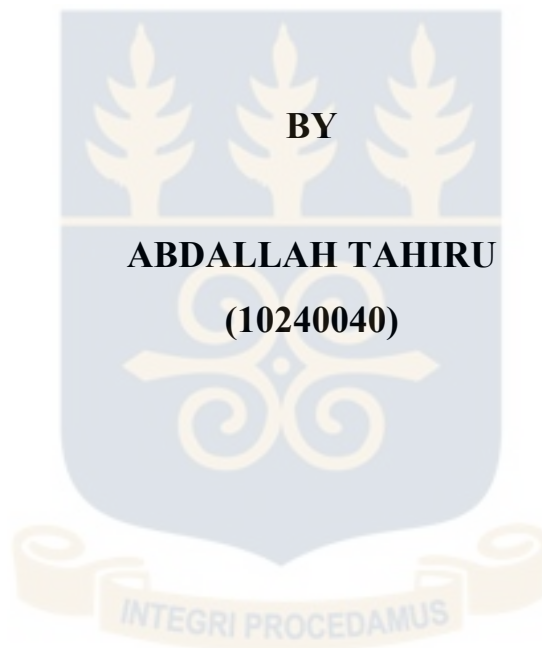


UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

**THE CHALLENGE OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL
GOVERNANCE IN GHANA: A CASE STUDY OF THE TAMALE
METROPOLIS**



**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
BUSINESS SCHOOL, LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF A MASTER OF
PHILOSOPHY IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.**

JUNE, 2014.

DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that this work is the result of my own 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 been fully acknowledged.

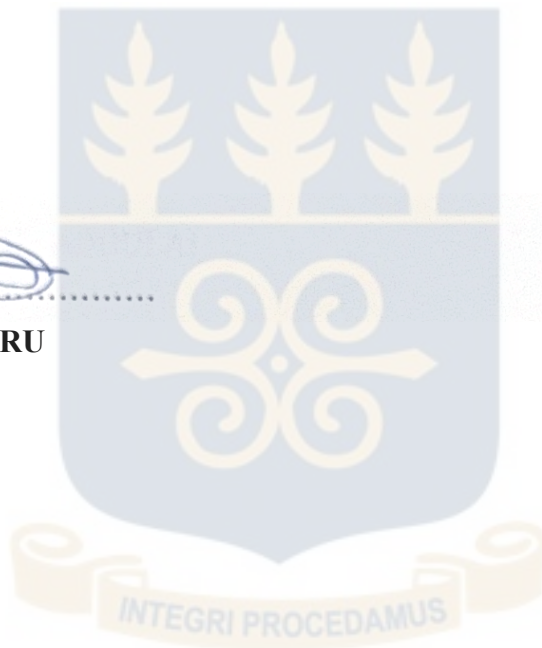
I bear sole responsibility for any shortcomings.



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CERTIFICATION

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




.....

DR. ABDUL-GAFARU ABDULAI
(SUPERVISOR)


.....

DATE

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to all members of my family especially the late Ayishetu Sakunde, my late father, friends and colleagues for their extraordinary support for me throughout my education.



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am highly overwhelmed and humbled that I have been blessed to climb another step in the academic ladder. As I count my blessings now, I recall with delight and appreciation the tremendous support from my lecturers and friends. To this end, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all those willing helpers.

I wish to first and foremost acknowledge the support of my supervisor, Dr. Abdul-GafaruAbdulai for his good guidance and direction. Indeed, it is very significant for me to state sincerely that his timely response to my work, recommendation of articles and advice regarding how I could proceed with the thesis even made me to develop more interest in research work. Also, I wish to thank my lecturers (Bawole, Seidu, Buaben, Asamoah, Appiah) for the guidance and contributions they also offered towards this work and my academic progress in the UGBS more broadly.

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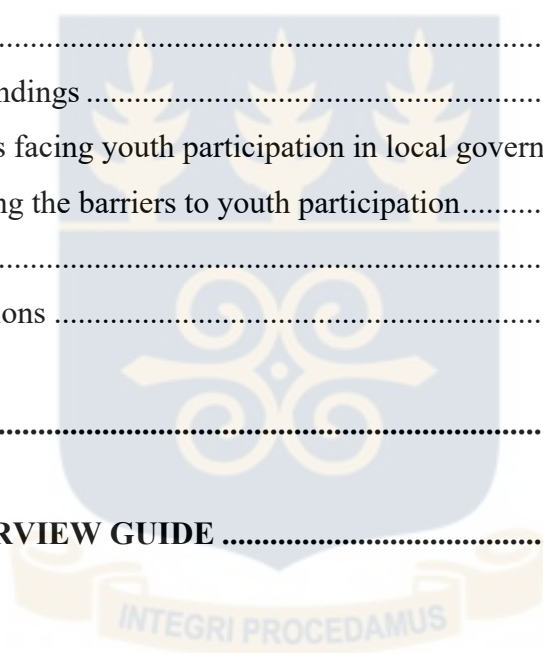
I wish to thank all my UG friends for their acquaintance and friendship.

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ABSTRACT

This study assesses the challenges of effective youth participation in local governance in Ghana, focusing specifically on the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly in the Northern region. It employed the qualitative research approach. The purposive sampling technique was used to select twenty-two (22) respondents for the study. Primary data was gathered mainly via in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. The study identified resource and capacity constraints, institutional barriers, and discrimination and prejudice as the key factors that undermine the effective participation of the youth in local governance in Tamale Metropolitan Assembly. The study also identified education, timely information dissemination, consultation and empowerment as measures to overcome these challenges. The study concludes that even though the youth appear to be enthusiastic about participating in local governance; their interest has been shrouded with multifaceted challenges. The study recommends that citizenship education and sensitisation should be embarked on to build the capacities of the youth. It is recommended that efforts should be made to provide employment opportunities for the youth in order to address the resource constraints. Finally, the study recommends to the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly to regularly engage the youth and provide the platform for interactions and discussions.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The subject of youth participation in both local and national politics has increasingly attracted attention since the early 1990s. Although there have been numerous studies on the engagement of the youth with national level decision-making structures (White, Ritchie & Bruce, 2000; Park, 1999; Wilkinson & Mulgan, 1995), little is known about the underlying factors that account for the general apathy of the youth in local governance administration. One important, but largely ignored question in much of current literature on local governance administration relates to the limited participation of the youth in local level decision making processes in many developing countries including Ghana. Using the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly of the Northern region of Ghana as a case study, this research seeks to unravel the factors that explain the limited participation of the youth in local governance in Ghana, and explore ways in which this problem could be redressed.

1.1 Background to the Study

The youth constitutes the bulk of the labour force (60%) and voting population (76%) of Ghana. This means that, this group is vital to local governance and administration in Ghana (Ghana Statistical Service, 2000; Electoral Commission of Ghana, 2008). The youth without doubt form a significant proportion of the population in the hinterland (GSS, 2010) and if proper meaning is to be given to the adage that says power is exercised by the people organized from the grassroots; then the youth should equally play a central role in local level decision-making processes which will be more reflective of their numerical strength. Unfortunately, the youth are absent when it comes to the issue of representing their locality or community to make decisions at local council level. It is obvious that democracy is

appreciated all over the world because of the opportunity it provides for the participation of various interest groups in the management of societal affairs. It is reasonable to argue, therefore, that participation in decision making will be severely hindered if it does not involve all the stakeholders which include the youth.

The youth represent the true assets and future of any country in the world. Addressing their hopes and aspirations must therefore be an integral part of the socio-economic development efforts of any country. Successive governments in Ghana have over the years recognised the need for policies that would empower the youth for effective participation in national development (Ghana Youth Policy, 2010). Furthermore, the youth policy document of Ghana states that the youth are a major source of human capital and are key agents for socio-cultural, economic and political development as well as technological innovation worldwide. The youth's imaginations, ideals, energies and visions are essential for the continuous development of communities or society at large (Ibid). Their training, development, intellectual perspectives and productive abilities are key determinants of the progress and future of any given society. Again, the policy document states that the development and empowerment of the youth is imperative for the attainment of national developmental goals.

In spite of the recognition of the youth as a valuable resource for the advancement of the Ghanaian society, a large number of them are affected by factors such as poverty, social exclusion and economic marginalization (Ghana youth Policy, 2010). As its agenda for the youth, the Government of Ghana in a policy document promised the effective mobilization of the youth, the productive engagement of their talents and energies through the creation of an enabling environment to afford the youth the opportunity to realize their full potential

which would go a long way to benefit their communities as well as the general society. In discussing the youth, it is important to explain who the youth are.

The United Nations (UN) defined youth population “as the age cohort 15-24” (UN Economic and Social Affairs, 1995). The report further states that the meaning of the term youth varies in different societies around the world. In similar vein, the Commonwealth Youth Programme (CYP) considers the youth as those aged 15-29. The African Unions’ Youth Charter refers to the youth as those between the ages of 15 and 35 years (African Youth Charter, 2006). Like many West African states, Ghana’s draft youth policy classifies youth as those within the 15 to 35 age group. This research therefore focuses on the age group 18-35years due to the fact they have the potential and capacity of being part of governance and decision making process given that the minimum voting age in Ghana is pegged at 18 years.

In 1988, the government of Ghana embarked on the implementation of a comprehensive policy of decentralisation. The 1992 Constitution of Ghana and the various legislations on decentralisation articulate the explicit objectives of decentralisation to include empowerment, participation, accountability, effectiveness, efficiency, and responsiveness. Ghana’s decentralization program aims at devolving power and resources in order to promote participatory democracy through local level institutions. Some of the mechanisms through which citizens express their views include voting during local elections every 4 years.

Representation of the youth in decision-making positions in Ghana over the years remains an issue of concern. Given that the youth constitute more than half (50.5%) of Ghana’s total population, (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010), there is a gross under-representation of youth

in key policy and decision-making positions. A look at the situation in Ghana suggests that there is much work to be done to empower the youth and bring them on an even level politically. If the intention behind effective and increased participation as well as involvement of the people in matters affecting their lives is recognized and accepted, then, all dominant sections of the society must meaningfully get involved in the process of getting the youth fairly represented at the local governance level where they can be groomed to be part of the governance at the national level.

Similarly, it must be emphasized that youth participation in local governance is necessary for the utilization of their potentials and contributions to local, national and international developments around the social, economic and political lives of the citizens. Thus, to meet the stated objectives of the decentralization process, local governance must incorporate the experiences of both the old and the youth through equal representation at all levels of decision-making process (Evertzen, 2001). It is against this background that this research examined youth participation in local governance which brings to the fore the perceived benefits of such participation in national developments. The study further investigates the factors that account for the limited participation of the youth in local governance in Ghana and explores ways in which the interest of the youth in local government could be stimulated.

1.2 Problem Statement

Ghana, like other developing countries, has been engaged in efforts to develop participatory governance over the years with little success. Devas and Grant (2003) suggest that much of experimentation with these new forms of participatory governance appears to be taking place at the local level, where concerns about the quality of development seem more pressing. This statement is reiterated by Annan (1998) that the youth are not only the leaders

of tomorrow; they can also play a leading role in the development of their communities and the nation today.

Thus, researchers in development planning have paid considerable attention to questions of participation (e.g., Finsterbusch & Wicklin, 1987; Warner, 1997; Corneille & Shiffman, 2004; Kim, 2011; cited in Gyampo & Franklin, 2013). But little is known about participation of youth in local governance and its implications on national development.

In Africa, the situation on youth participation is minimal which does not auger well for the development of the continent and youth mentorship. As a result, questions about youth participation have not been central to the study of participation. Hence, this study sought to fill this gap created by investigating the role of the youth in local governance in Ghana specifically the Tamale Metropolis in the northern region of Ghana. In Ghana, studies on participatory governance are solely on women issues to the neglect of the youth who equally deserve adequate attention (see, for example, Apusiga, 2009; Britwum, 2009 cited in Gyampo & Franklin, 2013). Other studies also tend to focus on youth participation in national development (Gyampo & Franklin, 2013), with limited attention devoted to youth participation in local governance. Development at the local and national levels can be effectively enhanced when it starts at the local level through to the national level. Youth participation is fundamental to this project. Youth participation entails offering young people as many opportunities as possible to be involved in a full range of social and democratic activities.

Better still, the rudiments and fundamentals of local politics in general are learnt from the grassroots which serves as a nursing ground for the development of national politicians.

Therefore, if we genuinely want to see more youth involved in politics and governance, then the local level serves as a more fertile ground and appropriate starting point.

The emphasis on the youth is apt. Contemporary post-colonial governance has taken an unusual view of the role of the youth in national development (Gyampo & Franklin, 2013). In spite of their demographic weight, the youth do not have a formal participatory role in the policy implementation process in modern day Ghana (Ibid). Again, when it comes to implementing policies and programs intended to promote youth participation, the youth are marginalized. In fact, state institutions that have no or little expertise about youth work are tasked to implement youth programs for the youth to the neglect of the youth themselves.

In some cases, such as the Youth in Agriculture Programme (YAP), government ministries with no expertise in working with the youth are tasked to implement the program instead of the National Youth Council (NYC) or representatives of the youth groups (Djan, 2014). It seems that the only formal avenue for the participation of the youth is recruitment into the government ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) which offers employment to only 2% of the youth population (ISSER, 2010).

1.3 Aims and Objectives of the Study

This study sought to find out the challenges that the youth face in their bid to participate in local process within the Tamale Metropolis.

The specific objectives of this study were to:

1. Identify the challenges facing youth participation in local governance in the Tamale Metropolis.
2. Examine the measures that can help to address the challenges facing youth participation in local governance in the Tamale Metropolis.

1.4 Research Questions

In order to achieve the study objectives, the study is guided by the following research questions.

1. What hinder effective youth participation in local governance in the Tamale Metropolis of Northern Ghana?
2. How can the challenges to youth participation in local governance in the Tamale Metropolis be addressed?

1.5 Significance of the Study

To show the importance of the youth in socio-economic development, J.F. Kennedy once said, the future of any nation depends on the current prospects of its youth. Governments all over the world, especially in developing countries, have become greatly concerned with the difficulties or challenges of youth participation in local governance.

The basis for undertaking this study was to add more information to studies done on participation specifically youth participation in local governance. The study analysed the various challenges facing youth participation in local governance in Ghana particularly Tamale Metropolitan Assembly. Therefore, the result of the study could be used to purge the difficulties of youth participation in local governance in Ghana. Also, the study would help local government authorities to design practical ways through which youth participation in local governance could be enhanced. Again, the study would equip the youth in Ghana with the needed knowledge, skills and attitudes to take up responsibility at the local and national levels.

The recommendations of the study were based on the findings. These recommendations should guide policy makers in future especially in implementing programs on how the interest of the youth in local governance could be stimulated.

1.6 Research Limitations

Common to social science research, the researcher was faced with a number of limitations which bothered mainly on resource constraints both in terms of time and finance. First, the time available was limited. The researcher had less than a year to complete the research work, the researcher had to combined data collection and course work which made the process quite challenging.

Finally, the financial resource available to the researcher was not adequate to recruit extra hands in data collection. Time and financial resources did not allow for a wider coverage possibly a comparison of two district assemblies.

In spite of these challenges the researcher was quite determined to work extra hours and even on weekends to make the work a success. The findings and the conclusions are therefore reliable because the researcher conformed to the accepted procedure for carrying out social science research.

1.7 Organisation of the study

The study has been sectioned into six chapters as follow;

Chapter one constitutes the introduction for the study, comprising background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, questions for the study, significance of the study, Scope of the study, organisation of the study and conclusion.

Chapter two reviews literature in the area of study and constructs that have been formulated for the study to reduce any unnecessary ambiguities.

Chapter three discusses the Concept of Decentralisation and Local Governance in Ghana.

Chapter four discusses the methodology for the collection and analysis of data to achieve the research objectives and so answer the research questions. It includes research paradigm

and design, data, sampling technique and size, data Collection procedure and administration of instrument, validity and reliability of data, fieldwork experiences, data management and analysis ethical issues and the conclusion of the chapter.

Chapter five contains analysis and discussion of findings which includes description and analysis of results and discussion of the results.

Chapter six which is the final chapter constitutes the summary of the study as well as reporting. It comprises summary of the findings, recommendation and limitations of the study and recommendations for further research.



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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews relevant literature on (youth) political participation and presents the theoretical framework of the study. It also looks at theories on participation and making them youth specific; particularly, the Civic voluntarism Model and the Rational Choice Theory. The review of literature draws on academic materials and others that centralize the issues of youth participation on governance, and give space to how other researchers see and conceptualise those issues. The researcher examines the concept of participation as well as social and political participation and further examines the local government and decentralisation, youth participation in local governance, significance of youth participation as well as challenges of youth participation in local governance. It ends with a summary of the chapter.

2.1 Concept of Participation

The term “participation” has increasingly gained popularity within the 1970s and 2000s though its concise meaning is yet to be deduced, making it impossible to establish a universal definition. Nevertheless, the most recognized perspective from which participation is often explained is the one provided by development theories. Participation, according to the World Bank, is the process through which stakeholders influence and share control over priority setting, policy-making, resource allocation and access to public goods and services (World Bank, 2001). Some commentators argue that the term implies the need to involve the disadvantaged segment of the populace in the design and implementation of policies that concern their wellbeing (Bentley, Oakley, Gibson and Kilgour, 1999). Other scholars posit that because participation lends itself to different conceptual meanings, it has

no blueprint with which it can be measured. That notwithstanding, they argue that in whatever context or reason they are used, participatory processes or civic engagement increases the transparency of the decision-making process. This in turn will improve government accountability to the people and as a result, increase the overall governance and economic efficiency of development activities (Tikare, Youssef, Donnelly-Roark & Shah, 2001).

According to Konrad (2008) participation denotes taking part in the conduct of public life as spelt out by the universal declaration of human rights. In her view, participation means collective and continuous efforts by the people themselves in setting goals, pooling resources together and taking actions which aim at improving their living conditions. Devas and Grant (2003) explained the concept to mean the ways in which ordinary citizens can take part in the formulation or implementation of social policy decisions. The UN (2003) provided a rather more practical definition of the concept of participation, defining it as a process whereby people are closely involved in the economic, social, cultural and political processes that affect their lives. Similarly, Bessant (2004) suggests that participation involves all forms of action through which citizens take part in the operations of state administration.

Bessant (2004) further distinguishes between a narrow and a broader meaning of participation. In its narrow sense, participation means specific action by which citizens participate for a limited purpose. Broadly, the concept refers to the role of members of the general public as distinguished from that of appointed officials in influencing the activities of government or in providing directly for community needs. In this broad sense, Felix (2003) has defined participation as; physical presence, voice and ability to influence outcomes of decision making spaces in the public sphere, from national to local politics and

to small community organisations to assuming key positions in decision making processes (Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca, Winters & Matthew, 2008). Arnstein (1969) reiterates that participation is a process that enables “have-not” citizens (who are usually excluded from decision making processes) to be included.

Many scholars have provided a typology for participation (Konrad, 2008; Monno & Khakee 2012). However, the most widely acknowledged of these is ‘Arnstein’s ladder of participation’. Arnstein’s ladder has eight ranks of participation with each rank corresponding to an extent of citizen’s participation. The eight ranks of the ladder are a manipulation and therapy which describe the levels of non-participation. Its objective is not to enable power-holders to educate and participate (Arnstein, 1969). The second level is the level of tokenism which involves informing, consultation and placation. Under this level, citizens may hear or be heard but lack the power to influence decisions; to Arnstein, this level is an illustration of a voice without a voice itself. The highest level of participation to Arnstein is power. This includes partnership, delegated power and citizen control. This level represents the climax of participation, as citizens control all issues and win the majority of decision-making seats.

Rina (2012) advances that youth are not active in governance and by extension in local government. When one participates it means that person is a “part of”. However, the act of being ‘part of’ can be active –where an individual or group of individuals are involved in a step-by-step process where the opposite is true, that is, where people are either “part of” the process only half of the time. This is called ‘passive participation’ and Donna thinks that the youth are part of the latter form of participation. From the above, a person participates in an issue or event when he/she is actively concerned about it and takes action to exhibit such concern. Thus, for participation to occur, a person must be involved in the formulation

and implementation of plans and policies as explained by Nitzberg (2005). Participation is also not dependent on passive membership but on active decision-making. Beyond this, Weitz-Shapiro and Winters (2008), suggest that participation embraces the level of consultation or decision making in all phases of a project cycle or event from needs assessment to appraisal, to implementation, to monitoring and evaluation. Nitzberg (2005) justified this assertion when he explained that, participation excludes the following situations. When an individual merely takes part in a group activity, this is where an individual is merely given information on a decision affecting him or her before it is executed, or an individual is present at a meeting but has no influence.

To Nitzberg (2005) accepting participation involves accepting power. The exercise of power is to make decisions or influence decision making process. Through participation citizens have the power to decide on a preferred government system as well as the policies that affect their lives. To Arnstein (1969), there is critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process. He believes that, participation without the redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless.

Similarly, participation is associated with empowerment. Participation and empowerment are associated because when one is offered the opportunity to participate, it means the person is empowered. As Weitz-Shapiro and Winters (2008), have also recognized the strong relationship between participation and empowerment. Different as they may be, the two concepts depend on each other to give meaning and purpose. While participation represents action, or being part of an action such as decision making process, empowerment represents sharing control, the ability to participate, to influence decision as well as allocation of resources (Nitzberg, 2005). According to Sherrod et al s (2002), empowerment

is determined by the extent to which people participate in activities outside their immediate home and work lives in the domain of civil society. There is a basic right to participate and the objective is to introduce change in social conditions (Annan, 1998).

In conclusion, participation is more than perceiving that diverging views agree or are involved; it also involves the process of who gets to be part and how, how are decisions and consensus arrived at among others? Participation is a 'complete package' deal and cannot be broken into parts.

2.1.1 Political Participation

Political participation encompasses the many activities used by citizens to influence the selection of political leaders and the policies that are pursued. Political participation derives from the freedom to speak out, assemble and associate; the ability to take part in the conduct of public affairs; and the opportunity to register as a candidate, to campaign, to be elected and to hold office at all levels of government. As Verba and Nie (1972) put it, political participation refers to those activities by private citizens that aim at influencing the government, either by affecting the choice of government personnel or by affecting the choices made by government personnel. In addition, Zeldin (2002) posits that political participation is a means by which governing officials are informed of the preferences and the needs of the public and are induced to respond to those preferences and needs. However, several political theories have different perspective concerning political participation and have as such defined it within their scope (Warner, 1997; Verba and Nie, 1972). Warner (1997) has defined political participation as any behaviour intended to directly or indirectly influence public decision-making process thereby securing a particular political outcome.

Weitz-Shapiro, Rebaacca and Winters (2008) make the point that, political participation in a democracy can take many forms, ranging from voting for representatives at regular intervals to voting on policies in referenda, forming political groups, and engaging in legal or illegal protest. The individuals engaged in such participation likely expect or at least hope that these actions will have some impact on the content of government policies. However, the effects of political participation might not be limited to outcomes. The UN (2006) provided a broader definition of political participation to include taking part in the process of formulations, passage and implementation of public policies. To this effect, political participation can be considered to include series of activities that influence public policies or government actions. As stipulated by Pittman and Wright (1991), each citizen has the right to political participation in a bid to influence public affairs. The UN (1948) Universal Declaration on Human Rights has given a legal right to citizen political participation and this has since seen many treaties adopting it most notable is the 1976 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. It must be emphasized that unlike the other forms of participation, the right to citizen's political participation is restricted to persons only endorsed with citizenship status. The nodes of political participation expresses itself in individual and collective actions that include voting, campaigning, contacting, group action and protesting (Mardle & Taylor, 1987). In addition, Konrad (2008) has included aggressive political behaviour based on two fundamental political attitudes: the sense of political efficacy and generalized support for the political system that allows various modes of political participation. Though, it is the aspiration of every organisation to attain this ideal status, that is not always the case; ethnic minorities, youth, women and other weak groups are a part of society but they have always found themselves in the peripheries of political participation and other forms of participation (such as education and social life).

The youth, are often deprived from full participation in politics beyond casting votes and working as volunteers during campaign. Their female counterparts are even more hit, as women (young women) have traditionally found it difficult to ascend the political ladder. The life of an African politician is one expensive situation which many of the youth today are not able to afford; in Ghana for example, more than 40% of the 52% youth population are unemployed, thus finding the money to run for a political seat is a rather tall order (Gyampo & Franklin, 2013). As a result of this economic disempowerment, many youth in Ghana can only afford to be passive political participants, such as voting during each electoral cycle.

As argued by Bessant (2004), participation in liberal democratic tradition is hinged around social, political, and economic parameters. These three issues; social, political, and economic have been the handicap of the youth to participate in governance. Socially, the youth are people that are “helpless and powerless” and that need taking care of, hence policies addressing youth problems are formulated outside of the youth (Verba, Sidney, Norman and Jae-On (1978: p13). Politically, the age requirement on who occupies what position discriminates against youth. The voting age is set at 18 years upwards, yet most political positions are not accessible to people in this age group. A case in point is, while an 18 year old can vote during presidential and parliamentary elections, he or she cannot be elected as a President.

The situation of youth employment suggests a poor economic state of the youth as they have the worst jobs, lowest salaries (sometimes) below minimum wage and generally earn the least (UN, 2006). By and large, low economic standards translate into low participation in decision making and governance and to compound this problem is the widespread belief in Africa that says the youth are only to be seen and not heard. More so, the youth in Africa

are seen as part of the problem and not part of the solution. Indeed the framing of youth empowerment and participation in governance by policy makers, and the mainstreaming of youth programmes into national and local politics are unmatched; so that it raises the question of whose voice is actually being heard, and to what effect (Bessant, 2004). Even among the youth, the case of young females is an issue, as females are further under-represented. Society seems to segregate what a male and female youth should do and so are the expectations of them (Warner, 1997). The situation is not different for ethnic minorities and other under-represented groups in society.

Bessant's (2004) argument is supported by the fact that the key agencies that conceptualise develop and implement youth programs which are aimed at youth participation in Ghana, are usually headed or led by people that are outside the youth cohorts (18-35 years). Certain key leadership positions that are headed by people described as 'relatively young' are usually people who are in their 40's and above (Bessant, 2004). The irony is that, the few people that get to be appointed are males as against females (who are in the minority at the same time) and they are the people who have access to political power overtime. As Wilkinson (1997) argued liberty and individual development can only be fully achieved with the direct and continuous involvement of citizens (youth) in the regulation of the society and state. Pittman and Wright argue that participatory democracy fosters human development, enhances a sense of political efficacy, reduces the feeling of separation from power centres, nurtures a concern for collective problems and contributes to the formation of an active and well-informed citizenry capable of taking a keen interest in government affairs (Pittman & Wright, 1991). They argue further that, it is only if the individual has the opportunity to participate directly in decision-making at the local level that any real control over the course of everyday life can be achieved, especially under modern conditions.

It is important therefore to expect many of the youth in Ghana to be actively participating in decision-making processes at all levels, to create the opportunity for Ghana to continuously recreate itself in both present and future times among what is perhaps its most important demography. Youth politicians can increase youth representation in political activities by mobilizing other youth around; this demands for a greater presence of the youth in political decision-making, raising awareness about the problem of under-representation in party and parliamentary contexts, and asserting pressure on the party leadership to increase youth presence in the party structures and candidate lists.

2.1.2 Social Participation

Social participation involves shared activities that individuals may be engaged in as part of their everyday lives. These might include: being a member of a community group, tenants' association or trade union, supporting the local community in voluntary activities. According to Berner (2001) the main concern with social participation has time and again been related with involvement in community projects and social interventions. This is based on the perceived benefits that it brings to community and social intervention programs, in terms of added efficiency, sustainability and the collective community power (Berner, 2001). As such, they view participation as implying organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions, in given social situations, on the part of the groups and movements hitherto excluded from such control.

Social participation can be categorised into three major forms; being present, being involved and being in control. He said, being present requires the physical presence of members during social projects. Also, being involved implies an active participation in decision-making regarding formulation and implementation of program objectives. He further observed that, participation in development activities or social interventions is most often

measured by the presence of participants. He acknowledged that participation being equated to presence is adopted by most development theories and adult educators, because of the important political impact on members in programs and their influences when it comes to soliciting support.

2.2 Local governance and decentralisation

Decentralisation has progressively become a widespread and important element of political and administrative development in many developing countries since the late 1980s. This is buttressed by a variety of players ranging from national governments to international development agencies, non-governmental and grassroots organisations, though undoubtedly for different purposes. In most countries in Africa, decentralisation is applied in various forms by governments. Indeed, in West Africa it is difficult to find a country that does not have a decentralisation programme (Crawford, 2003).

Decentralisation is a vital tool in governance and because of this the government of Ghana in 1988 introduced a decentralisation program based on governmental values such as empowerment accountability, participation and checking rural urban migration (Aryee, 2003).

Decentralisation concerns how government should be structured. All modern states face the fundamental issue of where power and authority should be located. One possibility is to centralise power and authority in the national capital. Another is to distribute them to smaller administrative territories such as regions, districts or even villages. Alongside decisions about what aspects of power, authority, functions and resources need to be decentralised, is the question of what institutions are needed to make government, both central and local, work effectively.

According to Beall (2005) decentralisation is the transfer of authority or the dispersal of power in public planning, management and decision-making from the national level to sub-national or lower levels of government. It is also referred to as any act in which a central government formally cedes powers to actors and institutions at lower levels in a political administrative and territorial hierarchy (Aryee, 2003). Decentralization in reality involves the devolution of responsibilities and resources to independent and autonomous sub-national authorities that are accountable to both the central government and their communities (Aryee, 2000).

There are four governance values that are linked with decentralization. First, by bringing governance closer to the people, decentralization results in a closer comparison between public preferences and public policy. Second, decentralization encourages diversity in public policies. Policy diversity supports innovation, since it provides opportunity for experimentation by local units. Third, decentralization promotes political participation, education and leadership development. By devolving real decision making to local levels, higher levels of inter-sectoral participation in local government results from decentralization thus anchoring citizens in the political system and enhancing democracy (Beall, 2005; Aryee, 2000, Crawford, 2004).

District Assemblies are the pivots around which the decentralization programme revolves. It is assumed that democracy will be deepened by the extension of political representation to the local level, with democratic processes strengthened through enhanced political participation by local civil society actors (Crawford, 2004).

There are three forms of decentralization; thus, deconcentration, delegation, and devolution. Deconcentration is the transfer of functions or responsibilities of the central government to

local administrative units that are part of central government. It is the redistribution of decision-making and financial management responsibilities among different levels of the central government. Delegation is a more extensive form of decentralization in which the central government transfers the responsibility of decision-making and administration of public functions to semi-autonomous organizations not wholly controlled by the central government, but ultimately accountable to the government (Crawford, 2004). Devolution is where government transfers responsibilities for services to municipalities that elect their own mayors and councils, raise their own revenues, and have independent authority to make investment decisions (Beall, 2005).

In its most general sense, decentralisation is about delegating decision-making powers from a central body to a lower level closer to the public who are to be governed and served. Estimates suggest that decentralisation is currently being pursued in over 80% of developing countries worldwide (Smoke, 2003). For many people, local government is the part of government that most directly impacts on their lives, particularly via the provision of services like water, sanitation, and primary education and healthcare.

Local government is the system of locally elected members representing their communities and making decisions on their behalf. Berner (2001) defined local governance as a government unit within the sovereign state dealing mainly with local affairs, administered by the local authorities. In similar vein, Crook and Manor (1998) perceived local governance as the governance of a specific local area, constituting a political sub-division of a nation, state or other major political unit.

Local authorities cannot achieve their objectives alone. They work closely with central government and with other organisations and citizens. Everything local authorities do is

within the legislative framework established and maintained by Parliament or central government. Some statutes also establish council's accountability to central government for delivering a function or for the expenditure of some grants and subsidies. Local government works in much the same way as central government. Individual elects representatives to the local authorities, to work on solutions for local issues. This includes providing an infrastructural and planning framework in which communities can grow and the economy can flourish. In Ghana, local governance system has been part of the country's way of life, where chiefs and local authorities held political and social power to administer local affairs. However, the earliest organized form of local governance was the indirect rule system introduced by the British Colonial authority.

In conclusion, the process of decentralization requires concerted efforts in capacity-building and institutional reform and should therefore be associated with the strengthening of local authorities

2.3 Youth participation in local governance

The subject of youth participation in both local and national politics has been an ongoing political and policy concern in Ghana and elsewhere since the early 1990s. As noted by Banks and Ullah (1987) there has been a recent decline in voting across all age groups but particularly amongst youth at local and national levels. This has raised the prominence of the issue and resulted in debates about the importance of encouraging youth participation in political life. As the local government is responsible for a wide range of youth concerns and interests, it is mandatory for them to play a critical role in motivating and engaging the interest and participation of the youth in politics.

Keen attention has been paid to the issue of youth participation in local government across the globe; it has not only been the concern of various governments but also an issue being tackled by the international community at a collective stage through various continental and global unions.

The UN has a youth policy that recognizes access to education, adequate healthcare, employment, financial services, and participation in public life for the youth in order to help them fully realize their potentials; and for governments to fulfil human right obligations and democratic principles. The UN Program on Youth basically is to assist member states and the international community in their efforts to empower youth through advocacy, promote national youth policies and strengthen youth participation.

The Commonwealth Youth Program (CYP) was established in 1974 with all the 53 member states signing up to the Commonwealth plan of action for youth empowerment; the plan of action underpins the work of the Commonwealth youth program. This Action for youth empowerment was developed by the Secretariat, working closely with ministers of youth of member states and the youth themselves.

Article 24 (1) of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU stipulates that, the youth may express their views freely on matters which concern them but they must be considered in accordance with their age and maturity. The idea was to promote an active and responsible European citizenship on the part of youth, whose interest in public affairs kept declining, with the attendant risk of citizenship deficit. Youth policies serve to facilitate young people's transition into working life and develop their active citizenship at the European level.

According to the African Youth Charter, the AU has declared the years 2009-2018 as the Decade for Youth Development. The African Youth Charter adopted by the 7th ordinary session of the assembly in Banjul, Gambia on July 2nd 2006 spelt out the rights and duties of member states and the youth. It upholds the principles of non-discrimination, freedom of expression, movement and association, freedom of conscience, thought and religion.

The National Youth Policy represents a declaration and commitment of the priorities, directions and practical support that a country intends to provide for the development of its youth. It is a concrete and bold step to put the development and participation of youth at the centre of national development efforts. The policy takes into account the range of problems faced by the youth, anticipates the challenges that they are likely to confront and outlines appropriate objectives, policies, programmes and implementation plans which will be put in place so as to empower the youth to take charge of their own destiny as well as make them active participants in the shaping of the political and economic destiny of our nation. In light of this, various governments have developed youth policy documents to enhance the potentials of the youth.

West Africa has also shared the light of international and national imperatives and has prompted local government authorities to find ways to consult the youth. Whether these imperatives are viewed as requirements or endorsements of existing policies and practices, the overall effect has been increasing attention on how the youth might be involved in advising or participating in the decision-making processes of local government (Devas & Grant, 2003). In a bid to bring about community development, the trend towards involving the youth in local governance in West Africa is gaining momentum. Since the 1980s, the process of devolving both power and function from State agencies to local authorities has been administered to varying degrees throughout the region. Natural resource management

is one of the driving elements for promoting youth participation with the rationale being that a youth-centred approach to governing will more likely facilitate faster beneficial returns and reduce natural resource based conflicts.

Nigeria began its local governance programme in 1976. During the 1980s and 90s, the process was intimately tied to the tumultuous political history of military-versus-civilian governments. The political twist has been that some of the greatest institutional initiatives towards strengthening local democratic governance have been undertaken by military leaders who came to power by undemocratic means. Nevertheless, the local governance structure can be accredited with partially succeeding at reducing the effects of political corruption within state and national institutions (Olowu, 2001). In this sense, the relative autonomy that local governments are granted under Nigeria's fourth republic has contributed to a more egalitarian society at the local level. On the other hand, the volatility of states in the Niger Delta in Southern Nigeria reflects the challenges that the country has faced in its local governance processes. Notable among these challenges is the bitter war of slow destruction waged by local communities against State authorities (and multinational companies) to gain more equitable control over the revenues derived from mineral resources. The national wealth generated from the mineral abundance is contrasted therefore, to the endangered public health and environmental degradation of these local communities (Olowu, 2001). Despite the resource management deficiencies in the Niger Delta, Nigeria's local governance processes can be deemed considerably successful thus far. This is largely because local authorities have benefitted from significant increases in the percentage of federal revenues transferred to local budgets, which has in turn translated into an increase in qualitative leadership and resource management (Hyden, 2006). In contrast, the Senegalese face major constraint due to the lack of budgetary commitment at the federal level and the institutional transfer of authority (Olowu, 2001).

Liberia's local governance system is uniquely formulated to meet its post-conflict challenges; the devastating effect of 15 years of civil war has meant that both state-building and nation-building are the most essential and immediate tasks. It should be emphasised that previous efforts at administering comprehensive local government programmes were attempted under all previous regimes, notably under President Tolbert's administration in the mid-70s. These attempts consisted of the enlargement of the mandate of the Ministry of Local Government and the absorption of the Tribal Government System into the national institutional structure (Charles, 2006). Currently, the local government structure is managed by the Liberian Local Government Development Programme, heavily subsidised by a joint effort on behalf of the United Nations Capital Development Fund (UNCDF) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The greatest obstacles identified by county administrators during a recent leadership training programme held in mid-October, 2008 were: limited resources, broken-down infrastructure, and lack of technical know-how (UN, 2006).

Sierra Leone passed into law the Local Government Act in 2004. It took effect on 1 March, 2004 after local government elections were successfully conducted. The legislation marked the beginning of a process of devolving powers from state authorities to local councils that were present in each of the various localities, consisting of 13 districts, 5 towns and the capital city of Freetown. The local councils were headed by a chairperson, a specific number of councillors, in addition to a specified number of paramount chiefs. Both the position of the chairperson and the councillors were regulated by periodic elections held in each locality, based to universal democratic practices.

As this overview has already illustrated, there are limitations to putting into practice what already exists in legislation. On the whole, West Africa is still grappling with systemic

inefficiencies such as delayed budget allocation and poor financial management within local governance sub-structures. However, successful experiences have also been recorded, as in the case of the “rapid results approach” employed in Sierra Leone. A notable variation in the forms of local government is seen in the election of council officials, ideally conducted under democratic conditions, through routine and transparent elections; where electors are determined by universal adult suffrage. In Sierra Leone, prospective councillors are allowed to sit as independent candidates or represent a political party, while in Liberia all appointments with the exception of the city mayors are determined by the office of the president (Charles, 2006).

In sum, though youth groups and youth organisation are active and helping in the implementation of programmes at the local level and participating somewhat in the decision making process what most youth groups actually get served is tokenism and decoration, so that in effect, what the youth get to do is to be on the side of non-participation.

2.4 Significance of youth participation in Local Governance

Over the last decade, the idea of youth participation has once more become a popular part of contemporary political talk in Western societies. In her opinion, Bessant (2004) concludes that indeed most western governments now advocate enhanced youth participation as part of a discourse about modern citizenship, so much so that it has become a policy cliché to say “an increase in youth participation” will ‘empower’ the youth, help build community and remedy a range of social problems. In short, the official message is that youth participation enhances citizenship while tackling a range of social problems.

According to Annan (1998); African Union (2010) youth participation has its own returns in terms of its positive impact on good governance, sustainable development, expansion of

human capital and preparing the youth for the future and enhancing their confidence and their responsibilities as agents of change. Participation in the local governance process has the likelihood of strengthening social development, building institutional capacities and facilitating change within the environment. Where institutions such as the local government authorities commit themselves to offering the youth platforms to share in the responsibility and power regarding activities that influence their life as youth, it creates a greater possibility for them to have a positive outlook over their behaviour. Even though this position has influenced many experts who are with the youth development field to advocate for youth participation in programmes (such as local governance), empirical evidence on the ground does not indicate this position (Devas & Grant, 2003).

Konrad (2008) emphasized that, the full participation of youth in governance is essential for the achievement of both transparent and accountable government administration and sustainable development in all spheres of life. Therefore the youth equally have the right to participate in decision-making in governance for reasons of equality, democracy and legitimacy.

Also, Nitzberg (2005) argued that, youth equal participation inculcates a deep sense of commitment to community goals and objectives. It further heightens a sense of value, self-worth and importance among the youth which are positive motivational elements for human beings. But according to Bessant (2004) active participation equips them with transformative power with which they are able to turn their lives around. She further postulated that, the socio-economic development of every country cannot be fully achieved without the active participation of the youth at all the decision-making levels in every society. On his part, Nitzberg (2005) has suggested that the youth bring different experiences and perspectives to decision-making that are likely to exert positive impacts on

policy making. In support of the above, Bessant (2004) likened youth participation to youth power; she believes that such form of power is a primary pre-requisite for youth empowerment towards the alleviation of poverty, and improves living conditions. From a Chinese experience, a household survey conducted on community Programs and youth participation by Salmenniemi (2005) concluded that gender-focused interventions can have substantial social benefits for the youth (females) especially, when supported by the necessary legal and institutional framework.

Youth participation demands increased empowerment. Therefore the essence of encouraging youth participation at the local governance level is, to empower the youth to take charge of their lives, to build a formidable force to ensure government's responsiveness towards their social needs and to foster communities to be more responsible for their development (Crook & Manor, 1998). Felix (2003) has also posited that youth participation should be promoted at the local governance level as a mechanism of ensuring justice, efficiency and diversity in decision-making.

In conclusion, if the local government is to meet the needs of both men and women, it must build on the experiences of both ages through equal representation at all levels in decision-making process at the local levels.

2.5 Challenges of youth participation in Local Governance

Participation of the youth in local governance processes in Ghana faces a number of challenges. The well-known limitations are the issues of demography, age restriction and gender barriers which excludes the youth from participating in decision-making processes at the local level. For instance, across West Africa, the youth are not given the opportunity to contribute at the family level or communal gatherings except when their opinions are

sought (Apusiga, 2009). This practice has permeated governance structures in such a manner that it prevents the youth from challenging the status quo; the youth who challenge these structures are usually branded disrespectful. Thus, it discourages potential youth leaders from engaging the local governance process.

Devas and Grant (2003) identified financial constraints as the major obstacle that has contributed to the low participation of the youth in local governance. This supports the fact that lack of money impedes the African youth from participating in local governance. In order to win elections, one needs a substantial amount of money to carry out extensive campaigns through the printing of posters and other campaigning logistics as well as paying for individuals in the campaign team. It also takes up time, which means one has to forego time spent on income generating activities in order to embark on effective campaigns. The level of unemployment in Ghana is quite alarming and further exacerbates the situation of youth participation in local governance.

Lack of knowledge and information about the opportunities to participate in local government and politics are cited as barriers to participation among the youth (Rina, 2012).

In Ghana, the interest of the youth is usually found in national politics rather than at the local level. Additionally, a major obstacle to getting involved is simply the lack of knowledge on how and when to participate. Some youth hold the view that, no one will listen to them when they want to make a change and this brings us to the issue of whose voice is heard (Smock, 2003)? Majority of the youth in Tamale regarded participation as voting during elections; but participation goes beyond just voting. It includes taking part in the whole electoral process (like registering as a voter, voting and vying for seats and campaigning) and being involved in all community and local governance activities.

Bessant (2004) noted that low self-esteem, shyness and lack of confidence were other obstacles that impede youth participation in local governance. In most societies in Africa, right from birth, the society instils the idea of elderly superiority and youth inferiority in the mind of the African child; this, together with youth stereotyping of roles has contributed to the lack of interest and general apathy of the youth for local governance activities and issues. Lack of confidence is a related reason explaining why some youth do not get involved in more active forms of participation such as meetings of assembly or attending youth forums (Zeldin, 2004).

Illiteracy continues to be an enormous problem for many of the youth in today's world. In 2000, approximately 82 million young women and 51 million young men were illiterate. Another 130 million youth are presently out of school, and they are most probably going to end up as the illiterate youth and adults of tomorrow (UN, 2006). Despite all efforts at providing education for her citizenry, the illiteracy rate of the youth in Ghana is still very high. Poverty is a major obstacle to education; when underprivileged parents need to make a choice, girls tend to be excluded first from attending school. Thus the gap between male and female literacy rates in Africa continues to widen. In rural areas, the youth have less access to education, the quality of education is poor and adult illiteracy is higher. Literacy is a fundamental pre-requisite for building a strong, equitable and vibrant nation. A significant percentage of the Ghanaian youth is illiterate, and their educational needs should be adequately and urgently catered for, particularly in the educationally Less Developed Regions (UN, 1995).

Conflict is a disagreement or clash between ideas, principles or people. As noted by Agyepong (2009) the relationship between the youth and violence has only been considered in the context of the problems of juvenile delinquency and the need to prevent violence and

crime in the society; however current trends in the north has to do with ethnic conflicts, chieftaincy disputes, and partisan conflicts among others. It is quite clear then that the youth are excessively affected by violent conflicts, both as victims and active participants. The intense and often prolonged circumstances of armed conflicts, whether as victims or perpetrators, often interfere with the identity and personality development of the youth; as can be seen in the documentary film, 'Pray the devil back to Hell'(Abigail, 2008). This epitomised how Charles Taylor recruited young boys and girls ranging from 5-12 years old with his total military manpower targeting a great number of youth in Liberia and neighbouring Sierra Leone; at the same time, the Resistance Army also used the youth in Sierra Leone negatively. Moreover, the sudden changes in family life circumstances, such as death or disappearance of parents or siblings, left the youth without guidance, role models or sustenance.

As noted by Camino and Zeldin (2002) youth are not being taken seriously, not being asked, and not being assigned or having an identifiable role is consistently noted in the research literature. Felix (2003) viewed obstacles to youth involvement in communities to include a lack of communication and awareness of opportunities, difficult issues among organizations competing for youth participants, youth fears of speaking out, lack of diversity and systematic mistreatment of youth simply because of their age.

Additional factors such as lack of transportation, lack of time, and not being sure of the benefits of their contributions can limit the active involvement of the youth (Kimberlee, 1998; Konrad, 2008; Jowell, & Park, 1998). On their part, Camino & Zeldin, (2002) acknowledged four key barriers that denied the youth from participating in activities: lack of interesting programs, transportation problems, lack of knowledge about programs, and cost. In the same way, community organizations may be uncertain of the role or impact that

the youth may have in their efforts (Camino &Zeldin, 2002). Finally, the extent to which the youth can contribute to the decision making process in organizations can play an active role in program or policy development is important in shaping youth involvement.

According to the African Union (2006) when the issue of youth participation is discussed, one key issue that comes to mind is space. Space is critical in the conceptualisation of the youth in the decision-making process because it limits the extent to which they can participate. Policies and programmes intended to foster youth participation in local governance have focused on targeted participants who are made up of two groups namely: the achievers and the troublemakers (Nwuke, 2002). The troublemakers are however the problem groups who have to be put right and urged to walk the straight narrow path (Nwuke, 2002). The group of troublemakers is involved because their involvement in the local governance system is seen as creating opportunities so as to keep them from causing further trouble. What this breeds is apathy and alienation because eventually, they get to know that whether they are part of the process or not, it does not make a difference.

The achievers are however used as the representatives of their generation at the local level with the long term goal of creating society leaders. They are representatives who know what to say and how to say it.

Many a time, the youth have not been viewed as important contributors to society, mainly due to stereotypical misconceptions of their age and developmental capacity. Camino (2000) noted the active involvement of youth highlights their value and provides an opportunity to erase negative stereotypes. In most of African societies, youth are seen as part of the problem and not part of the solution. The era of extreme emotional changes during youth helps contribute to the lower expectations of youth from adults and subsequent

decreased opportunity for youth to participate in community activities (Camino & Zeldin, 2002).

In conclusion, activeness in the community is facilitated by youth participation in community-based groups. Interaction between social groups promotes awareness of needs and helps identify volunteer opportunities (Wilkinson, 1991; Coles, 1995).

2.6 Theoretical Framework

This part is devoted to examining the alternative theoretical explanation of political participation that exists in the literature. The task is to evaluate their theoretical coherences, the empirical predictions they make about citizen involvement in politics, and their success or otherwise in explaining party support and high intensity participation. The aim is to examine the strengths and weaknesses of the approaches.

The study mainly seeks to assess youth participation in Tamale Metropolis in an attempt to discover feasible ways of enhancing their participation for national development. Several theories explain youth participation in national development and how they could be empowered to play meaningful role in decision making process; especially at the local level. The Civic Voluntarism Model and The Rational Choice Theory are explained.

The Civic Voluntarism Model explains the reason for youth apathy in local governance, while the Rational Choice Theory provides the rationale behind youth decision to participate not only in local governance but all facets of the society.

2.6.1 The Civic Voluntarism Model (CVM)

The Civic Voluntarism Model is premised on the basis that the social status of an individual, the type of job he/she is in, the type and level of education and his /her income to a large extent determine individuals (youth) participation in the local governance process. This is through the intervening effects of a variety of civic attitudes conducive to their participation: attitudes such as a sense of efficacy, of psychological involvement in politics and a feeling of obligation to participate (Verba, Sidney and Nie, 1972).

Literature suggest that the Resources Model which is the most widely applied model of political participation in political science had its origins in the work of Sidney Verba and Norman Nie(1972) in their influential research on participation in the United States. It was subsequently applied by the authors, their collaborators, and others to explain participation in other countries, including Britain (Verba, Nie& Kim, 1978; Barnes &Kaase, 1979). It is essentially a structural theory of participation which argues that people get involved in any given activity like the local governance process where they have the resources and, to a lesser extent are motivated to get involved to do so. The resources are education, financial and socio-economic status. The central ideas of the civic voluntarism model of participation are captured in the following;

We focus on three factors to account for political activity. As suggested earlier, one helpful way to understand the three factors is to invert the usual question and ask instead why people do not become political activists. Three answers came to mind; because they can't; because they don't want to; or because nobody asked. In other words, people may be inactive because they lack resources, because they lack psychological engagement with politics or because they are outside of the recruitment networks that bring people into politics (Verba, Sidney &Nie, 1972).

Scholars of this extract define the resources aspect of this model in terms of time, money and civic skills (Verba, Sidney & Nie, 1972). The psychological engagement aspect is defined principally in terms of the individual's sense of political effectiveness (Verba, Sidney & Nie, 1972), and finally, the recruitment networks aspect is defined as requests for participation that come to individuals at work or in organisations-especially those that come from friends, relatives or acquaintances (Verba, Sidney & Nie, 1972).

In the previous versions of this model, the emphasis was on the resources aspect of participation. As explained below:

According to this model, the social status of an individual, his job, education and income-determine to a large extent determines how much he participates. It does this through the intervening effects of a variety of civic attitude conducive to participation: attitudes such as a sense of efficacy, of psychological involvement in politics and a feeling of obligation to participate (Verba, Sidney & Nie, 1972). There are three major propositions under the CVM. Namely: CVM resources; CVM psychological engagement; and CVM recruitment. They are explained further below.

- **CVM Resources**

Scholars defined the resources aspect of this model in terms of time, money and civic skills (Verba, Sidney & Nie, 1972). Also, the resources could be education, social class, family income, leisure time and communication and organizational skills (civil skills) that provide the means and ability to be politically active. The past versions of the model emphasise the resources aspect of participation. According to the model, the social status of an individual, his education, his job and his income determine to a large extent how much he participates.

It does this through the intervening effects of a variety of civic attitudes conducive to participation: attitudes such as a sense of efficiency and effectiveness, psychological involvement in politics and a feeling of obligation to participate (Verba, Sidney & Nie, 1972). Thus resources were paramount in the original version of the model, although psychological attitudes always played an important role in explaining participation as well. These civic attitudes are rather more important in recent versions of the model although it is still true to say that resources are the dominant factor in explaining participation (Verba, Sidney & Nie, 1972). This model further posits that, people with high socio-economic status (SES) are more likely to have such resources and to be politically more active than those with lower SES. Thus the CVM recognizes the importance of SES, especially, education for political participation. Individuals with high level of education would participate more in local governance than those with low level of education. Therefore, with limited educational attainment of most youth in most societies, their participation in local governance will be low.

- **CVM Psychological Engagement**

The second component of the CVM is psychological engagement with politics or attitudes that incline citizens to become politically active. That is whether they deem it possible to influence political decision making, or are interested in politics and support a particular political party (Flanagan & Van Horn, 2001). For instance, such cognitive includes interest in political issues; political efficacy or they believe that one's actions will influence the political process; and a feeling of trust in political leaders and in one's fellow citizens.

All these views help motivate people to become politically active. If those with the resources for political activity were not so motivated, they would be less inclined to take part in political action (Flex, 2003). To Verba, Sidney and Nie (1972) there is a positive

relationship between political efficiency and political participation, as citizens with greater sense of efficacy have a greater effect on political outcome. Verba and his colleagues developed the first empirical typology of different modes of participation and classified citizens into six different groups on the basis of the types of activities they undertook (Verba, Sidney & Nie, 1972). There are, first, those who are not active, they do little or nothing; the second group represents the voting specialists, they vote regularly but do nothing else; third group are the parochial participants, they contact authorities in relation to specific problems but are otherwise inactive; the fourth are the communalists, who intermittently engage in political action on broad social issues but are not highly involved; fifth group represent the campaigners, who are heavily involved in campaigns of various kinds; and finally, the complete activists, who participate in all kinds of political activities.

- **CVM Recruitment**

The third component is recruitment by relations and association in one's interpersonal relationship with people in authority. Citizens sometimes may have all the needed resources and psychological engagement for supporting political activity, but silently remained inactive until members of their association ask them to take part. Known networks are found in places of associations, students' movements and town meetings, places of worship, voluntary organisations and work settings. Hence, citizens with greater participation in such associations stand the chance of being recruited into political activities.

Such involvement is vital for some reasons such as is a learning place for people and can refine the communication and organizational skills of members as emphasized earlier. It can also build social capital which according to Pittman and Wright (1991) is an important mechanism for political participation.

- **The Role of CVM**

CVM has been proposed to explain youth limited participation in local governance in Ghana. In reality most youth lack the resources required to participate actively in local governance in Ghana. Also, the low income level of most youth limits their political participation. As suggested Pittman and Wright (1991) majority of youth struggle to meet their daily survival and are particularly concerned with earning their everyday living than following any political development. Furthermore, the high illiteracy rate of the youth relegates majority of them to the background offering them little space for political participation. Consequently, they lack the requisite confidence and skills required for leadership roles in local governance.

Additionally, the youth lack inspiration particularly from the home and the social order to engage in momentous political activities. Felix (2003) posits that the youth are held in check in engaging in public activities because men are the most powerful members in most societies.

The CVM in its attempt to explain the reasons for youth limited participation is flawed in some respects. The theory fails to provide an explanatory link between the socio-economic variables and the participation. The theory also overemphasizes resources as a determinant for involvement in political activity as most youth who have resources still do not participate in political activities. In addition, the theory overemphasizes political participation to the detriment of the other aspects of participation (Sidney Verba and Norman Nie, 1972). Finally, by providing the reasons for limited participation, the theory fails to provide possible ways of enhancing participation. The rational choice theory has also been used in explaining youth participation in local governance.

2.6.2 The Rational Choice Theory (RCT)

The rational choice theory is a framework for understanding human behaviour, particularly the choices that individuals (they) make. The theory basically indicates that individuals when involving themselves in any given activity match the potential costs against the benefits before deciding on whether to be part of the activity or not (Scott, 2000).

Researchers have applied the theory of rational choice as a tool in analysing politics from a specific theoretical viewpoint resulting from economic theory and liberal belief. The theory is premised on an instrumental account of rationality. Actually, the aim of the theory is to analyse the behaviour and actions of an individual as a rational, discriminating selector who aims to maximise one's "utility" (Scott, 2000).

Subsequently, researchers from the Classical school of economics posited that utility referred to the usefulness of an item and was contrasted with its value. To these group of researchers the value of a good is related to the subjective utility derived from the good, taking into account its scarcity. However, due to the subjective nature of utility, it is hard to quantify. Thus economists are required to assume that consumers are rational and therefore struggle to maximise utility (The Oxford Dictionary for the Business World, 1993).

The theory of rational choice over the period has gained reasonable attention amongst scholars within the economic arena. These scholars have successfully indicated that individuals get motivated by anticipating the benefit they stand to derive from participating in any given action. Thus, several social science scholars have shed their research interests in the direction of the theory of rational choice. Subsequently, political theorists have attempted to advance theories around the notion that all actions are basically 'rational' in

nature and that individuals estimate the likely costs and benefits of any action embarked on before making decision of what to do (Scott, 2000; Banks and Ullah, 1987; Bynner & Ashford, 1994).

Despite the fact that the rational choice theory has been the most widely used instrument within the political environment, it has been severally criticised.

One criticism levelled against the theory of rational choice has to do with the fact that when considered from the confines of political science than the economic perspective it becomes narrower. This is due to the position that the theory is frequently applied as an abstract model of one's behaviour. Analysts within the political field have criticized that rational choice theory over emphasizes the rationally-driven behaviour of one without fully considering other facets of social behaviour and their respective contexts (Bynner & Ashford, 1994).

Another, criticism against the theory of rational choice is that preferences and beliefs are often impossible to be empirical tested or evaluated. Once the variables captured in the theory of rational choice are difficult to realistically observed thus critiques of the theory indicate that these mathematical models have miniature applications in actual life situations (Verba, Nie & Kim, 1978; Barnes & Kaase, 1979; Moyser & Day, 1992)

Applying the theory to the current study it can be reasoned that participation of the youth in the in local governance in the Northern Region of Ghana would pose some challenges where that are not convinced they stand to derive some benefits in the form of not only adding to the numbers but are actually offered the space to be part of the deciding making process as well as the implementation process.

The youth like any other individuals when confronted with several courses of action, tend to do what they think will have the best overall outcome. The theory is however inadequate as it cannot effectively explain political realities on its own. The theory needs to be seen as a practical “toolkit” alongside other theories since it only attempts to explain why political factors such as the youth consistently select the most efficient ways to achieve their goals. Briefly, the theory tries to explain why people do what they do, given certain choices.

The youth are therefore likely to participate in the local governance activities in their area where they are able to strike the difference between the efforts(costs) and rewards(benefits) that they as individuals as well as the community derives from their participation in the local governance process.

Zeldin (2004) observed that participation incurs cost and usually brings about benefits. The cost of participation includes resources (time, money, and civil skills) and the cost of informing oneself about the form of participation (Verba, Sidney & Nie, 1972). Similarly, Geddes and Rust (2000) observed the benefits of participation to include the following incentives: money, power, idyllic investments as well as general incentives that are non-material. Therefore, given the cost benefit analysis, the youth would decide to participate in local governance if the benefits of their involvements exceed the resources invested in such participation. Naturally, they would be excluded when they anticipate that they would lose or gain nothing from their involvement in local governance activities be it political, social or citizenship.

Similarly, the youth would prefer to free ride if they realize that the benefits of their participation is for public or common good. However, it is important to note that adults (youth) desire to participate in any given activity is driven by the satisfaction of their

specific needs (Atkinson & Boyle, 1996) Thus, to the extent that the gains could bring about a possible change in their current conditions, the youth would decide to participate in local governance activities. As it is well known, rational choice theory has difficulty explaining why anyone should vote in an election or join and become active in a political party.

2.6.3 The Game Theory

This theory propounded by Bicchieri (1974) works on the basic assumption of 'Rationality and predictability'. It considers the role individual rationality plays in predicting and explaining economic phenomena. Bicchieri makes a distinction between two kinds of rationality: *practical* and *epistemic*. According to her practical rationality coincides with expected utility maximization, while epistemic rationality means that the agent's beliefs are rational. Bicchieri argues that, with very few exceptions, agents must be credited with both practical and epistemic rationality if individual as well as systemic behavior in interactive contexts is to be explained satisfactorily. In particular, it is necessary for one to understand the *process* by which agents form their beliefs about the environment, which includes the actions of the other agents. Applying this theory to the present study one can infer that the reaction of the youth within the Tamale District Assembly activities may be premised on the prediction that their contributions toward deliberation at the assembly level is not valued. This is evident in the fact that they are seldom involved in the activities of the assembly at the leadership level. Beyond this provisions are not made to facilitate their movements from their various localities to the assembly during seating at the assembly. The youth to a larger extent have formed the opinions that they are not wanted at the assembly when it comes to the welfare of community members to which they are part. They are only prevailed upon during elections be it at the local or national levels by the very leadership of the assembly who deny them the platform during the electoral off season to contribute towards the development of their communities. Spending their mega resources in participating in local

governance activities which do not bring them any economic returns thus create enormous challenge for them.

The game theory however fails to consider the fact that individual interest equally plays a cardinal role in most of the decisions one makes. Hence, the lack of youth participation in the local governance process within the Tamale metropolis cannot be wholly blamed on the lack of space for the youth to be an integral part of the decision making process at the assembly. They could bring their contributions to bear on the community by organizing activities like communal labour, town hall meetings, amongst others to bring their influence to bear on members of the community.

2.6.4 The Economic Theory of Democracy

The Economic Theory of Democracy developed by Downs (1957) which emanated from the assumption that conscious rationality prevails in the decision making process. The theory from the economists' point of view has considered decisions as though they were made by rational minds or people. This has been simplified by some researchers as essential for prediction of an individual's behaviour. These researchers hold the belief that decisions made at random or without planning do not follow any set pattern of thoughts or behaviour. The question that then arises is whether an individual's behaviour which forms a pattern can be predicted or subjected to the relationship between thoughts and analyses of behaviour. Opponents of this theory have raised issues with the thinking that such behaviour can be deemed to be rational, that is to say the behaviour was reasonably directed towards a premeditated goal. The theory is also looked at from the position of a man who behaves in the following ways:

- a. Can always makes a decision when confronted with a range of alternatives

- b. Ranks all the alternatives facing him in order of preference in such a way that each is either preferred to, indifferent to or inferior to each other
- c. His preference ranking is transitive
- d. Always chooses from among the possible alternatives that which ranks highest in preference ordering
- e. Always makes the same decision each time one is confronted with the same alternatives

All rational decision-makers are viewed to portray similar characteristics including political parties, interest social groups and government. Rationality can therefore be seen as processes of action not their end but even to their success at reaching the desired ends.

Thus, one may be tempted to believe that rational thinkers would obviously produce rational behaviour. This may pose some difficulty since it may not be that easy to a larger extent to know an individual's thoughts prior to a behaviour that he may put up. Linking this theory to lack of youth participation in the local governance process in the Tamale metropolis we can argue that their unwillingness to participate in the local governance process in their area is based on rational thinking. In that they think the political leadership at the local governance level are only interested in using them as a means for leadership to attain their political goals and not to involve them in the process of governance. This might not be a justifiable reasoning since we cannot really tell motives behind some of these youth seeking to be accorded a place to participate in the local governance process. This is an inherent weakness with the theory since establishing a direct link with the rational thinking and behaviour of an individual appears to be quite challenging.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter discussed both theoretical and empirical literature on participation. The theories employed in the study were civic voluntarism model and rational choice theory. Works were also reviewed on concept of participation; thus political, social and citizenship participation. The theories and literature reviewed played a significant role in the identification of suitable model for the study. Variables such as resources, psychological engagement and recruitment were identified as factors facing youth participation in local governance. Even though the theories reviewed had their inadequacies; nonetheless, they were useful in the study of youth participation in local governance. One important lesson learnt from the study on the theories were; the civic voluntarism model of political participation gave accounts for the limited participation of youth in local governance whiles the rational choice theory explained why youth would opt to or not participate in local governance activities.

Furthermore, there were lessons learnt from the cases presented in the literature. One of which is that, youth participation should be enhanced because of its significance to the development the youth, the nation and the world at large. The inadequate resources, lack of capacity, institutional barriers, psychological barriers, discrimination and prejudice should be eschewed since there have the tendency to undermine youth participation in local governance.

CHAPTER THREE

DECENTRALISATION AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN GHANA

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the history of local governance and decentralisation in Ghana; and provides relevant background information on the community in which the field work for this research was undertaken namely the Tamale Metropolis of the northern region of Ghana

3.1 Decentralisation and local governance in Ghana: a brief history

The 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana provides for “Decentralisation and Local Government” that creates a framework for citizens’ participation in decision-making and local governance. The Decentralisation Policy of Ghana devolves power, functions and responsibility as well as human and financial resources from the Central Government to the district level. It also establishes major areas of relationship between the local and central government. Local government administration in Ghana has a long history, which predates colonialism.

During the colonial era, native authorities were used to facilitate communication and decision-making in their areas of jurisdiction. After independence, successive governments implemented various forms of Decentralisation and Local Government policies. However, the current Decentralisation Policy was initiated in 1988 Ghana’s decentralisation process as enshrined in the Constitution designates District Assemblies as the highest political, legislative, budgeting and planning authority at the local level. The Local Government Act (Act 462) of 1993 reinforces the constitutional provisions. To facilitate a holistic approach to the decentralisation process, various structures have been created at the sub-national level

with the Regional Coordinating Council (RCC) as a coordinating body. Below the RCC are the Metropolitan or Municipal or District Assemblies (MMDAs) and the Sub-district structures.

Notwithstanding the laudable idea behind the Decentralisation Policy, practitioners and decision-makers at the local level do not have adequate information and knowledge on the functions and responsibilities of the MMDAs. Moreover, there are some stakeholders who do not have enough information to understand the workings of the District Assembly in order to effectively participate in the decision-making process.

The concept of decentralization has shaped the scope of development thinking, administration and governance both in developed and the developing countries (Ayee, 2000). Its demand across the globe can be likened to the concept of subsidiarity, which holds that, governmental decision should be taken at the most appropriate lowest level available (Smoke, 2003). The drive for decentralization could be traced to the 1970s and 1980s when there was gross dissatisfaction with centralized planning and administrative measures. Governments therefore adopted the decentralization policy as a way of achieving participatory, accountable and responsive development and governance (Crook and Manor, 1998).

To Ayee (2003) decentralisation is the transfer of responsibility (authority) and resources (human and financial) and accountability from central government to local self-governing entity. Smoke (2003) concurs defining the term to mean the transfer of responsibility for planning, management and resources mobilisation and allocation from the central government and its agents to the lower levels of government. To Crook (2003), decentralisation, is the transfer of resources and powers to lower- level authorities which

are largely or wholly independent of higher levels of government and which are democratic in some way and to some degree.

Though different governments have different political purposes and motives for pursuing decentralized policies, outcomes seem to be the same (Crook, 2003). To both Western and African Scholars, the essence of decentralisation policies is to reach goals such as “enhanced participation, greater control over programs by beneficiaries, increased resources mobilization for development projects as a foundation for democracy and a tool to enhance better governance” (Ayee, 2003).

Ayee (2000) has asserted that decentralized policies offer countries the opportunities to neutralize some of the common problems of centralized, hierarchical and bureaucratic structure. Within the development context, decentralization has been closely linked with such benefits as equity, effectiveness, efficiency and responsiveness. Crook and Manor (1998) emphasized the political benefits of decentralization as; it can increase political stability and national unity by giving groups in different sections of a country the ability to participate more directly in decision-making.

It can thus be summarized that the essence of decentralization is to encourage citizen participation in governance at the local level. Offei-Aboagye (2000) has argued using the Ghanaian context that decentralization was to make government more inclusive and responsible to the local people by incorporating them in steering the affairs of their local communities and in matters that affect their lives. Consequently, fiscal, political and administrative decentralizations have all aimed to devolve authority, power and responsibilities from the central to the local people. This was meant to empower local

authorities to operate and function independently and to ensure participatory governance which is not only inclusive, but more responsive and more accountable to the local people. In Ghana, the implementation of decentralized policies resulted in the local government system. Crook (2003) and Smoke (2003) have argued that decentralization reforms can only make sense if they contribute to effective local governance system. Crawford (2009) also defined local governance as intra-sovereign government unit within the sovereign state dealing mainly with local affairs, administered by the local authorities. In similar vein, Crook and Manor (1998) perceived local governance as the governance of a specific local area, constituting a political sub-division of a nation, state or other major political unit.

In the view of Ahwoi (2010), local governance system in Ghana has from time immemorial had been part of the country's ways of life, where chiefs and local authorities held political and social power to administer local affairs. However, the earliest organized form of local governance was the indirect rule system introduced by the British Colonial authority. It was a system governed through local authorities headed by favoured traditional chiefs who were given local authority with powers to establish treasures, appoint staff and perform local governance functions (Crowford, 2004). To Berner (2001) this system was characterized by decentralized despotism as it necessitated a number of deficiencies. Crawford (2004) observed that:

The democratic ideals underlying chieftaincy in Ghana, which made chiefs accountable to their peoples, began to suffer as the recognitions by the central government was more crucial to the chief than the support of his people. Yet, it can be argued that, the British system of indirect rule initiated a pattern of local government system that has continued to exist until today.

There has been ample evidence in the literature to demonstrate that Ghana, after independence has moved through series of changes towards decentralized policies to involved the rural people in decision making process. Various governments through different committees and commissions including (Greenwood Commission, 1957, Akufo-Addo Commission, 1966: Mills-Odoi commission, 1967; the Constituent Assembly, 1969, Public Administration Restructuring and Decentralisation Implementation Committee (PARDIC); Akuse group, 1981 cited in Ahwoi, 2010) attempted to improve local governance system to bring most Ghanaians into a decision making process. Notwithstanding these efforts, it was not until the Provincial National Defence Council (PNDC) regime that a comprehensive and concise effort at implementation was made in 1987. Crawford (2004) believes that efforts towards decentralized local governance system were necessitated by the following; the limited effectiveness of both political and economic policies that had been implemented (including structural adjustment programs, political democratizations and the privatization of Ghana's economy). The limited achievements of the top-down development administration and the increasing agitation for participation and empowerment by the populace, makes Central government too expensive to manage.

Based on its political slogan to give power to the people the Provincial National Defence Council (PNDC) was committed to transform the slogan into the administrative concept of decentralization articulated in the first policy guidelines of the PNDC in May 1982, the section of the policy guidelines on local governance was summarized in the following words; the assumption of power by the people cannot be complete unless a truly decentralized government system is introduced, that is, the central government in all its ministerial manifestations should empower local government councils to initiate coordinate, manage and execute policies in all matters affecting them within their localities (Ahwoi, 2010).

Thus, the PNDC government implemented decentralization through the district Assembly concept to refocus decision-making from the top to the grass-roots. The legal framework for decentralization under the PNDC was provided by the local Government law of 1988 (PNDC Law 207). Under this Law, the then 65 local authorities were organized into 110 district assemblies. The demarcation criteria included population size, economic viability and administrative convenience (Ahwoi, 2010). It also created a three tier system with the district assembly as the pivot and legislative level and the regional coordinating council as the coordinating level. In 1992, a broader legal framework for decentralization was provided for in the 1992 Constitution. The Constitution states that the state should “take appropriate measures to ensure decentralization in administrative and financial machinery of government and to give opportunities to people to participate in decision making at every level in national life and government” (Article, 241/3). The objective of the local government system was stated categorically thus, “Local Government and administration are to be decentralized and the functions, powers, responsibilities and resources should be transferred from the central government (Flagstaff house) to the local government constituencies (Article 240).

The need for Local Government to be independent and to exercise discretionary powers at the grass root level which was also encoded in the Article 240 [2b], states that “measures shall be taken to enhance the capacity of Local Government authorities to plan, initiate, coordinate, manage and execute policies in respect of matters affecting local people”. Within the constitution, the participatory approach of Local Government was also emphasized. Article 240[2] [c] stipulates that; to ensure the accountability of Local Government authority people in a particular Local Government areas shall, as far as practicable, be afforded the opportunity to participate effectively in their governance.

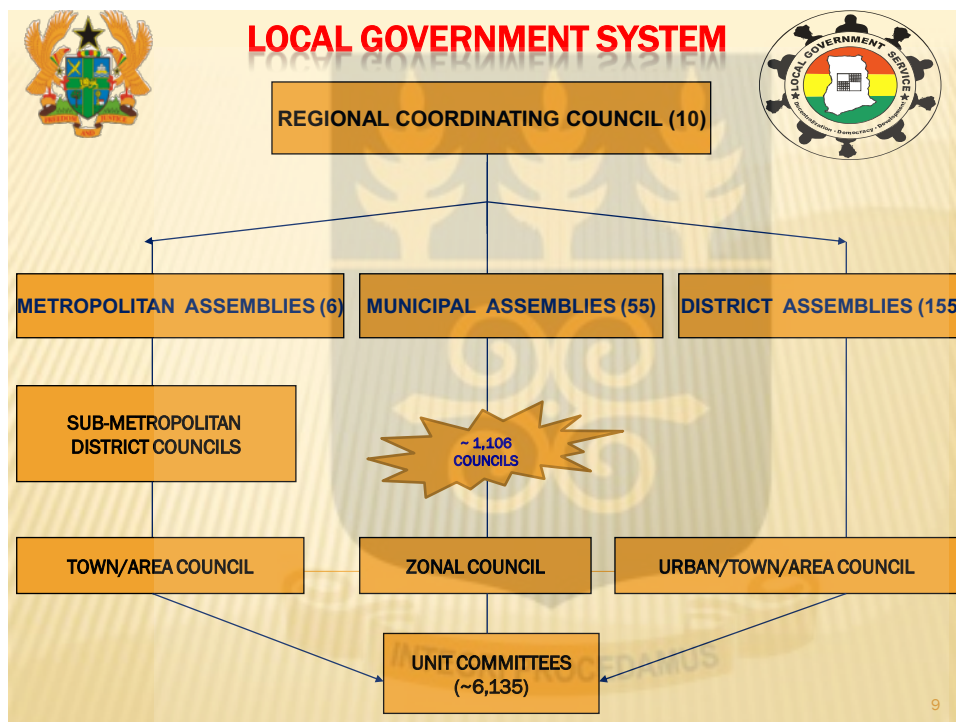
As a result, various strategies have been introduced to achieve the objective of constitutional decentralization. The “ordinary residence” requirement in the qualification criteria for local governance elections, the free and state sponsored local government elections, the non-partisan character of the Local Government elections have all been designed to ensure not just participation but participation by the people that decisions affect most directly (Ahwoi, 2010). It can be argued that, the effectiveness of a local government system depends on its legitimacy. The quantum of the devolved powers and authorities to operate independently from the influence of the central government. It is also worthy to acknowledge that, local governance will only be effective if it sticks to its participatory approach by an all-inclusive participations of all segments of the population. Indeed most scholars have argued that, the essence of decentralization and local government policies is to encourage citizens (youth) participation in governance at least at the local level (Ayee, 2003).

Cahn and Gray (2005) are of the view that citizens tend to participate in local government when they perceive that local government is providing benefits for local people, acting in the best interest of local people and dedicating resources to support matters of importance of citizens in the exchange relationships between people and local government. Thus, people will participate more in local governance if the cost of their participation is low and the benefits are high. Also Biritwum (2009) has argued that youth participation in local government could be high only if the youth have interest in local government affairs. He argued further that if the youth exhibit positive attitude towards local government, it is more likely that they will support the local government issues as well as participate more in local government matters given so, the extent to which decentralization is increasing youth participation at the local level remains an empirical question.

3.2 Structure of Ghana's local governance system

Local governments in Ghana play very important roles in administration and development at the local areas, which consist of Regional Coordinating Council (RCC), a four tier metropolitan and a three tier municipal/district assemblies structures. For the purpose of this study, literature was only reviewed on metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies and the urban, zonal, town/area councils and the unit committees.

Figure 3.1: Ghana's Local Government Structure



Source: Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development

Table 3.1: The Administrative Structure of Local Government in Ghana

Level of Government	Political Authority	Role and Linkages	Management Institution
National	Presidency, Cabinet, Ministerial institutions and Public Sector Commissions (e.g. National Development Planning Commission NDPC)	National sector policy formulation, programming and budgeting, standards setting and monitoring; sectorial evaluation of national projects	Civil service operations including the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD)
Region	Regional Co-ordinating Council	Harmonization, coordination and monitoring of national level policies and local level policies as well as development intervention	Local Government Service operating in Departments of RCC
District	Metropolitan, Municipal, District Assembly	Local level policy formulation within context of implementation of national sectorial policies; rating, local level planning, budgeting and implementation	Local Government Service operating in Departments of DA
Town	Urban, Zonal, Town/Area Councils	Day-to-day administration and management services	Local Government Service
Unit	Unit Committee	Mobilization for participation in implementation and enforcement	Secretary (LI 1589.29i)

Source: Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development. Decentralization in Ghana Implementation Status and Proposed Future Directions, Accra: 2002. (Offei-Aboagye, 2000)

3.3 The Metropolitan Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs)

There are six Metropolitan, 40 Municipal and 124 district assemblies. The metro assemblies cover urban areas with population of over 250,000; Municipal assemblies are single-town councils with population of 95,000 and more; and the district assemblies cover a wider geographical area combining rural areas and small towns. The Metropolitan structure is four-tiered while the municipal and district assemblies have a three-tiered system. The lower tiers are called sub-structures and comprise urban, zonal, town/areas councils and unit committee.

The Metropolitan Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) have the same political structures. The administrative head in each district is the District Chief Executive (DCE). The DCE is responsible for the executive and administrative functions of the District Assembly. He /She is also “the chief representative of the central government in the district”. Membership into the assembly is both by election (70%) and by presidential appointment (not more than 30%). The district assembly is required to meet at least three times each year. It is led by an Executive Committee comprising not more than one-third of all assembly members, which reports to the assembly. The executive committee is indirectly elected by the assembly in full session and is open to all the Assembly Members (LG Act, 2003). The Executive Committee normally has a number of sub-committees; with the exception of the Presiding Member, all assembly members must sit on at least one sub-committee. The assemblies have full discretion to establish further committees as they deem fit (Ahwoi, 2010). They are also empowered to establish committee jointly with other assemblies for any project in which they hold a joint interest.

The 1992 Constitution and the Local Government Act (Act, 462) of 1993 provide the mandates or authority for MMDAs within their designated geographical location. These according to Crawford (2004), include; Highest political and administrative authorities, Planning authorities, Development Authorities, Budgeting authorities, Rating authorities. The district assemblies exercise political and administrative authority and provide guidance, direction and supervise other administrative authority in the district. They thus perform deliberative, legislative, administrative, executive as well as planning functions. Additionally, section 6 (3) of the 1988 Local Government law clearly indicates the following functions to be performed by the Assemblies; Take responsibility in terms of the total development of assemblies including the preparations and forwarding of assembly budgets and assembly plans for central government approval; See to it that public tribunals

and other courts are available to the people to facilitate the administration and promotion of justice in the jurisdiction of the assembly.

3.4 The Urban, Zonal, Town/Area Councils and Unit Committee Councils

These are sub-structures beneath the District Assembly structures at the grass root level with no legislative power. Specifically, urban councils assist in the execution of responsibilities of the assembly. They are formed for population of above 15,000. In actual sense, they are about thirty four (34) of these councils created in the districts capitals with the exclusions of eight (8). Membership in the council consists of eight (8) elected members from respective assembly. A number of Unit committee representative not exceeding twelve (12) and not more than ten (10) ordinary members in urban areas from a council (Amanfo, 2003 cited in Ahwoi, 2010).

The zonal councils are associated with the Metropolitan assembly's criteria for the establishment of the zonal councils includes population, common interests, landmarks and streets (Crawford, 2009). Membership of this council is between 15 and 25 and must include not more than five (5) persons resident in the area, about ten (10) representatives of the unit committees and five (5) elected members from the respective assembly. It is equally important to note that Metropolitan and District Assembly are the ones that accommodate town/area councils which are created for population of between 5,000 and 15,000 for the town councils and not less than 5,000 for the area councils respectively (Amanfo, 2003 cited in Ahwoi, 2010). In effect, town councils are bigger in terms of population and other features than the area councils which are only identifiable with rural populations.

The unit committee is the lowest in the Local Government structure of the country. There are about 16,000 unit committees which take care of the activities of the district assembly

at the community level. They are responsible for activities such as revenue mobilization, communal labour, education and health services as well as public education campaigns. In terms of membership, the unit committee comprises of five (5) members resident in the community and other ten (10) elected members.

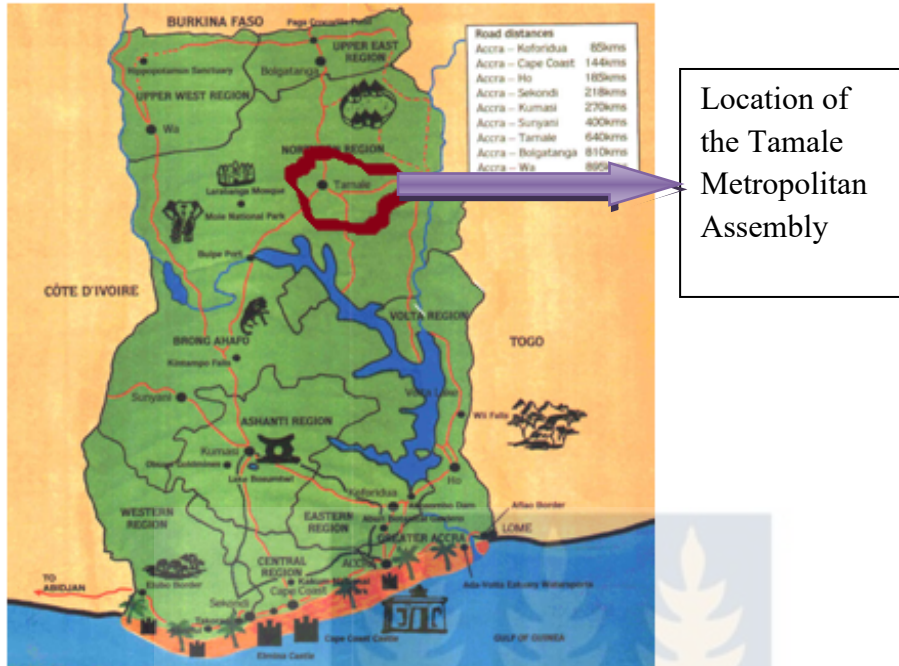
3.5 Profile of Tamale Metropolitan Assembly

The Tamale Metropolitan Assembly (T.A.M.A) was elevated to a Metropolis in 2004. The Metropolis is one of the six Metropolitan Assemblies in the country and the only Metropolis in the three Northern Regions of Ghana namely; Upper East, Upper West and Northern Regions. Tamale is the capital of the metropolis and also serves as the capital of the Northern Region.

Location and Size

The TAMA is one of the 26 districts in the Northern Region. The Metropolis is located in the central part of the Northern Region and shares boundaries with five other districts namely the Savelugu- Nanton to the North, Yendi Municipal Assembly to the East, Tolon-Kumbungu to the West, Central Gonja to the South West and East Ganja to the South. The Metropolis has a total estimated land size of 750 km sq which is about 13% of the total land area of the Northern Region. This shows that there is available land for agricultural and real estate development activities. The map below shows the Metropolis in the National Context.

Figure 3.2: Map of Ghana



Location of the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly

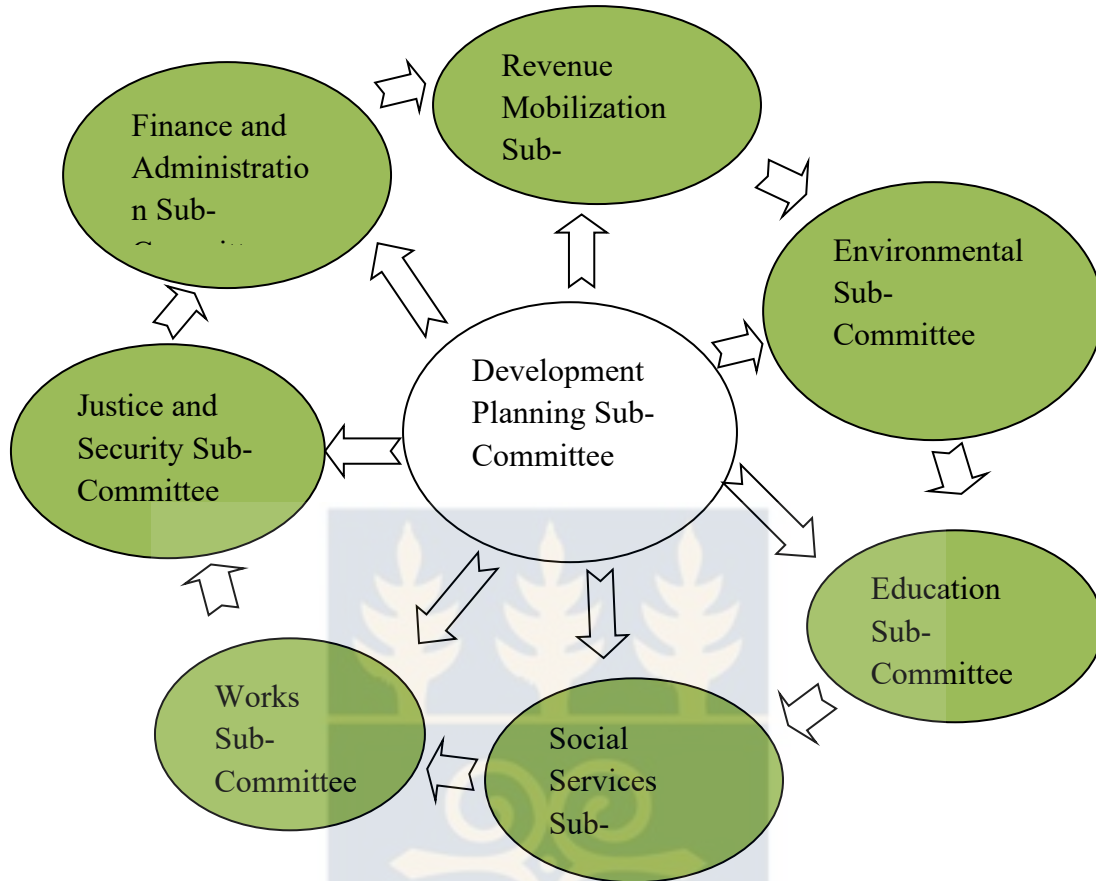
Geographically, the Metropolis lies between latitude 9°16 and 9° 34 North and longitudes 0° 36 and 0° 57 west.

There are a total of 197 communities in the Metropolis of which 33 are urban communities. This implies that over hundred (100) communities in the Metropolis are either peri-urban or rural communities.

Governance

The General Assembly of the Metropolis stands at a total of 60 members. For effective implementation of policies in the Assembly, the General Assembly has the following Sub-Committees.

Figure 3.3: Sub-Committees of the Assembly



3.6 Study location

The target population for this study is Tamale which is one of the six metropolitan areas within Ghana. The townships consist of formal and informal settlements, with an estimated population of 40,000 residents, of whom more than 50% are youth.

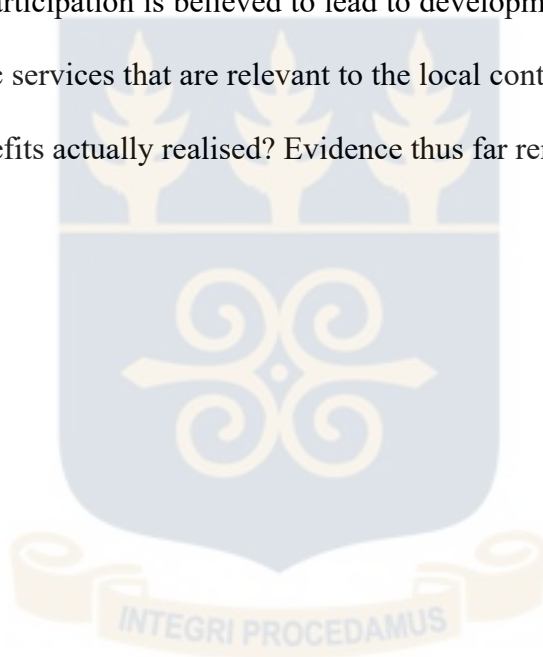
Additionally, Tamale has a peculiar history. During the colonial era Tamale was the capital of the Northern Territory (now Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions) where all government administrative businesses pertaining to the area and major commercial activities were conducted. Tamale also had the first secondary school in the North with students attending from all over the Northern Territory. The city is host to various companies and international and local NGOs. As the third largest and the fastest growing city in Ghana and West Africa respectively, one would expect that everything would be

very modern, but one still finds architectural blend of traditional mud houses roofed with grass and modern buildings. Tamale Metropolitan assembly has a total of 41 elected Assemblymen. Out of these numbers, only 11 members fall within 18-35 years. No youth has been appointed by government into the assembly as part of 30% government appointees (Tamale assembly News). Additionally, the activities (positive or negative) of the youth have been in the media lately. The frequent outbreak of violent conflicts, which often involve the youth, has given the youth within the Tamale metropolis a negative image. Youth groups such as- the Azoka and Bamba boys have been cited in recent communal violence within the Tamale metropolis (Joyfm 17th January, 2013). There is the temptation to brand the youth in Tamale as notorious for engaging in some of these activities without considering factors such as involvement in local governance process, level of education, resource availability to reasonably engage these youth. They are seen to be engaged in politics because of their notoriety. In Tamale, usually, the adult politicians used the youth to foment trouble in order for them to perpetuate their own selfish interests.

For example, it was alleged that Hon. HarunaIddrisu used the youth in Tamale to get himself appointed by the president as the Minister of Trade and Industry (Peace FM 18th January, 2013). Another example is, the angry youth who gave their names as the NDC Youth Network for Peace, who tore down and burnt billboards that bore pictures of the president and InusahFuseini following what they claim was the failure of President Mahama to nominate HarunaIddrisu for a ministerial position (Ghana Web 17th January, 2013). An effective youth engagement with local government structures might help channel the energies of the youth into more productive ventures. So, Tamale will be very interesting to study. Findings may possibly be illustrative for the other districts particularly those in northern Ghana.

3.7 Conclusion

Decentralisation is acknowledged by many to have a number of benefits, comprising positive outcomes in both democratic and developmental terms. Scholars have noted that, democracy will be deepened by the extension of political representation to the local level, with democratic processes strengthened through enhanced political participation by local civil society actors. Relatedly, it is assumed that benefits in socio-economic development will accrue through local government being more responsive and more accountable to citizens' needs and desires. These two benefits are interlaced in that local-level representation and participation is believed to lead to development planning processes and the delivery of public services that are relevant to the local context. Yet, to what extent are such anticipated benefits actually realised? Evidence thus far remains limited.



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

CHAPTER FOUR

METHOD

4.0 Introduction

The main objectives of this study were to identify the challenge of youth participation in local governance and explore measures to help address this challenge. This chapter focused on the research design as well as the methodology employed in the study, how primary data was collected. The chapter is organised into nine sub-sections. Thus, introduction, research paradigm and design, data, sampling technique and size, data Collection procedure and administration of instrument, validity and reliability of data, fieldwork experiences, data management and analysis ethical issues and the conclusion of the chapter.

4.1 Research paradigm and design

The researcher used cross-sectional descriptive research design and adopted a survey as a mode of data collection for the study. The qualitative research approach was adopted in order to achieve the objectives of the study. Qualitative research concerned with interpretation and understanding of social phenomenon, is usually used to study a particular subject in depth in social, cultural or political aspects of people and organizations (Myers 2009). The advantage of qualitative study is that, it allows for multiple sources of data which enriches the study. In qualitative study, the data is collected in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study and the data analysis is inductive and establishes themes. The final report in a qualitative study is usually made of voices of participants, the reflexivity of the researcher and a complex description and interpretation of the problem and it signals a call for action (Creswell 2007). In this study, the purpose was to find out the challenge of youth participation in local governance in Tamale Metropolis. Therefore,

qualitative method is effective in evaluating the quality of programs and in understanding formative evaluations for proposing improvements to programs (Patton, 1987). The adoption of this approach was necessary because it ensured the detailed description of the issues concerned.

Ontology and epistemology are key concepts in the philosophy of social sciences. Ontology concerns the ideas about the existence of and relationship between people, society and the world in general. Epistemology, in scientific research, defines and gives structures to what kind of scientific knowledge is available, what are the limits for that knowledge. Also, epistemology defines how knowledge can be produced and argued for. Lots of qualitative approaches are based on ontological and epistemological assumption in which reality is understood as subjective and pertains to existing knowledge and cognition (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008).

There are three main philosophical positions in social science research based on the underlying research epistemology: positivist, interpretive and critical realist. This study is based on interpretivism. Interpretive researchers assume that access to reality is only through social constructions such as language, shared meanings and instruments, and they focus on meaning in context and attempt to understand phenomena through the meanings that people assign to them. In interpretivism, a good theory is one that helps the researcher to understand the meanings and intentions of the people being studied (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008).

The study adopted the case study strategy within the qualitative paradigm because it involves an in depth description and analysis of a single unit or bounded system. Furthermore, the how and why questions demand explanation, so the preferred research

strategy was the case study. Because of the how and why research questions, it was appropriate to use case study approach. The case study approach provided detailed account of the challenge of youth participation in local governance and how can the challenges identified be addressed.

4.2 Data

Both primary and secondary sources of data were employed for the study. Primary data were collected using interviews and focus group discussions. Data from secondary sources also gathered through a review of published and unpublished documents. The details are explained below:

Semi-structured interview guide was designed for the key informants. The interview guide was designed with the objectives of the study in mind. In-depth interviews were conducted with the key informants. This approach according to Creswell (2007) allows a researcher to have control over the line of questioning and enable the participants or respondents to provide historical and detailed information where necessary. This approach enabled the researcher to probe for opinions and responses from the respondents for better understanding of the issues. With the permission of respondents, interviews were tape recorded.

Focus group discussions were also held to obtain data on the challenge of youth participation in Tamale Metropolis. As explained by Creswell (2007) focus group discussion is a structured group process conducted for the purpose of exploring people insight and feelings and obtaining detailed information about a particular topic or issue. For Berg (2007) it is a special qualitative research technique in which people are informally interviewed in a group-discussion setting. There were two separate focus group discussion sessions with six

participants in each group discussion. The participants for group one were a youth group under Tamale Central constituency and that of group two were made of another youth group under Tamale South constituency. I moderated the discussions and made sure that the discussions addressed the research objectives and also ensured that no one person monopolized the discussions. The researcher sought the permission from the respondents and recorded the discussions so that direct quotes could be obtained to illustrate the findings using the narrative approach.

The study also made significant use of secondary data. The researcher reviewed secondary data from documents, newspapers, administrative materials, letters and minutes of meetings covering a variety of issues. The concern has been raised that some documents are produced for particular purposes and may be irrelevant to the pursuit of a research project. Although it is advisable to consult as much documentation as possible, the researcher was extremely selective to have a well-focused research. The constitution of Ghana and Ghana's youth policy documents were consulted. These documents helped me to examine the political dimensions of youth participation in local governance and the extent to which directives, dictates and interventions emanating from these two documents are implemented.

This is absolutely necessary because the Constitution and the youth policy say one thing and yet, what goes on in actual practice could arguably be another. Also, all the major political parties in Ghana sought to attract the huge youth vote by explicitly creating youth wings and stating in their policy documents what they have done for the youth and what they want to do. The assembly reports were examined to find out the extent to which any specific laws have been made to facilitate youth participation in local governance.

Many of the assembly reports were assessed primarily to see whether the assembly has specific policy towards youth participation. I wanted to get a fair understanding of what the assembly is doing regarding the policies and programmes geared towards youth development and participation. For instance, whether the assembly attempts to influence the bureaucracy to support services for youth (Kimberlee, 1998) or whether it has no regard for the youth in development (Konrad, 2008). So it is important to reiterate that the documents were consulted for purposes of getting specific information fundamental to the study. Beside these reasons, documents are relevant for the purposes of verification (titles and names), corroboration of information and the making of inferences Yin (2003).

4.3 Sampling Technique and Size

It is important to state that all interviewees/informants were selected through purposive and snowballing sampling. This is because some of the interviewees were deliberately chosen to provide some specific information for use of the study. Berg (2007) suggests that in purposive samples, researchers use their expertise or knowledge to include some subjects or interviewees in the sampled population. In fact, almost all the officials were purposively identified and included in the interviews as a result of the positions they held. Most of these positions offered some unique opportunities to the officials responsible for managing them. For instance, the Regional Minister, the Metropolitan Chief Executive, assembly members, the youth council were chosen because of the various roles they play in the Ghana local government structure and the information and experience they have gained. They helped me in identifying the various youth groups within the two constituencies in the Tamale Metropolis.

In collecting the data, Tamale was divided along the constituencies of Tamale Central and Tamale South Constituencies where the Central is developing rapid urban settlement and

the South mostly has rural communities. A purposive sampling method was used to select all the respondents. A convenience sampling method was adopted to select elected assembly members between 18-35 years. In total, 6 out of the 11 assembly members who fall within this age category were interviewed.

Another set of participants were youth in the 18-35 year group which was the focus of this research. Twelve (12) youth within that age group were purposively sampled. Since the research sought to engage youth involvement in local governance, it was important to find people who had both political and other connections with the work of the local government. In all, twelve (12) youth took part in the focus group discussion. One hour was spent on each group discussion.

4.4 Data collection procedure and administration of instrument

The researcher arranged with the leaders of the youth groups who intent organised their members for the group discussion. Also, the researcher was able to assure the respondents of the confidentiality of the information they offered. Those who were not very comfortable in participating were accordingly excused. I interviewed the Northern Regional Minister, and the Metropolitan Chief Executive. The Regional Ministers is the political head or administrator of the region within which the assembly is located. Metropolitan Chief Executive is basically appointee of the resident who administers the assembly.

4.5 Validity and Reliability of Data

Validity relates to the extent to which the information collected is true and represents an accurate image of what is being studied. Eriksson and Kovalainen, (2008) posited that internal validity is the degree to which the explanation of the phenomena matches the

realities of the world. This refers to the extent to which findings of a given study are accurately represented. To assess the validity of data, the interpretation of data will disclose the extent to which the research findings accurately represent what is really the case in the Tamale Metropolis regarding youth participation in the local governance process.

4.6 Fieldwork experiences

Though there were difficulties or challenges during the data collection, there were a lot of other positive aspects of the data collection process. I was marveled at the concern and passion with which some of the members responded to the questions or interviews. More so, I must admit that the data collection process offered me the opportunity to get to know some important government officials like Ministers of State, Members of Parliament, Metropolitan Chief Executives, Coordinating Directors, Chief Directors, Public Relation Officers among others.

Even though the data collection process went on well for the most part, there were equally some significant challenges. Because I underestimated the difficulties to be encountered in trying to talk to high level government functionaries or political appointees before leaving for the data collection, I included a whole lot of such functionaries on my interview list. Firstly, there were formalities to undergo to be able to get into the offices of these high government functionaries in order to have interviews with them. But the formalities were even less frustrating than the persistent absence of most of these officials from their offices attending to issues or programmes within and outside their communities. As a result, the few days that they would have been present in their offices to work will be used largely to clear assignments that have piled up for them or be engaged in departmental meetings after meetings for longer hours for a number of days. Example, I had to visit Regional

Coordinating Council four different occasions before I could speak to the minister, his coordinating director and the regional chief local government inspector.

4.7 Data management and analysis

Interviews that were conducted in the field were transcribed and those that were handwritten were typed. These transcripts were sorted and studied carefully in order to get a deeper understanding of the data collected. The researcher then went ahead to classify the data into various themes for easy analysis.

The classification was done according to the themes on the interview guide. The themes were analysed taking into consideration the research objectives and questions. The analysis involved the rendering of a detailed description of the data in a form of a narrative. Through the analysis, the researcher identified the findings inherent in the data, thereby bringing out his personal understanding of the data as well as lessons and conclusions drawn from the study. Data analysis was done by transcribing recorded interviews from the focus group discussions conducted and quotations made from participants directly.

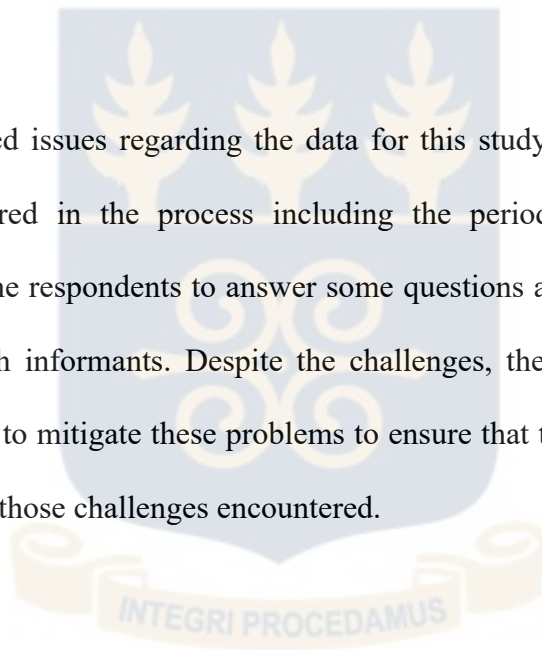
4.8 Ethical issues

Ethical matters or considerations are very important for every research adventure or study. Therefore, respondents and interviewees were assured of confidentiality as their consent was appropriately sought in respect of all information that they provided. Interviewees were also notified that recording devices would be used in order to get detailed information from them. In fact, Ghanaian public officials are exceedingly skeptical with audio recording devices because some Ghanaian journalists have the habit of recording public officials sometimes without their knowledge only to replay their voices in the electronic media to create problems for them. Conscious of this, interviewees were informed that the work was

purely for academic purposes only and that their name would be treated with the strictest confidentiality and anonymity. All documents used and sites visited have also been properly acknowledged and documented to avoid issues of plagiarism. Also, I duly registered with National Archives to satisfy the Ghanaian requirement for use of some national data. This is because National Archives is officially responsible for keeping information and documents of the country and people wishing to get some information have to officially register with them before access will be granted to them to use the facility.

4.9 Conclusion

The chapter discussed issues regarding the data for this study. There were a number of challenges encountered in the process including the period the data was collected, unwillingness of some respondents to answer some questions and sometimes difficulty of getting in touch with informants. Despite the challenges, the measures adopted by the researcher were able to mitigate these problems to ensure that the findings of the research were not affected by those challenges encountered.



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents data obtained from the field and further discusses the research findings. The analysis and discussions have been presented thematically to reflect the research objectives, namely an understanding of the challenge facing youth participation in local governance and measures that can help address these challenges.

5.1 Challenges facing youth participation in local governance

The first objective of the study was to investigate the key challenges facing youth participation in local governance. The study observed that the key challenges are; inadequate resources, lack of capacity, institutional barriers, psychological restrictions and discrimination and prejudice. These are discussed in detail below.

5.1.1 Inadequate of Resources

The study found that inadequate resources were a major challenge facing youth participation in local governance in Tamale Metropolis. In order for the youth to play an active role in the decision-making process, it is necessary for them to have access to resources. These resources include education, finance, government training programs and time. In the focus group discussion, the respondents unanimously agreed that inadequate resources such as education, inadequate finance, time, were major challenges facing them. One of the leaders said

.....we are not educated that much and we are not also employed so we don't have money to either contest for local assembly election or get involved. So the time I will use for local governance will be used to look for money.

Scholars such as Verba, Sidney & Nie (1972) have defined the resources to include education, social class, family income, leisure time and communication and organizational skills (civil skills) that provide the means and ability for the youth to be politically active. The youth in Tamale Metropolis tend to lack one or more of these resources, a situation which undermines their ability to effectively participate and impact meaningfully in the decision-making process at the local governance level.

5.1.1.1 Education

Education as an individual resource is a strong predictor of youth participation in local governance process. As Furnham and Gunter (1987) put it, the more education people have the wider and varied are their social network, which increases their chances of participation in local governance activities. Lack of education among youth in Tamale is seen as a barrier to youth participation in local governance. The participants at the focus group discussion lamented their inability to go to school as a major challenge to their participation in many of the Assembly's activities. Camino and Zeldin (2002) noted how a gap in education can deter youth participants in other ways such as; understanding of the governance and political processes and thus preventing them from getting involved. The study revealed that the youth are aware of the importance of education and they are worried about the falling standards of education in the Metropolis but attribute it to lack of commitment on the part of government and local officials. A high school dropout rate occasioned by early marriages is a principal concern among young women who participated in the study.

5.1.1.2 Limited access to information

Lack of access to information was also identified as a factor hindering youth participation in local governance within the Tamale Metropolis. The youth have indicated that they feel there is a lack of access to information about government programs within the metropolis. Throughout the focus groups discussions it emerged that many of the participants (youth) could not tell what local government is and what the activities of the assembly are.

5.1.1.3 Limited financial resources

Again, from the interactions with respondents, it was revealed that inadequate financial resources contributed negatively to youth participation in local governance in Tamale Metropolis. Majority of the youth in Tamale Metropolis are unemployed and may not have the necessary financial resources to participate in local level activities such as cost of travelling for assembly activities, in contesting for local elections. The youth felt that instead of wasting their time for the assembly activities, they would rather spend time looking for their daily bread. This assertion lends credence to Bynner and Ashford's (1994) observation that people on low incomes, the incidental expenses of providing food and other services to people in need, decent clothing, or the costs of transportation can make all the difference between participation and non-participation.

The respondents said it was extremely difficult to get suitable jobs with decent salary to supplement their daily income. Some of them however, are honest enough to acknowledge that illiteracy and insufficient training are more important. Three of the youth who took part in the study and have some level of education equally complained about the insecure nature of job opportunities and inadequate choices after leaving school. As a result, they felt disappointed in the government and its appointees who do not create enough job opportunities to absorb the ever-growing teeming youth. This makes it unattractive for the

youth to participate in local government activities which some of them see as a voluntary activity. Thus, many of the able youth who could have participated in local government have to move to Accra and Kumasi to search for mostly un-existing jobs. Also, lack of time was observed as a barrier to participation as many of the youth in Tamale spent much time looking for ways to make ends meet rather than wasting time in assembly activities which to them, does not bring them any immediate benefits.

Felix (2003) observed the benefits of participation to include the following incentives: money, power as well as general incentives that are non-material. Therefore, given the cost benefit analysis, youth would decide to participate in local governance if the benefits of their involvements exceed the resources invested in such participation. Naturally, the youth will not participate when they anticipate that they will not gain anything from their involvement in local governance activities be it political, social or citizenship. The understanding of rational action comes from Wilkinson (1997) who postulated that individuals will participate in politics for example by voting, only if the benefits of such participation outweigh the cost. If we assume that individuals are economically rational then they should seek to maximize their benefits from any activity while minimizing their costs (Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca, Winters & Matthew, 2008).

Activism should therefore occur where the costs of involvement are low and the benefits of successful action are high. Youth will communicate with members of parliament (MP) or with the Assembly regularly when they know that their efforts would always result in the actions they desire.

Additionally, the research has also found that youth participation in local governance in the Tamale Metropolis has basically been reduced to rallying youth to support an idea or an

initiative rather than participation in decision - making. Politicians use them in campaigning and rally for political power during local and national elections. Ironically, most of these youth are ignored by these politicians after gaining political power. This is something the youth describe as greed and selfishness on the part of the politicians thus they see the whole governance process at both the local and national levels as avenues through which individual in the name of governance enrich themselves.

5.1.2 Institutional barriers

There have been a number of structural barriers identified which would not allow the youth to effectively participate in local governance. The study found out that bureaucracy at the assembly was a challenge to the youth participation in local governance in Tamale Metropolis. There have been infiltrations of partisan politics at the assembly which to some of the youth deter them from participating especially the youth who do not share the same political views with local government officials. As one participant put it:

The officials are too political; to have any discussion with them you must be a known member of the ruling party.

There were several concerns under the issue government interested in strategically placing its party executives or persons who are sympathetic to the government in the district assemblies. However, the concept of decentralisation originated to make the assembly non-partisan in its deliberations. But for reasons best known, Tamale Metropolitan Assembly has dominantly become the voice of the government and not of the community and its citizens (the youth) they represent. A visit to the assembly may seem one is in the ruling party's office. Party loyalist, cronies and sympathisers are appointed and aided to represent the assembly. This is an issue bothering the youth and well-meaning citizens within Tamale Metropolis. This belief is supported by Devas and Grant (2003) who indicated that public

administrators want relationships with citizens but found that they create delays and increase red tape. In turn, the youth felt that when their input was sought, it was rarely used to make administrative decisions. The focus group respondents also noted that their concerns would be heard only if they organized themselves into angry activists.

Also, the role and influence of officials at the assembly have been cited as a hindrance to youth meaningful participation at the local governance process. At the local level, Geddes and Rust (2000) suggest that individuals are becoming disconnected from established political participatory channels because of a perceived lack of principles of and differentiation between the main political parties. This is clearly the case in Tamale metropolitan Assembly.

Institutional and societal structures are major issues and each interviewee told stories of how they wanted to get involved until some structure barred them. The respondents concluded that the bureaucracy at the assembly is somewhat restricting them from participating in the local governance process. It was again noticed that local government authorities and politicians are somewhat to be blamed or responsible for youth apathy that exists, for the reason that they constantly failed to passionately persuade the youth to take an interest in the local governance process;

One of the group leaders said;

“They come or know you during election period to campaign for them with the promise that they will give you job after the election. But when they win, nothing happens! They hardly pick peoples calls and at the end, they change their telephone numbers immediately election is over”

All the youth participants criticised politicians for failing to direct their communications towards the youth and constantly ignoring the youth in policy formulation, implementation and evaluation. The attitudes of authorities and politicians sometimes do not allow the youth to get involved in the local governance process. As argued by one respondent;

“You vote for them and what they think of is their immediate families and relations to the neglect of the general populace”.

Why bother myself when we can't change anything? There is no way I can change their minds. We've not shown any interest because we don't think there can be any change. If we thought there could be a chance to change things around we would have been interested.

From the data gathered, it came out that the assembly has a working document; there was no single policy to enhance youth participation. Even though district development plan exist:

“...the assembly has working document, every district assembly is supposed to have a medium term development plan and the medium term development plan is normally prepared along guidelines provided by the national development planning commission and every district is supposed to have it and it serves as the working document for every assembly. So, all your ideas, all plans are supposed to be integrated in it and it should be the one single document you should use for the transformation of your area. So as an assembly we have a medium term plan. But we are yet to design policies for youth participation.....” (Interview with Assembly official, 29th January, 2014)

The statement above means that the assembly has a working document but no policy for the youth in the Tamale metropolis. So how can the youth be expected to participate? The assembly does not have a desk for the youth and this is an issue that bothers the researcher so much. The assembly has a public complaints committee, public relations officer and these

people specifically respond to issues coming from the community. Asked why no specific mechanics exist for soliciting the views of the youth in decision making process; one assembly official explained:

“....Most of our members or most of our people who reside in these communities are the youth. Recently if you get down there, you will see that we are erecting a container out there. We are going to use it as a client service to enable all manner of people with grievances or issues to walk into the office to lodge their complaints, I am sure majority of people who will walk in there would be the youth but we have not deliberately set up a desk calling it a youth desk to respond to issues particularly on youth.....”(interview with the MCE, 30th, January, 2014)

Limited confidence in local government authorities

The study also found that lack of confidence in local government officials and local politicians poses a challenge to the youth participation in the local governance process. This lends support to findings reported in other studies which provides insight into youth apparent disconnection from formal politics.

Equally, noted from the study was the issue of space. In discussing the youth participation in local governance within the Tamale Metropolis, another major issue that was mentioned was space. Space is critical when it comes to the youth in decision-making process because it restricts to what extent they can participate. The underpinning factors have always been attributed to the socio-cultural factors and norms of the society. This has been the character of youth participation in local governance in Tamale Metropolis.

Another important finding from the study had to do with local government officials doing little to mainstream youth into their activities except tokenism. Despite the general socio-economic challenges government face, little is done to mainstream the youth to participate in local governance processes. Several pronouncements have been made by both local and

central governments in Ghana to enhance youth development for socio-economic transformation of the country, these pronouncements have not seen the light and political will. Bhavnani (1994) and White, Bruce and Ritchie (2000) support the assertion by saying if youth appear to exhibit a lack of engagement with politics, it is because they perceive the world of formal politics to be distant from their lives and broadly irrelevant- that politics has little meaning for them. The youth complained that:

“There is no motivation for us to take an interest”.

All politicians complain that they are not getting through to the younger generation, but they don't give the younger generation any real reason to be interested in politics. (Interview with focus group discussion, 3rd, January, 2014)

What this means is that the youth choose not to participate in local government/ local politics because they find no union with the authorities.

Structural constraints consist of any structure that may inhibit access to public discourse opportunities or may systematically distort communication in ways that privilege certain interests, voices, and meanings over others. Such structures or systems result in marginalizing minority or alternative perspectives in ways that prevent equal representation.

5.1.3 Lack of capacity

Another challenge of youth participation in local governance identified from the study was the youth not knowing how to participate in the local governance process. Constraints such as access and location of meetings, timing of events are identified as obstacles to youth participation in the local governance process. The study found that the youth showed minimal awareness of the local governance process, not knowing how to participate amongst others.

Sometimes you should know where you belong. If you are not educated, you cannot participate. Assuming you are asked to write or speak what will you say if you have not been to school? I am not educated so there is limitation to the level at which I can participate.

The above was noted by one participant.

Time constraint was another issue mentioned as a challenge and made attributions to the time the assembly organizes its meetings. This is in concert with Felix (2003) who identified lack of time as an obstacle to effective community participation.

5.1.4 Psychological barriers

One other finding from the research was the issue of psychological restrictions. Individual lack of confidence to participate in the local governance process appears to cut across many different participatory activities. It emerged from the study that because majority of the youth are not educated, they lack self-confidence to participate in local governance. As one assemblyman puts it;

“Before I gathered the courage to contest, I was afraid, I had no confidence and I lacked the will. I was thinking one needs PhD before you can participate in local governance. My colleagues youth are still living with this lack of self-confidence hence it is preventing them from participating. Participating in the assembly activities is simple and easy but people think it is difficult. I am sure some of our colleagues will look up to us and change their minds”.

Felix (2003) noted that people’s lack of confidence and insecurity about their knowledge of formal politics, and difficult voting procedures, is a barrier for many in formal politics. In Tamale Metropolis, lack of knowledge on the part of the youth regarding the local governance process, the youths’ self-image and confidence are barriers to youth getting

involved in the local governance process. Some of the respondents felt they did not have the requisite skills or experience to participate in the local governance process. Another underlying barrier to youth participation in local governance in Tamale Metropolis is lack of trust, faith and suspicion. Trust is an issue that is dwindling the level at which youth would have participated in local governance in Tamale.

5.1.5 Discrimination and prejudice

Another challenge to youth participation in local governance in Tamale Metropolis as identified by the researcher is Discrimination and prejudices. The findings of Blair (2000) suggest that certain groups may face high levels of stigma from within their own communities, as well as the wider population, discouraging individuals' involvement. The women often experience gender, race and/or faith discrimination which can deter them from participating politically. It is likely that those who have encountered such discrimination in the past are going to be more cautious in the future. Local government is committed to advocating for the rights, well-being, and educational needs of all the youth. These positive outcomes for the youth are only possible in a society that guarantees equitable treatment to all people, including the youth. In the Tamale Metropolitan assembly, party chronics parade themselves at the door steps of the assembly and what they do sometimes is to identify visitors who belong to the ruling party. Visitors, who belong to the opposition parties are usually disrespected, discriminated against and above all, denied access to the MCE.

Another form of discrimination that mars participation in Tamale is the existing chieftaincy crises in the north. The situation has assumed political dimension to the extent that if you belong to party "A" you are tacked to a particular gate and vice versa. The issue of NDC and NPP are affecting the level of participation among the youth in Tamale. When a youth supports NPP, then he is tacked as an Abudu likewise NDC supporter is tacked as an

Andani. The ruling party determines who participate in the assembly activities be it contracts or any other activity of the assembly. Because of this, youth who are in opposition parties don't even venture in the assembly activities if their parties are not in power or government. If NDC is in power, NPP youth will be discriminated against in the assembly activities and because NPP youth knew this they don't attempt participating with the assumption that their party is not in government. This peculiar case of discrimination and prejudice is hindering youth participation in local governance in Tamale.

Therefore, Prejudice creates social and emotional tension and can lead to fear and anxiety and occasionally hostility and violence. Prejudice and discrimination can undermine the self-esteem and self-confidence of those being ridiculed and make them feel unaccepted and unworthy. When that happens, their participation in local governance often suffers; they may become depressed and eventually withdraw from participating.

5.2 Overcoming the barriers to youth participation

In this study, I sought the views of the respondents on appropriate factors that must be put in place to ensure effective youth participation in local governance in Tamale Metropolis. This section explains the various roles that must be played by the various stakeholders to ensure effective youth participation in local governance.

There were several concerns under the issue of youth participation in local governance in Tamale Metropolis. The issue of youth access to the decision making process and policy implementation at the local level is a growing concern to policy makers and development circles. Many people stressed the importance of youth to participate in local governance process since they are the backbone of the society. This particular view was echoed by an informant.

..... Nothing is more important to the health of our democracy than the active engagement of youth in participatory government at the local level. The youth are citizens who have the potential to man the affairs of the nation in the future so local government structures must allow them to have a say in local government process. There is the need to promote effective youth participation since it can enhance representative democracy. Many youth do not see a connection between politics and their daily lives; however this does not mean they are not interested in their future. A process of building trust may be initiated when youth have increased access to the decision making process (interview with the regional minister 14th February, 2014)

The above excerpt shows that there is the need for adequate or deliberate policy by the various stakeholders to enhance youth participation in local governance.

With regard to appropriate measures, several suggestions were made. Prominent among them was education to enhance participation. Findings from the interaction with the youth of the Tamale Metropolis showed that education was vital to socio-economic development of the youth in Tamale Metropolis and Ghana at large. When the researcher wanted to find out what needs to be done to encourage youth participation in local government in Tamale Metropolis, every respondent chose education as the top most priority especially when asked what single act they would like to seek to push for better youth participation at the local governance level. The following excerpts epitomised the views shared by the assemblymen.

“I would want education; education should be the top most priority. When we educate and equip the youth with the right skill set they will become more responsible citizens that will drive the development of Tamale so once that is targeted, I am sure we can realize all our goals”

The MCE also shared the same view expressed by the assemblymen;

“For me.... I may be bias towards education, if people are educated, they become more informed, they become more aware of the political processes at both the local and national levels and can always contribute positively towards development, and then happily we also have very responsible media in the metropolis who are constantly educating and entertaining people about government actions and inactions. So if we continue to pursue that, I am sure it will go a long way to providing people with right tools to be able to participate effectively”. (interview with the MCE, 30th January, 2014)

Another opinion in line with the MCE and the assemblymen was expressed by the Regional Minister

....Yes, for politics specifically, I mentioned education, education is dear to my heart and to the metropolis because we have youthful population and we are also of the view that, if we need to alleviate poverty, it has to be education, with education you provide the person a wide number of skills to be able to find a living for him or herself. So we are investing so much into education. We are also trying to develop some economic growth poles in the form of development of market for our people to trade. If you go into the market today, it is dominated by youthful population. So once you provide them more space to be able to realize their potential, we can label as part of our contribution towards that process.

The above excerpts suggest that it was generally accepted by all respondents that education and training are crucial in empowering the youth to effectively participate in local governance. Many countries around the globe are paying greater attention to education for accelerated growth and participation especially in communal activities that have experienced considerable political changes. Findings from a study in the Palestinian territory indicated that youth centers, run by youth parliaments, taught adolescents about the democratic process and provide them with positive life experiences (Cross & Young

2008). Kenya introduced participatory budget as a way for communities who felt that their only opportunity for engagement with the government was through NGOs to directly participate in national governance. Along with a mentorship program to strengthen movements, Fathom uses State of the Union campaign to sensitize the African Union member states that many important decisions being taken at the continental level risk not being implemented at local levels unless there is a change in the policies and practices of state and inter-state actors (Cross & Young 2008).

It was recognised that education, training and awareness of the governance process are key needed elements for effective youth participation in local governance in Tamale Metropolis. This is not only formal education, but informal and non-formal education. It is also necessary to provide education in a suitable environment with an attractive participatory manner using the language of the citizens (youth). The youth within the Metropolis concluded that to empower them, decision-makers should be minded to create a conducive environment for the effective participation of the youth. Similarly, the youth must be trained in basic skills, competencies, mechanisms and methodologies to enable them participate in local governance. Thus, local government authorities ought to equip the youth within their metropolis with the requisite political skills and knowledge if they desire to get the youth to be actively involved in the local governance process.

The findings also revealed that another area that needs consideration is on communication and information sharing. The media is a medium through which youth can be informed about local governance. Youth awareness and understanding of local government issues can be enhanced by adopting the various communication channels such as radios, TV, information service department, NCCE among others. It was acknowledged by officials and

youth that the media around the world is playing a crucial role in creating political awareness among the citizens. As one of the respondents put it;

.....the media has assumed the role of overseer or watchdog of democracy by providing dispassionate information to listeners and viewers through talk shows, current and international affairs programs and comedy shows on political issues.(29th January, 2014)

Tamale Metro alone has 8 radio stations and 8 TV stations through which they can disseminate information about the assembly to increase social, citizen and political participation. In fact, all the national television stations have coverage in Tamale Metropolis. When asked about how easy it is for youth in Tamale to express their interest, The MCE was positive:

.....Tamale is so fortunate that all the radio stations we have in the metropolis have dedicated some particular days and hours for the assembly to have an engagement with the people in the metropolis, people who host those programs are the youth, people who go to speak on behalf of the assembly are the youth, the people who question the actions and inactions of the assembly are the youth, even people who call in and contribute to the issues that are discussed are mostly youth. So, to a large extent, people in the metropolis are fully aware of what the assembly is doing and is largely due to the fact that, we have youth along who continually disseminate information about the assembly.

When asked whether apart from the radio stations in Tamale there other mechanisms through which the Assembly got youth and citizens were informed, this was the response of the MCE:

We are yet to engage the services of information services department, NCCE and maybe social media like facebook, twitter and effective website.

Also, one other way to enhance youth participation is to empower youth to have a voice. One cannot talk about civic and political rights without talking about freedom of expression and right to information, which form the basis of political participation. Youth can be empowered through education, employment, access to information, involvement, consultation and empowerment. Youth can be consulted in programs and policy formulation, implementation and evaluation. A respondent noted:

When we create jobs, provide the needed infrastructures then we are empowering the youth. We can also mentor them for tomorrow.

The findings of Cahn and Gray (2005) confirm the assertion that youth participation requires belief, trust and comprehensiveness; officials should trust in youth, belief that youth participation can create a sense of purpose and a feeling of social inclusion. To guarantee strong youth participation in local governance in Tamale, the youth need to understand and be allowed to exercise their right to participate in local government and political issues.

Participants also recognised that for participation to be more effective and meaningful it must be inclusive and not exclusive. Participation must be opened to all and sundry not excluding anyone on the basis of gender, race, religion, language, ethnicity, class, caste, ability, age. There should be equal representation of all groups including youth in local government activities. Creating safe, legitimate, and formal spaces and platform for people to participate is inevitable for guaranteeing people's participation. The bottom up approach which is emerging from grassroots must be re-echoed by allowing youth views in formulating, implementation and evaluation of policies and programs at local level.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.0 Introduction

The chapter presents a summary of the findings of the study and the conclusions drawn from the analyses. The emerging recommendations from the findings of the study are also outlined in this chapter.

6.1 Summary of findings

The study investigated the challenge of youth participation in Ghana, using Tamale Metropolis as a case study. It focused mainly on the challenges and what can be done to enhance youth participation in local governance. The main objective was to identify the challenge facing youth participation in local governance.

6.1.1 Challenges facing youth participation in local governance

The first objective of the study was to investigate the key challenges facing youth participation in local governance. Findings from the field showed that there were several challenges facing youth participation in local governance in Tamale Metropolis. The study observed that the key challenges are; inadequate of resources, lack of capacity, institutional barriers, psychological restrictions and discrimination and prejudice. While the various stakeholders agreed that these challenges exist, they nonetheless agreed that greater part of the blame must be stopped at their door step.

Relating to resources, the study identified lack of education, inadequate finance, lack of time, lack of information flow as the major challenges barring youth from participating

effectively in local governance in Tamale Metropolis. The youth in Tamale Metropolis tend to lack one or more of these resources, a situation which limits with their ability to effectively participate and impact meaningful in the decision-making process at the local governance level. Education has been described a personal resources which determine the level at which an individual can involve in an activity.

Lack of Access to information was also identified as a factor hindering youth participation in local governance within the Tamale Metropolis. Youth have indicated that they feel there is a lack of access to information about government programs within the metropolis. Throughout the focus groups discussions it emerged that many of the participants (youth) could not tell what local government is and what they do at the assembly level.

Again, it was revealed that inadequate financial resources contributed negatively to youth participation in local governance in Tamale Metropolis. Majority of the youth in Tamale Metropolis are unemployed and may not have the necessary financial resources to participate in local level activities.

The study also found institutional barriers as a challenge to youth participation. Institutional challenges such as bureaucratic, lack of trust for local authorities, infiltration of partisan politics are hindrance to youth participation. Lack of confidence on the authorities and politicians were also cited. There were several concerns raised under the issue of government interested in strategically placing its party executives or persons who are sympathetic to the government in the district assemblies.

Also, lack of capacity was also cited as a challenge to youth participation in local governance. From the study it came out that the youth don't know how to participate in the

local government process. Hence, they show lack of awareness in local governance activities.

One other finding that emerged was psychological restrictions. Individual lack of confidence to participate in the local governance process appears to cut across many different participatory activities. It emerged from the study that because majority of the youth do not go to school, they lack self-confidence to participate in local governance.

Another finding relates to discrimination and prejudices. The findings of Blair (2000) suggest that certain groups may face high levels of stigma from within their own communities, as well as the wider population, discouraging individuals' involvement. Women often experience gender, race and/or faith discrimination which can deter them from participating politically. It is likely that those who have encountered such discrimination in the past are going to be more cautious in the future.

6.1.2 Overcoming the barriers to youth participation

The issue of youth access to the decision making process and policy implementation at the local level is a growing concern to policy makers in Ghana and beyond. Many have stressed the importance youth participation in local governance process since they are the back born of every society.

With regard to appropriate measures, several suggestions were made. Prominent among them was education. Findings from the interaction with the informants show that education was vital to socio-economic development of the youth in Tamale Metropolis and Ghana at large. All the respondents chose education as the top most priority especially when asked

what single act they thought held the greatest promise in enhancing an effective participation of the youth in local governance.

The findings also revealed that another area that needs consideration is on communication and information sharing. The media is a medium through which youth can be informed about local governance. Youth awareness and understanding of local government issues can be enhanced by adopting the various communication channels such as radios, TV, information service department, NCCE among others.

Also, one other way to enhance youth participation is to empower youth to have a voice. One cannot talk about civic and political rights without talking about freedom of expression and right to information, which form the basis of political participation. Youth can be empowered through education, greater opportunities, employment, access to information, involvement and consultation in decision making processes.

Participants also recognised that for Participation to be more effective and meaningful it must be inclusive and not exclusive. Participation must be opened to all and sundry not excluding anyone on the basis of gender, religion, ethnicity and age. There should be equal representation of all groups including youth in local government activities. Creating safe, legitimate, and formal spaces and platform for people to participate is inevitable for guaranteeing people's participation. The bottom up approach which is emerging from grassroots must be re-echoed by allowing youth views in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of policies and programs at all levels of governance.

6.2 Conclusion

Given the above discussions, one can say that generally, the challenges of youth participation are multifaceted. This study revealed some of the challenges that confronted youth participation in local governance. These challenges highlighted the realities on the ground regarding youth participation. Even though all the stakeholders knew the challenges that existed, but little is done to address the situation. Participation as accepted by to have benefits, all people involved are not working towards enhanced youth participation. There was that recognition that once all the identified challenges addressed, effective youth participation is guaranteed. There is lack of understanding about local governance among youth in Tamale Metropolis. These together with social and cultural barriers prevent youth from participating in decision-making. The problem of youth participation is not simply because of lack of resources but other important factors as mentioned. Therefore the youth are more than willing to participate if the aforementioned challenges are addressed.

6.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the study makes the following recommendations:

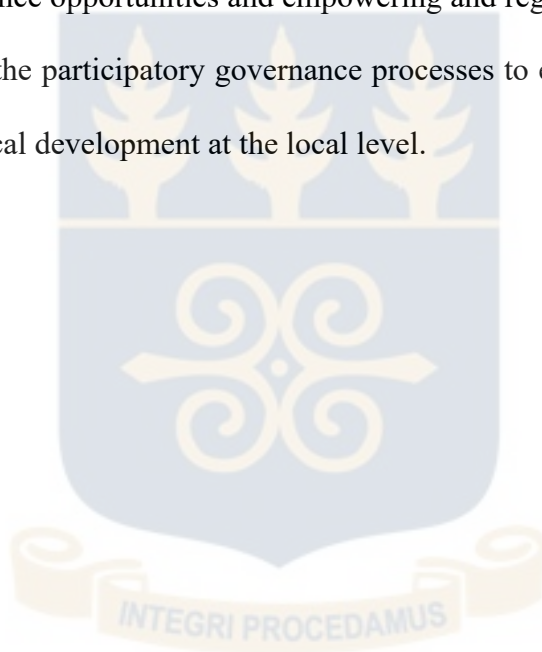
- Citizenship education is one way in which youth can be informed about local governance and politics. It should be factored in to the school curricular from the lower level up to the upper level. It should operate in tandem with the many other channels of communication such as the media and through political parties and interest groups.
- The study also found that most youth think that the best way to enhance youth participation in local governance is by taking into consideration some quota for the youth and there should be legislative instrument to buttress it. However, it was not clear from them how this quota will be achieved and the percentage terms but one of them proposes 10% quota for youth in terms of appointment. Taken Sierra Leone

for example, the True Reconciliation Commission recommended 10% youth participation in all levels of government. The researcher believes Ghana can learn from the Sierra Leone experience. Government can reserve 10% out of the 30% of his appointees for the youth at the local government level.

- It is also recommended that the assembly should consider creating non-elected seats for youth so that they can be part of the assembly meetings, discussions and processes without necessarily breaching the constitutional provisions of the local government Act. This will give opportunity to the youth in Tamale Metropolis to learn hands on local government work and perhaps get more youth involved in local government and contributing to reducing the increasing youth alienation at the local level.
- The various local governance authorities need to create special youth desks at the various assemblies to sensitize the youth on the need to get involved in the local governance process while exposing them to the processes involved in participating in the local governance process.
- Furthermore, central government needs to mandate local governance authorities to resource the youth desk as well as building the capacity of the youth to equip them with the needed skills and knowledge to enable them participate in the local governance processes at their various communities.
- Government needs to promote partnership between youth organisations and authorities at national, regional and local levels, and encourage youth to participate in the voluntary sector; as well as promote co-operation between youth and local and national youth structures in the country.
- The views of the youth need to be given a chance in all the final decisions of the local governance authorities so as to let them feel a part of the decision-making

process. It is envisaged that this would enable them to be part of the implementation process.

- Local governance authorities need to equally factor in the availability of the youth in drawing schedules for local governance activities such as general assembly meetings amongst others.
- Local governance authorities need to be encouraged to partner civil society organisations (CSOs) to play a central role in demanding both greater participatory local governance opportunities and empowering and regular education of the youth to engage in the participatory governance processes to enhance socio-economic as well as political development at the local level.



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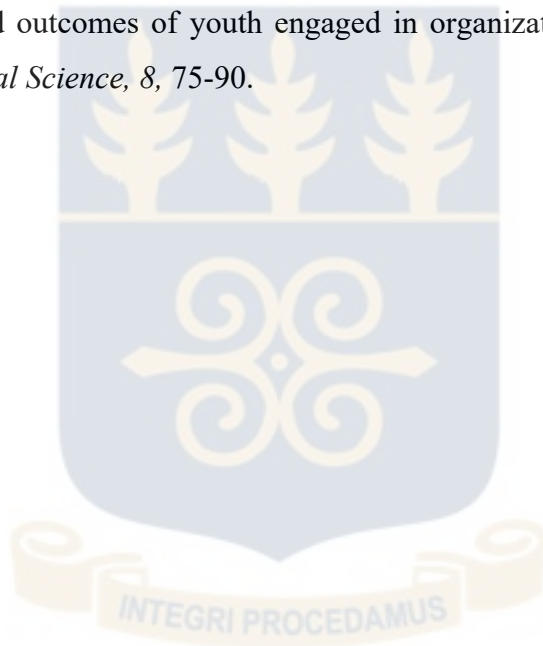
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APPENDIX: INTERVIEW GUIDE

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA BUSINESS SCHOOL DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND HEALTH SERVICES MANAGEMENT

I am a Master of Philosophy in Public Administration student in the above institution conducting a research on the topic: *The Challenge of Youth Participation in Local Governance in Ghana: A Case Study of the Tamale Metropolis*. Any information provided for the study will be for academic purposes only and would, therefore, be deemed confidential.

Interview Guide for the Youth

Demographic Data

1. How long have you lived in the Tamale Metropolis?
2. What is your highest level of education?
3. Are you employed?

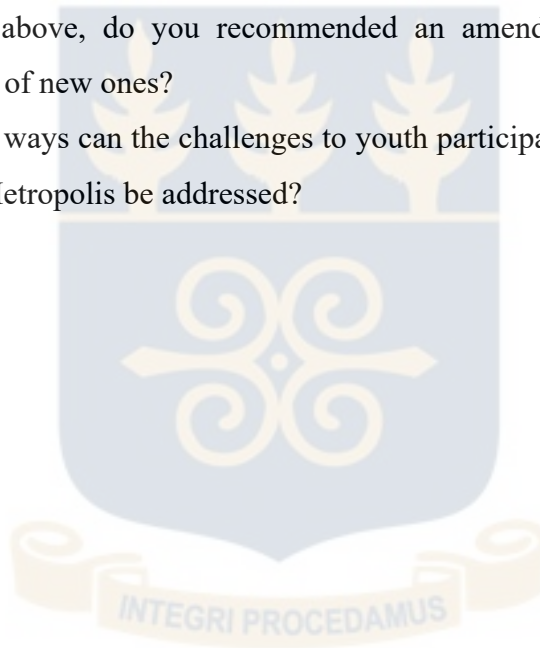
Challenges to Youth Participation

4. What is the state of youth participation in local governance in the Tamale Metropolis?
5. How would you rate the participation of the youth in the following areas? Please explain your answer?
 - i. Community development
 - ii. Local elections (How were you involved in the last election? Would you consider standing for local-level election in future?)
 - iii. Community mobilization
 - iv. Others, please explain
6. Are you directly involved in local governance activities in the Metropolis?
7. If yes to 6 above, how are you involved?
8. If no to 6 above, why?
9. Do the youth have the requisite resources and capacity to participate fully in local governance in the Metropolis?
10. Does the institutional environment pose any challenges to youth participation?
11. Does the Assembly have youth-centred or youth friendly programmes? What are some of them?

12. Do you receive the necessary support and cooperation from the Metropolitan Assembly, the NYA and other stakeholders as incentive to participate in local governance?
13. What other challenges impede youth participation in local governance in the Metropolis?

Addressing the Challenges to Youth Participation

14. Are there enough legal or policy instruments to encourage youth participation in local governance in the Tamale Metropolis?
15. If yes, are those instruments being implemented?
16. If no to 14 above, do you recommended an amendment of existing laws or promulgation of new ones?
17. In what other ways can the challenges to youth participation in local governance in the Tamale Metropolis be addressed?



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

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

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Interview Guide for Assembly Members

Demographic Data

1. How long have you been a member of the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly?
2. Are you an elected member or Government appointee?
3. What is your highest level of education?

Challenges to Youth Participation

1. Are the youth adequately represented in the Assembly?
2. Do you agree that youth participation in the Metropolis is low?
3. Please, explain your answer?
4. Does the Assembly have specific policies and programmes aimed at encouraging youth participation in local governance?
5. If yes, what are some of these policies and programmes? If no, why?
6. What are some of the challenges to youth participation in your electoral area and the Metropolis in general?

Addressing Challenges to Youth Participation

1. Does the Assembly have the requisite resources to create the enabling environment for youth participation in local governance?
2. Would the enforcement of the provision on non-partisan nature of District Assembly elections as stipulated in Act 462 encourage youth participation in local governance?
3. In what ways do you think the challenges to youth participation in local governance can be addressed?

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

I am a Master of Philosophy in Public Administration student in the above institution conducting a research on the topic: *The Challenge of Youth Participation in Local Governance in Ghana: A Case Study of the Tamale Metropolis*. Any information provided for the study will be for academic purposes only and would, therefore, be deemed confidential

Interview Guide for RM/ MCE/ DCD/ NYA

Challenges to Youth Participation

1. What is your assessment of youth participation in local governance in the Metropolis?
2. In which specific areas are the youth mostly involved in local governance?
3. Are there enough legal and policy instruments to enhance/encourage youth participation in local governance?
4. If so, are the youth adequately engaged/educated by your office and other relevant stakeholders on these legal and policy instruments? Please, give relevant examples.
5. Do you agree that partisan politics and discrimination largely contribute to the sorry state of youth participation in the Metropolis? Explain your answer.
6. What other factors hinder youth participation in local governance in the Metropolis?

Addressing the Challenges

1. Is your office specifically mandated to initiate youth-centred programmes to encourage participation in local governance?
2. Do you have the necessary legal and policy instruments to encourage youth participation in local governance?
3. Do have the requisite human and financial resources to carry out youth-centred programmes and projects in the Metropolis?
4. In what ways can the challenges to youth participation in local governance be addressed?