Come together, right now, over what?

An analysis of the processes of democratization and participatory governance of water and sanitation services in Dodowa, Ghana

Shona Jenkins

Master Thesis Series in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science,
No 2016:018

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Lund University International Master's Programme in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science (30hp/credits)

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Lund University Centre for Sustainability Studies

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13, 520 words

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Submitted May 16, 2016

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Abstract

Delivering essential services to burgeoning peri-urban cities in the Sub-Sahara will only become an increasing challenge, as the population in this region is expected to double by 2050. Finding effective governance arrangements, institutional settings and building participatory arenas that give a greater voice to citizens and foster greater responsiveness from democratic authorities is a delicate endeavour, fraught with difficult trade-offs. Critical political ecology provides analytical channels to investigate the interplay between water and sanitation management, power and knowledge.

An investigation of the process of decentralization and participatory governance of water and sanitation services at the local level was conducted in the peri-urban city of Dodowa, Ghana.

The suburbs included in this case study comprised of two suburbs with an established community water and sanitation committee (WATSAN) and four suburbs with no such committee. A qualitative investigation via semi-structured interviews, informal discussions and narrative walks, using mixed sampling methods revealed a very complex picture.

Analysis was conducted based on a framework elaborated from a literature review of decentralization, participatory governance and political ecology theory. My results have shown that institutionalized local democracy in Dodowa has created participatory spaces with a very narrow mandate and limited capacity to evolve and adapt to changing local needs. WATSAN committees have failed to foster an inclusive participatory arena and provide a louder local political voice around locally defined priorities. Grassroots-derived participatory arenas are a promising alternative for strengthening local political voice, but more resources, power and discretion need to be afforded to local governments in order for them to become more responsive to citizen voices. A more detailed discussion around the context-specific barriers to democratization and how grassroots civic engagement can be fostered is included throughout the pages of this thesis.

Key words: Participatory governance, democratization, water & sanitation, Ghana

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Abbreviations

CBA	Community-based organization
COM	Community owned & managed
DA	District Assembly
GAR	Greater Accra Region
SOD	Shai-Osudoku District
WASH	Water, Sanitation & Hygiene
WATSAN	Water & Sanitation Committee

Acknowledgments

They say you never walk alone in life. Personal achievements should of course be celebrated, but they are never truly our own. Close attention to proper referencing is at the core of the academic writing process. I feel like I want to celebrate my completion of this master's and my thesis, but that I should reference ownership of this process to (Everyone in my Life, 1988-2016).

I must start with my family. There are two mantras for life that my parents have imparted on me, which continue to have a lasting effect on how I choose to lead my life. My father believes that having a good sense of humour and light-heartedness is at the core of surviving life, so I always try to remember his words: 'Relax, Shona, it's just a joke'. Laugh whenever possible. My mother has imparted her sensitive emotional repertoire to her children. Never shy away from expressing your emotions. In Scottish dialect, to cry is to 'greet'. My father always says that 'You're like a Christmas card, you're always greetin'" Smile, cry, love whenever possible.

To my sisters. You bring comfort to my existence. May time and space never dull our connection and may the joy of our occasional reunions continue to carry me through our physical separation.

To my flatmates here in Lund, Tim and Dennis. You have brought joy and laughter into these last few months of independent work on my thesis. We have held each other up and moved beyond the stress, rather gracefully, with laughter and epic culinary adventures in our shared kitchen and our late-night kitchen parties with friends. *Danke*.

To David in Montreal. You connected me with your family and friends in Accra and went out of your way to ensure that my arrival to Ghana was smooth and worry-free. *Merci*. To George, Francis and Gabriel in Dodowa. Your encouragement and guidance throughout my fieldwork was invaluable. You opened my eyes to the complex issues facing Ghanaian society today. *Me daa si*. To Nii and Stephan in Dodowa. You took the time to travel with me so I could learn more about the history of Ghana and experience the beauty and diversity of your country. *Me daa si*.

Last, but not least, to all the research partners in the T-GroUP research project and to my thesis supervisor, Maryam, I am eternally grateful for your support over the course of my research.

It is deep gratitude of friendship, family and the blind generosity of strangers and hope for the future that has guided my journey to new shores and back again. As I move on from being an indebted student (hopefully) and experience what it feels like to have a positive bank balance, may I never forget the foundations of the good life that brought me to this point. Deep societal change is needed to move towards sustainability. A re-evaluation of our value systems more in line with my definition of the good life will go a long way in changing behavior.

Shona Jenkins
May 14, 2016
Lund, Sweden

1. Introduction

1.1 Water access in SSA

Availability and accessibility of groundwater resources are inextricably linked to poverty reduction and the improvement of livelihoods in rural areas and to a lesser extent to more urban areas. The critical importance of sustainable water management and development policies and strategies in Africa is largely due to the fact that although the continent of Africa occupies 20% of the global landmass, only 10% of the globe's renewable freshwater resources are found there (Van Koppen, 2003). Keeping in mind this fundamental resource limitation, a focus on the development and management of groundwater resources and sanitation facilities becomes crucial for Sub-Saharan Africa, as the citizens of this region have the lowest access to drinking supplies and sanitation services in the world and the continent is seeing rapid and uncontrolled urbanization, which stresses already inadequate water and sanitation services (Braune & Xu, 2010). Groundwater has many advantages over surface water: (1) It is of lower risk of contamination with disease-causing bacteria and viruses (2) It is more fiscally appropriate for small and scattered rural communities than developing piped sources of water (3) It can support urban and peri-urban dwellers with unreliable access to piped water (Kortatsi, 1994).

Peri-urban governance is an emerging area of interest, as growing cities on the periphery of urban centers have characteristics of both rural and urban areas. This creates fuzzy jurisdictional territory for government departments and agencies serving urban and rural areas, respectively (Kurian & McCarney, 2010, p. 5). For example, in the peri-urban city of Dodowa on the out-skirts of Accra, Ghana, the urban water authority and the rural water authority must collaborate to meet the water and sanitation needs in this area (CWSA, n.d.).

In an effort to expand urban water and sanitation services to the periphery, policy and institutional responses have attempted to treat the peri-urban citizen as both a consumer of water and sanitation services and as a benefactor of basic water and sanitation public goods (Allen, Dávila, & Hofmann, 2006; Van Koppen, 2003). The inherent tension between market-oriented (i.e. consumer pays approach) and supply-based approaches (e.g. human right to water and sanitation approach or sustainable livelihoods approach) (Harvey & Reed, 2007) in the provision of water and sanitation services will continue to test governance strategies in Sub-

Saharan Africa, as the region's population is expected to double by 2050 (Population Reference Bureau, 2013). Due to the widespread occurrence of governments unable to fulfill their mandates and the failure of the market to provide water and sanitation to all (Dongier et al., 2003, p. 304), the governance of water and sanitation services in the developing world has been transformed to include more local actors in the planning, decision-making and ownership of 'their' development (Botes & van Rensburg, 2000; Dongier et al., 2003, p. 303). Development now unfolds in a governance arena, which includes local actors, government, private sector and donor parties (Botes & van Rensburg, 2000; Dongier et al., 2003, pp. 303–304). Water and sanitation development policy and projects now have the ambitious aim of satisfying infrastructural needs and human development aims (Ekane, Nykvist, Kjellén, Noel, & Weitz, 2014), by creating an environment where a 'dignified' and sustainable livelihood is within reach of All (Krantz, 2001).

1.2 Participatory governance and decentralization - inclusive governance

It is important to note that the inclusion of the poor and underserved in various steps in development policy and projects has been met with criticism and that the merits and mechanics of participation and decentralization are poorly understood. Botes and van Rensburg (2000) express this criticism very succinctly, "community participation in development is advocated for various noble reasons and is often rhetorical and permeated with lofty sentiments" (p. 41). Bardhan (2002) also expresses that the understanding of the causes and effects of decentralized governance is very much still in its infancy, "separating decentralization from its political and economic causes, so that decentralization is not just a proxy for an ill-defined broad package of social and economic reforms, is a delicate task" (p. 203).

Lastly, it is important to distinguish the emergence of new arenas of participation via institutional arrangement and top-down development strategies from participatory arenas generated by more 'organic' community associationalism and social mobilization. Civic engagement from the grassroots level has been seen to energize broader civic engagement in the United States, as well as in the developing world (e.g. De Tocqueville, 2002; Gaventa & Barrett, 2012). Further, Ostrom (1995) cautions that an over-emphasis on investment in hard infrastructure without careful consideration of the plurality of interests at play in the social environment can cause a collapse of communal agreement of terms of action around a particular resource. This is not to say that formal support from and involvement of government and institutions cannot be helpful for a

participatory project, but that a sound assessment of the costs and benefits of engagement of individuals towards a common goal needs to be conducted prior to construction of a community owned and managed borehole or public toilet facility, for example.

Within the main veins of literature described above, it is important to acknowledge that the motivation for participatory governance is derived from empirical origins, but is fraught with normative assumptions, mainly that participatory is better than centralized governance and importantly that, given the opportunity, communities are ready to expand their civic voice and local governments are ready to become more responsive (Cornwell & Coelho, 2007, p. 5). But in the absence of a wide array of successful participatory governance success stories in the peri-urban context, improving the quality and effectiveness of participatory arenas should become a focal priority for all actors involved in peri-urban governance (pp. 24–25).

1.3 Research Objective

This thesis endeavours to paint a picture of the complex nature of decentralized governance in providing what have typically been thought of as public goods, water and sanitation, in the case of Dodowa, Ghana. By conducting largely qualitative research, I hope to situate myself at the interface of the influence of history, culture, politics and economics as they impact groundwater access and quality and access and use of improved sanitation facilities. Grounded in theories of governance and development and analysed via a political ecology lens, this thesis will contribute to the case-based repertoire of transdisciplinary research within the field of sustainability sciences. Case-based research is essential to assess how current approaches to providing water access and sanitations services to the poor, for example, are actually delivering measurable outcomes. Case-based research in this instance also acts as an arena in which the researcher can 'throw theory at reality and see what sticks' and hopefully prove, elaborate or adapt theory to improve water and sanitation development in a particular context.

1.4 Research questions

1. How is democratization being translated in Dodowa?
    I. Who are the actors involved in this process?
    II. In what ways is the democratic process transparent, just and responsive?
    III. In what ways do local community members have a louder voice?

2. What are impeding factors to democratization in Dodowa?
    I. What are the structural, institutional or policy aspects that impede democratization in Dodowa?
    II. In what ways is access to knowledge impeding democratization in Dodowa?

3. How has development addressed community priorities in the past? What should be the focus of future development initiatives in communities in Dodowa?
    I. How would a WATSAN committee or a community development group developed from the grassroots level offer a better alternative to the government-mediated WASTAN groups?
    II. How is the concept of community owned and managed development projects perceived by the wider community?
    III. Have any of the communities studied successfully implemented a community project, as a result of a grassroots organization?

2. Background / Setting the scene

2.1 Approaches to water provision

The 2006 *Human Development Report* urged the international community to broaden their understanding of the freshwater crisis facing humanity today. The freshwater crisis is multi-faceted and shouldn't solely be understood as a physical scarcity problem (Watkins, 2006). Increasing pressure caused by quickly rising demand coupled with the spatial and temporal variability of freshwater in, for example, Sub-Saharan Africa limits sustainable freshwater availability (Van Koppen, 2003). Freshwater must also be understood as a political 'entity'. Flawed freshwater management policies play out to exacerbate limiting water access factors such as poverty, inequality and unequal power relations (Watkins, 2006). Innovation in water governance will be essential to steer the societies of the Sub-Sahara away from a critical water scarcity situation and foster an environment which makes dignified livelihoods within reach for even the most marginalized (Falkenmark et al., 2007; Swyngedouw, 2005; Watkins, 2006).

Extending WASH improvements to a region like the Sub-Sahara lays the building blocks for all members of society to reach their full human potential and is inextricably linked with the philosophy of sustainable development, as is reflected in the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* (United Nations, 2015). The development of sound hygiene practices coupled with access to clean water and improved sanitation is linked with significant reductions in mortality and morbidity caused by diarrheal diseases and other microbial diseases and infections (Bartram & Cairncross, 2010; Fewtrell et al., 2016). However, developing WASH practices and infrastructures has far-reaching benefits beyond improved health outcomes. Dignity, equality, and more generally, improved livelihoods make water, sanitation and hygiene the foundations of health (Bartram & Cairncross, 2010) as well as economic and social development (Fewtrell et al., 2016; United Nations, 2015).

However, improvements to access to safe drinking water has not kept pace with improvements in sanitation, which led to more ambitious targets for *SDG Goal 6* in the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* (UN Water, n.d.), although different benchmarks are used to assess both (Cumming, Elliott, Overbo, & Bartram, 2014). In an interview in 2013, the executive director of WaterAid in Sweden discussed the challenge of bridging the gap between water and sanitation improvements. Simply put, dealing with solid human waste just isn't as 'sexy' as water and it never

will be (Lei Ravelo, 2013), which may also impact donor funding for more appealing projects (Harvey, 2011). She later reiterated this position in a self-authored article in The Guardian. Those working in public health, in the water and sanitation sector, governments, NGOs and community members need to become more collaborative and creative to deliver on the global commitment to *SDG Goal 6* (Chatterjee-Martinsen, 2014). This is very much in line with the expanding list of actors now included in any 'governance' arena for sustainable development (Kemp, Parto, & Gibson, 2005), in transdisciplinary scientific research (Polk, 2014) and urban (Ruiz, Dobbie, & Brown, 2015) and community (Harvey & Reed, 2007) water management.

There are many historical socio-political reasons that have led to the current position of government to place the onus on communities to actively participate in the management and up-keep of water and sanitation facilities in informal urban settlements, peri-urban and rural communities. The dominant development approach in the Global South is participatory development (Watkins, 2006). It is to be understood that this mode of development is inherently better than alternatives, as the previous rationales for development failure in Africa, state and market failure, have been abandoned. A failure of governance is now believed to be at the root of poor development in Africa, where more inclusive governance is believed to be the key to development success (Bakker, Kooy, Shofiani, & Martijn, 2008). The inclusion of the beneficiaries of development is fundamental to ensuring that their *priorities* are central, that those commonly left to the margins of society are *included* in and are also *recipients* of the fruits of participatory projects. It is the position of the Government of Ghana that this approach to water and sanitation service provision can fulfill the promise of sustainable development in the country (Community Water & Sanitation Agency, n.d.; Ministry of Environment Science and Technology, 2012).

It is helpful to clarify how the governance terms referred to up to this point are connected. If governance has failed Africa, then participatory governance is the solution. What this the calls for is a deepening of democracy through two mechanisms, decentralization and the inclusion of the beneficiaries of development in their own governance. And as will be discussed throughout this thesis, this should lead to more inclusive decision-making and planning, which takes the form of community owned and managed water and sanitation services in Dodowa.

2.2 Decentralization as democratization in Ghana

Ghana is situated on the Western coast of Africa and is borderd by the nations of Côte-d'Ivoire, Togo and Burkina Faso. The capital of Ghana is Accra, which is located on the coast in the Greater Accra Region (GAR) (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 Map of Ghana & Western Africa. Source: http://www.ezilon.com/maps/images/africa/political-map-of-Ghana.gif

The phenomenon of rapid urbanization in Africa really started to take place in the post-colonial era. It was first seen as a positive leap forward, as cities were seen to be the centers of economic development. However, as the scale of urbanization grew, it was viewed as a burden to Africain states, as significant economic development proved elusive. Urban centers began to heavily tax water, sanitation and electricity infrastructure, as they grew in size and in population, with urban planners unable to keep pace (Mabogunje, 1990). This has been the case in Ghana. Accra is quickly expanding and previously small villages and towns on the urban fringe are quickly becoming connected to the capital city (Doan & Oduro, 2012).

Ten administrative districts form the GAR. Dodowa is the capital of the Shai-Osudoku District (SOD), located slightly north-east of Accra (see Figure 2, p. 8).

> "The African city remains today a human agglomeration with no clear set of criteria to help its identification as a socially distinct entity... What colonialism produced in most parts of Africa, and especially in its cities, was a syncretized society caught between its traditional pre-capitalist roots and a capitalist-oriented colonial economy" (Mabogunje, 1990, pp. 121–122).

District Assemblies (DA) in peri-urban Ghana have had to take on the responsibility of city planning, but due to inefficient capacity, inadequate funds at the local government level, planning has taken the form of upkeeping existing infrastructure and buildings (Yeboah & Obeng-Odoom, 2010). As a result, a peri-urban city like Dodowa expands with very little planning enforcement from the DA.

Planning becomes further complicated by a hybrid land tenure system, which legally recognizes both modern and traditional forms of land ownership. Traditional land ownership recognizes communal rights to land rooted in royal families, clans or lineages of cultural groups in Ghana (Gough & Yankson, 2000). This presents a barrier to developing water and sanitation services in Dodowa, which will be addressed in this thesis.

Figure 2 Map of South-Eastern Ghana. Red star indicates location of Dodowa. Source: http://www.world-guides.com/images/ghana/ghana_accra_map.jpg

The Shai-Osudoku District remains largely rural, where agriculture still forms the basis of economic activity in the District. Due to its proximity to Accra, and its administrative importance in the district, economic activities in Dodowa have diversified, wherein, far less households engage in agriculture as compared to the rural towns and villages in Shai-Osudoku. Most of the working-age population is employed in the private informal sector (non-tax paying entrepreneurs), where service and sales followed by craft and related trades form the basis of this sector (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). The high rate of employment in the informal sector has obvious important implications for tax collection at the district level. Figures 3 and 4 (p. 9) show the significance of pipe-born (GWCL) water use for drinking and other domestic purposes in urban Shai-Osudoku. However, groundwater is still an important source of water for both purposes.

There are two linguistic traditions in this area of Ghana, mainly Ga and Dangme. Although the official language of Ghana is English, in Shai-Osudoku, spoken English varies largely according to age (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014).

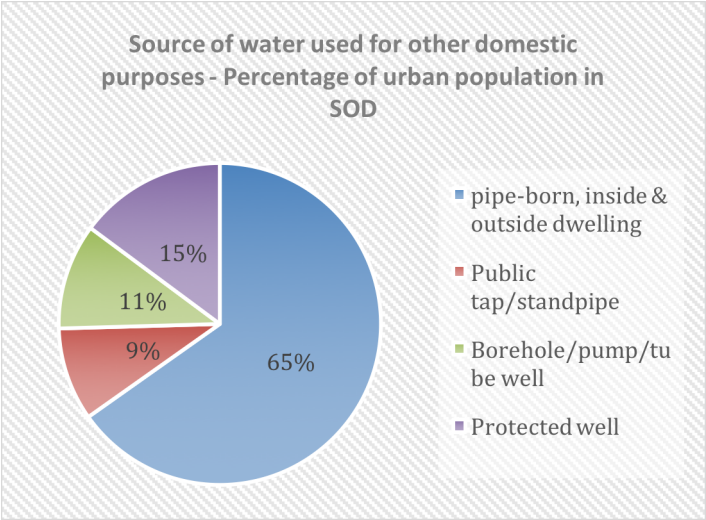

Figure 3 Source of water for other domestic purposes in urban population in Shai-Osudoku. Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2014

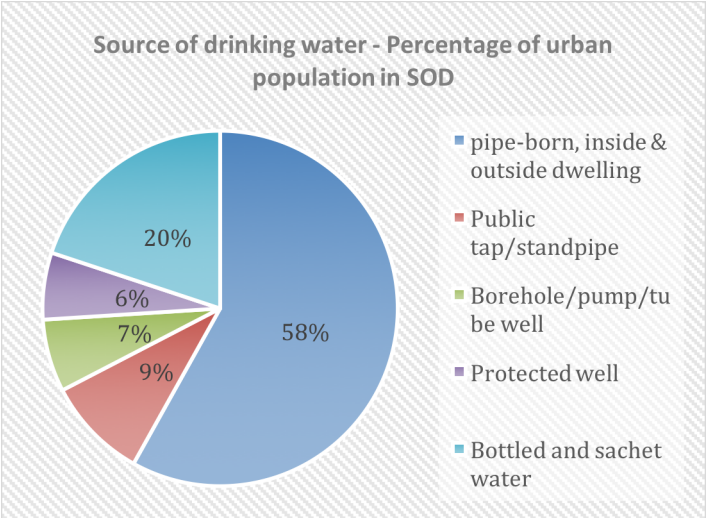

Figure 4 Source of drinking water in urban population in Shai-Osudoku District. Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2014

2.2.1 The multiple actors involved in water and sanitation governance in Dodowa

Decentralization can be understood in three facets: 1) Institutional decentralization (horizontal and vertical) 2) Power decentralization 3) Fiscal decentralization (Crawford, 2008; Yeboah & Obeng-Odoom, 2010). In the case of Ghana, the move towards a decentralized government occurred in the late 80s. The post-colonial political history of Ghana was turbulent and by the early 1980s, a long-standing military government had facilitated the political and economic demise of the country. The severe economic downturn in Africa at the start of the 1980s threatened the legitimacy of the government, which led to the acceptance of the terms of the IMF and World Bank's Economic Recovery Program and the process of decentralization started to unfold before the end of the decade (Hyden & Bratton, 1992, p. 121). The initial focus of the government on economic liberalization created disastrous social and economic inequalities. In response to critical social unrest, a renewed focus on governance saw the decentralization

process take place in 1988 with local elections and the formation of District Assemblies (DAs) to act as the hub of local governance (p. 135) and as a political signal to the citizens that the government was giving back "power to the people" (Olowu & Wunsch, 2004, p. 127).

Over the years, the government structure has grown and the proliferation of coordinating agencies has seen the administrative overhead of governance sky-rocket (p. 64), leading some to question if decentralization has truly given power back to the people, as there are very little fiscal and human resources available for development projects at the local level (p. 133). Further, the Ghanaian state has maintained strong centralized control over decisions and governance processes occurring at the local level (p. 153), which again begs the question whether or not power has truly been given back to the people. The process of democratization has also been complicated by the legacy of traditional community governance through chieftaincy, which demonstrates that "democracy is unlikely to suffice as a political or intellectual road map [to solve the development challenges in the Ghanaian context]" (p. 79). A broader understanding based on a plurality of disciplines will be necessary to deliver on development promises to the people, in the presence of a weak local government, public fragmentation and disengagement (p. 149). Roughly fifteen years after decentralization, the Ghanaian people are still "waiting for populist spectacles to be replaced with the structures and *substance* of democracy" (Hyden & Bratton, 1992, p. 137).

It should be noted that the Ghanaian governance structure and dynamic is particular, as is every state-society relationship. Moving forward through this thesis, it is important to keep in mind the broader historical and political context within which local governance is unfolding. It is not my intent to focus on the macro-context of governance, as an analysis of this nature can offer a deeper understanding of and offer recommendations for how government institutions and bureaucratic processes, policies and international donor relationships affect the local level. However, I see this as inappropriate for my purposes as a focus on macro-level doesn't permit the analysis of individual experiences of the very people that the governance machinery should serve. My intent here is to investigate the day-to-day struggle for water and sanitation and the achievement of a 'satisfactory' livelihood in one particular area, whereby offering a snapshot of local drudgery and civic mobilization around development issues. The success of local participatory governance mechanisms largely depends on achieving a balance between short and

long-term goals (Cornwell & Coelho, 2007, p. 24). I am taking a clear normative stance that democratizing local development processes can achieve positive change, but the political ecology lens will be necessary to analyze which changes are occurring in which actors and in whose interest (p. 24).

2.3 Coming together around Water - Moving from urban to peri-urban community water boards (from Accra to Dodowa)

My entry point into research on community water management in Ghana started with an investigation into local participation in community water boards in the more urban context of Accra (Morinville & Harris, 2014). From here, a literature review of the findings from research conducted on Local Water Boards (LWBs) in Accra was conducted to provide a starting point on the potential benefits, disadvantages and areas for improvement in involving communities in water resources management.

Overall, involvement in LWBs varies; the effectiveness in supporting more fair and just access to water varies and knowledge of the role of LWBs varies depending on the community in question (Harris & Morinville, 2013; Morinville & Harris, 2014; Peloso & Morinville, 2014). Most importantly power relations were identified as a major barrier to greater integration of community members in water governance. Consideration of the power dynamic within communities, between communities and NGOs, the local government and informal bodies could explain why the success of LWBs in Accra varied so much (Ameyaw & Chan, 2013; Peloso & Morinville, 2014; Saravanan, McDonald, & Mollinga, 2009).

Based on the mixed success of LWBs in Accra, I wanted to investigate how community WATSAN committees in the the peri-urban context of Dodowa function, who they include and how they contribute to more inclusive governance outcomes. Dodowa is in the early stages of urbanization and thus presents an interesting case on how community water governance functions and delivers benefits for a community-in-transition.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Participatory governance: *Representative democracy or deliberative democracy – a mix of both*

Contemporary democratic systems are neither purely representative, nor deliberative and the essence of democracy is debated by political parties (and vested interest groups) and deliberative public opinion. To understand why the popularity of participatory governance has emerged as a global movement, a brief summary of the reasoning behind arguments for and against a more representative democratic system is necessary, as well as insights into the basic theoretical understanding of both. The powerful institution of representation can be thought of as a pragmatic means of unifying a territory (Alonso, Keane, & Merkel, 2011, p. 29) or the means by which a territory is unified (p. 31). It allows for a plurality of views through popular elections and is thus legitimized through the act of voting and the mutual understanding that individual interests can be expressed as a general political will that can be defended by a representative. Representation mediates the relationship between society and the State. Democracy is achieved based on the key existence of an active and free civil society and that the elected representative is obliged to defend the general political will (p. 40).

This system affords citizens power to deliberate, but excludes them from the forum of decision-making (p. 25). The Rousseauian understanding that political will cannot be represented, but political judgement can leads to the exploration of the wide degree of freedom that elected officials are given to act on society's behalf (p. 26). Can representative democracy keep attune with the general political will beyond the critical moment of elections or should representative democracy be viewed as a process unfolding in a complex institutional structure?

As the institutional structures of contemporary democratic governments have expanded and developed into hybrid forms of government and as the Western world has shed a critical eye on democracy in the developing world, some key attributes that act as a metric against which to measure 'good' governance have been discussed in the literature. Mechanisms for achieving greater accountability to citizens and responsiveness, in particular to citizen's development needs can be understood through Hirschman's theory of Exit and Voice, respectively (1978). Transparency of conduct and government operations and decisions & inclusiveness of

marginalized groups in decision-making and policy formulation (Ackerman, 2004; Bardhan, 2002; Gaventa & Barrett, 2012) and co-governance of basic services (Crawford, 2008; P. A. Harvey & Reed, 2007; Speer, 2012) are widespread concepts in participatory governance and development literature. The following four main aspects of governance will be scrutinized in this thesis:

- Accountability (e.g. 'Exit' - regular and fair elections; economic development; development of public and cultural goods)
- Responsiveness (e.g. 'Voice' - decentralization; local institutional support, regular public deliberations)
- Transparency (e.g. Publically available budgets & accounts; free media; political watchdogs; independent agencies performing checks and balances)
- Inclusiveness (e.g. participatory decision-making; pro-poor policies; gender- conscious policies; co-governance of basic service)

These metrics will be important to keep in mind as the case of local governance of water and sanitation services is presented and its effectiveness investigated. They will act as an exploratory tool to assess the quality of new arenas of participation in governance. What is important to keep in mind is that while participatory arenas may come to be as a result of government direction or as a grassroots initiative, the quality and effectiveness of these new democratic spaces are a mutually constitutive balance between civic mobilization and state responsiveness (Cornwell & Coelho, 2007). Thus, the push for civic mobilization should come from the top and bottom of society. Further, a deepening of democratic spaces surrounding the delivery of shared public goods can act as a catalyst for strengthening local social capital and energizing civic mobilization (Olowu & Wunsch, 2004, p. 269).

3.2 Political Ecology

"When participatory approaches do not engage with everyday power dynamics—either among citizens, or between citizens and the state—they become technical routines or simply a discourse applied without commitment to political change" (O'Reilly & Dhanju, 2012, p. 627).

The field of political ecology has evolved from Blaikie and Brookfield's pioneering work in *Land Degradation and Society* where they reframed a seemingly natural problem and described how society, resources and power are in constant interplay with each other and these pillars can be used to analyze and frame human-environment tensions (Blaikie & Brookfield, 1987, p. 17). Political ecology reveals the political and ecological interests that not only frame how we approach socio-environmental problems, but may also structure the responses to these problems (Neumann, 2005, p. 2), which means that historical as well as political economic context can (re)produce the same human-environment tensions (p. 6). Thus, the influence of 'place' becomes significant in political ecology, since local environmental problems shape local politics and vice versa (p. 3). Place is important, yet human-environment problems take place in a systems frame, where inter-related actors, institutions across and between scales produce resource conflicts and mismanagement (Andersson, Brogaard, & Olsson, 2011; Swyngedouw, 2005), where strong market forces cause the increased materiality of nature (Bakker, 2003), leading socially conscious governance innovations to be ineffective (Swyngedouw, 2005). Since the 80s, a variety of foci have emerged under the umbrella theory of political ecology, ranging from 'feminist', 'third world' to 'urban' political ecology (p. 5). The field of political ecology has evolved from contributions from a variety of disciplines, such as cultural anthropology and geography (p. 15) and from shifts in epistemological philosophies, from social constructivist to poststructuralist (p. 7). This makes the theory rich and complex, but it is the very reason that it has also drawn criticism for being overly complex and unbalanced (p. 10). Walker has investigated these questions more thoroughly in his probing into the questions of where is the policy (Walker, 2006), politics (Walker, 2007), and ecology (Walker, 2005) in political ecology?

In the context of water resources management in the peri-urban environs of Accra, a critical political ecology lens provides an entry point to analyse and interpret the power relations that contextualize relationships between water & sanitation service users, managers and the institutional bodies that oversee this sector. This power imbalance can create unequal access, allocation and affect water usage strategies. The circulation of water within the environment over space and time must be understood not only as a natural phenomenon, but also as a socially enacted phenomenon (Bakker, 2003). The aim of political ecology, especially in the developing nation context, is to expose and offer pathways to alternative livelihoods in an on-going changing environment (Bryant, 1998; Robbins, 2012, p. 13).

The achievement of participatory water resources and sanitation management can be viewed as a classic 'wicked problem', typical of contemporary sustainability challenges. The integration of stakeholder views, knowledge types (Bryant, 1998; Jeffrey, 2006) and counter-narratives and discourses (Bryant, 1998; Walker, 2006) to mediate competing demands for water usage and rights is inherently a social exercise (Jeffrey, 2006; Walker, 2006). With a greater problem-solving focus and consideration of the complexity of social-ecological systems (Jerneck et al., 2010), political ecology as a theory lends itself to sustainability research.

Political ecological analysis and Amartya Sen's approach to development go hand in hand. Empowering and freeing people from structural suppression is essential for them to effectively weigh the costs and benefits of collective action. This will be discussed further down in the discussion section. Sen's capabilities approach will be discussed further on in the discussion chapter.

4. Methodology

4.1 Research Design

In approaching the research area of this thesis on community water management, I was inspired by the knowledge gap in understanding why community water management has had more success in rural contexts, but has been less successfully adapted to larger communities in peri-urban and urban milieus (Doe & Khan, 2004). Further, published literature of successful participatory governance has focused on limited cases (e.g. Porto Alegre participatory budgeting), which has only finite applications to different contexts (Speer, 2012). Thus an expansion of case studies in participatory governance, especially within the water and sanitation sector is crucial to delivering on global commitments and a better understanding of possible keys to beneficial actor configurations, institutions and participatory processes.

4.2 Research Strategy

The research for this thesis was conducted in collaboration with the T-GroUP Research Project (T-GroUP) in Dodowa. T-GroUP focuses on developing groundwater resources in Sub-Saharan Africa and enhancing community management of this resource.

Over the course of my 6-week fieldwork phase, I was able to visit six administrative suburbs in Dodowa and twelve traditional communities, conducting a total of 73 interviews with community members. The administrative boundaries don't always reflect the traditional community boundaries, as is the case in the suburbs of Apperkon and Matetse. The post-colonial form of customary rule through chieftaincy and of Ga and Dangme traditions contextualizes the qualitative data that I collected via semi-structured interviews, informal discussions and narrative walks. My mixed method approach provided me the opportunity to speak with respondents of various ages and sexes, socio-economic, religious and ethnic backgrounds, which again provided yet another contextualizing layer to the qualitative data.

Consideration of these contextualizing factors could not be ignored during the data collection or analysis phase of my research. Complex socio-environmental relations cannot be distilled down to solely quantitative data. In order to fully capture and describe the reality of water and sanitation governance in Dodowa, I chose to rely largely on qualitative data collection. I wanted to understand from the point of view of community members *how* they perceive participatory

water and sanitation governance and *what* kinds of barriers and solutions do they see and *how* they see themselves as contributing to governance. In order to elicit meaningful responses, I felt I needed to develop a rapport with the community members before they would feel comfortable discussing these issues. In the end, I was able to collect rich micro-scale data, which not only contributes to describing and understanding the overall water governance situation in peri-urban Dodowa, but it also reveals particular differences within and between the various suburbs and traditional communities. Lastly, I kept a research log every day of my field work. Here, I would take note of interesting quotes and behaviours and social queues that, again, add depth to understanding the interview responses. The loose structure for my community interviews is included in Appendix V.

Prior to my departure on my maiden voyage to Africa, I simply couldn't have prepared myself for the first few bewildering days of my stay in Accra. However, after completing 82 semi-structured interviews and numerous narrative walks (with community members, government officials, water utility company officials and active NGOs) (see Table 1 & 2, p. 18) and countless other informal conversations with locals, I feel poised to offer a critical investigation into decentralized community governance in Dodowa.

4.3 Data Collection Methods

4.3.1 Site Selection

The selection criteria of the focus suburbs in Dodowa that would form the study area was based on a few key points. My work on community management of water resources in Dodowa complemented previous work conducted under the T-GroUP. Thus, I selected suburbs that had not been the focus of community water management research in the past. The suburbs were also selected based on the following two points:

1. Selected suburbs should be located in the more densely populated, typically 'peri-urban' region of Dodowa (there are more rural villages on the outskirts of Dodowa)
2. Knowledge of suburbs which already have a WATSAN group established was limited, thus, time-permitting and as knowledge of WATSAN group locations became available, as many suburbs as possible would be covered

The six suburbs selected included Apperkon, Zongo, Bletum, Djabletey, Salem & Matetse. Following selection of the focus suburbs of the study, we then needed to gather information from T-GroUP project investigators and locals on the traditional communities within each suburb, so that interview data could be gathered according to the different traditional communities (see Table 1).

Table 1 List of suburbs investigated and traditional communities (asterisk indicates communities with a WATSAN group established)

Suburb	Traditional communities	Men	Women
1. Apperkon	Apet) Kopey	3	3
	Voti	3	3
	Kpeglo Kopey	2	4
	Magbagya	3	3
	Adamtey Kopey	3	3
2. Zongo	Zongo (translates to 'Muslim settlement')	4	3
3. Bletum*	Bletum*	2	4
4. Djabletey	Djabletey	2	4
5. Matetse	Apetechi*	2	4
	Kponkpo	4	2
	Matetse	3	3
6. Salem	Salem	3	3
TOTAL	12	34	39

Source: Field Work, 2016

Table 2 Institutional actors investigated organized by data collection method

Actor	Title	Data collection method	Sex
Water Resources Commission	Water Quality Specialist	Semi-structured interview	Female
GWCL	District head – Dodowa District	Semi-structured interview	Male
CWSA	Extension Services Specialist	Semi-structured interview	Female
Elected assembly member	Akokuanor Electoral Area Assemblyman	Semi-structured interview	Male
Elected assembly member	Apperkon Electoral Area Assemblyman	Semi-structured interview	Male
Elected assembly member	Wedokum Electoral Area Assemblywoman	Semi-structured interview	Female
Elected assembly member	Odumse Electoral Area	Semi-structured interview	Male
WaterAid (NGO)	Programme Manager – South & Programme Officers	Semi-structured interview	Male & Female
ProNET (NGO)	Director	Semi-structured interview	Male

Water resources Commission	Water extraction permits	Narrative walk	Male
GWCL	Dodowa Booster Station	Narrative walk	Male
Shai-Osudoku DA	Head of Works	Narrative Walk	Male

Source: Field Work, 2016

4.3.2 Interviews

My partners at T-GroUP arranged to have a research assistant and a local driver on hand to provide translation services and knowledge of the community boundaries within each suburb. Together, we would first visit each suburb and walk the boundaries of the sub-communities to get an idea of the size and layout of each community. Based on the size and layout of each community, interviewees were randomly selected, while ensuring representation from the peripheral areas of the community, as well as the center. We also tried to equally target a diverse set of respondents, men and women across a range of ages. Six open-ended interviews of 30-45 minutes in length were conducted in each community.

Guiding questions were prepared to ensure some organizational continuity to the semi-structured interviews. A typical interview began with questions regarding the water context in each community and asked what are the priority projects for improvement or development. As the interviews progressed, the interviewee was prompted to describe the community structure, active groups in the community and how they interacted with formal and informal authorities in the community and for what purposes. The main goal of the second phase of the interview was to gain an understanding of how the interviewee saw themselves as a contributor to community development projects (e.g. groundwater development). The second phase of the interview also attempted to describe where the perceived burden of responsibility lies with regards to community development, especially for groundwater and improved sanitation projects.

The last phase of the interview was about the role of authorities in the communities. In an attempt to understand the roles of the traditional leadership (chief and his cabinet) and the role of the local government (the assemblymember) in the community, I inquired about the types of problems or concerns that would generally be brought to the attention of either authority. In order to tease out any discrepancy between what interviewees said and what they have actually done, I tried inquiring about the previous time the interviewee had brought an issue to either

authority. I then probed into which authorities are involved in community development projects, water and sanitation and otherwise.

Detailed notes were taken for interviews that were translated from Ga and Dangme. Where permission was granted, interviews conducted in English were recorded, otherwise detailed notes were taken.

To complement the community interviews, we also conducted interviews with two representatives from GWCL, four assemblymen/women, two active NGOs focusing on WASH development in the Shai-Osudoku district, one representative from the CWSA and two representatives from the WRC (See Table 2, p.18). Guiding questions were prepared for semi-structured interviews with assemblymen/women, CWSA & the NGOs. The interviews with GWCL and the WRC were more informal.

4.3.3 Secondary data sources

Throughout this research process, I reviewed the most recent census report for the Shai-Osudoku district and various reports issued by the Ghanaian government and donor groups to gain a better understanding of the context in Dodowa. For example, statistics on English language skills, education levels, rates of access to potable water and improved sanitation were important data to keep in mind throughout all phases of the research to help in interpreting and analyzing interview responses.

4.4 Limitations

We tried to select an equal number of male and female interviewees in each community, but this was not always possible. It was difficult to find men to interview at times, since most of our interviews were conducted during working hours. The prepared guiding questions offered a consistent degree of structure to each interview. Semi-structured interviews provide the potential to collect information in greater detail and depth, as compared to other interview methods. However, the depth and detail of responses varies depending on the nature of the interviewee and how much information they are willing to divulge. This challenge was also intensified due to language and cultural barriers, which affected how comfortable interviewees felt in providing information to a relative stranger.

We attempted on many occasions to organize an interview with the Shai-Osudoku district assembly officer on the water and sanitation team, but she was not willing to meet with us. She could have provided valuable information on WATSAN group development and community engagement in WASH development projects in the Dodowa area.

4.5 Ethics

When I approached potential interviewees to take part in my research, I was very careful to explain to them who I was, where I came from and the purposes of my research. In particular, I made sure to be transparent that I could offer no compensation for their time. I made sure to allow time for them to ask me any questions. I decided, prior to conducting my field work, that I would maintain anonymity of my subjects and I was sure to let them know this.

5. Findings

5.1 Data Analysis

Based on the results from my fieldwork, the literature review of democratization and political ecology, I developed an analytical framework (See Appendix I) which guided coding of the interviews. Based on this analysis, I was able to tease out the following findings.

5.2 Actors in participatory governance

5.2.1 The multiple actors involved in water and sanitation governance in Dodowa

Dodowa, like any peri-urban city finds itself in a jurisdictional grey area when it comes to the institutions involved in water governance. The Ghana Water Company Limited (GWCL) is the urban water provider and the Community Water and Sanitation Agency (CWSA) is charged with providing water and sanitation to rural and small towns (Community Water & Sanitation Agency, n.d.; Whitfield, 2006). Both bodies are active in Dodowa, as there is at least one access point for GWCL water (standpipe, tap) in most communities in peri-urban Dodowa. Figure 5 (p. 23) offers a simplified visualization of the water governance structure in Ghana, indicating the actors in the public, private and civil society and the over-arching influence of NGOs and foreign aid. For the purposes of the scope of this paper, not all relevant government ministries and agencies are described in the figure. Foreign aid is an important factor in water governance. In particular, the World Bank/IMF has played a significant role in over-seeing the decentralization process in Ghana, as well as mediating the introduction of private sector involvement in the water sector (Agyenim & Gupta, 2010; Whitfield, 2006). NGOs play a significant role in financing and supporting water and sanitation projects at various levels of society (national, regional, local) and scales. The CWSA relies on the involvement of the private sector to conduct geohydrological surveys, dig boreholes and conduct community engagement, mobilization and education for all WATSAN projects. At the district level, the DA also has a water and sanitation team, which is tasked with supporting WATSAN communities and carry-out the district level WASH plan (Field Work, 2016).

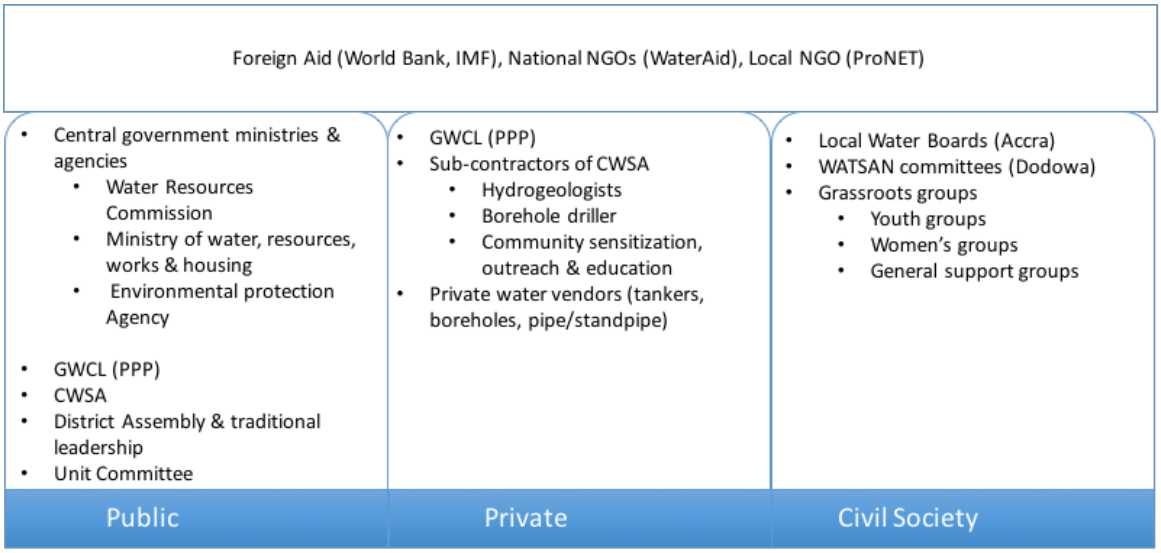

Figure 5 Public, private and civil society actors in the water and sanitation sector in Ghana, which can all be influenced by funding from foreign aid and NGOs. GWCL is jointly run as a public-private partnership (PPP). Source: Field Work, 2016.

5.3 Democratization and responsiveness (political voice)

> "The arenas in which people perceive their interests and judge whether they can express them are not neutral. Participation may take place for a whole range of unfree reasons" (White, 1996).

In general, most community members conceive of the of the assemblymember and MP as authorities that should solve major problems in the community, but many feel as though approaching the assemblymember with their problems will be in vain, so they either choose to keep their problems to themselves or they address their concerns to the assemblymember or MP, while admitting that their problems are rarely resolved (See Appendix II, Table 2). Otherwise, pressing community issues are sometimes discussed in informal group discussions, but most feel powerless to solve the problem of a lack of public toilets, for example, without help from outside the community (from assemblymembers, DA or NGO), especially financial help.

It seems that everyday problems, issues of crime, marriages and funerals fall under the auspice of the traditional leadership. The role of the traditional leadership seems to be more of what Western welfare systems would refer to as a social worker (Field Work, 2016). Historically, due to the shift in religious beliefs away from traditional spiritualism to Christianity throughout

colonization and the introduction of an independent government following colonization, the influence of chiefs has diminished (Gough, 1999). Water and sanitation development and broader development issues such as employment, on the other hand, fall under the auspice of the district assemblymember and local government (Field work, 2016).

That being said, when the assembly member, MP or DA wants to hold a community meeting or make an announcement, the chief is involved to call the meeting and to play an advisory role as to the the issues in his community and the individuals that can be called upon to help for any particular project. The traditional gong-gong (a traditional bell used to gather the community for a meeting with the chief) is used to call an important meeting with the chief and assemblymember or MP. Otherwise, the call to meet is announced via the information center or mobile information van over a loud-speaker (Field Work, 2016).

Text Box 1. Chieftaincy and traditional leadership in Dodowa

In some communities, the community chief has died and the community is waiting for a new chief to be appointed. That being said, not all communities have a chief. When the chief dies, there is an interim period to decide on the appointment of a new chief, which would be done by prominent traditional leaders in the community (elders and royal family). The chief in Apet) Kopey, Kpeglo Kopey and Salem has died and no knew chief has been appointed. The chief in Apetechi is very old, so an elder has been appointed to stand in his place temporally. In the Zongo community, the particular leaders that are important for the Muslim community are the Imam and the Imam's assistant. It is unclear from the findings how losing a chief in a community affects willingness to participate, but it removes a communication line between community members and an authority figure, whereby negatively impacting political voice.

It should be noted that not all pressing development issues in Dodowa have remained unaddressed (e.g. electrification, well construction). Traditional leaders and the local government tend to show greater presence during election campaigns, when funding has been sourced for a particular development project or due to particular personal dedication to leadership and engagement from the part of the traditional leader or government authority.

For example, most interviewees in Apet) Kopey mentioned the improved electrification at the main market place in Dodowa. The community successfully lobbied with the assemblyman and

chief to move this project along. The assemblyman helped organize a mushroom farming group in Voti after complaints about unemployment. There are on-going public toilet projects in Apet) Kopey, Kponkpo, Djabletey, Bletum and the neighbouring community to Salem (Manya). However, interviewees from Magbagya and Apet) Kopey explicitly expressed that the resolution of problems that are elevated from the community to the local government or chief can depend on the effectiveness of these authorities. In particular, an interviewee from Magbagya explained that the previous MP had not been helpful, but that the current MP is helpful in supporting schooling, youth and employment.

Those that have a personal connection to authorities also expressed more comfort in approaching and praise for traditional leaders and local authorities. For example, one interviewee from Voti, when asked what community members who don't have a close personal connection with the assemblyman do when they have a problem, she responded, "they just keep quiet by themselves" (Interview 2, Voti, February 10, 2016). Further, in speaking with the youth leader in Apet) Kopey, he had a lot of praise for the assemblyman and was proud to say that the assemblyman was from this part of Apperkon and proudly pointed out the new public toilet project, which was also awarded to this community in Apperkon (Interview 3, Apet) Kopey, February 26, 2016). Thus, there is a certain degree of clientelism at play in Dodowa, meaning that residents with personal ties to traditional leaders and the local government speak more highly of the authorities and feel as though their concerns are politically represented.

Interviewees praised the assemblymember in communities, where a public project was underway, but simultaneously stated that overall the local government is unresponsive and unsupportive in communities the vast majority of the time. In an interview in the Salem community, an interviewee explained how the community feels paralyzed to take on any initiatives when the assemblyman does not call the community together.

"He is supposed to be the assemblyman, he has to initiate any moves for [community meetings]…We don't have a public toilet around here. If you go to people's farms around here, you see feces all around. And he's not coming. He is supposed to come, call a meeting. And then you have issues, you discuss about problems in the community. And he's not coming, so everybody's sitting down looking at him" (Interview 5, Salem, February 18, 2016).

5.4 Transparent, just and accountable democratic process

5.4.1 Transparent governance

With regards to the issue of sanitation, public toilets projects are not brought to communities based solely on a needs basis. Land owners have the power to select the location of the allotment on which to build a public toilet. In an interview with the assemblyman of Apperkon, he explained the context surrounding the sudden surge in funding for public toilets in Dodowa. In connection to World Toilet Day, the government in conjunction with NGOs working in the WASH sector organized to bring funding and materials for the construction of KVIPs (Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pit) (See Figure 6) to communities in Dodowa. He then explained how a family that has been living in the area for 30 years needed to be brought on board to address the issue to the land owners of the Apperkon area, who reside outside of the community.

Figure 6 Example of a KVIP. PVC piping vents the latrine pit to reduce smell and flies.

"Quickly, we needed to move for land. So according to [this family], they've been in the area for over 30 years as care-takers. I needed to organize a taxi for them to go and see the actual land owners of the land, so we can get a portion of it. I believed that the facility could be brought to the area. So I [consulted the family] and then they went to the owners and [the land owners] finally agreed that they will come down and then give a portion, so at least we can have the project in the area" (Apperkon Assemblyman interview, February 12, 2016).

It is important to note that the location of the land selected for the public toilet is in the Apet) Kopey community of Apperkon, which just so happens to also be the community in which the assemblyman spent his childhood (Interview 5, February 29, 2016). This suggests that the

assemblyman has political sway to guide and influence the deliberative process with the 'community care-takers' and the land owners to select an area of land within his preferred community, based somewhat on patronage then pure need for sanitation.

5.4.2 Just governance

Interviewees identified key governance processes and outcomes that demonstrate that community governance in Dodowa is unjust (see Appendix III). Firstly, there is a general sense that women feel excluded from deliberations, decision-making and leadership roles within the community. Several women spoke about feeling excluded from deliberations and decision-making in the community. For example, a group of women in Kpeglo Kopey, when asked if they could see themselves being involved in a WATSAN committee, responded that they simply couldn't include themselves in such a committee. Another woman from the Bletum community explicitly stated that women are not seen as decision-makers. She clarified that it is not that women cannot play a contributing role in a community project, but the men will decide how the women can contribute.

In instances where women are engaged in the community, such as the women on the WATSAN committee in Apetechi, they feel that if they were to reach out to the community to organize a WASH education community meeting, only women would attend. This would suggest that women are not seen as legitimate leaders. In fact, in the entire district of Shai-Osudoku, out of 21 elected assemblymembers, only 2 women were elected in the 2015 district level elections (Electoral Commission of Ghana, n.d.). That being said, when the assemblywoman of the Wedokum electoral area (where the Mateste suburb is located) was asked why she thinks a greater diversity of community members don't approach her, she stated, "I feel like maybe I'm too high or something. It's not everybody who comes to me" (Wedokum Assemblywoman interview, February 18, 2016). Thus, elected officials, male or female, still carry a certain degree of prestige and power.

Several interviewees complained about unemployment or underemployment in Dodowa, especially young men. This is linked to community member's ability to pay the tariffs for GWCL water. While many interviewees ranked the relative importance of the cost of GWCL water lower than consistent access or distance to access point, many interviewees mentioned the recent hike

in GWCL tariffs, indicating that the financial burden of GWCL water is important for community members in Dodowa. The financial burden of water is exacerbated by the fact that most of the groundwater in Dodowa is saline, which makes it unsuitable for washing clothes (difficult to lather soap), which forces community members to purchase (treated) GWCL water for this purpose.

Women from the Magbagya and Djabletey communities emphasized that the current water governance system in Dodowa caters more to those who have a household connection to GWCL water and are financially able to shoulder the tariffs. The reality is that these communities will likely see very little extension of the GWCL water network, as emphasized by a Program Manager of WaterAid, "the truth is that there's no way GWCL is going to extend those lines" (WaterAid interview, March 3, 2016), which only heightens the importance of groundwater access in Dodowa.

Perhaps the most striking injustice at play in Dodowa is the issue of the right to leadership. As described in section 5.4.2, numerous interviewees mentioned how abandoned they felt by traditional leaders and local government. It would appear that once the assemblymember is elected, for example, it would be inappropriate for other community members to take initiative without the support of the assemblymember. An interviewee from Salem expressed this very clearly, "If you aren't an official representative of the people, if you took initiative, you would be called names because you are trying to take someone's job" (Interview 5, Salem, February 18, 2016). The power to lead is consolidated within the purview of the elected assemblymember. This consolidation of power is further exemplified by the the numerous interviewees who, on the one hand, express discontent with the community leadership, and on the other, still nominate these same ineffective leaders to lead a potential community development committee, like a WATSAN committee. One interviewee from the Zongo community captured this duality rather succinctly:

"[There are a lot of politics in the area.] "Would be nice if I said the Imam or assemblyman. [I would prefer if a committee were appointed from someone from the outside]" (Interview 1, Zongo, February 11, 2016).

Thus, the politics of the relationship between community members and leadership can dictate who is included in a community development committee. Further, lines of authority between

community members and leaders are reinforced, not necessarily by effective leadership, but by perhaps socio-cultural-political norms that draw these lines in the first place (Field Work, 2016).

5.4.2 Accountable governance – The issue of sanitation

In many ways, the accountability of the democratic process in Dodowa is linked to just and transparent governance and governance that expands local political voice. The lack of a 'place of convenience' in the peri-urban communities of Dodowa is mentioned by almost every interviewee. Piecing together snippets of interview responses on the issue of toilets helped paint a very complex picture of the politicization of peri-urban sanitation. Three interesting main points were raised:

1. Public-household toilet debate
2. The case of the privately-built public toilets in Apetechi
3. Government involvement in land acquisition for public toilets

5.4.2.1 Public-household toilet debate

Peri-urban Dodowa is largely dependent on public toilets, however, there is an insufficient capacity of existing facilities to meet the demands of the current population. Users must pay for public toilets, which was mentioned by a few interviewees as being a burden, especially for the elderly or those sick with diarrhea (Field Work, 2016). However, simply expanding the hard-infrastructure capacity of public toilet facilities in communities is not the only solution.

Planning policy in Ghana requires that new houses have a toilet facility and encourages behavioural change to drive household investment in latrine construction. This policy shift resulted from a failed government policy, which offered partial subsidies to households who had begun investing in a household toilet facility. The beneficiaries of this policy were not those most dependent on public or shared toilet facilities and in some cases, granted subsidies were not even used to complete a household toilet project. Current government policy involves no formal household subsidies, but is centered around behavioural change towards sanitation (CWSA interview, March 2, 2016). In fact, in data collected by the Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply and Sanitation (Joint Monitoring Programme [JMP], 2015) on improvements in water and sanitation access between 1990-2015, based on urban and rural country-level data in Ghana,

Ghana is heavily reliant on shared sanitation facilities and access to improved sanitation lags behind water access in both urban and rural areas (see Table 3, 4). This complements observations from Dodowa in that the development projects of drinking water access (and water used for other domestic purposes) and access to improved sanitation are not given equal focus and suggests that the barriers to making gains in sanitation access are greater than that for water access.

Table 3 Sanitation coverage estimates in Ghana between 1990-2015

Ghana	Sanitation coverage estimates					
	Urban (%)		Rural (%)		Total (%)	
	1990	2015	1990	2015	1990	2015
Improved facilities	13	20	4	9	7	15
Shared facilities	46	73	20	45	29	60
Other unimproved	31	0	47	12	42	6
Open defecation	10	7	29	34	22	19

Source: JMP, 2015

Table 4 Drinking water access in Ghana between 1990-2015

Ghana	Drinking water coverage estimates					
	Urban (%)		Rural (%)		Total (%)	
	1990	2015	1990	2015	1990	2015
Piped onto premises	41	32	2	3	16	19
Other improved source	43	61	37	81	40	70
Other unimproved	8	7	11	8	9	7
Surface water	8	0	50	8	35	4

Source: JMP, 2015

5.4.2.2 The case of privately-built public toilets in Apetechi

Text Box 2. The Politics of Public Toilets

Current government policy has contracted out management and maintenance of public toilet facilities to 'local businesses'. However, the process of awarding these contracts has not been transparent. Public toilet contracts are a lucrative businesses as urban and peri-urban residents are so heavily dependent on this form of sanitation access. The profits from public toilets are shared with the local district assembly. Often the local businesses that hold a public toilet contract have been awarded them as a form of patronage from local government (Crook & Ayee, 2006; Osumanu et al., 2010).

Most interviewees in Apetchi spoke about a new privately-built public toilet facility in Apetchi, which was now the only public facility available for this community (Field Work, 2016). We specifically asked around the community to speak with the owners of this new facility to investigate what had motivated the construction of not only a bucket flush toilet facility, but also the digging of a borehole to supply the water for the facility. The owner's wife took the time to speak with us. She was very hesitant to speak with us, since her husband bad been approached many times by the district assembly to properly register the public toilet facility with the DA (Interview 3, February 16, 2016). The DA most likely took an interest in this issue due to the sharing of revenues between public toilet managers and DAs. However, this political move was viewed by the owners as unfair, as they had privately invested their own money in the construction of the facility. This type of politically motivated government harassment could deter any future privately funded public toilet construction. It should be noted that Apetechi community members either did not believe that the cost for using these public toilets was unfair or that it was any higher than typical government financed public toilet facilities (Field Work, 2016). Thus, there is not only a lack of transparency in public-private partnerships for sanitation, but also the policy surrounding this arrangement would tend to preclude alternative funding arrangements, which could extend more sanitation access to communities in Dodowa.

5.4.2.3 Government involvement in land acquisition for public toilets

As demonstrated throughout this section, the vast majority of interviewees expect the local government to solve their practical problems, like that of lack of improved sanitation. An elected unit committee member in the Kpeglo Kopey community explained that the current MP had tried

to propose a new public-private arrangement to bring more public toilets to communities in Dodowa. His proposed arrangement would have private land owners offer land on which, the government would construct a public toilet facility. Those that offered the land and the maintainers would receive an annual compensation. However, no one offered land for fear that people wouldn't feel obliged to pay for use of public toilets, since the government was less involved in the project (Field Work, 2016). It would appear that two issues are at play here. Firstly, insecure or unclear land ownership is a disincentive to offering land, since much of the land in Apperkon is owned by a family residing outside this area. Secondly, the local government does not have a strong history of accountability in Dodowa, so it is doubtful that annual compensation would necessarily be delivered. On the surface, the MPs initiative seems like a good idea, but until land rights are secured and greater trust is earned from practicing accountable governance, communities in Dodowa are not very likely to come on board for such a project.

6. Discussion

6.1 Impeding factors to democratization - Structural, institutional or policy barriers to democratization

6.1.2 A development policy to energize latent community engagement?

Both the CWSA and WaterAid emphasized that the approach to water and sanitation development in a peri-urban city like Dodowa is community ownership and management (see text Box 4) and development from within or endogenous community development (see Text box 3, p. 39). This style of community development is dependent on garnering community engagement, but, this is an up-hill battle against the widely-held expectation that the local government or GWCL should be more involved in the provision of water and sanitation services. However, various other complex dynamics at play in peri-urban communities make this approach far less successful, as compared to rural communities (see Table 5 for a summary of all barriers to implementing COM in Dodowa, p. 35). "The closer the community gets to urban, the more difficult it gets. In peri-urban areas, the dynamic begins to change" (WaterAid interview, March 3, 2016). If only the key to translating endogenous community development is found, it promises to "[empower] the people to fight, to lead or take initiatives about how they can better the WASH situation (WaterAid interview, March 3, 2016).

Text Box 4. Community ownership and Management

"Under rural [and small town] water supply, the principle is community ownership and management…so the community participates in the planning, the construction and the post-construction phases of the project" (CWSA interview, March 2, 2016).

Text Box 3. Endogenous Community Development Approach

"Development that comes from within. So you go into a community and you make the people realize that [they] have the resources [they] need, whether it's human or capital…[they] have something that [they] can use to start before maybe outside help will come" (WaterAid interview, March 3, 2016).

Keeping mind all of these barriers, community sensitization to WASH issues, mobilization and engagement around the concept of ownership and management through the establishment of WATSAN committees is still being pushed as the best way that WASH services can be extended to communities in Dodowa (Field Work, 2016). Because underlying the government policy advocating for this style of development is a crippling lack of funds with which to carry-out the extension of any WASH services, for "if there is no funding, there is nothing that [the government] can do" (CWSA interview, March 2, 2016).

The finite nature of WASH project funding negatively impacts long-term support to communities that are supposed to continue to operate and manage a borehole, for example, under participatory community governance processes. No detectable social gains were observed in the study of Bletum and Apetechi. Albeit, that those residing closest to the borehole seemed to benefit perhaps more out of convenience. As the boreholes and pumps in both communities have yet to break-down, it remains to be seen if money collected as insurance has been properly safe-guarded for this purpose and if the community can independently source spare parts and a technician (Field Work, 2016). Harvey & Reed (2007) question whether or not participation in water management is sustainable. They agree that participation in water provision is inextricably linked to sustainability, but emphasize numerous barriers to establishing ownership and shared interests around a water source. What if participatory community management isn't possible? Exploration of smaller-scale community owned and managed WASH infrastructures may be more sustainable and suitable in some instances. The same line of argumentation would apply to toilet facilities.

Table 5 Summary of barriers to effectively implementing community ownership and management in Dodowa

Barrier identified	**Examples from Dodowa**
Native vs. new-comer	"There will be people those who are indigenous who are really native to that place. And they would feel that the place is their own. They feel more ownership than the others" (WaterAid interview, March 3, 2016).
Land owner vs. renter	If you take the area of Apperkon, these communities are highly reliant on public toilets, but are acutely under-served. Land owners who reside outside the community largely decide where a public toilet should be built.
Patronage	Many interviewees in Dodowa feel disconnected from the assembly members and local chiefs. The few interviewees that had a closer relationship with these leaders tended to be speak more positively of their contribution to their communities.
Party politics	"We should desist from party politics and stick with developmental politics. Because when we are centered with party politics, we believe in which party's billing the project? Which party's leading the project, but not who is bringing the development... And that is a challenge and a hindrance to us" (Akokuanor assemblyman interview, February 18, 2015).
Legitimacy of new forms of leadership	In Bletum and Apetechi, the WATSAN committees had failed to reach out to the wider community to engage them in the management of the borehole, engage them in WASH education meetings and share the knowledge from the WATSAN reference book. If they called a WATSAN meeting, only women would come.
Capacity	"…if they exercise us in trying to access our problems and how they can fix it for us, it will help us a lot, but they don't do that" (Interview 2, Kpeglo Kopey, February 10, 2016).
Gendered exclusion	Most women feel particularly under-represented and excluded from deliberating and decision-making. The very reason that the WATSAN committees are mostly women has to do with a policy directive from the CWSA.
Exclusive groups	Many communities mentioned male youth groups that were active in the community and a few communities mentioned various other groups that offer support for occasional social events. The benefits of group activities are largely reserved for members only.
Apathy	Many interviewees expressed disillusionment with governance due to unaccountability, unresponsiveness and an overall governance system which silences the political voice of those most in need.

Source: Field Work, 2016

6.1.3 Knowledge, democratization & power

Lack of knowledge between actors at all levels of governance is an issue in Dodowa, which is reinforced by power distances as has been discussed throughout this thesis. Enhancing communication between all actors is essential to better understand the causes and effects of ineffective, unjust and corrupt development practices in the water and sanitation sector. Johari's Window (see Figure 7, p. 37) can help identify entry points into what questions should be asked to actors based on what is known and unknown (Mefalopulos & Kamlongera, 2004). This will lead to a better understanding of different perceptions, understandings and outlook on what could be a better governance arrangement or policy.

Participation can reduce the discretion of local governments to isolate decision-making processes and also dictate the type of information that is shared with citizens and the regularity of community meetings (Speer, 2012). Generating salient knowledge based on what governments know, the policies that are in place and how they are enforced; what communities identify as priorities, how policies resonate with their priorities and how these two knowledge sources interact is important.

There are power structures in place that maintain knowledge discords between actors, which have been presented throughout this thesis. Johari's Window as an analytical tool helps to identify different knowledge holders and the relationship between actors (see Figure 7, p. 37). A Political ecology lens can help reveal the incentives and disincentives for enhancing knowledge transfer and communication in the water and sanitation sector (e.g. Bakker, Kooy, Shofiani, & Martijn, 2008). In a just, transparent, responsive governance system that celebrates active political participation, open knowledge (salient knowledge) should be dominant. Speer (2012) and Harvey & Reed (2007) summarizes further participatory governance reforms that can enhance knowledge sharing and contribute to participatory governance that delivers the promise of handing power back to the people. These reforms have had different governance outcomes, depending on the case studied:

- Participatory budgeting
- Participatory planning

- Participatory oversight in government spending in line with priorities

But, the financial health of local governments still plays a significant role in the effectiveness of these participatory processes, eluding to the solution that devolution of central government resources and control must also accompany decentralization of the institutional structure of government (Francis & James, 2003; Olowu & Wunsch, 2004; Speer, 2012).

Open Knowledge *What we know & what they know* ⇒ Saliency – e.g. local government and communities agree that lack of public and household toilets is a development priority (Field Work, 2016).	**Their hidden knowledge** *What they know & what we do not know* ⇒ Discord – e.g. the suppression of political voice in communities limits effectiveness of participatory arenas to justly communicate community needs and priorities to leaders (Field Work, 2016).
Our hidden knowledge *What we know & they do not know* ⇒ Discord – e.g. The plurality of actors and lack of over-sight and coordination within the water and sanitation sector obfuscates a common goal and process towards achieving more effective participation (Field Work, 2016).	**Blindness** *What we do not know and they do not know* ⇒ Unknown - There is a lack of knowledge on suitable institutional arrangements, policies and incentive structures to best energize latent participation. Participation may neither suffice nor be required to achieve more responsive governance, but may offer gains of social equality and justice (Speer, 2012). The dominant paradigm of participatory governance through COM schemes forecloses exploration of perhaps more suitable governance intervention scales (e.g. household) (Harvey & Reed, 2007).

Figure 7 Johari's Window – The 4 quadrants of knowledge with examples from Dodowa. Figure adapted from: Mefalopulos & Kamlongera, 2004.

6.2 Future development priorities

Power imbalances in development initiatives are hugely important for exploring why some community members feel excluded from governance and who is viewed as a legitimate authority. Prior to the COM agenda being pushed in Dodowa, development would have been based on the classic hardware-centric approach and government would have taken on the management burden of public toilets, for example. In fact, it is not that long ago that public pit latrines were

free in Ghana, prior to the mid 1980s (Osumanu, Abdul-Rahim, Songsore, & Mulenga, 2010). Table 3 (p. 30) shows the improvement in rates of access to shared sanitation facilities increased from 46 to 73 percent in urban areas and from 20 to 45 percent in rural areas. It would appear that sanitation policy since 1990 has prioritized shared or public toilet facilities, driving a deeper wedge between (often richer) households with access to a household facility and those who must depend on facilities that are dirty, have an under-capacity and offer a far-less dignified way to relieve oneself (JMP, 2015a).

If this trend continues, inequalities between rich and poor will persist and grow in Dodowa and the sanitation crisis could reach a critical point, where groundwater quality begins to be critically impacted by contamination from open defecation. Due to the importance of groundwater in supplying domestic water and in some cases acting as the primary drinking source, contaminated groundwater could cause devastating public health consequences down the road. In any case, future development pathways in Dodowa must bring sanitation development up to par with water access development.

6.3 WATSAN vs. Grassroots

WATSAN committees as the dominant way for communities to 'avail' themselves to the COM development strategy are fraught with problems. There is no empirical evidence available that has shown that creation of new participatory arenas is a smooth process; this takes time for community members to establish new rules of the game, as Ostrom would say (Dongier et al., 2003; Ostrom, 1995). Further, on-going support is paramount if new participatory spaces are to persist, be effective in delivering 'better' governance than previous alternatives and counteract existing power structures that tend to silence local voices and protect the status quo. What has unfolded in Dodowa is not unique, as most peri-urban and urban COM development projects have failed in many aspects. What the COM development approach has not been able to overcome is that, in many ways, to achieve success would require a myriad of positive contextual factors: strong, compassionate leadership beyond current lines of authority, a cultural shift in accepting the role of the engaged citizen and the development of trust in governance again. The very idea of COM projects is rather romantic, but is it actually feasible? Is it more sustainable than grassroots alternatives?

6.3.1 Instances of community organization at the grassroots level

There is some evidence that community members in Dodowa can come together around a common priority. Various grassroots collective action has been organized around community projects in Dodowa (See Appendix IV). Of note is a group of landlords that came together in a corner of the community in Apetechi to raise money to install electricity poles, so the electricity company can connect the community to the grid. The interviewee that mentioned this group also said the he does not take part when they meet because he only rents a house in the area, thus he wouldn't invest in such a project (Interview 6, February 19, 2016). Again, the issue of land ownership is raised as a barrier to community engagement.

With regards to water, the communities of Voti and Djabletey both organized to build a community well and organize community fundraising for when the well needs digging out. With regards to sanitation, one woman explained how an elderly woman in a neighbouring community had successfully brought together a group of people to build a public toilet (Interview 2, February 10, 2016). Similarly, another interviewee commented that if an individual in Apetechi could construct a public toilet facility, then the government should also be able to do it (Interview 3, February 16, 2016). This shows that not everyone in a community may see the value in engaging around the issue of sanitation because they expect this to be carried out by the government, but grassroots sanitation provision has been successful and may be a promising alternative to top-down directed participatory governance. Top-down mediated WASH participatory governance policy suggests that communities are incapable of self-organization around collective action to sustain a common pool resource, even in the face of many examples to the contrary (Ostrom, 1990). For example, communities in peri-urban Dar es Saalam have successfully rallied and become key governance players in developing water infrastructure in the under-served fringe areas of the capital city (Kyessi, 2005).

It may be possible to over-come community divisions, as one interviewee in Kpeglo Kopey clearly stated "Around this area, per se, we are not cooperative" (Interview 1, February 10, 2016), which was also echoed by an interviewee in Apet) Kopey, "At the moment we are not united." The same interviewee then concluded that "…reconciliation can come…and then we go ahead with our

development" (Interview 6, February 29, 2016). This suggests that barriers to sustained self-organization can be over-come in some cases.

6.3.2 The potential of a grassroots movement around water and sanitation

Grassroots initiatives should not be over-looked as an alternative to COM development. Grassroots organizations can play an important role in sustaining and expanding groundwater access. Grassroots initiatives are formed around a cross-cutting issue that affects most residents, thus the issue of water and sanitation would be fertile ground on which a grassroots initiative could grow (Dongier et al., 2003; Mitlin, 2008). Exclusive groups exist in the communities in Dodowa. A major step in scaling up these community-based organizations (CBOs) would be if they began to collaborate and establish networks of organizations along shared issues (Dongier et al., 2003). This can be encouraged by local leaders, NGOs or institutional support. Heightening the presence and activity of networks of CBOs can awaken latent civic engagement and offer new avenues of knowledge sharing (Gaventa & Barrett, 2012) Importantly, community members in Dodowa identified development priorities beyond water and sanitation. Civic mobilization should be free to mobilize organically and not solely around the issues of water and sanitation.

For grassroots initiatives to be successful, access to resources needs to be secured within and beyond the community. Knowledge in navigating complex bureaucracies and playing a more direct role in sourcing and generating communal funds would break dependence on classic lines of authority (Gaventa & Barrett, 2012; Mitlin, 2008). The greatest contribution that actors from beyond the community could give would be to allow community members to understand and access the skills, resources and knowledge that reside in any community (Ostrom, 1990, p. 27). This would lead to more effective ability to navigate the politics of community development (Mitlin, 2008).

6.4 Development as expanding capabilities

6.4.1 Sen's development – developing capabilities

Sen's pioneering exploration of the root causes of famine shifted attention away from purely macro-economic causes. Sen's ideas marked the realization that the World Bank/IMF-style of prescriptive and rigid development through structural adjustment programs and free markets of

the 70's and 80's was failing because it vastly over-simplified the root causes of poverty and inequality (Fukuda-Parr, 2003; Lamb, Varettoni, & Shen, 2005).

The influence of Sen's development approach has permeated much of the international development philosophical foundations in the post-structural adjustment era, but neither local economic development alone nor local self-reliance alone have proven to be viable avenues for achieving widespread dignified livelihoods (Binns & Nel, 1999; Gasper, 2002). Sen's capabilities approach to development builds from an understanding that the concept of human well-being is multi-faceted and it can be built-up from expanding human capabilities, which lead to 'desirable functionings' or improved livelihoods (Bakker et al., 2008).

The case of poor or unequal water and sanitation access, cannot only be explained by the physical lack of water and sanitation infrastructure, but also by the interplay of social, economic and political factors that play out to limit access to water and sanitation infrastructure (Bakker et al., 2008; Forsyth, 2003, p. 197).

Sen's development is useful in approaching the complex nature of poverty and resource inequalities, for example, but it is not prescriptive (Fukuda-Parr, 2003). As to what will expand capabilities at a certain place and point in time is dependent on that very context, but Sen's ideals can act as a guiding force (Robeyns, 2003).

Building participatory institutions or triggering grassroots social mobilization around water and sanitation services, if successful, can lead to expanded human capabilities, wherein it is understood that access to safe drinking water and improved sanitation is necessary to fully participate in public life (Bakker, 2003). It can also be understood from Sen's development philosophy that social justice cannot be separated from any development issue (Nussbaum, 2003) and further, that previous development paradigms centered around structural adjustments and neoliberalism have failed to produce more socially just development (Binns & Nel, 1999; Whitfield, 2006).

Importantly, for the purposes of participatory governance analysis, understanding that full human potential can be met when people are able to access their full set of capabilities and based on this, become more free to way the costs and benefits of collective agency (Robeyns, 2005).

For greater community involvement in water and sanitation governance, whether in the form of COM or a grassroots initiative, development should be understood as expanding human capabilities. Time spent accessing water, money spent paying for treated water and the indignity and health implications of no place of convenience suppress human potential to pursue other livelihood activities.

If human beings are to harness their full capability set, then building capacities for progressive leadership and the practice of responsive, transparent, just and accountable governance in other sectors beyond water and sanitation will re-build trust in governance processes. This biggest step that the failed decentralized democracies of the Sub-Sahara could do to improve governance would be to decentralize budget controls, while still providing transparency checks, so that local governments can actually implement and enforce policies effectively and show communities that governance has not failed in Africa.

As Dodowa continues to 'deagrarianize' and become more dependent on cheap food imports (Bryceson, 2002), an important aspect of expanding capabilities could be to develop community micro-finance schemes that help community members access hard cash to carry-out household water and sanitation projects and develop small local enterprises (Green, Kirkpatrick, & Murinde, 2006). Lessening dependence on government to provide or to finance water and sanitation services is necessary for households, especially, to see it in their own best interest to invest in improved sanitation.

7. Concluding remarks

"When the past no longer illuminates the future, the spirit walks in darkness" (de Tocqueville, 1840)

What this thesis has shown is that participation in communal development projects rarely happens on its own. Local governments and NGOs should not be viewed as the perpetrators of 'bad' development projects. For it remains to be seen whether or not the participatory development approach will be more fruitful than previous modes of development in peri-urban Ghana. There are a multitude of principles (e.g. inclusive, pro-poor) and toolboxes (e.g. CWSA sector guidelines) and styles (e.g. COM) of participatory development, but how they are implemented, the actors involved and the measurable benefits differ from community to community. Critical reflection on participatory approaches to water and sanitation development in the peri-urban context is necessary to better understand the pitfalls and trade-offs involved in this approach. Without this, participatory development is a shot in the dark. Community management and norms were much stronger in traditional Ghanaian society, but history, politics and the drive towards modernity has re-shaped the role of traditional culture in a typical peri-urban community in Dodowa.

Neo-liberalism has crept in, but hasn't fully taken a foothold. It has not fully transformed minds to consider economic rationalization over the social norms promoting communal action (Cleaver, 1999). In this sense, there is still hope for participatory development to succeed, but on-going support from government, NGOs and the private sector in capacity building will be essential for WATSAN committees or CBOs to expand their mandate, include the wider community in deliberations and potential future projects. Governments and traditional authorities must become better advisors and supporters of the project of participation in their communities.

There is no roadmap for development, sustainable or otherwise. Communities should not be silos from one another. Benefits and techniques for delivering more water and sanitation to the wider community should be shared. Community members should feel they have the right to demand resources, which could be knowledge, finances, managerial or technical expertise.

Based on the number of communities included in this study, I can say that the the understanding of community upon which the idea of community ownership and management is based, is that of oneness; suggesting that people are more similar along spatial boundaries defined by city suburbs. Yet within each community lies different traditional communities and cultural traditions that celebrate ancestral connection to lands, which may lie far beyond the limits of Dodowa. The blind assumption that there is a universal understanding of 'community' may be yet another contributing factor to unsuccessful community based projects (Jewkes & Murcott, 1996; Wayland & Crowder, 2002).

Lastly, it must be acknowledged that the individuals working in NGOs and government that I interviewed are not to blame. They conduct their work within a socio-political structure that is against them. Even given the most noble of personal intentions, their work may still be viewed as failing the very people they genuinely want to help.

7.1 Recommendation for further research:

Numerous barriers to implementing COM development projects were identified in this study. Future research could investigate the relative importance or significance of these barriers in restricting participatory spaces.

Willingness to participate in communal projects varies throughout the communities of Dodowa. Future research could investigate to what degree do community members need to participate for a water and sanitation COM project to be sustainable?

8. References for Figures

Figure 4. Political map of Ghana. Taken from: http://www.ezilon.com/maps/images/africa/political-map-of-Ghana.gif

Figure 2. Detailed map of Greater Accra Region. Taken from: http://www.world-guides.com/images/ghana/ghana_accra_map.jpg

Figure 5. Example of a KVIP. PVC piping vents the latrine pit to reduce smell and flies. http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-caVkQfL03lU/VfNAiiJwwSI/AAAAAAAAAY0/juLU4GyZtYs/s1600/5-complete%2Bfront.JPG

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Appendix I

Table 1. Research Questions and Analytical Framework

Research Question	*Themes and sub-themes*
1&2	Structure, institutional & policy aspects a. Land ownership as it impedes development or resolution of community conflicts b. Social hierarchy (steep divisions) c. Responsiveness of leaders to local priorities d. Institutional support (human, financial, resources, encouragement, motivation)
1&2	Knowledge a. Taking stock of local skills (e.g. masonry, physical labour, leadership, etc.) b. Knowledge of WATSAN c. Knowledge sharing of development projects d. Knowledge of navigating local bureaucracy
3	Engagement a. Perception of community owned and managed development b. Participation – as a consumer c. Participation – as a manager or decision-maker d. Community mobilization around a cause
1&3	Emancipation of marginalized a. Support system for least advantaged b. Gender equality
3	Local needs a. Importance of groundwater in meeting water needs b. Questionable quality of groundwater c. Seasonal fluctuations in groundwater availability d. Development priorities as indicated by locals
3	Development a. Past successful community development projects b. Public vs. Private toilet

Source: Field Work, 2016

Appendix II

Table 2 (un)Responsiveness of leaders to local priorities

Suburb	Traditional Community	Responsiveness of leaders
Apperkon	Apet) Kopey	The leaders successfully brought electrification to the market square. But the public toilet project is moving along slowly and there isn't any information as to when the construction will be completed or the particular group that should be involved. One interviewee felt that, while the assemblyman and MP should solve their problem, they don't.
	Voti	Assemblyman is helpful at organizing youth to help with small projects and keeping community clean. But beyond the low-hanging fruits, no successful community development projects have been undertaken. The DA has told them that a new public toilet will be constructed near-by, but it's unclear when this will start.
	Kpeglo Kopey	Assemblyman has largely been absent since election campaign, but Mabel (opinion leader) tries her best to support minor problems that the community may have.
	Magbagya	Elected officials were present during the election campaign, but this community feels like the current assemblyman and MP are ineffective. However, one interviewee mentioned that it depends on the elected official how helpful they are.
	Adamtey Kopey	Half the interviewees expressed tendency to deal with own problems The other half expressed having elevated problems to assemblyman, but with no result.
Zongo	Zongo	Muslim interviewees speak about the Imam and assemblyman being helpful. But, the only non-Muslim interviewee mentioned that Christian residents are marginalized in the community and are not included in community meetings with prominent leaders, for example, which are conducted in Arabic. The assemblyman does his best, but hasn't been able to tackle a public toilet project due to lack of available funds.
Bletum	Bletum	Everyone spoke about the public toilet project that the assemblyman organized, but only the foundation had been laid and it wasn't clear when it would be finished. Likely a political maneuver.
Djabletey	Djabletey	Three years ago, money was raised in the community to dig a borehole, but the project failed. A prominent elder in the community also organized to dig a community well. Assemblywoman has recently called a meeting to discuss a new public toilet project. Beyond this, leaders are often approached, but people feel like their concerns aren't taken seriously or acted upon.
Matetse	Apetechi	Most people were aware of the borehole built by the DA (where the WATSAN committee is centered). However, the public toilets

		here were privately constructed without help from local authorities.
	Kponkpo	It seems that responsiveness of local leaders is low. The assemblywoman seemed to have only been around during the election campaign and while the other leaders are approachable, when problems are shared with the chief, for example, they aren't resolved. Although recently, the assemblywoman announced that the community must find land for a new public toilet project, but this has not progressed yet.
	Matetse	Most interviewees mention that although there is the odd community meeting with leaders, most feel more compelled to sort out their own problems or feel uncomfortable approaching the assemblymember alone. For example, a group of young boys mentioned that when they feel they want to approach the assemblywoman with an issue, they prefer to go as a group. Another interviewee stated that the youth aren't taken as seriously as the elders.
Salem	Salem	Assemblyman seems to be quite absent from the community, but he has brought a public toilet project to the neighbouring community next door (Manya). He has not addressed any other issues, like refuse dump or the road or offered support for community welfare.

Source: Field Work, 2016

Appendix III

Table 3. Examples of interview responses on (un)just governance

Community	**Do community members feel included in governance or feel they share in the benefits of governance outcomes?**	**Significance of comment for just governance**	**What is identified as unjust?**
Kpeglo Kopey	When women have a problem, they solve it themselves. Young women feel that they couldn't include themselves in a committee that would work on water and sanitation.	Women feel disempowered to participate in governance, specifically when it comes to playing a central role in deliberating and decision-making	Exclusion of women from deliberation & decision-making
Bletum	Women aren't decision-makers; they can be involved in communal labour for Sanitation Day. Women in the community don't have communal meetings to talk about development issues.	Women feel disempowered to participate in governance, specifically when it comes to playing a central role in deliberating and decision-making	Exclusion of women from deliberation & decision-making
Bletum	District council meets with widows and orphans to help support them and from time-to-time, offer financial support, but when she meets with her friends, they talk about the promises of the assemblywoman and MP that haven't come true.	Support to key marginalized groups is provided from time-to-time. But, in general, women feel their views aren't politically represented.	Exclusion of women from political priorities (in general)
Apetechi	Only the women would meet if DA water and sanitation representative called a meeting for water and sanitation education.	If the women of the WATSAN committee try to reach out to the community to expand the role of the committee to education and sensitization to WASH issues, women would be more responsive.	Women are not seen as legitimate leaders
Magbagya	Depends on the elected leaders. For ex., previous MP only thought about himself. The current MP elect is very helpful in helping with schooling, youth and employment	Unemployment or under-employment is a significant issue. Some leaders take this issue on as a political priority.	Employment

Magbagya	Can go to assemblyman with a problem and he will pass it on to the MP, but then you never hear back. Rather solve problems on own. "Those people not having any pipe in their houses, I think it is very stressful"	Local government are not addressing community members that are more reliant on groundwater or struggle with paying for GWCL water.	GWCL water tariffs
Djabletey	When person selling water is poor, can't manage money to pay bill – it's not that people don't want access to GWCL, it's that accountability and credit worthiness is a major barrier to pay bill on regular basis	Many public standpipes have been disconnected due to unpaid monthly bills and the lack of credit worthy water vendors. This again re-enforces the importance of groundwater in Dodowa.	GWCL water tariffs
Salem	"If you aren't an official representative of the people, if you took initiative, you would be called names because you are trying to take someone's job"	The right to lead is consolidated into traditional leadership and formal local government officials. Socio-cultural-political norms may guide rights to leadership.	The right to leadership
Zongo	[There are a lot of politics in the area.] "Would be nice if I said the Imam or assemblyman." [I would prefer if committee were appointed from someone from the outside]	Community members may feel pressured to nominate traditional leaders and local government officials to from a community development committee, but they may have more effective individuals in mind that could offer more engaged governance.	Effective leadership vs. right to leadership

Source: Field Work, 2016

Appendix IV

Table 6 Evidence of grassroots initiatives organized around a communal cause

Community	**Grassroots organization around a common priority**
Apetechi	Electrification group: a group was formed of the landlords in a particular section of Apetechi to organize contributing funds to install electricity poles so the electricity company would come to install electricity lines. Two unofficial leaders are spear-heading this project.
Apet) Kopey	Youth leader organizes men in the community for social activities, for small community cleaning projects The Apet) Kopey youth group also helped the assemblyman find the voluntary labour group to help build the public toilet. The Magbagya youth group also helps with digging out the well when it's blocked. Kponkpo youth group was recently involved in collecting money for a borehole project, but when the borehole was dug, there was no water.
Voti, Djabletey	Community construction and digging out of blocked well on a as needed-basis
Magbagya	One woman spoke about an elderly woman who had passed away that had brought a group together in the neighbouring community of Oboom to construct a public toilet.
Bletum	Group of men volunteered labour to dig the foundation of the public toilet project.

Source: Field Work, 2016

Appendix V

Loose structure for community semi-structured interviews

1. Water in the community
    a. Is access to water a primary concern?
    b. If not, does it become a primary concern in the dry season (or at a certain time of year?
    c. Have you ever discussed strategies to reduce water stress with someone or with a group of people? Who? What has been the result?

2. Do you control access to a private water source (well, standpipe, borehole)?
    a. Does everyone pay to use the water? Who is exempt from paying?
    b. How much do you charge to others?

3. Where do you get your water from (WA standpipe, GWCL standpipe, water tanker, sachet)
    a. Does this change depending on the season?
    b. Do community members identify a high presence or variety of water managers/vendors in the community?

4. What is the leading concern with regards to water access?
    a. Psychological (stress surrounding access to water),
    b. Social (poor social standing or limited social connections to key individuals or groups affecting water access)
    c. Economic (cost)
    d. Political concerns (feel excluded from community initiatives to improve water access or limit water stress)

WATSAN

- What is the perceived role or function of their WATSAN or community water board?
- What are the contexts in which a WATSAN has successfully improved access to or improved water management in the community?
- How do WATSAN groups communicate/interact with the community or collaborate between communities?
- Has access to water improved since the formation of the WATSAN? Explain.
- Who/what group would you appoint as a key person to form a WATSAN group in your community?

5. What kinds of networks/groups exist in the community?
    a. How do you meet people in your community? (At church, school, sports, neighbours)
    b. Do you gather together for social meetings (in connection to, but outside of church, for example)?
    c. Who do you got to for help if you have a problem? (Beyond an immediate family member)? Why?

    d. What is the dominant form of information sharing (word of mouth, internet, phone, newspaper)

6. Do certain groups/networks play a supportive role in the community?
    a. Does your church, for example, support a certain cause on behalf of your community?
        i. Do you remember how the group decided to support this cause? (Group decision? Certain individual or group of people decided?) - Historical context
    b. Has any group championed a water cause? (Access to borehole, standpipe, well or concerning water quality)

7. Do you interact with those that are (formally/informally) in charge in your community?
    a. Do you/have you ever had discussions with your district assemblymen or community chief? About what?
        i. If not, who primarily has regular discussions with them?
    b. Who else holds authority within the community?
        i. Why/how do they hold this authority?
        ii. Do you have regular discussions/interaction with them?
    c. Would you/have you spoken to an authority in the community about an issue surrounding access to water or poor water quality?
        i. If not, who do you speak to about water concerns? Why?