

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**



**EFFECTS OF PARTISAN POLITICS AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION ON LOCAL  
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IMPLEMENTATION: THE CASE OF  
GA-EAST AND La-NKWANTANANG-MADINA MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLIES**

**BY**

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**SEPTEMBER, 2021.**

**DECLARATION**

I, **MOHAMMED GBATI ABDULAI**, hereby declare that this dissertation is the outcome of my own research except for the references to other people's works that have duly been acknowledged. It has neither in part nor wholly been presented for another degree in this or any other university. I bear full responsibility for any shortcomings that may arise out this work.

  
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**CERTIFICATION**

We hereby certify that this thesis was supervised under the laid down rules and procedures of the University of Ghana.

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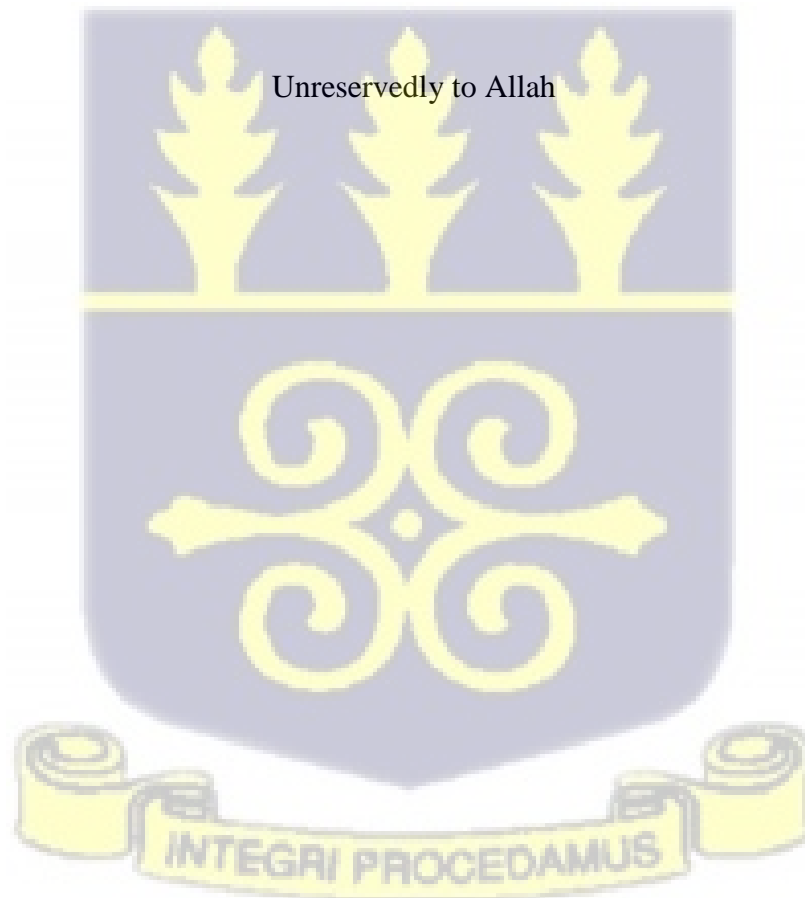
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## DEDICATION



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*In the name of Allah, The Beneficent, The Merciful.*

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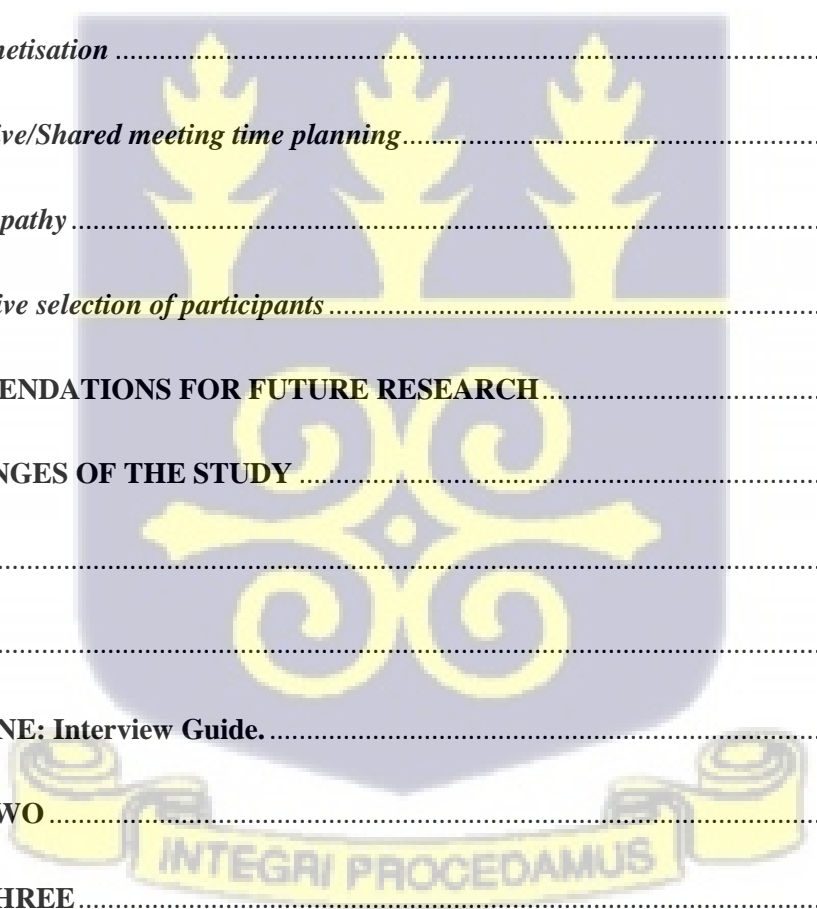
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## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

**ALET:** Alternative Livelihood Empowerment Training

**AU:** African Union

**BAC:** Business Advisory Center

**C.I.:** Constitutional Instrument

**COVE:** Corporate Village Enterprise

**DACF:** District Assemblies Common Fund

**DPAT:** District Performance Assessment Tool

**ED:** Enterprise Development

**ERP:** Economic Recovery Programmes

**EU:** European Union

**FOAT:** Functional Organisational Assessment Tool

**GIZ:** Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit

**IGFs:** Internally Generated Funds

**GoG:** Government of Ghana

**La-NMMA:** La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipal Assembly

**LGFAR:** Local Government Financial and Accounting Regulations

**LED:** Local Economic Development



**LDP:** Locality Development Planning

**HRD:** Human Resource Development

**LD:** Locality Development

**1VID:** One Village, One Dam

**1DIF:** One District, One Factory

**GEMA:** Ga-Eat Municipal Assembly

**GPEDR:** Ghana Panel on Economic Development Report

**GPRS:** Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy

**GEEDA:** Ghana Youth Employment and Entrepreneurial Development Agency

**HRD:** Human Resource Development

**ILO:** International Labour Organisation

**MASLOC:** Microfinance and Small Loans Centre

**MSMEs:** Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises

**MLGRD:** Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development

**MMDAs:** Metropolitans Municipal and District Assemblies

**MTDPs:** Medium-Term Development Programs

**MCD:** Municipal Coordinating director

**MCE:** Municipal Chief Executive



**NDPFW:** National Development Policy Framework

**NBSSI:** National Board for Small Scale Industries

**NEEDS:** National Empowerment and Economic Development Strategy

**NDA:** Northern Development Authority

**NDF:** Northern Development Fund

**NDP:** National Development Plan

**NGOs:** Non-Governmental Organizations

**NPP:** New Patriotic Party

**NDC:** National Democratic Congress

**NDPC:** National Development Planning Commission

**NSEZ:** Northern Savannah Ecological Zone.

**N4G:** Needles for Girl

**OECD:** Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

**PRSP:** Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

**RPC:** Regional Planning Committees

**SAP:** Structural Adjustment Programme

**SADA:** Savanna Accelerated Development Authority

**SDGs:** Sustainable Development Goals



**SLATLA:** Sustainable Livelihood and Transparent Local Authorities

**SONA:** State of The Nation's Address

**SWOT:** Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats

**UN:** United Nations

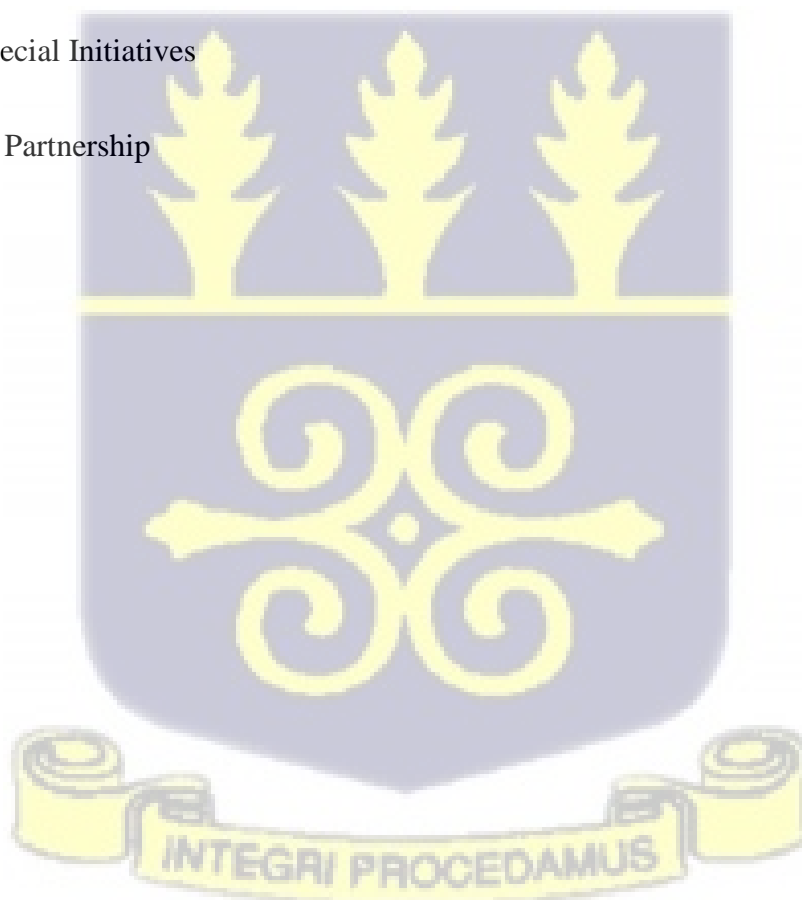
**UNDP:** United Nations Development Program

**LEDP:** Local Economic Development Policy

**PFM:** Public Financial Management

**PSI:** Presidential Special Initiatives

**PPP:** Public Private Partnership



## ABSTRACT

Local economic development (LED) has become a global concept such that it is generally utilised to address poverty and create jobs in localities. The idea of LED is to stimulate local employment opportunities in sectors that improve the community, using existing human, natural and institutional resources.

This thesis sought to examine the effects of partisan politics and citizen participation on LED initiatives implementation at the local government levels. The study was conducted in two purposively sampled districts within the greater Accra region of Ghana. It employed a qualitative research approach. This study extended the theoretical literature by exploring the partisan theory in LED implementation which has been completely neglected by previous studies.

The findings of the study revealed that partisan politics indeed shaped the implementation of LED initiatives in diverse ways such as political transitions, political commitment, political hijacking, and the satisfaction of political gains. It also emerged that the prime reason for which local politicians are involved in LED implementation is to gaining political points either through satisfying their political promises or gaining some political fortunes from the implementation process.

Concerning citizen participation in LED implementation, the study found that engaging citizens in the implementation of LED projects had positive effects. It however emerged that citizen participation in LED implementation was constrained by some problems such as inadequate resources, monetisation, illiteracy, time constraints, proximity to meeting venues, and apathy. Recommendations were provided to help reduce the effects of partisan politics on LED implementation. Further recommendations were made in view of enhancing citizen participation in LED implementation.

## CHAPTER ONE

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

“SDG 8 seeks to promote sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all. Local economic development is, therefore, critical in achieving these” (Ghana Panel on Economic Development Report, 2016 p.64).

#### 1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

On September 25, 2015, the member states of the United Nations (UN), “agreed on the seventeen (17) sustainable development goals (SDGs) of the post-2015 development agenda (UN, 2015)”. Development at the local levels was not left out in this agenda as the UN specifically set out goal number eight (8) to address the issues of rural and local development from the economic perspective. “The Agenda is a culmination of many years of negotiation and was endorsed by all 193 member nations of the General Assembly, both developed and developing—and applies to all countries” (Klapper, El-Zoghbi and Hess 2016, p.1).

Local Economic Development (LED) has become a global concept such that it is generally utilized to address poverty and create jobs in urban and rural localities (Wijijayanti, Agustina, Winarno, Istanti and Dharma, 2020; Purbasari, Drahen, and Wijaya 2019; Rai, 2020; Agbavade, 2020a; Kahika and Karyeija, 2017). According to the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD, 2014 p.1), “the introduction of LED could be seen as an alternative development strategy, to fully harness the economic potentials of the districts for job creation and faster poverty reduction”. In the view of Meyer (2014, p.3), “the greatest potential for development support exists at the local government level, with a focus on attracting investments, creating jobs, and boosting demand”. Wijijayanti et al., (2020, p.6) allude that “LED is an approach which

provides an opportunity for the community to play a role and take the initiative in determining and processing the local resources, both human and natural resources, to create the economic chain”.

The idea of LED is to stimulate local employment opportunities in sectors that improve the community, using existing human, natural and institutional resources. According to Gardyne (2016, p.3), “the ability of LED to empower local people has earned favor with national governments and development theorists against poverty and inequality on a global scale”. “As a locally driven strategy, LED is a catalyst for poverty reduction, women’s empowerment and inclusive growth with prominence for implementing the SDGs which promise to leave no one behind” (National LED policy, 2020 p.10).

The idea of LED is therefore to build up the economic capacity of a local area to improve its economic future and the quality of life for all. It is a process by which public, business, and non-governmental sector partners work collectively to create better conditions for economic growth and employment generation (Swinburn & Murphy, 2005). In line with the SDGs, the National Local Economic Development Policy 2020 and Action plan (Republic of Ghana, 2020 p.5), “has been adopted to have a direct contribution to the implementation and achievement of the following twelve (12) SDGs; (SDG 1, SDG 2, SDG 5, SDG 8, SDG 9, SDG 10, SDG 11, SDG 12, SDG 13, SDG 14, SDG 15, SDG 17).

Under the African Union (AU) agenda 2063, “LED could become an opportunity to mobilize more resources and capacities for local solutions and innovations to achieve the seven aspirations of the agenda 2063”. Agenda 2063 is the main planned framework for Africa over the next 50 years, advanced by the AU. “It is a global strategy to optimise the use of Africa’s resources for the benefit of all Africa (AU, 2013)”. The agenda focuses on the seven aspirations of where Africa wants to be by 2063.

Within the Ghanaian policy context, LED “is strongly aligned with the overall policy agenda set out in the Coordinated Programme of Economic and Social Development Policies (2017 – 2024) Agenda for Jobs: Creating Prosperity and Equal Opportunity for All” (National LED policy, 2020 p.6). The policy emphasises the need to develop a business-friendly mindset among public sector agencies and the importance of LED in facilitating economic growth and job creation at the local level.

Local economic development could not be effectively implemented without community participation. According to Cochran (1986), people understand their own needs far better than anyone else and as a result, should have the power to both define and act upon them. Power, in this case, refers to what has been construed by Hyden (2008, p.13), “the ability to achieve the desired outcome in competition with other actors who lay claim to the same resources needed to produce that outcome”. Boon, Bawole, and Ahenkan (2013 p.38) are of the view that “there is a high degree of consensus among development actors and project managers on the need for active participation of stakeholders in project design and implementation to ensure high project implementation success”.

Development must be by the people not only for them. People must participate fully in the decisions and processes that shape their lives (UN, 1995). Thus, the implementation of LED initiatives will be feasible and acquire full meaning if local people participate fully in their planning and implementation. Broad participation that comprises a large part of community members has a positive impact on LED program design and implementation and maximises the benefits of the initiatives.

About partisan politics, Rai (2020, p.395), explains that “politics and economics cannot be seen in isolation from each other. On one hand, uncertainty-connected politics provide a crucial

framework for economic development because politics stand at the center of governing the entire system of development and social transformation. Politicians make decisions and take actions for the social outcomes which led the society towards economic growth”. “Studying local politics is, in and of itself, important, because local contexts shape state and national politics” (Trounstine 2009, p.612). Bénit-Gbaffou (2012 p.178) states that “local level politics matters more broadly in local democracy, the party local branch is often crucial as a platform of mobilisation, expression, and debates around local needs, being more structured and able to access channels of decision than local government participatory structures”.

According to Trounstine (2009, p.612) “in the United States, a large proportion of political activity occurs at the sub-state level. The vast majority of elected officials are local legislators. In many places, local jurisdictions also hold elections more frequently than states or the federal government”. This implies that most elections in such places are local elections, most campaigns are local campaigns and in some cases, most votes are local votes (Trounstine, 2009). In the Ghanaian context, the constitution of Ghana entrusts enormous powers to the president and, as a result, the president appoints public institutional heads including all district and municipal chief executives (The 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana). This is conducted in consultation with party executives (Luna, 2015; Akwei, Damoah, & Amankwah-Amoah, 2020). Once there is a change in power at the national level to a different political party, it has some influence at the local government level as MMDCs and some major policy directions are also changed (Akwei et al., 2020). Based on this account, LED implementation at the local government levels is subject to be influenced by partisan politics.

Akwei et al. (2020, p.1166) opined that “in multiparty systems partisanship is used to refer to politicians who have strong favorability to their party’s policies and hardly compromise with the

policies of their political opponents”. Muirhead (2006, p. 714) defines partisanship “as the political orientation of citizens who stand with a party. This orientation is both psychological in that citizens identify with a party and behavioral in that they usually vote for it, and possibly give it time and money”. LED has verily become a global concept and should therefore be everybody’s business, including residents, local business people, NGOs, and governments.

## 1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Whereas several studies (Ria, 2020; Cox, 1995; Agbevade, 2020b; Grävingsholt et al., 2006; Wolman & Spitzley, 1996; Wood, 1996) have indicated that politics has consequences on LED implementation, these studies have looked at politics as either the structure of power relationships or the contestation of interests among the actors in LED to the neglect of partisan politics. The crucial problem of how partisan politics impacts the implementation of LED initiatives has been neglected in the literature thereby creating a knowledge gap. For Trachtman (2019), partisan polarization can threaten the successful implementation of policies that rely on high levels of citizen participation, for instance, LED policies. According to Iyengar & Krupenkin (2018, p. 201), “affective polarization among ordinary citizens has reached the point where party affiliation is now a litmus test for interpersonal relations”.

Partisan politics refer to “*who wins elections, who decides policies, who votes for what*” (Rothstein and Theorell, 2008). In the view of Akwei et al. (2020, p.1161) “partisan politics entails strong favoritism toward one’s preferred political party, adherence to party policies, and reluctance to compromise with political opponents”. “Literature has mainly focused on politics at the national level and has seldom paid attention to local politics, especially urban politics” (Béni-Gbaffou, 2012 p.179). However, “a key feature of local government is that it is dominated by party politics,

with only 3 percent of local authorities being effectively non-partisan” (Wilson and Game, 1998, p. 260 cited in Gary 2000).

The effects of partisan politics on LED implementation need to be investigated since it shapes the implementation and success of LED initiatives. There is a need to fill this gap due to the key influences partisan politics exerts on the implementation of LED initiatives.

Participation is a commonly used term in development discourse, it involves the engagement of citizens from different segments of society on issues that concern them. “Citizen participation is crucial to achieving a broad consensus on interests that are vital for LED as the community aim at consulting, negotiating, deciding, managing and controlling their future” (Yatta 2015, p.7).

Previous studies have concentrated on how university think tanks could participate in LED by providing the technical know-how and scientific knowledge needed for the promotion of LED (Tang, 2019). Others have discussed the participation of local people in the development of MSME leather products and the channels of participation that can be used to influence policies toward the public promotion of LED respectively (Al Siddiq et al., 2020; Grävingsholt et al., 2006). From the literature, there is limited evidence to show citizens are actively engaged in the planning, formulation, implementation, and evaluation of LED initiatives within local governments.

However, several studies (Al Siddiq et al., 2020; Tang, 2019; Paudyal et al., 2018; Masiapato & Wotela, 2017; Bajmocy and Geberrt, 2014; Grävingsholt et. al., 2006; Bayer et. al., 2003) have indicated the importance of citizen participation in LED promotion and implementation. The lack of adequate research on citizen participation in LED implementation at the local government level does not help in building a sense of ownership among community members on LED initiatives, this could also make LED project implementation challenging. Moreover, “non or minimal participation of communities in local development perpetuates vulnerability, marginalisation and

dominance” (Masiapato & Wotela 2017, p.107). Furthermore, the non-participation of citizens in the planning and implementation of LED intervention within the local government could make way for some municipal authorities to become corrupt. This gap in the literature has also necessitated this study.

The study, therefore, seeks to fill the gaps in the literature by exploring how partisan politics and citizen participation affects the implementation of LED initiatives in local governments.

### **1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

- To examine the effects of partisan politics on LED initiatives implementation at the local government level.
- To explore the roles of local politicians as actors in LED initiative implementation.
- To examine the effects of citizen participation on LED initiatives implementation at the local government level.
- To explore the challenges of citizen participation in LED initiatives implementation at the local government level.

### **1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

- How do partisan politics affect the implementation of LED initiatives at the local government level?
- What are the roles of local politicians as actors in LED initiatives implementation at the local government level?
- How does citizen participation affect LED initiatives implementation at the local government level?

- What are the challenges of citizen participation in LED initiatives implementation at the local government level?

## 1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

### *Contribution to theory.*

Current research on LED implementation is grounded in theories such as neoliberal theory, endogenous development strategy, and the actor-oriented approach. This study extends the theoretical literature by exploring the endogenous growth theory, partisan theory, and empowerment theory in LED implementation. By contribution, the study offers a novel finding on how partisan politics and citizen participation affects the implementation of LED initiatives at the local government level. Hopefully, this research could be used to increase our understanding of the role of partisan politics and citizen participation in LED project implementation, extend the literature on LED, local politics, and citizen participation, as well as to encourage further research, theorization, and teaching.

Trounstone (2009, p.611) asserts that “the study of local politics has been relegated to the periphery of political science and many explanations have been offered for the marginalization of the subfield”. Another significance of this study is that theoretically, it adds up to the scarce literature on the study of local politics on LED implementation. Examining politics at the local government level can produce comprehensively diverse types of questions than a purely national-level focus and can provide distinct responses to questions that apply more generally (Trounstone 2009).

### *Contribution to practice.*

The study practically contributes to the discourse on citizen participation as a global development concept and diagnoses the consequences of this discourse for the people living in these study areas.

Thus, the local level is the source of numerous political outcomes that matter because they represent a large proportion of political events.

***Contribution to policy.***

Development is not finite. Hence, reviews and amendments of development policies and concepts are inevitable. The study brings to the limelight the effects of partisan politics and citizen participation on the implementation of LED initiatives that could be considered when amending national LED policies and strategies. The research also offers a thoughtful perspective for policymakers to re-examine national LED policies and laws, therefore, making way for more space for citizens to participate in policy-making and development planning at all levels of LED planning.

**1.6 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY**

The research is organized into five chapters. Chapter one contains the introduction and background of the study, the research problem, objectives of the research as well as research questions. The chapter also contains the significance of the study, limitations of the research, and research organisation. Chapter two reviews the literature and discusses the theoretical underpinnings of the study. Chapter three presents the methodology used in the study. It also discusses the research approach, research design, sampling technique, and data collection instruments. Chapter four presents data, analyses, and discusses the research findings. Finally, chapter five provides a summary, conclusion, and recommendations of the study.

**1.7 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY**

The purpose of this thesis is not to provide a comprehensive analysis of all economic development initiatives within local governments. Besides, the findings of the study cannot be generalized,

because it is limited to the study areas and cannot be said to be the case for all other district assemblies across the country.

The study will have the following specific limitations;

One, this study is limited to decentralisation as a concept despite the strong correlation between LED and decentralisation. Grävingholt et. al., (2006, p. 18) found that “effective decentralisation enables local governments to devise public policies in the area of LED that are in line with both local circumstances and needs”. Despite this fact, the study is limited to decentralisation. This would help reduce the number of independent variables in the study and make the study concise.

Secondly, the study is limited to partisan politics devoid of all other forms or types of politics. The term politics is a broad concept with many connotations and types. This thesis specifically looks at politics in the context of partisan politics at the local level.

Third, participation is also limited to citizen participation within the context of local government. Participation takes different forms but this study is limited to participation within the space of local government.

Again, since the study falls within the concept of economic development at the local levels, it would not include macro-economic statistics.

Finally, the study will be limited from discussing local government, despite it is going to be conducted in a local government setting.

## 1.8 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

This chapter presented an introduction to the study. It argued that there is a nexus between partisan politics and citizen participation in LED implementation at the local level.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presented a review of the general literature on local economic development (LED). Specifically, the chapter examines the definitions of LED, phases, and approaches to LED. The chapter also presented a brief history of LED in Ghana and the partisan politics associated with the formulation, adaptation, and implementation of LED interventions in Ghana. The merits and challenges of implementing LED are also discussed in this chapter.

#### 2.1 THE CONCEPT OF LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The literature demonstrates that there are several conceptual difficulties in providing a universally acceptable definition for the concept of LED (Helmsing, 2001; Barkely, 1994; Akudugu, 2013; Meyer-Stamer, 2004; Abrahams, 2003). “Some of these definitions concentrated on the strategies, actors and the result which is to reduce poverty and improve the quality of life of the natives” (Agbevade, 2020c p.26). Rural places are unique in terms of geography, economic, social, cultural, and infrastructure resources. For this reason, it is of no surprise to see variations in the definitions of LED. Hence, different scholars define the concept based on the purpose of deployment. According to Pike, Rodríguez-Pose, and Tomaney (2016, p.8), “definitions of local and regional economic development are inescapably context-dependent”. A few definitions of LED are considered below;

Ghana’s National Decentralization Policy (2010) defined LED as the process by which local governments, local businesses, and other actors join forces and resources to enter into new partnership agreements with each other or other stakeholders to create new jobs and stimulate economic activities in municipalities, towns, and villages. Considering this definition, it does not

specify the sources and types of resources that are brought on board by the parties involved in the LED process. LED is supposed to solely deal with the identification and use of local resources for local development. Azunu & Mensah (2019 p.4) assert that “LED is founded on local initiative and is driven by local stakeholders, resources, ideas, and skills”. Because of that, a definition of LED needs to specify the types or sources of resources involved in the LED process. Based on this critique, the definition provided by the National Decentralization Policy cannot be considered a comprehensive definition for LED.

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2013) defines LED as a cross-cutting and integrated activity where the physical development of a place is linked to public service, place management, and wider drivers of change such as employment, skills, investment, enterprise, innovation, productivity, quality of life, and positioning. The definition by OECD (2013) lacks clarity as the phrase “*physical development of a place*” is ambiguous. Thus, it does not specify which ‘*place*’ is under discussion, LED focuses on the development of regional, rural or local areas and places. In agreement, Azunu & Mensah (2019 p.3) conceded that “LED is an approach directed at local or regional development, with the main aims of stimulating the growth of the local economy”.

Another definition of LED presented by Blakely (1994, p. xvi) is “the process in which local governments or community-based organizations engage to stimulate or maintain business activity and/or employment. The principal goal of LED is to stimulate local employment opportunities in sectors that improve the community, using existing human, natural and institutional resources”. However, Blakely’s definition is also limited in scope. Thus, there are more actors or partners in the LED process than only local authorities and community-based organizations.

For this study, LED is conceptualized as a development strategy involving a local government body, on one hand, a locally-based organization and/or a private entity on the other hand, in the identification and utilisation of local resources to positively transform and promote the economic opportunities and capacity of a local area to reduce poverty levels through job creation, improve the economic wellbeing and quality of life of the local people. From the foregoing, the main features of LED include the following:

First, identification and utilisation of local resources for the development of local areas. Each local area is unique in terms of resources. A key feature of LED is the ability of the implementing agency to identify such resources and how they can be tapped and transformed to develop and boost the economic fortunes of a locality. Secondly, LED involves a partnership between or among a set of actors in the implementation process. It could be a partnership between only two actors involving the local authority or a partnership among several actors of the LED process. Third, it is a concept of development that is associated with or peculiar to regional or local development.

According to Ofei-Aboagye, cited in GPED Report (2016, p.27), “the features of LED include the partnerships formed between local authorities, community groups and private entities aimed at creating decent jobs and sustainable economic activities. In these arrangements, the public sector, thus local authorities are expected to take actions to improve the business environment, employment opportunities, income distribution and fiscal solvency of the community”. In agreement with this idea, Philander and Rogerson (2001, p.34) re-emphasize that “within local communities LED should be understood as a partnership between the key actors such as those in local government and stakeholders representing the private sector, community, and non-governmental organizations”. Based on the aforementioned characteristics of LED, it is clear that

LED is always associated with a local government body in the form of a province, municipal or district assemblies.

Local in this context encompasses areas such as rural areas without major key infrastructure and social amenities, with a relatively lower population density, and comprises remote towns, villages, and cottages. Economic in this circle relates to the type of investment opportunities available within a locality, skills development, the production, marketing, and selling of goods and services within the locality, with the use of local resources of all types available within the area. Development involves a positive transformation and improvement in the livelihood of the local people through the creation of wealth and economic growth.

According to Purbasari et al., (2019, p.4) “the term ‘local’ in the LED concept refers to the process of appreciating the endogenous potentials and optimally exploring the existing local capacities. Whereas, the term ‘economic’ is directed toward the identification of investment opportunities that support entrepreneurial activities and facilitate access to new markets. Finally, the term ‘development’ is concerned with the process of promoting the improvement of living and working conditions in the region, through the creation of new jobs, the retention of existing jobs, and the generation of income”.

Despite the different definitions for LED, “all the various definitions underline two important issues. One, LED is a process. This process provides the opportunity for the citizenry to participate in the local development process and second, LED is driven by local actors (that is, state and non-state actors) from different societal sectors” (MLGRD, 2014 p.2). Considering the various definitions provided here, none can be accepted as what LED is holistically about, nevertheless, each one provides an insight into the concept.

### 2.1.1 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The significance of LED is increasingly becoming imminent in the development trajectories of our localities and is seen by the UN as the cornerstone of local development. LED is gradually becoming the surest way to sustainable local development such that national governments have come to pay critical attention to it by charging local government bodies to take up the issue of LED as a serious one in their development planning affairs. All around the world, local governments, the private sector, and civil society organizations are demanding better ways to achieve LED, a cornerstone of sustainable development (UN-HABITAT, 2005). The concept has proven to be a reliable development strategy in promoting the socio-economic development of regional, rural and local areas. LED implementation promotes local industries and boasts local economies.

Globally, LED has also been seen as a viable alternative to top-down development strategies. The concept has gained major prominence within the development discourse due to its relevance and the fact that it has recently become an alternative to the bottom-up approach to national development. In affirmation of this, Pike et al., (2017) cited in Shannon (2018, p.4), observed that “recent international governance trends have seen a shift from ‘top-down’ to ‘bottom-up’ approaches to local and regional development alongside a move from government to governance and devolution of powers to the sub-national level”. The bottom-up approach to community development is beneficial since it allows for local participation and ownership (Kahika & Karyeija 2017), hence the importance of LED as a bottom-up approach to local development.

According to Rogerson & Rogerson (2010, p.11), “the imperative for pursuing LED in rural areas is to address systematic improvements in local economies”. LED has also come to enjoy growing credibility as a locality-based development strategy that is critical to unlocking the potential of

localities and improving the economic prospects and quality of the local people (Akudugu & Laube, 2013; Trousdale 2005). The importance of LED in both developed and developing countries has become inevitable and therefore cannot be overemphasized.

The idea of LED could be used as a tool to mitigate the high levels of rural-urban migration within the continent. The rate of unemployment at the local levels serves as a push factor for the youth to migrate to the urban areas to seek employment. LED is important as its implementation leads to job creation at the local levels which curtails the level of unemployment and indirectly controls the rate of rural-urban migration. In the view of Yatta (2015, p.7), “the LED approach has gained ground in the developed world because of the need to promote local development leading to the creation of jobs, income generation, improved governance, transparency and assessing the local leadership performance”. For Karyeija, & Kahik (2017 p.1), “LED is seen as an empowering strategy with the overall goal of empowering the grass-root people so that they can initiate and propel their local socio-economic prosperity through the promotion of self-reliance”.

The implementation of LED helps generate sustainable employment, and protects threatened employment levels. It also enhances the attractiveness of an area to eligibility firms seeking to relocate or invest and generates local dialogue. For Rucker and Trah (2007, p.11), “LED has become a promotional ‘commodity’ of international donor agencies in the ‘development market, and it is being promoted by international development agencies such as the ILO, UNDP, UNCDF, GIZ, DFID World Bank and UNHABITAT among others. At the same time, the concept is gaining attention in development theory”.

## **2.1.2 CHALLENGES OF LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IMPLEMENTATION**

As a development strategy, LED implementation would not be without some constraints. Political interference in LED implementation is one of such challenges that impedes the progress and success of the concept. According to Agbevade (2018a p.114) “politicization of LED initiatives is a challenge in its implementation. A political party in power always sought to reward its loyalists by awarding them with PPP contracts. Attempts by the Municipal Coordinator of the Business Advisory Centre in the Keta Municipal assembly to depoliticise LED resulted in participants in Afiadenyigba boycotting a training programme in kente weaving”.

Political interference usually takes the form of political sabotage and political patronage during LED implementation. In the case of political patronage, the local political leaders considered members of their party first before other citizens in determining who benefits from a particular LED initiative. Even when there are more qualified or deserving people, the local politician would still offer the opportunity to participate and benefit from an LED initiative implementation to political party faithful at the expense of the well-deserving citizens.

Lack of capacity is another constraint that confronts MMDAs in LED implementation. This constraint is manifested in two folds; One, the lack of institutional capacity, and secondly the lack of the requisite human resources to administer LED within MMDAs. MMDAs do not have designated LED offices at the local levels. Many MMDAs use the Business Advisory Centers (BAC) in their district as LED allied offices. Some districts do not even have BAC centers and this has serious negative implications for LED. Regarding the human resources for LED implementation, MMDAs do not have specific officers for LED affairs. In many cases, the district coordinating directors, the district planning officers, and the district BAC officers are in-charge of

LED affairs. The difficulty is that many of these officers have their core duties and therefore take up the roles of LED as additional ones which do not make them effectively discharge such duties. Many of these officers lack some form of technical knowledge or educational background related to LED and use their common knowledge in steering LED affairs. The ministry of local government and rural development (2014), took note of this constraint by observing that,

*“District Assemblies have focused on their administrative and legislative functions, to the detriment of their local economic development functions thereby hindering their effort to improve quality of life and to offer greater opportunities for economic empowerment of their citizens” (MLGRD 2014, p.1).*

In this case, the ministry of local government is of the view that the capacities of MMDAs are focused on their core duties and no specific capacity arrangements are in place for LED promotion and implementation.

Also, Shannon (2018, p.4), noted that “National, local and regional governments are generally organized by sector such as transport, environment, health”. There is therefore no specific institutional organization solely responsible for LED administration. This challenge of LED implementation is also noticed by the OECD (2013) which indicated that many governments fail to organize their structures to support economic development, especially at the local levels. Again OECD (2013, p.9) stated that “few if any, administrative and government systems are designed with economic development in mind”. Due to this joint challenge of institutional capacity and human resources, LED is not given special attention by the MMDAs.

In addition, lack of financial resources is another challenge in LED implementation. The main source of financing LED initiatives within MMDAs is through the central government; thus, either out of the district assembly’s common fund (DACF) or funding receive through the BAC from the

NBSSI. These sources of funding are woefully inadequate and not even regular sources. Moreover, the budgets of various MMDAs are already burdened with other items making it almost impossible to allocate part of such funds towards LED promotion and implementation.

Lastly, the lack of effective citizen participation in LED promotion and implementation is another major challenge. Several factors account for the inability of citizens to participate in LED issues, which has negative consequences on LED initiative implementation. Time constraints on the part of participants, participants' level of understanding of LED issues, authorities' inability to finance participatory programs, participant's commitment levels to the programs, and the general willingness of participants to participate in LED initiatives promotion and implementation are some factors that account for their non-effective participation.

Despite the brilliant objectives of LED as a bottom-up development idea, if the challenges confronting LED promotion and implementation are not tackled, the aim of the concept to reduce unemployment, generate income and create jobs would be a facade.

### **2.1.3 ACTORS IN LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IMPLEMENTATION**

Local Economic Development strategy is grounded on a wide combination of players, comprising local stakeholders, non-governmental organisations as well as international bodies. According to Rai (2020, p.395), "key actors in the LED strategy consists of three partners specifically, the public sector (local government), private sector and local communities (civil society) for service delivery. The local government has to fulfill the leadership role; the private sector needs to contribute to the creation of wealth for prosperity and civil society should be the part of a good governance process to ensure democratic principles in layers of society".

Local governments perform key roles in establishing a favorable environment for LED activities. They are responsible for providing infrastructure to facilitate business development, they also provide diverse services and implement rules for LED needs. Civil societies address different groups with different opinions and inputs into the LED process and encourage citizen participation in LED implementation. Private Sector has in-depth information and understanding of local economic dynamics and is more likely to be abreast with local economic pros and cons. Ideally, the private sector is the engine of economic growth whereas government agencies and authorities set the agenda for LED in developing and transitioning economies.

Helmsing (2003), similarly classifies the actors in LED implementation to include the following;

***Community-Based Organisations*** (CBOs): this may refer to grassroots territorial CBOs or self-selected grassroots groups. Helmsing (2003, p. 75) noted that “often, territorial CBOs are framed by local traditions, customs, and increasingly also by local or national government legislation”.

***Local Government:*** Local governments are key actors of LED in that they provide the necessary enabling or conducive environment for LED promotion and implementation. MMDAs are required to improve infrastructure, service provision, and aid as the basis of economic potential for promoting LED.

***Local Producers and their Associations:*** this group of actors comprises the local producers and the types of cooperation or associations they form and belong to.

***Donor Agencies/ Non-governmental Organisation:*** Actors of LED development also include other sectorial, NGOs, and national and international agencies.

## 2.2 PHASES OF LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Beginning the 1960s till the present day, scholars and organizations (Karyeija, & Kahika, 2017; Rogerson 2003; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2010; World Bank, 2004; OECD, 2013) have identified three major phases or waves of LED. The first phase occurred between the 1960s to the early 1980s. The second phase rolled from the 1980s to the mid-1990s and the current phase started in the mid-1990s.

During the first LED evolution phase, local governments were using the locality approach to attract external investment and create an enabling environment to attract business. According to Shannon (2018, p.4), “earlier approaches to local and regional economic development were characterised by the central state delivering development to lagging regions through injection of resources from the outside on standardised one-size-fits-all lines”. Unfortunately, the one-size-fits-all approach could not have implemented LED successful because “one of the cardinal principles of LED is that every locality is unique, and therefore there is no single one-size-fits-all approach.” (National LED policy and Action Plan, 2020 p. 10).

The second phase of LED evolution stressed retaining and growing already existing local and internal investments. Karyeija & Kahika, 2017, p.2), notes that “during the second phase, governments were more focused on internal development. They realised the importance of being self-sustaining, and so they started to develop and retain businesses as part of creating a local industrial base”.

The third phase of LED evolution is being strengthened by the creation of partnerships, a development that required human resources, and the mobilization of private financial resources in the form of credit and capital for entrepreneurial development (World Bank, 2004). It also focused

on soft infrastructure investments, and networking as well as highly targeted internal investments attraction.

Table 1 below depicts the waves or phases of LED evolution since the 1960s as presented by the World Bank in 2004.

**Table 1. Phases or Waves of Local Economic Development**

Wave	Focus	Tools
<b>First: 1960s to early 1980s</b>	During the first wave the focus was on the attraction of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• mobile manufacturing investment, attracting outside investment, especially the attraction of foreign direct investment</li> <li>• hard infrastructure investments</li> </ul>	To achieve this, cities used: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• massive grants</li> <li>• subsidized loans usually aimed at inward investing manufacturers</li> <li>• tax breaks</li> <li>• subsidized hard infrastructure investment</li> </ul>
<b>Second: 1980s to mid -1990s</b>	During the second wave the focus moved towards: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the retention and growing of existing local businesses</li> <li>• still with an emphasis on inward investment attraction, but usually this was becoming more targeted to specific sectors or from certain geographic areas</li> </ul>	To achieve this, cities provided: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• direct payments to individual businesses</li> <li>• business incubators/workspace</li> <li>• advice and training for small- and medium-sized firms</li> <li>• technical support</li> <li>• business start-up support</li> <li>• some hard and soft infrastructure investment</li> </ul>
<b>Third: Late 1990s onwards</b>	The focus then shifted from individual direct firm financial transfers to making the entire business environment more conducive to business. During this third (and current) wave of LED, more focus is placed on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• soft infrastructure investments</li> <li>• public/private partnerships</li> <li>• networking and the leveraging of private sector investments for the public good</li> <li>• highly targeted inward investment attraction to add to the competitive advantages of local areas</li> </ul>	To achieve this, cities are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• developing a holistic strategy aimed at growing local firms</li> <li>• providing a competitive local investment climate</li> <li>• supporting and encouraging networking and collaboration</li> <li>• encouraging the development of business clusters</li> <li>• encouraging workforce development and education</li> <li>• closely targeting inward investment to support cluster growth</li> <li>• supporting quality of life improvements</li> </ul>

Source: World Bank (2004)

### **2.3 BRIEF HISTORY OF LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA**

Despite Ghana adopting its first national development plan far back as the early 1900s, real efforts for LED began in 1988 (Ofei-Aboagye, 2000). Local level economic development eluded Ghana in the period between 1957 and 1966 because there were central controls on local councils and most policies were centralised (Agbavade, 2018a; Oduro-Ofori, 2011). However, Mensah et al., (2019 p.16) opined that “while there was no formal LED policy in Ghana in the pre-independence and immediate post-independent era, LED practice happened in the form of community development where local people were encouraged to voluntarily embark on initiatives that benefited their community”.

Tracing back from early 1919 to 1959, Ghana had some national development plans such as The Guggisberg’s Plan, The First Ten Year Development Plan, and The Consolidation Development Plan. Nonetheless, none of these plans made detailed provisions for the development and promotion of LED. To begin with; “the Guggisburg Plan of 1919 – 1926 is seen as the most significant development plan of the pre-independent Ghana” (Domfe & Osei, cited in GPED Report 2016, p.5). The Plan (1919 – 1926), “sought to build a model economy by expanding the economy to benefit a larger number of the indigenous people of the Gold Coast with a strategy that involved large investments in infrastructure, agricultural and diversification”.

Beyond independence, Ghana had several other national development plans. They include; Reconstruction and Development, The Two-Year Development Plan, The One Year Development Plan, The Five-Year Development Plan, The Economic Recovery Programme/Structural Adjustment Programme, The Ghana Vision 2020, The Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy, Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy, and Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda. The major one among these plans was Kwame Nkrumah’s Seven-Year Development Plan of 1963 to 1970.

The aim of this plan (1963 – 1970), “was to foster African unity, transform and diversify the Ghanaian economy and to raise and equalize economic opportunities and benefits through socialism. It sought to achieve this through modernisation, industrialisation, and focusing on import-substitution industries”.

Moreover, there were a series of policies that were LED-oriented and could even be described as LED as they recognise and attributed certain roles to local institutions which could serve as the fulcrum for local development. For instance, the Regional Planning Committee (RPC) established in 1968 was to ensure regional development. Before the establishment of the RPCs, there was a Local Government Act formulated in 1961 which recognises the responsibility of local authorities for the provision of basic services and infrastructure.

According to Ofei-aboagye (2000), the NBSSI was established as the highest body of government to promote and develop the micro and small enterprises sector in Ghana. In 2017, the NBSSI was converted into an agency after the Ghana Enterprises Agency Bill was passed by parliament. The Bill seeks to “establish the Ghana Enterprises Agency to oversee, coordinate, promote and develop Micro Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs)”. It is intended to replace the NBSSI Act, 1981, (Act 434), which has become obsolete as the focus of operations of the NBSSI has changed from small-scale industries to (MSMEs). A critical element of the Agency is that it is going to raise a fund that is targeted specifically at MSMEs to provide them with finance.

During the period 1981 – 1988; Ghana witnessed a series of Economic Recovery Programmes (ERP) that aimed at transforming and stabilising the Ghanaian economy with the first of its kind in 1983. However, the issues of poverty and income distribution were not given the needed attention under ERP. Therefore, in 1986, the second phase of the reform saw ERP being supplemented with the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), geared toward correcting several

structural imbalances to create sustained healthy economic growth (Osei & Domfe 2006; NDPC, 2008). “The Ghana Regional Appropriate Technology Industrial Service project was also established in 1987 to help transfer appropriate technologies to small-scale industrialists using training, manufacturing, and supply of machines, tools, plants, and equipment” (Mensah et. al, 2013 p.165).

From the end of the 1990s, various initiatives relating to sub-national efforts at promoting economic activities came to be described as LED (Ofei-aboagye, 2000). The National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) started the process of developing a National Development Policy Framework (NDPF) in the year 1991 which later became Vision 2020. This policy framework included economic growth, rural development, and urban development as some of its main focus areas. This was perhaps the first time a national policy has highlighted rural development as one of the policy focus areas. This policy was supposed to be a long-term development policy and the focus of the development policies was “to consolidate the foundations for accelerated development already laid by the economic recovery programme as well as initiating changes necessary for the ultimate long-term transformation of the Ghanaian economy (NDPC, 2008)”. The majority of these development plans provide good intuitions and had objectives, aims, and strategies with a strong bearing on LED, even though they were not named as such.

#### **2.4 LEVELS OF LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA**

Oduro-Ofori (2011, p.25-27) categorizes the levels of LED promotion initiatives in Ghana to include; “formal government initiatives; local government initiatives; local organisations & non-governmental organizations initiatives; and individual, small and medium scale enterprise level initiatives”.

#### ***2.4.1 Formal Government initiatives***

These are initiatives in the form of policies, programmes, and projects implemented by the central government which are in line with LED promotion. These types of LED initiatives are usually in a form of top-down initiatives in which MDAs implement them on behalf of the central government. An example of this initiative is IDIF initiated by the ministry of trade and industry and implemented by MMDAs. Through these initiatives, the central government attempts to create economic development capacity at the community levels, through the building of a conducive economic development environment and ensuring that the less privileged communities and localities have access to these programmes.

The initiatives could be aimed at the provision of infrastructure to boost economic and social development, offering vocational, technical, and skills training to the unemployed. The projects could also include the provision of micro-credits and loans to potential entrepreneurs. For example, in Ghana, in terms of the provision of credit facilities within the MMDAs, the Microfinance and Small Loans Centre (MASLOG) plays the role of granting loans and credit facilities to entrepreneurs, MSMEs, as well as groups of individuals at the local levels to support and help sustain their businesses for economic development.

#### ***2.4.2 Local Government Initiatives***

These types of initiatives emanate from within the various MMDAs in line with the requisite legal and administrative requirements in developing the various localities. Chapter 20 of the 1992 Constitution and the Local Governance Act, 2016 (Act 936) designate MMDAs “as the highest political, administrative and executive authorities at the district level and require them to be responsible for the formulation and implementation of programmes and projects in their areas to

support economic development. In addition, Section 12 of the local governance Act (462) outlines a District Assembly's functions which include "promote local economic development".

Among other functions stated in the (Act, 462), "MMDAs have a responsibility to formulate and execute plans, programmes, and develop appropriate strategies for the effective mobilisation of resources for local development. They are also required to promote and support productive activities and social development and remove all obstacles to local development".

#### ***2.4.3 Local and Foreign Organisations Initiatives***

This level of LED in Ghana includes such local and foreign organisations that operate on a far broader plan and are less restricted in terms of their areas of operation. In many cases, faith-based organisations, social organisations, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are very active in supporting citizens in economic development initiatives. For example, World Vision Ghana is a faith-based organisation that operates in two different ways. In one way, the company operates as a loan/credit facility company known as Vision Fund Ghana Ltd. In this way, it has a core duty of providing loans and credit facilities to individuals, groups, traders, and farmers to help develop the local economies whilst also providing them with some sort of financial training on how to make better uses of the loans they receive. Secondly, the company also operates as an NGO, thus, they also help in providing educational infrastructures such as the building of schools or classroom blocks, libraries, and dormitories to deprived and rural communities which are also geared towards community development.

#### ***2.4.4 Individual, Small, and Medium Scale Enterprises Initiatives***

In Ghana, the informal sector is the backbone of the local economy. The sector is dominated by sole proprietors, hairdressers, traders, dressmakers, business people, and others who are engaged in diverse activities daily and contribute to the development of the local economies through their

activities. Thus, the sector is largely covered by individuals and MSMEs. Within this level, private entities provide training, capacity building, loans, business development services, and other financial resources to these individuals and MSMEs. This help to build the local economy and therefore contributes to the promotion of LED

### **2.5.1 PARTISAN POLITICS OF LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (2000 – 2021)**

This aspect of the study discussed some LED initiatives by successive governments in Ghana within the last decade. The section reflected how the two leading political parties in Ghana, thus the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) had captured the issues of LED in their policy documents as electioneering campaign promises over the last decade. The State of Nation's Addresses (SONAs) from 2010 to date is reviewed to identify various LED-related issues in them, and to provide an analysis of such issues regarding the government's policy thinking on LED in Ghana.

### **2.5.2 THE POLITICS OF LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IMPLEMENTATION IN GHANA (2000 – 2021)**

Ghana has had two national LED policies so far, thus, the National Local Economic Development Policy (2013) and The National Local Economic Development Policy (2020) and Action Plan. The process of policy-making occurs in a political context of pluralism, hence one can think of policies as the outcomes of politics. To Anderson (2003, p.1), "a policy is defined as a relatively stable, purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern". For the very first time in the last decade, a president in his 2013 State of the nation's address (SONA) explicitly promises.....

*"We will mainstream the concept of Local Economic Development to facilitate, develop and implement employment creation programmes based on the natural resource*

*endowments and the comparative advantages of every district” (President John Dramani Mahama – SONA, 2013).*

This is a clear attestation by a sitting president about the importance of LED in developing local economies and why critical attention must be paid to the policies that relate to LED. From the foregoing, technocrats at the various MMDAs must fully understand the various LED approaches to have better implementation techniques and strategies.

During the erstwhile John Agyekum Kufuor’s regime (2000 – 2008), “the government introduced a new farmer-ownership scheme called the Corporate Village Enterprise (COVE) Model through the Presidential Special Initiatives (PSI). The initiatives were the Integrated Action Programme for Cassava Starch Production and Export Action Programme for Garments and Textiles in Ghana”. According to Tonah (2006), the objective of this model was to bring rural communities into mainstream economic activity. By so doing, developing the local economies and also improving the income levels of the cassava farmers as well as their general livelihood. This was to be achieved through the production and transformation of cassava from its micro-level production, characterised by low-yielding into a bigger scale production, market-oriented cash crop. Under the cassava program, about 25,000 farmers from 10 selected districts were to be identified and assisted technically and financially to grow and process cassava into high-grade industrial starch (Tonah, 2006).

The Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA) is one of NDC’s 2008 manifesto pledges. It was set up by an act of Parliament (Act 805) in October 2010 as a “public policy response to the widening gap between the Northern Savannah Ecological Belt and the rest of Ghana. It is an autonomous statutory corporation charged with responsibility for closing the development gap between the North and the rest of the country”. According to Guo, Mamudu, and

Al-Hassan (2013, p.208), “the establishment of SADA was timely and an approach to bridge the chronic development gap that exists between Southern and Northern Ghana through agriculture modernisation”.

Fortunately, the two major political parties in Ghana – the NPP and the NDC have both contributed to the planning, conceptualisation, and promotion of SADA. The NPP’s contribution was in the form of establishing the Northern Development Fund (NDF) through an Act of Parliament. They also provided the seed money for the fund and were about to set up the Northern Development Authority (NDA) before they lost power in the 2008 general elections. The NDC took over power in 2009, they did not abandon the idea but rather established (SADA) which is geared towards the same goal as what the NPP started in the form of (NDA). In the 2011 SONA, the president stated that “a donor’s conference is in the offing to commit funds for SADA’s operations and proposed additional zones which will include Western Corridor Development Authority, Eastern Corridor Development Authority, and the Forest Belt Development Authority were to be added” (President John Evans Atta Mills – SONA, 2011).

In the spirit of Public-Private Partnership, SADA has facilitated partnerships to establish three agro-processing factories, these include a shea nut processing factory at Buipe, a rice mill at Nyankpala, and a vegetable oil mill at Tamale (Guo et. al., 2013). It is worth noting that, the technocrats that worked on the NDF draft were the same team that worked on the SADA draft. This led to the appointment of a member of that technical team as an advisor on SADA by the then President. On this basis, policy think tanks as well as policy analysts assumed that a change in government was not going to hinder the progress and successful implementation of SADA. Contrary to this assumption, part of the NPP’s 2016 manifesto on agriculture development stated as follows;

*“..... Restructuring of the Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA)” to the original design and mandate of the Northern Development Authority (NDA) which will cover the Northern, Upper East, and Upper West Regions. One of the major programmes of NDA will be to oversee the implementation of the “One Village, One Dam” Policy” (NPP’s Party Manifesto for Election 2016).*

Whereas many policy analysts predicted that the implementation of SADA was not going to be affected by a change of government – which is an output of partisan politics, the reality was different as the NPP government in 2017 sort to restructure SADA according to their 2016 manifesto. Indeed, since the inception of the NPP government in 2017, the progress and implementation of SADA remained stand still.

Amidst the challenges of Ghana’s effort towards industrialisation, “the New Patriotic Party (NPP) government, recognizing the challenges, set out to implement a very ‘ambitious’ industrialisation policy mainly within the framework of three industrial development initiatives, namely, (i) the One-District-One-Factory Initiative (1D1F); (ii) the Strategic Anchor Initiatives; and; (iii) the Industrial Sub-contracting Exchange” (Haruna 2017, p.3). In terms of the implementation strategy, “the 1D1F policy is a private-sector led which is to be pursued in a decentralised/ LED framework. Government creates the necessary conducive environment for the business to access funding from financial institutions and other support services from government agencies to establish factories”. “The 1D1F was to be implemented in collaboration with the private sector that will ensure an even, spatial spread of industries” (Eshun, 2019 p. 155).

The initiative is focused on manufacturing, value addition, and export of processed goods. Each type of factory was to be established based on the type of resources available to a particular district. Among its objectives was to create employment for the local people, empower them and enable

communities to transform their endogenous resources into goods that will serve both the domestic and national markets.

The 1D1F initiative is expected to “create business opportunities, increase industries, remove regional disparities and promote resource efficiency in the districts thereby reducing poverty, unemployment and promoting social inclusion” (1D1F secretariat, 2018). The objectives of the 1D1F initiative look similar to the objectives of the 2013 and 2020 National LED policies. In the view of Mensah et al., (2018, p.8), “the 1D1F initiative is expected to generate between 7000 and 15,000 jobs in each district and around GHC 1.5 million to GHC 3.2 million jobs country-wide by 2021”. According to Eshun (2019 pp. 155-156), “the specific aims of 1D1F include:

- To create massive employment, particularly for the youth in rural and peri-urban communities, thereby improving income levels and standard of living, as well as reducing rural-urban migration.
- To add value to the natural resources of each district and exploit the economic potential of each district based on its comparative advantage.
- To ensure the even and spatial spread of industries and thereby stimulate economic activity and growth in different parts of the country.
- To promote exports and increase foreign exchange earnings to support the government’s development agenda.

In 2019, out of the Ministry of Trade and Industry’s approved budget of GHC297,345,414.00, an amount of **GHC95,000,000.00 was for the 1D1F Initiative which was made up of GHC9,500,000.00 for Goods & Services and GHC85,500,000.00 for Capital Expenditure**”.

In terms of the government’s efforts in providing a conducive environment for LED implementation through irrigation, some initiatives have been done. The One, village One Dam

(1V1D) is one initiative that is targeted at irrigation farming. It is worth noting that, in the 2014 SONA the president reported that.....

*“There was collaboration between government institutions and private agribusiness groups to deliver almost 30,000 hectares of irrigated land under the Sissili-Kulpawn project in the West Mamprusi area of the Northern Region. The Ghana Commercial Agriculture Project (GCAP) funded by the USAID and the World Bank was also working with traditional authorities in the Nasia river catchment area for another irrigation project” (President John Dramani Mahama – SONA 2014).*

Although these initiatives were not termed as 1V1D, it exactly suits the 1V1D concept. Concerning the 1V1D, the NPP in their 2016 manifesto promised to facilitate the provision of community-owned and managed small-scale irrigation facilities across the country, especially in northern Ghana, through the 1V1D policy. The construction of small earth dams across communities of the five Northern regions is the main project under the 1V1D. The initiative seeks to provide all-year availability of water for smallholder farmers in communities, particularly in the five Northern regions. This initiative is supposed to improve the productivity and incomes of smallholder farmers significantly and curtail migration from the north to the south in search of jobs during the off-season. In the 2017 budget policy statement, the objective under the one village one dam was the rehabilitation of small-scale irrigation schemes, and GHC 94, 446,132 was earmarked for its implementation.

In 2016, the Ministry of Special Development Initiative reported that “One Hundred and Twelve (112) dams and dugouts were completed which represented a 69% increase in the number of dams and dugouts as compared to the previous year”. The ministry’s report on activities (2017), highlighted that “192 small dams and dugouts in 64 districts have been identified for development

under the 1V1D initiative. This will represent a 71% increase from 2016”. In 2018, the ministry projected an additional 50 small dams and dugouts which represented a 26% increase in 2018. Until 2021 when the ministry was scrapped by the president, the trend in the later years depicted a tremendous increase in the number of dams and dugouts which reflects the significant impact the 1V1D initiative has made on irrigation. Despite the partisan politics associated with LED in the last decade, both governments have made great efforts toward LED promotion and implementation within those years.

### **2.6.1 THE CONCEPT OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION**

The concept of participation is certainly not a new one, it remains an important idea in development discourse that cannot be simply avoided. According to Mubita et. al., (2017, p.240), “participation connotes different things to diverse people in distinct settings because it has separately been defined by various scholars and organisations”. Participation can broadly be defined as, “a form of social action that is voluntary, rational, and based on the belief that individuals (or communities) have joint interests that allow cooperative solutions” (Cunha and Pena, 1996 p.2 cited in Beyer, Peterson & Sharma, 2003, p.11).

According to the World Bank (1996, p.81), “participation is a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them”. The Institute of Development Studies (2014, p.15) viewed participation “as a continuum of interaction between government and the public, ranging from informing and listening at one end, to implementing jointly agreed solutions at the other; and in between there is dialogue, debate, and analysis”.

From the foregoing definitions, participation involves the authorities or organisers of a program and the stakeholders or those that will be affected by the outcomes of that program. In this process,

stakeholders contribute to the formulation of programs, which is expected to influence implementation. Mubita et al., (2017, p. 241), opined that “despite all the many and different definitions, there seems to be a common denominator in the sense that they all seem to reduce participation to mean concepts like people’s involvement or people’s engagement”. On this basis Flensburg (2010) assert that citizen participation can also be referred to as “public participation”, “citizen involvement” and “public involvement”.

The Asian Development Bank (2012) holds that, notwithstanding all the different definitions and understandings, true and effective participation should be anchored on principles such as; the promotion of accountability and transparency, allowing for participation at all levels, and ensuring participation is accessible to all stakeholders, valuing diversity, ensuring participation is voluntary and should encourage stakeholders to create their ideas and solutions among others. However, critics of participation hold that participation alone is not enough to cause a change and that power must accompany any form or type of participation. The presence of power in the equation is essential in the sense that mere involvement of people does not automatically translate to their ability to cause a change or influence decisions. Power, in this case, refers to what has been construed by Hyden (2008, p.13), “the ability to achieve the desired outcome in competition with other actors who lay claim to the same resources needed to produce that outcome”. Participation is therefore a necessary prerequisite in LED project implementation.

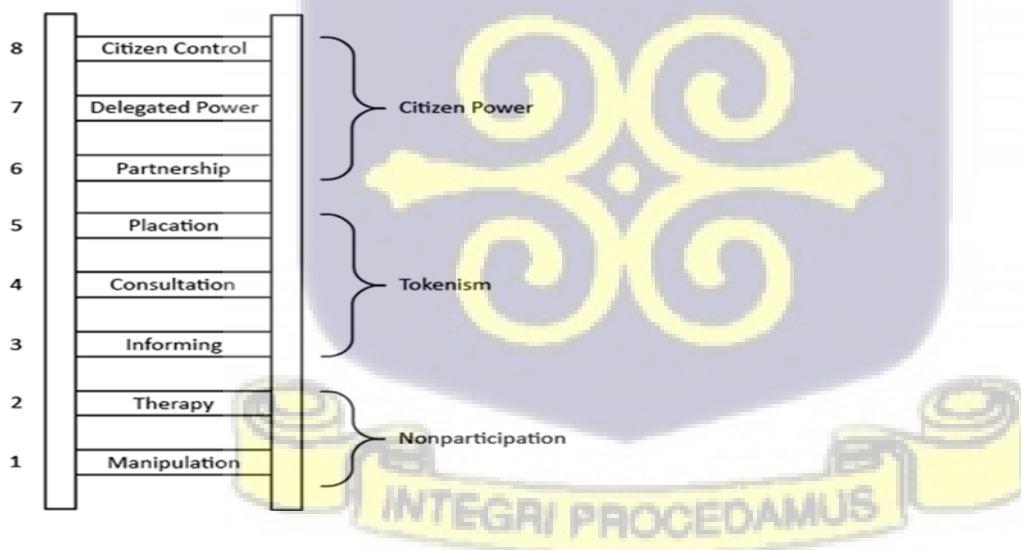
### **2.6.2 THE TYPES OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION**

An influential concept in understanding participation is Arnstein’s (1969) theory of the ladder of participation, which explains the degree of involvement by participatory groups (Mubita et al., 2017). In this theory, she equates participation to the concept of power where power is construed as the ability to influence decisions. According to Arnstein (1969) .....

*“Participation is about redistribution of power in which the have-nots of our society who are presently excluded from the political and economic processes are given the power to have control and influence over matters that affect their lives. Thus, for participation to be beneficial, it must give power to the locals to negotiate, manage and make decisions, thereby guaranteeing the locals the ability to govern a project or programme. In this sense, she describes participation as citizens’ power”.*

The ladder has eight rungs, thus; Manipulation, Therapy, Informing, Consultation, Placation, Partnership, and Delegated Power. Each level shows an incremental increase in active involvement, with level one being the lowest in terms of people having very little influence on decisions to level eight illustrating true involvement (Arnstein, 1969). Figure 1 below shows the ladder of citizen participation.

**Fig. 1. Ladder of Citizen Participation**



**Source:** Arnstein (1969).

The levels are explained as follows:

- Manipulation is the lowest form of participation on the ladder. It is often used, when it becomes very necessary for an organization to indicate that, citizens have participated in a particular process in which case the citizens might not even be aware of the process. For example, donor requirements for certain funds require that citizens should participate in the decision-making process before funds can be granted.
- The Second form of participation is Therapy. This is the form of participation that aims at educating the participants. This form of participation does not necessarily require the understanding of an issue by the participants before they participate.
- Next is Information. This level of participation simply refers to one-way communication, the situation in which relevant stakeholders are only informed about the process of a particular decision. The challenge with this level of participation is the time and reliability of the information. This means that if citizens are not accurately and properly informed, they cannot effectively participate. The time they get the information also influences the effectiveness of participation.
- Consultation is the next one. It is the level of participation that involve the invitation of participants' ideas in the decision-making processes. For consultation to be effective, it has to be combined with other forms of participation, it is not automatic that citizen concerns and ideas will be taken into account just by merely passing on information.
- The fifth level is Placation. This is the level of participation in which the ways of participation are designed by the authorities but participants are consulted for their

inputs because the participants have a maximum understanding of the participatory processes. Moreover, in terms of planning and execution of projects, their opinions are seriously taken into consideration.

- Partnership is the next level. In partnership, the main feature is that there is shared decision-making. Decisions are jointly made between participants and the organisers of the participatory mechanisms. It could be done through decision-making committees.
- The seventh is delegated power. In this level of participation, the power to make decisions is delegated to the participants and the authorities approve the decisions as having been made by the delegated groups. The organizers of the participatory forum ensure that more powers in terms of decision-making are given to the delegated groups or participants and they only accept or approve such decisions that are made by the participants with their delegated powers.
- Citizen Control is the eighth level. It is the highest form of authority that citizens may achieve and it means that they are in full charge of a policy or plan. This level of participation again requires citizens that are very willing to engage themselves and spend much time and effort in such activities.

Arnstein's (1969) ladder is an important tool because it differentiates the concept of participation in any policy discussion from non-participation. This ladder differentiated and accurately defined the scope and type of any intervention which claims to be participatory. It also helps to understand what citizens do and the various events in the participatory process. According to Arnstein (1969, p.216), "there is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power to affect the outcome of the process. Participation without redistribution of

power is an empty frustrating process for the powerless”. Hence, to consider any participation process as effective, it must lead to the empowerment of the participants. This is because it is only when the people are empowered through participation, then they can influence decisions.

### **2.6.3 IMPORTANCE OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IMPLEMENTATION**

The importance of participation in LED was given attention by the National LED policy (2013, p.1-2), “which made provision for strengthening of local economic competitiveness and participation as one of its specific objectives”. Citizen participation in LED implementation can promote the competitiveness of a locality. When citizens participate in LED implementation, they are actively involved in the process of transforming their endogenous resources into finished/consumable products for their communities. Their involvement in the LED implementation process helps advertise or market the resources of their communities that put the community into competition with other communities with similar resources. Through this, citizens devise strategies to improve upon their local competitiveness against other localities.

Participation “is a basic human right, and could increase confidence, enhance self-esteem, and the skills learned through participation enabled the participants to act more effectively within the wider society” (Boon et al., 2013 p.40). Citizen participation in LED implementation has the potential to boost their self-esteem toward local development affairs. Through participation in LED, citizens can build their confidence levels due to the skills learned from the LED implementation process. The confidence built and skills acquired by the citizens through the LED implementation process make them active local development actors. Most importantly, “the participatory nature of LED encourages the inclusion of vulnerable groups in the decision-making processes, particularly

women, informal economy operators, youth, people living with disabilities, as well as community members” (MLGRD, 2014 p.6).

One primary focus of participation is empowerment; “it gives a voice to the disadvantaged groups who find it difficult to have their interest represented in decision making” (Grävingholt et al., 2006 p.37). Citizen participation in LED allows them to have their ideas and opinions included in their local development processes. When citizens are involved in LED implementation, they can give suggestions, make inputs and express their ideas about community development. According to Al Siddiq et al., (2020, p.132), “development that overrides community participation, in turn, will lead to inequality in the community.” Verily, any LED implementation process without citizen participation could lead to inequality in local development, especially towards women and the vulnerable groups within societies.

The (UN’s 1986), declaration on the Rights to Development, emphasises the need for “active, free and meaningful participation in development. Ghana is a member nation of the UN. The rectification of agreements and decisions adopted by the UN indicates the country’s respect for global or international conventions. Citizen participation in LED implementation is important as it gives recognition to some global declarations like that of the UNs. Community development could not be achieved without citizen participation. Thus, the implementation of LED initiatives would be feasible and acquire full meaning if local people participate fully in their planning and implementation. “Participation ensures the representation of a wide range of interests and thus helps to reduce societal conflicts” (Grävingholt et al., 2006 p.35).

Finally, “participation allows for accountability, transparency, and the rule of law (Masiapato & Wotela, 2017 p. 105). Citizen participation in LED implementation helps to hold local government authorities and other actors within the LED process accountable to the people. LED as a

development approach involves many actors in a participatory approach. The national LED policy (2020) further emphasises participation in LED. Involving citizens in the LED process is a respect to the very laws governing LED promotion and implementation. Moreover, citizen participation in the LED process encourages transparency and leads to effective accountability by all the actors involved in the LED process. Citizen participation allows for the enrichment of solutions, broadens the alternatives, fosters accountability and transparency, and facilitates a tailor-made ‘localisation’ of the decisions taken (Ianniello, Iacuzzi, Fedele, & Brusati, 2019, p.21).

## **2.7. THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF THE STUDY**

Development studies are mostly guided by development theories, a study on LED would be no exception. This notwithstanding, there is currently no single specific theory that wholly supports and explains LED promotion and implementation. Despite the lack of a complete theory guiding the concept, some theoretical works are relevant to the study and understanding of LED. This part of the study looked at the endogenous growth theory, partisan theory, and empowerment theory as significant contextual theories for the study.

Generally, “a theory may be defined as a set of analytical principles or statements designed to structure our observation, understanding, and explanation of the world” (Nilsen, 2015 p.2). According to Kerlinger, a theory is “a set of interrelated constructs, definitions, and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables, to explain natural phenomena”. Creswell (2014 p.55), holds that “a theory might appear in a research study as an argument, a discussion, a figure or a rationale and it helps to explain or predict phenomena that occur in the world”. A theory could also be a collection of concepts that tries to explain something, that is independent of the thing to be explained but based on general principles.

Theories are very useful for scientific studies as they guide the studies within their rightful contexts.

### **2.7.1 ENDOGENOUS GROWTH THEORY**

Following World War Two, a theory of growth came to fruition as former colonies started the development of their states into modern ones. Throughout this time frame, the theory of Solow's neoclassical growth model, named after Robert Solow (1956) came to fruition. The theory holds that "growth in the gross domestic product of a country is linked to changes in investment in human and physical capital stock, the size of the labor force, and a residual factor often referred to as technical progress".

According to Petit (1995) cited in Sredojević, D. Cvetanović, S. and Bošković, G. (2016, p.178), "the biggest drawback of neoclassical growth theory is a failure to respond to the question of how technological changes occur." Against this backdrop, there were theoretical approaches in the 1980s to improve the critiques of the Solow model, leading to the advancement of the endogenous growth theory (Greenhalgh & Rogers, 2010).

Endogenous growth theorists (Romer, 1994 & Lucas 1988) provided a contradicting argument that "economic growth in the developed and industrialised countries was cultivated and sustained from within their countries". According to Romer (1994), endogenous growth theory is an economic theory that holds that economic growth is an endogenous outcome of an economic system, not the result of forces that impinge from outside.

The theory is significant to a study on LED considering that this approach to development stresses the interior potential of an area. Secondly, "the endogenous development approach is an approach to socioeconomic development focusing on localities and their existing resources" (Karyeija, & Kahika, 2017 p.5). More importantly, the relevance of the endogenous theory to this study is

affirmed by looking at the four pillars of LED promotion postulated by White and Gasser (2001). The four pillars include “participation and social dialogue among local actors; the territorial aspect based on location; mobilisation of local resources and local ownership of the process”. Considering these four pillars of LED as the foundation for its promotion and execution, the endogenous theory becomes an important theory for this study.

### **2.7.2 PARTISAN THEORY**

Partisanship is defined “as the placing of commitment to a political party at its core, thus prioritizing party loyalty” Akwei et al., (2020, p.1166). The partisan theory is attributed to Douglas A. Hibbs Jnr. (1977). The theory is premised on the foundation or assumption that political parties represent a stable group of voters and implement policies according to the preferences of this group (Hibbs, 1977). On this basis, “the theory is framed from the perspective of government parties and entails that Government parties matter: public policies are not shaped completely by exogenous forces (institutions, socio-economic factors), but the parties in power have an impact on policy output as well” (Busemeyer, 2009 p. 108).

According to the partisan theory, “parties represent distinct groups of voters—traditionally workers and capital owners—and adopt policies that benefit their constituencies in exchange for votes. From this perspective, partisan differences are the consequence of the segmentation of society into constituencies with clearly distinguishable preferences” (Wenzelburger and Zohlhofer, 2020 p.2). Parties differ because they pursue policies “by the objective economic interests and subjective preferences of their class-defined core political constituencies” (Hibbs 1987, p. 291).

In the view of Busemeyer (2009, p.108), “partisan theory emphasizes the importance of partisan factors in explaining welfare state development”. According to Hibbs (1992, p.363), “parties have

to a significant degree ‘ideologically’, meaning that they promote policies broadly consistent with the objective interests and revealed preferences of their core constituencies”. Some scholars (Beramendi et al., 2015 & Wenzelburger and Zohlnhofer, 2020), assert that “parties remain differentiated in their electoral appeals, do represent constituency groups, and act on their electoral alignments in public policy making. Hence, the preferences of their respective voter groups essentially drive parties’ policy-making”. The partisan theory is significant for this study due to its emphasis on partisan politics in explaining development outcomes. Since the centrality of this research is about the effects of partisan politics on LED initiatives’ implementation, it makes this theory also fit for the study.

### **2.7.3 EMPOWERMENT THEORY**

Empowerment remains a common term in the development discourse and there are a variety of understandings of the term due to its widespread usage. Empowerment theory is associated with many scholars such as Julian Rappaport (1981; 1987), Zimmerman (1981; 1984), Swift and Levin (1987), and the Cornell Empowerment group (1989). In its origins, “empowerment theory recognises the centrality of participation towards the achievement of goals, gaining access to resources, and gathering understandings of the socio-political environment in which one resides” (Masiapato & Wotela, 2017: 144). Empowerment theory stresses participation, capacity building, economic improvement, democracy, and transparency, which are regarded as fundamental elements of LED (Karyeija, & Kahika, 2017). Empowerment outcomes study the consequences or impacts of the empowerment process. Empowerment gives the local people a certain degree of responsibility for decision-making and allows them to have a voice. It will enable the local people to take control of their potential and use skills they never knew they could use.

For Reid (2002: 2), “participation is the soul of an empowered community”. Rappaport (1987, p. 119) points out that “by empowerment I mean our aim should be to enhance the possibilities for people to control their own lives”. However, empowerment should not be top-down where decisions are pre-determined at the top and sent down to the local level, since such a tendency has the possibility of negatively impacting participation levels. Hence, effective participation can only be achieved if the participatory processes offer participants the power to affect decisions and the outcomes of such participatory processes leads to participant empowerment.

Notwithstanding the limitations of various theories, they are very important for scientific studies. Theoretical reviews help to fix a particular scientific study in its proper context for a better understanding. The theories adopted here have important implications for the study.

## 2.8 PUBLIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

*“Implementation, to us, means...to carry out, accomplish, fulfil, produce, complete. But what is it that is being implemented? A policy naturally. There must be something out there prior to implementation; otherwise there would be nothing to move toward in the process of implementation.”* (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973 p.xiv).

Once there is a social contract between a government and its citizenry, governments have major responsibilities in ensuring there are development and improvement in the quality of life of their citizenry. These roles could be realised by the governments through the policies they implement, as well as the reasons that underpin such development policies. LED policy implementation cannot be overemphasised when it comes to the government’s effort toward implementing development policies.

Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983, p. 20) define implementation as ‘the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of important executive orders or court decisions’. Policy implementation is what develops between the establishments of an apparent intention on the part of the government to do something, or to stop doing something, and the ultimate impact in the world of action (O’Toole, 200). Policy implementation bridges the rhetoric-action divide. Implementation of policies is the most important phase after the formulation of policies. “Perhaps because of its significance, some academics refer to the phase of policy execution as the core of the policy process” (Tezera, 2019 p.92). For effective LED promotion and implementation, policies should take the form of a bottom-up implementation approach rather than the usual top-down approach.

Policy implementation includes actions by diverse actors designed to put programs into effect in such a way as to achieve goals. It seeks to determine if an organization is to carry out and achieve its stated objectives. “Policy implementation encompasses those actions by public and private individuals (or groups) that are directed at the achievements of objectives outlined in prior policy decisions” (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975 p.447). The pattern and nature of policy implementation is the major explanation for the failure or success of any given policy (Ikechukwu & Chukwuemeka, 2013).

Policy implementation research has reached a mature stage, but this does not imply that there are no longer weaknesses or issues that need to be addressed (Brynard, 2009). Further investigation into policy implementation remains varied and engaged

### **2.8.1 MODELS/APPROACHES TO PUBLIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION**

A model of policy implementation explains the approach to which policies are implemented. A widely used concept in the policy implementation literature distinguishes between top-down and

bottom-up approaches or models (OECD, 2013). The two approaches vary in several areas, such as the role of actors and their relationships and the type of policies they can be applied (OECD 2013). Besides, each approach has its strengths and weaknesses. Whereas one approach could be suitable for a particular policy, the same approach might not be for a different policy. This section presented a discussion on the top-down, bottom-up, and combine models of public policy implementation.

### **2.8.2 THE TOP-DOWN APPROACH TO PUBLIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION**

According to Matland, (1995 p.146), a top-down approach to policy implementation “is the carrying out of a policy decision by statute, executive order, or court decision; whereas the authoritative decisions are centrally located by actors who seek to produce the desired effects”. With this model, policy implementation is concerned with using implementation actors to achieve targets and focuses on the actions of the top-level officials. Regarding LED implementation, the concept of 1D1F can be attributed to the top-down approach to implementation. With the 1D1F as a private-sector-led initiative, policy implementation strategies are designed at the top and sent to the local levels. The ministry of trade and industry is concerned with the assessment of a district’s potential in terms of its competitive advantage and a suitable factory is set up. Major decisions within the policy implementation stage are taken at the center by the top officials.

The top-down implementation approach is a clear-cut system of command and control from the government to the project, which concerns the people. The main drawback of this approach is the claim that it does not encourages participatory democracy between beneficiaries of a policy and the top officials. Based on this, top-downers may implement policy with standards that citizens do not understand, which might also circumvent their rational preferences (DeLeon and Deleon, 2001). Despite several decades of criticism of the top-down model of policy and its

implementation, it is an approach that still retains some popularity with policy-making authorities (Hudson, Hunter & Peckham, 2019).

### **2.8.3 THE BOTTOM-UP APPROACH TO PUBLIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION**

In the Bottom-up approach, “designers begin their implementation strategy formation with the target groups and service deliverers because they find that the target groups are the actual implementers of policy” (Matland, 1995 p.146). In the bottom-up model, great stress is laid on the fact that ‘street level’ implementers have discretion in how they apply policy. The idea of MMDAs drawing LED action plans and including them in their medium-term development plans as mandated by the National LED policy (2013) conforms to a bottom-up approach to implementation. With the bottom-up approach, stakeholders form part of the LED implementation process which encourages a participatory process. Moreover, the bottom-up approach stresses a core fundamental of LED implementation which is citizen participation. Ideally, for effective LED implementation, the bottom-up approach of policy implementation should be encouraged.

Bottom-up theorists emphasise target groups and service deliverers, arguing that policy is made at the local level (OECD, 2013). In the bottom-up, one size doesn’t fit all cases, and so discretion may enable implementers to activate more useful practices or to ignore policies that will hamper the goal of the program. Moreover, “bottom-uppers contend that if local bureaucrats are not allowed discretion in the implementation process concerning local conditions, then the policy will “likely fail” (Matland, 1995 p.148). The benefit of the bottom-up approach is its focus on centrally located actors who devise and implement government programmes (OECD, 2013). Moreover, the bottom-up approach involves negotiation and consensus building in the policy implementation process. Nonetheless, this approach is criticised because, policy control should be exercised by actors whose power derives from their accountability to sovereign voters through their elected

representatives, but in a bottom-up approach, the authority of local service deliverers does not derive from this. Thus, street-level bureaucrats are usually not accountable to the people.

#### **2.8.4 THE COMBINED APPROACH TO PUBLIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION**

It is a growing realisation that implementation is complex, contextual, and as much a bottom-up as a top-down imperative, which has led to an interest in an alternative or supplementary approach to policy implementation support (Hudson, Hunter & Peckham, 2019). Based on the strengths and weaknesses of the top-down and bottom-up models of public policy implementation, a third approach emerged as the combined approach which combines the strengths of the top-down and bottom-up approaches for effective and efficient policy implementation. The two approaches to policy implementation are not contradictory but complementary (Sabatier, 1993), hence a merge of the two should produce effective, efficient and value-for-money LED implementation outcomes and outputs. Strengths and weaknesses combining the two approaches might thus draw on their main strengths while minimising their weaknesses. Moreover, much of the debate between the two approaches is methodological: The top-down approach begins with government decisions and studies how far bureaucrats implement or failed to implement policy decisions. While the bottom-up approach simply starts at the other end of the implementation chain of command and urges that the activities of the street-level implementers be taken into account.

#### **2.8.5 SOME FACTORS AFFECTING PUBLIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION**

There is an increasing awareness that policies do not succeed or fail on their own merits; rather their progress is dependent upon the process of implementation (Hudson et al., 2019). Salvesen, Evenson, Rodriguez, and Brown (2008, p.280), hold that “policies are not self-implementing. Successful implementation depends on a host of factors, such as the commitment, capacity, and resources of public agencies”. Therefore, no ‘one-size-fits-all policy exists. However, this has not

stopped some scholars from trying to come up with the most important factors for certain policy areas (OECD, 2013). Various factors influence policy implementation, but “the key to implementation performance is understanding the specific situation where the policy initiative is to be put into practice” (Brynard, 2009 p. 557). It is difficult to say which factors or conditions facilitate successful implementation since so much depends on the political, economic, and social context (OECD, 2013).

According to Brynard (2009 p.558), “successful policy implementation is a strategic action adopted by the government to deliver the intended policy decision and to achieve the intended outcomes. Success in terms of policy implementation implies achieving the expected functionality required by an identified stakeholder”. “Implementation is a complex and dynamic process, and that implementation behavior is shaped by different political and administrative decisions” (Brynard, 2009 p.558). Table 2. Below summarises some factors considered important in affecting policy implementation by O’Toole (1986 p.196).

**Table 2. Some Factors Considered Important In Affecting Policy Implementation**

AUTHOR(S)	FACTORS
Alexander (1985)	Goal ambiguity
Mazmanian & Sabatier (1981, 1983); Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979, 1981, 1983); Sabatier and Klosterman (1981)	Tractability of the problem (four variables); ability of stature to structure implementation (seven variables); non-statutory variables (five); initial implementation success.
Hays (1982)	Local political conflicts, degree of mediation of local agency.
Elmore (1978, 1985)	Structure of power relationships and incentives, discretion, resources.

Sapolsky (1972)	Bureaucratic politics, ability to manage complexity, environment, and resources.
Van Meter and Van Horn (1975)	Policy standards, resources, enforcement, communications, characteristics of implementing agencies, political conditions, economic and social conditions, and dispositions of implementers.
Bowen (1982)	Clearances, number of actors, persistence, time.
Bowman (1984)	Tension, contextual factors (e.g. economic context)
Pressman and Wildavsky (1984)	Multiplicity of participants, perspectives, decision points, intensity of preferences, resources.
Ripley and Franklin (1982)	Type of policy.
Marvel (1982)	Number of levels of government are involved.
Weimer (1983)	Time, civil service system, bureaucratic environment.

**Source:** Adapted from O’Toole, 1986 p.196.

## 2.9 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the chapter has broadly reviewed relevant literature about the study and identified some gaps within the literature. Literature has indicated that several factors affect the implementation of development programs, likewise LED implementation. Therefore no single comprehensive or holistic factor(s) is deemed best for successful LED implementation. Regarding the study variables, a single theory could not sufficiently guide the study, hence the choice of multiply theories in a complementary approach for the study. The reviewed literature should add to the scarce literature on the partisan politics of LED and citizen participation.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND STUDY AREA

#### 3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discussed the methodological approach adopted in undertaking the study. The research was situated in a qualitative context. Specifically, the chapter presented the research paradigm in which this study was situated, and discussed the sources of data and data collection techniques. The profile of the study areas has been presented in the chapter as well. The research approach, research design, sample size, and data management techniques are also discussed in this chapter. A presentation on the ethical considerations of the study concluded the chapter.

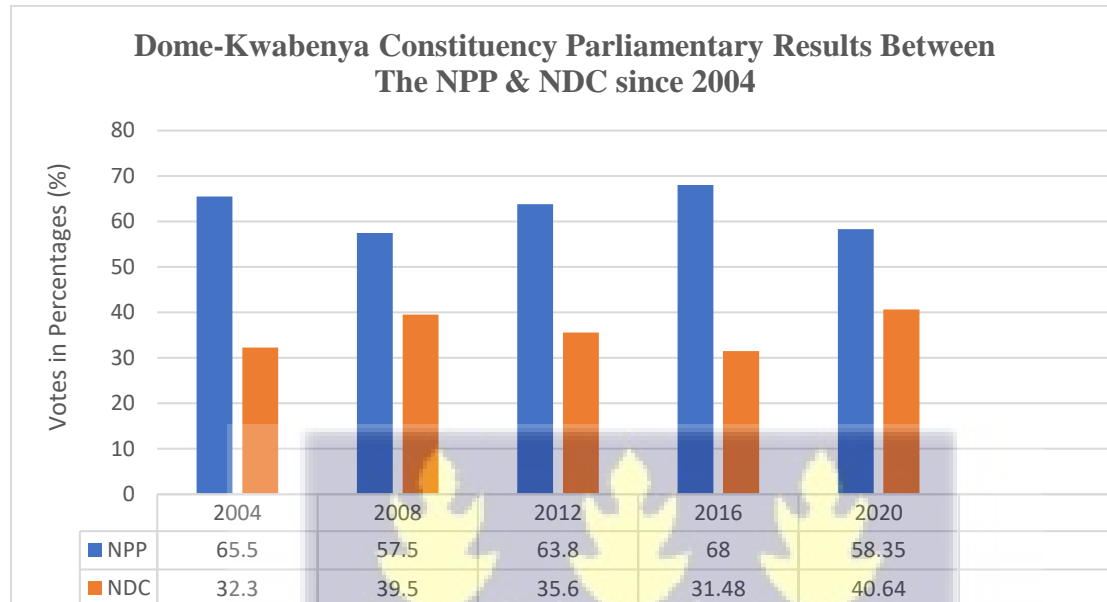
#### 3.1 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY AREAS

The study areas comprised the Ga-East and the La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipal assemblies. Politically, the Ga-East Municipal assembly (GEMA) hosts the Dome-Kwabinya constituency whilst the La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipal Assembly (La-NMMA) hosts the Madina Constituency. These constituencies have over the years constantly voted based on party lines. Per previous election results in both constituencies, the Dome-Kwabinya constituency within the GEMA could be said to be a pro-NPP constituency. The Madina constituency, located within the La-NMMA could also be said of as a pro-NDC constituency.

In the 2016 general elections, the Dome-Kwabinya constituency recorded the highest number of votes for the NPP and was then described as the NPP's new World Bank in elections parlance. Nationwide, it came second to the Keta South constituency in terms of the highest number of valid votes cast in any constituency in that year's general elections. According to the Electoral Commission of Ghana (2020), "the Dome-Kwabinya constituency currently has the highest number of registered voters in Ghana – thus, One Hundred and Seventy-Two Thousand registered

voters”. Graph 1 below illustrate the voting patterns in the general elections in the Dome-Kwabinya constituency for the NPP and the NDC between 2004 – 2020.

**Graph 1. Voting Patterns in Dome-Kwabinya Constituency Between the NPP and NDC**

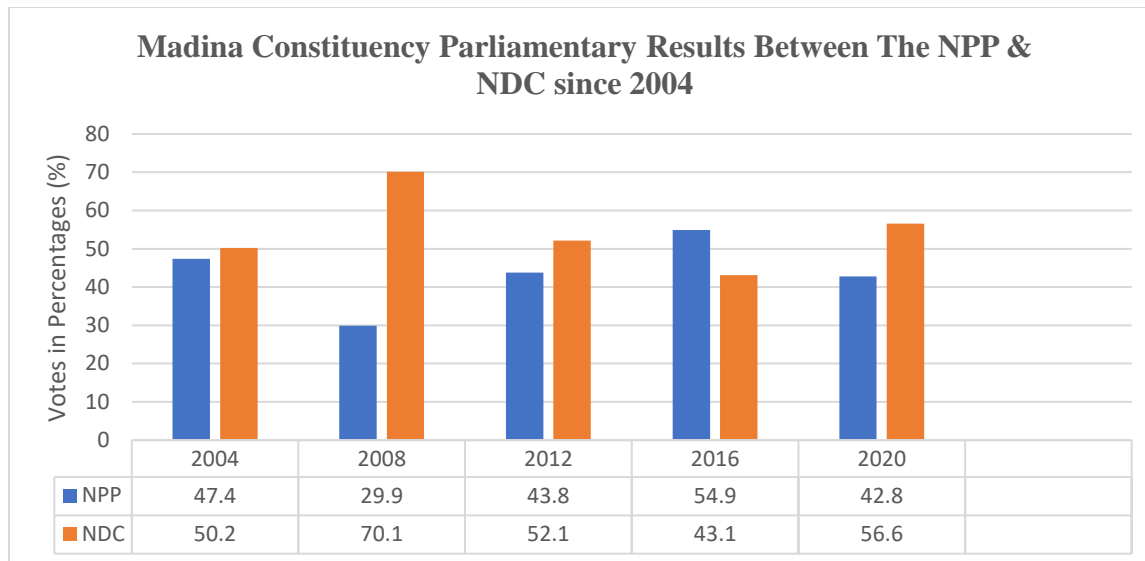


**Source:** Author’s construct, Based on data from the Electoral Commission of Ghana (2021).

From the graphical data above, depicting the pattern of election results in Dome-Kwabinya between the NPP and the NDC, it is clear that the constituency has always strongly voted for the NPP since its creation in 2004 till date. On this premise, it is safe to conclude that the constituency is a pro-NPP constituency or an NPP stronghold in terms of elections (votes).

Again, basing my argument on the data from the office of the electoral commission (2021), the Madina constituency on the other hand could also be said to be a pro-NDC constituency. Graph 2 below demonstrates the voting pattern between the NDC and the NPP in the Madina constituency between 2004 – 2020.

**Graph 2. Voting Patterns in the Madina Constituency between the NPP and NDC**



**Source:** Author’s construct, Based on data from the Electoral Commission of Ghana.

From the graph above, it could be seen that since the inception of the Madina constituency in 2004, the constituency constantly voted for the NDC except in 2016 when there was an upset in which the NPP snatched the parliamentary seat from the NDC. Despite the upset, the NDC came back to pick the seat again in the 2020 general elections. On this basis, it could also be safely concluded that the Madina constituency is a pro-NDC one.

Since little evidence exists to ascertain the effects of partisan politics on the implementation of LED initiatives, these constituencies would help to probe the issues of partisan politics and citizen participation due to the partisanship they have repeatedly demonstrated during general elections over the years. Moreover, both municipalities have also implemented more LED initiatives within the Greater Accra region as compared to the majority of its sister MMDAs in the region. The active involvement of these municipalities in LED implementation coupled with their partisan political dynamics, makes the areas the most scientifically suitable place to conduct this study. Thus, those

conditions would help in gathering the relevant data needed to sufficiently answer the research questions.

### 3.1.1 PROFILE OF THE GA-EAST MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY

The Ga East Municipal Assembly (GEMA) was carved out of the Ga - District in 2004 as a separate district through a Legislative Instrument (L.I. 1749). The district was elevated to a Municipality in 2008 by L.I. 1864. According to the municipal human resources unit (June 2021), “the assembly has a staff population of Three Hundred and Thirty-One (331). Out of this figure, the government of Ghana (GoG) staff members are 71 whereas temporary staff members who are paid by the municipality through their internally generated funds (IGF) are 160”. There are 75 males and 96 females of (GoG) staff members and 110 males with 50 females of temporary staff members. In total there are 185 male and 146 female staff members in the municipal assembly. Table 3 below summarises the staff categories.

**Table 3. Staff Population In Ga-East Municipal Assembly**

<b>Government of Ghana Staff Members</b>		<b>Temporal Staff Members</b>	
Males	75	Males	110
Females	96	Females	50
<b>Total</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>160</b>

**Source:** Municipal Human Resource Unit – GEMA, June 2021

The assembly’s vision is “to become a highly professional, dynamic and client-sensitive assembly, focusing on sustainable development”. To achieve this vision, it has a mission “to facilitate improvement in quality of life of the people through provision and promotion of basic socio-economic services within the context of good governance”

According to the municipal physical development planning unit (2021) “geographically, GEMA is located at the northern part of the Greater Accra Region. It covers a Land Area of about 96 square kilometers (sq km). The Capital of the Municipal Assembly is Abokobi. The Assembly is bordered on the west by the Ga West Municipal Assembly. On the East by the Tema Metropolitan Assembly, the south by Accra Metropolitan Assembly and the North by Akwapim South District Assembly”.

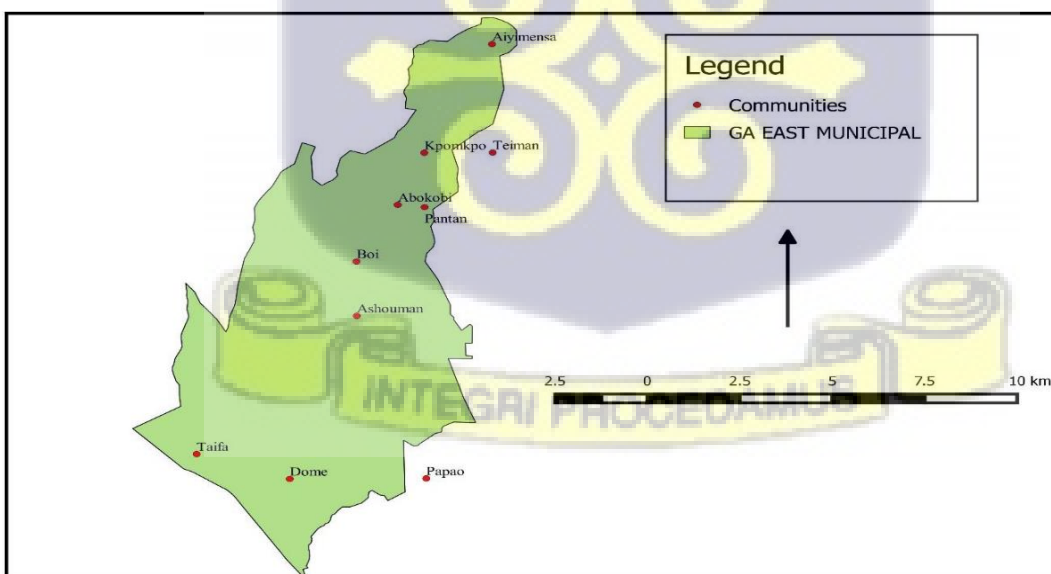
According to the 2010 national Population and Housing Census, “the population of the Ga East Municipality was 147,742 (One Hundred and Forty-Seven Thousand, Seven Hundred and Forty-Two), representing 3.68 percent of the population of the Greater Accra Region”. Males constitute 49 percent and females represent 51 percent. About 90 percent of the population is rural with a population density of 1,725 persons per square kilometer. However, the planning unit of the municipality currently projects the population of the municipality to be 186,230 (One Hundred and Eighty-Six Thousand, Two Hundred and Thirty). Greater portions of the district can be classified as rural, with trading, irrigation farming and artisan works as the major economic activities within the District.

Administrative-wise, GEMA has a general assembly membership of eighteen (18) comprising 12 elected assembly members and 6 government appointees. There is one Member of Parliament and a Municipal Chief Executive (MCE) as the representative head of state at the municipal level. “The general assembly has two committees which are the executive committee and the public relations and compliant committee. The municipality has five statutory sub-committees and six other non-statutory sub-committees. The five are; finance and administration, works sub-committee, development planning, social service, and justice & security sub-committees. The non-statutory committees are; education, agriculture, environmental and sanitation, women and children, micro

and small enterprise promotion and revenue mobilisation sub-committees” (Municipal Central Administration Unit, 2021). The Municipality is subdivided into two administrative offices as Zonal Councils; namely: The Abokobi Zonal Council and the Dome Zonal Council.

In terms of health facilities, according to the Municipal Health Directorate (2021), “the municipality has two hospitals – the Ashomang Community Hospital and the Ga-East Municipal hospital which is serving as one of the treatment centers for covid-19”. The other health facilities owned by the government within the Municipality are the Taifa poly clinic, Abokobi health center, and the Atomic clinic. Other health services provided within the district are privately owned and specialised ones. In terms of schools, data from the Municipal Education Office depicts that almost every town/village within the Municipality has a basic school. But in terms of secondary and tertiary schools, the district has just one secondary school being publicly owned without boarding facilities. The Municipality has one tertiary institution (Wisconsin International University Collage) which is privately owned. Figure 3 below shows the physical and environmental map of the municipal assembly.

**Fig 3. Physical and Environmental Map of Ga-East Municipal Assembly.**



**Source:** Ga-East Municipal Assembly, 2021.

### 3.1.2 PROFILE OF La-NKWANTANANG MADINA MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY

La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipal Assembly (La-NMMA) was established by Legislative Instrument (L.I.) 2131 and inaugurated on 28<sup>th</sup> June 2012. The assembly was carved out of the Ga-East Municipal Assembly. Per its mission statement, “The La-NMMA exists to proactively improve upon the quality of life of its people by harnessing the available resources in partnership with both the public and the private sectors”. Its vision is “to become a Connected, Livable and Vibrant commercial hub”. The Municipality has a staff population of Four Hundred and One (401). There are Two Hundred and Ninety-nine (299) government of Ghana (GoG) staff members. Out of this number, One Hundred and Eighty-five (185) are males whilst One Hundred and forty-fourteen (144) are females. There are One Hundred and Two (102) temporary workers on the internally generated fund (IGF), out of which Sixty-nine (69) are females and Thirty-three (33) are males. The municipality has Sixty-five (65) Nation Builder’s Corps personnel. Table 4 below illustrates the staff categorization.

**Table 4. Staff Population of La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipal Assembly**

<b>Government of Ghana Staff members</b>		<b>Temporal Staff Members</b>	
Males	185	Males	69
Females	114	Females	33
<b>Total</b>	<b>299</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>

**Source:** Human Resource Unit-La-NMMA, 2021.

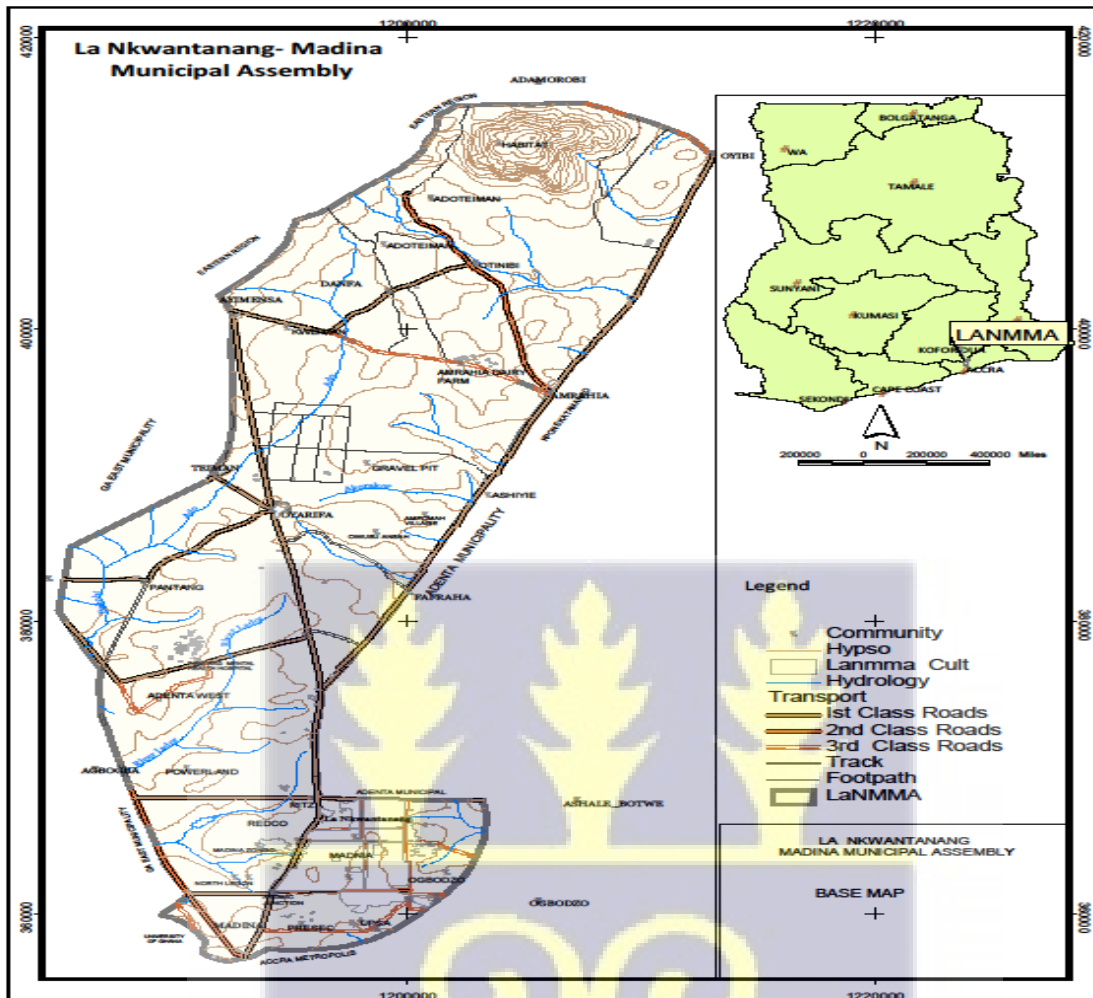
Geographically, “the La-NMMA is located in the Northern part of the Greater Accra Region. The Municipality is situated between “Latitude 5° 81’3” N and Latitude 5° 67’7” N, between Longitude

0° 24'0" W and 0° 13'1" W and covers a land area of 74.4 square Kilometers. It is bordered on the West by the Ga East Municipal, on the East by the Adentan Municipal, the South by Accra Metropolitan, and the North by the Akwapim South District". Its capital is located at Madina, a bustling mix of commercial and residential areas. The 2015 population of the Municipality was estimated to be 136, 421. There were 51.5 percent females and 48.5 percent males.

Administratively, the La-NMMA has a general assembly membership of 21 comprising 14 elected assembly members and 7 government appointees. There is one Member of Parliament. It has Nine (9) Electoral Areas. "The municipality has five statutory sub-committees and three other non-statutory sub-committees. The five are; finance and administration, works sub-committee, development planning, social service sub-committee, and justice & security sub-committees. The non-statutory committees are; gender, women and children sub-committee, revenue mobilisation sub-committee and government flagship program sub-committee" (La-NMMA Central Administration Unit, 2021). The Assembly has two sub-structures that allow it to send decentralisation to the lowest level through the Oyarifa zonal and Madina Zonal Councils.

In terms of infrastructure, the Municipality is not far behind its peers. The majority of the roads within the Municipality are asphalted. The Municipality has several hospitals, polyclinics, clinics, and other private health facilities. In terms of schools, the Municipality has many basic schools; both public and private. It has only one senior high school with boarding facilities being publicly owned but has up to three private senior high schools. There is one public university (University of Professional Studies) within the Municipality. The entire Municipality is connected to electricity and there is access to potable drinking water. The Municipality has only one modern market which is very vibrant and perhaps the biggest market within the northern part of the region. Figure 4 below shows the physical and environmental map of the La-NMMA.

Fig 4. Physical and Environmental Map of La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipal Assembly.



Source: Physical planning unit (La-NMMA, 2021).

### 3.2 RESEARCH APPROACH

The study aimed to explore the effects of partisan politics and citizen participation on the LED initiative's implementation. "Given the exploratory nature of this study's objective, the research is situated within the qualitative approach of social research which is deemed appropriate for exploratory studies" Babbie (2007 p.30). According to Creswell, (2014, p.4), "qualitative research is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem". It consists of an investigation that seeks answers to a question and uses

advanced measures to find a response to the question, gathers data, and produces results that were not predetermined. It also tries to understand a given research problem from the perspectives of the local population it involves.

Specifically, the study adopted a multiple case study approach. “case studies can be defined as descriptive, exploratory or explanatory analyses of a person, group, event, policy, project, decision, or institutions” (Anderson, Leahy, DelValle, Sherman and Tansey, 2014, p.88). This approach was important because it helped the researcher ask “how” and “why” questions concerning the topic under study. Moreover, the multiple case study allowed for replication during data collection, this helped the researcher to independently confirm emerging issues and identify matching or corresponding aspects of the data collected from both cases. It also enabled the researcher to identify any differences in the data gathered.

Again, the qualitative approach described how participants of the study differently perceived the research problem and allowed for different groups of people to give an account of what they think about how partisan politics and citizen participation affected LED execution within the study areas. In the view of Anderson et al., (2014, p.88) “a qualitative approach provides the researcher with an exceptional occasion to explore and enhance his understanding of complex, multifaceted occurrences that were not possibly useful with the quantitative approach”.

The multiple case approach was supported by a triangulation approach. According to (Yeasmin and Rahman, 2012; cited in Agbavade, 2018 p.9) “a triangulation approach refers to the combination of two or more theories, data sources, methods or investigations in the study of a single phenomenon to converge on a single construct”. The combination of the multiple cases and triangulation approaches specifically helped the researcher cross-check for data consistency.

### **3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN**

This study uses an exploratory design which is useful in gaining an insight into how partisan politics and citizen participation affects LED initiatives implementation. In the words of Brown (2006, p.43), “exploratory research tends to tackle new problems on which little or no previous research has been done”. Since little is known about the effects of partisan politics and citizen participation on LED initiatives execution in local governments, the researcher adopted in-depth interviews and focused group discussions in exploring the study. The key advantage of this research design is its ability to provide rich quality information that would help identify the main issues which should be addressed in the study. According to Cresswell (2014), explorative research enables the researcher to determine the best research design, data collection methods, and selection of subjects. Besides, this design significantly reduces the research project level of bias and provides more credible answers to the research questions.

### **3.4 SOURCE OF DATA**

Qualitative research implies an extensive collection of data from multiple sources of information (Morisson & Doussineau, 2019, p. 104). In answering the research questions, two main sources of data comprising primary and secondary data were used for the study. The primary data was sourced directly from the field. It was obtained from individuals and group members who participated in answering the research questions. The primary data was collected through official documents and reports from the municipal assemblies. The researcher also explored the use of in-depth interviews and focus group discussion methods in gathering the primary data. The study used primary sources to increase the validity, authenticity, and trustworthiness of its findings. The primary sources of data helped the study reflect its true nature as a result of its validity.

The secondary sources of data were obtained from government publications, Medium Term Development Plans, official documents, minutes of meetings, Business Advisory Center (BAC), and reports from relevant state agencies as well as international organisations. According to Cresswell (2014), secondary sources have the advantages of providing bases for comparison and providing a useful background for identifying key questions and issues needed to be addressed by primary research.

### **3.5 TARGET POPULATION**

The population is “the entire set of units for which the study data are to be used to make inferences” (Kothari, 2003 cited in Adam 2018 p.72). A target population is the entire set of cases from which a sample is drawn. The target population for this study was the respondents from the two study areas. The study categorized the respondents into three as follows; local politicians, technocrats, and community members. The local politicians’ category is made up of the MCEs, the Presiding Members, the appointed Assembly Members, and the elected Assembly Members. The MCEs are selected due to their direct involvement in the formulation and implementation of LED strategies in the municipalities.

The Presiding Members are included in the study due to their in-depth information about LED initiatives within the Municipalities. This is because, as Presiding Members, they preside over all the meetings of the assembly including meetings that are held to discuss LED proposals, their initiation, and implementation. The assembly members made their way into this category due to the specific roles they perform in LED initiatives implementation. Assembly members discuss LED proposals at the sub-committee levels before implementation, hence they have direct contributions to LED implementation.

The second category of respondents comprised only technocrats, thus, the public servants. They included the Municipal development planning officers, Municipal Coordinating directors, the Municipal budget officers, Officers in charge of community development, Officers of the welfare unit, Municipal finance officers, and Officers at the business advisory center. These technocrats were included in the study because they work together in implementing LED programs and other development policies of the Municipalities. They perform various administrative and technical functions in LED implementation. Once an LED initiative has been approved at the general assembly level, its detailed implementation rests upon this group of technocrats. For this reason, their inclusion was inevitable.

The third category labeled community members comprised chiefs, unit committee members, and beneficiaries of LED initiatives within the Municipalities. Community members were involved because they are the direct beneficiaries of the LED initiatives and have some experiences to share with the researcher concerning LED implementation within the study area. Unit committee members help assembly members in the various localities in LED implementations. Chiefs are the custodians of various communities and sometimes offer their lands to be used by MMDAs for LED implementations, especially in respect of LED infrastructure development.

### **3.6 SAMPLE SIZE**

The sample size was selected according to the three main categories of the target population discussed above. In the category of local politicians, Twenty-five respondents were targeted. The MCEs are in this category and they were targeted because they are directly involved in the formulation and implementation of policies that touch on local economic issues. Also, being the political heads within the Municipality, they were in the position to provide the researcher with vital information about LED execution that was useful to the study. At the local level, assembly

members are directly involved in LED initiatives implementation, this makes their inclusion in the study compulsory.

In the second category involving technocrats, thirty (30) of them were targeted. The Municipal Coordinating Directors were targeted because they are the heads of the technocrats within the assembly and double as the secretaries to the Municipalities. Their roles are very important in terms of policy coordination and implementation, therefore their inclusion in the study was very necessary. The municipal budget officers, municipal finance officers, and municipal development planning officers all have in-deep knowledge about the dealings and history of the assembly intimately including LED issues which were useful for the study.

In the third category, three (3) chiefs were targeted, Twenty-five (25) unit committee members were targeted and another Thirty-five LED beneficiaries within the study areas were targeted as well. The chiefs were targeted due to their roles in community mobilisation. Led beneficiaries were targeted so that they could share their experience with the researcher. Unit committee members were targeted to explore the roles they perform in helping their assembly members in LED implementation.

At the end of the study within the two municipalities, twenty-five (25) members from the category of local politicians were directly engaged during data collection. Another twenty-five (25) technocrats directly got involved in the study through elite interviews. There were five focused group discussions for community members. Each focused group discussion had seven members, making it Thirty-five (35) members in total.

Finally, eighty-five (85) participants were directly involved in the study and this was the point of saturation. “Data saturation is reached when there is enough information to replicate the study

when the ability to obtain additional new information has been attained, and when further coding is no longer feasible” Fusch and Ness (2015, p.1408). For Akwei et al., (2020, p.1175), “saturation refers to the point at which the data has been thoroughly optimized so that no new information emerges from participants”. Table 5 below summarises a breakdown of respondents per each category of the target population before data saturation.

**Table 5. Categories of Respondents and Number of Respondents.**

Category of Respondents	No. of Respondents
Local politicians	25
Technocrats	25
Community members	35
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>

Source: Authors construct, 2021.

### 3.7 SAMPLE TECHNIQUE

The study adopted a purposive sampling technique which assisted the researcher to choose respondents with important information to enhance the quality of the data. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method sometimes called judgmental, selective, or subjective sampling. In purposive sampling, the researcher chooses a sample based on some conditions to achieve the desired result. The idea behind purpose sampling is to concentrate on people with particular characteristics who will better be able to assist with the relevant information.

This sampling technique helped the researcher in using his discretion to identify the type of respondents who were best suited to provide relevant responses to answer the research questions.

Purposive sampling was useful in reaching out to a targeted sample quickly. The main goal of

purposive sampling towards fulfilling the objective of the qualitative approach to research is to focus on identified characteristics of the population under study, which is best to help answer the research questions.

### **3.8 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION**

The researcher employed qualitative in-depth interviews and focused group discussions in collecting data for the study. Primary data was collected for the study through face-to-face interviews and focused group discussions. The rationale for adopting this in-depth interview was to obtain relevant information from respondents given their experience and knowledge about LED. The interviews were based on an interview guide, which contained questions for respondents. Given the exploratory nature of the study, the researcher used open-ended questions to allow flexibility in the responses. The questions were formulated and modified to suit the abilities of the respondents.

All participants were either interviewed in their homes or offices. Participants were also allowed to provide their perceptions on the effects of partisan politics and citizen participation in LED implementation. Interviews took place between June 2021 – July 2021, and most interviews lasted for more than 35 minutes. A recording device (HUAWEI – Y7 Phone) and a field notebook were used to capture the salient points alongside the face-to-face interview sessions.

### **3.9 DATA MANAGEMENT AND ANALYSIS**

The qualitative data analysis technique was adopted. “Qualitative data analysis primarily entails classifying things, persons and events and the properties which categorize them” (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973 cited in Creswell, 2014 p.209). Data collection was simultaneously done with data analysis which is encouraged in qualitative data analysis (Boateng, 2018).

Data was collected with the aid of an interview guide, a field notebook, and a recording device. Data collected were transcribed, sorted, and arranged into different types depending upon the source of information collected. Data were then coded based on the emerging information collected from study participants. According to Creswell (2014, p.198), “coding involves taking text data or pictures gathered during data collection, segmenting sentences, paragraphs or images into categories and labeling those categories with a term”. The codes were then used to generate themes that appeared as the main findings of this study.

Finally, an interpretation of the data was done and the researcher suggested in which cases the findings of the study either confirmed past literature or diverge from it.

### **3.10 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION**

The researcher adhered to the following ethical standards in conducting this study: First, the researcher seeks the consent of respondents in data collection. Copies of introduction letters were served to respondents before beginning the data collection. These letters are attached as appendices. The researcher also fully explained the purpose of the research to the respondents. The research objectives were communicated to study participants verbally and sometimes in writing so that they understood the researcher. Participants were also informed of all data collection devices such as recorders and data collection activities.

Secondly, in terms of data reporting, the researcher anonymized the identity of respondents and the final decision regarding anonymity rested with the study participants. Respondent’s rights, interests, and wishes were considered first in respect of decision-making about data reporting. Respondents also had the option to pull out of the study at any point. Some respondents even declined to participate in the study and they were not forced to participate.

An introductory letter from the University of Ghana, Department of Public Administration and Health Services Management was delivered to the Municipal assemblies within which the study was conducted. Based on that introduction letter, each of the assemblies also provided an introduction letter to the researcher as their acceptance and permission granted to the researcher to engage and interview target respondents. These introduction letters were also shown to the respondents before the interviews and group discussions to serve as additional evidence that their responses were solely going to serve the purpose of this research. A copy of the University's introduction letter is also attached as an appendix.

Next, participants were assured their responses were solely going to serve the purpose of the study and nothing else. Besides, no respondent was deceived, misled, or coerced to take part in the research.

Also, the researcher referenced and acknowledge all secondary information that is used in this study which would prevent any issues of plagiarism.

Finally, data collected for the study would be completely discarded after it has finished serving this study's purpose. This would be done to ensure that, in the future, no one uses the same data from study participants for any unethical purpose.

### **3.11 CHAPTER CONCLUSION**

This chapter presented the method used in conducting the study. Specifically, the data collection procedures and types have been detailed. The specific type of qualitative design has been identified, data collection methods have also been identified and justified. The chapter also identified the data analysis procedure used for the study and concluded with the ethical considerations that guided the study.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSIONS

#### 4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presented an analysis of data concerning the objectives of the research: (a) to examine the effects of partisan politics on LED initiatives implementation at the local government level. (b) to explore the roles of local politicians as actors in LED initiative implementation at the local government level. (c) to examine the effects of citizen participation on LED initiatives implementation at the local government level. (d) to explore the challenges of citizen participation in LED implementation at the local government level.

#### 4.1 BACKGROUND TO LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IMPLEMENTATION IN THE STUDY AREA

It emerged that both municipalities have implemented several LED initiatives over the years. The implementation of the LED interventions by both municipalities was done per the four pillars of LED as postulated by the National LED policy (2013), thus, “capacity building, infrastructure, start-ups and creating an enabling environment”. In terms of funding, the GEMA has found all its LED initiatives through partnerships with private entities or with the government of Ghana via the NBSSI. The One million, one dollar per constituency was another source of funding for some of the LED initiatives. The municipal Business Advisory Center serves as the decentralised body of NSSBI in that municipality. In the case of the La-NMMA, partnership funding was largely their source of funding.

#### **4.1.1 LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IMPLEMENTATION IN GA-EAST MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY**

The findings of the study revealed that several LED initiatives have been implemented in GEMA mostly in conjunction with their municipal Business Advisory Center. Majority of the LED projects targeted infrastructure, start-up capital, and capacity building. Through the infrastructure module, major markets within the municipality were rehabilitated to modern standards whereas new markets were established in certain towns within the municipality that previously had none. The building of toilet facilities emerged as another major LED intervention the municipality engaged in.

The municipality initiated and implemented what they termed the local government capacity support fund through which start-up capital was provided to some market women. This support fund first started with One Hundred (100) market women within the municipality. They access the fund through loans and repay so that it could be made available to other women at different times. In terms of capacity building, the BAC trained many youths in bead making, cosmetic production, entrepreneurship skill training, Advance training in soap /detergent production, and Training in the production of Batik tie and dye.

Again, in the area of capacity building, the municipality benefited from the “Needles for Girl” (N4G) project. It is an initiative of the Second Lady of the Republic of Ghana. The overall goal of the N4G project, which target less privileged girls between 16 – 24 years old, is to train and equip them with the requisite knowledge and skills in fashion and related activities such as dress-making, hairdressing, manicure, and pedicure. Table 6 below depicts some of the LED initiatives within the Ga-East municipality and the partnering entities.

**Table 5. LED Initiatives in the Ga-East Municipal Assembly.**

No.	LED INITIATIVES	PARTNERING ENTITIES
1.	A slave fort	Sesemi community
2.	Alternative farming initiative	Municipal Agric Dept.
3.	Needle for Girl Project	GIZ / Ghana Exim Bank
4.	Local government capacity support fund	Municipal BAC
5.	Construction and rehabilitation of markets	GOG - PPP
6.	Bead making training	BAC - NBSSI
7.	Entrepreneurship and financial literacy training	GIZ – BAC
8.	Cosmetic production (body cream, shower gel, hair food)	BAC - NBSSI
9.	Young Africans work project	Mastercard foundation – BAC/NBSSI
10.	Business management training skills for small businesses	BAC - NBSSI
11.	CAPBUSS beneficiary entrepreneurship and financial literacy training	NBSSI - BAC
12.	Local connect business fair	BAC – NBSSI
13.	Entrepreneurship skill training	BAC - NBSSI
14.	Basic cosmetics and skill training in bead making	BAC - NBSSI
15.	Training in the production of batik tie and die	BAC - NBSSI
16.	Advance training in soap and detergent making	BAC - NBSSI

Source: Authors construct, based on field data, June – July, 2021.

#### **4.1.2 LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IMPLEMENTATION IN La-NKWANTANANG MADINA MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY**

The La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipal assembly (La-NMMA) LED interventions much focused on human resource development through capacity building. The majority of the municipality's population is in the youth age category and mostly in the informal sector. The municipality had a comparative advantage in commerce and human resources development (HRD) which informed its decision to focus on such interventions.

Due to the vibrant nature of its markets, it makes Madina (the municipal capital) a commercial hub that serves people from other districts within the region, people from outside the region as well as foreigners from Nigeria and Mali. Presumably, it is in respect of this advantage the municipality's vision is *"To become a Connected, Livable and Vibrant Commercial Hub"*. The study found that the majority of the mobile phone dealers at the Madina market who participated in the various human resource development and capacity-building programs organised by the assembly are Nigerians and Malians. The reason for undertaking HRD is to develop and improve the skills of the many unemployed youths within the municipality. Secondly, to equip those on the mobile phone commence with the relevant skills to manage their businesses.

Analysing the LED action plan of the municipality, revealed that, the main LED initiatives included training sections to build the capacities of the unemployed youth. The pieces of training entailed a range of events capable of improving an individual's performance in any business they engage in. The municipal development planning unit organise pieces of training in the area of E-commerce, development of business proposals, soft skills training, and alternative livelihood empowerment training (ALET).

With the alternative livelihood empowerment training, the assembly had funding from the European Union to implement what it termed Sustainable Livelihood and Transparent Local Authorities (SLATLA). The SLATLA project is a sustainable livelihood empowerment intervention that seeks to empower and support local assemblies to promote environmentally sustainable livelihoods and decent work for women, women groups, people living with disabilities, and the youth who depend on the informal economies; improve transparency, accountability and revenue mobilization of MMDAs. According to the municipal finance officer.....

*“The total amount involved in the project was €822,876. The European Union which is the main financier for the project contributed €700,000 of the sum whilst Actionaid, and La-NMMA contributed €122,876 to ensure the effective implementation of the project”.*

This LED project sort to achieve the following three main objectives.

- To strengthen the skills and capacity of target groups dependent on the informal economy to access a wider range of livelihoods.
- To increase coordination, engagement, and linkages among micro, small and medium scale enterprises on marketing opportunities.
- To strengthen the technical capacity of more transparent and accountable local authorities to increase revenue mobilization for local development.

The training category of the project was in two components – Artisanal and Agribusiness. The project has since trained 1,922 beneficiaries. A total of 113 groups have been formed out of the beneficiaries, and these groups have been transformed into community-based organizations (CBOs). Beneficiaries have also been given some soft skills training in the following areas: Business and financial management, Social media marketing, Development of business operating

manuals, and Mentoring and coaching. Table 7 below is the breakdown of the number of people trained in each area.

**Table 7. A breakdown of the number of people trained in the SLATLA LED project**

Area	Livelihood Areas	Year 1			Year 2			Total trained		
		No Male	No Female	Total Y1	No Male	No Female	Total Y2	Male	Female	Total
ICT	ICT	39	21	60	0	0	0	39	21	60
Artisanal Training	Plastic waste recycling	0	0	0	78	299	377	78	299	377
	Embroidery	58	74	132	112	301	413	170	375	545
	Tiling	21	5	26	92	14	106	113	19	132
	Plumbing	11	3	14	63	3	66	74	6	80
Sub Total		129	103	232	345	617	962	474	720	1194
Agribusiness	Vegetable farming	22	12	34	0	0	0	22	12	34
	Mushroom	76	100	176	71	49	120	147	149	296
	Grasscutter	101	39	140	0	0	0	101	39	140
	Poultry Farm	26	25	51	0	0	0	26	25	51
	Poultry feed	44	43	87	86	34	120	130	77	207
Sub Total		269	219	488	157	83	240	426	302	728
<b>Totals</b>		<b>398</b>	<b>322</b>	<b>720</b>	<b>502</b>	<b>700</b>	<b>1202</b>	<b>900</b>	<b>1022</b>	<b>1922</b>

**Source:** La Nkwantanang Madiam Municipal Assembly, 2021.

In terms of capacity building, the municipal development planning officer reports that...

*“As part of the SLATLA program, an arrangement was made to support at least 40% of the trainees with startup packages. For the tilers, each of them had tiling equipment. Those who trained in poultry production got 50 live chicks imported from the Dutch, working gears in the form of gloves, warranty boats, and overalls together with some medicines for the chicks”.*

In terms of creating an enabling environment to boost LED, it emerged that the municipality first decided to rethink its revenue rates through rate payer’s consultative meetings. Secondly, the municipality also went into the facilitation of loans for the business people by helping them form

cooperatives and groups. They then liaised with some commercial banks within the municipality to reduce their minimum deposit rate so that majority of the women in trading and commerce could own bank accounts to facilitate their trade. About this, the municipal development planning officer intimates that,

*“When the coronavirus alleviation program business support scheme was launched, for us to register the beneficiaries we manage to strike an agreement with Fidelity Bank to reduce their minimum deposit rate from GHC 100 to GHC 10 so that many of the beneficiaries could obtain bank accounts with them”.*

## **4.2 EFFECTS OF PARTISAN POLITICS ON LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

### **INITIATIVES IMPLEMENTATION**

The study explored the knowledge of respondents on how partisan politics impacts the implementation of LED initiatives within the study areas. Political transitions, level of political commitments, the satisfaction of political fortunes, political patronage, and political interference emerged as how partisan politics affected the implementation of LED initiatives in the study areas.

#### ***4.2.1 Political Transitions***

The study found a mixed response from respondents about the impact of political transitions on LED initiative implementation. Political transitions within the domain of this study refer to a change in power either due to a change in government or a change in the MCEs in the local government. It emerged there are two types of political transitions, thus, inter-party transitions and extra-party transitions. Inter-party transitions were identified as the type of transitions that happens within the same political party in government. For example, a present/current government changing its MMDCEs. Ideally, one would have envisaged that inter-party transitions should not have had negative effects on LED initiatives' implementation since the transition is within the

same government. Surprisingly, inter-party transitions led to some projects being abandoned, changes in the implementation team, and delays in implementation due to modifications in the program designs by the newly appointed MCEs. A presiding member intimated that,

*“The worse impact occurs when the transitions happened within the same government. New municipal chief executives want to start their initiatives to show for their stewardship, which is independent of the central government’s policy, left alone their predecessors”.*

The extra-party transitions referred to the type of transition that occurs due to a change from one government to another, which automatically results in changes in MMDCEs appointments. This is in line with the 1992 constitution of Ghana which vests the power to appoint and disapprove MMDCs into the president. With this, a municipal chief executive states that...

*“As a newly appointed MCE, I commit all my efforts, energies, and resources to new programs that are in line with my government’s broader plans and work towards achieving the same. The uncompleted programs of the erstwhile government, are not my priority. This is the only way I can be seen as working”.*

Whereas the local politicians (municipal chief executives, presiding members, and both appointed and elected assembly members) categorically affirmed that political transitions negatively impact LED projects implementation, the technocrats held the view that such impacts are conditional. They held the view that the impact would depend on the type of funding arrangement in place for the particular LED initiative under implementation and the political will of the new politician or leader. Concerning this, a municipal coordinating director alludes that....

*“If the funding for an LED program is foreign sponsored or foreign aid, political transitions do not affect its execution. Moreover, when the new political leader who emerged as a result of the*

*transition is committed to project continuation, political transitions do not affect LED implementation in that case”.*

For the technocrat, the response is conditional because the impacts of partisan politics on LED implementation is dependent on some factors such as; the current medium-term development plan of the municipality, the type of funding arrangement for the implementation of the particular initiative, and the commitment level or political will of the new politician. For the technocrats, political transitions do not immediately affect LED initiative implementation. Because government is a continuous process and a change of government does not stop the implementation of a medium-term development plan yet to expire. About this, a development planning office stated that;

*“The new political leadership can sometimes ask for a review of the LED initiatives in a current medium-term development plan, but they cannot completely cancel its implementation once the plan has not expired”.*

Secondly, the technocrats explained that once there is external funding available for the implementation of an LED initiative, a change in government does not affect the continuous implementation of the initiative. Foreign partners bring the funding, and the municipalities provide the technical assistance and create the enabling environment for the LED initiative to succeed. With this, a municipal finance officer states that,

*“Even when there is a government of Ghana funding already in place for the implementation of an LED initiative, a change in government only affects LED implementation if the political will of the new leader does not support projects continuation”.*

Contrary to the views of the technocrat about conditionality, local politicians categorically stated that political transitions shape LED implementation. Concerning the impact of political transitions on LED projects execution, a municipal chief executive shares her views in the following statements;

*“Once there is a change of government or MCE, the vision, source of funding, and implementation of LED initiatives are affected because the new government or MCE has to channel their efforts towards the implementation of their agendas”.*

This is possible since the policy focus of the outgoing political party or the outgoing MCE could be completely different from the incoming one.

Without any reservations, local politicians had a unanimous agreement that political transitions negatively affect the implementation of LED initiatives in the following ways; One, it retards development. Due to political transitions, the progress of LED intervention implementation could be negatively affected. Many times, the implementation of LED initiatives must temporarily come to a halt during the transition from one political leader to another. Secondly, political transitions affected LED initiative implementations through sabotage. Opposing members within the implementation framework could sabotage the new government by hiding relevant information from the new government or leadership. On this account, a community development officer asserts that,

*“Political transitions affected some LED initiative implementation as it leads to projects abandonments by the new political leadership. It also halts project implementation in some cases”.*

This finding confirms the findings of Agbevade (2018a, p.122), that “whenever there was a regime change, the entire process was reversed or ongoing projects were halted – policy discontinuity”.

However, the difference in this finding is that it emerged the regime changes are two and the worse one is the inter-party change. The findings of Agbevade (2018) concern extra-party transitions alone unlike this finding which is across the two forms of transitions.

Moreover, the effect of political transition was also found in a study by Rai (2020, p.395), that “political and social discord, the prolonged political transition, and political uncertainty of the government have made for an unfavorable investment climate, suppressed agricultural activities, and undermined the expansion of services sectors like tourism and finance resulting in slow economic growth”. Rai’s findings slightly differ from that of this study by pointing out how prolonging political transitions affects a diverse aspect of the local economy but not only in terms of project discontinuity.

#### ***4.2.2 Level of political commitments***

The commitment level of politicians was also found to have an impact on LED implementation. However, there were two dimensions of this commitment. Once again there was a categorical response from politicians affirming the question about how committed there are to LED initiatives implementation. The local politicians say there are committed to the implementation of the LED initiative and is because of the concept’s ability to create jobs for their people. A municipal chief executive intimated that,

*“We are committed to LED initiative implementation because it is one major way we could create jobs for our people”.*

The technocrats on the other hand presented a different response about the commitment levels of local politicians to LED programs execution. The technocrats alluded that, the commitment level of politicians to LED initiatives implementation is subjected to how the initiative is going to

politically benefit the politician and by extension their party followers. From their experience, communities' development is not the priority of politicians in respect of LED implementation. It is about their political carriers and political popularities first before the communities. It is about implementing the initiatives to show off that this is what they have been able to do when they had the power to govern. The interest of the communities always comes second. Given the politician's commitment toward LED implementation, a municipal coordinating director has shared the statement below;

*“Their commitment is just to fulfill their ego; I have not seen a politician who has been committed to LED implementation for the sake of the community. Most often it is we the technocrat who engineers it more. So, for the politician it is not about the community, it is about what he will do to be seen”.*

#### **4.2.3 Satisfying political fortunes**

The study also found that LED implementation was used as a partisan political tool for making and unmaking the popularity of political parties, especially among ‘floating voters. A further question of how, revealed that, upon successful implementation of LED initiatives, political leaders pride themselves on its success and that helps them to win votes from the beneficiaries of the initiatives during elections. On this account, a municipal public relations officer alluded that;

*“The successful implementation of LED initiatives can make and unmake the popularity of all the political parties that have been in government before”.*

It was a unanimous response from the respondents that the successful implementation of LED initiatives makes a political party popular, especially during elections.

Again, it emerged that the implementation of LED initiatives was also carryout to satisfy some requirements of certain development indicators such as the Functional Organisational Assessment Tool (FOAT) or the District Performance Assessment Tool (DPAT). All MMDAs undergo a form of assessment, and those who pass the assessment receive some rewards either in the form of investment grants or capacity-building grants. If the local politician considers that they want to invest in LED initiatives rather than the capacity building of staff members, they strive to pass the assessment indicators that would enable them to receive the said grant to invest in LED implementation. Given this, a municipal developing planning officer states that,

*“Politically, since the politicians are interested in achieving certain indicators of the DPAT, they consider implementing LED initiatives that will enable them to achieve such indicators. Because an achievement of such indicators means the municipal assembly is performing well and its municipal chief executive is up to the task as well”.*

Moreover, Municipal chief executives usually sign performance contracts with regional ministers in which there are similar performance indicators like that of DPAT. Once again, to achieve such indicators so as they are not seen as non-performing MCEs, they consider the implementation of LED initiatives that would enable them to achieve such indicators. To this extent, the satisfaction of political fortunes largely explained the involvement of politicians in LED implementation.

These findings relate to that of Wolman & Spitzley (1996), that politicians and local government leaders as actors in LED are interested in bolstering their political and electoral chances. Moreover, politicians are engaged in LED programs because of the electoral success they stand to gain. Even though, Wolman & Spitzley’s finding is specific toward electoral gains. The findings of this study are broader in the sense that it revealed other political interests or benefits local politicians anticipate getting when they execute LED projects.

#### **4.2.4 Political hijacking/patronage**

Another way through which partisan politics impacted the implementation of LED was found to be political hijacking. Political hijacking meant a situation where upon successful implementation of an LED program by the government, members of the party in government have the feeling that the initiative is theirs and they must own it. Thus, there is a political hijacking in the sense that party followers have the intention that once an initiative is implemented under their government's regime, they should be the beneficiaries of the said LED initiative. A municipal coordinating director shares her experience in the following statements;

*“Many of the beneficiaries of LED initiatives end up to be only party people who do not even take the training we gave them seriously. For me, this politics thing, we are just wasting money. Because in the end, it is only party people we train”.*

The political patronage came in the form of the local politicians ensuring that many beneficiaries of LED programs are party members as a way of satisfying their job demands or at least providing them with opportunities to benefit from the party's interventions.

#### **4.2.5 Political interference**

It also emerged that there is political interference, especially in the decision-making process of the LED initiatives. In some cases, assembly members walk out of general assembly meetings to have a brief caucus discussion among themselves before they agree or disagree on certain LED issues. Per the local governance Act 2016 (Act 936) and the constitutional instrument (C. I. 85) which deals with the election of assembly members into the MMDAs, such elections must be non-political and the administration of the local government must also be apolitical. Unfortunately, this study uncovered the opposite, as some assembly members openly disclosed to the researcher that

they belong to political parties A or B. Concerning this, an assembly member shares his views in the following statements;

*“For me, I am an NPP assemblyman. But the NDC assemblymen in the municipal council are more than the NPP assemblymen per our numbers. Therefore, in terms of voting in the sub-committees and the general assembly meetings, they always win the votes”.*

Some assembly members even disclosed that they sometimes go into their respective political caucus meetings before agreeing or disagreeing on some issues during LED discussions. This brings about political interference in LED implementation as a result of partisan politics. This finding correlates to that of Agbavade (2020a, p. 171), “where it emerged that politicians interfere in LED implementation to gain favor from their appointing authorities and that the political party in power also influenced the behavior of the actors in LED implementation”.

### **4.3 THE ROLE OF LOCAL POLITICIANS AS ACTORS IN LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IMPLEMENTATION**

The study uncovered that local politicians in the category of the municipal chief executives, the presiding members, and the appointed and elected assembly members play important roles in ensuring the implementation of LED initiatives becomes successful. The roles or functions identified are as follows;

#### ***4.3.1 Leadership roles***

Ideally, local politicians are supposed to champion LED issues and be at the forefront of its implementation. The municipal chief executives with their presiding members play leadership roles by setting the agenda for the LED initiatives. Many times, the conceptualisation of LED plans comes from these leaders. This is so because the municipal chief executives together with their

presiding members might want to implement LED initiatives that are in line with their broader political party manifestoes. Therefore, the conceptualisation and initiation of the policy ideas emanate from the political leaders before they could get to the general assembly for consideration and approval. On this grounds, a presiding member states that;

*“Policy initiation is our responsibility as political leaders of this assembly. So we initiatives and formulate LED strategies, and with the help of the other staff members we get them implemented”.*

#### **4.3.2 Identification of local resources**

The study also found that local politicians help in identifying potential resources within their jurisdictions that the municipality could tap or convert into LED programs. Assembly members as local politicians are closer to their communities and know almost every corner within their electoral areas. They identify and recommend to the authorities of the municipality potential resources within the electoral areas that could be used for an LED initiative. An assembly member explains how he played this role in the following statements;

*“There has been an abandoned market in my electoral area for the last ten years. During the outbreak of Covid-19, when the directive came for all MMDAs to decongest their major markets, I suggested to the M.C.E. about a possible rehabilitation of the abandoned market. Once that was done we would bring some of the traders from the major markets to occupy the new one”.*

This suggestion found favor with the M.C.E and subsequently the said market was rehabilitated.

#### **4.3.3 Community mobilisation**

Local politicians in their capacities as assembly members help in community mobilisation. Assembly members serve as intermediaries or points of contact between authorities of the assemblies and the communities they represent. They help the assemblies in mobilising their

communities for LED programs implementation. Through this role, they organise community meetings among the chiefs and their community members. They educate and explain to members of the communities the objectives of LED projects, what the initiatives are about, what the interventions are supposed to achieve, and why the said community is chosen as the implementing place or venue.

During project implementation, they also perform monitoring roles on the project site and provide information to authorities of the municipality about the progress of project implementation. They as well offer assistance to the project contractors if the LED initiative is about infrastructure development. They help the contractors easily find laborers within their area and other forms of materials that are common within their jurisdiction that the contractors may need for project implementation. About this role, an assembly member intimated as follows;

*“The contractor who constructed our community toilet out of the one-million-dollar per constituency initiative used to bring laborers from Nsawam daily. This is because he does not have accommodation for them at the project site. I provided the laborers with accommodation and it speed up the progress of the project”.*

Besides this, securing land for infrastructure development has remained a major challenge for both municipalities, but assembly members play leading roles in helping the assemblies secure land from the chiefs for the implementation of LED initiatives. It was also found that assembly members help the municipal authorities by linking them to potential funding sources within their electoral areas. On this account, a member of the focus group discussion alluded that,

*“We identify and link the municipal authorities to resourceful persons and entities within our respective jurisdiction or electoral areas”.*

#### ***4.3.4 Managing community dynamics***

Another critical role played by local politicians is that they help in managing community dynamics that could hinder the implementation of an LED initiative. A further question of how revealed that, sometimes, there could be chieftaincy disputes in a particular community that an LED initiative is supposed to be implemented in, the assembly member being an endogen of that community knows the issues at hand. They give authorities of the assembly first-hand information as to how to manage such a dispute so that it does not escalate due to the LED initiative that is coming into the community. On this issue, a development planning officer shares his experience in the following statements;

*“In one of our community engagements, the assembly member hinted to me of a land dispute between the two chiefs present at the function. He further advised that I should avoid addressing any of them as the landowner of the community since that can escalate the problem”.*

As part of settling community dynamics, local politicians also perform buy-in roles among the different groups or factions that exist within the community before the implementation of the LED initiative.

#### ***4.3.5 Deliberative functions***

Local politicians perform deliberate functions in respect of LED issues. After the agenda-setting stage of an LED idea by the president’s representative within the municipality, the issue is referred to the relevant sub-committee (LED Sub-Committee) for deliberations. Local politicians as assembly members begin deliberations on the issue at the sub-committee level to assess the potential pros and cons of the idea. On this issue, a presiding member alluded that;

*“At the LED Sub-committee level, we analyze the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats of a proposed LED initiative to see if the potential strengths and opportunities outweigh the potential weaknesses and threats. It is only under this condition that we recommend the idea at the general assembly level for consideration and approval”.*

This deliberative role performed by local politicians conforms with the finding of Swinburn, Goga & Murphy (2006) that, to build a strong local economy, good practice proves that each community should undertake a collaborative process to understand the nature and structure of the local economy and conduct analysis of the area’s strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats.

During the Covid-19 outbreak, the Ga-East municipal assembly conceive the idea of rehabilitating an abandoned market at Abokobi to ease congestion in the main markets within the municipality. At the LED sub-committee level, members went through a detailed analysis of the internal strengths, internal weaknesses, external opportunities, and external threats to inform their decision as to either implement the either or not. A study of the sub-committee report on LED shows that a SWOT analysis was conducted by members of the committee. Figure 5 below illustrates the analysis that was done.

**Figure 5. An Analysis of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats.**

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Land accessibility</li> <li>• Employment creation</li> <li>• Local funding</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Politicisation of the proposed initiative after implementation</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An availability of an abandoned structure</li> <li>• Excess traders</li> <li>• Reduce congestion in major markets</li> <li>• Opportunity to establish a new market</li> </ul>	
<b>OPPORTUNITIES</b>	<b>THREATS</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Outbreak of covid-19</li> <li>• Lack of land by neighboring MMDAs</li> <li>• Surplus traders from neighboring MMDAs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Possibility of the new market collapsing after the covid-19 outbreak is over</li> </ul>

**Source:** Authors construct, based on LED sub-committee report, GEMA – 2021.

Upon deliberations at the sub-committee level, the report came out with seven clear strengths of the proposed initiative, three opportunities, one weakness, and one threat. Based on this analysis, it was imperative that the advantages (strengths and opportunities) in implementing the proposed LED initiative far outweigh the disadvantages (weaknesses and threats) and that it was a good LED initiative for the assembly to invest in. This is a reflection of how the deliberative function of local politicians within the municipality is performed in respect of LED decisions.

#### 4.4 EFFECTS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION ON LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IMPLEMENTATION

The study again explored the knowledge of respondents on the implications of citizen participation in LED implementation. The study found that there are positive impacts of citizen participation in LED implementations in local government.

Firstly, citizen participation in LED implementation increases their understanding of the LED initiatives which leads to an appreciation of the LED issues and enables the citizens to make meaningful contributions during the discussions. Citizen engagement in LED implementation enables them to contribute their efforts and ideas to project sustainability. Concerning this, a member of a focus group discussion states that;

*“Once we are part of the implementation process, we feel recognised and appreciated by the authorities. Hence we are fully committed to seeing the projects lasting for a very long time, and we do everything possible in our ways to ensure that the project is sustained”.*

This finding confirms with Beyer et al., (2013, p.12), that “when local citizens are involved in LED initiatives agenda setting, it is likely to guarantee the sustainable implementation of strategies because it allows for divergent interests to reach consensus”. In the findings of this study, the driver of sustainability in the projects is not due to the divergent views that are gathered during citizen participation. However, it is due to the appreciation and recognition citizens believe the municipal authorities have accorded them.

Similarly, Wondirad & Ewnetu (2019, p.2) posits that “genuine community participation rests at the heart of sustainable development”. Absolute and effective participation, therefore, enhances

the goal of sustainability which is an important factor in ensuring long-term development. A municipal development planning officer intimated that;

*“When citizens are involved in their own LED initiatives, the sustainability rate of the project is high even after the assembly had finished with implementation and left the project site”.*

This is in agreement with the finding of Edward (2014, p.5) that “participation of various stakeholders is not only an indicator of good governance but is also crucial to the sustainability of the local development interventions”.

Secondly, participation offers mutually beneficial opportunities for both the organisers and participants of LED programs where knowledge is exchanged between the local authorities and the citizens. This process produces a two-way learning situation whereby both parties brainstorm and learn from each other. They share control over development initiatives, resources, and decisions that affect them. A municipal coordinating director intimated that;

*“Participation sometimes enables the municipality to receive free technical advice from some professional participants with technical expertise, through knowledge sharing between authorities of the assembly and the participants”.*

This is an affirmation of a study by Mubita et al., (2017, p.238) which found that “participation allows the incorporation of local knowledge, skills, and resources in the design of interventions and can ensure programme responsiveness to people’s needs”. Hence it enables the collaboration of endogenous knowledge, expertise, and resources in the design and implementation of LED initiatives for effective outcomes and impacts

In addition, citizen participation legitimizes LED initiatives, plans and programmes as well as builds a sense of ownership among community members. Through participation, citizens can get

involved in the formulation of LED initiatives that will lead to effective implementation of the same. If citizens are part of the formulation and implementation processes of LED initiatives, it is expected to reduce apathy, improve the chances of implementation success and encourage self-ownership. A municipal chief executive officer alluded that;

*“Participation helps in gaining support from the people for LED project implementation and creates a sense of ownership for the project among the community people”.*

This finding is in concord with Mubita et al., (2017, p.244) who found that “participation can enable the community to view a project as theirs and not belonging to the implementing agency, and reduce the likelihood of project failure once funding ends or when the implementing organisation pulls out or relocates to another project site”. Similarly, Boon et al., (2013 p.39), found that “by proactively and systematically working towards improving the levels of participation in the various stages of a project, the outcomes are more likely to suit local circumstances, ensure community ownership, and increase the sustainability of a project, enhance societal harmony, and increase social learning”. Even though these findings were not specifically concerning LED project implementation, the findings of this study on LED is very similar to such findings and can therefore relate.

Moreover, citizen participation in LED initiatives formulation and implementation empowers the community people. Participation in LED can enhance the empowerment of the locals and provide local people with the opportunity to think and develop solutions for themselves. This conforms to Grävingsholt et al., (2006, p.37) that “One primary focus of participation is empowerment: disadvantaged groups such as the poor, women, youth, ethnic or religious minority groups find it difficult to have their interests represented in decision-making. Participation can give these groups a voice”. On this account, a member of a focus group discussion alluded that,

*It is only through our meetings with the council authorities that we can express our opinions to them. Without such a forum of engagement, I would not have the courage to talk to the MCE.”*

Although, this finding is similar to that of Grävingsholt et al., (2006, p.37), in addition to empowerment, the findings of this study also revealed that citizen participation can enhance the capabilities of the locals.

Finally, citizen participation helps local authorities to collect input on current best-LED strategies and take practical steps to formulate and implement policies for the benefit of their areas. Local authorities can collect the inputs via the various channels through which they engage the citizens in LED affairs.

#### **4.5 CHALLENGES OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IMPLEMENTATION**

Interrogation with the respondent emerged that citizen participation in the implementation of LED initiatives has some constraints. Monetisation of participation, resource constraints, language barrier, level of illiteracy, time constraints, and apathy were among the challenges found. The last constraint to citizen participation is the failure to implement LED initiatives by authorities.

**4.5.1 Monetisation:** It has emerged to be the main challenge of citizen participation in LED initiative implementation within the study areas. Citizens are always concerned about municipal authorities compensating them in monetary terms whenever they are invited to participate in LED issues, even if such participations are to their benefit. In every citizen participation forum, participants expect water, soft drinks, and snacks from the authorities or organisers of the program. In situations where the meetings even last a little longer than the scheduled time, participants would demand lunch and transportation fees in addition. This has made citizen participation in LED

issues challenging. A member of a focus group discussion states what he told the BAC officer upon an invitation for skill development training by the officer in the following sentence;

*“As for us the N.G.O.s have spoilt us with money. Be prepared to give us some monies for our transport. Otherwise, when you call us next time we will not come”.*

This respondent tried to bring to the limelight how they are treated by N.G.O.s during participation forums. If local authorities have to replica the treatment emanated to assembly members by N.G.O.s during participation forums, then of course participation is indeed challenging. It also emerged that there is no budgetary allocation to MMDAs for citizen participation programs, and neither do these assemblies receive donor funding for the organisation of same.

**4.5.2 Resource constraint:** Lack of adequate resources is another challenge confronting citizen participation in LED implementation. It emerged that the municipal assemblies incur a very high cost in organizing community mobilisation for LED initiatives. Renting of canopies, cost of publicity and announcements of the program through local information centers, hiring of plastic chairs, renting of public address systems. Generally, the organisation of participation forums by the municipal councils requires the use and disbursement of a lot of resources. In responding to the question on what the challenges of citizen participation in LED are, a municipal development planning officer intimated that;

*“Let me first establish that citizen participation, in general, is highly expensive to implement. Citizen Participation in LED issues is as expensive as participation in local governance”.*

These findings could be related to that of Gravingholt et al., (2006, p.36), that “participation as a development concept is expensive to implement, thus, participatory mechanisms entail transaction costs such as time and information requirements”.

Similarly, Boon et al., (2013, p.40), found that “Stakeholder participation may also be very expensive, particularly the cost of delays in preparation and implementation arising from the need to consult and negotiate with the other stakeholders”. Participation is not only expensive in LED project execution, but in local governance as well. No specific funding or financial arrangements are purposely meant for citizen participation in LED issues, making it very difficult for the authorities to be able to engage their citizens.

**4.5.3 Illiteracy:** Another challenge found had to do with the level of literacy among participants. The level of illiteracy among participants and the language barrier has also been major challenge to citizen participation in LED issues. Many of the assembly members do not speak the official English language eloquently. Besides, it also emerged that majority of the community members are also handicapped in terms of the use of the official language for communication during citizen engagements. Many of them are unable to read and write, therefore making their participation in LED discussions time-consuming and challenging. Time-consuming because most of the time, there is a need for a language interpreter in their discussions. Given this challenge, a deputy municipal coordinating director states that;

*“Many of the times, the participants are unable to communicate in the official language, in such cases we need an interpreter to translate our discussions for their understanding. This makes participation quite difficult and time-consuming”.*

**4.5.4 Time conditions:** Another challenging factor to citizen participation in LED implementation has to do with time constraints. The study found that various LED participatory programs are usually organised within working days. This makes it difficult for many formal sector workers to participate due to the want of time on working days. It leaves the municipalities with very few level-headed participants for any serious discussions and brainstorming about LED initiatives.

This is because the majority of the participants are people from the informal sector and are mostly illiterate. In view of this, a municipal coordinating director stated thus;

*“Many of the participants are unable to offer constructive ideas and opinions during participation. This situation does not challenge the technocrats to innovate and improve upon their works. Hence, it leaves the assemblies with very poor participation impact”.*

As presented earlier in the reviewed literature, for effective participation, there is the need to consider the type of people to participate. Again on the issue of time, when participants stay in a meeting longer than the scheduled times, they begin to complain and there is a possibility of them not honoring the next invitation to participate on LED issues.

**4.5.5 Proximity to meeting venues:** Besides the duration of the meetings, the proximity of participants to the meeting venues was also found as a contributing factor that impedes citizen participation. Concerning the proximity of the meeting venues to participants, a municipal chief executive tied it to the nature of road infrastructure within the municipality. By so doing, the M.C.E. posed a question to the researcher as follows..... *“If I invite you for a discussion on an LED at Abokobi (the municipal council), considering the nature of the road to Aokobi, will you come?”* This question by the M.C.E. affirms the study of Masiapato & Wotela (2017 p.6), that *“obviously, poor road infrastructure curbs mobility of community members and, therefore, they cannot attend meetings”*. Again, about the effect of the poor road network on citizen participation, the 2010–2011 Vhembe District Municipality’s Annual Report *“points out that one of the reasons why effective citizen participation is lacking is due to the non-existent or damaged infrastructure for roads, water, and electricity”*. This indeed confirms the point that meeting venues’ proximity to participants and the nature of road networks leading to such venues is a contributing factor to citizen non-participation in LED implementation. The difference between the findings of this study

and others cited is that those studies have only looked at the effects of bad roads on citizen participation. But this study's findings go beyond just the effects and also consider the proximity or distance between participants and meeting venues.

**4.5.6 Apathy:** Lastly, apathy among citizens was found to challenge citizen participation in LED programs implementation. A further question of how revealed that, generally, people are apathetic to attending the assemblies' programs. This comes as a result of several factors. In some cases, it is because the municipal assembly has not been able to create a cordial relationship with members of the community, especially where community members feel neglected by the authorities in terms of development. In such cases, community members take up the development issues within their localities by themselves through their residence association meetings. Hence, there are always unwilling to participate in any meeting organise by the assembly since they feel neglected. Another reason which accounted for the apathetic nature of citizens towards participation in LED was found to be failed programs. Sometimes, after involving citizens in discussing LED issues and capturing them into the assembly's action plan, citizens expect to see the implementation of such LED initiatives within the time frame captured by the assembly's action plan. Once the municipality fails to implement such initiatives, citizens are reluctant to attend any such engagement again when next invited. It again emerged that some citizens are just naturally unwilling to participate in their community development issues and this was attributed to a lack of public spirit or lack of patriotism.

#### **4.6 CHAPTER CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, this chapter has presented, discussed, and analyzed the findings of the study. It emerged that, regardless of partisan influence in LED interventions, MMDAs still considered their competitive advantages in implementing LED. Except that, partisan politics largely explained the

purpose for which local politicians engage in LED implementation. Moreover, an analysis of the data also revealed that, after all, citizen participation in any development intervention is not problem-free. Hence citizen participation in LED initiatives implementation also came with its challenges.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0 INTRODUCTION

The study examined how partisan politics and citizen participation affected the implementation of LED initiatives. Upon a reviewed literature concerning the dynamics of LED. I began with the argument that partisan politics and citizen participation has direct effects on LED implementation and sort to investigate how. This chapter presented a summary of the major findings of the study, conclusions, and recommendations.

#### 5.1 SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS 3

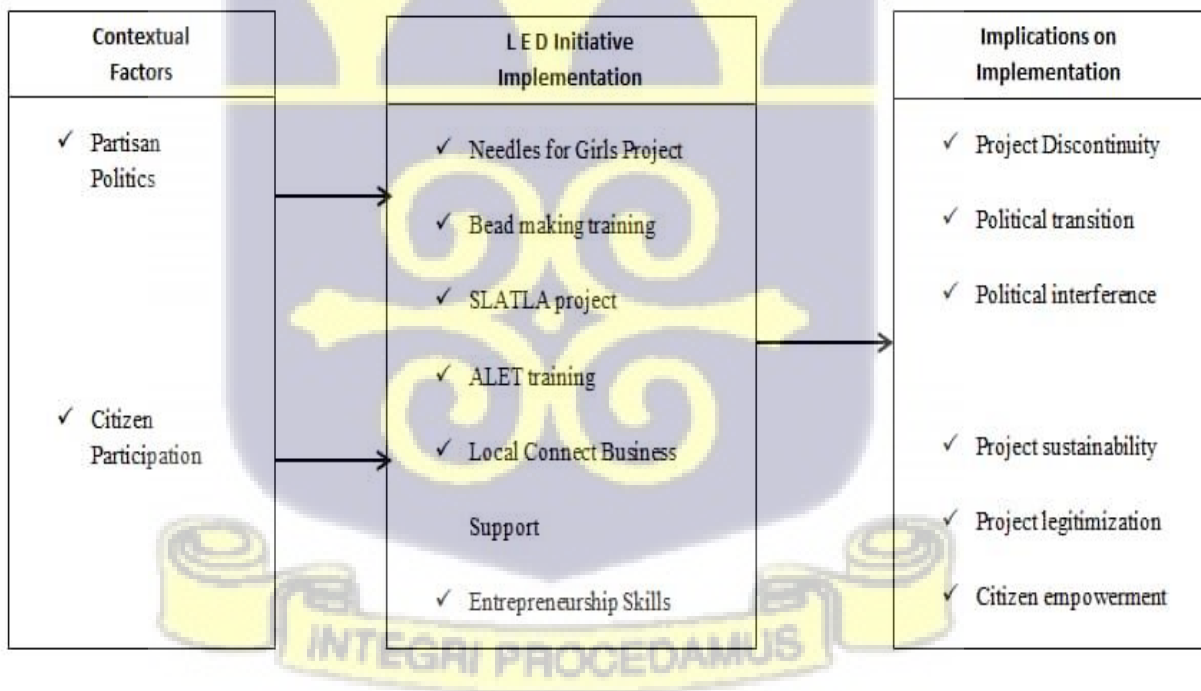
The findings of the study revealed that partisan politics indeed shaped the implementation of LED initiatives within the study areas. The influence was found to be in the following ways; political transitions/changes in political regimes, political considerations in LED initiative implementations, political commitment, political hijacking/patronage, and the use of LED initiative implementation to satisfy political gains/fortunes.

It emerged that improving community/citizen welfare was not the only driver of LED initiative implementation by local politicians. The prime reason for which local politicians chose to implement LED programs is to score political points either through satisfying their political promises or gaining some political fortunes from the implementation process. The political gains were found to be in the following ways; fulfilling political party campaign promises through the execution of LED initiatives, using the same to campaign for votes from beneficiaries after successful execution, political patronage, and political considerations in the distribution of the initiatives to beneficiaries. Thus, the study found that, to a very large extent, politicians in LED

implementations have always prioritised the satisfaction of their political interest over the community or citizen welfare.

Given the effects of citizen participation in LED implementation, the study also discovered that effective citizen participation in the execution of LED programs had the following positive effects; it increases participants' understanding of the LED process, it leads to mutually beneficial opportunities for both the organisers and participants of programs, legitimisation of the initiatives and empowerment of the participants. It also emerged that the implementation was constrained by some problems such as inadequate or lack of resources, monetisation, illiteracy, time constraints, proximity to meeting venues, and apathy. Fig. 8 below depicts a summary of the major findings.

**Fig. 8. Summary of Major Findings**



**Source:** Author's construct, based on the analysed data.

The diagram above summarises the relationship between partisan politics and citizen participation in LED implementation. Based on the summarised findings, there is an inverse relationship between partisan politics and citizen participation in LED implementation. Thus, whereas partisan politics exert negative implications on LED implementation, citizen participation in the implementation process provides positive implications.

## 5.2 CONCLUSIONS

The research set out to examine the impact of partisan politics and citizen participation on the execution of LED initiatives. The implementation of the initiatives was largely influenced by partisan politics even though citizens were actively involved. This was due to the numerous roles played by politicians in the implementation process. Moreover, it was found that there is a high level of political manipulation in the execution of the LED initiatives when the funding is from the central government or internally generated by the assemblies. On the contrary, there is minimal or completely no political influence when the funding is from a foreign donor or foreign aid.

It also emerged that effective citizen participation has positive effects on LED execution. For citizen participation, several factors determined their level of involvement in LED implementation. Resource constraints, monetisation, level of illiteracy of participants, and apathy were found to be some of these determining factors.

Therefore, understanding the dynamics of partisan politics and citizen participation by the implementers of the LED initiative is a necessary condition for its success. Thus there exist a nexus between partisan politics and citizen participation, and LED implementation within the municipalities.

### **5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS TO MITIGATE PARTISAN POLITICS ON LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE IMPLEMENTATION**

Based on the findings of the study, partisan politics exert negative consequences on LED initiatives implementation which calls for measures to de-politicise it. The following recommendations are suggested to help depoliticise the implementation of LED initiatives.

#### ***5.3.1 Division of roles in LED implementation.***

First and foremost, politicians must eschew the politicisation of LED interventions, instead, their main responsibilities should be to make resources available to the local authorities for LED execution. The proper execution of LED programs can simply be left in the hands of local development experts or technocrats within various municipalities. Even though it remains difficult to completely separate the formulation of public policies from their implementation. By implication, politics cannot be entirely separated from administration. This notwithstanding, it is possible to limit the level of partisan influence in the planning and execution of LED projects. This can be achieved if politicians stake to their prime duty of policy formulation and leave that of implementation to the technocrats in various MMDAs.

#### ***5.3.2 Avoidance of political settlements in LED implementation.***

LED project implementation should not be used as a vehicle by local politicians to market their political ideas. It should not be a platform for political settlements, political clientelism, or political patronage. Rather, the concept should purely be seen and embraced as a development one devoid of partisan politics. Once this is done, it would avoid the politicisation of the concept or at least reduce its effects on the execution of the concept.

### ***5.3.3 Project continuity.***

Local politicians must accept the fact that governance is a process and requires continuity. The implementation of LED initiatives must not stop because there has been a transit in government. This is by the constitutional provision in Article 35(7), which stipulates that “as far as practicable, a government shall continue and exercise projects and programmes commenced by the previous Governments” (Republic of Ghana, 1992 p.36). Local politicians and authorities must be fully committed to continuity in project implementation for the benefit of their communities. MCEs should not prioritise their achievements over the common good of their communities. Their interests must not be in implementing projects that can be attributed to them but rather projects that promise to benefit the majority of their people.

### ***5.3.4 Maximising project benefit.***

The implementation of LED initiatives should be in line with project design and focused on maximising project benefits. The objectives of LED such as job creation, poverty reduction, and improvement of citizen welfare should be the drivers for LED initiatives implementation. When implementation is done according to these drivers, project benefits would be maximised. Besides, LED projects should not emanate from the central government before trickling down to the MMDAs. When that happens, it can easily be subjected to partisan politics. All MMDAs should own their LED programs, because LED is supposed to be an endogenous concept of development that would emanate from the localities, but not a top-down approach to development. The situation where central governments propose LED initiatives from the center of government down to the localities creates politicisation problems at the local government levels, which must be avoided.

### ***5.3.5 Purposive selection of LED beneficiaries.***

Finally, to mitigate the effects of partisan politics on LED implementation, there should be an open, fair, and merit-based selecting system for selecting LED beneficiaries. Participants in LED initiatives should not be chosen because they own allegiance to the party in government. Public announcements should always be made through the district information service unit and the local media platforms to attract and select qualifying people to participate and benefit from LED initiatives.

## **5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS TO IMPROVE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IMPLEMENTATION**

Based on the above conclusions, the following recommendations were drawn;

### ***5.4.1 Donner Support***

There should be assistance from donor agencies to support citizen participation in LED implementations. Participation has been and remains a key condition for the successful implementation of LED. However, donor agencies do not make allocations for citizen participation when giving out funds to support MMDAs in LED implementation. In the case of the European Union Fund that financed the SLATLA program in the La-Nkwantanang Madina municipal assembly, no specific amount was allocated for taking care of citizens who volunteer to participate in the implementation of the program. Members of the municipalities who sat and deliberated on the modalities leading to the program's successful implementation all participated voluntarily. It is therefore recommended that, when giving out funds to MMDAs to execute LED projects, donor agencies should make monetary provisions for citizen participation out of the sum funds.

#### **5.4.2 Political commitment**

Another major way to increase citizen participation in LED implementation is through high political commitment by local politicians. It emerged that citizens could actively participate in the planning, formulation, and deliberations of LED initiatives. However, when such initiatives are not implemented by authorities, it weakens their morals for subsequent participation. It is, therefore, recommended that to ensure citizens' commitment to participation in LED, authorities must first ensure that they can successfully implement previously proposed projects in which the citizens were actively involved in the planning process. Under such conditions, citizens would be willing to participate in LED issues since they know their participation would yield some outcomes in terms of project implementation.

#### **5.4.3 Budgetary allocations**

Again, the government of Ghana should have budgetary allocations for MMDAs for participation in LED implementation. Besides LED, participation in itself is a major objective of local governance, however, no amount out of the district assemblies' common fund is allocated for citizen participation in local governance let alone towards LED issues. It is therefore recommended that to strengthen citizen participation in LED implementation, a certain percentage of the district assemblies' common fund should be allocated for that purpose. Local governments in urban areas with the ability, capability, and capacity to generate high internal revenue should also make similar provisions to annually allocate a portion of the locally generated revenue towards citizen participation in LED issues.

#### **5.4.4 De-monetisation**

De-monetising citizen participation through education and sensitization is another way to enhance citizen participation in LED implementation. Citizens must be educated and sensitised to

comprehend that their involvement or participation in their development issues must be a concern to them. Therefore, they should not expect monetary rewards or compensations from authorities in taking part in the development of their local economies. The idea that every invitation by citizens to participate in LED issues must come with some monetary benefit should no longer be the norm but an exception among MMDAs. This could only be achieved when citizens understand that their participation in LED is not to the benefit of the authorities, the organisers, or the funding agencies of the initiatives but for their good and benefit. There is a need for education and sensitisation to repeal the minds of citizens about the Monetisation of LED programs. Once that is achieved, citizen participation in LED implementation would be enhanced.

#### ***5.4.5 Collective/Shared meeting time planning***

Organisers of citizen participation forums must have a shared agreement with participants in respect of participation times and venues to enhance citizen participation in LED issues. Because both municipalities are within an urban area, some people are in the elite class and work within the formal or corporate sectors. Others are very busy with their commercial activities daily. Therefore, the ability of program organisers to fix a favorable time, date, and venue that would favor a wide range of participants, irrespective of the variations in their work schedules would be a huge boost to increase citizen participation in LED implementation.

#### ***5.4.6 Avoid apathy***

Moreover, to enhance citizen participation in LED issues, citizens must completely avoid apathy. Citizens must develop a sense of ownership for their own LED initiatives. There must be a sense of patriotism from citizens towards community projects which would help build their commitment levels towards LED projects and avoid being apathetic towards such projects. This way, their

activeness and involvement in LED initiatives implementation would be enhanced and apathy would be reduced.

#### ***5.4.7 Purposive selection of participants***

Finally, for enhanced citizen participation in LED initiatives, it is recommended organisers of LED programs would have a purposive selection of participants. Target participants should have a certain level of education such as being able to read, write, understand and analyze simple proposals or documents relating to LED. The level of literacy of participants has a positive relationship with the validity of their contributions and inputs in the planning and deliberations of LED issues. The higher the literacy levels of participants, the better their contributions and inputs in LED planning.

In conclusion, as indicated earlier, citizen participation remains pivotal in the successful implementation of LED programs. This is because, there is a high nexus between the successful implementation of LED programs and the active involvement of citizens in the planning, design, and implementation of the programs. Measures to enhance the involvement of citizens in the agenda setting and execution of LED initiatives must be a major concern for LED experts. Hence the above recommendations must be critically considered to increase the level of citizen involvement in LED.

### **5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

In terms of recommendations for further research, other researchers could conduct different studies to assess the role of partisan politics in mainstreaming LED into the local government system. Thus, a different study could look at how partisan politics influence politicians' commitment toward mainstreaming or decentralizing LED into the local government system. And possibly examine the political will of politicians in national government towards mainstreaming LED.

Moreover, other studies can also be conducted into how MMDAs can strengthen local economic competitiveness using institutional capacity and human resources as contextual factors.

The effects of citizen participation on LED implementation can be examined on a larger scope since this study is only within two municipalities.

## **5. 6 CHALLENGES OF THE STUDY**

Finally, the researcher encountered some constraints in coming up with the study. Some of the challenges include;

- Financial constraint. It was expensive carrying out this thesis. The cost involved in traveling to both municipal councils to gather data on many occasions was a serious challenge. The worse of it all was that the researcher had to fund all the focused grouped discussions. Many participants, especially the focus group discussion members, were reluctant to participate in the study for free. Meanwhile, the University of Ghana research grant for an M.Phil. students is less than Seven Hundred Cedi (GHC 700) per year which is woefully inadequate to cater for the expenses involved in this research. The cost of printing and binding is just an iceberg of the cost.
- Time factor was another challenge encountered in this study. Getting the time of key respondents to answer the research questions was also a difficult challenge. Booking of appointments and re-booking because the respondent could not honor the previous appointment. Besides, very few technocrats were ready to spend more than forty-five minutes with the researcher despite the several attempts made before having the opportunity to involve them in the study.

- Lastly, some respondents declined to participate in the study despite the researcher's effort to get them involved. Several attempts were made towards getting these respondents but to no avail.



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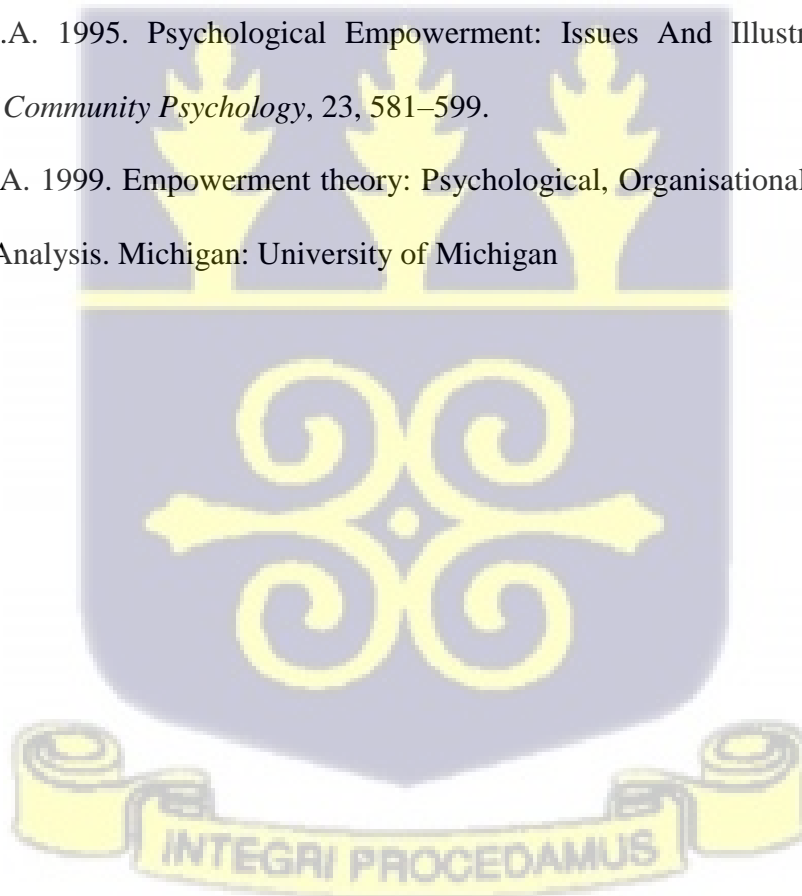
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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX ONE: Interview Guide.

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA BUSINESS SCHOOL  
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND HEALTH SERVICES  
MANAGEMENT, ACCRA.**

**TOPIC:**

THE EFFECTS OF PARTISAN POLITICS AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION ON LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IMPLEMENTATION: THE CASE OF GA-EAST AND LA-NKWANTANANG MADINA MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLIES.

This interview guide was designed to obtain information for academic research on the topic above in partial fulfillment leading to the award of a Master of Philosophy Degree in Public Administration.

**How do partisan politics impact LED implementation in the municipality?**

1. What are the ways in which partisan politics impacts LED implementation?
2. How do political transitions affect LED implementation?
3. What are the political considerations/factors in determining the LED initiatives in this municipality?
4. How committed are the politicians within the municipality to the LED initiative's implementation?

**What are the roles of local politicians as actors in LED implementation?**

5. What are the responsibilities of local politicians in LED strategy formulation?
6. What are the roles of local politicians in LED initiative implementation?

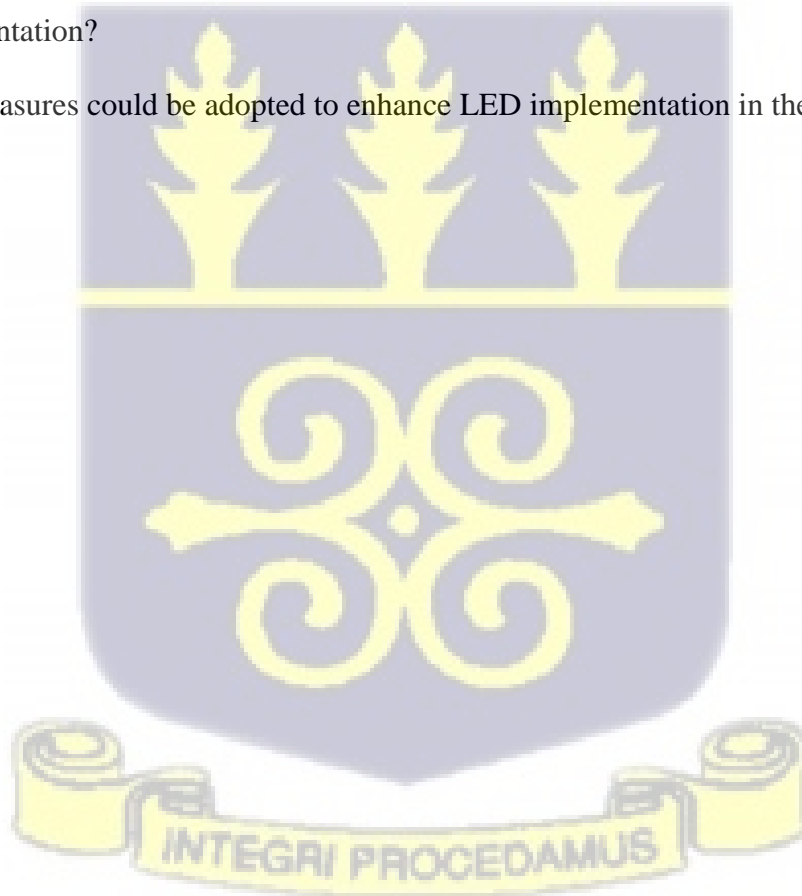
7. What roles do local politicians perform in monitoring and evaluating LED programs?

**How does citizen participation affect LED implementation?**


8. In what ways do citizens participate in LED implementation?
9. Who gets to participate in the LED implementation and why?
10. How does citizen participation impact LED implementation?

**What are the challenges of citizen participation in LED initiatives implementation?**


11. What are the impediments to citizen participation in LED implementation?
12. What measures could be adopted to strengthen citizen participation in LED implementation?
13. What measures could be adopted to enhance LED implementation in the municipality?



**APPENDIX TWO: Introduction Letter From University Of Ghana, Department Of Public Administration And Health Services Management Services**



**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**



**UG | BS**  
University of Ghana Business School

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Ref. No.:.....  
*PAHS/26*

21<sup>st</sup> May, 2021

**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

Dear Sir/Madam,

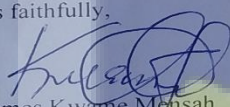
**LETTER OF INTRODUCTION**

The bearer of this letter, Mr. Mohammed Gbati Abdulai (Tel: 0240069117) is a final year student of the University of Ghana Business School, Legon. He is undertaking a course of study leading to the award of Master of Philosophy (MPhil) in Public Administration Degree. As part of the requirements of the programme, he has chosen to research on the topic: *“The Politics and Participation of Local Economic Development : The Case of Ga-East and La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipal Assemblies”*

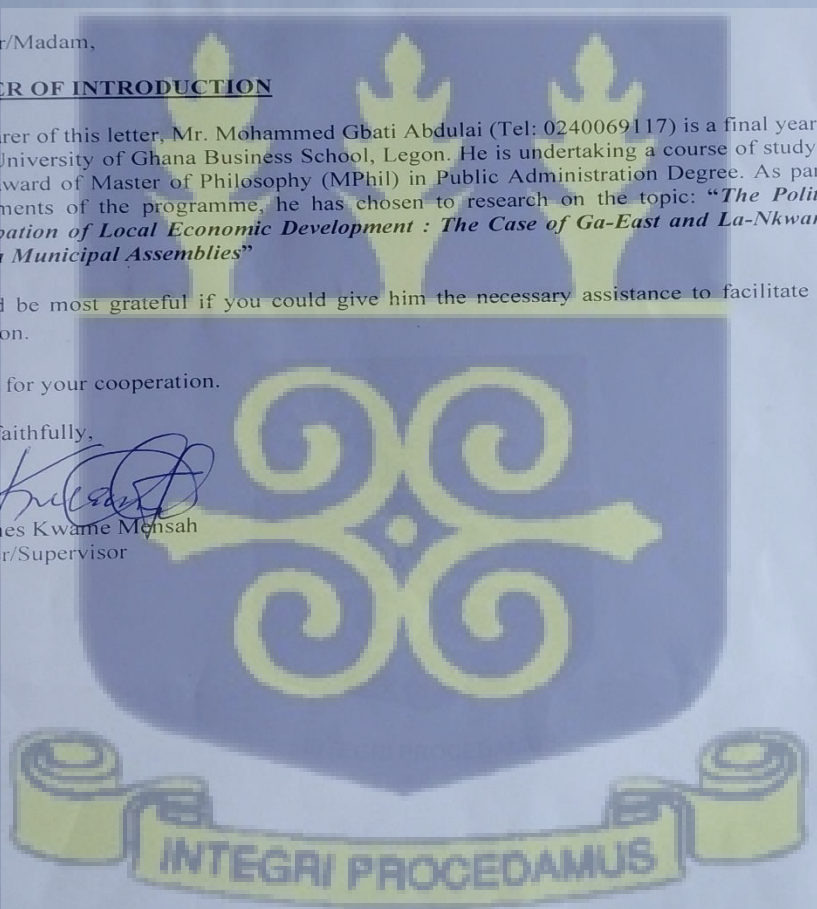
I would be most grateful if you could give him the necessary assistance to facilitate his data collection.

Thanks for your cooperation.

Yours faithfully,



Dr. James Kwame Mensah  
Lecturer/Supervisor



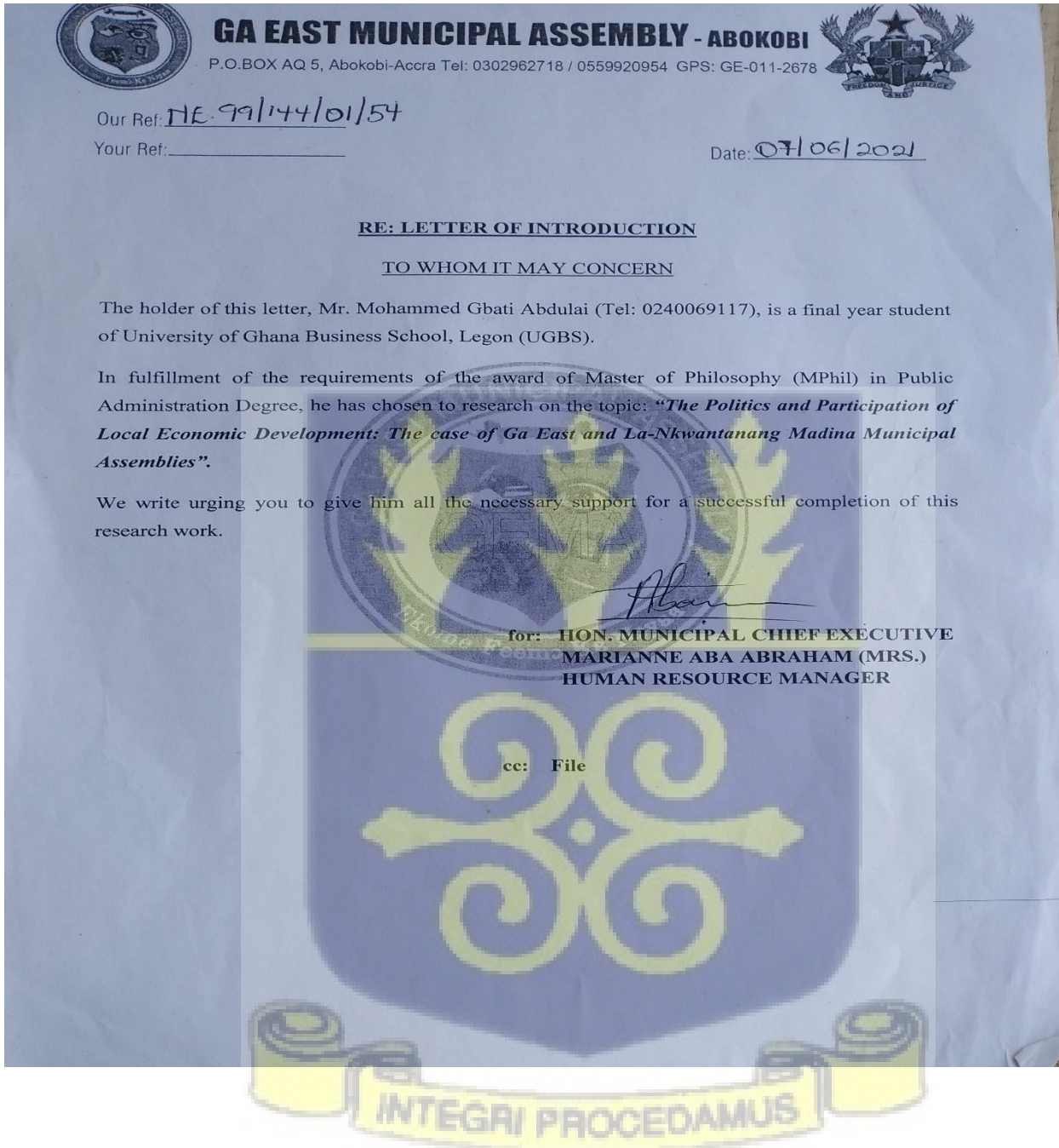
**INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS**

**COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES**

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**APPENDIX THREE: Introductory Letter From Ga-East Municipal Assembly**



**APPENDIX FOUR: Introductory Letter From La Nkwantanang-Madina Municipal  
Assembly**

