

THE ROLE OF THE ANTHROPOLOGIST IN
RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN GHANA

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by D. M. Warren

I. INTRODUCTION: THE CHANGING ROLE OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN
RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA

A. Scope of Paper

During the past six years I have accepted assignments with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) on six occasions; five short term (from several days to three months), and one longer term (two years). These have included the design and presentation of general rural development models, the identification and design (including social soundness analysis) of specific projects, and their implementation and evaluation. These activities have been carried out in several sectors including health, agriculture, cooperatives, integrated planning, and development administration. I find the challenge of participating as an anthropologist on multidisciplinary, international teams in project design, implementation, and evaluation, and of working with complex organizations is extremely gratifying.

In this paper I will begin by describing the changing roles which anthropologists have played in Ghana from early in this century, with emphasis on the legitimizing effect of the shift in USAID policy in 1973 to the "New Directions" policy which stresses local participation in development as well as equity issues. Then I will focus on my own involvement in the long term design and implementation of rural development activities in Ghana. First, I

will describe my involvement in the Economic and Rural Development Management Project (ERDM), a complex nation-wide effort to facilitate the decentralization of development planning and budgeting from the center (the central government in Accra) to the periphery (the 9 regional and 68 district capitals in Ghana). Second, I will describe my involvement with the Primary Health Training for Indigenous Healers Project (PRHETIH), something which developed through my work with the ERDM project. Thanks to the linkages the ERDM project afforded me with all Government of Ghana departments and USAID/Accra officials in several sectors, I had an additional opportunity, using my anthropological knowledge of indigenous healers in Ghana, to help design and implement this second rural development activity in the Techiman District of Ghana.

Finally, I conclude the paper with a description of how these cross-fertilization processes have led to the development of new programs at Iowa State University which will more effectively prepare students and faculty for international development assignments.

My anthropological knowledge of culture change, cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary communication models, and specific Ghanaian cultures, coupled with experience of using ethnoscientific techniques contributed significantly to success in the design and implementation of both the ERDM and PRHETIH projects. But I gained far more from these experiences than I gave. My work was, in fact, anthropological fieldwork of an experimental nature - an attempt to facilitate cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary communication through the development of culturally-relevant training materials. These materials helped project participants

to understand the function of values, norms, and attitudes, and of emic and etic perceptions of phenomena, in either fostering or hindering the types of communication necessary for rural development projects to be most successful.

My involvement in these projects, particularly my constant close interaction over two years with American and Ghanaian colleagues from a wide variety of academic backgrounds, had a dramatic impact on me as an anthropologist and how I have come to view the role of anthropology in development. Thanks to this participation, I am now far more clearly aware of how anthropology's role complements those of other fields when dealing with the complexities of rural development. I am far more conscious of the necessity to deal with cross-disciplinary as well as cross-cultural communications in order to meaningfully and effectively manage development projects which transcend cultural, academic disciplinary and government agency and departmental boundaries. I am now convinced of the power of experiential modes of training in facilitating cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary communications.

B. Earlier Roles for Anthropologists in Ghana

While my own involvement as an anthropologist in USAID development efforts in Ghana is directly linked to important shifts in AID policies caused by the New Directions legislation of 1973,¹ earlier anthropological links to government in Ghana can be traced back to 1921 when the British colonial administration established the position of Gold Coast government anthropologist. Filled first by Robert S. Rattray (1921) and subsequently by Margaret J. Field (1938), the government anthropologist facilitated colonial development efforts, recording Ghanaian cultural histories and compiling ethnographic data which could be used by government officials to further their understanding of local populations and institutions.²

For a decade following the independence of Ghana in 1957, anthropology in Ghana was viewed negatively, as a discipline which focused on ethnicity ("tribalism") and tradition ("the primitive past"). Ghanaian officials viewed anthropologists as "reactionaries and romantics who wanted [ed] to concentrate their studies on the primitive undeveloped Africa, who [were] unconcerned with pressing economic, social and political problems, and who also [were] so wedded to the prevalent equilibrium theory that they deplored [d] such revolutionary changes as [were] happening in Africa" (Brokensha 1966:15). An example of this opinion coming from one of the most influential leaders of West Africa is the following from Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's remarks to the First International Congress of Africanists:

With the abolition of the slave trade, African Studies could no longer be inspired by the economic motive. The experts in African Studies therefore changed the content and direction of their writings; they began to give accounts of African society which were used to justify colonialism as a duty of civilization. Even the most flattering of these writings fell short of objectivity and truth. This explains, I believe, the popularity and success of anthropology as the main segment of African studies (cited in Brokensha 1966: 15).

Sociologists, on the other hand, were viewed popularly as scholars actively supporting Ghana's efforts in the march toward modernity. Due to these prevailing attitudes, one faced the "spectacle of a disproportionate number of sociologists, some looking suspiciously like fugitives from 'hot' disciplines" such as anthropology (Ibid.:16). For more than a decade after independence some anthropologists felt it politically prudent to call themselves sociologists.

This image of the anthropologist has changed dramatically in the past decade, in part due to efforts by Ghanaian anthropologists such as K. A. Busia, Kwame Arhin, and Kwaku Nukunya, and by expatriate development anthropologists

teaching in Ghana such as David Brokensha, David Tait, David Butcher, Leo Barrington, and G. Lumsden, the latter three being involved in the Volta Resettlement Scheme.³ Current USAID policies require Social Soundness Analyses for development projects and involve a growing number of Ghanaian anthropologists and sociologists in development programs, such as P. A. Twumasi and K. Nukunya.

C. The Impact of 1973 USAID and World Bank Policies
on Anthropology

In 1973, "the United States became the first of the rich countries to shift away from a 'trickle-down' to people-oriented development. Re-directing our efforts toward the poor who make up the overwhelming majority of people in the developing countries conforms to the instinctive concern of Americans that past foreign aid programs have not reached the people we have wanted to help" (Owens and Shaw 1974: xiii). USAID continues to stress this "new strategy of development--a strategy in which participation by all the people is both the means and the end to development itself" (Ibid.: xix). At about the same time the World Bank began to stress the need to involve local people in planning, decision making and implementation of development projects. In the document entitled The Assault on World Poverty, we find the following statements: "One particular advantage [of greater local involvement] is that the problems of the community, as perceived by its residents and those imputed by local officials tend to be more easily reconciled" (The World Bank 1975: 7). And "[S]everal countries have found that rural people have perceptions of needs and possibilities which are generally different from those of 'rational' officials" (Ibid.:37). Therefore, there is a need "for greater insight into the characteristics of target groups and the dynamics of traditional societies" (Ibid.: 75). These policy shifts by USAID and the World Bank provided a

challenge and a mandate for the participation of anthropologists in development efforts.

Policy shifts aside, both USAID and The World Bank soon realized that it is one thing to stress the need for development programs and projects which allow for greater participation of host country nationals in the identification, design and implementation of programs and to require projects which are expected to result in improved equity in the distribution of economic and political resources, and quite another to translate the rhetoric of new policies into reality.⁴

It was at this difficult juncture between rhetoric and reality that development anthropologists such as Glynn Cochrane successfully argued that development programs could benefit from the knowledge, methodologies, skills, and sensitivities of anthropologists in the design, implementation, and evaluation stages of development projects (see Cochrane 1971, 1977, 1980). In 1974, due in part to efforts by Cochrane, USAID organized the Development Studies Program which included anthropological training for AID personnel, made Social Soundness Analysis (S.S.A.) a requirement of all project design efforts, and set up permanent anthropology staff positions in both USAID/Washington and in the Regional Economic Development Services Offices (REDSO) located in Abidjan and Nairobi.

AID's Social Soundness Analysis requirement has had an important impact on development anthropology.⁵ First, it has involved anthropologists from the USA and from host countries such as Ghana. Secondly, it has shown anthropologists and other social scientists in a dramatic fashion how they must retool to function effectively within severe time limitations in order to produce useful social analyses.⁶ It has also shown AID how important

Social Soundness Analysis can be in avoiding expensive errors in project design and implementation. Now required as a complement to technical, economic/financial, and institutional/administrative analyses at both the Project Identification Document and Project Paper stages in the project design process, the Social Soundness Analysis requires that a sociocultural feasibility study be done. This is to determine how compatible a given project would be in terms of the local sociocultural environment, to analyze the possible multiplier or "spread effects" of the project, and to identify the potential social consequences and incidence of benefits and burdens for the populations to be affected (see USAID 1978b). The ERDM Project was one of the first to include a serious social soundness analysis in the project design. The analysis was conducted by Dr. Gerald Klonglan, a rural sociologist and currently chairperson of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Iowa State University (see Klonglan 1976). As will become clear in the description of the ERDM and PRHETIII projects, both fit philosophically within the format of the New Directions policies.

USAID policies stressing participation and equity have been strengthened by the Country Development Strategy Statement (CDSS) requirement begun in 1979 (see USAID 1978a). Each AID field mission must annually submit a CDSS to AID/Washington. In the CDSS, each mission is expected to explicitly demonstrate:

1. how their development assistance programs are designed to foster equitable growth and meet basic human needs within the country,
2. how well macro- and micro-analyses have been conducted to identify the causes and characteristics of poverty from sociocultural, political, and institutional perspectives, and
3. how effectively the program has dealt with both the role of women in development and with environmental concerns.

USAID/Washington evaluates the CDSS to determine the mission's capacity to deal with these issues. The host country is also rated in terms of economic need as well as in terms of the government's commitment to foster policy and institutional changes to allow such programs to bear fruit instead of being mere rhetorical exercises. I had the opportunity to participate in the preparation of the first CDSS for the Ghana Mission and, through the Institute for Development Anthropology, in evaluating the second CDSS for Ghana.

Recently, Development Alternatives, Inc., on contract to USAID to identify bureaucratic and administrative constraints within the Agency itself which hinder implementation of the 1973 New Directions policies, provided USAID with recommendations for policy and organizational changes which could foster improved implementation of New Directions (see Mickelwait, Sweet and Morss 1979). Bryant (1980) has provided more recent suggestions for internal organizational improvements. These recommendations will further foster the utilization of anthropologists in development efforts.

II. THE ECONOMIC AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT PROJECT (ERDM) IN GHANA

A. Background on ERDM

This section will describe the basic structure and objectives of the ERDM project, the lengthy activities which preceded the inclusion of New Directions and anthropological input into the project design, the various roles which I filled in the project implementation, and a brief account of the PRHETIH Project which emerged from the ERDM training activities in Techiman District in Ghana.

In 1971 the Ghanaian government formulated the Local Government Act which set forth provisions for decentralization of the development functions of the government from the central government down to the 68 (at present) district councils. District Councils were given the right to collect 88 different types of rates, fees, and tolls and retain them in the district treasury as one internal financial source for funding development projects designed at the district level.⁷ The membership of each council was to be comprised of

1. district councillors (two-thirds popularly elected to represent the town and village development committees within the wards of the district, and one-third to represent traditional councils within the district),
2. the heads of government decentralized departments in the district,
3. the district chief executive (the administrative head of the government departments within the district), and
4. the council chairperson (elected by the councillors from among themselves for single year terms).

The Local Government Act changed the function of the District Council from a mainly administrative body, to one having a primary emphasis on development. As of 1977 the Local Government Act was still a paper document and the government was eager to identify ways to hasten the implementation of the Act. The Act was one which was regarded with considerable interest within the USAID Mission to Ghana, since it emphasized the need for increased participation by district level populations in their own development, in equity issues, and in coordinated, integrated planning. Town and Village Development Committees were to have their local interest represented by their popularly elected district councillor on the District Council.

In the initial planning stages by USAID and the Ghana government, a project which could facilitate implementation of the 1971 Act was envisaged. According to the Project Identification Document, USAID felt ERDM should be tried on an experimental basis in two or three districts of Ghana. Due in part to the Social Soundness Analysis by Dr. Klónglan—which included emic analyses of the concepts "development", "participation", "coordination", "planning" and "social change" as used by local groups, government officials and elected officers; organizational analyses of the role of coordination among government departments; and analyses of communication strategies among government departments and between them and local populations—the Ministry of Economic Planning requested that USAID expand ERDM and support a saturation, government-wide approach to assure that decentralized planning and decision-making in all 68 districts across Ghana would become institutionalized.⁸ Data collected in various districts across Ghana by Dr. Klónglan indicated strong motivation by all groups involved in the decentralization effort to participate in the program. The groups included the district chief executives, the district decentralized ministry heads (the district officer:), the

regional officers, and the district councillors. These individuals expressed a desire for increased planning and coordination skills, increased understanding of public participation and communication strategies, and improved skills in conducting feasibility studies and setting priorities.

The Ghanaian government found it difficult to implement a new approach to development, just as USAID had with New Directions. USAID personnel on the ERDM project were expected to work with Ghanaian counterparts to identify and remove the constraints to implementation of the 1971 Act. The purpose of the ERDM project in the Project Paper was to establish the capacity to provide training and consultancy services in planning, coordination and management (citizens' participation in development) for district and regional level officials and council members. The Economic and Rural Development Management Project, designed to facilitate the decentralization of development planning, decision-making, and budget control from the central government in Accra to the 68 district councils in Ghana, was formally inaugurated in the fall of 1977 as a joint venture between USAID and Ghana's Ministry of Economic Planning. According to Dr. Robert Gardner, then Commissioner for Economic Planning, during the inauguration of the ERDM National Coordinating Committee in Accra in 1978, the objectives for ERDM included the following:

1. Increase the emphasis on the development of rural resources;
2. Facilitate the decentralization of development planning, coordination and decision-making to the district level;
3. Increase the effective involvement of rural people in the development process, and hence improve the creation of local projects and activities as a result of the effective application of improved ideas and techniques originating from ERDM training programs; and

4. Provide the institutional capacity for the development of coordinated district plans executed jointly by District Councils and district development departments working as integrated district development teams.

Dr. Gardner wanted rapid, intensive efforts to energize the district administrative units. This was a large order. An historical overview of decentralization efforts in Ghana indicates that a number of commissions had been set up since World War II to make recommendations for more effective local government. Most of these commissions, as well as the legislative acts based on their reports, emphasized the need for administrative decentralization. The 1951 Local Government Ordinance, the Greenwood Commission of 1956, the 1961 Local Government Act, the Siriboe Committee and the Mills-Oddoye Commission of 1967, were followed finally by the 1971 Local Government (Local Administration) Act with amendments in 1974. It was, it became apparent, one thing to enact decentralization programs through legislation, and quite another to implement them. ERDM was the first solid effort to focus on implementation of a decentralization program.

B. The Incorporation of New Directions Policies into the ERDM Design

Although my formal role in the ERDM Project did not begin until the summer of 1977, my short-term assignments in international rural development project design (dating back to 1974) had an impact on the design of the ERDM project. These assignments were designed to provide guidance to USAID officials seeking to facilitate participation and equity efforts through better use of data and methodologies from the social sciences, particularly anthropology and rural sociology. The rather lengthy sequence of events leading up

to my participation in ERDM may be an indication of the speed at which innovations diffuse through a bureaucracy as complex as USAID.

The step-by-step account begins in January, 1974 when I prepared a "Proposal for an Applied Anthropological Component for the I.S.U. AID Project designed to Increase the Production of Cereals and Legumes in Ghana." This proposal was designed to demonstrate to colleagues in other academic disciplines at Iowa State University - particularly technical areas such as agriculture - and to USAID officials, the potential roles of an applied anthropology component in a cereals/legumes project. Some of the roles enumerated included:

- a description of client population socio-cultural and politico-economic systems in order to foster understanding and communication between change agents and local groups;
- a description of the values, premises and assumptions held by the innovators and the innovating organization and how national, professional and bureaucratic structures may affect decisions in the implementation of a directed change program;
- a definition of development problems and their possible solutions from the indigenous population's perspective as a complement to the change agent definitions; and
- the facilitation of successful interactions and communication between the innovating organization and the target group.

These roles were based on several premises:

- That difficulties in many innovating programs involve differential perceptions of "the problem" by innovators and local populations resulting in a lack of communication between the two groups;

- That there are no absolute or universal solutions to technical problems in cross-cultural situations;
- That appropriate solutions to culturally-defined problem areas are a function of the local milieu and the larger context of which that milieu is a part, and which determines it (see Warren 1974b).

This proposal circulated through USAID and after some months arrived at the office of Dr. Edward Hirabayashi, the human resource officer for the Africa Bureau. Many of the points raised in the proposal interested him and he traveled to Iowa State University for a visit during which he encouraged a broader attempt to define the participation issues. This contact stimulated the formation of a weekly seminar involving more than twenty social and technical scientists at ISU who had been involved in international development work. One of the results of this seminar was "A Communication Model For Active Indigenous Involvement in Rural Development and Nonformal Education" in March 1974; this model was presented to USAID/Washington by Klonglan, Warren, and Owen, Jr. in May of 1974, and by Warren at the East-West Communication Institute in Honolulu, summer 1975 (see Warren 1976b). The model was designed to suggest mechanisms by which effective communications and collaboration could be achieved between indigenous populations and national and international change agencies and institutions. One mechanism suggested was a process of comparing a "problem" which has been defined by a foreign advisor or a host country counterpart, whether it be in the area of family planning, an improved health delivery system, or increased agricultural production, with the "problem" as perceived by the local group itself.

A second mechanism suggested to facilitate a communication linkage between the target group and the change agency involved the systematic delineation of the indigenous knowledge systems or folk taxonomies within the development sector such as indigenous disease or soil classification systems, as well as indigenous decision-making processes. Having delineated a given folk model, the outside advisor then has the possibility of understanding in which ways the development problem as viewed by the change agency might articulate with the indigenous model (see Warren 1974a).

This collaborative, multidisciplinary, international effort in the specification of obstacles to implementation of New Directions policies continued and linked faculty at the University of Ghana and Ghana's Academy of Arts and Sciences, and at the University of Ife (through correspondence and visits to Iowa State University). The results of these efforts were presented by Hirabayashi, Warren, and Owen, Jr. in a special session of the 14th World Conference of the Society for International Development in Abidjan in August 1974.

A human resources development model in an interdisciplinary collaborative style was presented as "The Indigenous Network Communication Model". It compared the rhetoric of participation and equity within development agency circles with the reality of many development projects in which neither took place successfully. The basis of the model was an "understanding and formalization of indigenous knowledge systems along with active indigenous involvement in rural development" (Hirabayashi, Warren, and Owen, Jr. 1976: 60).⁹

We stated that "Problems in a social [change] situation, especially at the local level, are characterized by the manner in which they constantly transgress and spill across the "boundary lines" of agencies, associations and other types of social sub-divisions. Therefore, problem-solving is best achieved through a collaborative style with a common approach of working together--in a Problem-Oriented Trans-Organizational system" (Hirabayashi, Warren and Owen, Jr. 1976: 63).¹⁰

A second seminar on the Indigenous Network Communication model was presented at USAID/Washington by Klonglan and Warren in December 1975. Klonglan was then asked to conduct the Social Soundness Analysis on the ERDM project design in Ghana in March and April of 1976, and to present the results of the analysis to USAID's Development Studies Program in June 1976 (Klonglan 1976). The project manager, Mr. Bill Berg, then came to ISU to interview me for a possible position on the ERDM project, followed by a request for a temporary assignment to work on the final stages of the ERDM design in Ghana during the summer of 1977. This put me in a position to further incorporate these approaches to New Directions into the structure of the ERDM project.

C. The USAID Technician Roles

The nine weeks spent on the temporary assignment for USAID in Ghana to assist in the ERDM project redesign led to the signing of the bilateral project agreement by USAID and Ghana's Ministry of Economic Planning. I then spent considerable time negotiating the implementation of the program across Ghana with regional commissioners in each of the country's nine regions, and assisted with the selection of the remaining members of the American technical team,

each of whom had backgrounds of long-term work experience in Ghana, including language competence and excellent knowledge of Ghana's history, culture, and administrative system.¹¹ In addition I had to locate housing for the technicians in the regions where they would be based, and prepared the outline of the initial Ghanaian trainer/consultant job descriptions and district council training programs.

From September 1977 through August 1979 I played several roles in the ERDM program, both administrative and in the design and implementation of the ERDM program in the Brong-Ahafo and Ashanti Regions and the 18 districts within them. USAID/Ghana gave us considerable freedom in working out our roles and the design of the ERDM program. I had the opportunity to be acting national project manager on several occasions when the project manager was out of the country. With the other three American technicians, the American project manager and the Ghanaian project director, I helped to

- select and train 27 Ghanaian regional trainer-consultants, three-person teams being assigned to each of the nine regional capitals;
- design and conduct in collaboration with two of the Ghanaian regional ERDM trainer-consultant teams, the first cycle of ERDM training in 18 district and two regional capitals;
- design and formalize expected results of the ERDM district council training sessions;
- design follow-up training sessions with district councils;
- assist in the design and funding by USAID of a Master's degree program at Kumasi University of Science and Technology to train district-level economic planning officers beginning in 1980;
- build a self-sustaining Ghanaian capability for management and development planning training and consultancy in two of Ghana's nine regions;

- promote program objectives among regional decision-makers and clientele groups in such a way that those objectives are shared and internalized by that clientele; and
- assure the availability of adequate facilities, staff and other resources needed to support the achievement of program objectives.

By the very nature and structure of the ERDM program, each American field technician became a liaison officer between district, regional, and central government officials, between the Ministry of Economic Planning and USAID, and between ERDM regional secretariats and the national coordinating committee in Accra.

D. Designing and Implementing the ERDM Training Program

After the 27 Ghanaian trainer-consultants were selected, the next task was to make a strong, functioning national team of these individuals and the five American USAID project personnel. The Ghanaians represented a wide ethnic and academic diversity. Members of the Buem, Ewe, Fante, Ga, Ashanti, Akyem, Brong, Gonja, Dagarti, Mamprussi and Adangbe ethnic groups were represented on the ERDM multidisciplinary national team. The professional backgrounds of the team members was equally diverse.¹² One senior trainer-consultant had served as a district councillor.

All ERDM trainer-consultants and American technicians went through an intensive nine-week training session which focused on team building, management and development planning and techniques in experiential training. The approach was for all members to absorb the necessary background material, to personally experience this approach to training in a non-threatening atmosphere, to gain experience and confidence in handling experiential training, and to redesign

training materials in order to make them more culturally appropriate for the first cycle of ERDM training sessions in each of the nine regional and 68 district capitals. We attempted to identify obstacles to implementation of the Local Government Act and to design training materials that would help improve the situation.

Among the obstacles identified were the extreme variability of the physical, natural and human resources among the 68 district councils, and the complex ethnic mix in some districts and among members of most district councils. Sometimes strained relationships between traditional and district councils were mentioned, as were strains between decentralized and centralized departments and ministries--both vertically (national, regional, district levels) and horizontally among departments within a single district council, between district officers and district councillors, between the district chairperson and the district chief executive, and finally, between the district councils and international development technicians from abroad.

There was more enthusiasm for ERDM at the district level than by the central government for two reasons. First, we were definitely involved in a power shift from the central government to the districts. Second, ERDM was looked at as a mechanism to shift councils from a strategy of "planning for" to one of "planning with," from an emphasis on physical (Town and Country Planning) planning to one of management and planning through persons, from a role of district officers as implementors to one of initiators, from an emphasis on uncoordinated rural development projects to one of integrated rural development programs, and finally, to a new emphasis on articulation of planning efforts between district, regional, and central levels.

In initial surveys we found that although each previous decentralization legislative act was designed to change the emphasis from administrative to development functions of a district council, no training opportunities had been provided to district level officials in order to prepare them to effect the change. Most in-service training programs in Ghana were not based on experiential modes of training, and central government officials expressed negative attitudes about the capacities of district level officials to plan and manage decentralized efforts. Among others, the following difficulties were encountered at the district administrative level: severe conflicts within councils between councillors and district officers and among district officers; duplication of efforts, insufficient communications; poor coordination, cooperation, and integration; insufficient planning data; a lack of objectives for planning; and inter-ethnic conflicts (particularly in cases where the district chief executive posted to a district happened to be a member of an ethnic group looked down upon by the predominate local ethnic group within the district he was expected to administer).

Many of the problems we identified were common to all districts and included the following:

- inadequate organizational structures;
- lack of exposure to management and development planning techniques;
- lack of basic knowledge of the Local Government Act and the new expectations of district administrations based on it;
- lack of planning objectives or district-level data for planning;
- lack of control and accountability structures;

- departmental and ward orientation as opposed to district orientation;
- district officers still operating as implementors of centrally planned programs as opposed to being initiators of programs; and
- lack of cultural and linguistic knowledge of local populations by many officials transferred to unfamiliar districts.

We were to design strategies for change in values, attitudes, behavior, and organizational structure.

We felt our role was to design training programs which could change heads of disparate departments and district councillors into district development teams, programs which could facilitate cooperation and coordination across departmental lines and across ward lines for district councillors. Our focus was to be on integrated development for the district as a total unit, based on a clear understanding of the resources available internally and externally, and a clear identification of the problems and solutions to them. We wished to achieve a program that would allow key actors within a district to identify and understand the obstacles they had faced in pre-ERDM efforts to establish effective development at the district level.

After the initial nine weeks of intensive training and planning by the Ghanaian and American ERDM personnel, it was decided that each of the nine three-person Ghanaian regional teams of trainer/consultants should be able to:

1. Prepare and conduct periodic training seminars and workshops on management and development planning for regional and district-level heads of government departments and elected district council members;

2. Provide mobile consulting services in the districts for rural development planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation;
3. Re assess and redesign training programs to better meet the expressed desires and needs of each individual district council;
4. Coordinate actions required to implement the new development role assigned to the district councils; and
5. Assist in the practical field training of district-level economic planning officers about to begin master's degree-level training at Kumasi University of Science and Technology in 1980.

Cycle I ERDM training goals included the following:

- Update, improve, and further develop the managerial and planning skills of elected district councillors, district heads of government departments, and district chief executives, and
- Acquaint the combined district council with a broad range of management and planning tools and techniques.

The specific learning objectives for participants in ERDM training programs included the following:

1. To become aware of one's own style of management and method of leadership and to learn to practice management style flexibility;
2. To develop greater skill as a manager in handling inter- and intra-group dynamics;
3. To build an awareness of communications difficulties and to provide tools for increased accuracy and effectiveness in communications at the individual and group levels;
4. To develop an understanding of motivational factors, particularly as they relate to staff development and productivity;

5. To plan and program work more effectively on the basis of sound measurable objectives;
6. To develop the ability and initiative to gather and utilize information required to determine creative alternatives in the problem-solving and decision-making process; and
7. To understand the structural characteristics of productive, effective organizations and to diagnose unhealthy, unproductive organizational characteristics and to develop constructive alternatives to them.

(The above objectives are dealt with in greater detail in Warren 1980b).

E. The Design of Culturally Appropriate Training Materials

All of the district (3 week) and regional (1 week) training sessions designed for Cycle I were based on the principle of experiential training, a learning method which assumes that trainees learn and retain best those things which they directly experience. Participants in a council training program would be divided into five or six person teams at the beginning of a training session, with membership cutting across ethnic and professional lines, mixing civil servants and elected councillors, and heads of both decentralized and centralized departments. The main objective of such mixed, and potentially volatile, teams was to create effective district development teams comprised of both elected officials and civil servants. During each module of training, teams participated competitively in exercises designed to apply course materials to relevant district problems. Many of these exercises were based on anthropological approaches to cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary communication. The principles embodied within each exercise were elucidated in discussion sessions which followed each exercise (see Schein 1969).

The Cycle I training package centered on an intensive understanding of the 1971 Local Government Act. Teams of trainees were asked to identify constraints to its full implementation along with recommendations for removal of the constraints. The training focused on management techniques (with sessions on group dynamics, team building, communications, problem identification, priority setting and alternatives development, situational management, decision-making techniques, and motivation and productivity) and planning skills (such as Gantt charts, managing by objectives, logical frameworks, Project Evaluation and Review Technique and Critical Path Method, budgetary processes, and the nature and role of data in planning).

Sessions on team building, group interactions, and group dynamics were interspersed throughout the training program. Exercises were designed to allow participants to gain insights into the differential sets of beliefs, values and norms, premises, assumptions and biases which result in either cooperation or conflict within a group of individuals. We stressed the role of sociocultural and cognitive structures which influence and sometimes determine behavior of individuals within groups. In most district and regional training sessions this was the first opportunity all heads of government departments and all district councillors had had to actually meet and get acquainted.

We began by dividing the participants into dyads which interviewed and then introduced one another to the total group. We would then ask one head of a department to enlighten the group about the goals and objectives of another department. The vast majority of individuals had little or no information about the objectives of any other departments within the district or region. Moreover, it became painfully clear that most departments had no objectives. District

councillors tended to find this exercise quite amusing, since it supported their stereotype of district officers as being ineffective and lazy. This amusement usually came to a quick end when a councillor representing one ward was asked to enlighten the total group about the main problems and projects across wards.

Many councillors viewed district heads of departments as adversaries, individuals attempting to thwart district council efforts. One main reason given for such uncooperative attitudes was ethnicity, since in many cases the officials came from other parts of Ghana. These sessions were the first forum in which district officers could make clear to district councillors the vertical constraints they faced when regional heads viewed their district officers as implementors of programs decided in either Accra or the regional capital without regard to the problems, needs and desires identified by the district councils. When district councillors understood the bureaucratic constraints on district officers' activities, the opportunities emerged to discuss ways to work around the constraints. Role playing was used in many instances, with district councillors asked to play the role of district officers and vice versa. Many of the exercises were designed to be district specific. In our preliminary negotiations in a district capital for setting a date and locality for the training session, we met with many of the district officials and councillors. Problems existing within the district usually surfaced, and these were incorporated into exercises in a non-threatening mode. Exercises in conflict resolution were very important in most districts.

Communications exercises were carried out across the entire training program. One-way and two-way communications exercises included rumor clinics (see Pfeiffer

and Jones 1974, vol. 2, pp. 12-15) and sessions on organizational communications in centralized and decentralized modes (see Finch, Jones, Litterer 1970: 43-47). Materials were adapted from Foster which stressed the different premises and biases attached to different ethnic, national, and academic backgrounds, and the nature of communications between officials acting in the capacity of consultants and the client system (the district population). The nature of socio-cultural and value systems, of the change process, and of adoption and diffusion of innovations were covered. Details of the training exercises are included in the appendix.

Recommendations and results of each training session were compiled in lengthy reports distributed to all participants, all regional officers in the region, and the ERDM national secretariat for use in Accra. This format has resulted in an immense amount of data from across the regions and districts of Ghana which define the constraints to decentralization. Many districts have taken the initiative and have acted on their own behalf to improve their situations. Many examples of improvements in cooperation, coordination, and productivity have been tabulated across Ghana (see Warren 1980b). Participants across Ghana helped design what they felt would be the most useful format for the second cycle of training. Cycle II began in Spring 1980, and is focusing on financial and budgetary aspects of decentralized planning, as well as other managerial and planning issues. Within a year of the signing of the ERDM project agreement, the Establishment Secretariat of the Government of Ghana made the ERDM Project an established, permanent feature of the Government of Ghana, a tribute to the tremendous impact it is having across Ghana.

F. The Primary Health Training For Indigenous Healers Project
(PRHETIH) --An ERDM Dividend

The ERDM Project took me back to Techiman District in the Brong-Ahafo Region where I had served as a biology teacher in the Peace Corps (1964-66) and where I spent two years (1969-71) doing my dissertation research on Bono ethnomedical systems. The new position with USAID gave me ready access to the Regional Medical Officer of Health and his personnel in the regional capital of Sunyani as well as to the district officers in Techiman. I also maintained direct contact with the National Health Planning Unit in Accra which had been organized in part with USAID resources. The data they were collecting showed that tertiary health services (specialist) were absorbing 40% of the Ministry of Health's annual budget but servicing only 1% of Ghana's population. Secondary (hospital/clinic) services were absorbing 45% of the annual budget and servicing 9% of the national population. This left 15% of the budget for primary (preventive and promotive) health services for the remaining 90% of the population, most of whom live in 46,000 small towns and villages (Accra, National Health Planning Unit 1977: 53).

In Techiman District, two private hospitals exist, one run by the Medical Mission Sisters and one by the Ahmadiyyan Muslim Mission. Both hospitals are understaffed and very heavily utilized. In the ERDM training session in Techiman it was possible to have participants consider the National Health Planning Unit data as well as the data I had collected on the indigenous healing system. Included in the council training were hospital personnel, the heads of the various Ministry of Health units (community and public health nurses, medical field units, health inspectorate, and the district medical officer of health), as well as the regional secretary for the Ghana Psychic and Traditional Healers

Association. While doing force-field analysis on the council's proposal to improve the quality of health care, training participants recognized indigenous healers as a resource which had not been fully utilized. My data helped to ameliorate the negative stereotypes of indigenous healers which many district officers held--particularly those from the Ministry of Health. In role plays with a priestess-healer and the head public health nurse changing roles, these stereotypes surfaced and were discussed at length.

Based on earlier successful training programs provided traditional birth attendants in the district, a parallel training session was discussed by ERDM participants which would capitalize on the presence of herbalists and priest/priestess-healers in the rural areas of the district where Ministry of Health personnel only rarely had the time and inclination to visit. It was decided to set up a coordinating committee to bring together the heads of the various units representing both the Ministry of Health and the indigenous healers.

The committee was comprised of the regional head of the Ghana Psychic and Traditional Healers Association, the district heads of the herbalists, Mallam healers, priest-healers, priestess-healers, the paramount chief of the traditional council, the head of the traditional birth attendants, the head of the health inspectors, the district medical officer of health, the hospital administrator, and the head of both the community health and public health nurses. The head of the nutrition unit of the Rural Health Training School at nearby Kintampo was added due to his active interest in dealing with kwashiorkor cases through indigenous healers. A Peace Corps volunteer played an active role as liaison between the Ministry of Health and the indigenous healers. Negotiations were necessary with the Bishop of the Sunyani Diocese and various regional Catholic medical personnel in the training of non-Christian

healers. This was successfully resolved. Liaison relations were established between the coordinating committee and Dr. Oku Ampofo's Center for the Scientific Research into Plant Medicine, funded in part through USAID, with Techiman herbalists going for in-service training at the Center and then participating in improving herbalists' skills in Techiman district upon their return.

USAID's office of Health, Population, and Nutrition maintained an active interest in the project. Asked by them to conduct a social soundness analysis for a large, multi-donor primary health care program for Ghana, I was able to include the potential role of indigenous healers in primary health care in Ghana, including the PRHETIH project in Techiman. On June 7, 1979 the PRHETIH project was formalized and inaugurated--with national television and radio coverage--by the Regional Medical Officer of Health, the paramount chief of the Techiman Traditional State and other dignitaries. The meetings of the coordinating committee have operated on many of the principles of cooperation and coordination stemming out of the ERDM training program. Stereotypes held by Ministry of Health personnel about indigenous healers and vice versa are less severe and one now finds a considerable amount of positive interaction between the two groups on a peer basis. Both groups are concerned with the quality of health in the district and together they feel they can achieve a higher objective than working separately as before.

Training sessions for indigenous healers were designed with total participation by the indigenous healers on the coordinating committee. Response to the first set of seven training sessions was excellent and the first two training groups (including priest/priestess healers, herbalists and mallams) have now completed their training with the Regional Medical Officer of Health issuing the certificates of award.

For me, the design and implementation of PRHETIH is an example of putting ERDM principles to work in an area of deep concern to me: rural health care. The types of negotiations, the disparate types of organizations, belief systems, and behavioral patterns dealt with were complex, but the end result was well worth the effort. PRHETIH is a tribute to the rational approach to problem identification, provides recognition of indigenous healers as human resources, particularly given the severe constraints on the national health delivery system, and results in improved cooperation between the Ministry of Health and local healers. PRHETIH is also a tribute to the effectiveness of the ERDM training program.

III. LESSONS FOR DEVELOPMENT ANTHROPOLOGY FROM THE GHANA EXPERIENCE

Anthropologists, due partly to first-hand experience with USAID and other development agencies, are meeting the challenge of working in multi-disciplinary modes by extending their own anthropological background and knowledge. They now have working abilities in other academic areas important in development work, particularly agricultural economics, rural sociology, public administration, social psychology, and management and planning. Training skills necessary to foster effective and efficient teamwork are being acquired.

These experiences have resulted in several graduate anthropology programs in this country being reformulated to meet the academic and training needs of anthropology students intending to work in development.¹³ At Iowa State University I am using my development experience in Ghana to expand our applied program in three directions.

The first direction is a new course I have developed and taught through the graduate program in Technology and Social Change. The course takes Integrated Rural Development as a focal point for learning international development design and evaluation procedures, formats, and policies for USAID. This type of training provides the participant with background in development lexicon (jargon), procedures, and expectations prior to possible participation on an international, multidisciplinary team which has three to six weeks to produce a viable study and document for a project or program. The course approach combines a lecture format with experiential training. Participants are organized into multidisciplinary, multinational teams and experience many of the same exercises we used in the ERDM training program. The response has been very positive.

The second direction is a new twelve-month master's degree program in International Development Studies. Recognizing the multidisciplinary nature of development, we will encourage our master's degree students in anthropology to remain at Iowa State University for a third year to obtain this second, cross-disciplinary master's degree, which combines work in three different development study areas to complement the students' major field. The three development areas are chosen from a list of twenty participating departments and programs. An anthropologist, for example, could focus on community and regional planning, agricultural economics, and development communications, or choose from numerous other recognized areas of excellence on this campus. Students from disciplines other than anthropology could combine development anthropology with two other disciplines.

The third direction is designed to use more effectively the Iowa State University faculty with international development experience. To this end, I have initiated the Development Advisory Team training program which is being sponsored by our World Food Institute and the ISU-USAID Title XII Strengthening Grant.

The Development Advisory Team concept is based on USAID's New Directions policies, in effect since 1973, which require that international development projects funded entirely or partially with federal monies be both designed and evaluated from a ^{multidisciplinary} focus which includes social soundness analyses (including data on the project's impact on the role of women), economic and financial analyses, and technical analyses appropriate to the sectoral focus of the project (such as primary health care, agricultural extension, nutrition, or highways).

USAID and other international agencies frequently let contracts to international consulting firms for the provision of such teams. More often

than not the team members come from different universities and agencies, have never met prior to the assignment, and sometimes find it difficult to work effectively together as a team. Sorting out different approaches to development planning, different personalities, and different ideologies can be a wasteful and frustrating venture when the "team" has three to four weeks to produce and deliver a design or evaluation document which may have a dramatic impact on the local population.

Many of us at Iowa State University consult occasionally or regularly for USAID, the World Bank, and the United Nations, and have experienced such frustrating "team" efforts. After much discussion with Iowa State University's Technology and Social Change Program and the World Food Institute, and various international consultants on campus, it seemed that we could capitalize better on our international human resource base here with little monetary cost. Our feelings were supported by the latest study conducted by Development Alternatives, Inc., which discussed the composition of the design team. They stated the following:

When outside consultants were used, it was invariably preferable to put together a team that shared a common approach to development and had a common institutional base, or had at least worked together in the past, rather than assemble individuals whose paper qualifications rated them as experts but who might not be able to work together as a team...At least one member of a design team should have sufficient technical background to judge the appropriateness of different technological packages, but the critical skills needed on a design team were found to be not so much technical in nature as those that

contribute to a sensible project in a particular political, economic, social and cultural milieu....In most of the design exercises, a core group consisting of a rural development specialist, an anthropologist or rural sociologist, an economist (usually an agricultural economist) and an agriculturalist proved to be effective. It was desirable that at least one member of the core group also have experience and expertise in project management arrangements. In many of the design exercises, the participation of female professionals was found to be not simply desirable but necessary" (Mickelwait et al. 1979: 141-142).

DAT project objectives have been defined as follows:

1. To identify potential development advisory team members from Iowa State University faculty and staff, with the composition of each team as follows:
 - Multidisciplinary (including a social scientist, economist, and technical expert);
 - Regionally oriented (e.g. Africa, South America, Central America, Middle East, South Asia, Southeast Asia); and
 - Sectorally focused (e.g. projects dealing with highways development, primary health care, small-scale farmers, local government and decentralization, integrated rural development and a host of other projects).
2. To survey the project design and evaluation knowledge level of potential team members and to assess perceived training needs for Development Advisory Team participants.
3. To design and implement a six day intensive training program for Iowa State University Development Advisory Teams which focuses on team building, and the acquisition of cross-disciplinary approaches to project design and

evaluation according to USAID procedures, with ERDM training program materials forming the basis for the Development Advisory Team program.

4. To consider the possibilities of redesigning such training courses as:
 - Regular university courses to train cross-disciplinary development planning teams of foreign nationals doing graduate work at ISU (e.g. a Malaysian cross-disciplinary development planning team) and American students expecting to move into international work;
 - Intensive summer training sessions to satisfy needs by USAID for institutions which can provide such courses; and
 - Training courses designed for local government and community action programs in the State of Iowa, possibly through the cooperative extension system.

Nearly a hundred Iowa State University faculty and staff representing forty departments and every college are slated for Development Advisory Team training session I (March 1981) or II (May 1981) with trainer personnel and training materials support from USAID.

As a development anthropologist, I feel that my rural development work in Ghana has provided important insights into anthropological theory. Development work has given me the opportunity to gain a more fundamental understanding of the nature of communication across cultural and disciplinary boundaries, of values, norms, and attitudes, of stereotypes, prejudices, and ethnicity; and of the nature of emic and etic perceptions of phenomena. And through the new training programs at Iowa State University I hope to translate these insights and understandings into a format accessible to others interested in working in rural development, both anthropologists and individuals from other disciplines.

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¹The reader is referred to Development Reconsidered: bridging the gap between government and people by Edgar Owens and Robert Shaw (1972) which was "the intellectual backdrop" for the re-evaluation of the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act which began on May 30, 1973, when twenty-six congresspersons on the House Foreign Affairs Committee "introduced a series of amendments designed to incorporate into U.S. foreign aid policy a participation strategy" (Owens and Shaw 1974: xiii).

The 1973 amendments to Chapter One, Section 102 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 include the statement that "United States bilateral development assistance should give the highest priority to undertakings submitted by host governments which directly improve the lives of the poorest of their people and their capacity to participate in the development of their countries" (cited in Mickelwait, Sweet and Morss 1979: 3).

"It should be noted that this change in emphasis constituted a radical departure from earlier development priorities. In the past foreign donor priorities were placed on increasing the pace of overall economic development; the new thrust is to target development assistance on helping the poor of developing nations. It is relevant to note here that this change in emphasis was greater than that of the U.S. "war on poverty," which was attempted domestically in the 1960s. The enabling legislation did not subordinate the mandate for growth of the Employment Act of 1946 to equity considerations; it simply added the "war on poverty" to it. In contrast, it appears that McNamara and the Congress wanted a more extreme change in emphasis: The distributional objective was to assume primary importance.

"Beyond calling for a change in emphasis, Congress specified in some detail how this was to be accomplished: "...greatest emphasis shall be placed on countries and activities which effectively involve the poor in development, by expanding their access to the economy through services and institutions at the local level, increasing labor-intensive production, spreading productive investment and services out from major cities to small towns and outlying rural areas, and otherwise providing opportunities for the poor to better their lives through their own effort. Bilateral development aid should concentrate increasingly on sharing American technical expertise, farm commodities, and industrial goods to meet critical development problems, and less on large-scale capital transfers..." (Mickelwait, Sweet and Morss 1979: 2-3). The 1973 amendments were signed into law by the president on December 17, 1973.

²David Brokensha presents a thorough survey of the shifts in emphases of anthropologists working in Africa (see Applied Anthropology in English-Speaking Africa, 1966).

The controversy which surrounds the role of the colonial anthropologist can be noted in such articles as that of Gough ("Applied anthropology came into being as a kind of social work and community development effort for non-white peoples, whose future was seen in terms of gradual education and of amelioration of conditions many of which had actually been imposed by their Western conquerors in the first place" - p. 403 in Kathleen Gough, "New proposals for anthropologists," Current Anthropology 9 (5): 403-407, 1968). Similar issues are raised in (1) Gerald D. Berreman, "Is anthropology alive? Social responsibility in Social Anthropology," Current Anthropology 9 (5): 391-396, 1968); (2) Gutorm Gjessing, "The social responsibility of the social scientist," Current Anthropology 9 (5): 397-402, 1968); (3) Talal Asad, editor, Anthropology and the colonial encounter (London: Ithaca Press, 1973); (4) Diane Lewis, "Anthropology and colonialism," Current Anthropology 14 (5): 581-602 (1973); (5) Bernard Magubane, "A critical look at indices used in the study of social change in colonial Africa," Current Anthropology 12 (4/5) 419-445 (1971); (6) Maxwell Owusu, "Ethnography of Africa: The Usefulness of the Useless," American Anthropologist 80 (2): 310-334 (1978); and (7) Maxwell Owusu, "Policy Studies, development and political anthropology," The Journal of Modern African Studies 13 (3): 367-381 (1975).

³Brokensha has worked both as a colonial administrator in East Africa and as a development anthropologist for USAID in Kenya. His interest in intermediate sized urban areas in Ghana resulted in Social change at Larteh, Ghana (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966). David Tait worked among the Konkomba peoples of northern Ghana until his untimely death. David Butcher, Leo Barrington, and G. Lumsden were all involved in the planning of the Volta Resettlement scheme, a relocation of 80,000 Ghanaians whose towns were inundated by the Volta Lake after the closing of Akosombo Dam.

Patrick Twumasi, a medical sociologist at the University of Ghana, has conducted social soundness analyses and evaluations on several USAID projects in Ghana including the MIDAS project in Atebubu. Kweku Nukunya, a social anthropologist at the University of Ghana, has been involved in the evaluation of USAID projects in Ghana such as the DANFA project.

⁴Many problems exist in the attempt to institutionalize the New Directions legislation at USAID. Some of these are discussed at length in Mickelwait, Sweet and Morss (1979).

A useful source for surveying these problems is Project planning and implementation in developing countries: a bibliography on development project management by Dennis Rondinelli and Aspy Palia (Honolulu: Technology and Development Institute, East-West Center, 1976).

A growing number of texts are available to assist in improving project management according to New Directions guidelines. Several of these are Management of development projects: an international case study approach, edited by Louis Goodman and Ralph Love (New York: Pergamon Press, 1979);

Agribusiness and rural enterprise project analysis manual by Samuel Daines, Bryant Smith, William Rodgers, and Fred Mann (Washington, D.C.: Agribusiness Division, Office of Agriculture, Development Support Bureau, Agency for International Development, 1979);

Urban functions in rural development: an analysis of integrated spatial development policy by Dennis Rondinelli and Kenneth Ruddle (Washington, D.C.: Office of Urban Development, Technical Assistance Bureau, Agency for International Development, 1976);

Systems tools for project planning by Peter Delp, Arne Thesen, Juzar Motiwalla, and Neelakantan Seshadri (Bloomington: PASITAM, International Development Institute, 1977); and

Systems analysis and project management by David Cleland and William King (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975, 2nd edition).

⁵"The Social Soundness Analysis has three distinct but related aspects: (1) the compatibility of the project with the sociocultural environment in which it is to be introduced (its sociocultural-feasibility); (2) the likelihood that the new practices or institutions introduced among the initial project target population will be diffused among other groups (i.e., the spread effect); and (3) the social impact or distribution of benefits and burdens among different groups, both within the initial project population and beyond.

"A central substantive concept of AID policy is the need to assure the wide and significant participation of the poor in the development process. In this sense, "participation" means not only sharing the economic benefits and contribution of resources but also involvement in the processes of problem identification and solution, subproject selection and design, implementation and evaluation. The participation approach to development demands that AID project designers and implementors have a much deeper understanding of the sociocultural setting of projects than has been required in the past" (USAID 1978b: 1).

Readers interested in a complete outline of the specific sociocultural analyses and factors required by USAID for a social soundness analysis are referred to "Social Soundness Analysis," Appendix 4A (1978), pp. 1-12, of the AID HANDBOOK (vol. 3).

⁶As more anthropologists and other social scientists work on short-term project design and evaluation assignments for USAID and other international agencies, a greater concern has focused on the development of social science methodologies which can allow a consultant to produce an effective social soundness analysis in a relatively short period of time. Several sources which the reader will find useful include the following: (1) The cultural appraisal of development projects by Glynn Cochrane (1979, New York: Praeger); (2) Indigenous knowledge systems and development co-edited by David Brokensha, D. M. Warren, and Oswald Werner (1980, Lanham, MD.: University Press of America);

(3) "Rural poverty unperceived: problems and remedies" by Robert Chambers (paper presented at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, March 1980);

(4) "Shortcut methods in information gathering for rural development projects" by Robert Chambers (paper presented at the World Bank Agricultural Sector Symposium, January 1980);

(5) 44 papers presented at the Conference on Rapid Rural Appraisal held at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton BN1 9RE UK. A particularly useful paper was presented at that conference by George Honadle, "Rapid reconnaissance approaches to organizational analysis for development administration" and is available through Development Alternatives, Inc., 1823 Jefferson Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

(6) "On the art and craft of collecting data in developing countries," by Joseph Ascroft (paper presented to the Workshop on Field Data Collection in Rural Areas of Africa and the Middle East, Beirut, 8-14 December 1974).

A.I.D. Evaluation Publications include several invaluable series begun in 1979 including the following: (1) Program Evaluation Discussion Papers; (2) Evaluation Reports: Program Evaluations; (3) Evaluation Reports: Project Impact Evaluations; (4) Evaluation Reports: Special Studies; and (5) Program Design and Evaluation Methods. The Manager's Guide to Data Collection, no. 1 in the Program Design and Evaluation Methods series, November 1979, is very useful. All documents in these series are available at no cost through the Office of Evaluation, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, Agency for International Development, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20523.

Other sources include the Monograph Series of the Rural Development Committee at Cornell University. Feasibility and application of rural development participation: a state-of-the-art paper, monograph no. 3, by Norman T. Uphoff, John M. Cohen, and Arthur A. Goldsmith, is highly recommended.

The materials being developed for use in the Development Advisory Team Training Program will be available as a training manual later in 1981 through the World Food Institute at Iowa State University

⁷Prior to the enactment of the 1971 Local Government Act, district council authorities were required to collect numerous revenues within the district administrative area, most of which were forwarded to the central government in Accra. The decisions for redistribution of these revenues were made in Accra. Because most of the monies collected within a district were not to be used for development in that district, there was a distinct lack of motivation by district revenue collectors to bother about collecting all of the potential revenues in the district—particularly in remote areas. Moreover, various mechanisms developed to "retain" district revenues before they were "lost" to the central government. Since these retained revenues could not be entered on district account books, most of the revenues retained were used for individual ventures, frequently of a personal or commercial nature and hence without any particular economic multiplier effect for the district.

In part due to the personal advantages of this retention system for a limited number of district revenue collectors and officials, and in part due to the lack of knowledge and understanding of the 1971 Local Government Act by district inhabitants, these behaviors have continued to the distinct disadvantage of the district and its development plans.

In early training sessions we discovered that no district council had a complete list of collectible revenues and hence no estimate of total collectable revenue in the district. We worked with the Commissioner for Valuation, Ministry of Local Government, Accra, to tabulate into a checklist all potential revenues which the 1971 Act allowed the district administrative authorities to collect and retain for development purposes within the district. We then developed this checklist into a training exercise on the role of data in the planning process. Teams worked up estimates and produced revenue charts showing what the potential total revenue for each type of revenue could be. Part of the training exercise was to produce a large "potential revenue" chart for the district which would be displayed publicly. Since each district is divided into wards, each of which is represented on the district council by an elected councillor, we decided to list each collectible revenue item with the cumulative estimate by wards. For example, item one, basic rate, would have an estimated amount collectible within ward one; ward two's amount would be added on the graph line to ward one and so on through the total number of wards. The total available for the district for that item would be the cumulative total for all wards. The lines would be shaded in to match up with actual amounts collected for each ward, making it clear to everyone which wards were paying and which weren't. The cumulative total was always far larger than

anyone in the training session would have imagined. We then compared the estimated potential total revenue with the amount deposited the previous year in the district treasury, usually 10-20% of the estimated potential total. This type of exercise has had a dramatic effect on the management of these revenues in some districts; in some districts the revenues deposited in the district treasury have increased over the previous year three to four times.

The types of revenues which can be collected and retained include (1) rates (such as property rates and the basic rate, a head tax for every adult residing within the district); (2) land revenues (such as the share of stool land revenue which should go into the district treasury); (3) fees and tolls (the 25 of these include market tolls, lorry park tolls, conservancy fees, building permits, marriage and divorce registration fees, and fees for the operation of trading kiosks); (4) licenses (the 41 types of licenses include those for palm wine sellers, palm wine tappers, hawkers, spirit/beer/wine sellers, chop bar keepers, letter writers, bicycles, taxi cabs and taxi drivers, hand cart operators, contractors, carpenters, vulcanisers, shoe makers and numerous others); (5) interest on investment (the district treasury can invest in treasury bills and in post office and commercial bank savings accounts and use the interest); (6) rents (the district council can rent its property such as rest houses, chop bars at lorry parks, housing); (7) trading services (such as the operation of a district council canteen, the charges collectible for the use of council building block machines, the monies obtained through council revenue earning projects such as a transport service and sales of produce from council operated farms); (8) reimbursements (fees from central government departments and agencies for the maintenance and improvement of roads in the district, sanitation services provided Ghana Railways, and others); (9) grants-in-aid (central government monies which can be obtained for school rehabilitation or sanitation development projects); and (10) miscellaneous monies (such as recovery of legal expenses, over-payment returns, sale of unserviceable goods).

⁸Dr. Klonglan presented an extensive social soundness analysis in the Economic and Rural Development Management Project Paper (see Asiedu-Ntow, et al. under References). He included "an ethnoscientific analysis of Ghanaian beliefs about development, participation, coordination and planning" (p.28). The Local Government Act was discussed in a historical framework that included colonial administrative structures which have been maintained into the present era, as well as an overview of indigenous administrative structures, all in a context of identifying participatory mechanisms which could facilitate the decentralization process.

Klonglan also considered the impact on a district of a program which focused on the initiation rather than only the implementation of integrated rural development activities. Changes he felt would occur in terms of both horizontal and vertical articulation in the planning process were very useful in the planning of the ERDM training program.

Klonglan found considerable motivation for participating in the proposed program among villagers, the district chief executives (having interviewed one-third of the 62 DCEs), the district and regional heads of government departments (75% interviewed reacted positively), and among district councillors (80% of those interviewed responded favorably to such a program).

In terms of the participatory profile for the proposed program and the spread effects of the program, Klonglan was able to recommend that various communication strategies including the adoption-diffusion model be worked into exercises for ERDM training programs. The impact of an apparent shift in power from the central government to district administrative units should the program be successful, was discussed in the section on social consequences and benefit incidence.

⁹ The Indigenous Network Communication model embraces five dimensions:
1) Ethnoscience Dimension; 2) Problem-Oriented Trans-Organization Dimension;
3) Transfer of Technology Dimension; 4) Evaluation and Attitude and
Behavioral Change Dimension; and 5) Training Institutes in Communication of
Human Learning Dimension. (See Hirabayashi, Warren and Owen, Jr. 1976: 60).

¹⁰ "Such a collaborative, problem-oriented approach transcends specific organiza-
tions or sectors and assumes certain change processes as important conditions:
(1) that it incorporates the priorities as defined by local communities into
the development planning process; (2) that the managerial strategy focuses
on a problem in its total context rather than on just a part with which a
particular group or agency might be concerned; (3) that there exists
equitable involvement by all those participating in the problem-solving
process; (4) that greater redistribution of the decision-making process
occurs through a system of incorporating local participation in the problem-
solving process; and (5) that all units work for a better distribution of
the benefits of development activities. Utilizing the technical practices
in the [Problem-Oriented Trans-Organizational] approach, the target groups
work to define the problem from all possible channels and perspectives
within the culture itself" (Hirabayashi, Warren and Owen, Jr. 1976: 63-64).

¹¹On September 4, 1977, the ERDM American team arrived in Ghana. The team was composed of Dr. Wilfred Owen, Jr., Mr. Moses Thompson, and Ms. Geraldine Brooks and me. Owen, on leave from the African Studies Program, University of Illinois, had worked four years in Ghana as a teacher and researcher on development topics, had a thorough knowledge of the history and administrative system of Ghana, and was married to a Ghanaian. Moses Thompson, former head of the African Program for Operations Crossroads Africa, had been to Ghana on 13 different occasions to set up Crossroads' rural development projects and knew the country very well. I had been a Peace Corps volunteer in Ghana, had spent a total of six years in the country, and was married to a Nigerian born in Ghana. The three of us had known each other for a decade. Ms. Geraldine Brooks was the fourth member. She was a management consultant who had worked with Peace Corps training programs in Ghana and had years of experience in designing and implementing training and management programs in Africa, the Caribbean, and the U.S. The project manager was Jerry Wood, a former Peace Corps volunteer in Thailand who had spent the previous six years working with USAID as a trainer in management, consulting and planning. He had been instrumental in establishing the Institute for Agricultural Management at Kwadaso near Kumasi, Ghana, another USAID program, 1975-1977. The five of us were to work as a national team, with each being responsible for the coordination of efforts in two of Ghana's regions. I lived in Kumasi and coordinated ERDM efforts in the Brong-Ahafo and Ashanti Regions; Owen lived in Tamale and organized the Upper and Northern Regions; Brooks worked out of Koforidua for the Eastern and Volta Regions; and Thompson was based in Takoradi to coordinate the Central and Western Regions. Wood was national coordinator on the American side; he worked with George Cann, the Ghanaian project director based in the Ministry of Economic Planning, with the National Coordinating Committee and National ERDM Secretariat in Accra and assisted with training programs in the Greater Accra Region.

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12. Trainer-Consultants came to ERDM from the Agricultural Development Bank, the Technology Consultancy Centre, the Department of Cooperatives, the Ministry of Economic Planning, the Ministry of Health, the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development, Ghana Educational Services, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Industrial Development Board, the Department of Town and Country Planning, and the Ministry of Local Government. A wide spectrum of ages and of junior and senior officials entered ERDM with an equally wide range of educational backgrounds (including some trainer-consultants with degrees or diplomas obtained in Russia, Germany, Britain, Canada, America, Israel, Zambia, Cameroons and Holland).

13. Anthropology departments which have programs in applied and development anthropology have increased in number in the past decade, due in part to the hiring of anthropologists with international development experience. Some programs make provision for a specialization in development and applied anthropology, while others have formal graduate degrees in the development area.

Departments with development and applied anthropology programs include those at Kentucky, South Florida, Arizona, SUNY-Binghamton, Iowa State, Boston and Florida.

Departments which include applied and development anthropology emphases in formal medical anthropology degree programs can be found at UC-Berkeley and UC-San Francisco, Case Western Reserve, Michigan State and Southern Methodist University.

APPENDIX: ERDM TRAINING EXERCISES

We designed a series of communications exercises to complement those used for many years in management/planning training programs in the USA, described in the Finch, Jones and Litterer (1976) text and in the Pfeiffer and Jones training handbooks (1973-1977). One exercise began with a series of quotes from nineteenth and early-twentieth century social scientists (such as Herbert Spencer) which portrayed Ghanaian and other Third World ethnic groups in very negative terms. The purpose was to portray the importance of perception and differential (emic vs etic) depiction of events in cross-cultural situations. We stressed the role of the consultant in the transfer of skills and abilities to a client by focusing on the problem as it is perceived and identified by the client, thus releasing the creative and productive potentials of the client. Innovations should be based on the client's felt needs. Using a systems approach to the communications process we stressed that effective communications across ethnic boundaries, across professional boundaries (e.g. between the Ministry of Health and Ministry of Agriculture) or across levels of a bureaucratic hierarchy are frequently distorted due to varying perceptions of a given event or phenomena. Examples of gross distortions of Ghanaian culture by an outsider were taken from A. B. Ellis who stated that the Akan (Twi-Fante) language has 350-400 words, none of them abstract, and that Ghanaians are able to count to ten only by using the fingers. Ellis, having missed the linguistic features of tone, nasalization, and terminal vowel length,

stated that one word had to serve for several meanings. Pápá (good), pàpá (father), and pàpà (fan) were all the same word to Ellis. He also declared that Ghanaians could not distinguish present and past tense, evidence that he could not perceive the difference between kã (speak) and kãã (spoke); and nsá (hand) and ñsã (palmwine) were said to be the same--because nasalization as a phonemic feature was missed. Spencer stated that "We forget that discriminations easy to us, are impossible to those who have but few words, all concrete in their meanings, and only rude propositional forms in which to combine these words....By such undeveloped grammatical structures, only the simplest thoughts can be rightly conveyed. We learn that among the lowest men inadequate words, indefinitely combined are also imperfectly pronounced" (Spencer 1877: 149).

Such writings tended to evoke strong and indignant reactions from the participants against the authors. Having set a volatile stage with these statements, teams were then asked to read an adaptation of Horace Miner's Nacirema article, with each team asked to present to the total group three adjectives which the team thought best described the Nacirema, and the degree to which the team felt the Nacirema would be receptive to their own district development programs. Invariably the descriptive terms used by teams were as negative (e.g. superstitious, primitive, inhuman, magic-ridden, bush, uncivilized, isolated) as the terms used in nineteenth century descriptions of Ghanaian ethnic groups. Most teams felt it would be a waste of time to try to work change programs through the Nacirema, since they would be extremely resistant to change and were very secretive. The impact of this exercise on participants

when they realized that the Nacirema represented a biased, outsider's view of certain American phenomena was important in bringing a more thorough understanding of differential perceptions and definitions of district development "problems" according to variant ethnic and academic perspectives.

The Nacirema exercise was reinforced by exercises in which inter-ethnic teams were expected to delineate the terms used by each ethnic group represented on the team to describe other ethnic groups and to weight these terms semantically in terms of negative, positive, or neutral factors. For members of dominant ethnic groups it became strikingly clear that "minor" ethnic groups described the dominant groups by terms just as negative as those used by the dominant groups to ridicule the less-dominant ethnic groups. This had a startlingly sobering effect on the self-perception by members of both types of ethnic groups.

Examples of terms and phrases which the Ga use to describe other ethnic groups include the Ewe as competent thieves; the Fante as "breezes," (i.e. good-for-nothings, people who don't build houses but prefer to sleep on the beaches, preferring to spend most of their money on food); the Kwahu as stingy (those who use only the head of the herring to make their soup); the Northern Ghanaians as slaves; the Ashanti as bat-eaters; the Sierra Leoneans as those whose hands are not free to greet but who have their spoons ready to eat as soon as invited; the Zabrama as donkeys (individuals who carry goods to earn their living); the Ibo as crickets (those who chatter late into the night); the Portuguese as those who smell like onions; the Ga from Labadi as those who are salt makers and never bathe. Adangbe speakers, closely related to the Ga,

describe the Ga, on the other hand, as small thieves and the Ewe as big thieves, and the Ashanti and other Akan as uncircumcized. Abusive labels are used by definable groups among the Adangbe themselves; e.g. the Krobo sub-group call the Ningo those who use bad juju, while the Ningo refer to the Krobo as head-cutters.

The intra-ethnic classifications were designed to discover the terms used by members of a given ethnic group to define and classify members of their own society who are regarded as progressive as opposed to those individuals who are less exposed to outside forces or those regarded as less ready to adapt to changing circumstances. All ethnic groups had such terms, such as "bush" (i.e. rural) as opposed to urban. Differing perceptions again became evident. The urban Adangbe refer to the rural folks as bush and unenlightened, to themselves as urban and enlightened; the rural Adangbe refer to the urban Adangbe as those who are usually hungry--and equally unenlightened. Stress in the exercise was placed on the role, functions, and nature of ethnicity, stereotypes and prejudices, and their role as constraining forces in inter-ethnically composed district councils.

It was discovered that no extension officers had ever been exposed to training in ways to formalize indigenous knowledge systems. One could find agricultural extension officers from southern Ghana posted to the districts of the Upper and Northern regions of Ghana and vice versa. None had any knowledge of ways in which local farmers defined and classified types of soils, and other agricultural phenomena. Moreover, given the stereotypes by southern Ghanaians of northerners as "simple" and relatively "primitive," one-way communications frequently prevailed. Officers from the Ministry of Health were

expected to operate in outreach programs in parts of Ghana where they did not understand the local language and also had minimal knowledge of ways in which diseases were locally perceived, defined, and classified and how such classification systems were linked to behavioral patterns to treat and prevent diseases. We designed exercises based on Western negative perceptions of Ghanaian indigenous healers and compared these with my research on the complexity of Akan disease classification systems (see Ademuwagun et al. 1979). Similar exercises were based on Western statements about Akan art as being based on a "primitive state of mind" (Segy 1975: 10) and "the product of primitive mentality or primitive reason" (Segy 1975: 6). We then compared these statements with the complex artistic taxonomies worked out by Kweku Andrews and myself (see Warren and Andrews 1977). Each group then was asked to delineate an ethnic knowledge system in skeletal taxonomic formats (e.g. soils, crop varieties, crop pests, diseases). It became rapidly clear that many of these systems were far more complex than had been anticipated. This exercise had a dramatic effect upon members of all ethnic groups (see Brokensha, Warren, and Werner 1980).

Exercises in inter-ethnic proxemic and kinesic communications difficulties were also designed, particularly in districts with international agency involvement. It was clear that the Ghanaian equivalent to the American "finger" was itself the American sign requesting a lift from a passing motorist. Differences in individual space/territory needs and in basic gestures, expressions, postures and their role in communications were enumerated and discussed.

Further exercises in differential perceptions of the "same thing" were conducted using well-established training exercises such as the 24 matchsticks or the nine dots exercises (see Pfeiffer and Jones 1973, vol. 4, pp. 99-103). The relationship between a person's control of communications and information flow and the power of the individual was examined through power play exercises. Exercises readapted for use in a Ghanaian format and context included broken squares (Pfeiffer and Jones 1974, vol. 1, pp. 25-30), one-way/two-way communications (Pfeiffer and Jones 1974, vol. 1, pp. 13-18), rumor clinic (Pfeiffer and Jones 1974, vol 2, pp. 12-15), force-field analysis (Pfeiffer and Jones 1974, vol. 2, pp. 79-84; and Finch et al. 1976a, pp. 262-264), power relations (Pfeiffer and Jones 1974, vol. 3, pp. 46-48), and numbers simulation (Finch et al. 1976a, p. 32).

Team building exercises adapted included lego man (Finch et al. 1976a, p. 207), Berkshire dominoes (Finch et al. 1976a, 63-68), and role plays (Finch et al. 1976a, pp. 107-123). One very illuminating exercise we designed focused on problem identification. An example used in the Ashanti Region is as follows:

"For a long time, the most important product of Lake Bosomtwi has been a small fish called apatre. Apatre are caught by the indigenous Ashanti fishermen using small hooks and nets, working by day and also by night with the use of kerosene lanterns. In 1975 kerosene and nets became scarce and costly. The catch diminished but the supply was still sufficient to meet the demand of the small nearby markets and the local population. Suddenly Zabrama aliens arrived with their larger nets. These nets were used to sweep through the lake bringing out even the most

tiny creature living there. The Ashanti fishermen feared that sooner or later there would not be any living creatures left in the lake. The aliens, besides having access to better storage facilities also had a wider market for their fish. A bitter dispute broke out between the two groups. The Zabrama, in the meantime, had established cordial relations with the lakeside chiefs--who seemed to be solidly behind the Zabrama fishermen."

Teams were asked to read the passage and identify the primary problem in this set of circumstances, to describe how the problem might be perceived and defined differently, to define who or what was causing the problem, who was being affected by it, and how the problem might be resolved and what alternative solutions might be defined for it.

This was an excellent exercise to show differential perception of both a problem and solution. Those officers trained in technical approaches to identifying and solving problems (e.g. heads of the Highways Authority, Electricity Corporation, Water and Sewerage Corporation, Department of Town and Country Planning) tended to focus on the technical advantage of the Zabrama; individuals trained to view problems in social terms (e.g. heads of Department of Social Welfare and Community Development, Department of Rural Development, Ghana Educational Services, Ministry of Health) tended to focus on the social relationships, on power and economic relationships, and on ecological perspectives. The fact that it was difficult to come up with a "primary" problem and solution was due to the difficulty most individuals faced in viewing the various academically-oriented perspectives as being complementary, not necessarily conflicting, views of a set of phenomena, views which should be regarded as a rich human resource in the district. This explained many of the

conflicts in the council where an individual would fight to have his or her view recognized as the correct one with other views being considered wrong or insufficient.

Ways to improve decision-making in complex groups which were introduced and practiced were brainstorming (see Pfeiffer and Jones 1974, vol. 3, pp. 14-16, and Delp et al. 1977, pp. 3-5), nominal group technique (See Delp et al. 1977, pp. 14-18), and consensus (see Pfeiffer and Jones 1973, vol. 4, pp. 51-65).

Another exercise involved understanding that one's self may be part of a given "problem". This led us into the design of training modules for situational management, motivation, and productivity. Many of these materials were adapted from McGregor's earlier theories of X and Y, followed by Redden's material including the three-dimensional management style diagnosis text which matched participants' perceived managerial behavior with eight ideal types, four effective (bureaucrat, developer, benevolent autocrat, and executive) and four matching ineffective styles (deserter, missionary, autocrat, and compromiser). This examination produced dramatic results in terms of personal insights into one's managerial style. It was also used to provide feedback to regional heads of departments, particularly in instances where a majority of the district heads were operating in ineffective styles, especially the least effective style (deserter). In districts where District Officers appeared to have been forced into the deserter mold, we expanded the exercise to identify District Officers' attitudes toward themselves, their bosses, and their subordinate workers (see exercises in Finch et al. 1976a, pp. 99-105). In eight district council training

sessions the majority of the terms used by District Officers to describe their technical officers were negative (e.g. lazy, hostile, unproductive). District Officers saw their own regional officers as corrupt, arrogant, and selfish, and themselves as humble, hardworking, punctual, and kind! In feedback sessions we could show district officers that their regional officers viewed them in the same negative way that the district officers viewed their own technical officers. We discussed the possibility that technical officers might view their district officers in ways equally as negative as the district officers viewed their regional bosses. The emphasis was based on the Johari Window (see Finch et al. 1976a, pp. 169-71) exercise, improving one's insights into the ways outsiders view oneself. Motivation and productivity studies dating back to Maslow and up through Drucker and Herzberg were discussed (see summaries in Finch et al. 1976a and b).

Considerable time was spent learning to write measurable objectives (see Mali 1972), gaining background in Gantt charting (see Delp et al. 1977, pp. 252-259), Log frames (see Delp et al. 1977, pp. 260-264, and USAID 1973, 1974a and 1974b), and CPM and PERT (see Delp et al. 1977, pp. 241-251). The role of data in planning was stressed in several practical exercises designed: 1) to define the resource base of the district from all perspectives, 2) to begin the production of a District Development Handbook, 3) to set up a district economic planning operations room where data from all departments could be displayed for council planning, 4) to write the first draft of an integrated district development plan and budget, 5) to organize a revenue collection control exercise, and 6) to produce monthly reports by district officers and district councillors based on Management by Objectives which would be

distributed to all other heads of departments and councillors. Emphasis in training was placed on gathering solid data from a systems perspective to understand the difficult economic situation Ghana found itself in. Participants discussed the future of decentralization efforts given the following: 1) a rapidly growing population; 2) a decline in agricultural productivity; 3) a decline in cocoa production--which provides 60% of the foreign exchange for Ghana--as land for cash crops is being shifted into subsistence crops; 4) the rapid decline in Ghana's timber resource (which currently provides 30% of Ghana's foreign exchange); 5) the role of the civil service--nearly 300,000 strong, a tremendous burden on the national treasury, but very unproductive.

District revenue control exercises conducted indicated vividly that not only had not a single district an accurate idea of the potential revenue available, but when estimates were made in the training session it became clear that no council in Ghana was receiving into its treasury more than 20% of its potential revenue. This indicated a tremendous internal financial loss for a district.

The three-week training sessions finished with a two-day complex exercise, the Rural Road Construction exercise, designed by Bill Berg and Jerry Wood of USAID. Designed to simulate a managerial and planning situation as complex as those which occur in reality, it forced teams to put into action all of the managerial and planning exercises covered in the previous days.

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