

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON

**ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL PROTECTION ON SOCIAL
INCLUSION: THE CASE OF THE LIVELIHOOD EMPOWERMENT
AGAINST POVERTY (LEAP) IN THE GA SOUTH MUNICIPALITY**

BY

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**THIS LONG ESSAY IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
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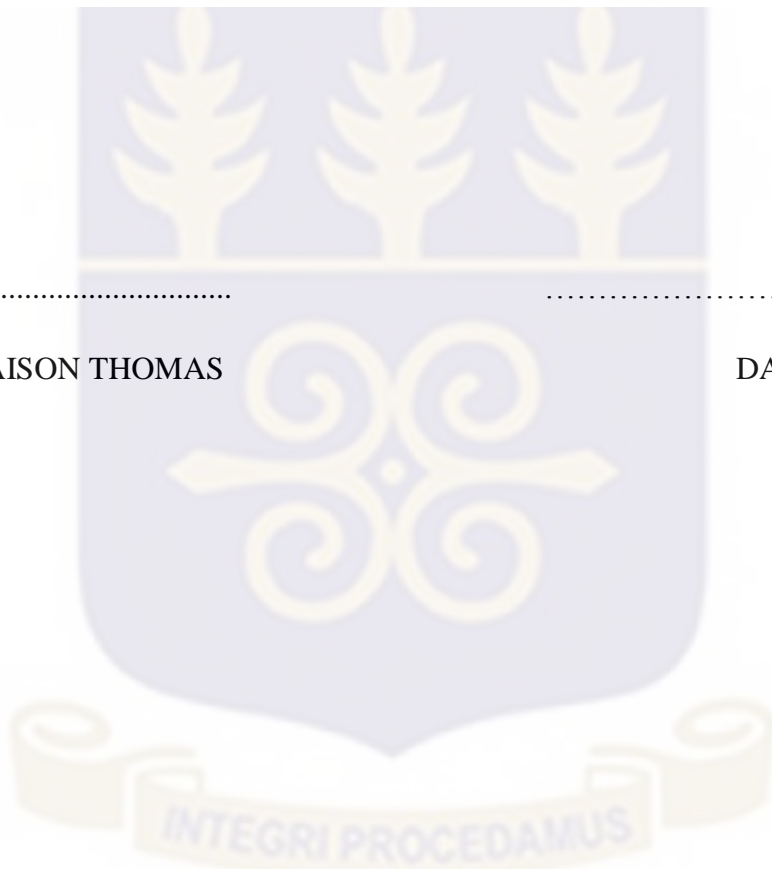
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DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that this long essay is the result of my own original research and has not been presented by anyone for any academic award in this or any other university. All references used in the work have duly been acknowledged.

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BOATENG QUAISON THOMAS

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CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this long essay was supervised in accordance with the procedures laid down by the University.

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DR. ABDUL-GAFARU ABDULAI

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DATE



DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my lovely wife, Mrs. Doreen Boateng Quaison, my mother, Ms. Theresah Boateng and my entire family for their enormous support and encouragement.



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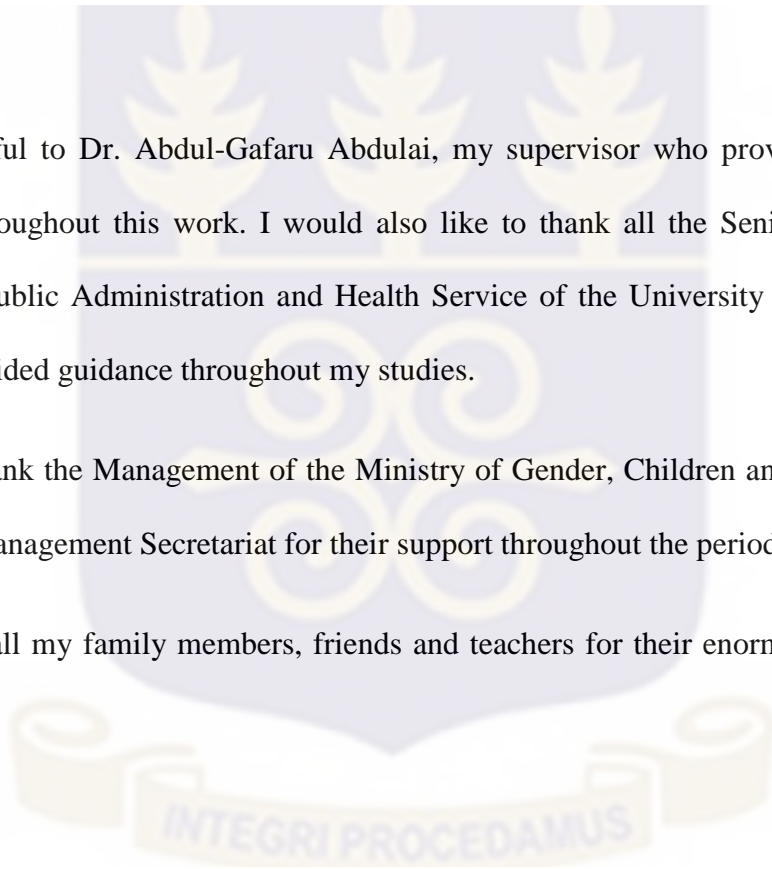


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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CDD	Centre for Democratic Development
CLIC	Community LEAP Implementation Committee
DFID	Department For International Development
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
EPRI	Economic Policy Research Institute
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GES	Ghana Education Service
GLSS	Ghana Living Standard Survey
GNSPS	Ghana National Social Protection Strategy
GoG	Government of Ghana
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
HIV	Human Immune Virus
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
LEAP	Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty
LI	Legislative Instrument
MEGS	Maharashtra Employment Generation Scheme
MoGCSP	Ministry of Gender Children and Social Protection
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
NHIS	National Health Insurance Scheme
OVC	Orphan and Vulnerable Children

PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RBA	Rights-Based Approach
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund



ABSTRACT

Social protection has gained considerable support in both global and national development agenda. Ghana's Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) is a poverty reduction programme that transfers cash to extremely poor households. While its potential of alleviating poverty is well-documented and researched, issues relating to its contributions to social inclusion remain largely under-researched. This study examined the implications of the LEAP through social inclusion lenses. Findings showed that LEAP has enhanced state-citizen relations and has potential of fostering active citizenship. However, while there are various claims of the LEAP as right from the perspective of programme implementers, notions of the LEAP cash grant as charity or hand-out is very common and widespread among beneficiaries and has impacted negatively on demand-side accountability. The study also found that limited knowledge among beneficiaries, inadequate participatory spaces, and some conditionalities exacerbate perceptions of LEAP as charity and have consequences on social inclusions and community relations. The study used Right-Based Approach as the framework guiding the work. The study area was Ga South Municipality. Qualitative research approach involving interviews with respondents from MoGCSP, DSW, CLICs/focal persons and LEAP beneficiaries was used to gather data. The study concludes that although LEAP has contributed significantly to poverty reduction, it has latent consequences of undermining beneficiaries' dignity, social status and social inclusion generally.



CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter gives some preliminary insights into assessing social protection programmes on achieving effective inclusion. It draws extensively on extant literature to provide a background to the study on impacts of social protection in relation to social inclusion across the globe and basically narrows to Ghana's LEAP. The research problem, objectives of the study and the research questions are also found in this chapter. These are followed by the significance of the study and organization of the study which concludes the section.

1.1 Research Background

In the wake of failure of past policies in addressing poverty reduction and building human capacities, social protection has emerged as an attempted approach on the development agenda. The success stories of social protection programmes across the world particularly in countries characterized by extreme poverty, deprivation and inequalities are well-documented in literature (Oduro, 2015). The rise and expansion of social protection has been significant in the last decade. For example, Mexico's PROGRESA programme which started with 300,000 people in 1997 reached about 5 million people by 2009 whilst Bolsa Familia is reaching more than 14 million individuals (Sugiyama, 2015; Hudson, 2016). Through the introduction of social protection and other pro-poor programmes, educational, health and socio-economic well-being of many beneficiaries have improved significantly (Barrientos, 2011; Sugiyama, 2015; CDD, 2016;

de Haan, 2011). In this regard, social protection has gained considerable traction in major policy frameworks of governments and donors (Slater, 2011).

It has been variously argued that poverty remains a rural phenomenon in many developing countries where most poor persons live and historically have been largely excluded from the provision of social services (Oduro, 2015; Adato, 2000). The plight of the poor is further exacerbated given that in many African countries non-contributory social assistance is very rare with only small proportion of the labour force contributing to formal social security schemes (Osei, 2011). There is wide recognition that the poor and needy are members of society and thus efforts must be made to help build their capacities in order to contribute effectively to national development. The absence of any form of intervention or social services for the poor will generate a feeling of neglect and betrayal by the state. In the view of Kabeer (2005) exclusion of groups from social services usually make them feel they are lesser citizens or non-citizens. The consequence is that individuals feel socially excluded and are not able to realize their socio-economic capabilities and potentials.

There is contrasting episodes in the conception and adoption of social protection in developed and developing countries. In most developing countries, the focus is limited to alleviating poverty in the form of safety nets, child support among others. However, in developed nations, it is aimed at maintaining income levels and protection of living standards for all thereby achieving access to basic services and minimizing social exclusion (Barrientos, 2011). The multi-faceted nature of social exclusion highlights need to make human dignity and inclusion central to social protection. According to Levitas et al., (2007) denial or lack of access to resources serve as huge limitation to active participation in political, social, political and economic development of

citizens. To this end, social inclusion is very critical in achieving the objective of social protection programmes.

The most popular and often studied type of social protection is cash transfer (Barrientos, 2011; Devereux, 2008; Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2017) and has been hailed as “magic bullet in development” (Molyneux, Jones and Samuels, 2016, p.2). Cash transfer is an important tool for managing risk, asset accumulation, strengthening of social rights and enhancing ability of recipients to be enablers in shaping development in society (Sabates-Wheeler and Roelen, 2011). Unsurprisingly, there is monumental buy in of cash transfer programmes in most developing countries (Molyneux et al., 2016).

Although evidence of positive impacts of cash transfer programmes abound in literature with measurable improvements in health, child education, and livelihood empowerment (CDD, 2016) critics have argued that political targeting, leakage, and irregular payment approach to delivery of programme hinder active citizenship and inclusion (Slater, 2011; Oduro, 2015). It is important to state that the most underlying driving force in social protection is its transformative agenda which emphasizes need for inclusive and sustainable economic strategies and governance reforms that integrate the principles of equality, equity, rights and participation upon which social justice rests (ESCWA, 2015).

As Ghana attempts to achieve human development, bridge inequality and promote active citizenship through the introduction of programmes like the LEAP as espoused in GNSPS (2007), we need to explore the extent it is fostering inclusion.

1.2 Research Problem

Poverty reduction remains a challenge and features consistently in major global policies (Hickey and Seekings, 2017). The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) also put the spot on poverty as the pathway to achieving human development and economic transformation. The SDGs explicitly mentions social protection as an important strategy to achieving SDG1 (eradication of income poverty), SDGs2-6 (healthy lives, ending hunger, gender equality, education, access to water, healthy lives) and SDG10 (reducing income inequality).

As signatory to international treaties and charters, Ghana has since independence introduced a number of programmes aimed at reducing poverty and promoting all-inclusive society. Such policies include Operation Feed Yourself in the 1970s, Vision 2020, and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPS) etc.

In 2007, the Government of Ghana (GoG) launched LEAP cash transfer programme whilst implementation commenced in 2008 with the aim of helping extremely poor households to leap out of poverty. Under the LEAP, extremely poor households that have at least any of the following are targeted; elderly (65+) without support, Orphan and Vulnerable Children (OVCs) and persons with severe disability without productive capacity. In recent times, LEAP has been extended to cover pregnant women in extremely poverty stricken areas and children less than one year. When implementation of the programme started in 2008, it reached 1,654 beneficiary households in 21 districts for a pilot phase and by 2016 it was present in all 216 districts across the country reaching about one million beneficiaries (World Bank, 2017). The programme promotes an integrated approach to development by linking beneficiaries to complementary services. For some categories of beneficiaries, eligibility is contingent on fulfillment of certain conditions such as all children of school going age in beneficiary household enroll at schools, all

forms of child labour removed in beneficiary household, subscribing to NHIS among others (Osei, 2011; CDD, 2016. Joha, 2012).The introduction of LEAP has significantly contributed to improvements in access to education and school enrolment, health care, nutrition and economic empowerment (CDD, 2016; Handa et al., 2013).

As noted by Oduro (2015) and Sabates-wheeler and Devereux (2007) the persistence of extreme poverty is explained largely by social injustice and lack of avenues for active participation in addressing issues that create power imbalances which entrench vulnerabilities. There is an assumption that when income needs are met other aspects of human well-being are automatically addressed (Lloyd-Sherlock, 2010). Social protection is generally recognized as a pathway to enhancing social inclusion as it is targeted at groups that are excluded such as the disabled, needy and poor in society. It is however worthy of note that poverty is multifaceted and transcends issues of incomes. In this regard, the fact that money is given to people will not translate into realization of active citizenship. While it has been stated that LEAP is grounded on rights (GNSPS, 2007) and shaped by provisions in the 1992 constitution which require the state to promote active citizenship and inclusion through provision of social assistance to the aged, vulnerable and poor, much of existing literature has focused on matters of targeting, insufficiency of cash amount, economic empowerment, political drivers etc. (Handa, et al., 2013, Ragno et a., 2016; Grebe, 2015). There is now growing recognition of the centrality of social inclusion and active citizenship in social protection (Oduro, 2015;Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2017; Hudson, 2016; Druzca, 2016). In a study, “*Beyond poverty reduction: Conditional cash transfers and citizenship in Ghana*”, Oduro (2015) noted that LEAP invokes a sense of citizenship among beneficiaries but without an explanation of how social inclusion is achieved in view of arguments that point to the fact that conditionalities attached to social schemes, targeting

mechanisms, insufficiency of cash grant, implementation approaches such as queueing in public to receive cash grant as well as inadequate measures to protect confidentiality and anonymity of beneficiaries are widespread and demeaning (Son, 2008; Woorlard et al., 2010; Slater and Farrington, 2009). In the case of the LEAP for example, the value of amount transfer is generally very low (Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2017) constituting only or less than six days' worth of meals (Yablonski, 2017). This is not only inadequate but entrenches assumptions that lean towards charity. The study therefore goes beyond explanations of how LEAP promotes social inclusion and seeks to understand the extent to which it fosters inclusion and the effectiveness of mechanisms used in promoting inclusion.

1.3 Research Objectives

The main objective is to examine the impacts of social protection programmes on social inclusion in Ghana with LEAP as case study. The specific objectives are:

1. To examine the extent to which LEAP fosters social inclusion among beneficiaries
2. To explore the effectiveness of mechanisms embedded in the LEAP that engenders social inclusion and the extent to which they are actually implemented.

1.4 Research Questions

1. To what extent does LEAP promote social inclusion among beneficiaries?
2. How effective are the mechanisms embedded in LEAP that foster social inclusion and the extent of their implementation?

1.5 Significance of the study

The study assesses the impact of social protection programmes on social inclusion. It uses the Ga South Municipality in Greater Accra Region of Ghana as the case study. The study helps us to

understand the extent to which social protection programmes (LEAP) fosters social inclusion, effectiveness of its mechanisms and their implementation.

In respect to policy formulation, the findings of this study will provide an insight and in-depth knowledge on what indicators to look out for when designing social security schemes and their contribution to inclusion. Additionally, it will bring to fore the kinds of some unintended consequences that occur when implementing social protection programmes.

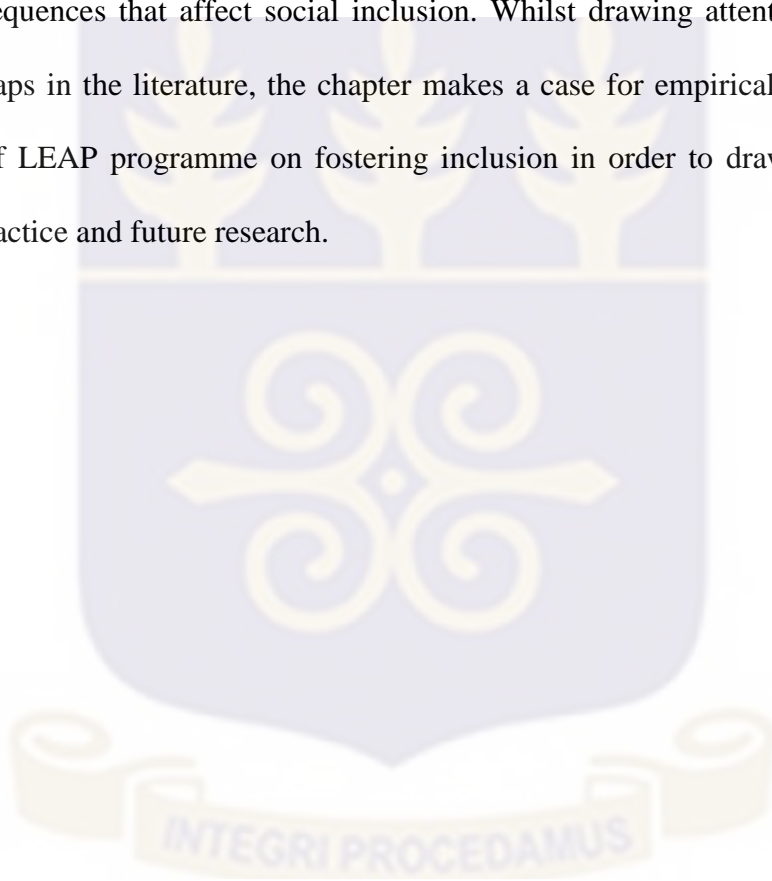
Finally, in view of the dearth of empirical studies on assessment of impacts of social protection on social inclusion in Ghana and developing countries in general, this study will serve as a useful starting point for further academic inquiry into examining ways by effective inclusion can be achieved through social security schemes.

1.6 Organization of the Study

The work will comprise five chapters. Chapter One gives introduction of the study. These are background of research, research problem, research objectives, research questions, significance of the study, and conclusion. Chapter Two reviews literature relevant to the study on assessing impacts of social protection on social inclusion. It delves into examining the extent to which participation enhances inclusion, whether and extent by which the use of conditionalities and targeting mechanisms influence social inclusion. It also explores the debates about social protection is a right or charity and the extent to which it contributes to social inclusion. The chapter concludes with Rights-Based Approach (RBA) as the theoretical framework for the study. Chapter Three will present research methodology. Chapter Four will discuss the findings of the study. Chapter Five will highlight the summary of findings, recommendations and conclusions.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter has pointed out the need for examining social protection in relation to their extent in fostering inclusion. Specifically, it has underscored that mechanisms embedded in the delivery of social protection programmes must enhance inclusion and not perpetuate exclusion. The chapter has argued that despite available evidence that social protection has provided enormous support to the poor and vulnerable, it is also important to recognize they could as well lead to creating unintended consequences that affect social inclusion. Whilst drawing attention to some issues and contextual gaps in the literature, the chapter makes a case for empirical investigations that assess impacts of LEAP programme on fostering inclusion in order to draw useful lessons to inform policy, practice and future research.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter delves into issues of social protection in terms of its conceptualization, participation of relevant stakeholders, targeting, conditionalities and rights versus hand-out debates. It also presents literature review of existing works. The study reviews available literature drawing on global concept and understanding of social protection among many authors so as to place the study in perspective. It makes references to other social protection programmes in some countries to establish some linkages with Ghana's LEAP.

2.1 Conceptualizing Social Protection

Social protection has gained considerable traction in development policy as effective approach towards poverty reduction. It is defined as the set of public measures that society provides for its members to protect them against economic and social distress (ILO, 2000). Social protection refers to publicly-mandated policies and programmes to address risk and vulnerability among poor and near-poor households (Babajanian, 2013). According to Amuzu, Jones and Perezniето (2010) it is defined as actions carried out through formal or informal means with the objectives of reducing chronic poverty and vulnerability. Several researchers have explained the concept of social protection to represent different phenomenon in different spheres of life. However, the central theme that features in all of these definitions is that social protection seeks to ensure minimum standards of well-being for people whose circumstances have created impediments that do not enable them to meet basic needs of life. It consists of interventions that attempt to provide health care, education, enhanced productive capacities, reduce inequality and improve

livelihood standards. Moreover it is expected to facilitate a progressive and transformative approach to development which guarantees citizens that there are measures to address their vulnerabilities which are geared towards inclusion.

2.2 Forms of Social Protection

Social protection is a broad concept that covers wide range of initiatives both public and private that provides cushion to the poor and needy against life risks and invest in their capabilities and rights to improve their socio economic status. Some notable examples of social protection include safety nets, social assistance, social insurance and labour market interventions.

Safety nets are forms of social protection which help people meet immediate basic needs in times of crisis. Typical short-term goals are to mitigate the immediate impact of shocks and to smooth consumption.

Social assistance is direct, usually regular and predictable cash or in-kind resource transfers to poor and vulnerable people (Lopez, 2004). Most social assistance interventions are financed and rolled out by government (Barrientos, 2011). This form of social protection is very predominant in African countries. It focuses primarily on poverty reduction and support for the poorest. However in developed economies, social assistance aims at maintaining equitable income and acceptable living standards for all. It further attempts to strengthen productive capacity, bridge access to basic services and enhance social inclusion.

Social insurance programmes are contributory and thus require beneficiaries to contribute financially to schemes usually during one's working life. They operate on the basis of regular contributions by beneficiaries to schemes. These programmes include insurance in case of illness, injury, pregnancy, dismissal, or other forms of disability to work. It must be noted that social insurance is largely formal sector-led (Barrientos, 2011) and as such in many Sub-Saharan

African countries where formal security schemes are very small (Osei, 2011) this type of social protection is limited in scope.

Labour market interventions aim at improving living and working conditions by ensuring that basic standards and rights reach all people (Barrientos, 2011). These include minimum wage legislation, minimum work standards and skills training, as well as policies that promote small and medium-sized enterprises and employment-related programmes aiming to reduce exclusion.

2.3 Participation as social inclusion

The foundation of any development programme is established on the basis of allowing all stakeholders to be part of decision making particularly on matters that impact on their political, social and economic well-being (Kpessa, 2011). If social protection interventions would achieve intended purposes, there is the need for them to be rooted in the principles of participation and empowerment. In decision making, outcomes are influenced by what benefits participants anticipate (Tabor, 2002). It is imperative to note that one of the foremost objectives of social protection is providing enough opportunity enabling people or communities to be active participants in society (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2004). IFAD (2002) argued that failure of many social intervention programmes to address chronic poverty especially in developing countries is the lack of participatory spaces for beneficiaries. The level of effectiveness of pro-poor programmes largely depends on the level of participation of beneficiaries in the assessment of their needs, planning of the programme, implementation and most importantly monitoring and evaluation of the programmes (Flint and Natrup, 2014). This is particularly necessary because beneficiaries in themselves are mostly less powerful to make effective demands for accountability (Alex and Wilford, 2010) so participation offers them this opportunity. This can

be made possible to the people through series of meetings or public hearings, surveys, or a formal dialogue on project options. There is also the need for strengthened consultation with community members through committee system (Rahman, 2014). In this regard, a more concerted approach towards creating the necessary invited spaces for beneficiaries to participate effectively can be realized if they are involved in programme designs (O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2007; Boon, Bawole and Ahenkan, 2013).

It is also imperative to underscore that while there is broad agreement of what constitute poverty, there exist variations across different societies. Unsurprisingly, different societies have or adopt varied ways of addressing poverty. It is therefore very significant to allow inputs of beneficiaries in formulating pro-poor programmes which respond to their localized situations. It is equally germane to state that not only will non-elites or poor have opportunity to point out what they feel will not serve their interests in the best way but they may ultimately succeed in providing alternative ideas that could be incorporated in policy. In policy making arena, to the extent that all relevant groups especially beneficiaries are allowed participation, there is high degree of success because there is sense of ownership (Kpessa, 2011). This sense of ownership imbibe in them desire to avoid actions that can collapse such programmes (Marks and Davis, 2012) However if there is sign of marginalization in decision making, Graham (2002) posited that social protection programmes tend to lose public support and risk failing when perception of public is inclined to a pattern of elite capture. Again, participation brings to discourse wide range of options and may improve quality of discussions. This offers some level of consensus building among various participants in deliberative process. In the view of Kpessa (2011, p.4) participation “attempts to move beyond purely group interest politics where powerful and resourceful elites exert influence at the expense of weak ones in society”.

To enhance participation of poor people in decision making processes, Lavers and Hickey (2015) contended that bottom-up approach which ensures decision making process starts from initiatives of lower level groups promotes needed support of all stakeholders which is good for success of programmes and in most cases outcomes are effective. This said, it must not be lost on us that bottom-up approach are also exploited as avenues where lower level groups are often whipped to shape their inputs along interests of more powerful elites in society (ibid). This arises mainly because lower level groups in African countries for example are characterized by low literacy rates, low levels of political, economic and social enlightenment and as a result have limited understanding of policy making process (Kpessa, 2011). Furthermore, the assumption that participation in terms of getting all relevant bodies converge and take a decision on a policy matter is not only reductionist but also does not give sufficient understanding of the ways decisions are arrived at and whose ideas significantly shape policy. This is particularly important when viewed in relation to terms on which especially marginalized groups are incorporated or included in decision making. When participation is crafted on terms that are disempowering to some groups particularly beneficiaries, it renders outcomes of participation as mere formalities or “window dressing” (Booth, 2005, p.5). Many participatory spaces do not offer needed mechanisms to prevent elite opportunism but instead give them drive to intervene wantonly (Wong, 2010).

Participation or representation in decision-making process does not guarantee that consensus being reached will be fair to all (Nicholas, Pandurang, Paul and Somasekhare, 2001). Rather participation that gives political power to groups which thus enables them to influence or determine allocation of resources is what will bring parity and fairness to all relevant groups

(Abdulai, 2012). In this way groups are able to influence policies in their favour and thus participation which is premised on empowerment will be realized.

2.4 The reality of cash transfer: right versus hand-out arguments

The most progressive social protection interventions are underpinned by enforceable legislation, which transforms a charitable gesture into a justiciable right (Devereux, McGregor and Sabates-Wheeler, 2011, p.2).

The potential of social protection to promote social justice outcomes for diverse marginalised social groups is increasingly being recognized and has received major buy-in across many developing countries (Jones and Shahrokh, 2013). It is seen as interventions by the state to respond to vulnerabilities of specific groups in society. Social transfers in developing countries mainly Asia and Africa are largely unconditional cash transfers (Davis, Gaarder, Handa, and Yablonski, 2012). In spite of seeming free transfers to the poor and needy in society, some forms of conditionalities pertain. For instance, the fact that beneficiaries have to satisfy certain conditions as part of qualification and delivery mechanisms suggest that social protection is interlocked with conditionalities. This thus continues to make social protection as more compensatory and charity based. Oftentimes targeted persons are groups that are vulnerable in society such as women, children, and aged persons, disabled among others which further exacerbate assumption towards generosity. This is premised on the fact that identifiable groups that benefit from such interventions are ones that are less privileged and underserved in society. There is even a long standing debate about the conceptualization and design of social protection programmes. Discourses around most pro-poor programmes are taken by the political elites with assumptions that they know what problems poor people face (Chisinga, 2007). Devereux (2006) noted that programme designers tend to ignore culture or impose socio-cultural assumptions on

beneficiary communities. This top-down approach tends to create notions of social protection as charity or discretionary and thus invariably reduces beneficiaries as recipients or consumers of charity. While the basic understanding for introducing social protection is anchored on rights and duly recognizes recipients as claimants of these rights, what actually pertains is inherent disempowering elements and relegation of entitlement or rights. In a study of cash transfers and social inclusion in Nepal, Druzca (2016) observed that many recipients of cash grant perceived it to be government money and so felt a sense of thanking the state for the support. As one beneficiary explained, “I feel proud that the government has given me this money” (ibid, p: 11). Undoubtedly, this labelling of the cash as government money will mean that beneficiaries will not even be able to make claims about entitlements. Thus demand-side accountability may not be effectively achieved under social protection programmes. The limitation of social transfers as right is further affected by irregular payment that normally characterizes such programmes and in most cases beneficiaries are not able to demand for their entitlement or make complaints when there are delays.

One key factor that contributes to empowering beneficiaries as rightful claimants under social protection is existence of legislative frameworks that guarantees some levels of transparency and accountability (Supelveda and Nyst, 2012; Druzca, 2016). The availability of legal frameworks and institutional legislations means that programmes there will be limited or less political manipulation and further assure long-term survival of the programmes. However, in the absence of laws that mandate states to provide social protection to citizens, there is high likelihood and risks of survival challenges as a change in government could potentially lead to collapse of the programme. This is because there are no legal legislations that obligate governments to provide

or continue with the programme. According to Devereux (2001) significant transformation of social protection relating to economic, social and political lives of people suggest that they need to be grounded in legal frameworks. While in more advanced economies, social protection programmes are anchored on laws, in many developing countries especially Africa, governments show little commitment in enacting legislations and legal frameworks for social protection (Devereux and White, 2010). For example Availability of enforceable laws helped to improve quality service delivery in countries like United Kingdom, France and, Australia (Norton et al., 2001) and transformed social protection from charity into justiciable rights (Devereux et al., 2011). Basically, legal frameworks spell out beneficiary entitlements, rights and duties and give them opportunity to be able to hold duty bearers to their responsibilities when breaches are noticed. In a study on rights based-approaches to social protection, Piron (2004) observed that the backing with legislations of India's Maharashtra Employment Generation Scheme (MEGS) enables individuals 18+ years to be guaranteed employment whenever they apply. Essentially, giving legal backing to social protection does not only help to avoid stigmatization associated with self-targeting schemes but also enhances empowerment of beneficiaries.

In addition, the usually small amount given to beneficiaries somewhat exacerbate perceptions of benefits as based on charity or kindness (Druzca, 2016; Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2017). Indeed if the general assumption of social protection is towards rights, cash grant should be adequate enough to meet basic needs. However, due to resource constraints cash grant continues to be small and beneficiaries mainly see it as charity (Druzca, 2016). In some case payments of amounts are unpredictable with systems that further create difficulties for recipients. It is curious to note that while there are some treatments in payment systems that somewhat infringe on rights of beneficiaries they usually don't bother to complain about them (Gooding and Marriot, 2009).

Equally important is the situation where beneficiaries due to limited knowledge about their rights and duties in most social protection do not even find it necessary to check the amount they are paid or insist on being paid the correct amount (ibid). This is particularly worrying and serves as huge challenge to anchoring social protection as right. It further means that beneficiaries can be paid any amount. Not only will this relegate beneficiaries to mere recipients of generosity but will also create avenues for breeding corrupt practices among programme implementers.

2.5 Targeting as social inclusion or exclusion mechanism

In the wake of resource constraints, the most prudent approach to redistributive policies is targeting scarce resources to the most needy(Mkandwire, 2005, p.1)

The centrality of targeting to social protection cannot be overemphasized. Targeting is where specific identifiable individuals or groups are selected as beneficiaries based on certain common characteristics or predetermined criteria (Neil, 2001). It becomes very expedient because in societies across the world there are people who are constrained in ways that make it difficult for them to afford basic necessities of life. To redistribute resources in societies, targeting is the most effective method as it ensures that underserved persons form basis for redistribution to enhance their inclusion and development (Mkandawire, 2005). For example social protection policies that seek to improve nutrition of children, health care and education among others will lead to high literacy rates and increased human capital base to propel transformation. Additionally, social returns on marginalized groups who are targeted tend to be higher than universalism (ibid). Sen (1995) underscored that targeting in social programmes are ways of reducing waste, costs and outcomes are effective because resources are directed at persons who need them unlike universalism where there are even higher risks of reaching out to groups who

do not need social protection. Barnett, Brown and Shore (2004) contended that targeting is more efficient, higher in quality, less costly and also serves as mechanism for fiscal savings. Additionally, when conditions constitute the basis of targeting, the effects could potentially be socially productive.

The argument is that because targeting serves relatively smaller numbers with greatest needs, programmes can focus on quality. Resources are thus not thinly spread on the basis of reaching all persons as is the case with universal approaches. With universalism, the fact that resources have to be spread to reach everybody requires huge funding which is mostly difficult for governments to provide (Mkandawire, 2005). Whilst universalistic approach depicts that distribution of resources will reach everybody, the realities that occur point to situation of capture by few privileged elites in society (Ibid). It is unsurprising that since the 1980s many social interventions favour targeting as the best approach for resources distribution. Targeting also mean that privatization of certain services will enable those who can afford to patronize such privatized services do so and thus allows the state to focus limited resources on the most needy.

However, there are arguments that targeting is an ineffective approach to social protection. Wong (2010) argued that failure of many social interventions is due to targeting which is oftentimes narrow in scope. Rent seeking and corrupt activities gain grounds in targeted programmes. For example, there is tendency for people to devise means of inclusion into programmes even if they are not eligible (Sen, 1995). According to Mkandawire (2005) in situations of asymmetric information, beneficiaries conceal information in order to get selected. In similar vein, while one key objective of social protection is to enhance social inclusion, labelling and negative tagging make some people shy away from targeted social interventions

(Antonnen, Haikio and Stefansson, 2012). According to Slater and Farrington (2009) poverty targeting provokes greater stigmatization of beneficiaries, discrimination especially for social categories such as persons with HIV/AIDS, physically challenged or some forms of disabilities. However, there is less likelihood of stigmatization on poverty when majority of the population in a setting is poor. Oftentimes narrow economic parameters are used in targeting of beneficiaries for social protection programmes and this generates tensions and divisions among populations who see themselves as all poor because they usually perceive variations among the population as insignificant to warrant state support for some groups (Ellis, 2008). To minimize social tensions and divisions, community participation in targeting can be utilized as it erases suspicion and biases (Jackson, Butters, Byambaa, Davies and Perkins, 2011). The use of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) in wealth ranking which allows communities themselves define selection criteria means an endorsement of targeting. The registration and selection of beneficiaries can be conducted during public meetings. Effectively, it diminishes notions of external imposition of targeting criteria and thus contributes to participation and transparency of programmes (Jackson et al., 2011). Targeting mechanisms must be built on processes and systems that empower community members to raise grievances and seek redress in a fair and accessible manner.

On principle of universalism, the assumption is that everybody matters and so in the distribution of public resources, an all-inclusive approach is the best strategy as it will not create discriminatory tendencies. Universalism is believed to offer equal opportunities to all individuals thereby serving as disincentive for rent seeking and moral hazards. It also gives good impression of social protection as entitlements or rights and this is very necessary for social cohesion and inclusion (Economic Policy Research Institute, [EPRI] 2011). Another argument for need to adopt universalism is premised on the basis that when poverty and inequality are widespread in

society, it is imperative to pursue universal programmes as it will reach everybody and avoid any errors of exclusion which are encountered with targeted programmes.

Targeting the right persons is very crucial for the success or otherwise of social interventions. Mkandawire (2005) offered more attuned explanations of major challenges associated with targeting. These challenges he identified as Type I error of exclusion of the poor and Type II error of inclusion of the non-poor. Under Type I, error occurs when ineligible persons receive benefits when they do not deserve them. Type II error happens when eligible persons who deserve benefits are denied. It is therefore argued that in many African countries with weak institutional capacities and inaccurate data, both Type I and II errors are likely to be encountered in targeting.

A study by Holmes and Jackson (2008) on Sierra Leone found that focusing on specific groups led to social tensions and created conditions detrimental to peace and social cohesion. They further argued that targeting of persons for social protection has often been premised on social status which does not tackle issues of exclusion and vulnerability. This said, it is important to note that with the ever presence of inequality and widening imbalances across societies, targeting will ultimately help to bridge the gap between haves and have nots.

2.6 Fulfilment of conditionalities or poverty reduction strategy?

Compelling evidence that well-designed social transfers contribute in significant ways to reducing poverty is appealing to policy makers and governments the world over (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2007). Thus around the turn of the millennium uptake in social protection programmes has been rapid and expanding. Various social protection strategies have been designed and adopted across time. From the 80s to mid-90s, safety nets-a popular approach to social protection was criticized as narrow and residualist in scope (Sabates-Wheeler and

Devereux, 2008). In many cases, poverty has been narrowly viewed as rural phenomenon thereby influencing ideas about safety nets which are largely food security, income and asset accumulation as strategy to poverty reduction (Devereux, 2016). The assumption here is that many social protection interventions in rural societies are de facto food security and income acquisition interventions (ibid) meaning that supplying food and providing cash to the poor are effective ways of responding to their vulnerabilities and enhancing capacities to withstand shocks. Indeed, in most social protection that exist in the world the focus has been on how to reduce food insecurity, income poverty and manage vulnerability (Devereux, 2016; Sabates-Wheeler, 2008). It is however important to note that a broader understanding of vulnerability also relates to social aspect embedded in exclusion and marginalization. This can only be effectively addressed through interventions that are built on social justice, rights, equity and empowerment (Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux, 2008).

For social protection to be transformative, conceptualization of vulnerability must transcend mere introduction of programmes that provide short-term cushion and dependency on hand-outs to ones that promote sustainable livelihoods and address structural imbalances in society. In this way, because dominant pathways to vulnerability have focused on income and consumption smoothening, there is limitation on efforts to address social dimensions of vulnerability such as exclusion, rights-based approaches and accountability.

Approach to delivering assistance to poor people is important as the programme itself. It is instructive to state that delivering of social transfers to segments of society requires satisfying certain conditions for inclusion (Joha, 2012). It is common to find that while social security systems aim at enhancing inclusions, fulfilment of certain conditions as necessity for selection undermines principles of human dignity, equity, non-discrimination and relegates recipients as

consumers of hand-outs. Another concern is that conditionality can further lead to marginalization of those most vulnerable to deprivation as they are those least likely to be able to comply with specific demands due to distance, discrimination, disability etc. In a study of Oportunidades Programme, Barrett and Kidd (2010) found that 51% of eligible beneficiaries failed to register and enroll on the programme due to certain disclosures they were required to make which they considered socially demeaning and also they had to queue in public at registration centres did not protect one's social status in society.

Similarly, Woorlard, Harttgen and Klasen (2010) avert our attention to the fact that at the initial stages of the Child Support Grant programme in South Africa, requirements that were used led to exclusion of many vulnerable persons. Most people failed to enroll on the programme because conditions which required that applicants present proof of immunization of their children and participation in development programmes were considered very strict, difficult to comply and did not engender human dignity. It was therefore not surprising that uptake in the programme was very low. However when these conditions were later dropped, the programme witnessed substantial improvements in up-take (ibid). In essence, fulfilment of certain conditionalities under social protection tends to undermine efforts towards achieving social inclusion.

Recent thinking on transformative agenda has questioned mechanisms that are attached to social transfers as entrenching vulnerabilities (Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux, 2007; UNICEF, 2016). Mechanisms such as singling out AIDS patients, public distribution of benefits and requiring adults to declare their health status have unintended consequences of reinforcing stigmatization and exacerbating social polarization and exclusion. From an empowerment standpoint, conditionality has latent consequence of limiting households' ability to choose investments most

appropriate to them while at the same time also assuming they are incapable of making right decisions.

While there are claims that fulfillment of conditionalities will undermine social inclusion, it is important to note that they play significant roles in dismissing negative notions of social interventions as mere charity (Kunnemann, 2008). Conditionalities place a sense of responsibility on recipients. This means that inclusion into social programmes is not a matter of chance but rather requires fulfilment of some obligations. With social protection increasingly being seen as founded on rights, fulfilment of conditionalities serve as weapon to be used by beneficiaries to press home demand for their rights. For example, India's Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) requires that participants perform public work before they are given their entitlements. Because of this conditionality of public work, participants feel empowered to claim their rights and have helped to trigger more demand-side accountability (Devereux, 2016).

It is also argued that conditionality becomes very expedient especially in circumstances where households do not have full appreciation of benefits of social services they receive such as returns to education, health and nutritional needs of children (UNICEF, 2016). In a similar vein, in a situation where those responsible for key decisions in households lack information or interest in investments that policy makers consider key for a country's economic and human development, conditionality is an effective way to address such anomaly. For example, to induce positive behaviour of sending girls to school to bridge gender imbalances, linking social protection programmes to such behaviour can be used to achieve that purpose. This way, conditionality has been used as mechanism for compliance. Conditionality is also based on concept of citizen co-responsibility (Molyneux, 2008) implying that the state offers income

support in return for citizens' obligations to meet specific targets, most commonly in health and education. In effect, conditionality serves as mechanism that instils a sense of responsibility on recipients to abide by rules that guide provision of services. From a political economy standpoint, it is easier to gain political support and buy-in from taxpayers, policy makers and even communities themselves if social transfers are linked with specific duties by recipients (Devereux, 2009).

Whilst debates about appropriateness or otherwise of conditionality in social protection programming will continue to engage attention of policy makers (Babajanian, 2013) it must be acknowledged that when they are executed in a manner that is generally acceptable to beneficiary communities and nation at large, they have the propensity to build social cohesion, sense of citizenship, and reduce conflict (Roy and Subramanian, 2001).

2.7 Towards social inclusion: rights in exchange for what?

Oftentimes integration of persons into social protection interventions implies that they enjoy rights that are universal and not social rights limited to most vulnerable and poor. This however does not give adequate understanding about what constitute rights in view of the ambiguity around the concept of rights and calls for clarification (Lautier, 2006). On the principle of social contract, establishing social interventions which advance benefits to certain categories of people will be built on empowering them as claimants of rights rather than charity (Van Ginneken, 2005). Notwithstanding this, ambiguity that characterizes cash transfers as rights still remain a challenge. Social assistance can be viewed as either a minimum benefit given to poor and vulnerable persons intending to get rid of poverty and meet some of their demands, or it could be understood as reward and recognition for the contributions every citizen has made and will continue to make irrespective of their status whether unemployed, employed, on pensioner,

etc(Ellis, 2008). For instance, giving legitimacy of workers' social right is easier because such right can be defended on the basis of exchange for something that is tangible. The same argument cannot be made for citizens' social rights which have no linked with any prior or past productive activity (Lautier, 2006). It is usually difficult to make explicit case for citizen's social rights so that they are not perceived as charity or hand-outs.

It must be understood that being a citizen operates on principles which confer rights and at the same time performance of certain responsibilities which are socially necessary. For example, states expect citizens to be law abiding, participate in voting, protect the environment, help in developing human capital for the nation through education and training of their children, etc. These are all important functions or activities citizens do in exchange for social rights. The notion of social rights therefore refers to the idea that every citizen is seen as a cell in a collective reproductive body and produces something that is more than a paid activity hence state has an obligation to nourish the "cell" for its own (state) survival and perpetuity (Van, Ginneken, 2005; Lautier, 2006). It is when such understanding of social rights is situated within the context of social protection programmes that will give legitimacy and empowerment to beneficiaries for benefits they receive.

It must be emphasized that the most vulnerable can only be protected in an effective and sustainable way if the protection is seen as part of efforts geared towards universal coverage. This means that social protection is not established as residual package but rather protection of vulnerable persons is as an integral part of global process which could be specific and not given on the grounds of compassion or favour (Estivill, 2003, Lautier, 2006).

Vulnerability is not so much the fact of being poor as it is the likelihood one will return to poverty after having escaped it-a point to bear in mind when considering and implementing

policies intended to enhance the capacity of a category of poor people to remain permanently above the poverty threshold (Lautier, 2006; Van, Ginneken, 2005). One would argue that there is no point in minimizing risks for those who have already fallen victim to them and have no means of attaining a position that allows them to avoid all subsequent risks unassisted. For persons with chronic disease like leprosy, severe physical disability, and elderly persons with no productive capacity, social protection is most relevant and is viewed differently from fight against poverty. If assumptions are just to minimize vulnerability they already find themselves as victims and hence would not even see it as necessary.

Despite justification that social protections are social rights for most vulnerable in society and it is the reason they are mostly targeted, we to underscore social schemes are also aimed at increasing productive capacities of certain categories of persons (Babajanian, 2013). In this sense, on one hand they are playing the role as social security and in another breadth they are being used to build capacity for increased market. What is important here is that giving social protection to aid productive capacities should be seen as social rights conferred on recipients. In the case of workers' social rights, the argument is that they are entitled to such rights because of past productive activity. Social schemes aimed at increasing capacities should be as social rights not based on past productive contribution but are grounded on commitment to contribute in future (Lavinias, 2003; Lautier, 2006). The postulation is that policies to support vulnerable in society will be understood from a more complementary angle and are founded on social rights than as charity or compensation packages.

There is no denying the fact that social schemes even if built on emergency response has tendency of creating perceptions about beneficiaries as sub-citizens (Lautier, 2006). To minimize or cure this problem will require making interventions or policies that do not appear as aid to

recipients. Rather, policies should be designed in ways that define categories of groups as recipients not only by their circumstances but perhaps more importantly by rights based on the circumstance and some trade-offs. Implicitly, consensus can be gradually achieved among citizens that in seeking to universalized social protection, certain groups of people will have to be prioritized. For instance, if orphan and vulnerable children are given priority, the right of the family to some cash grant is tied to ensuring that the children enrol in school must be linked to a socially important function of child education and its long term benefit to society (meeting human resource needs of the nation) and not only to the moral argument of securing the child's future or curbing child labour (Lavinias, 2003). It then generates justification for the establishment of systems that transfer funds to categories of people as rights and also dispel notions of social protection as aid.

In making a case for social interventions as rights of recipients two key features should be outlined. One feature is legitimated on the potential productive capacity they possess even if not tangible and the other (elderly, aged, physically disabled, inactive group) is justified on citizenship (Chan and Ear, 2004). To this extent, ideological underpinnings for designing and implementing social protection programmes is not premised on helping the poor but rather citizens with rights which explains why they participate in decision making in the democratic and political space. Moving further, we get the realization that rights as understood in the context of social intervention programmes go beyond the issue of capacity to be productive or contribute but are well embedded in social rights.

2.8 Theoretical Framework

The study adopted Rights Based Approach (RBA) to development to explain how social protection can be used to achieve social inclusion. The Rights Based Approach is used in this study because Ghana's Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) was premised strongly on notions of rights and informed by provisions in the 1992 constitution which mandates the state to provide opportunities for active participation of citizens in development. This finds expressions in the constitution in Article 37 sub-section 2 (b) which states that: "the state shall enact appropriate laws to ensure the protection and promotion of all other basic human rights and freedoms, including the rights of the disabled, the aged, the children and other vulnerable groups in development processes". In sub-section 6 (b) it follows that: "the state shall provide social assistance to the aged such as will enable them to maintain a decent standard of living" (Ghana, 1992 Constitution). Also the Ghana National Social Protection Strategy [GNSPS] (2007, p.12) also underscores rights as the guiding principle and states that "the GNSPS has charted an innovative and context appropriate course by choosing to invest in the extreme poor, recognizing the fact that they have fundamental rights to well-being that should be safeguarded by the state and its allies".

On the global front various international treaties and protocols that Ghana is a signatory emphasize that social security systems should be founded on rights. For example ILO Recommendation 202 on social protection floors (2012) features a rights-based as an integral component towards achieving development. Perhaps the most outstanding of global effort to promote social security as human rights issue is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Magdalena, Supelveda and Carmona, 2014). Within the framework of rights is the entitlement of people to overcome their prevailing difficulties. Development and human

rights are interdependent and mutually reinforcing. For development to be sustainable, individuals need to have secured and long-term access to resources required satisfying their basic needs; be they economic, social, cultural, civil or political (Appleyard, 2002).

Many scholars have defined RBA to development in various ways. This study adopted definition given by Department for International Development (DFID) which views RBA as “*empowering people to take their own decisions rather than being the passive objects of choices made on their behalf*” (DFID, 2000, p.8). Fundamentally, it seeks to bring to our understanding that social security by states to recipients is anchored on realization of social, cultural and economic rights of people that promote empowerment through participation, non-discrimination and accountability (Cecchini and Martinez, 2012) thereby discouraging assumptions of charity as may be perceived by duty bearers and general public. From this perspective, people are seen as active members of the political space and not objects of pity, compassion, charity or the benevolent intervention of government programmes or passive choosers in the marketplace (Tumukwasibwe, 2010).

Social protection espoused as right gives credence to concept of social contract between state and citizens and provides effective framework for increased participation of recipients in development programmes meant to improve their conditions. What this means is that rather than relegating beneficiaries as mere consumers of state goods, RBA increases the level of voice and empowers them to demand accountability from duty bearers. Applying principles of rights to development strategies lead to the establishment of guidelines and criteria for designing and implementing sustainable development strategies and inclusive social policies. In essence, these guidelines invariably lead to enactment of legal frameworks which obligate states to guarantee protection of human dignity through implementation of policies that are aimed at equality, non-

discrimination, universality, access to justice, and public information. Again, these standards and principles can effectively influence how development matrix enabling states, social partners and development cooperation agencies to define intervention policies and strategies as well as devise means for monitoring and evaluating public policies (Abramovich, 2006). In complying with their obligations under the mandates enshrined in constitutional provisions, states develop positive public policy measures, which facilitate the implementation of mechanisms to monitor these public policies (ibid).

Placing the concept of social protection in a framework of rights entails setting and implementing specific standards for all citizens. The guarantees therefore cover a set of standards that transpose economic, social and cultural rights in specific policy areas. Although RBA does not address all challenges faced by policy makers in designing social protection programmes, it does however serve as mechanism that imposes legally binding obligations against discretion of states (Magdalena et al., 2014). If social protection systems are not rights-based they have the potential of creating some unintended consequences including social exclusion of some qualified beneficiaries which can further worsened vulnerabilities.

The approach of protection as citizen right has strong affinity with building systems that will lead to social justice outcomes. In fact social justice concerns structures and societal arrangements that may be cultural, political, economic and legal. Availability of frameworks for access to justice is indicative of the fact that citizens can utilize legal routes to ensure that their rights are protected and granted (Sabates-Wheeler, Abdulai, Wilmint, De groot and Spadafora, 2017).

The implication of RBA to social protection thus seeks to promote three main principles: the accountability of duty bearers, participation of right holders, and equity or non-discrimination

(Theis, 2003). In order to promote justice, equality and freedom of recipients of state policies, RBA helps to tackle and change power relations that lie at the root of poverty and exploitation. Fundamentally, the concept of rights concerns relationship between right holders and duty bearers.

Overview of LEAP Programme

Introduced in 2008, LEAP is Ghana's flagship National Social Protection Strategy. The programme aims at alleviating short-term poverty by delivering direct cash payments, and to push long-term human capital development by providing health insurance and encouraging school enrolment. LEAP targets extremely poor households which have a household member in any of the following demographic groups: Orphan Vulnerable Child (OVC), elderly 65 years and above without support, or persons with severe disability without productive capacity. From an initial 1,654 beneficiary households in 21 districts in 2008, the programme by 2016 had reached about 213,044 beneficiary households in 216 districts. It has also been extended to cover pregnant women in extremely poverty stricken areas through LEAP 1000 project. LEAP households received a bimonthly transfer of Ghanaian cedi (GH¢) 64 to 106 depending on the number of eligible household members. LEAP adopts both conditional and unconditional cash transfer approaches (Osei, 2011). This means for some categories of beneficiaries, eligibility is given based on fulfillment of certain conditions such as all children of school going age in beneficiary household enroll at schools, all forms of child labour removed in beneficiary household, subscribing to NHIS among others. Social protection is part of any government's obligation towards its citizens (GNSPS, 2012) implying that LEAP cash transfer programme is a right to beneficiaries and not charity.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at the research methodology and how data was gathered for the study. It presents the research paradigm, research design, study area, target population, sample size, sampling technique, data sources, data collection instruments, data handling techniques, study limitations and ethical considerations.

3.1 Research Paradigm

Paradigm to Guba and Lincoln (1994, p.107) “represents a worldview that defines for its holder, the nature of the world, the individual’s place in it and range of possible relationships to that world and its parts”. In the view of Kuhn (1970, p. 75) it is “a set of beliefs, values and techniques which is shared by members of a scientific community, and which acts as a guide or map, dictating the kinds of problems scientists should address and the types of explanations that are acceptable to them”. Four paradigms that influence research process are interpretivism or constructivism, pragmatism, positivism and post-positivism. According to Guba (1990) paradigms in research are guided and shaped by ontology which is about what constitutes reality, epistemology referring to process of knowing reality or existence of phenomenon and methodology which concerns means of finding or establishing reality. In this regard, scientists belonging to a particular paradigm are likely to use similar techniques based on their beliefs and values to investigate societal problems and are most likely to come up with similar explanations to the same phenomenon. These basic set of beliefs are expected to guide the actions and

inactions of researchers especially in the collection and analysis of their research data (Guba, 1990).

This study adopted constructivist paradigm which operates on basis that there is no single truth or reality. This therefore posits that meanings people attribute to things are not discovered but are socially constructed. The constructionism/interpretive assumption fits very well into this study to the extent that it enabled the researcher to make meaning out of the interpretations given by the respondents interviewed for the purpose of the study. This was made possible by a review of the cultural, socioeconomic as well as political landscape in which the people live and how these factors shape their perspectives on the subject matter.

3.2 Research Design

The study used qualitative research design in find out how Ghana's LEAP Programme contributes to social inclusion using Ga-South Municipality as case study. Qualitative approach helped the researcher to obtain information in a situation where very little was available or known about the phenomenon being studied. Qualitative research focuses largely on the kind of meanings people bring to bear on phenomenon and creates opportunity to obtain data in an unbiased manner since it allows flexibility due to open-ended questions it employs (Boateng, 2016).

According to Creswell (2007) with qualitative approach, there is need to allow participants to share their views, hear their voices, and reduce the power relations that often exist between the researcher and the participants. Again it allows researchers to appreciate the contextual underpinnings behind approaches used by participants in a study to mitigate particular phenomenon. The prime emphasis here is not for generalization but to interpret issues based on their historical and cultural settings. In this sense, respondents to a very large extent dictate the

pace as responses the participants give usually influence how and what questions the researcher will ask. This is contrary to quantitative approach where respondent is more limited to dictates of the researcher which is evident in the nature of closed-ended questions. These characteristic features of qualitative research justify the researcher's choice of qualitative method as a research approach that directed the conduct of this study.

The study adopted exploratory case study design in qualitative research. To ensure that respondents freely express themselves, beneficiaries for example were not interviewed in presence of focal persons. The use of a case study offers the researcher the opportunity to discover the interactions of relevant elements about a phenomenon (Merriam, 1998). It helps to bring divergent views and ideas to phenomenon and thus gives it more information from different perspectives. A case study allows the researcher to explore a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (observations, interviews, audio-visual materials, documents, and reports), and report a case description and case-based themes (Creswell, 2007).

Given that the study delves into an area where not much has been explored in Ghanaian context, the use of qualitative approach was deemed most appropriate. This means that the researcher is undertaking a task that potentially could lead to discovery of new areas of interest that may be worth exploring. In order to control any previously held views by the researcher from influencing responses, qualitative approach helped in guiding the study by allowing respondents' perspective to guide the research.

3.3 Study Area

3.3.1 Establishment, Location, Size and Structure

The study area, Ga south Municipality was carved out of the Ga West District in November 2007 and was established by Legislative Instrument (L.I) 2134 in July 2012 with Weija as the capital town. According to the 2010 population and Housing census, the population of the Municipality is approximately 411,377 representing about 10.3% of the regions total population. Females constitute 51.1% and males represent 48.9% of the population. It lies at the South-Western part of Accra and shares boundaries with Accra Metropolitan Area to the South East, Akwapim South to the North East, Ga West to the East, West Akim to the North, Awutu Senya to the West, Awutu Senya East to the South East, Gomoa to the South West and the Gulf of Guinea to the South. It occupies a total land area of about 341.838 square kilometers with about 95 settlements. About seventy percent of the population 15 years and older are economically active while 28.9 per cent are economically not active. Of the economically active population, 92.0 percent are employed while 8.0 percent are unemployed.



3.3.2 Map of Study Area



Source: Ghana Statistical Service (GSS)

3.4 Target Population

The target population for the study consisted of all inhabitants in Ga South. These are made up of beneficiaries of LEAP programme, officials at Department of Social Welfare (DSW) and CLICs or focal persons. For the purposes of triangulation, officials at MoGCSP were also interviewed.

These target groups were very significant because they are key informants thereby making them most suited to give informed responses.

3.5 Sample Size

A sample size of ten beneficiary communities in the Ga South Municipality was used for the study. CLIC member/ focal person for each of the ten communities was used to help identify beneficiary households. In each community, three beneficiary households were randomly selected for in-depth interviews. Two Officials at DSW were interviewed since it is the implementing body of LEAP in the Municipality as well as two CLIC members or focal persons. Two officials were selected at MoGCSP for an in-depth interview given that it is the main policy formulation body of LEAP. Two separate Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted among beneficiaries. Each FGD comprised eight participants (males only) and (females only). This means that in all, fifty two respondents were used for the study. The reason for the selection of Ga South Municipality is that in spite of the fact that poverty profile of regions in Ghana does not consider Greater Accra region as burdened by extreme poverty, there are pockets of poverty stricken areas in the region which have not been explored hence the need for a study of such area. A study of the region will thus help to understand poverty from perspectives of both rural and urban settings.

3.6 Sampling Technique

The study used purposive sampling technique. This technique was more suited and appropriate for a study of this nature because respondents were those who were directly involved in the LEAP programme as such responses they give are often relevant to the phenomenon under study. Essentially, qualitative research seeks to go beyond surface understanding of phenomenon to more in-depth meaning given to it. Therefore purposive sampling was very relevant and applied

only to respondents who possess needed information for phenomenon under study. Purposive sampling does not operate on principle of availability of respondents but rather key informants that can provide information relevant for the study.

Data was acquired on all ten LEAP beneficiary communities in the district and was obtained from the DSW. In selecting beneficiary households at the community level, the study made use of random sampling. A total of thirty beneficiary households were sampled from ten communities. The communities comprised Tuba, Obom, Hobor, Nsuobri, Mmampehia, Bortianor, Torkuse, Domeabra, Danchira and Amuman. This means for each community three households were selected. This approach was deemed appropriate as it helped to avoid biases emanating from selection of respondents. To select an individual beneficiary from a household, purposive random sampling was employed to determine respondent in a household for the interview.

For the FGDs, beneficiaries who participated in the individual interviews were not included. This was to avoid likelihood of responses being influenced due to prior knowledge. At all levels of interviews consent of respondents was sought in respect of whether tape recordings could be used. Respondents consented to this arrangement and tape recorders were used for purposes of transcription.

3.7 Data Sources

The study used two data collection sources namely primary and secondary. Primary data source constituted interview conducted with respondents from MoGCSP, DSW, and beneficiary communities.

Secondary source considered as complementary focused on review of documents, articles and journals relating to phenomenon being studied.

3.8 Data Collection Instruments

The study used in-depth interviews using interview guide to collect data. In view of the qualitative nature of the study, open-ended questions were used. It allowed respondents to express themselves freely without feeling restricted to particular pattern. Where responses were not in line with questions asked, the researcher took time to offer clarification of concepts. The use of interview guide led to the emergence of issues that enabled the researcher to probe further for responses. To avoid inconveniences and also ensure adequate preparation of respondents for interview, data was collected in their offices, homes and places respondents found suitable to them. Adequate notification was given to respondents before the researcher followed up with further reminders via emails, mobile phone text messages and calls. Before the interviews began, the researcher took time and offered sufficient explanations of what the purpose of study was and also gave background information to enable respondents respond appropriately.

3.9 Data Handling Techniques and Analysis

The data obtained was saved in multiple retrieval systems to ensure safety and also to guarantee derivability. Personal computers, email addresses and pen drives were used for this purpose. This meant there were sufficient backups. It also made it possible for cross-checking to ensure data credibility, transferability and reliability. The data was transcribed and analyzed based on objectives of the study and emerging themes from interviews.

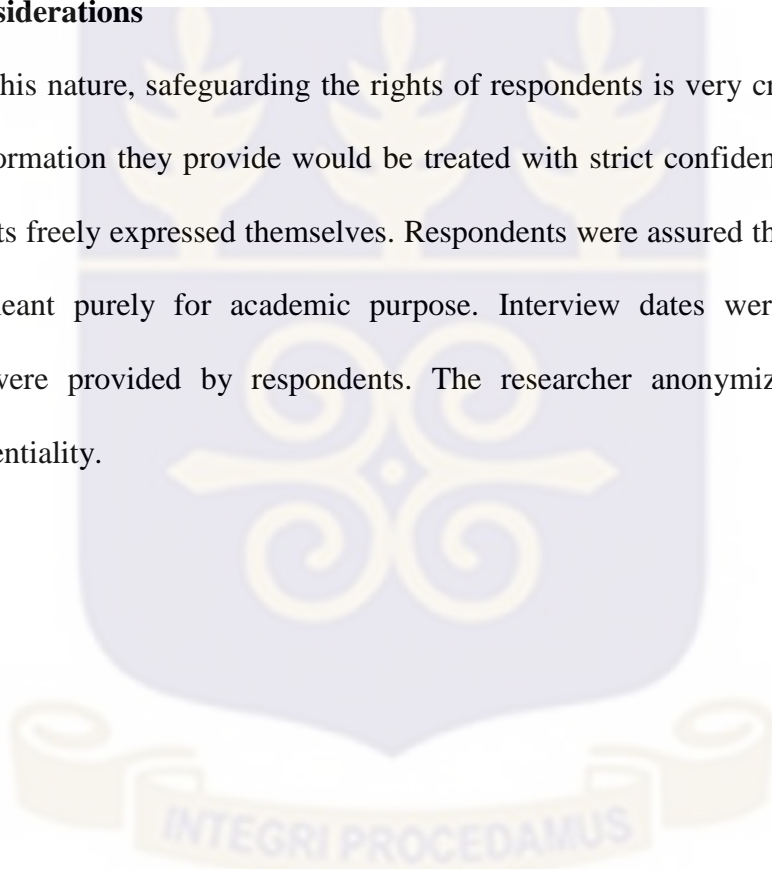
3.10 Study Limitations

There were many challenges encountered in the course of the study. Interview dates were postponed several times by some respondents prompting constant rescheduling of dates and time. The researcher spent substantial amount of money on transportation to convey respondents for FGDs, refreshment, hiring of venue and chairs. The researcher had difficulty explaining concepts

to some respondents to ensure varied responses were not occasioned by lack of understanding of issues. Because the study was on cash transfers, some respondents felt if they gave responses in certain ways it could lead to their expulsion from the programme. The researcher assuaged their fears and gave assurances that it was for academic purposes only. Respondents therefore felt comfortable and volunteered information required. Despite above difficulties, the researcher devised means to elicit needed information from respondents.

3.11 Ethical considerations

In a research of this nature, safeguarding the rights of respondents is very critical. Respondents were assured information they provide would be treated with strict confidentiality. This was to ensure participants freely expressed themselves. Respondents were assured that information they provided was meant purely for academic purpose. Interview dates were not imposed by researcher but were provided by respondents. The researcher anonymized respondents to guarantee confidentiality.



CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents findings of the study. The findings were primarily organized in line with the objectives of the study and emerging themes. Respondents have been anonymized for confidentiality purposes.

4.1 Beneficiaries' participation and the LEAP Programme

The importance of introducing interventions which seek to enhance human capacities especially the poor and vulnerable so as to make them active participants in the country's development efforts cannot be overemphasized. In this regard, participation of beneficiaries in programme design and implementation is very important. Indeed Ghana has implemented a number of development programmes aimed at poverty reduction and bridging inequalities. Notably, one fundamental issue that scholars have identified as drawback to many policies that are designed for the poor but do not achieve desired results is their lack of participation or involvement in the ways such programmes are formulated or even implemented (O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2007; Flint and Natrup, 2014). In some few cases their involvement is only peripheral and often results in legitimizing elite capture (Kpessa, 2011; Wong, 2010). To this end, there is lack of sense of ownership which is very important in meeting objectives of many social protection programmes.

Officers at MoGCSP explained that prior to the introduction of LEAP, selection of communities for the programme was done using data from the Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS) which highlighted deprived areas that needed some interventions. This was in line with the

constitutional provision that the state should undertake measures to promote human development. They further contended that creating participatory spaces for beneficiaries' involvement finds strong expression in the formation of CLICs/focal persons who are members drawn from beneficiary communities. This means that the programme has recognized active grassroots participation which helps beneficiaries to be active participants rather than passive recipients. For instance one MoGCSP officer noted that:

“As you know CLIC members are not imposed on the communities. They live with the people in the community and were selected by the people to be their facilitators in the programme”

While it is acknowledged that CLICs/focal persons were drawn from beneficiary communities and given their significant role in the targeting process it is erroneous to assume that by this act beneficiaries' involvement was or has been enhanced. As noted by IFAD (2002) oftentimes failure of pro-poor programmes is based on the fact that the very poor whom such interventions are made for do not participate in the planning of the programme particularly regarding what strategies will best address their needs. They are designed and dumped on them. It must be stated that even the argument that CLICs/focal persons were selected by members of the community (beneficiaries) is not what actually happened. Most beneficiaries recounted that at the inception of the LEAP, local elites comprising some traditional authorities, assembly members, and persons close to corridors of power were the ones who formed membership of the CLIC. This confirms observations of (Korboe et al., 2011) and Abane(2017) that the dominance of local elites in the CLICs did not reflect any sense of community ownership of the programme. This dominance by local elites gave them enormous powers to determine who got selected and who got disqualified. This is indicative of the fact that widespread claims that community

participation is achieved through CLIC formation cannot be tenable. Perhaps another worrying issue that arises is that the expectation that beneficiaries' voice is increased through CLIC formation has rather been counterproductive since they did not choose the CLIC members. In this case, beneficiaries cannot exact any accountability on the duty bearers (CLICs) because they did not select them and thus have either little or no control over them.

As recounted by a beneficiary:

“At the time of the registration some persons were introduced to us as our facilitators by the officers that they will be liaising between us and the DSW”

Probing to find out if such persons were from the community; beneficiaries answered in the affirmative but added that they were not the ones who selected the persons (CLIC) but they were only told that they would be their facilitators.

Through an analysis of above observations, the study finds that weakness of LEAP to huge RBA because beneficiaries were not afforded opportunities to offer inputs in what intervention would best suit their situation and at the same time CLIC membership which is supposed to be community owned was also not determined by them. To this extent, active participation of beneficiaries in the programme which is envisaged to enhance their social status and inclusion is highly undermined.

4.1.1 Targeting and enrolment process of LEAP beneficiaries

It is worthy of note that the process that is used to bring the poor and needy into a programme is as good as the assistance itself if beneficiaries are to feel socially empowered and respected. The study found that before enrolment into the programme, beneficiaries were targeted in their

various communities. Explaining how beneficiaries were enrolled on the LEAP, an officer at the Ga South DSW noted that the traditional authority and district assembly were informed about the programme who in turn passed the information to the public so that anyone who qualified could appear on the registration day to go through the process. He added that to avoid situations where unqualified persons would attend the registration exercise, criteria for qualification were communicated to the above mentioned bodies that in turn disseminated same to the public. This way, the expectation was that persons who would appear at registration centres were potentially qualified beneficiaries since criteria for qualification had been communicated weeks before commencement of registration. He also noted that although many people appeared on the registration not all of them met the qualification criteria. It was revealed that for some persons, they got disqualified because they could not provide the right information. What is more intriguing is the revelation by some beneficiaries that the registration exercise did not sufficiently protect their dignity and rights. This is because registration process was carried out in places where the public and passers-by could easily see what was going on. A number of beneficiaries believed this somewhat exposed them to some forms of public ridicule and stigmatization. As a beneficiary stated:

“This registration process does not protect my dignity at all. Some people in the community see as dependent on government for our livelihood. Everybody passing-by will even think that this is what we survive on”

Seeking explanations on why registration exercise was done in places that beneficiaries felt did not sufficiently protect their privacy and confidentiality, an officer at Ga South DSW said that it was necessary to do it in the full glare of the public to avoid suspicions that the programme lacked transparency. He again noted that:

“It is important to do it in public so that at least people will know that the government has this programme to support the poor people”

While there is some truism in the above claims that such public view will help to dispel notions of underhand dealings and generate public support for the programme, it has the potential to undermine human dignity and respect. The tendency for beneficiaries to be labelled as dependents is very high and this has implication on their ability to feel socially empowered. The fact that beneficiaries are receiving cash stipend does not mean that social inclusion will automatically be achieved because they can now acquire some assets that they could not have afforded in the absence of the programme. However, the registration process of the LEAP as the study found did not sufficiently protect beneficiaries’ social status and dignity.

It is also arguable to highlight that the medium through which information about targeting and enrolment were done could not be said to be sufficiently transparent. For instance, it was revealed in the study that the main means of communicating the programme to the public was via assembly members and traditional authority in the community. This has tendency to deny wider section of the public about information on the programme and will have many potentially qualified persons not availing themselves for enrolment.

4.1.2 State-Citizen Relationship

The study found that the LEAP programme has helped in shaping relationship between the state and beneficiaries. Before the introduction of LEAP, most beneficiaries did not feel a sense of belonging to the state because they thought the government was insensitive to their plight. However, the coming of LEAP changed people’s perception about how their relationship with the state is in relation to social contract understandings. Indeed citizenship must be understood in a broader sense to include not only being considered as belonging to a particular territorial

jurisdiction but more importantly how being a citizen enables one to enjoy certain social, economic and political benefits within a polity. A beneficiary for example elucidated that:

“Receiving this cash has made me to believe that truly the state think of us.”

Another beneficiary had this to say:

“Although the cash is not much but the fact that the government is giving us something means that when there is more we will get more”

The above examples are illustrative of the fact that when the state is able to address the needs of the poor and marginalized groups it helps to strengthen their relationship. It also invokes sense of belonging among people and could lead to active participation in national development efforts. This reiterates observations by Oduro (2015) and Druzca (2016) that responding to the plight of citizens by the state is the most important pathway to strengthening relationship between states and citizens.

The study also found that through LEAP, there was increased interface between the state and citizens. During an FGD, most beneficiaries underscored that the targeting process offered them an avenue to interact with the state in a more direct way. For instance, before beneficiaries were selected for the programme, officers of DSW came and interacted with them for information. This created platforms for citizens to engage state officials in an open and direct manner. Furthermore, the issuance of LEAP Ezwich payment cards also represented a form of identity which is given to only persons recognized as qualified LEAP beneficiaries. Responding to how possession of Ezwich cards contributes to enhancing state-citizen interaction a beneficiary said that:

“As you can see not everybody in this community has this card or was interviewed for selection. At least if I don’t have anything to show the card means I am entitled to some benefit from the state”

Within the context of RBA, possession of the cards signifies that there is some form of contract between the state and citizens and this will enable them to make claims for their entitlement. What this means is that the card becomes a source of empowerment to the beneficiaries and obligates the state to fulfill certain responsibilities to beneficiaries.

4.1.3 Beneficiary Forum on Payment Day

The implementation of LEAP at community level is done through DSW. As the programme envisages there should be a forum on payment day which creates opportunities for discussions about the programme. Such avenue is facilitated by DSW and CLIC/focal persons. The study found that this platform is supposed to serve as avenue for state engagement with citizens (beneficiaries) and thus increased interaction. Explaining the importance of this forum, a CLIC/focal person highlighted that it is the only opportunity where beneficiaries could meet as a group to deliberate about LEAP and also seek further information from officials of DSW.

On the other hand whilst the beneficiary forum on payment day may serve as avenue for strengthening relationship and social cohesion as noted by Oduro (2015), it has some unintended actions of causing some resentment and disaffection. The study observed that due to long queues and various challenges encountered on payment days (network failure, failure of biometric devices to verify fingerprints of some beneficiaries and long waiting times) the atmosphere is usually tense and beneficiary forum is not even held. Commenting on these challenges, a beneficiary noted that:

“We are here to receive the money and the queues are always long but you people also say you have to organize a forum on payment day.”

Responding to why beneficiary forums do not take place, an officer at Ga South DSW noted that beneficiaries are only interested in taking their cash and show no interest in participating in forums. The study found that claims that beneficiaries are uninterested in attending forums on payment day do not portray the reality. What rather happens is that venues for such forums are usually unsuitable with some beneficiaries having to stand on their feet due to unavailability of adequate seats, overcrowding among others. This explains why the low interest on the part of beneficiaries and thus the seeming collapse of such forums.

The above excerpts show that while it is useful to have regular meetings with beneficiaries, such meetings could be done on days other than payment days so that the tendency for beneficiaries to feel wasting so much time and disaffection for programme officers can be minimized. Additionally getting venues that are suitable for such forums will help to drive interest of beneficiaries.

4.1.4 LEAP as right

The main reason certain categories of people receive social intervention lies in the fact it is considered a right and therefore an obligation on states to provide same to beneficiaries. In the policy document of GNSPS (2007:23) it is stated that there is the need to pursue “innovative and context appropriate course by choosing to invest in the extreme poor, recognizing the fact that they have fundamental rights to well-being that should be safeguarded by the state and its allies”. Interviews with officials of MoGCSP pointed out that LEAP is a right. For example a senior official at MoGCSP explained that:

“The LEAP is a right. Provision of social services in the country is the responsibility of government. As the country aspires to achieve various development agenda, it is very important we don’t leave out any group especially the poor, needy and vulnerable. Everybody matters and it is important we implement policies that prioritize certain groups in order to enhance their capacities”

The fundamental issue is how beneficiaries themselves perceive LEAP to be. The study observed that there was widespread perception among beneficiaries that LEAP is a favour from government. Responding to the question of whether LEAP is a right or not, a beneficiary indicated that:

“It is ‘AbanMmoa’, meaning it is government support”

Another beneficiary also stated that:

“The LEAP is a favour from government. We haven’t done any work for government so if we are getting this money it is based on compassion towards us the poor and needy”

While there are various claims that LEAP is a right, the above excerpts lay credence to the fact that beneficiaries have different view by perceiving it as charity due to how it is presented to them. This has huge implication on promoting empowerment and active citizenship. It is germane to note that when perceptions about the LEAP are formed on the basis of favour, beneficiaries will not be able to demand it as right or entitlement and will therefore not be able to hold officials accountable even when they are denied. In similar vein, because it is largely perceived by beneficiaries to be a favour, the study found that most beneficiaries do not even find it necessary to verify if amount given them is what they are to receive. This emanates from fears that questioning officials about the amount they have been paid could damage their relationship with programme officials and subsequently lead to their exclusion. If indeed, the

programme is based on right why should beneficiaries feel unsafe to question amounts paid them? It is highly because beneficiaries see it as government favour to them.

Probing to find out the extent to which beneficiaries can or demand LEAP as right, an officer at MoGCSP noted that:

“It is the duty of the state to respond to the plight of the poor, vulnerable in society and this is a constitutional provision. So beneficiaries have every right to ask the government for social protection.”

Accepting the above claims that LEAP is viewed as a right by beneficiaries is difficult as there are contrary views. It was revealed that beneficiaries considered their inclusion as luck and as such could not demand it as right. In an FGD, when the question of whether they (beneficiaries) are able to demand it as right and the extent to which they feel they can do so, the general response was that it did not lie in their right to force the government to give them cash because to them the programme itself was initiated on the basis of compassion. As noted by one beneficiary:

“There are many people in this country who are not part of the LEAP, so if we have been considered we can only thank the government and pray it continues”

Perception about LEAP as gift or charity is also traceable to the initial stage of the programme and education given to beneficiaries. The study found that there were widespread misinformation and misunderstanding among beneficiaries regarding LEAP. In separate FGDs for females and males beneficiaries and also in five different beneficiary communities there were varied responses to understanding of LEAP. For instance in Tuba, some beneficiaries considered it as support for only needy and poor persons while at Amuman others viewed it as support scheme from a donor agency. Interestingly at Domeabra, some beneficiaries assumed that LEAP was a package primarily meant for the aged as a way of showing appreciation for their contributions to

the nation and likened it to pension allowances formal sector workers receive while on retirement. This confirms observation of Korboe et al., (2011, p.48) that there was misinformation about LEAP among beneficiaries particularly at the inception stages in various communities thereby influencing different understandings. The role of CLICs/focal persons in relation to LEAP beneficiaries cannot be understated. They are the main knowledge givers of LEAP programme to beneficiaries. Essentially they educate beneficiaries about their rights and responsibilities under the LEAP programme. Surprisingly in response to how beneficiaries demand LEAP as right, two focal persons indicated that rolling out the programme lies with the government and so beneficiaries cannot force the state to give them cash grant if the state is not willing to do so. Notably, CLIC member expressed that:

“This is an initiative of government and not beneficiaries. ‘K3ji amlalommlinhabo nokol3 saak3 ok33 noni sani am3 fee loo obaada am3 shi’ which means if the government is giving you something won’t you rather be thankful than say it is your right?

The above responses represent a huge challenge to LEAP being seen as right and remain more of rhetoric than reality. Notions of the programme as charity based continue to dominate understanding among beneficiaries. The implication is that there is tendency not to criticize or find fault with the programme since it enables them to receive cash they might not have obtained because it is not an entitlement. It is even more difficult to expect beneficiaries to be able to initiate any action against the government or state should there be failure to implement social protection programmes or discontinue the LEAP. Unsurprisingly, when asked what actions they would do should LEAP be stopped, beneficiaries gave various responses entrenching their assumptions that LEAP is not an entitlement for them to demand. During an FGD, a beneficiary explained that:

“We will beg the government not to stop the LEAP”

Another respondent noted that:

“We will go and see our chief, assembly man, and Member of Parliament to plead on our behalf. If still the government does not listen then we will come home and stay like that.

We can't force the government to give us money. We can only plead”

While claims that beneficiaries are receiving LEAP cash because it is their right, the fact that they remain powerless and limited in terms of demanding it as their legitimate claim goes contrary to the tenets of RBA which seek to tackle and change power relations that lie at the root of poverty and exploitation.

4.1.5 LEAP and conditionalities

Fulfilment of certain conditionalities as criteria for receiving social assistance is premised on the basis of co-responsibility (Molyneux, 2008) and also a way of establishing contractual relationship between citizens and the state (Deveruex et al., 2011). Effectively when conditionality is attached to social security schemes it is used as mechanism to instill some sense of responsibility on recipients to abide by norms of programmes. The study observed varied responses regarding whether conditionalities of LEAP constrained beneficiaries. Responding to this question, an officer at MoGCSP reiterated that conditionalities of LEAP were designed in ways that are not difficult to abide by. He added that the whole essence of the programme was to build capacities of recipients. Citing examples to illustrate how LEAP conditionalities do not constrain beneficiaries, the officer noted that requirements such as registration with NHIS and enrolment of children in schools were activities that beneficiaries would have performed even if they were not on LEAP programme. Consistent with the government agenda of promoting development and human capacity building in multi-faceted approach it was important to attach

some conditionalities to the LEAP. This means that as beneficiaries are receiving cash grant they are indirectly fulfilling key development demands.

In similar responses, officers at Ga South DSW and focal persons contended that the use of conditionalities have helped to ensure compliance. CLIC/focal person submitted that there were some beneficiaries who in the past did not bother to send their children to school. But because they feared that if their children were not in school, they might be taken out of the programme, they have now enrolled their children in schools.

It is however curious to note that while some beneficiaries expressed that they didn't feel constrained by LEAP conditionalities other beneficiaries indicated otherwise. In response to constraints posed by LEAP conditionalities, a beneficiary remarked that:

“Although I appreciate what government is doing for us, the money is small yet it appears I can't decide what to do with the money. It makes me feel I have no control over how to use the money”

Given that most beneficiaries are living in circumstances and contexts where small money means so much, the LEAP cash is good source for one's livelihood survival strategy. It was therefore revealed in the study that although some beneficiaries considered conditionalities as infringing on their right and ability to independently decide on what to do with the cash grant, they were ready to fulfill them in order to receive it.

4. 2. Mechanisms in LEAP that foster social inclusion

Promoting inclusion is an essential complement to the human capital aspect of social protection programmes especially when it is viewed as a way of improving social, political, economic

outlook of beneficiaries to be able to participate fully in their societies and enjoy standard of living considered normal. To foster inclusion will mean looking at structural arrangements, policies, societal norms and relations that serve as barriers to the attainment of active citizenship, livelihood and development. This means that mechanisms to be employed in delivering social assistance to beneficiaries must be done in ways that will achieve inclusion and enhance active participation in society. The study observed that there are various approaches embedded in the LEAP programme meant to foster social inclusion. Commenting on targeting as one of such mechanisms and how it can help to foster inclusion, officers at MoGCSP highlighted that in every society there are groups or individuals whose circumstances and conditions require state intervention in order for them to meet basic needs of life. In this regard, it was important for such persons to be prioritized for particular policies of government so that inequality gaps between haves and have not can be bridged. Mostly, the inability of people to participate fully in their society is occasioned by their lack of access to services that guarantee minimum standard of living. So when there are interventions which enable them to feel empowered, they lead to increasing outlook of marginalized groups. Given that there is resource constraints on government to reach out to all citizens, targeting is a reasonable approach to pursue because it allows scarce resources to be concentrated on the poor, needy and marginalized in society to bring quality of services instead of thinly spreading them to reach the entire population which will further exacerbate inequality gaps and imbalances in society. In this sense, beneficiaries are able to access some services which enable them to live dignified lives.

This said, it must be emphasized beneficiaries were divided on the effectiveness of targeting as mechanism for enhancing inclusion. To some beneficiaries, targeting approach in the LEAP programme meant social recognition and has increased interaction and community cohesion.

Through this new forms of relationships have emerged leading to some social capital among beneficiaries. A beneficiary at Mmampehia for instance noted that:

“There are people in this community that it takes a long time to see or interact with but through this LEAP programme I meet them on payment days because we all converge for our cash. I have even made new friends; we socialize more and discuss things for mutual benefit”

On the other hand some beneficiaries held contrary opinions regarding effectiveness of targeting in fostering social inclusion. The study found that some beneficiaries felt that targeting exposed them to stigmatization in the community and also labelling especially from other eligible persons who are poor but were not selected. This has generated some resentment against LEAP beneficiaries. What is even more worrying is the fact that equally eligible non-beneficiaries perceive that their lack of inclusion in the programme was based on political affiliations and affinity with CLIC members. The effect is that there is always disaffection and tension among beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries who consider themselves eligible but were not selected. They believed the targeting process was not transparent enough and thus the programme was dominated by family and friends leaving significant number of poor persons out. During an FGD, a beneficiary recounted her experience saying that:

“Sometimes I feel bad because some people think that we are receiving this cash because we support this or that party or even we know this person that is why we have been selected”

Explaining what could have caused suspicions of political targeting and lack of transparency in the process, an officer at Ga South DSW noted that some beneficiaries might have been erroneously included due to misinformation or provision of inaccurate information. While some

beneficiaries understated their resources in order to get qualified others also overstated their resources because they felt it would be demeaning to accept that their poverty were of extreme levels as it has implications on social status and respect in their communities. Furthermore, at initial stage of the programme a quota system was adopted so not all eligible persons were targeted. This finding confirms views of Mkandawire (2005) that targeting has latent functions of exclusion and inclusion errors and can potentially lead to discrimination between the poor and non-poor. While it is acknowledged that explanations given by the officer at DSW may be true to some extent, the expectation is that there should be a way of authenticating information provided by beneficiaries. This could be done by visiting residences of beneficiaries to ascertain the veracity or otherwise of information given. The result is that it will eventually lead to ridding the programme off ineligible persons in order to make spaces for qualified individuals to be captured or targeted. In the absence of concrete steps to get ineligible persons excluded, tensions among programme implementers and non-poor, feelings of discrimination as well as perceptions of targeting based on political affiliation will continue to be associated with the LEAP programme. The study observed during one FGD that there was consensus among beneficiaries that poverty is widespread in their communities. Their responses show a certain commonality and social solidarity as such in a narrower view the concept of targeting did not seem to enjoy popularity. This is contrary to findings by Adato (2000) on the impact of PROGRESSA on community relationships in which he noted that targeting did not affect community relationships because non-beneficiaries knew that their exclusion was not caused by beneficiaries due to the transparent nature of the targeting process. Thus beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries accepted targeting as an effective mechanism towards social cohesion.

What this has revealed is that there are some unintended consequences that LEAP targeting approach can bring which should be critically examined in evaluating their effectiveness and search for alternative ways to improve it.

4.2.1 Linkages with Complementary Services

LEAP is designed in a way that is linked to certain services seen as complementary in promoting human development. Such services include enrolment and regular attendance of school by children of beneficiary households, registering with NHIA, improving nutritional needs of children among others. The programme envisages that beneficiaries will access other social services to give holistic view to human development. It became evident in the study that whilst most beneficiaries found these services as essential to improving their livelihoods the reality is that because there is very little monitoring at the household level, beneficiaries rarely comply with some conditionalities. In response to how LEAP is linked to certain social services beneficiaries are entitled to and the extent to which these services have effectively enhanced inclusion, an officer at Ga South DSW mentioned that being a beneficiary of LEAP automatically guarantees access to specific social services in the absence of which it would have been extremely difficult for beneficiaries to afford them. Although services like child education, health and child nutrition are basic needs of life they remain inaccessible to many persons especially the poor. This further means that notions of such services being exclusive to only privileged groups in society become heightened. Linking the LEAP to other crucial social services like education and health which have long term positive impact of human capital development will help re-integration of beneficiaries into community life as it helps the vulnerable to also access services assumed to be preserve of elites in society. Education for instance will help to break the intergenerational transmission of poverty. It is instructive to note

that access to education potentially leads to better public health, an enlightened citizenry and ultimately development. Thus the interconnectedness with other social services is well in tuned with efforts to achieve growth and transformation.

Most beneficiaries expressed that hitherto essential service like health was particularly difficult for them to access but through the LEAP programme, they are now able to attend hospitals on regular basis. The fact that some of these hospitals they attend are also attended by elites in society brings some sense of equality among them and this is good for social inclusion. As explained by a beneficiary:

“Until the coming of the LEAP through which I got the NHIS card I had never attended the hospital because I can’t afford”

These findings are particularly worth noting given that constraints to social inclusion emanates largely from lack of access to specific services by the poor and vulnerable in society (Babajanian, 2012). Therefore by essentializing certain social services and linking them to LEAP represents a major boost towards enhancing inclusion.

While the relevance of linkages of LEAP with other complementary services cannot be understated, the study found that there is little coordination among DSW, GES (Ghana Education Service) and Ghana Health Service (GHS). This lack of coordination has created some leeway for beneficiaries not to comply with some conditions of the programme and thus affect impacts of linking LEAP and other complementary services.

4.2.2 LEAP and Community relations

In Africa and most developing countries, individuals enjoy enormous support from their families and communities (Ellis, 2008). Community-based support schemes can be understood in the context of the fact that formal social security in developing countries is very low (Osei, 2011). In

the light of this, it is important that to explore whether LEAP had any effect on community-based informal support systems.

There were mixed responses from beneficiaries regarding effects of LEAP on informal support schemes. Some beneficiaries submitted that although the LEAP programme has increased their asset accumulation, their ability to access social support especially cash remittances and assistance from family and friends was waning. They lamented that before the introduction of LEAP programme, financial support from relatives and other members of their communities was very common, regular and constituted one major source of hope to many people. However, the coming of LEAP has seen some dips and in some instances withdrawal of such informal support systems. For instance a beneficiary had this to say:

“People who used to extend some financial assistance to me seem to have taken a break. When I inquired, one of them said, but at least the government is giving you something every two months”

Although there have been regular payments of LEAP in recent times, the amount is practically low when compared to other cash programmes described as successful (Handa et al., 2013) implying that if informal support systems are eroded due to LEAP introduction, it will defeat the purpose of the programme which is more of complementary support than to be relied on as the main source of livelihood for beneficiaries. The real value of the LEAP cash is equivalent to or even less than six days' worth of meals monthly (Yablonski, 2017). Without doubt the withdrawal or erosion of informal support schemes also has negative consequences on community relations where members may feel neglected by their relatives.

On the other hand some beneficiaries observed that the coming of LEAP has not undermined or displaced community relationships. They explained that prior to the implementation of LEAP

they were not able to contribute financially to family welfare schemes. But thanks to the cash they receive as beneficiaries they now are able to contribute to the family pool. Their ability to contribute to family welfare schemes has enhanced their status as active members in their families. Not only are they able to make financial contributions but they are also consulted in decision making.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter highlights summary of findings and analysis of data gathered from DSW, CLIC/focal persons and beneficiaries in Ga South Municipality and MoGCSP. Conclusions and appropriate recommendations were given based on empirical findings.

5.1 Summary

Social protection has attracted significant buy-in locally and globally as the magic bullet in fighting poverty and social exclusion. Its impact in responding to vulnerabilities and plight of the needy and socially excluded are well-known and documented in literature. Ghana's flagship social protection programme, LEAP has grown exponentially over the last decade. The study sought to assess the extent to which LEAP has fostered social inclusion among beneficiaries and effectiveness of mechanisms embedded in LEAP that engender social inclusion.

5.1.1 Beneficiary Participation and LEAP programme

Findings of the study established that the introduction of the LEAP programme was preceded by the formation of community-based bodies called CLICs to who played significant roles in targeting as well as link between DSW and beneficiaries. Membership of CLIC was expected to be drawn from various communities as a way of increasing grassroots participation in the programme. In essence, the anticipation was that since CLICs are community members it will generate a sense of ownership. However evidence from the study point to the fact membership of the CLICs was dominated by local elites such as traditional authority, assembly members, political elites and persons with close links to corridors of power. The implication was that most

beneficiaries believed that this influenced targeting as favourites and loyalists of elites were the ones that got targeted to the exclusion of many poor persons who relatively were more qualified to be included. Another effect was that because beneficiaries felt they played no role in the formation of CLICs the programme suffers some sense of ownership on the part of beneficiaries. It therefore became apparent beneficiaries see the LEAP more as hand-out than as a right.

5.1.2 LEAP enrolment and registration processes

The study observed that enrolment and targeting processes of LEAP did not sufficiently protect beneficiaries' confidentiality and privacy. Indeed there are strong notions of rights as driving the implementation of LEAP. This includes ensuring that implementing the programme in ways that protect and respect human dignity. Findings of the study revealed that enrolment and targeting of beneficiaries have latent consequences on their dignity and social statuses. Expressions of displeasure associated with appearance in public places where passers-by could easily identify beneficiaries seemed to undermine human dignity and further increase stigmatization.

5.1.3 State-citizen relations

It was discovered that the introduction of the LEAP has enhanced the relationship between citizens and the state. Most beneficiaries believed that the state had neglected them and appeared unconcerned about their plight and condition. But since the coming of the programme they now had a sense of citizenship and actively participate in activities to promote national development. The sense of citizenship therefore transcends just being member of a territory to include the ability to enjoy social, political and economic rights within a given polity.

5.1.4 Forum on payment days

As envisaged by the LEAP programme document, forums on payment days are important occasions to beneficiaries as they should afford them opportunity to interact with programme officials, raise awareness of rights and duties, and also avenue for information dissemination. As it turned out, such forums rarely occurred and have largely served as just days for payment purposes with no meetings of beneficiaries to discuss the LEAP programme. Again, due to long queues on payment days there are constant tensions among beneficiaries emanating from delays and long time they spend before accessing their cash.

5.1.5 LEAP as right or charity

Analysis from the study revealed that most beneficiaries viewed the LEAP more as charity than right or entitlement. To this end, because of general notions among beneficiaries that LEAP is a hand-out there is very limited or virtually no effort to hold duty bearers accountable. In some instances, beneficiaries did not even bother to know how much they were entitled to receive or whether they have been paid the correct amount. More so, perceptions of LEAP as charity was characterized by how beneficiaries refer to the cash grant as “Abanmmoa” meaning government support. This has entrenched their understanding that the LEAP is a favour from government.

5.1.6 Conditionalities and LEAP

The study found that conditionalities were meant to instill sense of responsibility and also mechanism to ensure compliance. Whilst conditionalities exist to achieve co-responsibility, some beneficiaries expressed that they have also undermined their capacity to take decisions on their own. Responses from beneficiaries indicated that they were only fulfilling the conditionalities just for the sake of receiving the money and not that they genuinely believed in them.

5.1.7 Mechanisms in LEAP that foster social inclusion

Evidence from the study showed that a notable mechanism like targeting approach of the LEAP produces two contrasting results. For some beneficiaries targeting means the state is concerned about their needs hence prioritizing them for a social security system like LEAP. The introduction of the LEAP has helped to address some imbalances which hitherto hindered their active participation in community social activities. On the other hand some beneficiaries felt that targeting approach of the LEAP has exposed them to some stigmatization from other eligible persons who were not targeted and has therefore affected their relationships with them.

5.1.8 LEAP and complementary services

The LEAP links beneficiaries to other services as a way of giving the programme a holistic look. Services such as education and health are core part of the programme. Beneficiaries are registered free under NHIA in order to meet their health needs. Similarly, educational needs of children are also achieved by requiring that they enrolled in schools. As the study found through the LEAP children of beneficiaries were enrolling in schools and also access to health care was enhanced.

5.1.9 LEAP and community relations

There were mixed results regarding impact of LEAP on community relations. Of major concern is that existing informal support systems were gradually been eroded or displaced by LEAP. In some communities remittances and some financial assistance beneficiaries used to receive from friends and relatives had dipped and they were usually told they could now rely on LEAP. However, in some communities responses showed that LEAP serves as additional source of sustenance to already existing informal support schemes.

5.2 Conclusion

The study has established the LEAP programme has helped in poverty reduction in various ways and there is the need for sustainability of the successes achieved. Through an analysis of the LEAP, the study has revealed the centrality of social inclusion in understanding how social protection programmes are implemented. It has argued that there are some unintended outcomes that undermine efforts to foster social inclusion which the programme might not have envisaged. Although claims of LEAP as right is well- embedded in programme document and articulated by implementers, it has largely remained a perception than reality. Notably, beneficiaries continue to see the LEAP programme as a charity-based intervention partly due to low knowledge and how it is implemented. As a result they do not demand it as right and this has impacted negatively on accountability.

5.3 Recommendations

The following recommendations are made as contributions for improving the programme delivery.

- There must be efforts to allow beneficiaries to own the CLICs by making them select persons from among themselves to serve as the CLICs. In this way, the sense of ownership will be achieved. Also it will enhance accountability because beneficiaries can easily hold their fellow beneficiaries to account more than what currently exists which sets CLICs as distinct from beneficiaries.
- To dispel notions of LEAP as charity, there is need to give legislative backing to it. By legislation, parliament should enact a Legislative Instrument (L.I) establishing the LEAP. This will empower beneficiaries to claim it as right and

also serve as mechanism to check any acts of political manipulation. Therefore there must be efforts to speed up the process of passing the LEAP bill into law.

- Targeting approach should be done in ways that ensure protection of beneficiaries' confidentiality and dignity. Enrolment and registration processes should be carried out in places that guarantee beneficiary comfort with no long queues and unavailability of seats etc.
- Whilst the concept of co-responsibility matters in social protection programmes, it is important to review the conditionalities dimension of the programme in order not to exacerbate perceptions that beneficiaries are incapable of acting as responsible citizens.

5.3 Suggestions for Future Research

The study has established that social inclusion is very important in the design and delivery of the LEAP. It must be noted that context factors could have played significant roles in determining the findings; therefore a study that uses more than one case to include cases from different areas or regions would be a good step to broaden the scope of understanding. Due to the fact that variations in beneficiaries' responses can be influenced by contexts, a study that considers a comparative analysis would be a worthwhile exercise in giving wider view of understanding impacts of LEAP on social inclusion.

Also, because the study sought to look at only social protection programme (LEAP) future research can go beyond this scope and consider two or more social protection programmes in Ghana like NHIA, Ghana School Feeding, Capitation Grant etc.

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