenization inclination presents two challenges. On the one hand, it assumes that everyone within a geographic entity (village, town) shares similar values and interests with those therein, thereby burying internal differences.<sup>14</sup> On the other, it fails to acknowledge the reality that communities can and do exist within a community.<sup>15</sup> Thus, Mosimane and Aribebu caution community ideologues and practitioners to be aware of the difference between community of “place,” which denotes people living together in a spatially bounded locality; and community of “use,” which refers to a scenario where people share a certain resource or identity.<sup>16</sup>

Third, it is possible for identifiable groups or communities to be misrepresented on matters that may concern them. The literature enumerates a number of instances where a few influential people, due to their wealth, political contacts, or educational backgrounds (termed the elite), have dominated and forcefully represented the rest. The opposite is also possible, where the voice or representation of a minority group can be relegated.<sup>17</sup> In lieu of the complexity of the term, many scholars concede that an attempt to universalize a particular definition of “community” is impossible. For example, Bell and Newby found ninety-eight different definitions that hardly shared any commonalities.<sup>18</sup> Other scholars regard community as both evaluative and normative. By evaluative, it is considered as value-driven and its meaning is contested and open to diverse meanings, depending on the ideological leanings of the person using it.<sup>19</sup> Normative community implies that there exist norms and rules, which could be developed and used positively to organize people to achieve a “good cause”; or negatively to persecute and exclude “the outsider.”<sup>20</sup> This assertion is supported by Fisher and Shragge, who argue, “community” has become the dominant form of resistance and social change throughout the world.<sup>21</sup>

Notwithstanding the difficulty of defining what “community” is and what it is not, theoreticians seem to agree on three issues. First, that the term should be appreciated for its complexity and that it may be futile attempting to find a universal definition. As a result many scholars circumvent defining the concept by describing its core features instead. For example, as Table 1 below shows, Goode outlined eight characteristics; McMillan and Chavis also presented four elements; Bartle discusses four features; while Tesoriero outlines five. Second, that the meaning of “community” should go beyond “spatialization” to include “functionalization.” Community as a function relates to people having a sense of belonging, solidarity, and identity.<sup>22</sup> It is also about common interest or understanding between people; a form of social organization where members share spaces, including the virtual, interactions and a resource.<sup>23</sup> Third, that whoever (scholars and policymakers) applies the term must clarify the meaning they ascribe to it.<sup>24</sup>

**TABLE 1: CHARACTERISTICS OF A “COMMUNITY”**

Goode’s eight characteristics of a community	McMillan and Chavis’ four characteristics of a community
<p>A social organization:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Whose members are bound by a sense of identity</li> <li>2. Where few leave, so that it is a terminal or continuing status for the most part</li> <li>3. Whose members share values in common</li> <li>4. Whose role definitions vis-à-vis both members and non-members are agreed upon and are the same for all members</li> <li>5. Who have a common language, which is understood only partially by outsiders</li> <li>6. That has power over its members</li> <li>7. Whose limits are reasonably clear, though they are not physical and geo-graphical, but social</li> <li>8. Whose members encourage others to join them (social reproduction) for generational continuity</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Membership (the feeling of belonging)</li> <li>b. Influence (a sense of mattering)</li> <li>c. Integration and fulfillment of needs members</li> <li>d. Shared emotional connections</li> </ol>
	<p><b>Bartle’s four characteristics of a community</b></p>
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Boundaries of communities are fuzzy</li> <li>ii. Communities can be within communities</li> <li>iii. Communities may move (not static)</li> <li>iv. Urban communities are special</li> </ol>
	<p><b>Tesoriero’s five characteristics of a community</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>I. Human Scale</li> <li>II. Identity and Belonging</li> <li>III. Obligation</li> <li>IV. <i>Gemeinschaft</i></li> <li>V. Culture</li> </ol>

Sources: Goode 1957, McMillan and Chavis 1986, Bartle 2007, and Tesoriero 2010.

As “community” was a key component of the CBRDP, many of the project’s documents were systematically reviewed to establish how the term was conceptualized. When no official definition was found, the researcher informally interviewed one of the senior managers for clarification as follows:

Researcher: It's been difficult to pin point how the project defines "community." Could you please provide me with any relevant documentation that defines the concept as used in this project?

Manager: CBRDP has no special definition for a "community." Our use of the word "community" agrees with any dictionary definitions. A working definition of a community could refer to a group of people living in the same vicinity and bound by same culture, beliefs and practices. You may adopt any of the known definitions as offered by dictionaries or development practitioners

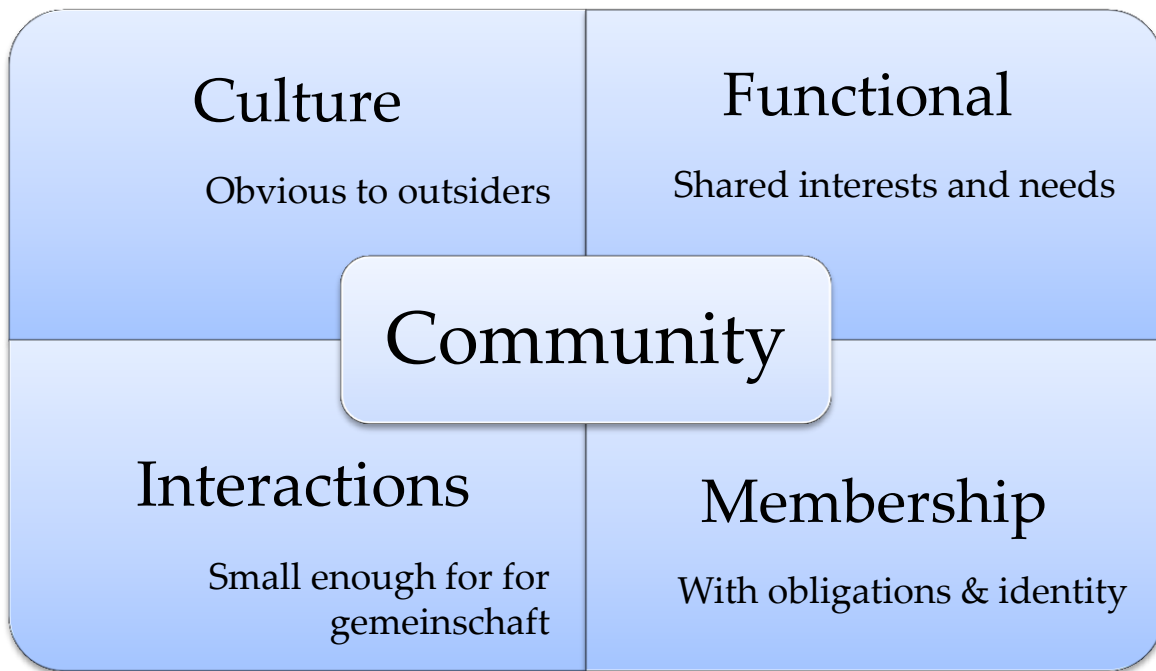
The fact that the CBRDP did not have a definition for "community" illustrates the disregard that some development brokers have for concepts and their contextual relevance in project designs. While some scholars have noted this tendency as causing project failures, it seems to be persisting.<sup>25</sup> As the Manager's response did not provide meaningful clarification of the concept as used in the project, it is crucial to establish an analytical framework for what community is and what it is not. Meaningful clarification is necessary for the purposes of use in this paper so as to capture, to a greater extent, the complexities of the localities researched and the relevant groups therein.

### **Community Conceptualized**

A critical review of the characteristics of community in Table 1 above reveals that while the concept is contextually variable, that is, every "community" is different, it seems to relate primarily to relationships (sharing, belonging, solidarity, and collective identities) which transcend territoriality, as conceptualized as follows. First, while it could be organized around spaces and territories, as used in this paper, "community" is conceptualized mainly in functional terms. Thus, residents of a given locality are not regarded as a "community" for the mere reason that they share that space, considering that not all of them may identify with it. As Lavarack and Wallerstein argued, however, "heterogeneous groups and individual [who share a given space] can actually become a community ... [if] programs reflect their shared interests and needs."<sup>26</sup> Consequently, members of a given locality may be referred to as a community if there is a function they are committed to or identify with. By implication, communities can be developed, if built around functions that relevant people are committed to either temporarily or permanently. For example, if a project relates to agriculture, a "community of farmers" could be developed through proper targeting and in other ways that give the farmers a sense of ownership of the project.

Second, because "community" as a function relates to an idea of belonging, solidarity, and shared identities, membership is crucial. A community may require a leader(s) who perform the rites of initiation and define the roles of members and their ethical boundaries. While members could belong to other groups, they are expected to be conscious of and have a sense of belonging to each of the communities they are a part of. Members are also expected to be loyal and committed to the community through their willing to contribute time, talents and abilities as well as material objects to maintaining the group.<sup>27</sup>

FIGURE 1: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF A “COMMUNITY”



Sources: Goode 1957, McMillan and Chavis 1986, Bartle 2007, and Tesoriero 2010.

Third, a community should offer members structures and avenues for interaction and contact, as a “people” and where non-members come in as visitors or invited guests. Whether formal or informal, the interaction has to allow for most members to know each other, what Ferdinand Tönnies calls *gemeinschaft*, which is interaction in a small group, as opposed to *gesellschaft*, or relationship of mass society.<sup>28</sup>

Finally, a “community” may have to produce a culture, which differentiates it from others. The culture may be a language or a jargon; or the group’s philosophy and ideological leanings. In addition, it is expected that the culture is known, accepted, and practiced by all members; non-members may have to identify it as a unique trait of the community. As members of a family or a religious group would identify with each other, so should members of a community be willing to claim that “this is my community.”

Thus far, an attempt has been made to conceptualize community as a functional entity, small enough for interaction, where members submit to the group’s tenets voluntarily and having a distinct culture, which is obvious to “outsiders.” Within this framework, the section below draws on the empirical data to examine the “communitiness” or otherwise of Abaase, and how this impacted on the CBRDP that was implemented there.

### **Community-Based Rural Development Projects (CBRDPs) in Practice: A Case Study of Abaase, Eastern Region, Ghana**

Ghana’s Community-Based Rural Development Projects (CBRDP) was designed as a type of the World Bank’s Community-Driven Development program. The CBRDP aimed to empower rural population, and strengthen the country’s decentralization system.<sup>29</sup> The project, which served as one of the principal vehicles for the implementation of Ghana’s Poverty Reduction Strategy

(GPRS) to bridge the gap of uneven distribution across socio-economic groups and geographical locations, was funded with loan facilities from the World Bank's International Development Association and the Agence Francaise Development. The Government of Ghana implemented the project under the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD) and the Regional Coordinating Units (RICUs) in conjunction with an independent CBRDP secretariat.<sup>30</sup>

Like most CDD programs, the principle underlying Ghana's CBRDP was to allow an entity called "community" to choose, implement, and maintain local development projects.<sup>31</sup> Consequently, area councils, believed to be closest local government body to people at the grassroots level in Ghana, were taken through the rudiments of the CBRDP to facilitate the process.<sup>32</sup> They were trained in financial, project tendering, and procurement management processes, after which they were required to prepare their respective Community Action Plans.<sup>33</sup> This document contained the community's project road map. Once endorsed by the CBRDP headquarters, the beneficiary locality received seed money in three equal installments to implement the project.<sup>34</sup> Because it was community-based, the expectations the CBRDP beneficiary locality would contribute labor or offer hired services at a reduced market rate to complete and maintain the project.<sup>35</sup> As described below however, because "community" did not exist in Abaase in the real sense of the term, as of the fieldwork period the project looked abandoned. Abaase benefitted from a forty-stall market structure under the CBRDP, which was completed in 2009. During the fieldwork, the market was not in use and traders were seen selling in the sun or under trees. Due to the lack of maintenance, the aid-funded stalls were deteriorating and had become a home for squatters who also used it as a toilet facility. As described below, the failed state of the Abaase project is attributable to the fact that many residents of the locality tended to treat it with "a sense of temporality." This attitude, as the paragraphs below highlight, raises doubts about why a community-based project was implemented in this place.

Located in the Kwabre North District of the Eastern Region, Abaase is a part of a vast 5,040 sq. km island, called the Yaago Plains, one of the most remote, deprived, and poverty-stricken parts of Ghana.<sup>36</sup> According to the District's Medium Term Development Plan, the population of Abaase was estimated to be 4,865. Residents of Abaase are predominantly farmers and petty traders. In terms of religion, Christians are in the majority, but some 20 percent of the residents are Muslims.<sup>37</sup> Although the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) occupies both electoral constituency seats of the district, many Abaase residents claimed that the New Patriotic Party, in whose term of office the project was implemented, have always won in their electorate, though at times in opposition.

Three ethnic groups dominate Abaase. The Kwabre traditionally own most of the Yaago Plains. They are an Akan ethnic group from the Kwabre South District. Many of them are traders and farmers, some of whom commute to and from Abaase at least three times in a week, while others have settled, but still maintain ties with their extended families in Kwabre South, where they also invest most of their capital. Depending on the direction one uses, the distance between the Kwabre South towns and the Yaago Plains is less than four hours travel time, including the time spent on the ferry. Apart from the Kwabres, significant numbers of Ewes and ethnic groups from the northern part of Ghana have a presence in Abaase and most parts of the Yaago Plains.<sup>38</sup> The Ewe are largely from the Volta Region and enter the Yaago Plains through

the eastern corridor by crossing the country's largest and longest river, the Volta. A sizable number of people from different ethnic groups in the northern parts of the country, many of who are Muslims also live in Abaase. Like the Kwabre and the Ewe, most are petty traders and animal farmers.

Because of its rural isolation, interviewed residents of Abaase (and the Yaago Plains) appeared not to associate with the locality as their hometown or a place worthy of any meaningful investment. Interestingly, some of these residents were either born or had lived there for over thirty years. The common maxim in the locality is "*Obiaa enfi Abaase*," translated "no one hails from Abaase." The director of the oldest and most influential NGO in the district, the Yaago Plains Development Corporation (YPDC), explained that "Yaago Plains will never develop until the residents change their attitude towards the place and treat it with some sense of permanence." Because of this attitude of temporality, Anyidoho describes the locality as:

A fascinating reference point for thinking about development in Ghana. They are a recurrent site of experimentation in development programming, and yet remain persistently 'undeveloped' by all accounts . . . The paradox of the Yaago Plains is that while the district, with its agricultural and marine potential, has been targeted for development by various governments, it has not met its own potential or the expectation of policymakers. The . . . [Yaago Plains District] has a dual identity: it attracts migrants from the north and south with its promise of abundant yield from land and sea, but it also has an unwelcoming reputation as a remote and inaccessible region.<sup>39</sup>

The perception of temporality was further corroborated by the fact that the Assembly Member of the town, at the time of implementing the project, was not serving in Abaase. When asked why, he said, "I'm not a native of Abaase . . . I would rather serve the people in my traditional hometown . . ." The area council chairman at that time also alluded to that assertion when he said: "My family lives in Accra and I work here. I visit them often. Yaago Plains is more of a resettlement area, people move in and out . . . It is therefore difficult to build a school [for a locality] as it can be a white elephant in the future. I can even cite three places where schools were built: Ebunum, Asikum and Nkubeha, but are now of no use."

The seeming disassociation with the town tended to impact negatively on local organizing initiatives. While the size of Abaase was small enough to allow for face-to-face interaction on local development issues, the residents tended to place more emphasis on religious interactions than meeting as a community. When asked by questionnaire if they attended local meetings, over 85 percent answered "No!" Three reasons emerged. The first was related to the usual "no one hails from Abaase" mantra. A second was related to a concern that if people expressed dissent with local leaders at meetings, they were persecuted afterwards. In a mixed-gender focus group discussion with some Abaase traders, many of who were disappointed with the state of the market project, a young man explained that: "The chief and his elders chair the meetings so you must be careful the way you talk ... during meetings you might offend someone and this would bring problems. I would rather stay at home and work instead of going for meetings."

A 53-year-old woman also remarked:



The town is small . . . so we are careful of what to say . . . if not you are targeted . . . I remember sometime ago, a senior medical doctor held a meeting with us and asked us to tell him about the problems we face at the clinic; one man told him that the medical staff did not respect the sick people . . . because they always shouted on them. One evening this man fell sick and went to the clinic but he was sacked because of the point he raised during the meeting. He is now on pension and has left Abaase for his hometown.

The third reason regarding a lack of interest in local meetings was also complicated by failure of previous projects that involved the collection of residents' money. Residents the author interviewed made references to a failed water project in 2002. One of the area's members of parliament of the area initiated a local self-help project to raise money to construct a borehole for the town. It was alleged that the MP provided the seed money and the local leaders also levied residents to raise the remaining sum. While many people claimed that they paid, the project did not eventuate, partly because of the lack of "sense of community" in the locality. The residents' money was not refunded, as confirmed by a male farmer who had lived in Abaase for ten years: "When you ask question about the water project in meetings . . . you will see that the faces of the leaders have changed . . . why worry about projects again? I'm a native of Abaase?"

A female trader confirmed that:

We paid the money because we wanted access to good drinking water. They made it serious to the extent that you would be arrested if you did not pay. Some people were arrested for refusing to pay. Most of us paid, but we have not seen any good use of the money . . . Since then, I decided not to go for local meetings any more.

These precedents, many of which were allegations, did impact significantly on the implementation and the maintenance of the Abaase CBRDP. While many of the local officials claimed that they met and discussed the project with the local people, most of the residents maintained they were not consulted about it; all they saw was that a market was being built. While some of the local people, particularly women, admitted taking part in the communal labor later on, because the chief called for it, the local officials explained that it was initially difficult because of mistrust, the fact that many people tend not regard Abaase as their hometown, and a mentality of the people that government should solve all local problems. Consequently, although the market project was meant for the entire community, they had to raise the project's additional money from among the traders who, against the policy of the CBRDP, were each promised a space. Incidentally, while this promise led to the eventual completion of the project, the same promises bedeviled it.

Before Abaase received the market sheds, traders sold their wares or produce under trees or straw structures. These trees and structures were broken down to make way for the CBRDP project. The officials assured the traders of spaces in the new sheds only if they contributed money, which they did. However, the officials realized that they could not allocate the shed as promised because the forty sheds were not enough to accommodate the almost two hundred traders who had paid money in advance. The situation was convoluted by a directive from one

of the CBRDP senior managers of the that the sheds belonged to the entire Area Council, made up of twenty localities, and that they could not be allocated to only the Abaase traders who had contributed labor and money.<sup>40</sup> One aggrieved trader said:

Before they started the project, we were asked to pay some money if you wanted a space in the new market. We paid but when the market was completed and we asked for our space, they told us to wait . . . we have been waiting for three years . . . so we sell outside the market in the sun, while the sheds are empty.

During fieldwork, the project's officials were embarrassed by the situation and admitted that they had made a mistake by over collecting the money. Even so, they argued that because of the attitudes of most of the residents towards the locality, and the mistrust that the failed water project had generated in the local leaders, there was no other way they could have raised the project's needed additional funding. The local officials blamed the state of the market on the CBRDP manager's insistence that the sheds could not be allocated to only the Abaase traders. The puzzle then was who gets the shed and who gets the refund after their previous market structures had been broken down? As of March 2012, twelve months after the fieldwork, key informants in Abaase confirmed that the market was still not being used and the money of the traders had also not been refunded.

### **Conclusion and Discussion**

This paper set out to show what becomes of projects that use community only in the normative sense without theoretically and practically conceptualizing it. Two conclusions emerged. The first was that "community" appeared not to exist in Abaase. Consequently, not only did the CBRDP project lack local support during their implementation, but also that the market sheds have been left unmaintained. The problem was that, like many towns in the Yaago Plains, residents of Abaase did not associate with the town. Analyzed within the above framework, Abaase barely qualified as a community, as its residents did not regard themselves as members of the town, so would not associate with it, had no obligation to it, or exhibited any culture worthy of commonality. The sense of temporality towards the locality, coupled with mistrust of local leaders seemed to have made it difficult for the local project's leaders to organize support for the project. In their bid to raise additional funds to complete the market sheds, the local officials over-collected monetary contributions from traders, who apparently outnumbered the available sheds once built. This compounded the problems the project was designed to alleviate.

Second, the CBRDP designers and implementers appeared not to have made any effort to build the "communities" upon which to base the project. While many functions around which the CBRDP could have been built existed (such as a community of traders or farmers), these seemed to have been ignored. Thus, the project appeared to have been implemented in a locality or a "space" rather than within a functioning community. As it turned out, because there was no "community" to own and maintain it, the Abaase CBRDP was abandoned and found in a state of disarray at the time of the fieldwork.

The article has shown that it is not enough to base development projects around idealized, yet complex and contested terms such as "community." As the conceptual framework indicated, community is a multi-faceted concept, and each of its features must be in place or

developed before its benefits can be realized. The analysis of the Abaase case study, however, shows that the locality lacked the four key attributes of the concept of community: Function, Membership, Interaction, and Culture. Therefore, it is important that development stakeholders clearly define and conceptualize key terms they apply in development programs to serve as road maps during implementation while at the same time investing in social research and impact assessment to understand how local contexts and dynamics would influence development outcomes. If projects are meant to “improve” lives these simple processes will mean that they can effectively be maintained. Finally, the study has revealed that community-based programs located in settings that have temporal or migrant populations need to identify and target specific community groups and members or draw them from wider population bases, as this case study has shown.

## Notes

- 1 Appadurai 1995, Guilt and Shah 1998, Wong and Guggenheim 2005, Binswanger–Mkhize et al. 2010, Pandey 2010, and Tesoriero 2010.
- 2 Abaase and Yaago are pseudonyms for the localities where the research was conducted.
- 3 The Abaase focus group discussion was conducted with both male and female traders who belonged to diverse ethnic groups and faiths.
- 4 The direct quotations in this article were extracted from interviews and focus group discussions conducted in Abaase in September and October 2010.
- 5 Marion 2007, Defillippis and Saegert 2008, Defillippis et al. 2010, and Pandey 2010.
- 6 See <http://www.seek2know.net/word.html>, retrieved 23 March, 2012.
- 7 Tesoriero 2010 and Kenny 2011.
- 8 Delanty 2003, p. 2.
- 9 See Hall and Cooper 1970 for communities of plants and animals.
- 10 Borzycki and Baldry 2003 and Hattery and Smith 2010.
- 11 Khwaja 2001, Platteau 2004, Alesina and Ferrara 2005, and Cornish 2006.
- 12 Ferguson 1990 Botchway 2001, Cleaver 2001, Moncrieff and Eyben 2007, and Tesoriero 2010.
- 13 Mansuri and Rao 2004, p. 8.
- 14 Etzioni 1996, Shah 1998, and Botchway 2001.
- 15 Bartle 2007 and Minar and Greer 2007.
- 16 Mosimane and Aribeb 2005.
- 17 Cornish 2006, Labonne and Chase 2007, and Platteau 2009.
- 18 Bell and Newby 1971.
- 19 Amin 2005 and Defillippis et al. 2010.
- 20 Mosimane and Aribeb 2005.
- 21 Fisher and Shragge 2010.
- 22 McMillan and Chavis 1986, Appadurai 1995, Delanty 2003, and Tesoriero 2010.
- 23 Agrawal 1996, Puddiffot 1996, Mosimane and Aribeb 2005, and Tesoriero 2010.
- 24 Botchway 2001, Bartle 2007, and Tesoriero 2010.

- 25 Mehmet 1978, Botchway 2001, Mosse 2005, Easterly 2007, Collier 2007, Riddell 2007, and Hancock et al. 2011.
- 26 Lavarack and Wallerstein 2001, p. 180.
- 27 McMillan and Chavis 1986, Bartle 2007, and Tesoriero 2010.
- 28 Bartle 2007 and Tesoriero 2010.
- 29 CBRDP 2006.
- 30 CBRDP 2006, Yaron et al. 2008, and Binswanger–Mkhize et al. 2010.
- 31 Mansuri and Rao 2004, Yaron et al. 2008, and Binswanger–Mkhize et al. 2010.
- 32 Area councils form the lowest system on Ghana’s local government structure. For their supposed grassroots nature, see Ahwoi 2010.
- 33 This was supposed to be participatory and consultative between the local people, the Assembly and Unit Committee Members, and Traditional Chiefs.
- 34 GHC 15,000 (Approximately USD 10,000 in 2005).
- 35 CBRDP 2006 and Yaron et al. 2008.
- 36 Ghana Statistical Survey 2008 and Kwabre North MTDP 2010.
- 37 Kwabre North MTDP 2010.
- 38 No statistical data exist on the ethnic distribution of Abaase.
- 39 Anyidoho 2012, pp. 1-2.
- 40 By implication the monetary contribution should have included all the twenty localities.

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