

# The Devolution Revolution:

## Implications for Agricultural Service Delivery in Ghana

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# What is devolution?

## Devolution

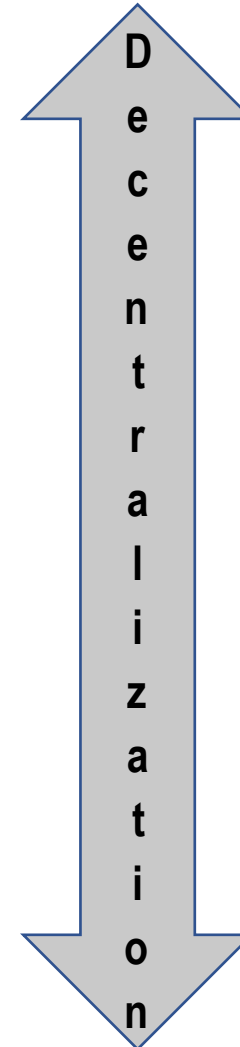
- Transfer of authority, autonomy, and accountability to sub-national governments
- Citizens need modality of accountability, e.g. elections

## Delegation

- Transfers responsibility for decision-making and administration for *some* services
- Accountability is upwards

## Deconcentration

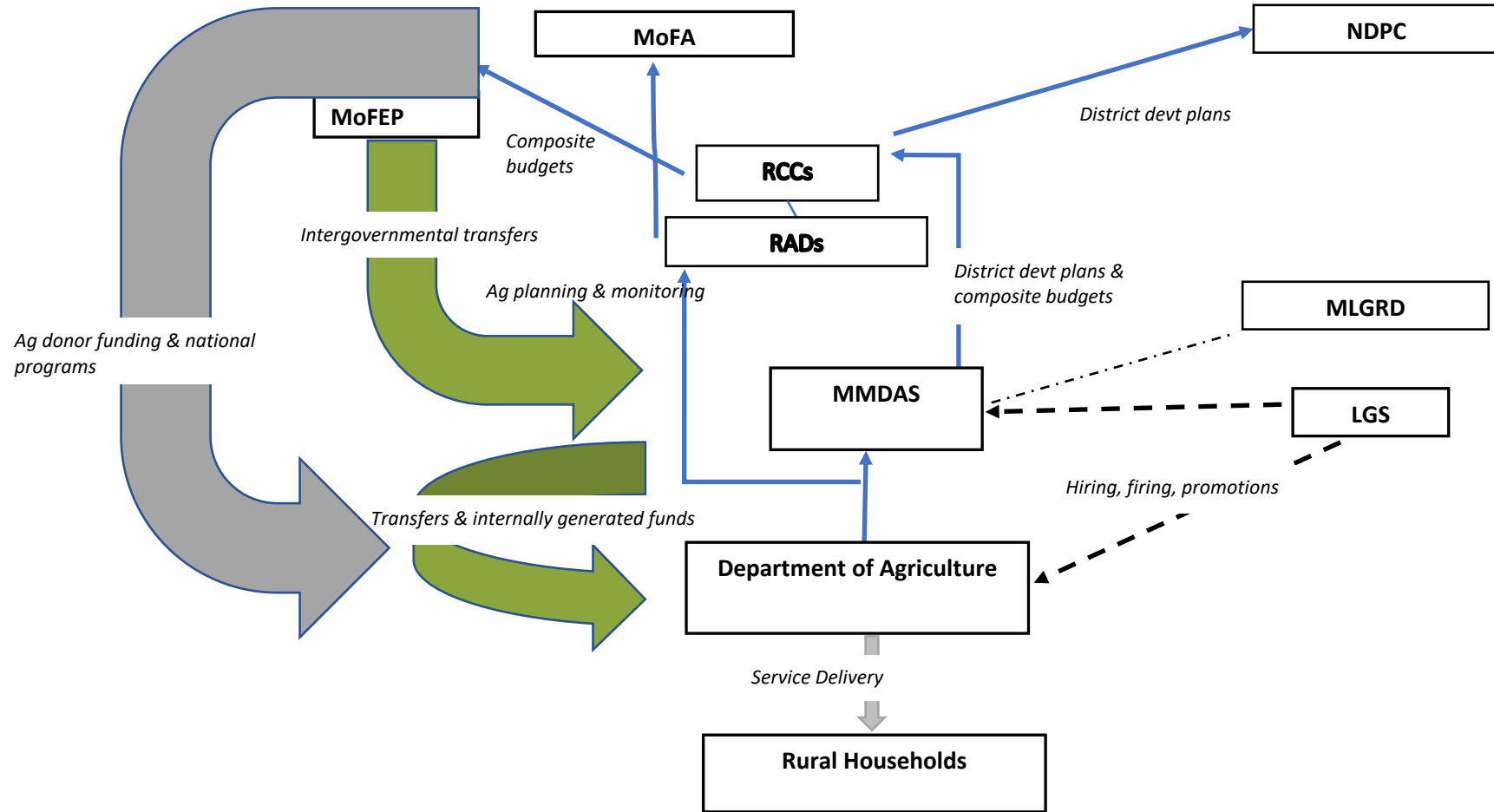
- Transfers responsibility for implementation to branch offices
- No transfer of budgeting or human resources
- Accountability is upwards



*Most comprehensive*

*Least comprehensive*

# Institutional Landscape



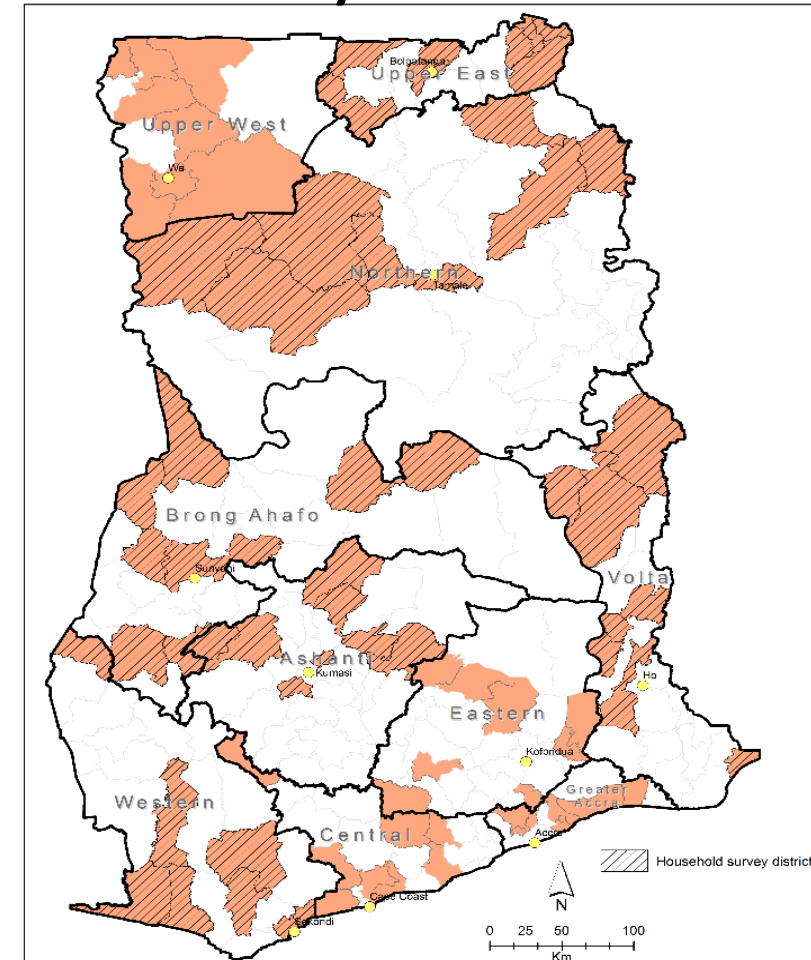
- MoFEP - Ministry of Finance & Economic Planning
- MoFA - Ministry of Food & Agriculture
- NDPC - National Development Planning Commission
- MLGRD - Ministry of Local Government & Rural Development
- RADUs - Regional Agriculture Departments
- RCCs - Regional Coordinating Councils
- MMDAs - Metropolitan, Municipal, District Assemblies
- LGS - Local Government Services

# Data Sources

## Four sources

- 1) Survey with 80 district directors of agriculture (DDAs) across all 10 regions
- 2) Survey with 960 households in 6 regions
- 3) Composite budgets for all 216 districts
- 4) Semi-structured interviews with Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Ministry of Finance, Local Government Services, and District Coordinating Directors

## Survey Districts



# Overview of DDA Sample

Variable	Mean/Frequency (%)
Female	24.0
Age	54.3
<i>Highest qualification achieved</i>	
Diploma/certificate	1.3
Bachelor's	52.5
Masters	41.3
PhD	5.0
<i>Focus of highest qualification</i>	
Agricultural Economics & Engineering	23.8
Agricultural Extension & Technology	25.0
Agricultural or Business Management and administration	6.3
Agronomy	11.3
Animal/Veterinary Science	3.8
Crop Science & plant pathology	8.8
Economics	2.0
Environmental Management & Engineering	7.5
Horticulture	6.3
Human resources	1.3
Other	4.0
Share working in region where they were born	35.0
Length of time working with MoFA (Months)	337.0
Length of tenure in present district (Months)	44.7

Source: IFPRI-CDD District Director of Agriculture Devolution of Agriculture Survey

# Two Key Budget Challenges

## 1) DDAs negotiate budgets with other departments & politicians vote on budget

- “The District Assembly is usually concerned with physical structures and our department renders services”  
*(DDA, Upper East)*
- “They don’t see us as a department that brings money to the district but rather that we take from them”  
*(DDA, Greater Accra)*
- “During composite budget preparation, much attention is given to physical projects. Politicians are interested in school blocks, CHPS compounds, things that are physical. Agriculture isn’t tangible” *(DCD, Central)*

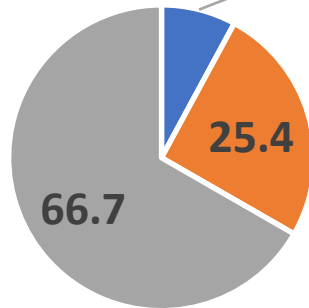
# Two Key Budget Challenges

## 2) Long channel of disbursements

- Most money now comes to Dept. of Agriculture via the Metro, Municipal, and District Assemblies (MMDA)
- MMDA in turn receives from Ministry of Finance

### Level of Disbursements

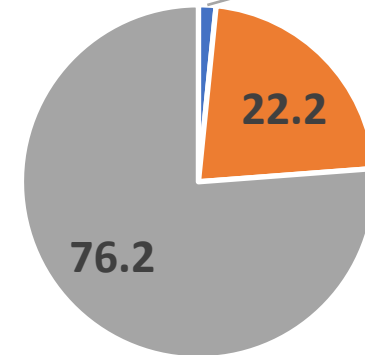
Percent who Agree (%) 7.9



■ Increased ■ No change ■ Decreased

### Timeliness of Disbursements

Percent who Agree (%) 1.6



■ Improved ■ No change ■ Worsened

# Fewer Resources

**Do you feel that you personally fund more field visits now than you did prior to the 2012 devolution transition?**

Response	Percentage (%)
Yes, I personally fund more visits now	72.7
No, I personally funded more visits before	10.4
There is no change for me	3.9
Don't know	1.3
Not in the district prior to 2012	11.7
Total	100.0

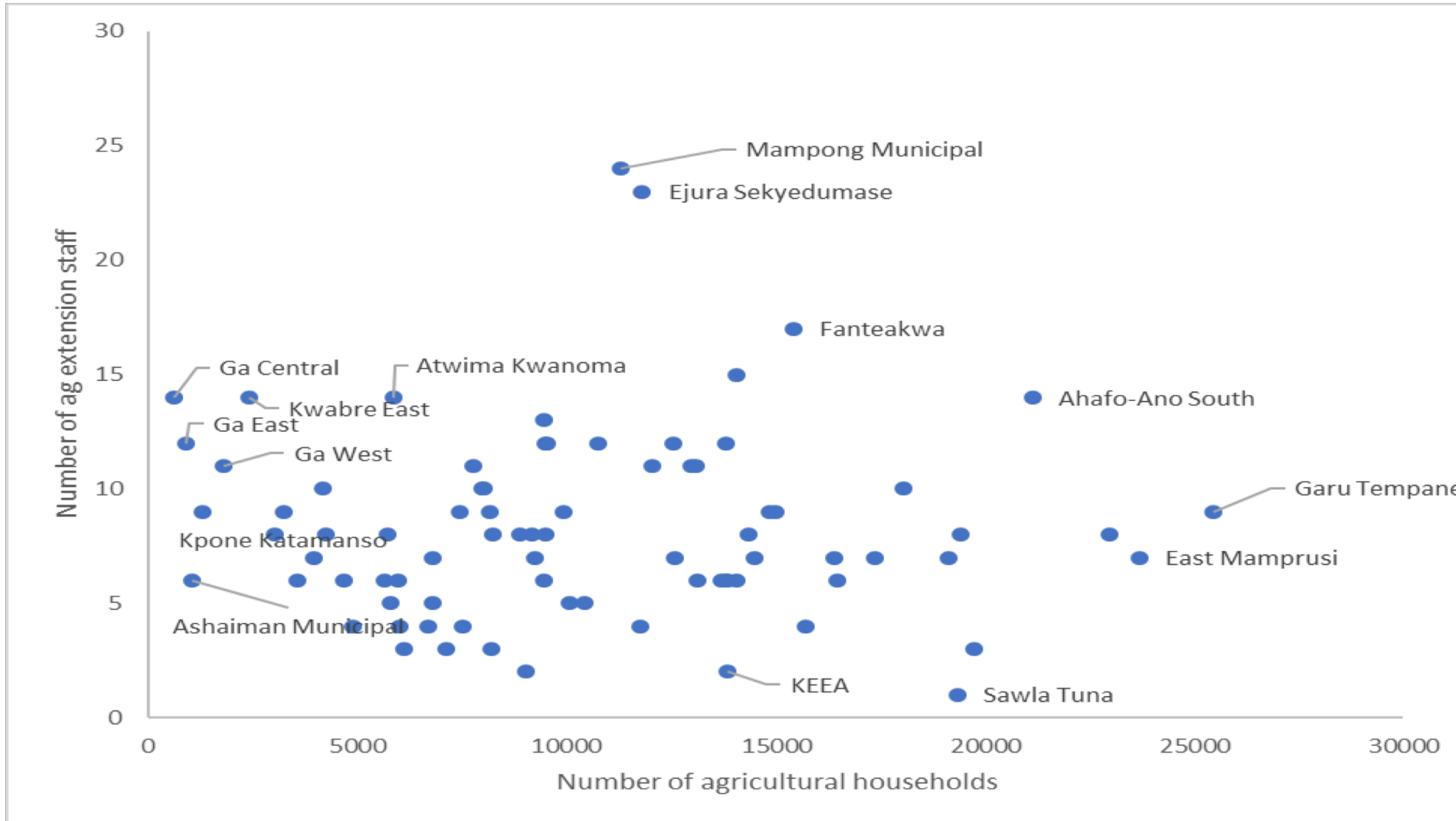
Source: IFPRI-CDD District Director of Agriculture Devolution of Agriculture Survey

**On average, each Dept. of Agriculture office has 39 percent of staff positions vacant**

- More than half report number of extension agents has decreased since they arrived in district



# Continued Urban Bias in Extension Staff



Source: Calculated from GSS (2014) and IFPRI-CDD District Director of Agriculture Devolution of Agriculture Survey

# Budgeted Expenditures

**Average MMDA budgeted expenditures by sector as share of total expenditures (%),  
across districts**

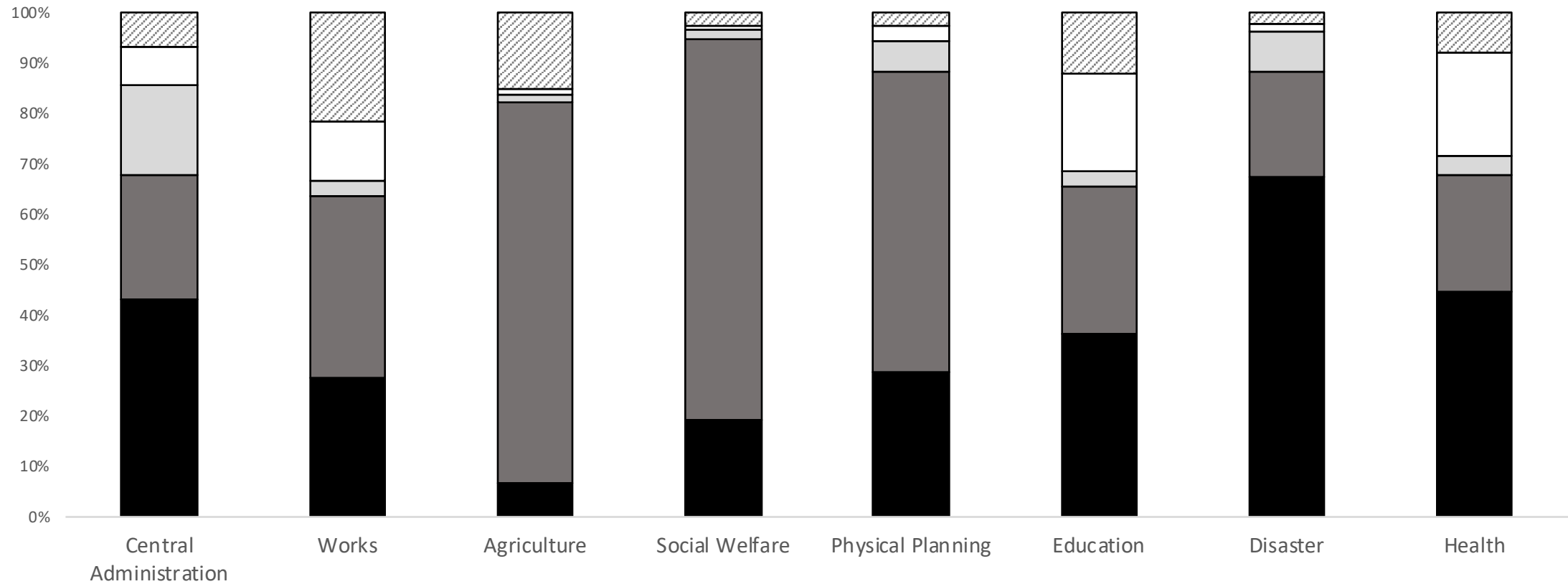
<b>Sector</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>	<b>2016</b>
Agriculture*	7.9	9.2	7.9	6.3	7.4
Central Administration	52.3	47.8	47.9	45.5	41.2
Disaster Prevention	0.6	0.5	0.9	1.0	0.7
Education, Sports, & Youth	18.6	19.2	17.1	18.8	17.3
Health	8.3	9.1	9.2	10.4	13.7
Physical Planning	0.9	0.8	1.5	1.2	1.6
Social Welfare & Community Development*	0.9	2.0	2.6	3.0	3.2
Works*	10.5	11.4	13.0	13.7	14.9
Number of districts	112	126	152	116	171

Source: Calculated from district composite budgets from MoFEP.

Notes: The shares do not total 100 percent due to the exclusion of sectors that are relevant to the municipal and metropolitan assemblies but not the district assemblies.

\* Symbolizes devolved rather than deconcentrated sector.

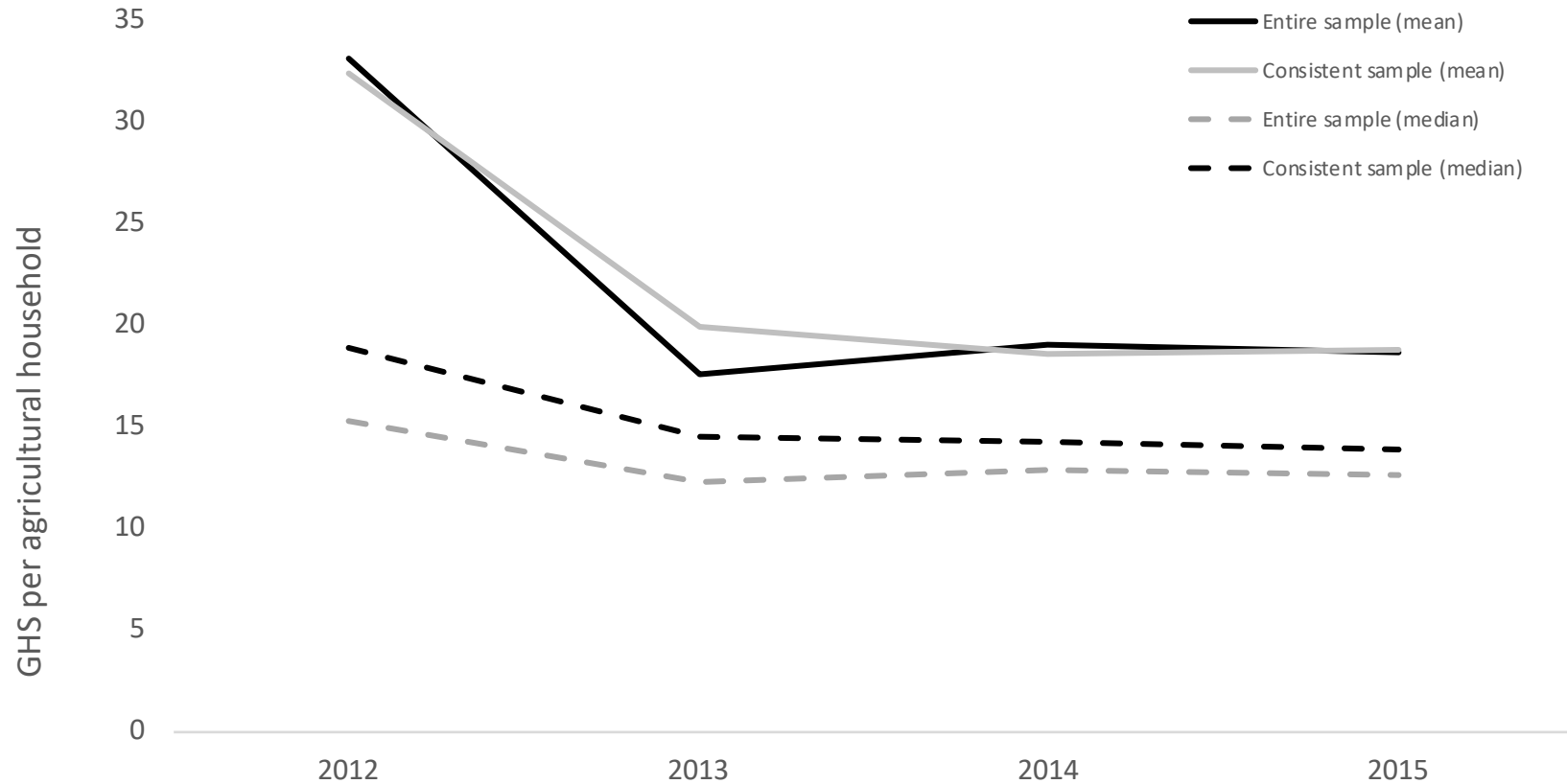
# Funding for Agricultural Expenditures, Average Budgeted (2012-2016)



Source: Calculated from composite budgets

Notes: DACF = District Assembly Common Fund; GoG = Govt of Ghana; IGF = Internally-generated funds; DDF = District Development Facility

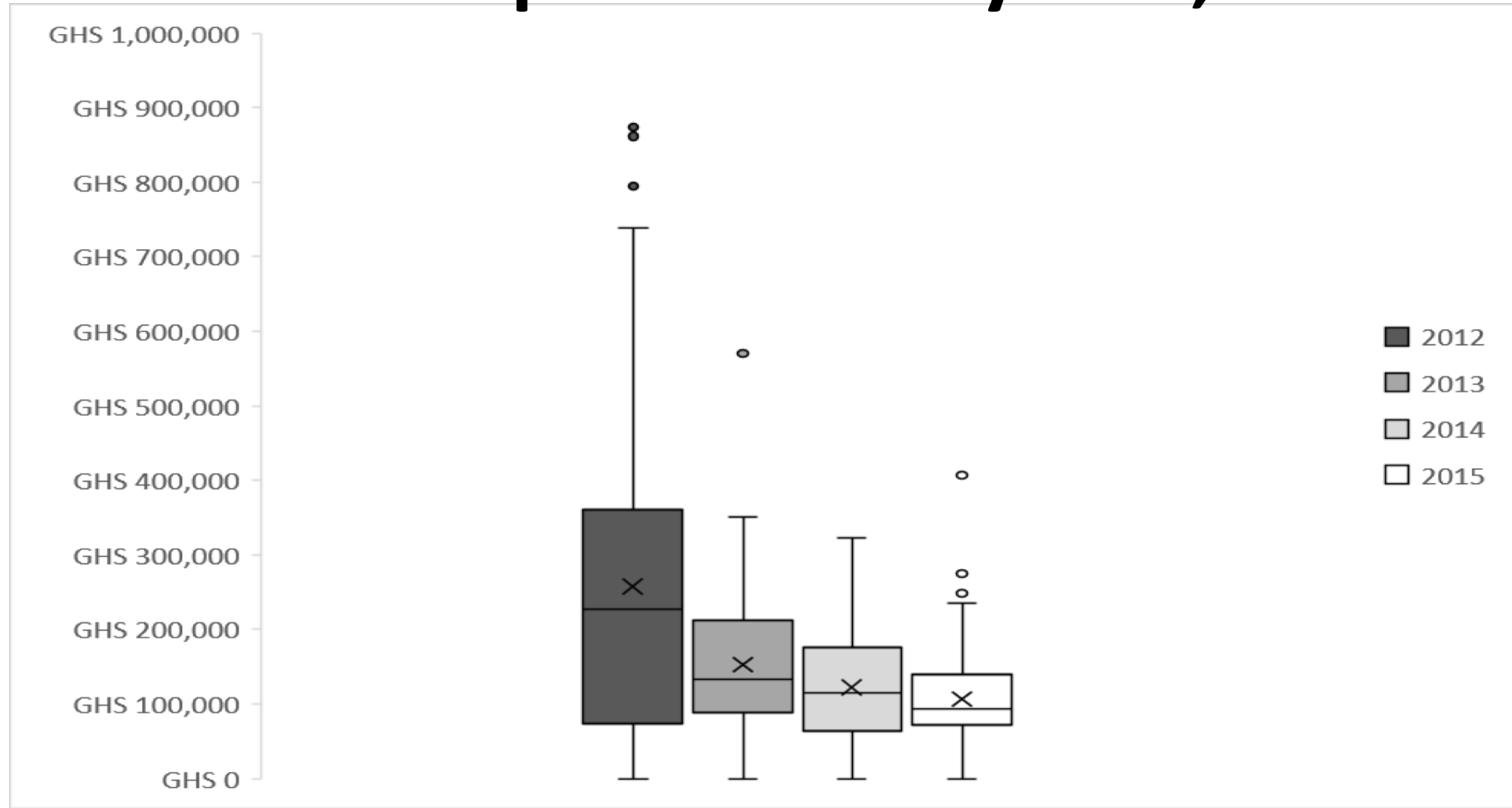
# Average Distribution of Actual Agricultural Expenditures per Agricultural Households by Year, across Districts



Source: Calculated from district composite budgets from MoFEP and the district census data.

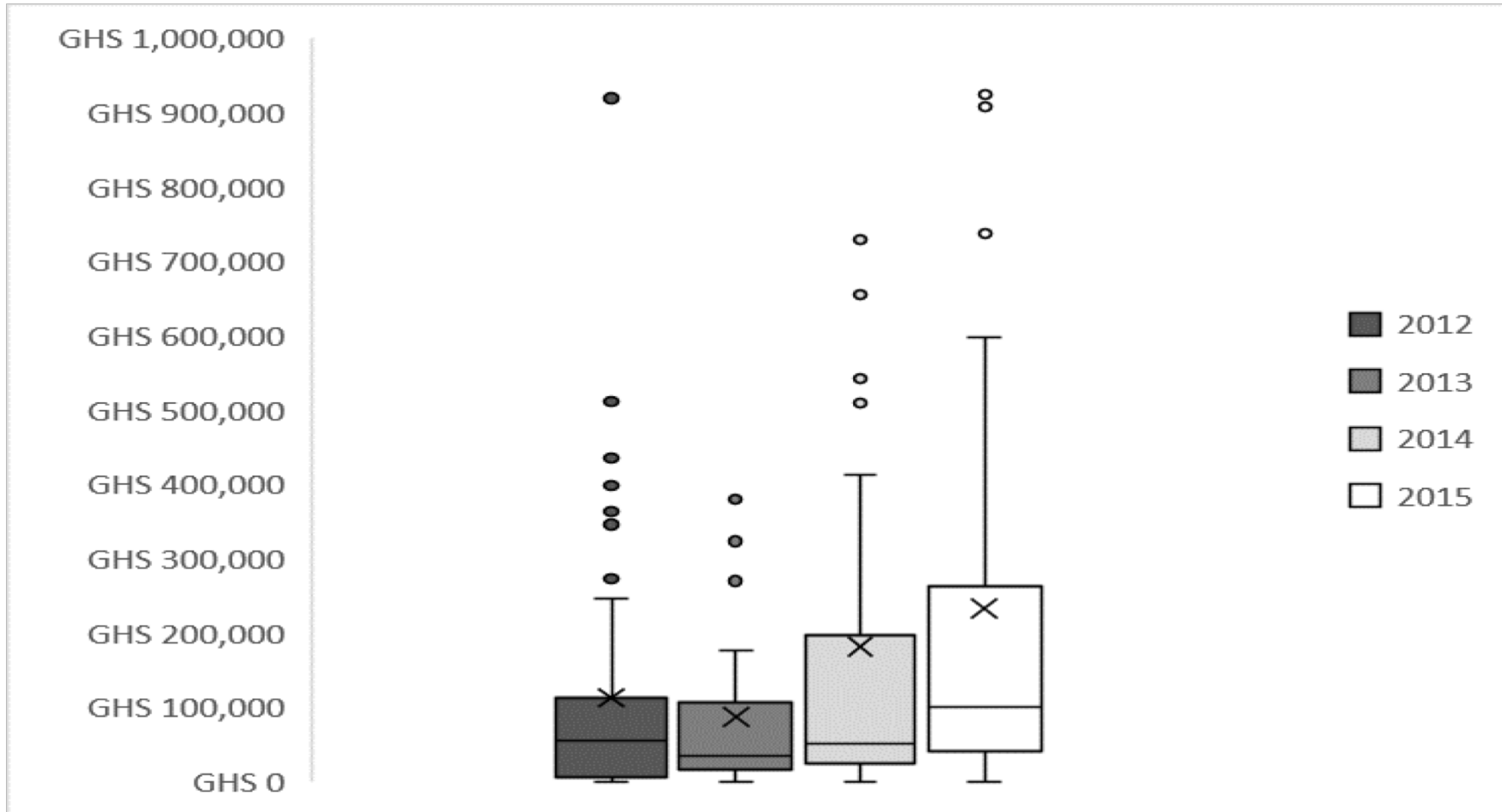
Notes: "Entire sample" refers to calculations conducted over the entire range of available data for that year; N= 126 in 2012, 149 in 2013, 157 in 2014 and 135 in 2015. "Consistent sample" uses the smaller set of districts where data is available for all years, resulting in N=72.

# Distribution of MMDA Actual Agricultural Expenditures by Year, Real Terms



Source: MMDA composite budgets from MoFEP  
Notes: The budgets are all in constant 2012 GHS

# Distribution of MMDA Actual Works Expenditures by Year, Real Terms



Source: MMDA composite budgets from MoFEP

Notes: The budgets are all in constant 2012 GHS

# Citizen Preferences

Most preferred option for investment of additional 2 million GHS of tax money

Preferences	Full sample	Non-farmers	Farmers	Responsible MMDA Department
Improve healthcare	22.3	28.5	19.9	Health
Build and maintain roads/bridges/dams	16.2	14.8	16.7	Works
Expand access to clean drinking water	15.4	12.2	16.7	Works
Improve schooling	13.5	17	12.2	Education
Improve electricity infrastructure	8.0	5.9	8.8	Central administration
Provide seed/fertilizer subsidies	7.6	1.9	9.9	Agriculture
Sanitation (toilets, drainage, garbage collection)	4.4	4.4	4.4	Works
Expand agricultural extension services	4.1	2.2	4.8	Agriculture
Other	2.6	5.9	1.3	-----
Establish or improve marketplaces	2.1	1.9	2.2	Central administration
Loans and grants	2.0	3.3	1.5	Social Welfare
Job creation	1.3	1.1	1.3	----
Factories	0.5	0.7	0.4	-----
Provide agricultural equipment (sprayers, tractors)	0.1	0.1	0.1	Agriculture
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	----
<b>N</b>	<b>960</b>	<b>270</b>	<b>690</b>	

# Conclusions & Implications

- **Important reasons to be positive about devolution thus far**
  - Creation of the Local Government Service has motivated DDAs
  - Relationships with MMDAs have improved over time
  - Citizens embrace accountability
- **Funding is the overarching constraint**
  - Strong belief this has worsened since devolution
  - Staffing, equipment, and services believed to have been affected
- **Policy inconsistencies**
  - National ag programs divert resources back to the center, earmarking undermines autonomy of MMDAs
  - District proliferation most pronounced in rural areas but undermines IGF



# Conclusions & Implications

- **Devolution per se is not at fault but broader intergovernmental fiscal framework**
  - Functions were allocated before financing
  - Disbursement time lags need to be addressed
  - Earmarks on DACF should be reconsidered
- **DDAs would benefit from budget and management training**
- **Leads to key questions about the devolution trend**
  - How to respect local governance priorities and autonomy without forfeiting national agricultural policy objectives?
  - How to ensure service provision to avoid citizen disillusionment with devolution?

# More information at:

<https://www.canr.msu.edu/resources/the-devolution-revolution-implications-for-agricultural-service-delivery-in-ghana>