

**INFRASTRUCTURE DELIVERY IN RAPIDLY  
URBANISING COMMUNAL LANDS:  
CASE STUDIES IN GHANA**

**By**

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CASE STUDIES IN GHANA**

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## DECLARATION

I, Sylvester Y. Gyogluu, hereby declare that the contents of this thesis represent my own work, and that it has not been submitted previously for academic examination towards any qualification at any tertiary institution. Furthermore, it represents my own opinions and not necessarily those of the Cape Peninsula University of Technology.



**Sylvester Y. Gyogluu**

## ABSTRACT

The research focuses on urbanising communities in the peri-urban areas of the Tamale Metropolitan Area (TAMA) of Ghana and the inability of the urban authorities to provide adequate basic infrastructure services. Using a mix of qualitative and quantitative research approaches, the author observed that the development planning paradigms practiced over the years placed urban planning and service delivery in a centralised paradigm which cannot respond adequately to the increasing pressures of urbanisation, nor offer opportunities for the involvement of communities due to this top-down planning approach.

The research in fact identified that the communities, through their own initiatives have planned and executed service projects to improve their lives in some respects where the TAMA has failed. The communities have achieved this due to their spirit of social solidarity, self-help and communalism built around their traditional chiefs, which incorporates some of the principles of Local Agenda 21. The TAMA sees this development as an opportunity to henceforth forge collaboration and partnerships with the traditional authorities for improved service delivery in the urbanising communities. This represents innovative urban planning and management approaches, which in the context of low-income urban communities, includes participatory planning and service delivery.

These innovative approaches have been initiated in the Habitat Agenda emanating from the UN Conference on Human Settlements in 1996. The study advocates the concept of sustainable development and Agenda 21, as a working model which presents a participatory and integrative process for local authorities and communities to work towards urban improvements. The Local Agenda 21 planning approach, it is argued, will integrate and strengthen the already existing local community initiatives and provide a basis for partnerships and improved service delivery.

The case – studies examined are the Tamale Metropolitan Area and the peri-urban settlements *Jusonayili* and *Gumah*.

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.0 Sustainable Development**

The world has witnessed great strides in development, which has brought improvements in the lives of people. However the advances in development aided by science and technology have brought their own problems. Some development activities have created pollution, acid rain, environmental degradation, and destruction of resources, which threaten the lives of the human race. There is the movement of people to the cities in search of jobs and other aspirations resulting in overcrowding, inadequate basic services, slums and crime among others. These growing problems and threats to life sustaining resources have focused the world's attention on the need for sustainable development.

Sustainable development has been defined in various ways but the generally accepted one is from the United Nations Conference on the Earth and Development, as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987). The definition has two concerns, viz "the needs of today" and "the needs of tomorrow". Thus the challenge of sustainability as briefly put by Beatley and Manning (1997) is that human activities do not compromise our essential social and national support systems either now or in the future.

#### **1.1 Sustainable Development, Urbanisation and Peri-Urban Settlements**

Urbanisation in third world countries particularly Sub-Saharan Africa poses challenges to the achievement of the goals of sustainable development. Under conditions of rapid urban expansion, such enormous pressure is placed on the environment and urban services, (the "present needs") that achieving sustainable development is a daunting task. According to the UN (2000), it is estimated that the world population will expand

from 6.1 billion to 7.8 billion between 2000 and 2025 and 90 percent of this growth will occur in urban areas of developing countries. By 2020, a majority of the population of developing countries will live in urban areas.

The majority of the urban growth is associated with the rapid growth of small urban centers and peri-urban areas (UN, 1999) of cities. Most often than not the developments in these urbanizing peri-urban communities are unplanned and informal as communities and developers take advantage of the weak regulatory capacity of governments authorities to reach them. This feature of the urbanisation process applies to sub-Saharan African cities as observed by Ogu (1999) on urbanization of Nigerian cities, in that there is rapid growth of suburban areas, often on communal lands and through suburbanization of peri-urban settlements at the outskirts of towns. These urbanizing peri - urban areas continue to grow and attract people because land is cheaper and affordable to the low - income earners who comprise the majority of the urban workforce. In the large cities of developing countries, 40-50% of the population lives in these areas. (UNCHS, 1987).

## **1.2 Urbanising Peri-Urban Communities and Infrastructure Challenges**

A basic problem of peri-urban development is the limited and often inadequate infrastructure provided by urban authorities. Peri-urban areas face greater basic infrastructure services inadequacy (e.g., water, access roads, electricity, drains) and lower standards of shelter than the core built-up areas. Kyessi (2005) in his work on water provision in the fringes of Dar es Salaam, which is similar to most African cities, noted the inadequacy of water and other basic infrastructure services in informal settlements and peri-urban parts of the city. According to Parkinson and Tayler (2003) even when infrastructure is provided in peri-urban communities this, often occurs in a piecemeal fashion or by a few residents who can afford it. The inadequate levels of services result in poor and deteriorating environments; this is contrary to sustainable urban development, which requires providing a healthy and sustainable living environment with basic services for all.

A core reason given for the above scenario is the inadequate urban development strategies African governments pursued over the years. The urban development and planning paradigms in Africa as noted by Stren (1987), Fakede (1996), UNCHS (1996) and Kyessi (2002) were modelled after western concepts that placed the delivery of infrastructure in centralised public agencies with a centralised, supply-driven approach to service delivery, which limited the participation of stakeholders (beneficiaries) and the informal sector in infrastructure delivery. The inadequacy of this approach to infrastructure provision has resulted in limited coverage of infrastructure as UNCHS (1996) reports that only 30% of Africa urban populations have piped water to their houses. The same report indicated that a third of the urban population lack hygienic means of excreta disposal. Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1989) also noted that only 2% of Bangkok population is connected to a sewer system, in Colombo 51% of households have piped connections, in Dar es Salaam 4.5% of households have toilets connected to septic tanks, and in Khartoum the sewerage coverage is only 5% of the urban area.

### **1.3 The Need for Innovative Approaches**

Despite this problematical scenario, it was seen as attractive to implement because large concentrations of people in urban centers offered opportunities for a centralised approach to service provision, with lower per capita costs of production (UN, 2001). Tayler and Parkinson (2003) have on the other hand indicated that the centralized system has been poor at reaching peri-urban areas, particularly as they fall outside municipal boundaries and have not been responsive to local needs and resources.

It is in response to the deficiencies of the centralized approaches that there has been increasing advocacy by multilateral organizations, aid agencies and scholars for bottom-up participatory approaches to the management of the urban environment which will involve broad participation of the public and private sectors, households and community organizations in urban development (Rondinelli & Kasarda, 1993). The bottom - up participatory approach to infrastructure delivery for resource - constrained African countries seems to hold the potential to address infrastructure deficiencies in peri-urban communities as successful examples from Peru and India among others indicate.

Hordijk (1999) and Dahiya (2003) in research conducted in the peri-urban areas of Lima (Peru) and Chennai (India) respectively found that the approach did increase the level of services to poor communities.

In accordance with the bottom - up and participatory trends, the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development (UNCED), the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) and the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI) consequently initiated strategies for participatory approaches to the development and management of the urban environment. One such strategy is the Local Agenda 21.

The Local Agenda 21 is a planning strategy which aims to provide urban authorities and communities an approach to work together for urban improvements and achieve sustainable urban development, as opposed to the traditional engineering methods of infrastructure delivery that are more centralised and non-participatory in nature. It involves the sensitisation, planning, mobilisation and participation of all stakeholders (public and private sector and communities) to work for urban infrastructure improvements. This approach could not be more timely than now as resource constraints facing urban authorities throughout the world have reduced their capacity to provide basic infrastructure services to peri-urban communities.

It is thus of concern that though the problems of infrastructure delivery in urban areas of developing countries are well known, little attention has been given to the problems of peri-urban-urban communities as noted by Brook and Davila (2000). In some instances the local leaders and their communities have been obliged to organise themselves to address infrastructure problems due to the inability of urban authorities to do this. Thus, could find solutions to infrastructure inadequacy in peri-urban communities rest with increasing involvement of the communities themselves? There is clearly the need for studies to see how the Local Agenda 21 could provide a framework for peri-urban communities to participate and build partnerships with urban authorities for improved infrastructure delivery.



This thesis therefore focuses on how the Local Agenda 21, as an approach, could facilitate improved infrastructure service delivery in the peri-urban communities of Tamale. Although the Local Agenda 21 approach is apparently attractive, it seems evident that it has been given limited application in Ghana as yet.

#### **1.4 Background to this Research**

The rate of urbanization in Ghana is 4.2%, (Ghana PHC, 2000) which is quite high in contemporary terms, compared with the average growth rate of 4.2% for Africa (World Bank, 2003) The growth in urbanization is not matched by corresponding growth and development of urban infrastructure facilities like roads, water and electricity. The District, Municipal and Metropolitan assemblies which are responsible for providing these services in collaboration with the service agencies have failed to respond adequately (Local Government Act 462, 1993).

The Tamale Metropolitan Assembly (TAMA), the main case study area, is no exception to this scenario. It is the fourth largest urban settlement in the country and growing rapidly. Its population was 297,000 in the year 2000 (Ghana PHC, 2000), nearly a 100% increase over its previous count of 150,000 in 1984. The physical growth is rapid in the peri-urban rural settlements, particularly residential development, which far outstrips the supply of infrastructure services. Inadequate resources have made the TAMA incapable of providing services to these fast growing peri-urban communities. It has resulted in unauthorized developments and encroachments on service areas, inefficient functioning of the metropolis and poor environments.

In the peri-urban communities, however, local chiefs over the years exercised control over them in terms of provision of infrastructure needs as the municipal authorities had weak contacts with them. Chiefs also sell lands held in trust for the community without any significant contribution to the development of services. Thus, Tamale Metropolitan Assembly (TAMA) authorities have wondered if, as an innovative method, a partnership forged with the chiefs and landlords of these peri-urban communities could be a solution to the inadequate infrastructure situation.

## **1.5 Statement of the Research Problem**

The major challenge or problem that the Tamale Metropolis faces in peri-urban development is the inability of the Assembly to provide these areas with satisfactory basic services needed for quality living due to rapid growth of these communities. However, local chiefs in the communities have in the past organised their people to provide minimum level of services. The Assembly is of the opinion that partnership with the chiefs and communities will enable it to deliver these services in a cost-effective manner and ensure sustainable urban development.

Partnerships are a necessary tool for improving human settlements as it broadens the planning process. It means that the partnerships should evolve from the planning process as partnerships can only produce good results if related to the entire development of the urban area. It is in the urban planning process that partnerships can best be forged and not at the end as commonly practiced when funding or other commitments are required, which might be the thinking of the metropolitan authorities (Davidson, 1996).

## **1.6 Objectives of the Study**

The main aim of the research is to investigate the prospects of a partnership, involving traditional authorities and their communities, in improving basic infrastructure services delivery to support sustainable development in Tamale.

To this end the research will pursue the following specific objectives:

Evaluate the present role and performance of the TAMA, infrastructure service agencies, Town Planning department, and the chiefs/landlords and communities in the planning and implementation of infrastructure services.

Examine sustainable development and LA21 as guidelines for the improvement of urban planning and management and delivery of services.

Formulate proposals that will be appropriate for traditional authorities, their communities and TAMA to work in partnership for improved infrastructure delivery in the urban development process.

## **1.7 Research Questions**

This thesis focuses on finding solutions to the research problem so as to achieve the stated objectives. The following questions therefore guided the research process.

Can a partnership between urban and traditional authorities help achieve the goals of sustainable development of Tamale?

How can LA21 principles promote a partnership between chiefs/landlords and the Assembly to improve upon the delivery of services and contribute to the overall development of Tamale?

Related to the above questions are the following supporting sub-questions:

How are urban areas currently planned and built in the country?

Are the methods adequate to address infrastructure delivery and ensure sustainable development?

How can the methods be changed to promote improved infrastructure delivery and sustainable development?

## **1.8 Research Design and Methods**

The details of research strategies and methods used are presented in Chapter Two but a summary will be presented here.

### **1.8.1 Population and Sample**

The population or target groups of the study were chiefs and elders, landlords and residents, officials of TAMA, the infrastructure agencies and relevant government departments. Four communities were purposefully selected as the sample communities for detail study and interviews. This was to give a balanced view of the level of infrastructure delivery in TAMA. A total of 60 houses were randomly selected among the

four communities and 180 landlords and residents (60 and 120 respectively) were expected to be covered. In fact, 111 residents and 53 landlords were interviewed. The sample was quite representative and the response adequate - 90%.

### **1.8.2 Data Collection**

The data collection was undertaken at two levels, namely literature review and field data collection in Ghana.

The field data was gathered through semi-structured interviews, observations, and documents analysis in both cities.

*Interviews.* Personal interviews were undertaken with the metropolitan authorities, the infrastructure and government agencies in Tamale. Chiefs/landlords and residents were interviewed only in Tamale. Interview guides were used for the institutions and semi-structured questionnaires for the Chiefs, landlords and residents.

*Observations.* This enabled the physical settings of the study area to be captured such as the extent, quality and other attributes of infrastructure services at a particular place.

*Meetings/discussions.* Meetings were held with government agencies, groups, and representatives of the traditional authorities before and after the fieldwork to share the findings and get feedback on the issues presented.

*Documents Consulted.* Publications and documented materials used were: reports, legislation, regulations, plans, projects, statistics and newspapers from government and private sources.

### **1.9 Data analysis**

Qualitative and some quantitative data were gathered. In analysing the qualitative data, appropriate patterns were derived and coded. The data was then analysed with the assistance of JSA Consultants, an Accra based development consultancy firm conversant with local government and service delivery in the country. The statistical software *Epi Info* was used and found appropriate, as it has been used variously for the assessment of the delivery of health, water, and poverty targeted projects by the World Health Organisation (WHO) and other agencies in developing countries.

### **1.10 Delineation of the Study Area**

The study was confined to the administrative areas of the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly (TAMA), though to a lesser extent, the situation of the eThekweni Municipal Council (EMC) in Durban South Africa, was also explored (an account of the latter appears as an annexure to this document). The infrastructure services that the study was concerned with were water, electricity and access roads. The sanitation aspect in Tamale is excluded from the study as it has been addressed recently under a Local Government/World Bank initiative. As mentioned, four communities in Tamale were selected for the administration of questionnaires to the chiefs/landlords and local residents. The communities were Jusonayili and Gumah to the north of the metropolis and Zujung and Banvim to the south. This selection was made for comparative purposes as the northern part of the metropolis is better endowed with services than the south. The communities also have population similarities of between 1,200 and 1,400.

This research also focuses on traditional authorities and their communities for a number of reasons:

Traditional authorities are a powerful force in the socio-economic and political life of the Ghanaian society, particularly in the study area. They have a hold on the land and its development as custodians of communal lands, and cannot be ignored in urban development.

Secondly, the inability of local authorities to carry out their responsibilities towards the electorate gives the traditional authorities greater power and influence in the communities. For local people, the traditional authorities are their option to assist them to access services when urban authorities fail to provide them. Therefore, it is important that local government authorities collaborate with them in the development and provision of services instead of sidelining them.

Local and traditional authorities all have the common objective of improving the quality of life of the people and it is a challenge for local governments to ensure that they both work towards the realization of this objective for sustainable development.

### **1.11 Significance of the Study**

Infrastructure services are generally inadequate for most urban areas in the country, like Tamale. The public, who want to see the benefits for the taxes they pay, normally blame the urban authorities for these inadequacies. The legislation and regulatory instruments have also duplicated functions of the Assembly and service providers, which further complicates the situation. The increasing demand for these services requires that the situation be improved quickly. TAMA accepts that the situation can only be improved through involvement of traditional authorities and their communities by adopting an appropriate urban planning and management framework. .

The study is therefore significant in the following ways:

Infrastructure deficiencies affect the quality of life of the populace. For example, inadequate water and sanitation results in diarrhea and malaria. According to the TAMA (2004) malaria and diarrhea was the top ranking diseases in the metropolis, which is related to poor infrastructure delivery. Malaria also accounts for 25% of recorded deaths. The development of adequate basic services ensures orderly development and reduces the incidence of unauthorized development on public use areas. The issue of encroachments on public use areas is a common occurrence in Tamale.

The study intends to provide insights as to how the principles of the LA21 could offer a planning framework for improved urban planning and management for improved service delivery. It will be of benefit to other assemblies trying to find ways of addressing infrastructure delivery.

Poor infrastructure is associated with poor environmental situations. The study intends to contribute to sound urban environmental conditions.

The study also intends to contribute to the growing knowledge of the various issues of urbanization and sustainable development.

### **1.12 Expected Outcomes of the Study**

Make suggestions that will facilitate the forging of partnerships between TMA and chiefs, which will improve upon infrastructure delivery (water, electricity and access roads).

Inform urban planners and administrators as to the need to review government regulations, legislations and policies from time to time so that they support urban development.

Contribute to the implementation of the government poverty reduction strategy because the level of infrastructure affects the dimensions of poverty.

Identify any issues for future research in infrastructure delivery and urban development.

### **1.13 Clarification of Terms**

Various terms have different meanings to people depending on the background of the user and the context used. The terms defined here are for the purpose of this study.

#### **Agenda 21**

The Agenda 21 is a comprehensive plan of action adopted at the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992. The plan contains various actions and recommendations for governments to adopt and implement in order to protect the earth from undue harm by human activities and ensure sustainable development.

#### **Chiefs**

From the point of view of the constitution of Ghana's Fourth Republic, the definition of a chief is as follows:

'Chief' means a person, who, hailing from the appropriate family and lineage, has been validly nominated, elected or selected, and entailed, enskinned or installed as chief or queen mother in accordance with the relevant customary law and usage. (Article 277, Ghana Constitution, 1992). They hold land in trust for the people and primarily regulate and control the social relationships and behavior of the people of the traditional area. In Ghana chiefs use stools and skins to sit in state as compared to thrones and crowns by royals in western culture. Thus chiefs are not crowned but *enstooled* or *enskinned* and both terms and crowning are the same. In the text, the term "traditional authorities" will frequently be used and it refers to the chiefs as well.

## **District /Metropolitan /Municipal Assembly**

A district is an area of authority of a District Assembly and includes the Municipal and Metropolitan Assembly. It is the pivot of administrative and developmental decision-making in the district and basic unit of government administration, (Ghana, 1993).

### *Infrastructure*

Infrastructure is defined here as the basic facilities: - roads, electricity, water and sanitation, the services that are normally in place for the proper operation of urban places.

### Landlords

These are people who own parcels of land acquired from the chiefs. Their plots of land might be developed, partially developed or vacant.

## **Privatisation**

Transfer of public sector functions, management or service delivery to the private sector.

## **Sustainable Development**

Sustainable development “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”, (WCED, 1987)

## **SWOT Analysis**

An examination of the internal and external environment is beneficial in assessing an organisation or department's resources. Environmental factors internal to the department are referred to as strengths **(S)** or weaknesses **(W)**, and those external opportunities **(O)** or threats **(T)**. This analysis is referred to as a **SWOT** analysis.



### **1.14 Basic Assumptions**

Government and urban authorities will continue to be committed to the decentralised administration, planning and development as spelt out in the constitution and the Local Government Act of 1993, Act 462.

TAMA will facilitate and strengthen integrated, coordinated and inter-sectoral working system among government agencies and communities within the metropolis.

Government will continue with the establishment of the customary land secretariats for traditional authorities and commit funds to them for the development of their communities

### **1.15 Structure of the Thesis**

The issue of infrastructure delivery in urban communities is treated within the context of sustainable development. Communities cannot be sustainable if their residents have no access to basic potable water, access roads and electricity among others. The introductory chapter therefore indicates the linkages between, sustainable development, rapid urbanisation, human settlement development and problems of infrastructure delivery in developing countries. It notes that rapid urbanisation and resource constraints have made developing countries unable to provide adequate infrastructure. The peri-urban communities, where the low-income dwellers reside, are most affected. There is growing advocacy for urban authorities and the private sector to collaborate for improved service delivery as the public sector lacks the resources. The rest of the chapter includes the aims of the research, reasons for the study, objectives and questions.

Chapter Two presents the research methodologies used to undertake the research. It highlights the research design, sampling process, analysis and validation of research findings.

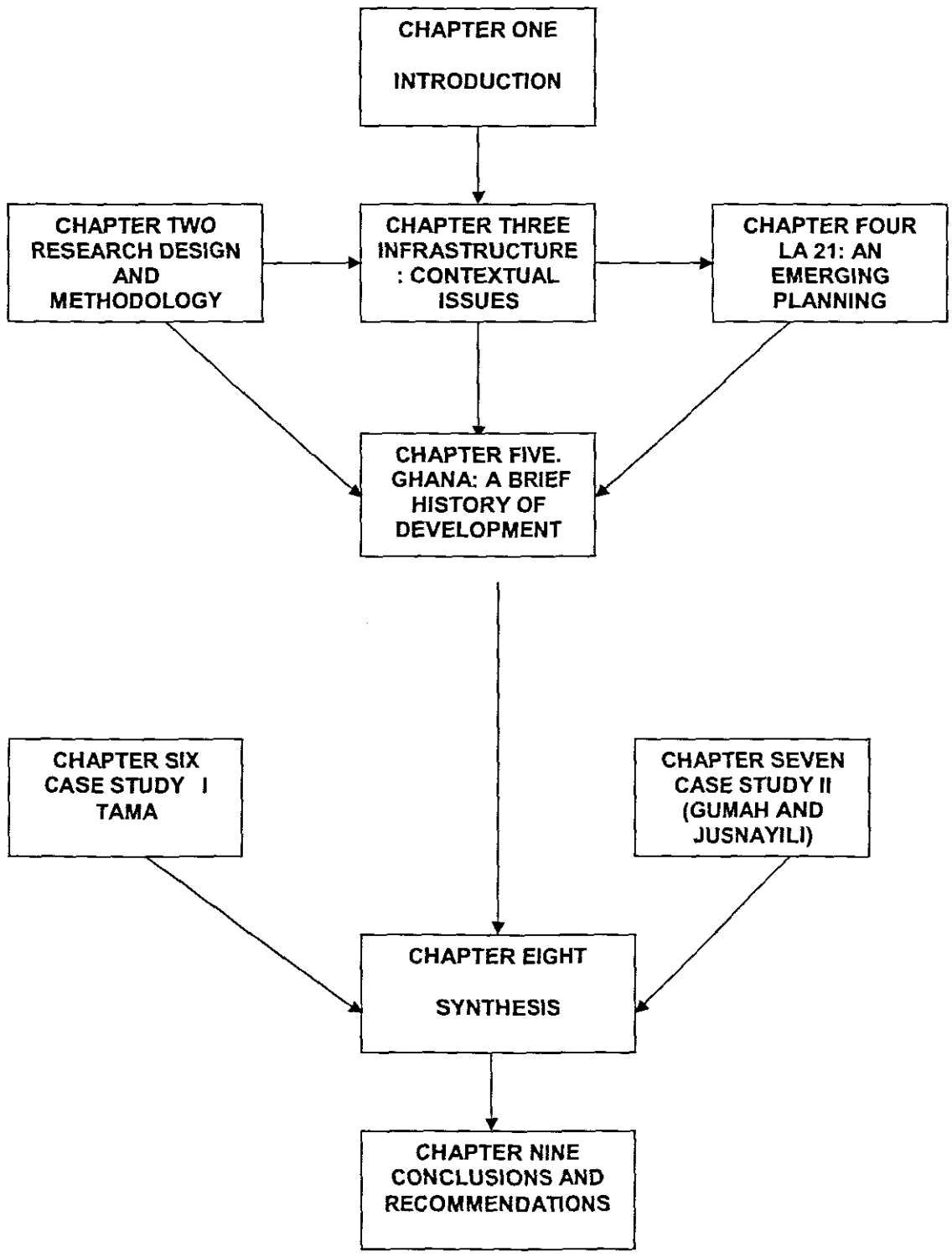
Chapter Three examines the contextual issues of infrastructure delivery and the approaches that sub-Saharan countries including Ghana have tried over the years to deliver adequate basic infrastructure. The literature further strengthens the significance of the study for policy-making and contribution to the discussion on community partnerships in urban infrastructure delivery. The issues and challenges discussed influenced the adoption of the Local Agenda 21 as a framework for the study, which is presented in chapter four.

Chapter Four discusses the Local Agenda 21 as a planning framework which urban authorities can adopt as an urban development-planning tool to promote effective community involvement in infrastructure delivery. The principles and characteristics of the Local Agenda 21 formed the basis for a critique of Ghana's development planning experience in chapter five and later the analysis of the research findings. Chapter five reviews the development planning experience of Ghana in terms of the planning systems practiced over the years to see if the context exists for the Local Agenda 21 process to be adopted. This is because the local situation in Tamale will occur within the dictates of national policies.

The research observations are presented in chapters Six and Seven. Chapter Six is a presentation of the infrastructure situation in Tamale, including its trends and challenges. Chapter Seven presents a community-based initiative, which was undertaken in two peri-urban settlements to improve basic infrastructure delivery. The initiative, which embodied the characteristics of Agenda 21, describes how a community-based plan was developed to facilitate partnerships for infrastructure delivery.

Chapter Eight presents a synthesis of the findings of the study. Chapter Nine states the recommendations of this thesis, based on the problem areas in and challenges for, planning and development in Ghana. The chapter arrangements are schematically presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Organisation of Chapters



## CHAPTER TWO

### RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

#### 2.0 Introduction

There are various kinds of research and the choice of the type of research will depend on the purpose of the research, the research questions and the data that will be required. This chapter focuses on the research design and strategy used to accomplish the research objectives. It will discuss the choice of design and justification for, it the data collection methods, instruments used and content verification. The thesis represents applied research as it is meant to solve a problem currently faced by the TAMA. According to Neuman (1997), applied research tries to solve a policy problem or assist practitioners accomplish a task. The problem of inadequate infrastructure delivery in the TAMA was identified as a core issue at a consultative meeting of the TAMA in December 2003, which prompted the research. The surveys in Tamale were undertaken from November 2004 to March 2005.

The objective of the surveys was primarily to assess the existing situation of infrastructure in the metropolis as perceived by the service providers and the communities. This was to enable the researcher to develop a clear understanding of the situation, the strength and weaknesses in the planning and delivery, so as to ascertain whether the enabling conditions exist for the metropolitan and traditional authorities to collaborate for improved basic infrastructure delivery.

#### 2.1 Research Design

Strauss and Corbin (1990) define qualitative research broadly, as "any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification". Qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings (Patton, 1990). On the other hand quantitative researchers seek causal determination, prediction, and generalization of

findings. They use experimental methods and quantitative measures to test hypothetical generalizations. There has been much debate as to which paradigm is better than the other. Patton (1990), Strauss and Corbin (1990) advocate for researchers to see how the two can complement each other to improve quality of work. The study therefore used a mix of the two to ensure the quality of information.

### **Qualitative research**

Qualitative research reveals the following features, which is a synthesis of propositions offered by several authors on the subject by Marie C. Hoepfl (1997):

Qualitative research uses the natural setting as the source of data.

The researcher attempts to observe, describe and interpret settings as they are, whilst maintaining neutrality.

The researcher does not try to influence or manipulate the setting. It allows the communities to express themselves freely in their own setting about the situation of basic services.

The researcher acts as the "human instrument" of data collection.

Qualitative researchers predominantly use inductive data analysis. Data collected is used to develop theories and concepts for us to understand the world situation.

Qualitative research reports are descriptive.

Qualitative research is concerned with the opinions and experiences of individuals or groups producing subjective data.

The qualitative approach, for example, was used to explore the role the TAMA, the infrastructure agencies and communities could play in the improvement of infrastructure delivery, and as such the study describes a phenomenon. In order to acquire an in-depth understanding of the infrastructure situation, four communities were selected for detailed investigation of the situation, which is characteristic of qualitative research.

## **Quantitative research**

Quantitative approaches were used for instance to measure user satisfaction and coverage in the delivery of infrastructure services. The level of user satisfaction and coverage of services was in turn used as a basis to assess the performance of the TAMA and the infrastructure providers. Quantitative methods are characterised by some of the following (Hancock, 1998):

The emphasis is on collecting measurable information

Data can be analysed statistically.

The main forms of data collection are: questionnaire surveys, highly structured observation schedules and analysis of records

Thus quantitative data was obtained from literature reviews, policy instruments, official reports and interviews with government agencies, chiefs and community members. Quantitative data was obtained from documents to establish trends in service delivery, demand and supply impacts and resource capacity. The choice of the research design was based on the following:

### **2.1.1 Subject Matter of the Research Project**

The subject matter of the thesis is explorative, descriptive, and evaluatory and includes the comparative approach. Qualitative methods are exploratory and best investigate topics about which little is known. (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The involvement of traditional authorities in infrastructure delivery is a new area with in fact limited information. By giving voice to the communities who actually are affected by infrastructure deficiencies, the results of qualitative research offer opportunities to identify and address their needs and concerns. In order to gain an in-depth idea of the status of infrastructure delivery, structured and semi-structured questionnaires were used, which enabled the researcher to explore the challenges pointed out by the participants.

Descriptive research concerns itself with understanding a phenomenon, observing the inherent issues so as to make valid arguments (Hart, 1998). These were the concerns of

the study, to establish how traditional authorities can contribute to improved service delivery through partnership with the assembly. It also indicated how they have been organizing themselves to provide needs, which the assembly cannot satisfy.

The research was evaluators. It made an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses and adequacy of infrastructure service delivery in the Tamale metropolis, reviewing policies and programme of government and exploring the opportunity for participation by communities in service delivery.

Infrastructure is interdisciplinary in nature as it impinges on the fields of economics, environment, social and management among others. In this regard, qualitative research can overcome most problems with research that is interdisciplinary in approach (Dean & Hunter, 1996).

## **2.2 Research Strategy: Case - Study Approach**

A number of qualitative research methods or strategies exist in the social sciences. Some of these are ethnographic studies, action research, experimentation, and case studies. Each strategy has its strengths and weaknesses. The choice depends on the issues, purpose of the research, the research questions, data required, time and resources.

Ethnographic studies originated in anthropology, a field concerned with the study of people's cultures (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). It uses interviewing and participant observation of data collection conducted over a long time duration, which could be years. This research strategy would be expensive in terms of time and resources for this project.

Action research is a multi-stage type of research, in which a problem is researched, changes are made, the problem is researched again, and more changes are made through a number of cycles, until the problem is solved. This method deals with a specific problem and the process is not very time bound. The method cannot be used to

address the problem of infrastructure delivery, which requires some degree of comprehensiveness, urgent action and solution.

Experiments are controlled investigations that try to establish cause and effect between two or more variables with the purpose of predicting outcomes (Hancock, 2002). Information relevant to the research problem is collected for example from two groups. Then one group, the intervention group, receives some kind of special or different treatment (the intervention) while the control group receives no treatment. Information is then collected from both groups and the information is analysed to see whether the outcomes of the two groups are different or the same. This research strategy is certainly not applicable as the author is not in this instance testing a cause and effect relationship in a quantitative fashion.

A case - study methodology was therefore selected as it was deemed to be most suitable for the research. Babbie and Mouton (2001), define a case study as an intensive investigation of a single unit. This unit can vary from an individual to groups, families, communities, organisations and institutions, events and countries. The case - study approach was chosen, based on the following:

The case - study method is suitable for the study as it seeks to understand issues in their specific settings. This is appealing to urban planners with their emphasis on space (Campbell, 2003). The study concerns infrastructure delivery and communities at specific locations in the urban area. The experiences of the target communities will be different from others who are in other parts of Tamale.

The study investigates a phenomenon over which there is little control (Yin, 1994). This is a departure from experimentation. Urban areas are open and complex system and networks: social, economic and political and the phenomena cannot be isolated from these networks. For example Campbell (2003) states that transportation influences land use, which influences housing and the environment, which influences the local



economy. It would therefore be difficult to isolate the processes occurring in the case communities from the complex urban environment.

The study involves three case – studies viz TAMA, Jusonayili and Gumah and each has its unique features, which strengthen the validity of the findings of the study, than if it were a single case (Yin, 1994). There is variation in the delivery of infrastructure services within the metropolitan area and one case area might not portray the situation realistically for the loner geographical area. A generalization form a single case site would be untenable.

Finally, a central reason for the case study strategy is the use of multiple data sources. It increases the confidence of the researcher in the reliability of the data collected as interviews are supplemented with observations, documentary and other data sources. In this case, data was not only obtained from traditional authorities but also residents, landlords and government agencies. In assessing user satisfaction with services for example, though the Water Company could assess its performance to be satisfactory, their perception at the community level will be on the contrary. Using multiple source of data collection is often referred to as triangulation.

## **2.3 Research Methodology**

Research can be defined as a process of systematic investigation of a subject for the purpose of adding to the body of knowledge about that subject. This section gives a step-by-step approach as to how the research was conducted from the beginning to the end.

### **2.3.1 Preliminary Activities**

#### ***Identification of the research problem***

The problem of infrastructure delivery as mentioned earlier was identified as one of the urban development problems of Tamale at one of the Assembly's meetings in December 2003 and the need for some action to improve upon the situation was acknowledge.

This was of particular interest to the researcher, who, as the Metropolitan Director of Town Planning, is generally conversant with the development problems of the urban area. The researcher noted the central role traditional authorities played in land delivery though hardly involved in other urban development issues such as infrastructure service delivery. The problems of infrastructure delivery are in fact faced by all Assemblies in the country, which has indicated the need for the research undertaken in this project.

### ***Review of the literature/reconnaissance survey***

Through intensive literature review, the topic was refined to focus on communities in the rapidly urbanizing parts of the metropolitan area. Low levels of infrastructure services like water, access roads and electricity most negatively affected these communities. It was also revealed that some level of self-help organised by the traditional authorities was a form of meeting community needs where the urban authorities could not deliver. The case sites chosen were based on geographical location (representing different sub-metropolitan areas), the availability and non-availability of water and the presence of organized self-help initiatives. The reconnaissance survey assisted in the identification of possible collaborators in the government sector and relevant stakeholders in the research project.

### ***Research meetings***

The fieldwork commenced with a research meeting convened under the auspices of the TAMA for all stakeholders concerned with the research. The participants were drawn from the management of TAMA, infrastructure and land sector agencies and representatives of the sample communities (see list Appendix II).

The objective of the meeting was to get all stakeholders well informed of the research problem, objectives, outputs and information required. The cooperation of everyone involved in the research was gratefully solicited.

Other meetings were also held with the chiefs and elders at their palaces to inform them about the research and the role they and their communities were expected to play. The chiefs cooperated in the research activities and assisted in the recruitment of the interviewers for each community.

### ***Orientation for interviewers***

The interviewers, who were recruited with the assistance of the community chiefs, were given one week's orientation by the researcher before they started the fieldwork. Two interviewers, a young woman and man were selected for each area. The men interviewed men, and women their counterparts, to allay any fears or misgivings a respondent could have talking to the opposite sex. Interviewers were students of Tamale Polytechnic pursuing a higher National Diploma in Business Studies who could measure up to the task. Some of them had recently undertaken house-to-house interviews for the national health insurance scheme for the TAMA and were conversant with the art of interviewing, recording information and fluent in both English and Dagbane (the local language).

### ***Update of the sampling frame***

Ground verification was undertaken to ensure that all the houses that were concerned in the sample communities did exist and people were residing in them. General observation, use of town sheets and house numbering data by the Metropolitan assembly for the national health Insurance scheme were used to update the houses in the communities. The secretaries of the various traditional authorities also assisted in the field and provided clarification on boundaries of their communities. The recruited interviewers took part in the exercise. The field verification came up with a total number of 630 houses.

### ***Questionnaire Design Verification***

The questionnaires used, were developed by the researcher from the review of the literature, and related to the research problems. The literature review provided the issues the researcher needed to investigate. In order to avoid bias related to the questionnaire's design, they were subjected to a review by supervisors and field pre-tested. The objective was to achieve the following:

To ensure that the questions touched on all the relevant issues of the research and thus avoid the inclusion of irrelevant questions.

To achieve clarity, language (as there were translations of technical terms), and agreement on meaning of terms. For example, it was easier for respondents to measure quantity of water by a local carrying aid instead of gallons or litres. The former therefore was used and converted to litres.

To establish the correct order of questions and layout of the questionnaires in general. This was to avoid a type of question having an influence on subsequent ones if asked first.

In order to pre-test the questionnaire, twelve questionnaires were randomly tried out in the four communities for a day. The pre-testing indicated that due to the Muslim fast – Ramadan, which coincided with the survey period, communities preferred to be interviewed in the morning than later in the afternoon when they would be tired and less attentive.

A second comment was that the traditional authorities knew much more about the trend of local development projects than residents who might be recent entrants to the area. The pre-testing also gave the opportunity for standard translated key words to be agreed on to avoid vague answers.

Thus the pre-testing and reviews of the questionnaires enabled the necessary adjustments to be made to questionnaires before the fieldwork was undertaken.

### ***Information on data collection***

The TAMA informed the general public about the field data collection on local FM Radio in the local language – Dagbane and English before the fieldwork started. The chiefs and elders of communities also relayed the message to residents of the areas. Written letters notified the government agencies though they were informed at the research meeting. The house - to - house interviews coincided with the Ramadan period and most residents were at home (November 2004).

### ***Selection of Sample Areas***

In determining the sample size, the basic rule is “the larger the sample, the better” (Leedy, 1984) subject of course the time frame, cost and resource constraints. A sample of 10 % was deemed an appropriate sample size based on the following reasons:

The communities were relatively homogenous in characteristics. Therefore, a small sample could not affect the outcome and quality of the data (Bouna and Atkinson, 1995). The case sites were purposely selected to reflect the problem researched and rich in information. The degree of precision of the information obtained was assured.

In appreciation of the differences between the northern and southern parts of the metropolis in terms of infrastructure services, the sample areas were deliberately selected to reflect the different scenarios. Jusonayili and Ganah were selected from the north and Bamvim and Zujung in the south. Jusonayili and Ganah had evidence of self-help initiatives. (See base Map 1 for location of sample areas). The units of enquiry were chiefs, landlords and residents (tenants) of sampled households. All four chiefs and their elders were interviewed (as a group). The landlord of each house and two other residents (male and female) were interviewed. This was to reflect gender sensitivity because women are most affected when basic services are not readily available. A ten percent sample of 60 houses was taken and equitably distributed among the four communities. The breakdown of the sample and respondents is presented in Table 1.

**Table 1: Sample and Number of Respondents**

Community	Total no. of hses	Sample no. of hses	Landlords interviewed	Residents interviewed	
				Male	Female
Barvim	186	18	14	16	18
Gumah	145	14	13	10	14
Jusonayili	124	12	12	11	11
Zujung	175	16	14	14	16
Total	630	60	53	51	59

## **2.4 Data Collection and Methods of Enquiry**

The data gathered for the research were of two kinds: primary and secondary data. These are outlined below:

### **2.4.1 Primary Data**

Primary data was gathered from heads of the infrastructure agencies, the unit heads of the TAMA, chiefs and elders, landlords and residents of the sample communities. The data was gathered through direct personal interviews and observations.

### **2.4.2 Secondary Data**

Secondary data sources were published acts, reports, journals, etc, which were made available by government agencies.

The data was obtained at three levels:

#### ***The community levels***

The community level included the traditional authorities, landlords and residents (tenants). The chiefs and the community as beneficiaries of government interventions provided information on satisfaction level of services, their involvement in the plans and programmes, constraints and challenges to improved service delivery.

#### ***The traditional authorities***

Interview guides were used for group interviews with the traditional authorities and focused on:

Their role in the community, planning and development in the community.

The nature of their relationship with the metropolitan assembly and infrastructure agencies.

How they organised their communities to provide themselves with basic infrastructure services.

### ***Landlord and residents***

The questionnaires administered to residents and landlords captured demographic characteristics and their views about the adequacy of services in the area and involvement in services delivery. The questionnaires were open and closed to enable respondents to freely express their opinions where necessary. Information about the performance of the service agencies, the metropolitan assembly, and the traditional authorities were also captured. The questionnaires were administered to both men and women. Issues of community self-help to service delivery and relationships with the traditional authorities were also dealt with.

### ***TAMA and government agency level***

The government level involved the TAMA, its unit departments, and infrastructure and land sector agencies. They provided information on how the metropolis is managed, plans and programs planned and implemented over the past years and the impacts and challenges. The extent to which their plans were integrated and promoted decentralisation was also assessed.

## **2.4.3 Data Collection Techniques**

The two prevailing forms of data collection associated with qualitative inquiry were used: interviews and observation.

### ***Interviews***

Qualitative interviews were used for the primary strategy for data collection in conjunction with observation, and document analysis. The questionnaires were open and closed for the household interviews. This allowed respondents to express their opinions when required and also to enable deeper probing of ideas. These questionnaires were self-administered and found to be convenient. It was also a strategy of ensuring that all questionnaires are retrieved to ensure adequate returns (Babbie, 1992). Respondents were also assured of their anonymity.

With regard to the chiefs and government agencies, interview guides were used. The interview guides had a list of questions or general topics that were required for the



government agencies or the traditional authorities to respond to. The heads of departments and some schedule officers of the area of concern provided the required information on the questions /topics. The interview guides, though providing flexibility in the interviews, enabled discussions to be focused and controlled.

### ***Observations***

The classic form of data collection in naturalistic or field research is observation of participants in the context of a natural scene. Observational data is used for the purpose of description—of settings, activities, people, and the meanings of what is observed from the perspective of the participants. Observation, can lead to deeper understanding than interviews alone, because it provides knowledge of the context in which events occur, and may enable the researcher to see things that participants themselves are not aware of, or that they are unwilling to discuss (Patton, 1990). Thus, it was physically possible to see the state of services in the communities and clarify issues with residents and state agencies concerned.

### ***Meetings/discussions.***

Meetings were held with government agencies, groups, and representatives of the traditional authorities before and after the fieldwork to share the findings and get feedback on the issues presented.

#### **2.4.4 Data Management and Quality Control**

In order to ensure security and quality of the data, all field staff were given bags and adequate stationery to capture all data required. The completed questionnaires were at the end of each day edited by the staff of the Town and Country Planning Department and captured on the computer in separate files according to the case sites. The editing enabled crosschecking and corrections to be made during the fieldwork and not afterwards which would have affected the quality of data.

Two senior planners of the department also monitored events in the field. Brief review meetings were held each morning before the start of the days' work to clarify any issue or problems that might have emerged the previous day.

#### **2.4.5 Data Reliability and Validity**

Qualitative research has often been criticised as lacking rigour and that the data cannot be relied on, on account of being subjective to the researcher's views. To ensure reliability, the data management and quality control previously mentioned were instituted during the data collection phase. In addition to that the data sites were purposefully selected. The purpose was not to establish random sites but to draw from the metropolitan area, samples or case sites whose characteristics or circumstances were relevant to the phenomenon being studied (Mays and Pope, 1995). This approach allowed the researcher deliberately to include issues and informants that were important sources of knowledge.

A unique form of case study research is the use of multiple methods and sources of evidence to establish validity. Case studies often use triangulation to ensure the validity of findings. In triangulating, all data items are corroborated from at least one other source and normally by another method of data collection. For example, though documentary and official information from the infrastructure agencies gave an idea of the status of service delivery, verification through observation and opinions of the community (residents, traditional authorities) could corroborate the information or otherwise. Another strategy used was to convene a validation meeting with all the stakeholders to brief them on the preliminary findings of the research. It gave an opportunity for feedback for all stakeholders and check thoroughness of the results. (Mays and Pope, 1995).

#### **2.4.6 Data Analysis**

Bogdan and Biklen (1982) define qualitative data analysis as "working with data, organizing it, and breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others". Thus three steps are involved: identifying themes or categories from the data, examine them in a holistic fashion; and to find a way to communicate this interpretation to others. The data was first categorised into two areas:

*Data concerned with case sites that have a community-led development approach to infrastructure delivery.*

*Data concerned with case sites that have a top – down approach to services delivery.*

The status of infrastructure delivery, performance of the TAMA and government agencies, community activities and relations with traditional authorities were assessed and the responses grouped into thematic areas and coded. The data was then analysed using the “Epi – Info Statistical Package” by JSA Consultants, Accra, who are Local Government consultants and conversant with the subject area. The data was presented in the form of frequencies, distribution and tables. The next stage was establishing areas of linkages and divergence that sought explanations for the given information. For example, could the high level of services in Community A have a link with the self-help approach to service delivery? Though the process was painstaking, it helped in proper research analysis.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

The complexity of the urban issues that planners deal with make the case study approach a suitable strategy to address the research problem. Campbell (2003) has stated that case studies are most suitable for proving that a certain situation is possible, as in the case of this research, which sought to indicate that it is possible for traditional authorities to work with urban authorities for infrastructure improvements. Moreover, the case study strategy, as it emerged, can address practical and policy issues that affect the lives of communities as in the case of the peri-urban communities, where questions are concerned with “how” or “why” matters in sustainable urban development.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **INFRASTRUCTURE: CONTEXTUAL ISSUES**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

Infrastructure is central to any country's economy and underpins the delivery of essential services to meet the needs of all citizenry. In our bid to meet the goals of sustainable development, infrastructure must meet the needs of today and tomorrow through adequate planning and development. The development of an adequate infrastructure base is fundamental to national development for a number of reasons.

Infrastructure can reduce adverse environmental impacts in a city. UN – HABITAT (2001) estimates that less than 35% of developing cities' wastewater is treated and 75% of solid waste is disposed of in open dumps; a situation that promotes harmful environmental conditions.

Adequate infrastructure can imply a well-managed city in that efficiency is likely to be assured. Developing countries cities, however, face problems of efficiency. Mapogunge (1993) rightly poses the following in regard to the state of African cities..."the acid test of efficiency in the management of cities is the state of infrastructure provision. How much of the road system in the city is tarred? What about water supply, is it available twenty-four hours a day? And in electricity supply, how frequent are blackouts?" Our urban areas are fraught with the above scenario and cannot be said to be efficient.

Infrastructure is central to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as it plays a direct or indirect role in their accomplishment. The provision of safe water, for example, has a direct impact on reducing child mortality. Providing communities with electricity precludes women and children having to spend long hours fetching firewood, and allows them more time for productive activities.

Targets 10 and 11 of the Goal 7 address issues of human settlement development where infrastructure plays a vital role in their achievements. Target 10 calls for halving the proportion of people without sustained access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation by 2015. Target 11 is concerned with the significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020.

Deteriorating infrastructure constrains economic development in developing countries by failing to attract investment and jeopardising public health and safety. Infrastructure therefore has a direct effect on economic growth. According to McNeil (1996) studies have indicated that the cost of production is reduced and profitability rises with an adequate level of infrastructure in a country.

From the foregoing, infrastructure provision should be regarded as a prerequisite for national development, by achieving sustainable human settlements and meeting the basic necessities of people.

### **3.1 Contextual Issues**

The challenge to infrastructure provision in sub-Saharan countries should be considered again in the context of population growth and urbanization, poverty, and development models applied. This is given some elaboration here with reference to history.

#### **3.1.1 Population Growth and Urbanisation**

Basic infrastructure services are essential for human existence and the level of quality of these services in turn determines the quality of life of people in any country. Essential services such as water and sanitation, housing, roads, health and educational services are inadequate, which negatively affect quality of life of communities caught in an unbreakable vicious circle of deprivation. Poor basic services for instance can lead to poor health and environmental conditions, which affects manpower calibre ultimately resulting in low productivity, poverty and inadequate resources for investment in infrastructure.

Africa's population is recorded to have tripled between 1950 and 1995 from 233 million to 728 million (World Resources Institute, 1996-97) It is estimated that by the year 2025 it would have reached the 1 billion mark. However, much of this growth will occur in the urban areas. The level of urbanisation is nearly 40 per cent today, which translates to an urban population of about 250 million. At the present growth rate of 5%

it is expected that half of Africa's population will be living in urban areas by 2010 (GCA, 2000). The rapid population growth has been attributed to high fertility and reduced mortality due to improved health and other social services. This population increase and urbanisation has outstripped the capacity of governments to provide commensurate increase of services to ensure good living standards for people and investments in the economy.

Table 2 illustrates the situation of rapid urbanization and service provision in sub-Saharan Africa between 1980 and 1990 for water and sanitation within the UN International Water and Sanitation Decade (1980 –1990). It can be seen that though progress has been made in the provision of water and sanitation, absolute numbers of people not served is quite significant. In regard to water for the rural areas, there was a doubling of the proportion of population served, thus a reduction in those un-served. For the urban sector, despite the increase in population served there was an increase in absolute figures for those not served. This indicates that much has yet to be achieved in the provision of urban infrastructure.

**Table 2: Water and Sanitation in Sub-Saharan Africa 1980 – 1990**

Year	1980		1990	
Category	% Of pop. Served	No. of people unserved (In millions)	% Of Pop. Served	No. Of people unserved (In millions)
Urban water	77	213	82	244
Rural water	30	1,630	63	989
Urban sanitation	69	292	72	377
Rural sanitation	37	1,442	49	1,364

Source: United Nations General Assembly cited in Watson and Gabriel et al 1995

The situation in Ghana is no different from other sub-Saharan countries. With a population of 4.8 million just before independence, it increased to 8.5million in 1970 and 12.4million in 1984. (Ghana, Population And Housing Census, 1984) The last census in 2000 gave the population as 18.4 million. It is estimated that 48% of the country's population is under 15 years old and with sustained improvement in health care, Ghana's population will increase tremendously in the next decade. The population increase is expected to occur in and around the urban centres at the current urbanisation rate of 4.2%. The challenge then lies in how the country will provide services for such rapid population increase.

A spatial aspect of the urbanisation phenomena is the development of informal settlements along the urban fringes, which house a large proportion of the urban population. These areas are the home of the poor and migrants looking for work, who are mostly unskilled, and come to the urban areas to seek a better way of life. The push-pull effect of migration from rural areas to urban areas being a worldwide phenomenon in developing countries could increase exponentially. They receive only temporary and low paying jobs if any, that cannot afford them decent living conditions, and they end up in the urban slums and fringes where they can afford the rent and pay for few services. Another issue concerns the unplanned nature of these settlements for which the service providers often refuse to extend services. The residents therefore live without adequate services and pay high tariffs to obtain them.

The planning implication of the foregoing is the need for municipal and local governments to recognise:

That urban fringe development and existing slum areas will continue to be a haven for migrants, which will increase congestion posing problems of infrastructure provision.

Population growth and concentration in urban centres will continue and there is the need for adequate resources to address infrastructure supply.

The deepening inequalities in the supply of services between the affluent and better-planned urban areas as compared to the unplanned and poor areas resulting in spatial inequity and poverty.



The weak economies of sub-Saharan countries have been blamed for their inability to address some of these problems emanating from rapid population growth and urbanisation

### **3.1.2 Weak Economic Environments**

The provision of infrastructure in African countries is beleaguered with both economic and political problems. After independence most African countries launched ambitious programmes to uplift the quality of life of their people emerging from years of colonial rule, and invariably adopted a socialist economic development system in order that the state would become the main actor in the economic and social sectors. (Guseh.2001). Thus the national governments invested heavily in infrastructure services such as schools, hospitals, water, roads and telecommunications in the belief that social progress could be achieved with enhanced welfare services. These investments in infrastructure were financially possible because their economies were growing at over 10% annually in the 1960s (Guseh, *ibid*).

These trends of development slowed nearly to a halt in the 1970s as a result of the OPEC oil crisis. It was difficult for the non- oil producing African countries to cope with the situation and it resulted in decreased investment in all sectors, and basic services suffered as well. Governments also resorted to borrowing to fund budget deficits and Africa's external debt soared. Table 3 illustrates the external debt statistics for sub-Saharan Africa between 1980 and 1995.

**Table 3: External Debt for Sub-Saharan Africa**

	1980	1995
Total external debt (in millions \$)	84,119	226,483
External Debt as percentage of GNP	30.6	81.3
External Debt as percentage of exports	91.7	241.7
Debt service as percentage of exports	9.8	14.5
Multilateral debt as percentage of total external debt	9.0	24.3

Source: *World Bank, World Development Report 1997: The State In Changing World. Washington DC. 1997. Page 247. In Guseh, 2001.*

It is clear that because substantial borrowing was undertaken to finance government activities, servicing of debts became increasingly burdensome. For the same period the annual average rates of economic growth for Sub – Saharan countries was 3% or less while population growth maintained a 5% growth rate (Guseh, *ibid*). Between 1990 and 1998 economic growth rate was 2% to 2.2% and some countries like Ethiopia and Malawi even registered negative economic growth.

The weak domestic economies have resulted in an equally weak local and municipal resource base in practically all cases. The revenue base of African cities is very poor and they depend on central government grants to meet the infrastructure requirements of their teeming populations. The central government grants have also been dwindling in real terms, which worsens the financial position of the city authorities. Table 3 illustrates the financial position of some selected African cities before and after 1979.

**Table 4: Local Taxes as a Percentage of Total Local Expenditure in Selected African Cities**

City/town	Before and incl. 1979	After 1979
Francistown (Botswana)	46.8	33.5
Nairobi (Kenya)	-	34.1
Lagos (Nigeria)	50.9	42.8
Tunis (Tunisia)	36.8	24.7
Kinshasa (Zaire)	25.4	-
Lusaka (Zambia)	39.3	-

Source: *Bahl and Linn (1992). In Carole Rakodi (1997) "The Urban Challenge in Africa: Growth and management of its large cities"*

This is reflected in Table 4, which reflects the situation of most African cities where the revenue base has been declining from 1979 resulting in high dependency on government grants (Wekete, 1997). This is against the backdrop of increased responsibilities handed over to urban authorities, further weakening their ability to invest and maintain infrastructure, which is capital - intensive and involves much financial outlay.

It is therefore evident by analogy that infrastructure provision in sub-Saharan countries will suffer due to insufficient resources and weak economies. This poor performance of the economies of sub-Saharan countries has seemingly been attributed to the development models pursued by governments over the years.

### **3.1.3 Development Models Adopted**

#### ***Post Independence to 1970 Period***

At the time of independence, African countries inherited development systems that were orientated to the export of primary products, minerals, and timber among others to Europe, the home of their former colonial “masters”. The development of infrastructure at the time was to maintain the urban centres of production and facilitate the movement of these resources to the ports. Infrastructure was concentrated in the capital city, port and mineral rich areas. Within the urban areas, the European sectors were better serviced with infrastructure services than the African sector. Infrastructure development at the time could not be said to have been equitable. (Asamoah, 1966)

Independence for African governments meant a break with the old system and adopting development strategies that ensured real independence and equitable development. Sub-Saharan countries influenced by the modernization theories of the time started on massive import substitution industrialisation strategies (Guseh, *ibid*). Capital-intensive industries were located in selected urban areas and requisite basic infrastructure was provided. The proponents of the strategy, referred to as the “growth – pole” concept, believed the economic benefits of industrialization would trickle down from the centre to the hinterland (Hirschman, 1958; Diaw, 1994). The development model at the time advocated by the IMF was for countries to increase their GDP and improved standard of living would be assured for their people. The approach implied a centralized approach to planning and development, which was later found to be inappropriate as imbalances in wealth distribution both spatially and in terms of the population, remained.

The “trickle – down” effect of economic benefits did not materialise and the overall economic performance of countries that adopted the strategy was not satisfactory. According to Rondinelli (1983), a World Bank survey conducted in 1974 of 187 developing countries revealed that only 19 recorded a capita income of \$500 and above. Another dimension already mentioned earlier, was the massive migration of rural folk to the urban areas due to job opportunities and other investments. It increased the urban populations putting tremendous stress on the infrastructure services, which had in any event already started to deteriorate and could not respond adequately. The growth of African economies at the time had started to stall.

### ***Early 1970 to the 1980s***

According to the World Bank (1989), Sub-Saharan countries experienced a period of economic stagnation and decline between 1973 and 1987. The economies of most African countries suffered decline and some of the worst that experienced a drop in per capita income of 25% were Liberia and Niger. This period also marked the sudden rise in the price of crude oil worldwide, which further squeezed the budgets of non-oil producing African countries. It was very difficult for governments to provide basic infrastructure services and maintain the existing infrastructure, which was in a complete state of disrepair.

A World Bank mission to Ghana in 1988 with the purpose of assessing the urban sector within the economic reforms of government, described the situation of infrastructure in the country as follows:” Urban infrastructure in is indeed in very poor condition. Sanitation facilities are generally rudimentary, contributing to health problems; flooding in wet seasons is frequent, owing to lack of and/or poorly maintained drainage; water and, in some places, power supply is intermittent, affecting both health and productivity; roads have deteriorated to such as extent that travel is slow and hazardous, placing a heavy toll on vehicles and increasing operating costs; garbage is dumped in heaps to lie uncollected for long periods, often finishing up in the open drainage channels and exacerbating health problems. “(Garnett, H et al, 1988)

The Ghanaian situation is a mirror of the poor infrastructure situation of African cities at the time. It resulted in a drop in human welfare, which had improved in the 1960s. Child mortality for example, which hitherto had been dropping in the past, rose during this period of economic decline. The situation called for governments to revamp their economies to arrest the economic decline and improve upon infrastructure services. It led to the adoption of the structural adjustment programmes designed by the World Bank and IMF to address their ailing economies.

### ***The Economic Reforms***

The poor state of African economies and increasing debts forced about half of them to adopt the World Bank /IMF structural adjustment programmes. The policy measures in the reforms included the following among others:

Liberalization of markets

Decentralisation, deregulation of services and privatization

Cuts in social spending from central government to local authorities.

The market and the private sector were the major players in the provision of goods and services. These reforms produced mixed results. Studies conducted in 1993 by Bradshaw (1997) and others indicated that the IMF policies had actually spiralled urbanization, inhibited economic growth and the physical quality of life of citizens due to implementing structural adjustment programmes. Structural adjustment programmes affect provision of basic service because of cuts in public spending in the sector. In the mean time cities continue to grow despite the curtailment of funding to city services. Therefore city authorities will not have adequate funds to provide services and must devise other ways to mobilize resources for service delivery.

The IMF policies have also been criticized by UNICEF (Bradshaw and Noonan, 1997) for depriving children due to cut - backs in social spending in areas such as health, education and other basic services. Governments have found it difficult to fund health services and food subsidies because of debt servicing.

Ghana embarked on its own economic reforms called the "Economic Recovery Programme" in 1983 in order to address a then bad economic situation. According to Donkor (1987) real per capita income and earnings had dropped by 30% and 52% respectively. The country experienced mass emigration of its workforce and the health and education sectors were badly hit by the exodus. Part of the reforms also included retrenchment of labour from the public sector and introduction of user charges for services. The cut - back in subsidies also created a high cost of living for Ghanaians and there was deepening poverty in the country.

### **3.1.4 Poverty**

One of the central development problems of sub-Saharan Africa is poverty. It is the goal of every government, if not to eradicate it, then to reduce it. Thus most Sub-Saharan countries have in place national poverty reduction strategy plans formulated mostly with donor assistance to address poverty. UN-Habitat (2001) estimates that 750 million urban dwellers in developing countries live in life - threatening conditions and the figure

is expected to double by 2025 at current rates of urbanisation. The global trend in urbanisation implies what UN – Habitat terms “urbanisation of poverty and deprivation”.

Infrastructure and poverty, however, have a cyclic relationship. For example if people are poor and cannot pay for services, a government could find it financially onerous to provide the services free on a sustainable basis. As basic services affect the social and economic wellbeing of a country, it becomes vitally necessary to break this vicious cycle. According to Amis (2002) there has been a general increase in urban poverty in sub-Saharan Africa including Ghana. He laments the paucity of official data on sub-Saharan Africa and Satterthwaite (1997) states that even where it exists, estimates of urban poverty have been underestimated.

Table 5 illustrates a simple headcount based on national poverty lines of selected African countries. Though country comparisons are difficult it is clear that substantial proportion of the urban population live below the poverty line.

The urban poverty manifests itself at household level in the following forms:

Marginalisation in terms of access to productive resources, land, jobs and credit

Limited opportunities for people to mobilise themselves and use available resources for development. This is partly attributable to high levels of illiteracy

Difficulty in accessing basic services such as water, electricity, shelter and health.

The economic decline of the 1980s further affected urban planning as there was not much to plan for (Biau, 2005). The economic reforms required cuts in domestic spending, particularly social services including infrastructure. Urbanisation, however, did not slow down as more people moved from the rural to the urban areas in search of jobs, increasing peri-urban developments and demand for services. Planning capacity could not respond adequately to the situation.

**Table 5: Poverty Headcounts Based On National Poverty Lines for Selected Countries in Sub-Sahara Africa**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>National</b>	<b>Urban</b>	<b>Rural</b>
Cote d'Ivoire	1995	42	29	51
Ethiopia	1995/96	46	21	50
Ghana	1992	31	27	34
Kenya	1992	42	29	46
Nigeria	1985	43	32	50
Senegal	1991	33	16	40
South Africa	1993	44	40	86
Tanzania	1993	42	20	51
Zambia	1991	68	46	88

Source: World Bank, 2001 pp124-125: *In Philip Amis (2002), African Urban Poverty and What Role of Local Government in Its Alleviation.*

### **3.1.5 Weak Planning Capacity**

The planning system, according to UNCHS (1998) for most sub-Saharan countries including Ghana, is a legacy of colonial western master town planning practice which does not respond to current realities of urban development. The old master plan concept, which is still widely practiced, has been found to be outmoded and ineffective to guide urban growth, as city growth outruns official capacity to control development and provide services. Provision of planning schemes and servicing programmes cannot keep pace with urban growth, which has led to widespread poorly serviced peri-urban communities and informal settlements.

The weak response of the planning system to spontaneous developments that occur particularly in urban fringes and unplanned areas results in lack of services, poor environmental conditions and ill - health in the urban areas. For example, residents who



cannot get access to any toilet facility are forced to "use the bush" ("free range" in Accra) which has adverse health and environmental implications (Rakodi, 1997).

Another weakness characteristic of the planning method was its non-participatory approach. Urban planning was viewed as the domain of experts and local participation limited. Therefore, planned services did not reflect local needs and aspirations.

Finally, the main actors in urban planning and development of infrastructure viz: the Town Planning Department, Water companies, Electricity and the road sector agencies have sectoral plans which are seldom coordinated and lack a common focus. Thus, it is a common occurrence in the country for new growth areas identified for urban development by planning agencies not to match the priority areas of the infrastructure agencies. The mismatch between service delivery and urban growth could be avoided through integration of the urban and infrastructure plans.

## **3.2 Approaches to Infrastructure Provision**

### **3.2.1 Centralised Approaches**

This section focuses on the approaches that governments particularly Ghana has used to provide infrastructure from the colonial period to date. Much of the review is based on previous work done by Bacho (2001) on the provision of potable water in Northern Ghana. The approaches have generally been centralised and for the sake of simplicity are treated under pre-independence and post independence approaches.

#### **Pre-colonial Period**

In the pre-colonial period in the country, when the nation did not exist as today with a strongly developed central government, communities were organised under tribal, clans or kingship lines. There was no formal structure of infrastructure delivery and communities organised themselves to provide basic services. Communities under their chiefs and elders would meet to organise the entire community and resources to provide a well, path, market, meetinghouse or any felt need. The chiefs, elders and development committees were the lead groups and everyone took part in the planning and implementation of the service. Though simple and unsophisticated, the process was

participatory and community based. This approach to service delivery was not adopted and improved upon with the advent of colonialism, which instead centralised service delivery whilst chiefs played a passive consultative role or were used to provide forced labour for projects.

### **Colonial Period**

The provision of infrastructure in the pre-independence period was therefore centralised and undertaken by the colonial administration. The purpose for providing infrastructure, which meant mainly roads, railways and ports as opposed to social services, was economic viz. to facilitate the exploitation of resources, minerals, timber or cash crops and trade for European companies and their countries. A second purpose was administrative, to maintain law and order and enhance administration (Asamoah, *ibid*). In Ghana, and Nigeria, the railway system was therefore limited to the resource mineral rich and cash crop areas with the ports. The northern part of Ghana was for this reason excluded from such developments, as it did not have any viable resources for exploitation. There were no plans in place for infrastructure provision for the country's development *per se*. This scenario applied similarly to other British and non-British colonies such as Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania and Cote d'Ivoire. The Guggisberg Plan 1920-1930 for Ghana was the first colonial development plan that tried to develop infrastructure in the real interest of the country's development. It had a total budget of £12,247,000. (Asamoah, *ibid*). Details of the budget are provided in Table 6.

It can be observed that 81.6% of the budget was devoted to infrastructure which was necessary to exploit the mineral resources, timber and cocoa for the colonial government. The plan also instituted the Town and Country Planning department and construction of health facilities, water, roads, town planning, education and social services, the distribution and investment were concentrated within the resource rich southern half of the country. The concentration was around the three major urban areas of Kumasi, Accra, and Takoradi and the corridors linking them. This area is often referred to as the "golden triangle" because of its resources and concentration of investments.

**Table 6: The Ten-Year Development Plan Budget (1920-1927)**

	Allocation	%
Head	(to the nearest Pound)	Share
Economic & Productive	151	1.2
Communication (Infrastructures)	10,143	81.6
Social Services	1,977	15.9
Common Services	156	1.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12,427</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: *Asamoah, 1996.*

The north, which was not endowed with minerals or cash crops, was disregarded and treated only as a source for unskilled labour to work the mines, timber concessions, and cocoa farms (Benning, 1975). This skewed service distribution to the golden triangle encouraged north- south migration, triggering rapid urbanisation.

A second feature of infrastructure provision at the time was that it was seen as the responsibility of central government. Services were provided from the centre and as decided by the colonial administration, without local involvement. It did not matter whether the infrastructure provided did in fact address the needs of the locals. Local contribution according to Denkabe and Songsore (1995) was more of forced labour usually organised by the local chiefs to support the projects. This top-down, non-participatory method stifled local initiative and resource mobilization to support the operation and maintenance of infrastructure services. The approach unfortunately continued into the post independence period.

## **Post Independence**

After independence, sub-Saharan countries viewed capitalism to connote colonialism. They opted for an economic system that was socialist in form, centrally controlled and the state was the major provider of goods and services (Guseh, *ibid*). It also meant that the public sector was expanded to enhance the dominance of the state. Thus infrastructure continued to be provided using the top - down approach. Reasons advanced for this approach include among others the desire for rapid industrialisation, political integration and stability, the lump sum capital investment and social welfare arguments. These are briefly discussed below.

### ***The Rapid Industrialisation Argument***

Sub-Saharan countries after independence were desirous of speeding up the development of their countries. Influenced by the modernisation theories of the time, they pursued rapid industrialisation policies, which were seen as the surest way of achieving economic growth. Import substitution strategies of industrial development were adopted. Some urban centres were selected as growth points, after the *growth pole concept*, for investment on infrastructure and industry. The growth of these centres was expected to spread and link up with the hinterlands (Hirschman, 1958). The provision of infrastructure to these industrial enclaves made them better off and triggered more rural urban migration increasing more demand for services (Hilton 1966, Aryeetey 1985, Songsore and Denkabe, 1999).

Ghana's spatial investment policy after independence was also unbalanced as it followed the colonial pattern of concentrating development within the "golden triangle" – Accra- Tema, Sekondi/Takoradi and Kumasi. (Songsore *opt cit*; Aryeeteh *ibid*; Kunfaa 1996). Migration and urbanisation is pronounced in these areas, which has led to pressure and demand for infrastructure services that the urban authorities cannot satisfy.

### ***Political integration and stability argument***

African governments were after independence faced with low levels of infrastructure and there was a need to invest heavily in the sector so as to speed up development and improve upon the lives of their people. The state was considered to be better resourced in view of the capital outlay involved to provide these services effectively. A centralised and state-controlled approach was seen to be the most appropriate strategy for service provision and ensure stability (Watson et al, 1995).

A second argument for the centralised approach was the need for a nationally balanced growth, and integration of the new states of diverse ethnicity. Governments adopted a centralised planning and management system as opposed to a decentralised approach to effectively provide services (Dele Oluwo, 1988). Thirdly, the early politicians who were urban based also had to satisfy the demands of the elites and politically conscious urban dwellers to maintain their positions. To avoid any pressures from them, services were located in the urban areas.

#### **The Social Welfare Argument**

A further compelling argument for the central provision of services was the social welfare argument. Independent states saw it as their duty to provide essential services to improve the living conditions of their people. These services were generally free and in Ghana the *free compulsory basic education* of the Nkrumah government in 1960 was such an example.

## **3.3 The Search for New Approaches**

### **3.3.1 Decentralised Approaches**

The centralised approaches to service delivery and arguments advocated for it, did not in fact adequately address the infrastructure problems, as history has shown. The rapid population growth and urbanisation coupled with deepening poverty, weak economies, and heavy external debts and in recent times political and civil strife are a draw-back to progress and development in sub-Saharan countries; a scenario that seriously affects the provision of infrastructure.

Secondly, governments are also caught in a tradition of centralised administration that has been rooted through state policies, colonial rule and a centralised planning system, which does not promote accelerated development for infrastructure delivery.

In the light of the foregoing, African countries are placed in a difficult situation to provide services to close the gap between supply and demand. Two basic approaches have been tried in recent years. These approaches, which will be discussed briefly, are the basic needs approach and decentralisation (people participation, user participation and privatisation). The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and non - governmental organisations (NGOs) greatly influenced the paradigm shift from the centralised to decentralised approaches. From the 1970s IMF and NGOs began to make the involvement of people in local development a precondition for donor support.

### **The Basic Needs Approach**

In view of the widespread poverty of third world countries, it was argued in the 1980s that emphasis should be placed on the provision of basic needs to reduce cost of infrastructure service delivery (Eddy Lee, 1981). This approach was also advocated by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and applied in Asia for housing delivery to the poor, and was a reflection of the paradigm shift from top-down development to bottom-up approach to development. The key elements to implementation were:

Greater weight given to the satisfaction of basic needs.

Measures instituted to raise the consumption of the poor now and the future.

Instruments for poverty eradication should be disaggregated, so that specific services are targeted to specific groups of people (Eddy Lee, *ibid*).

The intention was to optimise scarce resources and poor African countries welcomed this. Examples of this strategy in Ghana were the primary health care programme in the health sector, labour based construction technology for rural roads and community water and sanitation service programme. The focus in the instance of preventive health care was seen as a more cost-effective strategy than the curative system. The main idea behind “basic needs” for developing countries was to opt for less expensive and sophisticated technology in service provision. In this way services could be provided to

a greater number of people. The approach was, however, limited in scope, as it did not address all aspects of infrastructure delivery.

### **Decentralisation of Service Provision**

Since the 1980s African governments have instituted decentralisation reforms in their countries in part to meet donor-funding requirements, but also to promote good governance and give opportunity to citizen participation in development. Decentralisation thus involves the restructuring of a country's development administration. Various forms of decentralisation of service delivery are still being tried and these will be mentioned briefly here.

### ***People Participation***

Recent years have seen a rapid growth in public participation in a variety of issues such as health, environmental management or urban development. The democratic principle that people increasingly should get involved in their own localities and government to influence and be part of decisions that affect their lives is now widely accepted. In central planning and delivery of services, people are often ignored leading to inaccessibility or inadequacy of the service.

Public participation has been part and parcel of the decentralisation reforms in the African countries and equally supported by UN agencies and the donor community. Non-governmental organizations are using this approach to provide efficient services to communities where governments have failed or demonstrate serious inefficiency in services delivery.

### ***Direct User Participation***

Communities avail themselves of self- help opportunities to provide their own services. This is one of the oldest forms of service provision for African communities before the advent of formal government. It is unfortunate that it was not given adequate attention after colonial rule. The weak economies, particularly during the depression of the 1980s, made governments in Africa promote and try to sustain the self-help spirit in communities. According to Mensah – Abrampa (1999), in the Western Region of Ghana,

316 community projects were initiated between 1992 and 1996 through the self-help approach. These projects were mainly health, water and sanitation, and educational projects. This strategy still has considerable potential, which will be referred to, in subsequent sections.

### ***Privatisation***

A further strategy to address poor service provision by the public sector agencies in African countries was the introduction of private sector involvement in service delivery. The structural adjustment programmes recommended by the World Bank and IMF requested the privatisation of unprofitable state owned enterprises (SOE) as conditions for aid to Africa. The principal motivation for privatisation was first and foremost to meet the conditions imposed by the donor countries and increase efficiency in the operations of the SOEs. In Ghana, the policy of privatisation was adopted because evidence indicated that, if not all, some of the state - owned enterprises had not lived up to expectations and were a financial burden on government. (Republic of Ghana, 1994:1) The free market system under which the privatisation operates at present will certainly impact unfavorably on the urban poor as they pay for services previously subsidised.

### **3.4 Summary of Key Issues and Planning Implications**

The overview of the contextual issues of infrastructure provision in sub-Saharan Africa including Ghana has indicated that inappropriate strategies, population growth, urbanisation, weak economies and poverty have been inhibiting forces to sustainable infrastructure provision. Lessons learnt from the interplay of the above factors are:

Infrastructure cannot be provided free because of the heavy investment involved in its provision. Governments of sub-Saharan African countries such as Ghana are finding it increasingly difficult to provide adequate infrastructure and there is a need for the involvement of the private sector to complement government efforts.

Policies and approaches to address infrastructure have failed due to a lack of continuity, integration and relevance to the contextual issues. Development policies changed from time to time and were driven more by economic concerns than anything else, which



were greatly biased in favour of the centralised approach to planning and delivery of services.

Traditional urban planning and development of infrastructure services influenced by colonial practices were centralised and did not adequately attend to infrastructure provision. There has been limited private or community involvement in the planning and delivery of infrastructure services. Locally-driven and initiated development of the pre-colonial era was never continued, which could have laid the foundation for an approach to solving local problems.

The resurgence of the self-help spirit in the 1980s by communities was an acknowledgement by government that it could not solely provide basic services to communities. Government therefore encouraged communities to plan and implement projects and the state would supplement their efforts. It was another form of reducing the cost of investment in services as communities contributed labour.

The self-help approach by communities to meet their needs as local level participatory development, could be encouraged and strengthened to deliver services.

The inappropriateness of the centralised system of planning has led to a growing shift to a decentralised, localised and participatory approach to urban development.

Thus, it can be observed that there was no long-term policy on infrastructure delivery and one approach was tried after another. The system of planning was for a greater part centralised with a bureaucracy that enforced it. It therefore gave no room for local interest to be articulated in service provision, which in the case of peri-urban communities caused them to be marginalised.

Under the current economic constraints faced by the country, peri-urban communities might have to continue to look to themselves to bring meaningful improvements to their areas. They have done that through self-help in the past and would have to continue into the future against the backdrop of growing urban poverty. These communal self-help activities, which are normally organised around the traditional leadership, hold underestimated potential to service delivery, and this is examined in later chapters.

### **3.5 Concluding Comments: The Potential Role of Traditional Authorities and Communities in Urban Development.**

It has already been stated that before the existence of formal government in the pre-colonial period, no formal structure of infrastructure delivery existed either, but communities organised themselves to provide basic services. In Ghana communities, their chiefs and elders would meet to organise the entire community and resources to provide a well, path, market or meeting house or any felt need. This practice still exists and the strategy communities “far” from government use it to provide themselves with basic needs.

Evidence abounds in the country that traditional authorities, through formal and informal means, have procured planning schemes for their communities as a basis for disposal of land and provision of basic services. They have mobilised the communities to provide labour and monetary contributions for the implementation of projects. In some cases as in Gbawe – Accra, proceeds from land sales have been used by the chief to provide basic services (Gough, 1999).

Mensah – Abrampa (1999), as stated earlier in the text, indicated that in the Western Region of Ghana, communities initiated community projects through the self-help approach

The community self-help approach to services indicates the ability of communities to respond to service inadequacy and is demand-driven. It is expedient for local authorities to recognise this potential and see how the planning system can integrate it. The reluctance of government officials to recognise these informal arrangements is well captured by Satterthwaite and Hardoy (1995) about third world attitudes to informal housing:

*“Most governments long ignored both history and culture as essential inputs into their ‘planning for development’. They see no legitimacy in the actions of their citizens who are fore-builders and planners of large areas of their cities. They cannot see in many illegal settlements the seed of what could develop as a more accurate and appropriate*

*reflection of the nation's culture. They cannot see that the house designs, the material used, and the plans for these settlements are more realistic and often more appropriate than their own unfulfilled plans for housing"*

The centralised, top-down system of planning certainly does not promote their effective participation. It should be possible for the planning authorities and service agencies to hold meetings and discussions with chiefs at the community level in the formulation of plans. These plans will be responsive to community needs and aspirations, which they will be committed to and contribute resources for the provision of the services and implementing other concerns of the plan. In Ghana, according to studies by Adarkwa and Tamakloe (2001) on transport infrastructure in Kumasi, despite the local government reforms and decentralisation of planning as spelt out in various laws, little progress has been made in involving communities in planning and management of transport facilities which equally applies to the provision of other infrastructure services.

In recent times traditional rulers have called for greater involvement in district development particularly on issues that affect their communities. A leading local newspaper "the Weekly Spectator" in January this year carried a news item and editorial on the matter. It stated that "chiefs and queen mothers in the Asante - Akim North district have expressed their resentment at not being involved in the decisions of the district assembly" (Weekly Spectator, 2005). The paper went on to say that as the communities owe allegiance to chiefs, to sideline them in decision-making is to underutilise a rich resource.

Chiefs are a natural bridge between the government and the people and their participation in local government is crucial, especially that at the grassroots level where the communities recognise their authority. Their role in the informal allocation of land for development has been acknowledged and government is working through the Land Administration Project to streamline and institutionalise the system to facilitate land delivery. It is therefore equally imperative that their role in urban development particularly their contributions to service delivery in their communities be recognised and

strengthened. This could be addressed when a planning system enables local government authorities and communities have a shared vision of the future and assign responsibilities for the development of the communities.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **AGENDA 21: AN EMERGING GLOBAL APPROACH TO INFRASTRUCTURE DELIVERY**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

The various models for urban management and development which have already been reviewed, indicate the inappropriateness of the out – dated western oriented, top-down models of planning and service delivery, which do not facilitate community involvement. The consequence of this is that urban infrastructure facilities will continue to be inadequate against increasing urbanization, which does not promote sustainable development. Thus the need for an approach will involve all stakeholders in the peri-urban communities.

The overall goal of the research is to contribute to the sustainable development of Tamale. The question that confronts the research is how can the urban authorities achieve sustainable development under the current situation? The peri-urban communities are part and parcel of the metropolis and a sustainable urban area cannot be achieved if some sectors are not accessible to basic services. This chapter examines sustainable development and the Local Agenda 21 as an emergent planning approach to infrastructure delivery.

#### **4.1 Sustainable Development and Agenda 21**

The concept of sustainable development and other promulgated documents like Agenda 21 aim at changing the way urban and local government authorities deliver services to be sustainable, equitable and meet the needs of the present and future generations. The concept of sustainable development and LA 21 as a conceptual framework is discussed based on literature from the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI) LA Agenda 21 Guidebook (1996).

#### **4. 1.1 The concept of sustainable development**

These days it has become rare to find a policy or planning document that does not refer to the term “sustainability”, which makes the concept difficult to define because of interpretations by the various disciplines. In general, sustainability means that human activities do not compromise our essential social and national support systems either now or in the future (Beatley and Manning, 1997). A definition of sustainable development will therefore take account of the concerns of the present and the future. Two definitions among the many are considered here as they provide an understanding of sustainability and its characteristics.

The first is offered by the World Conservation Union (IUCN) which defines sustainable development as “achieving a quality of life (or standard of living) that can be maintained for many generations because it is: socially desirable, fulfilling people’s cultural, material, and spiritual needs in equitable ways; economically viable, paying for itself, with costs not exceeding income; ecologically sustainable, maintaining the long-term viability of supporting ecosystems.” (IUCN, 1993). The definition lays emphasis on a quality of life or standard of living, which should be maintained for many generations.

The second definition, which is generally accepted worldwide, is by the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development, who define it as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987). It has two key concepts: the concept of needs, in particular the essential needs of the world’s poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment’s ability to meet present and future needs.

The central focus of the definitions is the physical and ecological limits to growth. With regard to natural resources like forests, soils, or ocean fisheries, “sustainability” implies utilising and managing these resources in a way that maintains the capacity for renewal

sometimes referred to as “carrying capacity”. To social systems, “sustainability” means individual and community needs should be achieved in a way that promotes equity both within and between generations. Finally, economic systems or models should satisfy human needs and aspirations in an equitable manner devoid of exploitation and compromising the natural and ecological resources. Thus there are three strands or key principles of sustainable development namely: social, economic and environmental.

The definitions contain two issues of relevance to the study. Firstly, they indicate the state of sustainability and the means to reach the desired state of sustainability. The desired state of sustainability is normative and will vary from country to country. The problem is normally the means to achieve the desired level of sustainability that confronts policy makers and governments. The characteristics of sustainable development means that it can be achieved only through an integrated manner as the social, economic and environmental issues have to be considered together. The research addresses how urban sustainability can be reached through improved delivery of infrastructure because basic infrastructure services are needs and how they can be provided in a sustainable manner can determine the quality of life of people.

### ***Key principles of sustainable development and Infrastructure***

The key principles of sustainable development are, or should ensure:

An economic system that should achieve maximum efficiency without compromising the natural and ecological resources, social equity and livelihood of people. The economic system should not encourage production systems that infringe upon basic human rights.

The social aspects of sustainable development such that development creates a just and fair society and that everyone has equal opportunities to develop. It provides people in the society opportunities for full participation in all activities, benefits, and decision-making of a society.

The environmental approaches in trying to balance the conservation and protection of the natural resources but equally using them for the benefit of society. Lack of environmental considerations in the use of the earth’s resources will result in these

resources being depleted or endangered and future generations' life-supporting systems will be jeopardised.

Infrastructure delivery is related to these key issues of sustainable development as further elaborated below. A fourth dimension - institutional, which is normally treated within the social sector, has been added here.

*Environmental.* Infrastructure not well provided can result in pollution of water and air, poor housing conditions, and diseases.

*Economic.* Inefficient infrastructure delivery can make heavy demands on investment to the detriment of other sectors.

*Social.* Unequal access to basic services leads to the question of equity and social exclusion. The affluent get better access to services than the poor, which has implications for the quality of life of people.

*Institutional.* Institutional sustainability is concerned with what mechanisms, participatory decision-making and public and private sector organisations are in place or that create a framework, that the livelihood of people can be continuously met (DFID, 2001). Thus, what structures are in place for infrastructure to be provided continuously to improve upon the lives of people?

Sustainable basic infrastructure delivery must be equity-oriented and efficient in resource use. Within the urban context, infrastructure delivery is an integral part of urban development. Thus in our human settlements, efforts have to be made such that these basic principles of sustainable development are assured.

#### **4 .1.2 Sustainable Development Concept and Local Government**

Local authorities play important roles in their local economies by building and maintaining infrastructure services, which is a pre-requisite for economic activity. Like private enterprises they also produce goods and services for the market like infrastructure services. These services must however be produced in a sustainable manner so that the services are sustained and equitably distributed for future generations. This requires a strategic planning approach that long-term community and ecological concerns are incorporated.



To address this concern the Earth Summit – the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) – held in Rio de Janeiro, June 1992 formulated the Agenda 21, a plan of action to achieve sustainable development.

### **Agenda 21**

Agenda 21 is a blue - print for sustainable development, which resulted from the Rio Conference. It acknowledged that the problems and solutions to problems concerning sustainable urban development have their roots at the local level. It therefore called on local authorities to undertake consultative processes to formulate LA21s for their communities (Chapter 28, Agenda 21).

The chapter states:

“Because so many of the problems and solutions being addressed by Agenda 21 have their roots in local activities, the participation and cooperation of local authorities will be a determining factor in fulfilling its objectives. Local authorities construct, operate, and maintain economic, social, and environmental infrastructure, oversee planning processes, establish local environmental policies and regulations, and assist in implementing national and sub-national environmental policies. As the level of governance closest to the people, they play a vital role in educating, mobilizing, and responding to the public to promote sustainable development.”

Local governments have therefore been given the mandate to see to the actualisation of LA 21s. LA 21 is defined by ICLEI (1996) as a participatory, multi-sectoral process to achieve the goals of Agenda 21 at the local level through the preparation and implementation of long-term strategic action plans that addresses the priority local sustainable development concerns.

The LA 21 is not confined to green environmental issues but also includes social and economic matters. In the peri-urban communities, improving service delivery is a strategy to enhance the quality of life of the populace, which can support production and

investment. It also seeks to strengthen all stakeholders and groups in society and sectors including the women, children and the disadvantaged in development. It develops and builds on partnerships in the local communities. It has the following general features of which some are adopted from the Local Agenda 21 of South Australia (2005):

#### *A continuing process*

A LA 21 program has no beginning or end. It is a long-term commitment to achieve local ecologically sustainable development and is a permanent feature of the way councils perform their functions and responsibilities. The program includes a continuous feedback, evaluation and monitoring system, which ensures that all actions are executed without adverse effect on any segment of society.

#### *Integration*

Full integration of the LA 21 planning process with the overall corporate and strategic planning of councils ensures that environmental, social and economic considerations are incorporated in all decision making.

#### *Quality of life*

Human beings are the focus of sustainable development. The LA 21 seeks to improve the quality of life of people in the community. Proposed actions should bring equitable benefits to all without producing injurious effects on the environment.

#### *A community partnership*

Community consultation and participation is a core principle in LA 21 programs. LA 21 programs aim to make the ideology of 'think globally, act locally' a reality through effecting changes in the attitudes and activities of people at a community level - in households, workplaces, and social groups and through their local government. It rests

on the community vision and set of goals, which are founded through public participatory process.

These features underlie the LA 21 sustainable development planning approach, which can provide a blue print for local authorities to adopt for improved urban planning and management.

#### **4.2 The Sustainable Development Planning Approach**

The sustainable development planning approach combines the principles and methods of corporate, community-based, and environmental planning to create a public sector, strategic planning approach that reflects the imperatives of sustainable development. Strategic planning has been used extensively in the private sector to provide corporations and businesses with long-term visions and goals, and short-term action plans to achieve these goals. Community-based planning has been used to engage local residents and service users in participatory processes to develop and implement local service projects and programs. Environmental planning ensures that development projects take environmental conditions and trends into consideration. (ICLEI, 1996)

Thus sustainable development planning uses the tools and approaches of the three planning traditions to assist communities' in factoring economic, community and environmental conditions into the design of development projects. The planning approach comprises five major steps (ICLEI, 1996).

Partnerships

Community-Based Issue Analysis

Action Planning

#### **Implementation and Monitoring**

Evaluation and Feedback

These steps are outlined and illustrated in Figure 2.

#### **4 .2.1 Partnerships**

Sustainable development planning engages everyone in the community: residents, key institutional partners, and interest groups, often known as "stakeholders," in designing and implementing action plans. Partnership - based planning according to ICLEI establishes different kind of partnerships for different tasks and responsibilities in the planning and management process. A stakeholder group will guide the entire planning process. This could be a community development committee or village development committee that the traditional authorities will put in place. When specific issues are identified, the development committee appoints a specialist-working group to take up the matter. These working groups should comprise of representatives from the assembly, community, public sector, private sector and knowledgeable people in the specific area. The committees or specialist working groups will ensure broad participation in its work and report to the overall development committee.

Participative planning requires all who have interest or knowledge in the issue at stake be involved. In the case of infrastructure it will include those affected by its adequacy e.g. the community (women and children): those with the requisite skills and know-how to address the problem (the land sector and utility agencies, urban authorities) and those who possess the powers of regulation and implementation.

After identifying the appropriate partners, the next step is to define the scope and terms of reference for the planning exercise and each planning partnership. It is important that roles and responsibilities are well defined and assigned to ensure no conflicts and waste of resources. An organisational framework will then be affected to facilitate the work of the various groups.

**Fig. 2 Elements of Sustainable Development Planning**

Sustainable development is development that delivers basic environmental, economic, and social services to all without threatening the viability of the systems upon which these services depend.

**WHO** are your partners in service delivery? How will service users participate in planning?

**WHAT** services do people want?

**WHAT** is the capacity of existing service systems? Can these systems sustainably meet service demands?

**HOW** do service systems impact upon other social, economic, and environmental systems?

**WHEN** and how can sustainable service systems be established?

**PARTNERSHIPS**  
Establish an organizational structure for planning by service providers and users. Establish a shared community vision.

**COMMUNITY-BASED ISSUE ANALYSIS**  
Identify the issues that must be addressed to achieve the community vision. Do detailed assessments of priority problems and issues.

**ACTION PLANNING**  
Agree on action goals, set targets and triggers, and create strategies and commitments to achieve these targets. Formalize into action plan.

**IMPLEMENTATION AND MONITORING**  
Create partnership structures for implementation and internal management systems for municipal compliance. Monitor activities and changes in services.

**EVALUATION AND FEEDBACK**  
Do periodic performance evaluations using target-based indicators. Provide results to service providers and users. Repeat issue analysis and/or action planning processes at specified trigger thresholds. Celebrate and reward achievements!

**TARGETS**  
A measurable commitment to be achieved in a specific time frame

**TRIGGERS**  
A commitment to take a specified action at a future date and/or in response to future conditions.

**HOW** will action plans be monitored and evaluated?

**WHEN** will further planning be required?

**HOW** will partners and users participate in implementation and evaluation?

Source: ICLEI *The Local Agenda 21 Planning Guide*, 1996

### **4.2.2 Community - based Issue Analysis**

Involving local communities in the analysis of development and related service issues is essential to the optimal solution of problems. Programmes are likely to succeed and supported when they respond to community concerns. The processes of issue analysis helps the various stakeholders share an understanding of the issues, review and participate in technical assessments and jointly plan and set priorities for action. The process also provides an opportunity for education on the technical constraints and conditions for service delivery. (ICLEI, 1996).

A series of exercises are used but these should be appropriate to all participants. Some of the exercises include SWOT analysis, community mapping, GIS, or focus groups. It is important that the method should be commensurate with the level of education of the participants, language, resources, time and size of groups involved. Community-based issue analysis typically involves two components. First, a discussion and understanding of the opinion of local people about their conditions. Second, technical assessments are undertaken to provide stakeholders with further information that may not readily be available to them. Thus an interface is created for local knowledge and technical research to be discussed by the stakeholders and a consensus established about local problems.

Community-based issue analysis provides two additional benefits. First, as resources are scarce it is not possible for the local communities to address all their needs at the same time. The process gives them the opportunity to prioritise their needs for action. Secondly, the combined use of technical assessments and participatory issue analysis also permits the community to establish "baseline" data and indicators against which progress and future changes in conditions can be measured. (ICLEI, 1996).

### **4.2.3 Action Planning**

Following the identification and analysis of priority service issues, partners can begin the process of creating Action Plans. The Action Plan should address the problems and needs identified and integrated with the perspective plan of the metropolis. The action planning process has three basic components (ICLEI, 1996):

**Action Goals:** Action goals are the specific aims that the community wishes to strive towards to achieve its vision for the future. They should translate the Community Vision into focused directives and resource allocation priorities.

**Targets and Triggers:** After action goals are established, professional staff should work with stakeholders to define specific targets to be achieved within specified time frames. Planning efforts benefit greatly from the establishment of concrete targets. Targets must reflect the constraints and opportunities for action if development is to proceed in a sustainable manner.

**Action Strategies and Commitments:** It is essential that an Action Plan specifies the action strategies and commitments of different stakeholders in order for them to work as partners in achieving the different objectives of an Action Plan. Action strategies should specify actions, the actors involved, time schedules and resources required.

Implementation partnerships are developed as part of the action plan when the plan is presented to the community and local institutions for final review and comment. It is through such consultation that these institutions are informed about how they can contribute to the plan by establishing implementing agreements. Developing partnerships and agreements for implementation is an ongoing process as the community is involved in the entire process.

The success of the action plan will also be influenced by three key factors (Barton et al, 1994):

*Standards and affordability.* In the provision of services care should be taken to provide services the community has the ability and willingness to pay for and the service standards are adequate. Some communities might be willing to pay for communal standpipes while others can afford home connections.

*Institutional Arrangements.* There might be the need to reorganise local government structures at the local level to ensure integration and coordinated working relationships. The traditional compartmental form of work ethics does not promote sustainable development and service delivery. It is expected that the urban authority or metropolitan assembly take the lead role to provide appropriate legal framework for the implementation of the action plan.

*Cost-effective solutions.* In selecting a course of action among others .it will be expedient to examine their economic and financial viability. A cost-benefit framework could be developed to facilitate the process. It might, however, not be possible to quantify everything in terms of cost and benefits.

#### **4.2.4 Implementation and Monitoring**

An excellent plan is no guarantee for problems to be solved or needs met. The lack of commitment of local government authorities to the implementation of the provisions in plans has often made the electorate sceptical of plans and planning in general (ICLEI, 1996). Successful plan implementation requires two conditions:

Local authorities and stakeholders should transform the organisational structures that were used to develop the plan with specific roles and responsibilities and capacity for implementation.

Secondly, local government should integrate the proposals and targets of the plan into its own budget and investment decisions. This will create an atmosphere of full commitment of the government to the action plan.

Plan implementation might also require local government to reform existing structures to support the implementation of the partnerships. Some of the reforms include decentralisation to lower levels of government (neighbourhood), interdepartmental coordination and linkages of the plan to the other planning processes of the local government.

Monitoring begins during the implementation phase. It requires the keeping of adequate record of actions for performance to be evaluated in the future. It also enables the day-to-day activities to be kept on course and conflicts resolved before they get out of hand.

#### **4.2.5 Evaluation and Feedback**

Monitoring is primarily useful for internal management purposes. Evaluation and feedback are necessary to maintain accountability among stakeholders and to indicate when there is a need for a change of strategy in the action plan. Evaluation and feedback are also used to inform the general public about progress in meeting targets set out in the plan. In developing countries where resources are limited it is important



that monitoring and evaluation are taken seriously to avoid waste of resources due to failure to take timely decisions during plan implementation.

A tool for effective monitoring and evaluation is a set of indicators. These should be developed at the action planning stage when targets, roles and responsibilities were formulated. It should be possible for local communities to understand the indicators and apply them: for example the frequency of water to the neighbourhood, whether daily or thrice a week.

Evaluation information is used to guide planning and resource allocation budgeting processes so that community vision is achieved. If the action plan does not respond adequately to the communities needs, the feedback system indicates the need for re-planning.

This section has presented an emerging approach to improve urban planning and management for better service delivery. The previous discussions have indicated the inability of urban authorities to provide adequate level of services and the advocacy for communities to be involved to support service delivery. The challenge is how to promote this community involvement. It has been indicated that community solidarity and self-help communities have provided services where the urban authorities have failed to deliver. It does offer an opportunity for urban authorities to work in partnerships with communities for service improvements.

#### **4.3 The Concept of Local Agenda 21 and Partnerships**

Partnerships are not a new concept. The LA 21 stresses the need for the formation of partnerships to drive the development process. A partnership is concerned with people working together. It is generally the believe that working together is more effective than working in isolation. It is in this regard that organisations and government are embracing partnerships. Partnerships are seen as one-way of doing business particularly community improvement. A partnership according to Frank and Smith (1997) is defined as a relationship where two or more parties, having compatible goals, form an agreement to do something together. Partnerships are about people working together in

a mutually beneficial relationship, or often times doing things together that might not be able to be achieved alone.

It will be like traditional authorities and their communities collaborating with the assembly to bring improvement in their communities, which will meet the aspirations of both community and local government.

Partnerships therefore have the following features (Frank and Smith, 1997):

The sharing of resources, work, risk, responsibility, decision-making, power, benefits and burdens. It should add value to each partner's respective services, products or situations. In partnerships, there is give and take.

Based on identifiable responsibilities, joint rights and obligations. It requires getting the right people with the skills to work for the achievement of the community goals. In our communities the traditional authorities will play a lead role in getting a committee to carryout the task.

Establishment of a formal relationship between partners. Normally the partners have their own identity outside the partnership and are independently accountable to others as well as to the partnership. Actions or transactions occur where each party expects to benefit and agrees to share the risk. Simply put, a partnership is an agreement to do something together that will benefit all involved.

Build on what is already being done while avoiding duplication or fragmentation.

Offer an effective and practical approach to solving problems, seizing opportunities and planning results.

Empower people and systems to change for the better.

Partnerships for communities should be relatively simple and not complicated to manage. To be effective the following steps are involved (Frank and Smith, 1997):

### **Stage 1: Initial Development**

Vision – creating a common picture for the future.

Goals – identifying desired outcomes for the partnership.

Understanding the Situation - assessing the current situation.

Commitment - confirming the desire to work together and understanding what is involved.

Implications - considering the impact of the partnership and possible legal issues or questions.

### **Stage 2: Making It Happen**

Action Plans - identifying the specific steps that are required to reach the goals of the partnership.

Resources - identifying the resources that are required and how they will be obtained.

Roles and Responsibilities - identifying who will do what.

Capacity Building - building upon the partnership's strengths and addressing areas of weakness.

### **Stage 3: Accountability and Future Directions**

Evaluation - determining the success of partnership activities.

Future Directions - maintaining momentum and determining what needs to happen next.

Revision, Renewal and Closure - identifying how to adjust and move on or end the partnership.

These phases are very similar to the process outlined in the Local Agenda 21 action plan. The partnership process by following the LA 21 planning process, integrates the principles of sustainable development. It means that traditional authorities and their communities by adopting the LA 21 process at the neighborhood or community level will be developing a LA 21 plan that meets their needs and aspirations with a partnership founded on a shared vision and commitment with the urban authorities. These local plans if well integrated with the urban development plans would imply more legitimacy for the latter.

The process stresses:

Decentralized and democratic decision-making.

Community ownership of the planning process, 'bottom up' rather than 'top down' service delivery.

Thus conditions that partnerships will thrive depends if the planning system answers the following questions (Frank and Smith, 1997)

Does the process allow for real participation by all stakeholders?

Does it allow for the articulation and sharing of common vision, concerns, resources, etc.?

Does it try to build on community strengths and weaknesses, structures?

Does the situation exist for the sharing of power with all stakeholders particularly at the lower level and the disadvantaged?

#### **4.4 Research Propositions**

The LA 21 planning approach and the other approaches discussed in Chapter Three provide some ingredients or "best practices", which if adapted could improve urban planning and management for better service delivery. The following issues are noteworthy and form the basis for the analysis of the findings in this thesis.

*Planning.* In terms of the planning process, the principles of sustainable development and LA 21 call for an integrated approach to development if the goals of sustainable development are to be achieved at all levels. The planning process must be *integrative, participatory and all-inclusive*.

*Decentralisation.* The centralised top-down planning approach does not promote community participation nor ensure optimal service delivery. The decentralised approach offers more advantages to service delivery. The implementation of activities requires decentralisation and strengthening of local capacity.

*Affordability.* Local self-help initiatives in communities are a strategy of providing affordable services that should be strengthened.

*Participation.* Community participation in urban planning and management is important because local people are capable of identifying the issues that affect them in the community and offer viable solutions.

*Partnerships.* The LA 21 process can provide an environment for local communities to develop partnerships with urban authorities for urban improvement.

*Empowerment.* Building on local institutions can enhance the LA 21 process, empower communities, and strengthen their capacity to deliver services that reflect their needs.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **THE CASE OF GHANA: A BRIEF HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

The previous chapter advocated LA 21 as a model that urban authorities can adopt to plan for infrastructure improvements with their communities. This chapter examines the development planning experience of Ghana in terms of the planning systems practiced over the years to see if the context exists for the LA 21 process to be adopted. This is because the local situation in Tamale will occur within the dictates of national policies.

Urban planning and management in Africa is influenced by colonial legacy and western planning theories. These theories and practices, though they might be outdated, are still in vogue in African countries (Devas, 1993; Wekwete, 1997; UNCHS, 1998). The Ghanaian situation is a reflection of the above scenario. A review of the urban planning and management in the country over the years reveals that it has progressed from a colonial master plan approach to a current pro-decentralised/urban governance approach.

The development experience could also be classified under spatial and non - spatial oriented forms of development. From the colonial period there was an emphasis on spatial physical planning, thus concerning itself primarily with land - use. In the late 1980s this trend changed against the backdrop of world developments because of changes in development paradigms. The development planning approach became less emphatic on spatial planning and more concerned with thematic areas such as economic, social and environmental issues. The thinking was that these issues were the underlying factors of the spatial manifestation of urban areas, thus requiring investigations into them and linking them with spatial planning (Adarkwa and Post, 2001)

## **5.1 Review of Planning Theories, History and Institutional Developments**

Planning theories are numerous and complex, but for the purpose of this study, four categories will be discussed. These are the rational comprehensive model, incremental, advocacy models and strategic structural planning approach. This categorisation also follows the pattern in terms of which they were expounded over the years. (Information on the local situation, discussed in sections 5.1.2 to 5.1.4 was based on discussions and reports with the Mr. Karbo, Director of Town & Country Planning Department, Ghana, 2005)

### **5.1.1 Planning Theories**

#### ***The Rational/Comprehensive Model.***

Up to the 1960s, the concept of planning comprised the physical control and use of land. Planning sought to guide the location and design of capital improvements such as housing, streets, water and sewers. Plans contained land use policies and a graphic vision of those policies in the form of a spatial display of future patterns of physical development (Chapin 1957; Kent 1964). Plans were to be comprehensive in geographical coverage and function. The preparation procedure followed the "survey, analysis and plan" methodology propounded by Patrick Geddes (1915). The plans were long range in time dimension and used scientific methods for data collection, analysis and forecasting for plan making. It was believed that this method increased the rigour and rationality of decision-making since the planner was neutral in behaviour and acted for the common good (Kent, 1964). The planner was the decision-maker and supposed to be the expert in urban development. The data collected was enough to indicate the views of the public. This model of planning was practiced both in the United States and Britain and dominated the planning horizon until the 1960s, when practitioners identified to some weaknesses in the model.

The first criticism was that planners behaved as if they acted in a vacuum and did not consider the influence of politicians who could determine the fate of a plan at the end of the day, which could affect its implementation.

Another criticism related to the lack of public participation as planners took all decisions supposedly in the public interest, which interest usually failed to reflect the poor or disadvantaged of society. It also assumed that no other group of professionals was competent enough to scientifically and rationally analyse and formulate plans. Therefore plans produced were not realistic but rather irrational (Peter Hall, 1979).

A third weakness of the model was its long-term time frames, which under rapid urbanisation, could not predict and accommodate change. A fourth criticism was that the model did not foster integration with other sectors such as the socio-economic aspects of society. As an instance, infrastructure provision was not related to the plans and tended to fall behind demand.

Finally, critics were concerned about the cost of data collection and time involved. It was seen as expensive and time - wasting in that by the time the plan was formulated, it was based on outdated information. This led to the *incremental model* advocated by Lindblom (1996).

### ***The Incremental Model***

Charles Lindblom advanced the incremental model notably in his essay "The Science of Muddling Through". He postulated that it is difficult to implement plans in the way the rational model contends in that the influence of politicians can affect the implementation in terms of cost and time. Thus he advocated a step-by-step approach or "muddling through" problem – solving, low - risk methodology. A feature of this model was a narrower or limited scope to planning with a shorter time frame to reduce risk and cost. The premise was that man cannot possess all knowledge of his environment and might not be able to collect all the information he needs to understand a phenomenon. This will in any event be an expensive and costly venture.

The model was criticised for being narrow in scope but it did advise planners about the need to be conscious of time and cost in plan making. It also did not assume neutrality in the role of planners as in the case of the rational model, but saw them as advisers, because decisions about plans rested ultimately with politicians and other bureaucrats.



The model, however, had appeal to development workers like the late Michael Schumacher with his philosophy of *small is beautiful* to implementing development projects. The Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, where poor communities with small savings established a bank for their credit purposes, was established through such an approach. In recent times Choughil (1996) advocated a similar incremental approach to infrastructure delivery for low-income communities.

The non - neutrality stand of the incremental approach led to other planners contending for the need to take sides if they want to promote justice in society, and thus play an increasing advocacy role.

### ***The Advocacy Model***

The advocacy model is largely attributed to Paul Davidoff (1973) who stated the need for more voices to be heard in the planning process. His campaign was against the backdrop of the Black Civil Rights movements in America and urban renewal programme, which affected blacks in the 1960s. An evaluation of the urban renewal and public housing programme in the US indicated social injustice (Hartman, 1975; Gan, 1982). The adherents of this model stressed among other things the issue of human rights, the environment and sustainability in the planning process. The main feature of the advocacy planners was their concern of the role of planners and not the plan process *per se*. Though they accepted the views of the incrementalists, they argued that the planner should not be neutral. Planners needed to influence policy makers and politicians to get the interest of the poor and voiceless to be heard and integrated into plans.

The model was therefore and still is appealing to non-governmental organisations and the UN agencies working in the 1980s. The model challenged planners to widen their scope in advocating for the public interest and promote participatory and plural planning. The model, however, had its problems particularly in the United States, and later other in countries, where communities used the element of participation to block well - intended urban proposals or to protect their own interest. Terms like NIMBY (Not in My Back Yard), LULU (Locally Unwanted Land Use), and BANANA (Build Absolutely Nothing

Anywhere Near Anyone), among others, became symbolic of US local political culture (Berk, 2001). The issues contended by advocacy planning was also the harbinger of social planning in the planning profession to highlight the influence of political and socio-economic systems in society.

### ***Strategic Structural Planning Approach***

The aforementioned planning models constituted the approaches to urban planning and management until the 1970s when strategic structural approaches were propounded. The 1980s marked many changes in world development with the break - down of the Cold War, the liberalisation of economies and the push for democracy among countries. The world developments demanded a change in approach from the old models. Strategic structure plans were accordingly advocated as they were general, flexible and sought to include social, environmental and economic issues.

Strategic planning has its origins in the military and the idea of a 'strategy' or "the activity of leading or organising an army as a general to win a war" (Needham, 2000). It also borrowed ideas from policy analysis and business management (Davidson, 1996). The definition connotes two elements: achieving a goal, and how to reach it. It is, however, referred to variously in different countries as environmental planning and management, participatory planning, coordinating approach to planning or strategic planning. A strategic structural plan can be defined as a development framework for the formulation of policy and general proposals on the social, economic and spatial aspects of an urban area. It is concerned with long-term issues but takes short-term actions in those identified for implementation.

Strategic structure planning was therefore a departure from the rigid comprehensive master plan concept of planning, which is more flexible, strategic and multi-sectoral in outlook. The approach was also appealing because of the involvement of more participation and partnership in the planning and implementation by stakeholders in urban development (Chougul, 1999: Nnyka, 1999). Strategic planning has the following characteristics as reviewed by Albrecht (1999):

It is focused on limited number of key issues.

It takes a critical view of the environment in terms of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats.

It studies the external trends and forces.

It allows for broad (multi-level governance) and diverse involvement during the planning process.

It is closely tied with budgeting – revenue planning, capital expenditure and operations and maintenance costs.

It involves participation of and ownership by key actors or major stakeholders (private /public sector).

It prioritises to allow strategic choices

It can be developed incrementally with development of staff capacity

It occurs within a medium to long-term time horizon – main focus typically 5 years, with 10-20 year horizon.

The strategic structural planning approach has been supported and used by the UNCHS successfully in Africa and Asian cities as reported in the case of Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), Ibadan (Nigeria), Nakuru (Kenya) and Vinh (Vietnam). (Kombe and Krebsch, 2000; Ogu, 2000; den Broeck, 2004)

Strategic planning has strengths over the master planning concept the latter being land – use and, development - control oriented and deterministic in approach. For developing countries, the former is a more appropriate and dynamic planning tool as it provides a broad framework for local decision-making, thereby encouraging public participation. This method is more indicative than a master plan, in that it requires not only projections of the future demands and needs of a community, such as housing, infrastructure, employment, transport, or local markets, but also environmental aspects like waste management.

The relevance of these approaches to Ghana is discussed later in the text after the historical review and development of Town Planning in the country because the adoption of some of these models was a result of colonial legacy. The rational

comprehensive model however has been the dominant model driving urban planning and management in the country over the years.

### **5.1.2 Historical Perspective of Planning in Ghana.**

Development planning in Ghana was initiated by colonial Governor Sir Gordon Guggisberg with the launch of a ten - year development plan 1920 – 30. His goal in his words was to “translate a scheme of vision directly essential to the progress of the people” (Karbo, 2002). The plan proposals were heavily infrastructure - inclined with the construction of roads, hospitals, water supplies, schools, housing and the institution of town planning. The plan was implemented for seven years and stopped with the dismissal of the Governor in 1927 on a charge of “opening the eyes of the natives with amazing rapidity” (Karbo, *ibid*)

In terms of urban development and infrastructure delivery, the plan had a centrally planned system in regard to services delivery. The colonial government provided the funding, and local authorities and their communities played a minimal role. Infrastructure was regarded as the responsibility of the colonial government. The physical planning department provided plans to guide the growth and development of infrastructure in the few urban centres and concentrated in the European and elite Africans sections. Infrastructure provision could not be said to have been adequate and equitable (Asamoah, *ibid*).

The plan, however, pioneered national planning and economic development planning and the start of development planning at the settlement level. Planning guidelines and objectives were provided in two enactments promulgated in 1925: the Mining Areas Ordinance and Town and Country Planning Ordinance. The departure of Governor Guggisberg stalled planning in the country until the enactment of the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1945, which meant planning had to wait for 20 years. An important programme at the time was the start of the mass education and community development movement in 1948 to mobilise local community initiatives to plan and construct community facilities with technical support from local government. The mass

education movement also heralded the start of rural development programmes in the country. Traditional authorities played a lead role in the mobilisation of their communities to form development committees to facilitate local planning and development. This initiative was therefore an opportunity for the start of local level planning and development.

Subsequent plans prepared after governor Guggisberg until independence in 1957 were never fully implemented due to lack of resources or attributed to the World War II and agitation for independence. After independence, three emergent planning systems were ushered into place:

A central planning system, which though centralised, was integrated in nature. The system later split into various departments with each planning its programmes from headquarters.

Settlement planning, though at an embryonic stage

Organised rural development, which relied on community self - help and technical support by government to develop local facilities.

(Karbo, *ibid*)

### **5.1.3 Institutional development**

The development of the Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD) can be outlined less than three periods:

#### ***5.1.3.1 The colonial period.***

The Governor Guggisberg period initiated planning at the local level. The planning functions were defined in the Mining Health Areas and Towns Ordinances and performed by Health Boards and the Public Works Department.

The establishment of the Department as an essential arm of government was started through the initiative of Lord Swinton, a Colonial resident Minister for West Africa who in 1944 appointed a consultant to prepare planning schemes (master plans) for major towns of West Africa. Five such schemes were prepared for Accra, Kumasi Sekondi, Takoradi and Tarkwa. A step was taken further to institutionalise the Department with the enactment of the Town and Country Planning Ordinance (Cap 84) in 1945. The

Ordinance in the main intended to ensure orderly development of land. The Ordinance provided for the:

Preparation of development plans for any declared planning areas.

Establishment of a planning board which assesses applications for planning permission and grant approval for development. Where applicable local committees were delegated to perform that function.

Delegation of planning powers to Local Authorities by the Minister responsible for town planning.

The planning approach thus represented the master plan concept modelled after the rational comprehensive model and British planning system. The Ordinance, except with minor amendments in 1959, has been in place to date.

#### **5.1.3.2 Post-Independence Era**

When the country attained independence in 1957, the Convention People's Party (CPP) government under Dr. Nkrumah drew the *Seven-year Development Plan (1964-1970)* to address economic growth. The main objective of the plan was to accelerate economic development of Ghana through rapid industrialisation. On the advice of Arthur Lewis, a West Indian economist, an import substitution industrialisation strategy was adopted for the country. The economic development was also based on socialism in terms of state-led investment. The plan also sought to improve upon road, railways, air, water transport and other infrastructure facilities to enhance rapid industrialisation. The infrastructure component had the highest budget line of 27% of the £88 million. It was, however, revised downward to 18% because the previous plan had developed infrastructure beyond the level of economic development of the country.

A noteworthy development at the time was the preparation of the *National Physical Development Plan (NPDP) 1963-1970* which was to guide the spatial organisation of economic and social infrastructure. One of the objectives of the plan was to ensure spatial equity and match resources, population and infrastructure.

The NPDP was not implemented as expected, due to lack of political commitment, whereas the rapid development drive of the government led to increased urbanisation,

poor siting of some industrial projects and duplication of programmes, which created planning problems. Upon the advice of the Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD), the government invited the United Nations Regional Planning Commission to develop an approach that would integrate economic and physical planning in the country. The Commission recommended three levels of planning administration: the national, regional and local levels. It also prepared a draft Physical Planning Bill that was to integrate economic and physical planning but the Bill was never passed due to the military coup of 1966.

The TCPD was moved to the Ministry of Economic Affairs, which offered some hope of integrating it with the Ministry of Economic Planning. However further re-organisation of the Ministry in 1969 moved the Department to the Ministry of Works and Housing in 1969. Since then the Department has moved between various ministries six times before the present position at the Ministry of the Environment and Science.

It can therefore be observed that no meaningful development planning could be undertaken with the frequent changes in portfolio. Long-term and integrated plans could not be undertaken under the circumstances except probably ad-hoc ones. Urban planning was therefore weak to respond adequately to the demands of rapid urban development. The multi - sectoral nature of the Department, which has been the reason for its frequent movement from ministry to ministry, posed challenges in terms of its legislative framework which was largely based on the old 1945 Planning Ordinance modelled after the British planning law of 1932.

#### ***5.1.3.3 Present situation***

Since the 1980s there have been radical political, economic and administrative reforms in the country. In 1988 the government instituted a decentralised system of administration and planning. The TCPD has been operating under the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462 of 1993) and takes its authority from the Ministry of Environment and Science and the district/metropolitan assemblies. The TCPD operates at three levels: the national, regional and district. At the national level its role is

concerned with policymaking, monitoring and evaluation while at the regional level it performs more of a coordinating role. At the district level, assemblies and the offices of the Department are charged with the planning and development of settlements in their areas.

#### **5.1.4 Planning legislation**

The provision of rules and regulations to guide the use of land in the country as mentioned earlier took its origins from British legislation. The Town and Country Ordinance of 1945 enacted in the colonial period is still one of the principal laws for town planning. Various attempts have been made to review this law but have thus far been unsuccessful.

The Ordinance provides procedures for the preparation of schemes and approval by the minister, land acquisition and compensation, and development control. The main features of this legislation are that the planning and development functions are placed with the Minister, who is responsible for the preparation, approval and execution of schemes. Local committees with delegated powers carry out limited planning functions.

One of the main weaknesses of this legislation is the over-centralisation of planning in the Minister. The scope of planning has also been limited to physical planning issues and development control, whilst excluding other important components of urban development (economic, social and environmental). The over-centralization of planning gives limited scope for local participation and quick response to local issues from the remotely placed Minister.

However, with the decentralisation of government and reforms over the years, the planning functions have been moved to the local authorities. Other legislation has also been enacted to ensure the gradual transfer of planning authority to local authorities. The significant ones are the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) Act, Act 479 of 1994 and the Systems Act, act 480 and the Local government Act 462.



#### **5.1.4.1 The National Development Planning Commission Act**

The NDPC Act provides the national development policy guidelines and the Systems Act the framework for planning. It establishes the relationships and levels of planning at the national, regional and district levels. It also provides the framework for the operation of the Local Government Act 462 of 1993.

#### **5.1.4.2 The Local Government Act**

The Local Government Act, Act 462 of 1993 constitutes the main legislation guiding planning practice in the country. Part II of the Act deals with physical planning processes of the assemblies but detailed regulations which are to accompany the legislation to effectively carry out the physical planning functions are yet to be provided. Thus the Department is subject to the provisions of the Ordinance and both laws operate side by side. The Local Government Act empowers the assemblies as the planning authorities of their jurisdiction to prepare and approve plans as well as direct developments on land. An Assembly has the power of enforcement to stop and prevent unauthorised structures; control abatement of nuisance, and the provision of essential service such water, roads, electricity.

#### **5.1.5 Review Conclusions**

This review has revealed in the main a system of urban planning and management that was initially based on centralised decision-making, bureaucratic control, and physically guided rigid master plans. The subsequent moves towards local level planning and development did not continue into independence. The institutional development of the TCPD was also marked by frequent changes in portfolio and frequent changes in government, detrimentally affecting its ability to promote effective and visionary urban development. In recent times following the structural adjustment programmes and democratisation, laws have advocated for decentralised, participatory and coordinated approach to development planning. The following section deals with the country's experiences consequent from the planning approaches that have been outlined in the foregoing.

## **5.2 Experiences with Historic Planning Approaches**

### **5.2.1 The Master Plan (Spatial) Approach**

The historical review has revealed that Ghana's planning practice was and is still heavily influenced by British planning traditions. Ghana initially adopted the master planning approach formulated in accordance with the rational comprehensive model, which provided for an end - state, physical blue - print for local authorities to guide the development of cities. The master plans thus prepared were physical in nature and emphasised infrastructure and land-use zoning, without due consideration of the economic, social or environmental issues.

The deficiencies associated with the rational comprehensive model manifested themselves in the master planning approach, which did not among others, facilitate community involvement in infrastructure delivery. The limited or non - participative nature of the plans meant the disadvantaged and peri-urban communities could not be part of plan proposals. In terms of preparation, central government specialists or line agencies were responsible, who in many cases rarely consulted with the private sector and community groups in urban planning. Thus peri-urban developments tended not to be considered and their communities were left out in decision-making and in the provision of basic services.

In terms of scope, though the plans were comprehensive, they did not work for integration, as plan objectives were sectoral with each government department pursuing its own objectives. The inadequacy of water in some housing estates in parts of Accra and Kumasi (Adenta and Asuoeyeboah) has thus been attributed to poor integration of infrastructure and urban planning proposals. There was also weak linkage of the financial implications with the plans, which resulted in most plans never being fully implemented. In general, plans were not coordinated with other sectoral, socio-economic and financial strategies.

Despite being criticized, master plans did serve a good purpose at the time they were produced. Urban development was slow and staff capacity was limited and warranted

that system of planning. The plans also took time to prepare due to extensive data collection, which often made the plan outdated before it could be implemented. This planning approach, despite the shortcomings, still forms the basis for most urban plans in Ghana. Thus it has been difficult for infrastructure delivery to be well integrated in the urban plans, resulting in infrastructure backlogs.

The gradual economic depression the country faced in the 1970s and early 1980s further worsened the performance of urban plans. It called for a shift in the planning approach.

### **5.2.2 The New Development Planning (Non Spatial Approach)**

The political, economic and constitutional reforms undertaken from the 1980s resulted in reforms also in the planning system. It was acknowledged that the past planning system was national in outlook and sectoral. Its drawbacks were thus stated as:

Insensitive to community aspirations and opportunities for local development initiatives

Inhibitive to integrated analysis, synthesis in action and representing a limited and partial approach to solving development problems

Hardly exploring the interactive nature of development planning

(Ghana/MLGRD, 1996)

The Local Government Act, Act 462 of 1993 and the National Development Planning Commission, Act 480 of 1994 and the Constitution addressed the shortcomings by designating districts/municipal and metropolitan assemblies as planning authorities charged with the overall development of their areas. Some provisions worth mentioning for purpose of this thesis include:

Local people must participate in the formulation and implementation of plans

Planning at the district level starts with the communities' problems, goals and objectives.

Decentralize and integrate the development process

Community participation, inter-sectoral and multi-disciplinary collaboration are integral to the planning process.

The ministries and departments were also decentralized to support the development planning system. It is against this background that the Accra Strategic Plan was prepared.

### **5.2.3 The Strategic Structure Planning Approach**

The economic and political reforms in the country at the time required a new planning approach to address the weaknesses with the master plan approach. The strategic plan approach, is as discussed earlier, by nature broad and all - involving planning process which enables all stakeholders including the poor and marginalised to be part of plan formulation and implementation. This structure planning approach was used to draw up the Accra Strategic Structure Plan (ASSP) for 1993-97.

The ASSP was prepared by the TCPD with support from the government, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and United Nations Commission on Human Settlements (UNCHS). The plan's preparation was started in 1988 and completed in 1992. It dealt with both spatial and non-spatial issues such as the economic and social aspects of the city. The plan was prepared when the city was experiencing deteriorated infrastructure and continued population growth against a backdrop of a weak economy. The plan is being implemented in phases but has not been replicated to other towns due to personnel and financial constraints. Its influence on planning and infrastructure delivery can be said to be localized in the capital city but it had an indirect effect on the planning system in the country.

The Accra plan was given wide circulation and it created awareness among planners and policy makers for coordination and an integrated approach to urban issues. It re-enforced the importance of enabling legislation to facilitate decentralized planning and greater involvement of all stakeholders (private sector, public, community based organizations and the NGO community) in the planning and development of urban areas. One can say that the principle of the advocacy model was adopted by the strategic plans as they saw the need for increasing the scope of decision-making to include the poor and disadvantaged. An element of the incremental approach also finds

credence in prioritising key issues and implementing them instead trying so many at once.

### **5.3 Urban Management, Decentralisation and Governance**

The economic reforms of government undertaken from the 1980s with the World Bank required the implementation of a structural adjustment programme (SAP) aimed at revamping the economy, which was in near collapse. A market-driven approach to development was adopted which affected development planning. In the urban areas the poor suffered as subsidies were removed from essential services. Donors also stressed on government to create an enabling approach to service delivery to increase productivity and efficiency. They advocated a greater role of the private sector and a lesser role for government. At the local level, the enabling approaches marked another phase in urban development, which was urban management and decentralisation.

Urban management emphasised efficiency in local government management practices. The intention was to focus on local government but the problem of capacity led to some of the programmes being top-down and technocratic. Public-private partnerships were promoted and user charges introduced which meant the poor had to pay for services. The United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) supported by the World Bank initiated the Urban Management Programme (1986 – 1996) to respond to the urban crises that African countries were facing, in order to:

situate urban development projects in the context of city-wide and institutional considerations;

pay more attention to sources of local finance for more decentralized municipal government;

devise alternative means of organizing and financing urban services such as water supply, public transport, electricity, sanitary services, and waste disposal;

seek and promote local community and participatory sources of support for urban services and infrastructure.

The Urban Management Programme (UMP) was launched in 1986, to strengthen the technical and management capacity of developing countries with respect to urban development. Policy papers were prepared for the key sectors (land, environment, finance, infrastructure, and poverty) and used in city and country consultations.

The approach has been criticized as too professional and top-down though it advocated a participatory approach to urban management. The UMP was used to implement a sanitation project in Accra, which is the only example in the country. The programme was not replicated or tried anywhere else in the country due to lack of political and resource support.

This era marked the beginning of decentralisation where responsibilities were simply passed to the local level without ensuring adequate financing or local capacity to meet the new challenges, though the situation has steadily improved over time.

#### **5.4 Decentralisation**

Decentralisation may be defined as the transfer of government power authority and resources to a lower organisation (Conyers, 1984). It denotes functional and territorial decentralisation. Functional decentralisation refers to the transfer of authority and responsibilities from government to the private sector or non-governmental organisations (NGOs) whereas territorial transfer of authority and responsibilities is conferred on a defined local authority. In Ghana, a fusion of the two occurs: the transfer of authority to district assemblies and transfer of public services to the private sector and NGOs.

The objectives of the decentralisation process pursued by the government of Ghana were as follows:

Devolve political and state power in order to promote participatory democracy through local level institutions;

Deconcentrate and devolve administration, development planning and implementation to the District Assemblies (local government units)

Introduce an effective system of fiscal decentralisation which gives the District assemblies (DAs) control over a substantial portion of their revenues;

Establish a national development planning system to integrate and coordinate development planning at all levels and in all sectors; and  
Incorporate economic, social, spatial and environmental issues into the development planning process on an integrated and comprehensive basis.

(Ayee and Tay.1998)

To realise these objectives of decentralisation, the local government system was accordingly restructured.

#### **5.4.1 Decentralisation and Local Level Governance**

The new system of local government in Ghana came into being in 1988 with the enactment of the PNDC Law 207. The 1992 Constitution of Ghana under Chapter 20, the Local Government Act, Act 462 of 1993(which replaced the PNDC Law 207) and the National Development Planning Commission Acts, 1994, (Acts 479 and 480) enabled the decentralised form of government for policy, planning and decision-making in the country. The district assemblies with two-thirds elected and one-third appointed (this includes traditional authorities) became the primary role players in the administrative system. The assemblies are to deliberate, pass by-laws and manage the general development of the district. The decentralisation system of government also devolved eighty-eight responsibilities to the district and metropolitan assemblies, which includes the provision of basic services. For example Section 10 (3), d of the Local Government Act states that the assemblies shall “initiate programmes for the development of basic infrastructure and provide municipal works and services in the district”.

In order to provide technical support for policy decision-making, 16, 13 and 11 departments were created for Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies, respectively. The staff of these departments is directly under the supervision of the District Assembly. The District Assembly is linked to the national level and collaborates with the regional level for the harmonization and coordination of plans. The Assemblies are also given funds to carry out development projects under the establishment of the District Assembly Common Fund (DACF) into which 5 per cent of total revenues of Ghana are paid and then distributed among the assemblies on the basis of a formula approved by Parliament.

The policy therefore made districts and local level the pivots of decision-making and development. This implied that it should be possible for infrastructure improvements to be planned and developed at the local level to bring about a better quality of life for communities. Thus, there was the need to restructure the infrastructure agencies to support the process.

#### **5.4.2 Restructuring of the Infrastructure Agencies**

The Department of Urban Roads (DUR) and Feeder Roads (DRF) were decentralised as road units of the assemblies. However these agencies continue to receive their development and current expenditure budgets from their national headquarters in Accra. Their development plans have little relation with the plans of the assemblies or the other infrastructure agencies.

In the case of the Ghana Water Company (GCWL), its operations are not decentralised, as it is a limited liability company. The implications are that it operates for profit and its plans and budgets have no relation with the assembly and other infrastructure agencies. The Volta River Authority (VRA/NED), which provides electricity operates along similar lines as a profit - making entity and autonomous in management.

The decentralisation policy, however, expects that infrastructure plans and policies be formulated at the local level to promote and ensure optimum use of resources.

Local level development is therefore frustrated by the inability of the administrative system to support the decentralisation process, as the necessary restructuring has in fact not occurred.

#### **5.4.3 Urban Infrastructure Programmes under Decentralisation.**

The government embarked on a number of urban infrastructure development programmes under decentralisation between 1988 and 2000. These projects were undertaken with the assistance of the World Bank. The urban projects were the Urban I – V projects which the World Bank, the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD) and the participating assemblies implemented jointly. The objective of these urban projects was to rehabilitate and improve upon essential infrastructure services. The scope of works covered roads, lorry parks and markets,



drains, sanitation, housing and institutional support. Tamale benefited only from the Urban II and IV projects.

These projects did substantially increase and improve infrastructure services but the coverage was limited to the core areas of the cities. Newly urbanising areas and urban fringes did not see much attention. The World Bank was interested in economic activity locations and infrastructure whose cost recovery could be met in a short time. User fees and privatisation was instituted for the rehabilitated or new constructed facilities. The market mechanism was used to determine the cost of services with profit motive.

A second comment on these projects is that they were centrally planned and implemented. Communities might be involved in the implementation but not the planning. The lack of active local level involvement caused delays in project implementation.

A third issue is the limited assistance to the urban planning department by the World Bank and Ministry of Local Government in terms of urban projects. The Town and Country Planning Department which should have provided schemes for infrastructure investment received limited support in terms of staff training, equipment and other logistics to support local level planning and development (Larbi, 1996).

Through the decentralisation policy offers hope for local level involvement in development, inadequate progress has been made in the actual involvement of beneficiaries in the planning and development of urban infrastructure. There are certain challenges that need to be addressed in the decentralisation process:

There is the issue of ensuring accountability of officials and the chief executive who is appointed by the government to the electorate. Accountability, as well as transparency and efficiency, are not appreciably increased. Officials are still not feeling responsible for their actions (Frankie, 1999). The allegiance of officials is to the central government directives without regards to local needs. The weak local structures and indifferent civil society in local governance set the scene for abuse of power (Mensah-Abrampa, 1999).

The District Assemblies are still financially weak. The internal revenue from most Assemblies cannot even meet their recurrent expenditure, which leaves nothing for development. The major source of funding which is the District Assembly Common Fund is also largely controlled by central government as government issues directives as to where expenditure should be made. Thus because of the central government funding, to a degree central control weakens local autonomy in spending (Ayee, 1997: Razing and Obirih-Opareh, 1999).

Related to the above point is the lack of concrete programmes to enhance local economic development. The assemblies are concerned more with the provision of social facilities than the development of the private sector. The economic bases of the districts are therefore weak with no avenues for taxes and revenue generation.

Another important weakness of the local administrative machinery is its lack of qualified manpower, yet the DAs are not at liberty to recruit their own personnel, and depend on Accra. Progress has been made over the years to provide office and residential accommodation but there is still need for more office and residential structures to be built.

A critical but important challenge is the capacity of the unit of government closest to the communities. The unit committees and area councils in some cases are small and ill equipped to manage the bottom up process of decision-making.

The civil service offers low levels of remuneration, which is unattractive to young graduates who are needed to fill vital positions in the assemblies (Obirih-Opareh, 1998).

## **5.5 GHANA'S DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE: THE ISSUES IN SUMMARY.**

The overview of Ghana's development experience has indicated the influence that the socio-economic and political climate has had on the urban development process. In terms of "best practices" as summarised in the previous chapter, much still remains to be done.

In terms of planning, the structural adjustment programmes have played a lead in the shift from centralised development approach to decentralised planning. It has also

increased the role of the market in allocating resources, which in terms of infrastructure delivery will have an impact on the urban poor and disadvantaged, thus posing challenges of affordability.

Decentralisation has not fully given means and competence (financial and human resources) to the lower units of government (Area councils and Unit committees), which should be fundamental for articulating grassroots development.

The review has also revealed the interplay of problems which has affected the capacity of the assemblies and the infrastructure agencies to decentralise and promote participation at the grassroots level and involve beneficiaries in the planning and development process.

The urban planning approaches have indicated the need for participatory decision-making, visioning and planning of urban areas. This approach implies a more all-inclusive urban development, which offers opportunities for the urban authorities to work with local communities for urban improvements and service delivery. Urban planning and management is, however, still top down despite the decentralisation framework enabling legislation to promote integrated development.

The agencies concerned with urban development are not well integrated within the district assemblies. They depend on their headquarters for all resources and their plans are sectoral in nature. The decentralisation policy expects infrastructure plans and policies to be formulated at the local level to promote and ensure optimum use of resources, but local level development is frustrated by the inability of the administrative system to support the decentralisation process.

Although the traditional authorities and their communities can improve service delivery through their own initiatives, their actions have not been well integrated into the formal structure of the planning and decision-making processes of the urban authority.

In the light of the above, the question still remains as to how basic services can be improved in the often-neglected peri-urban communities. Planning has pioneered in having "many voices" in decision-making as the advocacy planners proposed. Infrastructure improvement can reach the disadvantaged areas if urban planning can bring local people and their communities into the decision-making process of the urban authorities using appropriate mechanisms. Appropriate mechanisms mean a planning approach, which will have to be strategic, integrative, decentralised, participatory and inclusive.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **THE CASE OF THE TAMALE METROPOLITAN AREA**

#### **6.0 Introduction**

The case study findings are presented in two chapters. This chapter presents the general existing situation of infrastructure in Tamale, the policy, legislative, institutional context of infrastructure planning and delivery. The next chapter (Chapter 7) gives a detailed account of the peri – urban context in terms of two communities and how they have addressed the issue of basic infrastructure.

#### **6.1 Profile of Tamale Metropolitan Area**

##### *Geographical and Environmental Background*

The Tamale Metropolitan Assembly (TAMA) is located in the centre of the Northern Region of Ghana, approximately 175km east of longitude 1° W and Latitude 9° N. It shares common boundaries with Savelugu/Nanton district to the North, Tolon/Kumbungu to the North-West, East and West Gonja districts to the South and West, and Yendi District to the East. The TAMA area of jurisdiction occupies approximately 922km sq., which is 13% of the total area of the Northern Region, and comprising 35 communities. The built - up area is approximately 12%, with 90% of the population residing there. The rest of the population (10%) is scattered in 23 rural communities. The settlement pattern comprises a densely built - up core and dispersed settlements in the outlying areas. Provision of infrastructure services to these dispersed peri-urban settlements presents a particular challenge to TAMA.

##### *Socio-economic*

The Northern Region has a population of 1,854,994 of which Tamale accounts for 293,881 made up of 146,979 males and 146,902 females. This figure shows an

increase of 75% over the 1984 population of 167,778 and represents an inter-censal growth rate of 3.5%. This is far higher than the national and regional rates of 2.7% and 2.8% respectively. One possible factor for this big difference could be the boundary change of TAMA since 1984. With an urban population of 67.1%, the TAMA is the only district in the region, which is predominantly urban. The population density of 318.6 persons per square kilometres for the TAMA is about 12 times higher than the Regional average density of 25.9 persons per square kilometres. There exist vast differences between the densities of the urban and rural areas. This is an indication of the influx to Urban Tamale, and gives credence to the assertion that facilities and opportunities for employment are concentrated in few localities.

The economy of the Tamale Municipal Assembly is dominated by agriculture commerce including services and small-scale industries.

The economy until the 1980s was basically agricultural. During this period over 70% of all indigenous people were farmers. Production of primary commodities was very high in the 1970s and early 1980s as a result of government policies towards agriculture. The introduction of subsidies on agricultural inputs raised production of both domestic and industrial crops. Significant among these were rice, maize, sorghum, groundnuts and beans.

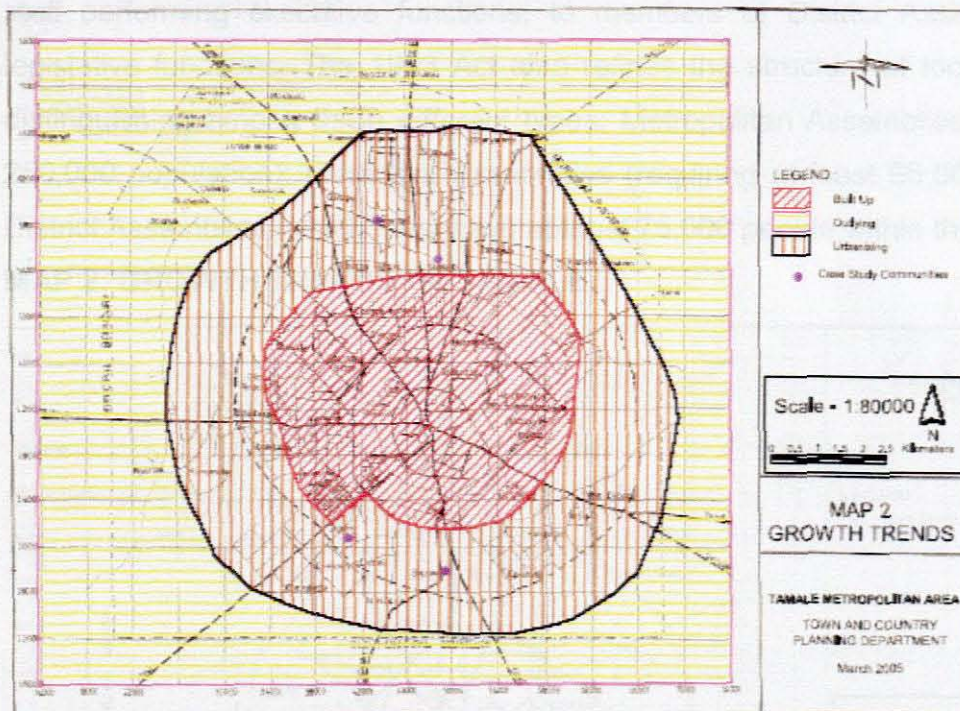
However the trend of growth started declining as a result of the removal of subsidies on agricultural inputs, rapid population growth, declining soil fertility and the gradual decrease in the land area as a result of the rapid expansion of Tamale. The high transportation cost and lack of storage facilities compel farmers to depend on middlemen for sale of the produce. Small-scale farmers are thus most affected. It is estimated that the sector proportions are as follows: commerce (39%); agriculture (29%); administration and services (16.7%); and manufacturing/formal sector and informal sector (15.3)

The industrial sector is an important growth area for the Northern Region and has the potential to contribute substantially to the economic development and growth of Tamale.

Tamale and the region, however, have low levels of industrial development. The main industrial activities include agro-processing activities such as rice - milling, vegetable oil extraction, cotton - ginning, textiles and smock - making. There are other small-scale industries such as vehicle repairs, pre-fabrication of spare parts and manufacturing of farm implements.

The informal sector, which is quite significant, is predominantly made up of different types of artisans with micro enterprises in areas such as metal fabrication, fitting works, handicrafts and vulcanising.

**MAP 1: TAMALE METROPOLITAN AREA**



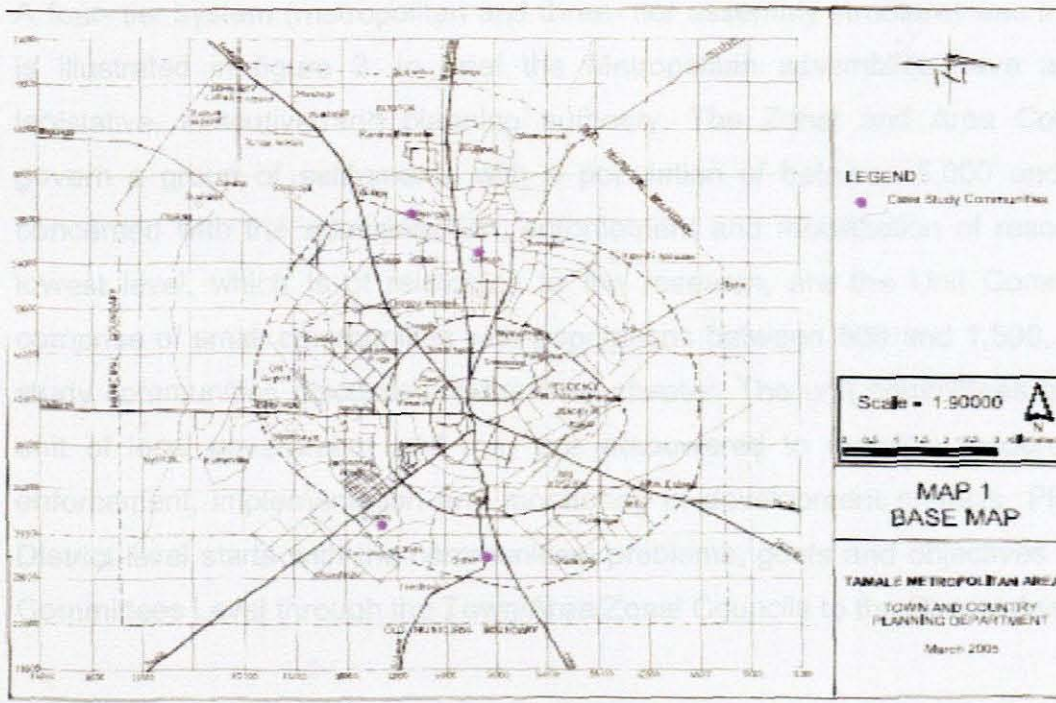
Source: *Town and Country Planning Dept, Tamale*



## 6.2 The Policy Context for Infrastructure Delivery

PNDC Law No. 207 (1988) initiated a shift in the structure of governmental authority whereby the central government devolved to District and Metropolitan Assemblies the responsibility for policy formulation, planning, and implementation with respect to, among other things: community development, town planning, public works, roads and streets, markets, sanitation, and motor parks. The devolution of authority was in two directions: vertically from 22 central government ministerial departments to District Assemblies; and horizontally, at the local government level, from central government, staff performing executive functions, to members of District Assemblies performing legislative functions. The 1993 Act also refines the structure of local governments by distinguishing among three different types: Metropolitan Assemblies (requiring at least 250,000 population); Municipal Assemblies (requiring at least 95,000 population); and District Assemblies (which must have at least 75,000 people within their boundaries).

### MAP 2: GROWTH TRENDS OF TAMALE



Source: *Town and Country Planning Dept, Tamale*



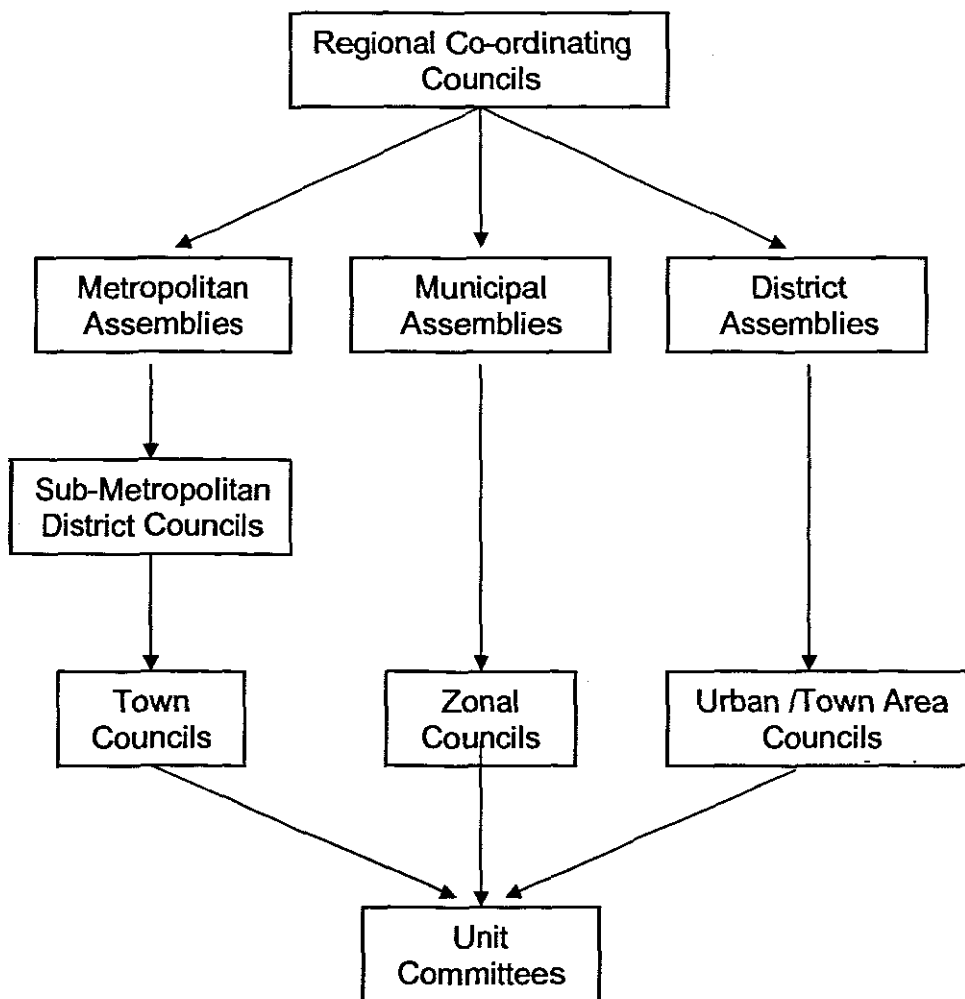
### **6.3 Institutional context**

The Local Government Act of 1993, which replaced Law 207, gave the District Assemblies the power as the political and administrative authority in the District, to provide guidance, direction and supervise all other administrative authorities in the District. The Act, however, is vague about sectoral functions but devolves to them, the responsibility for “the overall development of the District,” “the development of basic infrastructure,” “the provision of municipal works and services,” and the “management of human settlements and the environment,” among other activities.

The Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies have legislative and executive powers. They are empowered to prepare and approve their annual budgets, to raise revenues from taxes and fees, to borrow funds, to acquire land, and to provide basic services and local infrastructure. The Assemblies are responsible for local planning, development control, provision of local roads, drainage and solid waste management plus other environmental health functions.

A four- tier system (metropolitan and three- tier assembly structure) was instituted. This is illustrated in figure 3. In brief the Metropolitan assemblies have administrative, legislative, executive and planning authority. The Zonal and Area Councils, which govern a group of settlements with a population of between 5,000 and 15,000, are concerned with the administration, enforcement and mobilization of resources. At the lowest level, which is of relevance to the research, are the Unit Committees. They comprise of small communities with populations between 500 and 1,500, like the case study communities discussed in the next chapter. The unit committees are the lowest unit of local government and they are empowered to mobilize resources, assist in enforcement, implementation and monitoring of development projects. Planning at the District level starts with the communities’ problems, goals and objectives from the Unit Committees Level through the Town/Area/Zonal Councils to the District Assemblies.

**Figure 3: Ghana Local Government Structure**



Source: Ministry Of Local Government and Rural Development, 1993, Accra

## **6.4 Political /Administrative Context**

The Metropolitan Assembly consists of 78 assembly – men: 54 elected and 24 government nominees. Communities are represented by their elected assemblymen and women. It has an Executive committee to implement the decisions of the Assembly. The Executive Committee discharges its functions through the following sub-committees:

Finance and Administration

Education

Peace and Justice

Development and Social Services

Works

Health and Sanitation

However, since 2002 there have been no local level elections and an Interim Management Committee has been running the affairs of the assembly due to civil strife.

## **6.5 The Metropolitan Planning System.**

The Local Government Act, Act 462, The National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) Acts, Act 479 and 480 of 1994 require all districts and metropolitan assemblies to prepare Medium Term Development Plans (MTDPs) to guide the overall development of the district. The first plans were prepared countrywide in 1996 for the period of 5 years 1996 – 2000. The current plan for Tamale has been prepared for 2002 – 2004.

### **Background to the Medium-Term Development Plans (MTDPs)**

Before the new planning system was introduced in 1994 the planning system in Ghana was top-down, highly centralised and sectoral in nature. Planning sought to define national goals and objectives and therefore formulate national plans from the perspective of sector ministries and central government agencies without the participation or consultation of the people at the local level, the ultimate beneficiaries of the plans.

The result of this approach to planning was that it did not embody the aspirations of communities and denied them opportunities to form local development initiatives. The new planning system is decentralised to the local and districts levels. Community participation, inter-sectoral and interdisciplinary collaboration are integral parts of the planning process.

### **Features of the Medium Term Development planning process**

The Local Government Act, Act 462, The National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) Acts, Act 479 and 480 of 1994 require all districts and metropolitan assemblies to prepare five year Medium Term Development Plans (MTDPs) to guide the overall development of the district. The first plans were prepared in 1996 for all districts and metropolitan assemblies. The first plan for Tamale was prepared for 1996 – 2000 and the second 2002 – 2004.

The NDPC provide that local communities must participate in the formulation of the district plan. Planning at the metropolitan level starts from the community problems, goal and objectives from the unit committee level through the Area/Zonal councils to the Metropolitan assembly

The sub-committees of the Executive Committee of the metropolitan assembly consider the problems and opportunities define and prioritise and submit these to the Executive Committee.

The departments of the Metropolitan Assembly, sectoral specialist, non-governmental organisations and other functional agencies confer and collaborate with each other and fine-tune the plan.

The District Planning Co-ordinating Unit integrates and coordinates the metropolitan sectoral plans into long, medium to short term plans and annual plans and budgets for consideration and debate by the District Assembly. It is approved by the Assembly and forwarded to the Regional Coordinating Council for harmonisation with other district plans.

### **Local Institutions for planning**

The unit committees are the basic unit for planning at the local level for communities. A unit committee comprises of communities with a population of 500 -1,500. Members who run the affairs of the unit are elected on a non-partisan basis with a membership of not more than 15. This committee of 15 is charged with the mobilisation of communities to plan and implement projects that address their needs and to articulate their concerns to the assembly through the Area Councils. Thus the institutions for community level planning are the unit committees and area council.

### **The Planning process**

The Medium Term Development Plans (MTDPs) for Tamale are prepared every five years as required by law. The planning process as currently practiced, however, does not meet the objectives of participatory planning. This section gives a brief of the situation, which makes it difficult for local communities to effectively plan with TAMA for infrastructure improvements.

Planning, as stated, starts from the community level and should progress to the Assembly level for approval. The MTDPs are prepared every five years and annual action plans are detailed for implementation. The planning process is initiated at the unit/community level with a number of meetings and consultations aimed at identifying the community needs and prioritising them. These meetings are supposed to be facilitated by the area council staff and the district or metropolitan planning unit. Unfortunately there are no agents of government to facilitate these meetings. In the absence of much needed capacity in the unit committees, plans certainly are poorly prepared and are likely to represent sectoral interest in the community.

The unit plans are forwarded to the area council for further refinement. The area councils also prioritise the unit plans and there is the risk that some community concern could be eliminated, but no opportunity exists for communities to receive feedback. Thus, the absence or no clear mechanism to ensure that community priorities are not side stepped at the area council level can lead to frustration of communities.

The area council plans are forwarded to the District Assembly and the district planning coordinating unit and sector departments “fine – tune” the plans, and budgets are

prepared. The sector plans of the various government and sector agencies are integrated to the plan at this stage. These sector plans as in the case of the infrastructure agencies, are only known at this level, and the community input to the plans is missed out.

The Assembly also ensures that the plan is prepared to meet protocols and policy guidelines set at the national level. The MTDP is given approval by the Assembly after it has been debated on. A public hearing is also held before the debate to collate the views of the public on the draft plan. The audience of the public hearing is supposed to be a cross-section of the society and community representatives, which in most cases does not represent all communities.

### **Issues and Challenges**

It can be observed from the foregoing that opportunities for local level planning to be part of the assembly planning system is weak. In the first case the voice of communities is lost at the area council level, as no mechanism exists for feedback. Secondly there is no history of planning or instructive precedents at the area council or unit committee levels due to their lack of capacity and not being operationalised. Thus the current MTDP for Tamale does not reflect community concerns as validated by the lack of community knowledge of the TAMA, as subsequent sections of the chapter will indicate. Participation at the community level is thus reduced to the mere provision of information to government officials but real interactive participation in decision-making is lost.

Budgeting for plans is only linked at the Assembly level and linkage with community concerns is not clear because communities have no say in the budgeting process. Thus, it is difficult to match community plans with budgets controlled at the centre, which can frustrate community plans.

The TAMA will have to address the capacity of the local planning institutions viz unit committees and area councils, if they are to strengthen real participation at local level, which will then provide the conditions for local communities to collaborate with it for infrastructure improvements. Local NGOs can be involved in the process to provide training for the local institutions.

It is difficult to mobilize local resources for development as in the case of infrastructure because communities are not part of the plan formulation, which is only known at the Assembly level when sectoral plans are to be integrated. It is clear that community infrastructure concerns will not be met in those plans.

The TAMA will also need to evolve a planning approach that will be simple, non - sectoral and community - centered that allows communities to engage with all the phases of the planning process.

## **6.6 Decentralisation and Infrastructure Agencies**

The responsibilities for the provision of infrastructure therefore rest jointly with the metropolitan assembly and the infrastructure agencies. The decentralisation of government also meant the need to restructure the infrastructure agencies as stated earlier. The Ghana Water Company (GWCL) is responsible for water supply, the Ghana Electricity Company (ECG) and Volta River Authority (VRA) for electricity supply and street lighting, and the Department of Urban Roads (DUR), through its Urban Roads Units, for urban roads. The Department of Feeder Roads (DFR) provides roads in the rural communities and towns as well.

Technically the DUR and DFR are decentralised and part of the TAMA but it does not resource them and they depend on their national headquarters for funding and approval of plans and budgets. In the case of GWCL and VRA/ECG they are autonomous units, centralised in nature and their operations have little to do with TAMA except for occasional consultations.

There is the ambiguity of centralized agencies set up by different laws to work with a decentralised system of local government. It is therefore difficult for TAMA to formulate development plans that deal with the infrastructure problems where communities will have the opportunity to be part of the planning process and articulate their views. Thus though the principles of decentralization stress a bottom-up and public participation planning of infrastructure by statute, it is not realised practically in TAMA.

The Works and Development Planning Sub-Committees are the authorized Executive Committees responsible for infrastructure planning and delivery of TAMA. These

committees have weak linkages with the infrastructure agencies and experience has indicated that they do not resource the agencies, as they believe they are well resourced from their headquarters. The weak relationship with the agencies also implies that the articulation of community concerns in the planning and delivery of infrastructure services is lost. The autonomous nature of the agencies also means that loyalty to TAMA is subservient to their main ministry at the national level.

Thus, it can be concluded from the above discussion that the existing institutional framework for communities to be involved in the planning and provision of infrastructure is weak and not very clear. The TAMA might not be in a position to formulate a well-integrated plan that addresses the overall infrastructure problems of the urban area. It is therefore not surprising that the TAMA faces infrastructure inadequacies, as the next section will discuss.

## **6.7 The Status of Infrastructure Delivery in TAMA**

This section discusses the status of urban infrastructure service delivery, stakeholder agencies and their role, deficiencies and inadequacies in the service provisions in TAMA. Table 8 gives an analysis of the infrastructure situation and coverage. The growth trends of Tamale in relation to the delivery of water are illustrated in Maps 2 and 3. Though the maps illustrate the case of water, the delivery of electricity and access roads follow a similar pattern. It is quite clear that deficits exist in infrastructure delivery. The problem is, however, experienced more in the peri-urban areas.

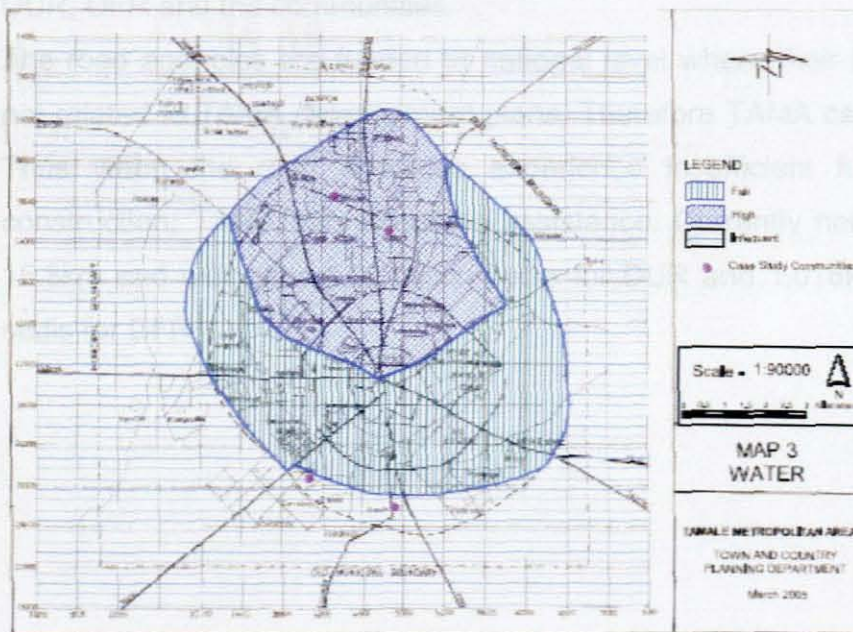
### **6.7.1 Water**

Traditionally the central government has been the provider through the GWCL. The GWCL is in charge of the planning, development and implementation of urban water supplies. It also carries out the three functions of production, distribution and maintenance of water supply. As a limited liability Company, it is expected to operate and make profit to fund its operations and capital development. According to GWCL, their network covers 57% of the urban area and can meet 43% of the urban populace. Unaccounted for water is estimated to be 32%, which the company is aiming to reduce



to 20% by the end of the year. The current production level is 4 million litres as against a projected demand of 10million litres. However, 95% coverage could be achieved with improved network planning and rationing. The centralized approach to planning and lack of integration with the TAMA plans makes GWCL unable to access funds locally. Community involvement could also improve network planning and reduce unaccounted water, which is due to illegal connections. The agency will require funding of about \$2 million to effectively deal with its service needs.

**MAP 3: WATER COVERAGE IN TAMALE**



Source: *Town and Country Planning Dept, Tamale*

### **6.7.2 Roads Sector.**

Under the World Bank /MLGRD Urban II Project, massive urban road construction and rehabilitation was done in TAMA. The project was implemented between 1996 and 2002 and brought an improvement in the road conditions in terms of maintenance and coverage. The major trunk roads and central areas were addressed but little coverage of the peri-urban communities' areas occurred. The responsibilities for secondary link roads, which are of importance to peri-urban communities, were left to the DUR, DFR and TAMA. The development of these roads in fact requires the joint efforts of TAMA, DUR, DFR and the communities.

The road agencies are funded at national level where their budgets are approved and not related to TAMA development plans. Therefore TAMA cannot fund their operations. Thus when the road agencies experience insufficient funding to carry out new construction, TAMA can offer little assistance. Currently network backlogs total about 15.8km and will require 20 billion cedis for DUR and 1,016km estimated at 84.9billion cedis for DFR.

**Table 8: Level of Infrastructure Services in Tamale**

No.	Infrastructure Component	Agencies involved	Demand - Supply analysis	Problem areas
1	Water	Central Gov't, GWCL, TAMA (very limited role)	Gap in supply – 43%. Supply 4 million litres /day (50% of actual demand) Unaccounted water of 32% needs to be reduced.	Pipe coverage is 57%. Network to peri-urban areas insufficient. Low pressure in some areas (illegal connections). Rationing of water can increase coverage up to 95%. Vandalization of water pipes and other facilities. Low payment by the people e.g. Tamale Municipality, this results in high cost of operations and low revenue returns. Plans of GCWL are not integrated to those of TAMA. Financial transfers from central government insufficient. Company

				needs about \$2 annually to meet backlogs.
2	Urban Roads	Central Gov't, DUR and TAMA (minimal involvement) Private contractors	Gap in accessibility. DUR to increase accessibility from current level to 70%. Annual backlog of 20km of road network. DUR has staff, financial and logistics constraints. Requires \$2million dollars annually to deal with backlogs.	DUR plans are sectorally prepared but consults with the town and land sector agencies. Limited consultation with TAMA during plan preparation. Development encroachments are a set back to road construction in some parts of the urban area. Operations depend on central gov't funding which is insufficient and irregular in transfer. Some communities have assisted in the construction and maintenance of roads.
3	Electricity	Volta River Authority Ministry of Energy	Backlogs in network coverage 40%	Coverage is 60% but limited in the outskirts. Prevalence of illegal

				connections. VRA centralized agency and plans prepared are independent of TAMA. VRA link with TAMA is consultative.
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### 6.7.3 Electricity

The electricity agency, VRA network covers 60% of the metropolis. The bulk service could reach the peri-urban communities but the distribution within is limited. There is also the prevalence of illegal tapping as in the instance of water. Residents interviewed believed that if the VRA worked closely with the communities, the incidence of illegal connections could be reduced. The electricity company can increase distribution but needs funds to increase the lines and transformers.

### 6.8 Trends in Infrastructure Delivery

The trends in infrastructure delivery, despite the lack of data for electricity and water, indicate that there is growing demand for services with decreasing allocations from government. The tables below for the road sector illustrate this phenomenon. It can be seen that funding from central government meets on the average 25% of the projected work to be undertaken. The financial allocations to the road agencies have actually been declining over the years which confirms the resource constraints that face governments in funding urban services as mentioned in Chapter 3. The TAMA, though responsible for the provision of these services, actually does not contribute funds to the road agencies as their plans are prepared sectorally as opposed to being integrated, and which should be the case.

**Table 9: Trends In Infrastructure Delivery: Dept of Urban Roads**

Year	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Projected Demand (km)	26.3	- - -	19	- - - -	22
Estimated Cost (Cedis)	4.4 billion		20billion		27.34billion
Actual Funds Allocated	3.87biln		8.91billion		7.724billion
Actual service delivered (km)	29		8.64		6.212
Backlog of service (km)	- - -	- - -	10.5		15.8
Estimated Cost of backlog (Cedis)			11.33billion		19.6billion

Source: DFR, Tamale. March 2005

**NB. One US Dollar is equivalent to 10,000 Ghanaian Cedis**

**Table 10: Trends In Infrastructure Delivery: Dept of Feeder Roads**

Year	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Projected Demand (km)			3,267.42	3,177.55	4,193.5
Estimated Cost (Cedis)			61billion	65.3billion	89.2billion
Actual Funds Allocated			16.3billion	17.44billion	4.27billion
Actual service delivered (km)			970.42	2,160.73	1,676.05
Backlog of service (km)			2,297	1,016.82	2,517.45
Estimated Cost of backlog (Cedis)			44.7billion	47.86billion	84.9billion

Source: *DUR, Tamale. March 2005*

## **6.9 Metropolitan Planning For Infrastructure Delivery**

The responsibility for infrastructure delivery is, as stated earlier, the joint responsibility of TAMA and the infrastructure agencies. The Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD) also play a vital role as it provides the planning schemes to guide the spatial location of the infrastructure services. The author to see the extent to which they promote participatory decentralised planning, because communities can only get their views and needs concerning infrastructure expressed under that system of planning, reviewed the planning system pursued by these agencies. In general, however, it emerged that the plans of the infrastructure agencies are sectoral and not linked to the District Medium Term Development plan (MTDP), which should be the focus development document of the Metropolitan Assembly. Table 11 summarises the issues.



**Table 11. Legislative Framework Guiding Planning Of Infrastructure in Tamale**

	Ghana Water Co. (GCWL)	Town And Country Planning Dept (TCPD)	Department of Feeder Roads (DFR)	Department of Urban Roads (DUR)	Volta River Authority/Northern Electricity Dept (VRANED)
Planning horizon	2-3yrs	1998 – 2008 (10yrs)	2 – 5yrs	2 – 5yrs	Yearly
Relation of plan to MTDP of TAMA	Weak	Weak	Weak	Weak	Weak
Community participation	Weak	Consultation	Weak	Weak	Weak
Funding of plans	National headquarters	Mainly National headquarters with limited support from TAMA	National headquarters	National headquarters	National headquarters
Plan initiation	National and regional offices	Act requires each metro/dist. to prepare plans	National headquarters Regional office	National headquarters Regional office	National headquarters Regional office
Legislation	Incorporated by Act 461, 1999. Legislative Instrument No. 1648	Town & Country Planning Ordinance 84 of 1945. Local Gov't Act, Act 462, 1993. NDPC Acts, Act 479&480	PNDC Law 32 of 1997	PNDC Law 32 of 1997	VRA Act, Act 46 1961
Focus of plans	Provision maintenance and	Spatial planning and dev't control	Construction and maintenance of road network	Construction and maintenance of road network	Development, maintenance and distribution

**Format Adapted from: Hadingham, T. et al (2002**

Sources: *GWCL.TCPD, DFR, DUR, VRA/NED and TAMA, March, 2005.*

Based on the foregoing, the following is observed:

The plans are not integrated, and each sector pursues its goals which are influenced nationally or regionally without local considerations

The time horizons for the plans are inconsistent with each other and the base years certainly different. It poses problems in resource allocation and the expectation of the beneficiaries

The plans have major external inputs. Their implementation is externally influenced with little chance for local ownership.

Community participation, which should be key to the formulation of plans, is reduced to mere consultation, which is normally for information to factor in plan proposals. The plans will certainly not reflect the views of the communities at the grassroots level.

Under conditions of scarce resources it is difficult to optimise the little resources available as waste and duplication of efforts can be expected.

Thus it can be concluded that the planning system for infrastructure delivery in Tamale does not promote local level participation. The lack of integration and common vision of the agencies imply that resources cannot be used optimally. The following challenges will have to be addressed in evolving appropriate planning strategies:

Synchronise the planning horizon of the agencies and TAMA. Establish mechanisms for strong interaction between communities and TAMA/infrastructure agencies.

Integrate and strengthen horizontal coordination between departments for planning; evolve a local working institutional framework to support infrastructure delivery with communities.

The situation of infrastructure in the case study sites is therefore a mirror of the issues just discussed, which is the focus of the next section.

## **6.10 Infrastructure Delivery in the Case Study Areas**

This section takes a closer look at the situation of infrastructure in the case study areas, which indicated variations in the level of services. The discussion begins with a description of the cases, which provides a picture of the existing situation followed by an analysis of the infrastructure issues. The issues of infrastructure adequacy, performance of the service providers and strength and weaknesses in the management were ascertained from opinions solicited by way of interviews with the end users viz. the residents and landlords.

### **6.10.1 Profile of Case Study Areas**

#### ***Jusonayili***

Jusonayili takes its name from the Juso dugout, a water body which was the original attraction for settlement in the area. The dugout has been the source of water to the community before the extension of pipe - borne water in the late 1980s. So crucial is the source of water to the community that they have organised as a community to protect and maintain this resource as clean and available at all times. The maintenance of this water source has given the community experience in the organisation of self-help activities.

Jusonayili is located about 6km northwest from the town centre off the Tamale-Bolga trunk road. Its neighbouring communities are Kanvili to the east, Gurugu the north, Gbolo-Kpalsi to the West and Choggo-Yapalsi to the south. It estimated to have a population of about 1,200.

It is one of the well-planned and developed communities in Tamale, which has made it very attractive to developers and people seeking areas conducive for living. Housing development is of a high standard and generally for residential use. Hotels, offices of NGOs and private businesses are also present.

Jusonayili has almost all the infrastructure services developed, which has been the attraction for increased residential development. The road network is an exception, which is not fully developed, but accessibility is generally good.

### ***Gumah***

Gumah is one of the fastest growing communities in the Tamale Municipality. It is about 2½ km north from the town centre and bordered to the south by Choggo-Manayili, the west Choggo-Yalpasi, east Kanvili-Kpawumo and the north by Kanvili communities.

The existing development in Gumah is characterised by compact high-density residential development around the original settlement and low and scattered development at the outskirts. There is a growing demand for land and housing in the area because of the presence of utility services. Most of the housing development (not less than 80%) is by the private sector. The house types are typically bungalow or estate/flat type of housing. Gumah has a total population of about 1,400 and predominantly residential, with an increasing influx of administrative and business services to the area. Most of the NGOs in the Northern Region are located in this area. The settlement enjoys a high standard of infrastructure services. Water and electricity are well distributed and the internal road system developed. The majority of the roads and streets are gravel but currently tarring of the roads is in progress.

### ***Banvim***

Bavim is about 5 km south of central Tamale. The community shares boundaries with Kpanvo in east, Dohini-Kukuo in the west, and Tutingli on the north and Jonshegu in the south. The community is generally rural in character and a farming community and provides food products for Tamale. Bavim has a population of about 1,200.

Haphazard and scattered development generally occurs in the community. Areas of rapid development are confined to the areas close to the main road that leads into the settlement from Kpanvo. The house types are typically of compound style built of local materials with very little or no service.

The community lacks roads and basic infrastructure services, which are key to effective urban development. The irregular supply of potable water to the community is a problem. There are only a few houses that have these services and the dispersed nature of development poses a problem in this regard.

## **Zujung**

Zujung is located 2½ souths west of the town centre. Some of neighbouring communities are Dungu, Dohin, Kuku, Kakpagyili and Zuonayili. Zujung comprises of clusters of compound houses built with local materials. The condition of some of the houses is poor, with exposed foundations and cracked walls particularly around the old sections. Zujung has a population of about 1,250 people. Major economic activity is farming, and women are engaged in gari and she abutter processing.

Though the community has a planning scheme, unauthorised and haphazard development occurs due to weak development control and the indifferent attitude of the local people to urban management. Access to basic infrastructure services is a major problem in the area.

### **6.10.2 Statistical Data**

An average of 36% of the inhabitants of the four communities indicated that accessibility to water was a problem and an additional 11.6% said the flow was irregular. With regard to electricity and roads the extent of need ranged between 20 and 30% as illustrated in Table 12. The situation implies that infrastructure services are inadequate and need the attention of the urban authorities. The problem is further aggravated by the proportion of people using stream water as source of domestic water supply. Table 13 indicates that a substantial population of 24% depends on non-potable supply of water. Thus the Ministry of Health has reported incidents of guinea worm infection and in 2004 diarrhea was one of the top ten diseases in the metropolis. (TAMA Medium Term Development Plan, 2004)

Variations, however, exist between the four communities in the level of services. In Jusonayili and Gumah services are generally satisfactory. Their problem is related to power and water interruptions which 15 - 30% of the inhabitants complained about as illustrated in Table 14. On the other hand, Banvim and Zujung experienced greater deficiency of water. Between 20 – 30% had difficulty of access to water and 42 – 70%

experienced frequent interruption of flow? Electricity was satisfactory for Zujung but yet to be extended to Barvim.

**Table 12: Infrastructure Problems Faced By Households – All Communities**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Difficult access to water	36 %
	12.8 %
Difficult access to electricity	
Irregular flow of water	11.6 %
	20.9 %
Poor access for vehicles	
Presence of illegal structures, developments	2.3 %
	14 %
Unreliable electricity supply	
Unsatisfactory attitude of service providers	2.3 %
Total	100 %

Source: *Household survey, November 2005.*

**Table 13: Source of Domestic Water Supply – All Communities**

<b>Type of water source</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Pipe borne water	56%
Stream	4.1 %
Tanker service	1.1 %
Well	18.4 %
Total	100 %

Source: *Household survey, November 2005.*

Access roads were well developed for Gumah and fairly satisfactory for Jusonayili. Banvim and Zujung did not indicate roads as a problem but it was observed during the survey that the road network was not developed. As the priorities of the two communities lay on water and electricity, road development was not paramount.

A further investigation as to the difference in level of services between the communities indicated that Jusonayili and Gumah, through self-help and community efforts, got their areas planned and further contributed resources to the development of services. Their initiative did manifest itself in the orderly development of the communities, which are very attractive to developers.



**Table 14: Infrastructure Problems Faced By Households – By Community**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Gumah</b>	<b>Jusonayili</b>	<b>Banvim</b>	<b>Zujung</b>
Difficult access to water	10	0	57.1	35
Difficult access to electricity	12	13.8	NA	4.2
Irregular flow of water	30	20.7	42.9	40.8
Interruption in power supply	15.5	13.8	NA	0
Presence of illegal structures			0	27
Lack of public toilets			0	0
Unsatisfactory attitude of service providers			0	0
Poor access for vehicles	10	13.8	NA	NA
<b>Total</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>100 %</b>

Source: Household survey, November 2005.

In the case of Zujung, planning of the community was more an instance of the top-down approach with minimal community involvement. The community also viewed the provision of services as the responsibility of the service providers and council. The situation was different in Banvim. Though the community was at the forefront of the planning scheme preparation, the expected follow-up of services did not occur. The

infrastructure agencies indicated that it did not fall within their priority area and as such resources could not be committed for service provision.

It can be observed that the lack of planning coordination between the Town Planning Department and infrastructure agencies can result in poor service delivery and frustrate community development effort. Thus the performance of the infrastructure agencies can promote or hinder community collaboration, which depends on the level of user satisfaction.

### **6.10.3 User Satisfaction**

The opinion of communities regarding quality of service in the case of water indicated that 40% was satisfied with the service, but 60% were not. The main reason for the dissatisfaction was the irregular flow of water. But overall in terms of their performance the communities felt they were doing fairly well as shown in Table 15. The other sectors were equally viewed as performing creditably well as satisfactory levels ranged between 70 – 95%. This indicates a high level of trust the community has on the service providers and can be a strong basis for collaboration with communities.

A further indication of the trust that the communities have in the service providers is their willingness to contribute resources for service improvements. Residents contributed labour and money to projects in the past and indicated they were willing to continue to support community projects. They further said regular payment of tariffs could assist the service providers but called for more consultations and participation of communities in service delivery.

**Table 15: Performance of Infrastructure Agencies – All Communities**

	<b>Dept. of Feeder Roads</b>	<b>Dept. of Urban Roads</b>	<b>Ghana Water Co. Ltd.</b>	<b>VRA/NED</b>
Good	-		30.8 %	52.2 %
Satisfactory	80 %	70 %	38.4 %	43.5 %
Poor	20 %	30 %	30.8 %	4.3 %
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Household survey, November 2005.

The communities were, however, not impressed with the performance of the TAMA. Banvim community expressed 37.3% and Zujung 66.7% level of satisfaction while Jusonayili and Gumah rated it poorly (Table 16), for the reason that, the latter communities provided the services mostly by their own efforts as compared to Zujung that has always relied on the council for the services. This level of scoring also indicates loss of faith in TAMA, and forging community partnership between it itself and communities will be difficult.

**Table 16: Satisfaction Level with the Performance of TAMA Reported by Communities**

Responses	Gumah	Jusonayili	Banvim	Zujung
Do not know	44.4%	23.1%	0	0
Poor	22%	76.9%	62.7%	26.7%
Satisfactory	22.2%	0	0	67.7%
Good	11.1%	0	37%	0

Source: Household survey, November 2005.

The interviews further revealed that when residents were questioned as to what they knew about TAMA 60% said they knew nothing about it (Table 17). The Chief of Banvim on this issue said *“they (TAMA) only come to tell us how much we will pay taxes, but have never sat down just to find out our problems”*. It indicates the lack of or inadequate involvement of people at grassroots level in the affairs of the assembly, which is a cardinal principle in the decentralisation process.

**Table 17: Communities' Knowledge of TAMA Role**

	Percentage
What do you about TAMA?	
Advising the community on environmental cleanliness	9.7%
Collection of levies, rates and taxes for development	9.7%
I do not know anything about them	64.5%
Provide basic infrastructure	16.1%
Total	100%

Source: *Household survey, November 2005.*

The other major reasons cited for the little faith in the TAMA by communities was that they have been neglected for a long time and no development projects are forthcoming from the Assembly over the years, yet they collect taxes from them.

The unsatisfactory rating of the TAMA has been compounded by the state of emergency imposed on the metropolis since early 2002, due to civil disturbances. With the state of emergency, it has not been possible to organise local level elections and a nine-member Interim Management Committee (IMC) runs the Assembly. Representation of communities in the assembly has therefore been further constrained.

The TAMA authorities, however, differ in opinion about the assessment and indicate that they have done and achieved much for communities. They indicated that a substantial amount of their District Assembly Common Fund was spent on infrastructure services throughout the metropolis but the demands were far greater than they could meet. At a

validation workshop on the preliminary findings of the research, (Held in November 2004), the secretaries to the traditional authorities of the case communities called for more involvement of communities in the planning and delivery of services by the TAMA. It seems that the lack of a system of communication for community needs to be articulated at the Assembly level has resulted in little confidence in the TAMA. Communities therefore look to their traditional authorities and themselves in the absence of support from the urban authorities to meet their infrastructure needs.

Thus, the aim of TAMA in building true partnerships between itself and local institutions will succeed or fail depending on the quality and intensity of interaction, the satisfaction of the local people as to the quality of its performance, and the extent to which they have a voice in the affairs of TAMA.

#### **6.11 Traditional Authorities and Infrastructure Services**

The Tamale society is strongly organised and influenced by its traditional leaderships. The inability of the TAMA and infrastructure agencies to fully address the needs of communities over the years has been a major factor resulting in local initiatives to handle their problems. The survey confirmed that traditional authorities and their communities have accordingly adopted necessary organizational strategies that are commensurate with their local conditions to meet their needs, and thus communities have rallied around the traditional authorities and developed a self-help community based approach to provide infrastructure services for themselves.

The respondents also confirmed during the interviews the high regard accorded to the traditional leadership and the role they have played in the communities. Tables 18 - 20 indicate the role they have played and contributions to community development.

The traditional authorities significantly contribute in terms of labour, money and supervision of community development and maintain law and order in the community. They are also at the forefront of mobilising and initiating development. Thus the traditional authorities have been able to unify the communities and initiate community -

driven development. This is confirmed in the case of Jusonayili and Gumah, which particularly demonstrate a high level of infrastructure due to the ability of the traditional leaders to initiate development projects in their areas with support from external agencies.

To further illustrate the central role of the traditional authorities in service provision, landlords were asked about their share of responsibility or cost in extending infrastructure services to the community. They were asked because it was felt by the author that tenants might be poorly informed if they are not old residents. Their responses revealed that traditional authorities contributed 25%, landlords 27% and the infrastructure agencies 33.3%. The TAMA was said to have contributed just 11%. It implies that greater legitimacy will be seen towards the traditional leadership as they contribute more resources for their livelihood than the TAMA.

**Table 18: Forms of Contribution by Chiefs to Development as Perceived by Communities**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
I do not know	1.9 %
Labour	9.4 %
Labour & Money	18.9 %
Nothing	1.9 %
Planning & Supervision of Development	35.8 %
Provision of food for work	22.6 %
Provision of Land	9.4 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Household survey, November 2005.



**Table 19: Perceived Role of Chiefs - Opinion of Communities**

Responses	Percentages
Custodians of land & culture	9.8 %
Maintenance of peace, unity & order in <i>Community</i>	31.4 %
Mobilisation of the community for development projects/activities	15.7 %
Supervision of community work & activities	17.6 %
Initiation of development projects	11.8 %
Nothing	11.8 %
Provide land for development	2 %
Total	100%

Source: Household survey, November 2005.

**Table 20: Shares of Contributions to Cost of Infrastructure Provision – All Communities**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Chiefs</b>	<b>25.1 %</b>
<b>Landlords</b>	<b>29.6 %</b>
<b>TAMA</b>	<b>1.1 %</b>
<b>The service providers</b>	<b>33.3 %</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>99.1 %</b>

Source: *Household survey, November 2005*

### **6.12 Implications for Community Infrastructure Service Planning and Development.**

The discussion so far has revealed the following opportunities and challenges:

Opportunities exist for communities and their traditional authorities through collective action to provide service for them. This strategy can ensure that affordable services provided.

Traditional authorities are seen to have greater legitimacy over their communities than the TAMA and are potential players for service delivery.

Communities have rudimentary and simple self-organisational and planning skills for development interventions. Building on these skills can empower the communities to deliver services.

Communities have confidence in the infrastructure agencies, which is a sound basis for the development of partnerships with them.

However, some challenges remain to be addressed in the following areas:

Infrastructure services still need to be improved in Tamale as peri-urban communities are inadequately served which is a challenge to sustainable urban development.

The planning and management of infrastructure in Tamale is not guided by an integrated plan which should give focus to all agencies involved in the overall development of the metropolis.

There exist weak horizontal and vertical relationships between government agencies, TAMA, and the local communities. This is a pointer that decentralisation has not been effective in Tamale.

Community participation in the development process needs to be addressed as the top down centralize planning system still prevails in TAMA, though government started the decentralisation process decades ago.

TAMA has a confidence crisis with the electorate, which must be built if any collaboration with traditional authorities and communities for service delivery should occur.

The implication of the above strengths and challenges is the need for an integrated system of planning that will be based on strong local level participation as communities and their traditional authorities collaborate with government agencies for service improvements. Local Agenda 21 is recommended by the author, as a planning framework which can facilitate the process, proposed the Local Agenda 21. The next chapter provides further elaboration on the peri-urban cases of Jusonayili and Ganah, which though presenting challenges in adopting Agenda 21 in planning and management of basic infrastructure, have already shown some promise in this regard.

**CHAPTER SEVEN**  
**COMMUNITIES IN THE PERI – URBAN CONTEXT: TWO CASE – STUDIES IN**  
**TAMALE**

**7.0 Introduction**

The case studies to be discussed, Jusonayili and Gumah, are instructive examples indicating the infrastructure potential for improvements being attained by adopting appropriate planning systems that place the community at the centre of the planning process. The two communities are rapidly urbanising peri-urban communities, which have achieved improved levels of basic services, through processes and principles that have semblance with the LA 21. The traditional authorities of the two communities and local development committees took steps to bring about infrastructure improvements in their communities in collaboration with government agencies. The initiatives of these community institutions prompted the Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD) to pilot a community - based planning approach to infrastructure delivery and also as a strategy to implement the Tamale Master Plan. The initiative was started in the early 1986-through to 1993.

This chapter discusses the local organisation of the communities and how the community - based plans were formulated to facilitate the partnerships for infrastructure delivery. It is followed by a presentation on the situation of services today and the key issues behind the success of the plan. The information on the community - based planning was obtained from discussions with the traditional authorities, members of the town development committees at the time and the chiefs' secretaries.

## 7.1 Local Organisation

The system of local organisation is important for the delivery of infrastructure. The traditional authorities and the development committee have managed the day-to-day affairs of the community over the years to the extent that despite the existence of formal central government, they cannot as vital role-players be ignored. As the institution of governance closest to people, they are a resource that have facilitated the participation of the community in the development process and the partnerships themselves, necessary for infrastructure delivery

### *The Traditional Authority.*

The traditional authority comprises of the chief and his council of elders. The chief is nominated by the higher level chief to take care of the community. Just below the chief is the Council of Elders represented by five elders who reside in the various sections of the community as indicated in Figure 4. The third level comprises the section heads and household heads. With this structure an issue of sectional nature is handled at the section level and can only be referred to a higher level if it cannot be resolved. In the same manner, the chief, elders and section heads discuss issues concerning the entire community. Further consultation is undertaken between the section heads and feedback given before a decision is taken. In some situations the entire community is involved but what is important is that the traditional authority embodies the mechanisms to reach the people and also respond to their needs. Thus a feature of the traditional system is its decentralised organisation.

### *Community Development Committee*

A development wing called the community development committee is put in place by the traditional council in consultation with the section heads and households to carry out development activities. Members of the committee are selected the various sections based on merit. The committees, which include both men and women, also have a youth representative. The secretary to the traditional council is the secretary to the

development committee. This ensures that issues from the traditional set-up get to the committee and vice-versa. Thus both institutions are well informed about issues in the community. The development committee has the endorsement of the entire community *to execute matters on its behalf but keep regular consultation with it. The membership of the committee ranges between 9 – 15 in the two communities (Jusonayili, Gumah). The two communities already had these development committees in place when the issues of infrastructure provision came to the fore.*

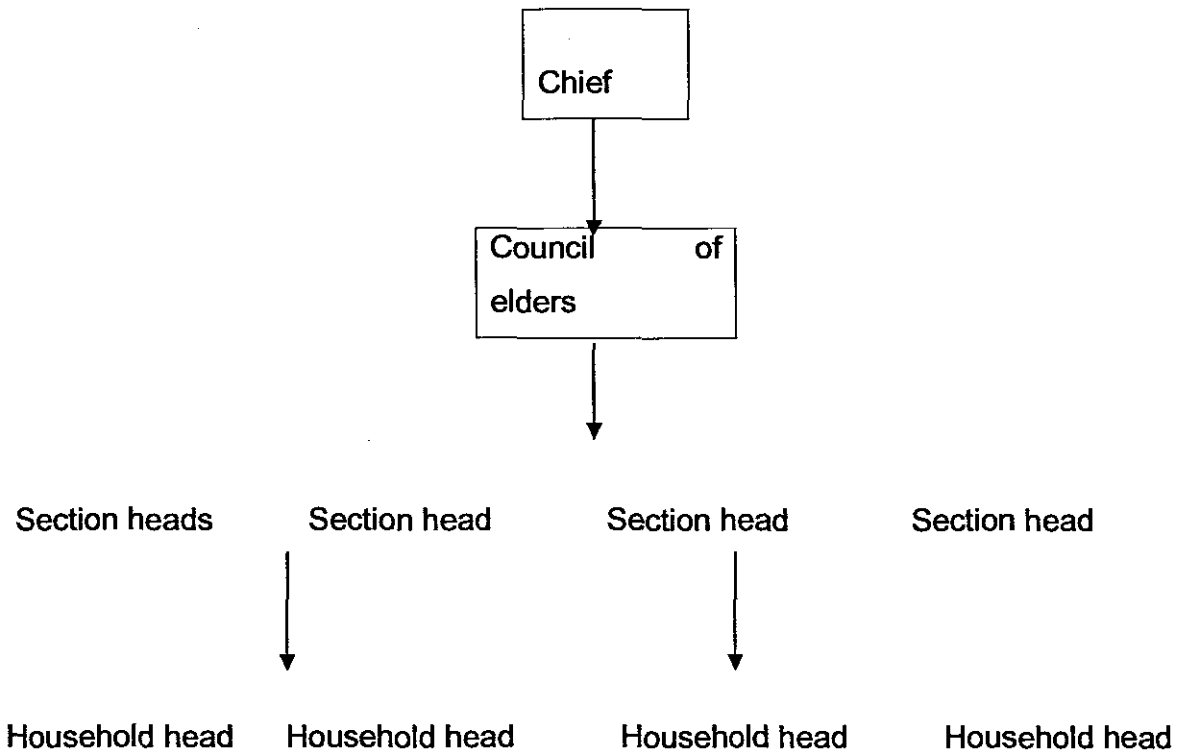
## **7.2 Community - Based Local Agenda 21**

It is against this institutional backdrop that the community - based planning initiative evolved to facilitate infrastructure delivery. The next section will present how the community based LA 21 type of planning was undertaken in the early 1990s and the partnership that evolved, which facilitated the current high level of infrastructure services. This is followed by an assessment of the current situation of services in the community to confirm the extent to which the objectives of the community were achieved.

### **7.2.1 Partnership Origins: Needs for Infrastructure**

The need for basic services by the communities kick-started the process. The traditional authority through the community development committee (CDC) had approached the service providers for water, electricity and access roads and was informed of the need for a planning scheme to guide the investment. In the absence of the planning schemes, it meant no services could be extended to them. The chiefs therefore approached the Town and Country Planning Department in 1991 for the preparation of the schemes. This request by the chiefs prompted the TCPD, to use this opportunity and the element *of community mobilisation and self - help to facilitate service delivery.*

**Figure 4: Local Organisation – Gumah and Jusonayili**



*Source: Author's Construct*

### **7.2.2 A Philosophy of Self - reliance**

The communities indicated in the initial consultative community meetings that it was their desire to own and implement the plans. Thus the following principles guided the process:

The process was committed to the principle of self-reliance and subsidiary. The community should work with resources at its disposal and decisions be taken at the lowest level compatible with the community objectives to maximise participation.

External agents, government agencies should be facilitators of the process and support the community but not dictate issues to the community.

### **7.2.3 Stakeholder Consultation**

The project started March 1991 with a number of meetings being held with the communities, the land sector and infrastructure agencies. The initial meetings were to enable the community to become aware of the functions and responsibilities of the various agencies concerned with their problems. The meetings were held at the community level and involved a cross-section of communities and all relevant stakeholders.

In a participatory way, a diagnosis of the communities was made and a vision charted. The community identified their working partners as the TCPD (lead agency), Survey Department and infrastructure agencies. The outcome of the meetings led to a number of conclusions.

The communities' strongest needs were water and electricity and access roads. Other needs, which could be provided later, were schools, library, toilets and play areas.

To facilitate orderly and quality development of the community, there was a need for a planning scheme.

The community expressed the desire to own the plan of the area by articulating their views on it, managing it, and ensuring that services are extended to the area

There was also the need for the community to be aware of external agents who could be of assistance in the development of their communities.

The community had a community development committee (CDC) that was conversant with mobilising the planning and implementing activities for the community.

These observations led to the need to establish a working committee in the community that would jointly assist in the preparation of an action plan to achieve the communities' objectives. As a CDC existed, five more members were added to the committee of nine because of the increased responsibilities that the CDC was to shoulder. A technical team comprising of the Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD) and infrastructure agencies was to assist with the planning and implementation of the



activities. The meeting gave the community an idea who their future working partners would be and the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders were outlined.

#### **7.2.4 Participatory Community Diagnosis**

A community forum was convened to formulate a vision for the community. The process was facilitated by the TCPD and the community brainstormed on what the problems are, what they can do and how they wanted their community to look for them and the future - a vision. The various needs that were expressed were prioritised and a walk was undertaken amongst the inhabitants to identify the possible location such as the community services. The various agencies associated with the process like the infrastructure agencies also took turns to explain their activities and possible contributions to the project. This exercise yielded some useful advantages:

The community became aware that planning was not the realm of technocrats and the top-down manner of doing things belonged to the past.

There arose arguments about location of some communal facilities, but at the end of the day and with advice from the technical team, a consensus was reached.

Working together gave the community a sense of belonging and the ability to take their destiny into their own hands.

The meeting involved men and women, the traditional authorities and the youth. The process was all - inclusive and participatory.

The traditional authorities offered leadership and resources for meetings and were seen as the symbol of unity of the community and accorded great respect.

### **7.2.5 Plan Preparation and Mobilisation of Resources**

The outcome of the community diagnosis meeting was the start of the draft planning scheme and fund mobilisation by the community towards the implementation of activities or to provide inputs that may be required.

The draft-planning scheme by the technical team of planners, surveyors and the infrastructure agencies involved a number of field activities, which were undertaken in close collaboration with the CDC and community. The draft scheme was completed and presented at a workshop with the community.

Members of the technical team explained the draft plan to the community on the content of the plan. Another field walk was undertaken to further enlighten the community on the proposals on the ground. The community saw at first hand where:

Individual plots were

Areas were reserved for infrastructure services

Areas were reserved for other community facilities

The comments and contributions from the workshop enabled the technical team to finalise the plan. The community was also aware of their implementation responsibilities and resources that would be required and started making contacts with relevant stakeholders and agencies they believed could help in the plan implementation.

### **7.2.6 Approval of Plan and Implementation**

The draft plan was subsequently revised and the final plan completed in December 1992. The Metropolitan Assembly approved the plan and report in the same month for implementation. The approved plan was presented to the community at another meeting and an implementation plan prepared to give effect to areas of the plan with due respect to the resources of the community. The following activities were immediately undertaken:

The Survey Department undertook demarcation of the scheme as a first step

Identification and protection of community service areas (roads, sanitary sites, open spaces and schools). The community took the responsibility of protecting these sites. Water and electricity were to be extended first with roads coming later. Estimates were provided by the relevant agencies with a detailed work programme (digging of trenches, purchase of pipes and electric cables).

Tree planting

Allocation of plots and registration

The traditional authorities and working committee through communal work and contributions ensured that roads were opened, and water and electricity were extended to the communities. It is noteworthy that the communities organised their own meetings to mobilise resources and sought the opinion of people before implementing actions. The technical team and community development committee jointly monitored the progress of work and resolved any problems that might arise.

A further feature observed was the incremental approach to the extension of services because of resource limitations. For instance, the extension of water started with the installation of communal standpipes, which could be accessed by all. Individuals with the necessary resources could extend the system to their houses afterwards.

It was thus clearly observed that the establishment of the development committees facilitated consultation and involvement of the community. The committees acted as sifting mechanisms for the articulation of community concerns and worked in partnership with the technical team and service agencies to achieve the aims of the community. The aspects that led to the success of this partnership are discussed in the following section.

## **7.3 Key Principles for Success**

### **7.3.1 Local Organisational Structures**

The traditional authorities instituted measures and procedures to regulate the conduct of the community. In terms of organisational structure, the traditional council was representative and decentralised as indicated in Figure 6. The four sections of the community are well represented in the council, which confers with the household heads on issues concerning the delivery of infrastructure. The Community Development Committee membership was also structured according to sections and as such also representative, an arrangement enabling all sections and people to be aware of the state of developments. This also facilitated the implementation of decisions. In instances such as contributions toward the extension of the bulk water, the CDC representatives collected contributions from their respective sections. Default was low, as they knew community members very well and understood them if one was in difficulty. The principle here was representivity.

A second feature of the local organisational system concerned the sharing of responsibilities. The traditional council instituted a method, which reflected equity and inclusiveness. When trenches had to be dug for water, the men did the digging whilst the women provided food, water and carried the pipes. The village leadership performed the supervision in collaboration with the CDC. The aged either stayed at home to care for the young children or stayed at the work area to offer advice. Interviews with residents indicated that they all contributed to community projects mostly in labor and cash. There are sanctions by law for people to be prosecuted if they dodge community work. This was not applied, as the situation did not arise. People who by virtue of circumstances could not offer labour gave financial contributions.

### **7.3.2 Traditional Norms and Values**

#### *Traditional Leadership, Consensus Building*

The traditional authorities representing the leadership of the community are regarded and highly respected in the community as symbols of unity, peace and development. No one will refuse to comply with decisions given by them, as all as an insult to the community will see it. Local decision-making by custom is generally by consensus. Voting on decisions is alien to the local culture. A win and loose situation does not arise. If there are dissenting views, the issue is extensively discussed for all parties to understand and comply. As an example when the issue of extension of water came up, there was a move for extensions to homes first, but this would have put a number of people out of reach. The matter was discussed and all came to understand that as a vital need public standpipes should be erected first for everyone to have access to water, and extensions could be made later. Situations like this called for patience and perseverance. It is not easy to work in absolute unison as a community due to the divergent interests of individuals. However, the traditional culture of ensuring consensus in every situation enabled activities to be executed successfully.

### **7.3.3 Community Strengths and the Self-Help Paradigm**

The contribution of the community right from the initiation of the plan to implementation accounted for successful implementation of proposals. The communities demonstrated a high spirit of self-help, solidarity and communalism, which was reflected in their response to contribution of labour and funds. In self-help people endeavour to achieve their aspirations through their own efforts. It is the collective response to a problem such as the infrastructure deficiencies that confronted Jusonayili. All respondents indicated that they had been involved in self-help activities. Other than the provision of basic services they were involved in the construction of a school block, latrines, and library. Jusonayili is the first community to have built a community library through their own contributions and labour. Most residents voluntarily participated in, water, electricity and school building. About 90 per cent of the respondents further said that they would be willing to work in partnership with the government to improve the piped water supply in

their area. The respondents indicated that they would be ready to freely contribute their labour. This evidence shows that residents have an interest in improving their living conditions.

#### **7.4 Suggested Preconditions**

##### *Involve the Community Early In the Process.*

In order for the communities to provide inputs and influence the planning process, they must be involved early in the planning process. People at the local level are generally slow and need time to understand issues and respond to them. The initial community engagements therefore, took considerable time. This time was well spent, as it helped to inculcate a sense of community ownership of the process. It also reduced any misunderstanding and conflicts with 'rushed' issues.

##### *Mutual Needs*

The absence of basic services was a real need, which was a driving force in the communities seeking external assistance to solve the problem. The planning authorities also responded to the challenge due to their desire not only to facilitate the provision of services, but also to meet its basic function of ensuring orderly growth of Tamale. As partnerships are built on mutual need, it was not surprising that the community and government agencies were committed to work together.

##### *Work Attitudes of Government Departments*

The TCPD succeeded in getting the various government agencies to work in a focused and integrated manner. The concern was to deliver on the vision of the community as a team, but not as unit agencies. This was not an easy task as some agencies such as the water and electricity agencies were companies with a level of autonomy. The able and skillful head of TCPD at the time worked hard and achieved integrated teamwork.

##### *Participation and Transparency*

The planning process was highly participatory and open. Every step was discussed with all stakeholders before it was implemented. The traditional authorities and development committees were in constant touch with each other and the community and provided feedback to the technical team. The community level meetings were also held in the open, which enabled any community member to attend. It created a high level of commitment to the plan and activities undertaken.

## **7.5 The Challenges**

The communities face challenges in sustaining the community-led self-help to infrastructure delivery. The first challenge and perhaps the most important has been the taking over of the activities of the community development committees by the unit committees. The unit committees have been associated with partisan politics, though they are not supposed to be, and it has created some lack of enthusiasm to activities organised under their auspices. In some instances there is known to be unhealthy power rivalry between them and the traditional authorities. Informal discussion with residents indicated that members of unit committees could be represented in the community development committee but not take over their responsibilities.

A second challenge lies in the poor relationship with the TAMA, which indicates a weak link due to lack of interaction. The unit committee are supposed to be the link between the communities and the higher level of local government structures but these of late have been dormant or absent. The TAMA is also yet to operationalise these sub-structures. Thus the ability of communities to be part of the planning process has been frustrated due to the lack of appropriate institutions.

Thus, it can be seen from the foregoing what communities can create for themselves through their own initiative and resources. Constructive engagement with agents outside the community has resulted in improved access to basic infrastructure services.

The community-led development indicated the strengths in horizontal linkages between traditional authorities, community members and community development committees

and the vertical linkages between the community and government agencies. These have been development without any formal rules. For example Jusonayili community was able to get a local contractor to partly construct the main link road for them and also solicit funds from a NGO to complete their community library. It demonstrates the community ability to identify local partners for development, but the capacity of the community development committees need to be strengthened so that they can manage such relationships.

Communities often need technical support and advice in their planning of development projects. This is an area normally difficult for communities as they see government officials as too remote to assist them. This is where the TAMA will have to explore the possibility of an agency to bridge or link government agencies to communities. Government agencies should be seen to be moving to communities and not the other way round if real bottom - up development is to be achieved.

The traditional authorities have indicated how pro-active they can be in solving problems that confront their communities through collective action. These institutions can be strengthened in delivering services by being offered technical assistance and resources through community - based planning and integrating their needs and aspirations in the development plan of the metropolis. Real partnership can be achieved working from the community level, involving urban authorities and other government agencies concerned with infrastructure delivery, and developing a plan that can be based on the principles of the Local Agenda 21.



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### SYNTHESIS

#### 8.0 Introduction

The study argues for a planning approach that will integrate and strengthen local initiatives, that is, how partnerships between urban authorities and traditional authorities and their communities can deliver improved infrastructure services. The study has examined the conditions under which such partnerships can effectively be created. The purpose of this chapter is to cross-analyse the case studies based on concepts and propositions that were developed from the study.

These concepts were developed from Local Agenda 21, which is universally advocated as providing the preconditions for effective partnerships.

These concepts are:

*Participation and integration.* This is at variance with the centralised and top-down approaches described in some cases.

*Common vision, concerns and resources*

*Building on local institutions;* this supports community empowerment and sustainability of programmes.

*Decentralization,* implying sharing of power, resources and decision – making

These aspects or principles are reviewed in this chapter as follows:

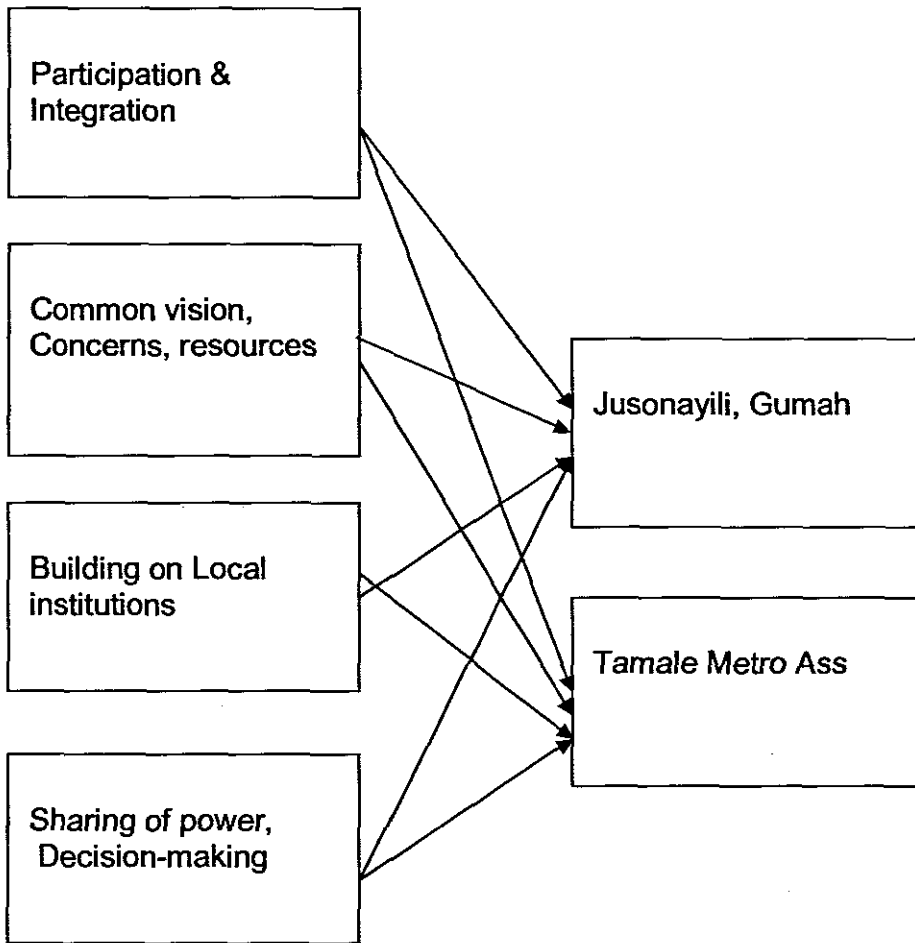
Integrated and participatory approach to development – Jusonayili and Gumah

Building on local Institutions: community led LA. 21 type of development – Jusonayili and Gumah.

*Centralised/sectoral approach to development – Tamale Metropolitan Assembly (TAMA)*

These principles already verified in previous chapters in relation to the case studies, now have to be examined to see if they are in consonance with the principles and objectives of Agenda 21. The cross-analysis scheme is indicated in Figure 5.

**Figure 5: Cross Analysis Methodology**



**8.1. Cross – Case Analysis**

Partnerships are based on trust, sharing of resources, risks and benefits between two or more parties to achieve common objectives. For a planning system to promote effective partnerships, these values of partnerships must find meaning in it. The planning system must reflect the following attributes already enumerated as concepts within the Local Agenda 21;

Integrated partnership and reflect common vision, concern, resources of the society.

Built on local institutions.

Sharing of power and decision-making.

### **8.1.1 Integrated Partnership and a Common Vision**

The findings concerning Jusonayili and Gumah have been presented in Chapter 7 and will only be summarized here. At the community level, a sense of partnership and vision is shared in an informal but real way, entrenched by tradition. The structures from decision – making include chiefs, council of elders, section heads household heads, community development committees and unit committees.

This has also been described, approaches and attitudes are strongly ingrained in the relationships between these structures, and these approaches include participation, sharing, representivity, and self –reliance, transparency and self – regulation.

This position has demonstrated some success in infrastructure planning and development, though challenges still remain in the operations and partisan politics of the unit committees, as well as in the unsatisfactory links and interaction with TAMA. In this regard, a properly integrated partnership and common vision cannot be said to exist at these levels.

### **8.1.2. Community – Led Approach to Development**

The communities of Jusonayili and Gumah demonstrate this attribute as well. The results in the case – studies in terms of improved basic infrastructure delivery have validated three principles of the Agenda 21 and which provide an enabling environment for partnerships alluded to in the previous section.

The LA 21 principle of seeking local solutions to local problems is demonstrated by the ability of traditional authorities to identify local infrastructure problems and relying on community strengths to solve the problem. The community made contacts with relevant government agencies that offered their expertise. A local plan was developed which formed the basis for the infrastructure delivery.

A second key issue was the element of building on local institutions. The traditional authorities already exist and are highly trusted and respected as leaders in the

community. It was not difficult to mobilise the community in service delivery due to the trust and respect accorded to them.

The local organisational structure is decentralised and affords all members of the community a say in the running of the affairs of the community. It is based on this value that the community development committees were formed and which had the blessing of the community to work with external agents and government agencies for infrastructure improvements.

A threat to the sustainability of this institution, as has been mentioned, is the apparent take – over, of its functions by the unit committees, which are either not operative, or dormant. The situation has created apathy and frustrations to community-based initiatives. Partnerships are based on trust which attribute is not found in the unit committees by the community. Another key issue to the success in service delivery in the case communities was that state institutions worked and strengthened the local institutions. Thus the assertion of finding local solutions to local problems and building on local institutions for effective partnerships has been proven to be true in Jusonayili and Gumah.

### **8.1.3. Centralised – Sectoral Approach to Development Planning (Top-down)**

The Tamale Metropolitan Assembly (TAMA) has demonstrated that though policies exist for decentralised integrated development planning, it has not shown much commitment to this. There are clear indications that the proper environment for partnerships to be developed is questionable in this case.

The Tamale Medium Term Development Plan (MTDP), which should be the focal document for district development, does not provide a focus for development. It is not integrated in outlook and participatory in process. The result is a fragmentation of plans based on the sectoral departments. Each department pursues its stated objectives and is resourced from national headquarters, where it owes allegiance.

A second issue is that resources cannot be optimally used as funds are scattered among agencies, as opposed to a central pool, which facilitates effective allocation based on strategic visioning and formulation activities. It therefore goes without saying that communities thus cannot be part of resource sharing and decision-making. In terms of participation, the general attitude is occasional consultation after decisions on issues have already been taken. It creates a sense of dependency and helplessness in the communities as reflected in the low level of services in Banvim and Zujung.

The non operationalisation of the Area/Zonal councils and Unit Committees which should form the focal point of community participation in local development has further marginalised communities in having a say in the affairs TAMA and their needs.

Thus one may conclude by saying that TAMA will have to indicate overtly that it is committed to creating the conditions by integrating LA 21 in its MTDP formulation.

## **8.2 Overall Synthesis**

In summary, infrastructure delivery will continue to be deficient as long as the following situation obtains:

Sectoral planning of the infrastructure and land sector agencies without proper links to the MTDP

Lack of focus and integration and non – participatory nature, on the part of Tamale MTDP

Lack of political commitment to Agenda 21 to which Ghana is a signatory. This is not found in TAMA as the MTDP does not reflect it

Decentralisation exists on paper but in reality not much progress has been made to devolve decision – making to the community level.

## CHAPTER NINE

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 9.0 The Present and a Possible Future

The study has revealed the infrastructure deficiencies exist in the urban areas of sub-Saharan Africa especially in the peri-urban areas. The literature has also pointed out that the mismatch between the supply and demand for basic services is largely attributable to the lack of resources of urban governments coupled with inappropriate forms of planning and management of infrastructure. Planning for infrastructure has been predominantly centralised, which under rapid urbanisation has failed to deliver adequate levels of infrastructure services. There has therefore been increasing demand for the involvement of the private sector and communities in infrastructure delivery to assist urban governments with better provision of these services.

“Public – private partnership” has become increasingly important in the international urban policy agenda. A number of documents ranging from the *Habitat Agenda 21*, *The Johannesburg Declaration of 2000*, *Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000*, and the *United Kingdom Government's White Paper on International Development* among others, have stressed the need for partnerships in the urban agenda (DFID, 1997, UN-HABITAT WEBSITE). Changes in approach, where these have occurred, in the world have been in response to governments' inability to solve urban problems alone. In such cases there is the trend to roll back the state and give increased role to the private sector and communities as advocated by the World Bank and other institutions (Jones and Ward, 1994).

It has been stated repeatedly that partnerships enable the state to mobilize much needed resources from the private sector and communities to fill gaps in service delivery, which it cannot meet alone. This is the case of most cash- trapped local governments in sub –Saharan Africa (Gidman et al, 1995). However, the enabling environment must exist for these partnerships to develop. It means the planning approach that urban authorities adopt in managing urban areas will offer the

opportunities for private sector or community collaboration. Thus, it is in the urban planning process that partnerships can best be forged and not at the end when funding or other commitments are required, which is the current thought of the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly (TAMA.)

The planning and management of urban development in Ghana has generally been centralised for a greater part of the country's development history. The centralised approach has made it incapable for communities to be part of infrastructure delivery. It implies that collaboration or partnerships between urban authorities and communities will be difficult to forge. However, central government has for the past two decades pursued policy reforms that seek to decentralise the administration and planning of the country. The reforms give powers and opportunities to urban authorities to plan and implement infrastructure with local communities. The planning system advocated is grassroots-oriented and participatory in nature and supported by various legislation, but in practical terms much has yet to be achieved. It is therefore a challenge as to how traditional authorities and their communities can collaborate with urban authorities, as in the case of Tamale, to deliver infrastructure services if the planning system adheres to the centralised planning system.

Against this background, the study examined the current development concept of sustainable development and the Agenda 21, which if adopted in the planning system by urban governments could; provide the enabling environment for community partnerships with urban authorities. The study therefore explored the propositions that:

The centralised top-down planning approach does not promote community participation and enhance service delivery.

The principles of sustainable development and Local Agenda 21 call for an integrated approach to development if the goals of sustainable development are to be achieved at all levels.

Building on local institutions can enhance the LA 21 process, empower communities, and strengthen their capacity to deliver services that reflect their needs.

Community participation in urban planning and management is important because local people are capable of identifying the issues that affect them in the community and offer viable solutions.

The LA21 process can provide an environment for local communities to develop partnerships with urban authorities for urban improvement.

Evidence from the case studies has validated these propositions and the cross-analysis has further illustrated it. The objective now is to make recommendations as to the way forward if traditional authorities and their communities could collaborate with the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly or other assemblies in Ghana, in the provision of basic infrastructure services. The recommendations will aim particularly at the metropolitan assembly, infrastructure and other government agencies involved in urban development concerning service delivery to the poor and peri-urban communities. These are:

Though Ghana is a signatory to the Agenda 21 principles, there is not much action and commitment in terms of strategies on implementation. The process therefore does not reflect in the preparation of the Medium Term Development Plans (MTDPs) of the district assemblies. South Africa and Tanzania have achieved successes in that direction and political commitment is recommended to central government regarding the implementation of Agenda 21.

The MTDP for Tamale does not reflect the common vision and aspirations of the communities, as the findings indicate that about 60% know nothing about TAMA. The plans of the other government agencies are independent of the MTDP. It is recommended that TAMA should re-organise its planning and institutions to be guided by a common vision and plan and be based on the Agenda 21 action plan process. This requires political commitment and resources from the TAMA.

Though TAMA has the responsibility to deliver infrastructure services to communities, the power and resources for a greater part rest with the infrastructure agencies. Funds to these agencies are controlled by their national offices where their allegiance is.

A national review on the laws of the infrastructure agencies and the Local Government Act, which can unify the activities of all, concerned is recommended so that real decentralised infrastructure planning and development at the community level could be facilitated. The present system does not give opportunity for the articulation of local infrastructure concerns.



Traditional authorities are the institutions closest to the peri-urban communities and therefore important institutions for addressing their needs and potential key players in the LA 21 process and as such the development of the MTDPs. Effective partnerships should be developed from the very start of plan formulation to the end and their support should not be solicited only when decisions have already been taken.

Communities have the ability to mobilise their own resources to address problems that affect them as in the case of Jusonayili and Gumah. They, however, have limitations, which force them to seek partners to solve their problems. It is recommended that a strong focal point be created to assist communities in the development of partnerships for any development endeavor. To this end, the TAMA should consider strengthening and operationalising the Area Councils immediately as they are representatives of government closest to the people. Non-governmental organisations should also be contacted to assist in this regard.

The traditional authorities and the community development committees have low capacity to develop and implement plans and they are slow in that direction. This is a challenge that TAMA should address so that real participation in the development process is assured. The Northern Region abounds in a fairly large number of NGOs and the TAMA should negotiate with them as partners to strengthen the capacity of community institutions.

The decentralised departments, which can work with communities to realise their vision as in the case of Jusonayili, have weak horizontal linkages and mechanisms for working with communities. It is no wonder that they are still centralised in their approach to service delivery. It is recommended that TAMA, which has the legal powers, take proactive steps towards the integration of these departments. This integration can be achieved as stated earlier by restructuring the organisational structure of TAMA and the planning process.

The MTDP and Local Agenda 21 are processes that are driven by the urban authority but depend on community participation to succeed. It is important that thought be given as to how to create sustainable communities through their local institutions like the traditional authorities and the community development committees. Local community plans for infrastructure improvements can be formulated and the TAMA and NGOs

should consider preparing training manuals, methodologies and materials that will assist communities to plan their needs.

*The potential for traditional authorities and their communities to collaborate with the urban authorities to deliver basic infrastructure is cogently argued for in this thesis. The greatest onus of responsibility lies with the TAMA, which has lost face in the lives of the peri-urban communities. This certainly indicates the unsatisfactory level of participation or interaction that TAMA has with the communities. Where there is the element of lack of trust, partnerships cannot be formed. Trust is, however, based on sharing, transparency and constant communication between parties. It is hoped that the TAMA will approach the planning and development of the metropolis based on the principles and processes Agenda 21, offers, with its ingredients for fostering partnerships.*

## **9.1 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

This thesis has concerned itself with exploring a planning approach that could assist in the delivery of basic infrastructure. There are, however, other areas of investigation, which could contribute to the debate on urban infrastructure delivery. At the national level there is no clear policy on partnership. The realm of providing infrastructure does not consist of only the urban authorities, communities and private companies, but the civil society and NGOs as well. The latter are a group that work with poor and marginalised communities and are an increasing force to reckon with. The thesis recommends that for NGOs be involved in the capacity building of the community institutions. The question, however, is what policy framework exists for government, private sector and civil society partnership in infrastructure delivery in the country? It will be expedient that this is examined at a national level and recommendation made.

The other area of concern is the role of traditional authorities in urban development in general, as opposed to limiting them to one sector such as infrastructure delivery. The issues of sustainable urban development are multi-dimensional and not restricted to a single area. It's an instance; the problem of lack of interaction with communities and the TAMA is an aspect of urban governance, which is linked to the urban planning process.

Thus there it is more than likely that there are areas equally important, where the positive potential role of chiefs can be enlisted for urban development.

The local communities often face problems of financial capacity to implement plans, which can be frustrating in sustaining local planning and development. In terms of *infrastructure development*, the merits of TAMA allocating block grants for them to plan and implement simple plans that meet their needs should be explored. The TAMA could then facilitate village and neighbourhood development of Local Agenda 21s.

Finally, authorities and professionals in any country would do well to explore planning legislation procedures and instruments, beyond their own borders. The author has thus included a description of *Integrated Development Plans*, which could be instructive as a planning instrument, and the reader is referred to Appendix III: *Integrated Development Plans vs. Local Agenda 21: The Case of eThekweni, South Africa*. Cases such as these merit further research.

It is clear that actual progress towards goals such as enhancing the role of local participants in infrastructure and other urban development will ultimately depend on political will. In this regard, Ghana is not unique.

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**APPENDIX I – QUESTIONNAIRES - A**

**Assessing Infrastructure Services Delivery in the Community. Tamale Metropolitan Area. Questionnaires for Landlords**

**Date of interview** .....

**Name of Interviewer**.....

**Community**.....

**Hno**.....

**House type** .....

**Introduction**

I am called ..... and would like to ask you some questions which will help the metropolitan assembly and other government agencies see how they can improve upon the level of services in your area e.g. water, electricity and access. We are interviewing a sample of households and your contribution will be very important for the exercise. I will not take much of your time as just some 30 minutes will be taken.

House No.....

1. Name of respondent

2. Are the following bulk services available in your area?

Water	Yes/No
Electricity	Yes/No
Access roads	Yes/ No

3. Were the services available before the development of your plot?

If yes who provided the particular service? Chiefs, landlords, TAMA, the service providers, joint venture (Indicate the parties involved), etc.

4. Do you have any in your house? Name them if available.

5. If the service is not available give reasons why.

6. If available give cost of the service extension and year

7. What is your assessment of each of the service providers? (Good, satisfactory, fair, poor, do not know, etc)

**Ghana Water Co.**

Reason for assessment.....

**Community water & Sanitation Agency**

Reason for assessment.....

**VRA/NED**

Reason for assessment.....

**Urban Roads**

Reason for assessment.....

**Feeder Roads**

Reason for your assessment.....

8. Comment on the performance of Tamale Metropolitan Assembly in terms of the delivery of infrastructure services. (Good, satisfactory, fair, poor, do not know, etc)

.....  
.....  
.....



9. Have you ever been involved in the development of the services in your area as a landlord? Yes/No.

If yes indicate the nature of involvement

If NO. Give reason why?

10. Do you pay property rate? Yes/No.

If No give reasons.

11. In your opinion, does the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly provide adequate services in return for rates paid?

12. Are you willing to contribute resources to the development of any of the services in the area in cooperation with the service providers, TAMA, or both? If yes indicate the particular service, component or task.

13. What can you contribute to the development of the service?

Money, labour, materials, etc

14. Will you be willing to provide/contribute to the development of services if given a grace period not to pay property rate?

15. What role does the local chief/traditional authorities play in the community?  
.....

16. Comment on the relationship between the traditional authorities and landlords like you.....

17. Does the traditional authorities assists or contribute to the development of basic services? Yes or No

If yes, how...

18. Have landlords in collaboration with chiefs implemented development projects in the area?.....

If no, what do you think is the reason?

19. Do you know of any development projects that the traditional authorities have been involved?.....

20. Do you think landlords and chiefs can work together to improve delivery of basic services? Give reasons whether Yes or No.

21. Who do you send your complaints about basic services in your area?

Thank You

**APPENDIX I – QUESTIONNAIRES – B**

**Assessing Infrastructure Services Delivery in the Community. Tamale Metropolitan Area. Questionnaires for Residents of Communities**

**Date of interview .....**

**Name of Interviewer.....**

**Community.....**

**Introduction**

I am called. and would like to ask you some questions which will help the metropolitan assembly and other government agencies see how they can improve upon the level of services in your area e.g. water, electricity and access. We are interviewing a sample of households and your contribution will be very important for the exercise. I will not take much of your time as just.. Minutes will be taken.

House No.....

1. Name of respondent.....

2. Sex of respondent:

Male / female

3. Position of respondent

Head of household

Spouse

Other, Specify.....

4. How many people are in your household? .....

5. What is the highest level of your education?

Never / primary / junior secondary / senior secondary / university

Other (specify).....

**INFRASTRUCTURE SERVICES CONCERNS**

6. Which of the following services are available in the area:

Electricity

Water

Access road (roads to the community and homes)

(Tick those available)

7. For this list of infrastructure problems indicate the one that is most serious and faced by members of your household

Difficult access to potable water.

Irregular flow of water

Poor access for vehicles to the area

Difficult accessing electricity

Unreliable electricity supply

Unsatisfactory attitude of the service providers

Presence of illegal developments (buildings, structures, etc)

Others.....

7.1 In your view, which is the most serious? (a – h)

7.2 Which is the least serious? (a – h)

7.3 Give reasons for the prioritization

.....

## **EXISTING SITUATION OF INFRASTRUCTURE SERVICES**

### **Water**

What is the source of potable water to your household?

Pipe borne

Well

Stream

Tanker service- government

Tanker service-private

9. For a, b, d & e indicate if the source is in the house or outside.

Inside.....Outside.....

10. If outside how far from the home.....Travel time.....

11. How many trips a day for water? No....Time /trip.... ..minutes/hours

11. A Quantity of water required a day?..... Drums or gallons (indicate unit of measure)

12. How convenient is your type of water supply?.....

13. What type of water supply system will you prefer if not convenient?

.....

14. Why do you prefer the type you have chosen?.....

.....  
.....

15. How much do you pay for water per month?.....Cedis

16. Are you satisfied with the amount? Give reasons whether **yes** or **no**.

.....  
.....

17. Will you pay more for better service delivery?.....

18. Are you satisfied with the level and quality of delivery of water for the past 2 - 4 years in your area? (**Good/satisfactory/inadequate/very poor**)

Give reasons if unsatisfactory or poor.....

19. How can the service be improved?.....

**Electricity**

20. Do you have electricity in the house? Yes/No.

If **NO** what is the reason? (If No ignore Questions 22 – 25)

.....  
.....

21. Source of lighting (kerosene, gas etc) Indicate.....

22. Average cost per week, or month C.....

23. If yes answer the following.

Is the service regular without serious interruptions?.....

Do you experience power fluctuations? If yes, how frequent per day/wk/mnth?

Do you experience power outages?.....If yes, how frequent per day/wk/mnth?

24. How much do you pay for electricity per month?.....Cedis.

25. Are you satisfied with the amount? Give reasons.

.....

26. Will you pay more for improved service delivery?

27. How do you assess the electricity delivery in your area for the past 2-4 years?

**(Good/satisfactory/inadequate/very/poor)**

Give reasons if unsatisfactory or poor.....

28. How can the service improved?.....

### **Roads**

29. Is there a service road to your house?.....

31. If yes what kind of service road is it?.....

30. If no how far is the nearest road to the house?.....

32. How do you assess the development of access roads in your area the past 2-4 years? **(Good/satisfactory/inadequate/very poor)**

Give reasons if unsatisfactory.....

How can the accessibility improved?.....

33. Are you willing to contribute any resources to the development of access roads?

Yes/No

If yes what kind of resources can you contribute?.....

.....

If No give reasons.....

### **GENERAL**

34. Do you know who is in charge of providing these services? (Water, electricity, roads)

Yes/No.

Mention the name(s) of the agencies.....

35. Who do you complain to if services are not satisfactory?.....

36. Has your community ever been involved in the provision of these services?

37. If yes, what role did they play?.....

.....

38. Do you think the community can contribute to the delivery of the basic services? Yes/No

If yes, which of the services and how?.....

If No, give reasons.....

39. What do you know about the Tamale metropolitan assembly?.....

40. What has the assembly done for your area the past 2-4 years in terms of basic service delivery?.....

41. Has its performance been satisfactory? Give reasons.....

42. What can the community do to assist the TAMA deliver services?

43. What role does the local chief/traditional authorities play in the community?

44. Comment on the relationship between the traditional authorities and the Community?.....

45. Does the traditional authorities assists or contribute to the delivery of these basic services?

If yes, how?

If no, what do you think is the reason?

46. Do you know of any development projects that the traditional authorities have been involved?.....

**APPENDIX I – INTERVIEW GUIDE - C**

**INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES**

**1. Profile of Chief and traditional area.**

Name of chief.....

Name of Traditional area.....

Population of the traditional area.....

Main occupation of the people.....

Others.....

**Structure of the Traditional Council**

**Functions of the traditional council.**

**Representation of the council in statutory agencies /committee, etc of government.**

**Sources of income to the traditional authority.**

.....  
.....  
.....

**Areas of expenditure of the traditional authority on the community.**

.....  
.....



Amount of money spent a year on the community

1999.....Cedis

2000..... Cedis

2001..... Cedis

2002..... Cedis

2003..... Cedis

## **2. Traditional authority's activities in the following areas:**

Administration of Lands.

System of land ownership and disposal.

Land for development (private and public)

Land litigation

Challenges and constraints in land administration

Land use Management.

The traditional authorities and land use agencies. (Town Planning, Lands, Valuation and Survey Depts.)

Land use management of communal lands

Local government.

Traditional authorities and the metropolitan assembly.

Infrastructure service agencies.

Traditional authorities and the planning and implementation of infrastructure.

Infrastructure problems in the community

Activities of the Traditional authorities in addressing infrastructure problems.

Opinion of the traditional authorities about performance of:

The metropolitan assembly

The infrastructure agencies

Community/private sector participation in service delivery.

How can chiefs participate or in partnership with the municipal authorities deliver infrastructure? Legislative and institutional issues.

The Constitution

Chieftaincy Act.

Local Government Act.

Acts of the infrastructure agencies, etc.

### *3. Performance Of The Traditional Authorities*

Development projects undertaken over the years.

Number of project by years (1919 – 2003)

Type of projects

Estimated costs.

How undertaken (community only, Partnership,

Ngo assisted, etc).

Stakeholders in the projects and role played by each of them in the planning and implementation. (Metro Assembly, government agencies, private sector, NGOs etc)

Impacts of the projects

Successes, strengths, weaknesses and challenges with the projects.

### **4. Other areas Chiefs play or can play vital roles.**

Festivals

Traditional courts

Mobilisation of resources for development projects

Information dissemination

Cultural heritage (eco-tourism, artifacts, customary and legal issues, etc)

Social development (HIV, education, health, etc.)

How can their performance and experience in the above areas facilitate their role in the provision of services?

## **APPENDIX I – INTERVIEW GUIDE – D**

### **The Tamale Metropolitan Assembly**

General overview of TAMA

Profile and policies of TAMA

Functions and responsibilities.

Organisational structure, Departments, membership of Council, subcommittees, etc.

Development plans (mission, aims & objectives, activities, etc) and projects implemented since 1999 in relation to infrastructure.

Development planning process.

Relationship TAMA with infrastructure agencies

Financing of municipal services (infrastructure)

TAMA relationship with the traditional authorities

Private sector/TAMA activities

**Public/Private Sector Participation in Infrastructure Delivery in the Metropolitan Area**

The role of the private sector (chiefs, landlords, NGOs etc)

Type of partnerships and area of operation in the metropolis.

Rules/regulations for partnerships.

Partnerships in the delivery of infrastructure

Performance and impact made by partnerships in infrastructure delivery.

## **APPENDIX I – INTERVIEW GUIDE – E**

### **The Infrastructure Agencies (Water, Electricity, Roads).**

General overview of agency

Functions and responsibilities (Establishment Act)

Infrastructure Plans and projects implemented since 1999.

**Performance of the infrastructure agencies (achievements, constraints and challenges, etc)**

General problems, challenges, etc.

Private sector/agency partnerships.

What are the reasons for the backlogs in service delivery? (E.g. funds, capacity, policy of government, logistics. etc).

*What strategies are being used to address the backlog of services?*

Is the private informal sector involved in the delivery of the service?

Can the private sector contribute to improved service provision? If yes how?

**Are traditional authorities involved in infrastructure service delivery?**

**Can they contribute to infrastructure service provision? If yes, how?**

**General challenges faced in the provision of infrastructure services in the metropolis**

**Trends In Infrastructure Delivery (Water, electricity, roads)**

Year	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Projected Demand (unit)					
Estimated Cost (Cedis)					
Actual Funds Allocated					
Actual service delivered (unit)					
Population of Metropolitan area					
Backlog of service (unit)					
Estimated Cost of backlog (Cedis)					



**Major Functions Carried Out By Infrastructure Agencies**

Functions (Work components)	Carried out by agency itself	Undertaken by the private sector	Remarks

**Other information**

Public/Private Sector Participation In Infrastructure  
Delivery In The Metropolitan Area

The role of the private sector (chiefs, landlords, NGOs etc)

Type of partnerships and area of operation

Rules/regulations for partnerships.

Partnerships in the delivery of infrastructure

Performance and impact made by partnerships in infrastructure delivery.

**FINANCE**

*Revenue Situation of Agency (1999 – 2003)*

Revenue Source	Year (19.....)		Year (200.....)	
	Budgeted	Actual	Budgeted	Actual
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
ETC				

*Expenditure Situation of Agency (1999- 2003)*

Expenditure Items	Year (19.....)		Year (200.....)	
	Budgeted	Actual	Budgeted	Actual

--	--	--	--	--

**APPENDIX II**  
**ATTENDANCE LIST -THE RESEARCH INCEPTION MEETING**

*RESEARCH TOPIC: INFRASTRUCTURE SERVICES IN RAPIDLY URBANISING COMMUNAL LANDS: A COMPARATIVE*

**1. DATE OF MEETING: 2 ND NOVEMBER 2004. Time 11.30 am**

**2. VENUE: CONFERENCE ROOM OF THE DEPARTMENT OF URBAN ROADS TAMALE.**

**3. ATTENDANCE LIST**

**NAME**

**ORGANISATION**

- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. MR. A.M. BABA        | Metro Coordinating Director TAMA          |
| 1. E.A.D. FORSON        | Regional Manager Ghana Water Company Ltd. |
| 2. -E.A. ALHASSAN       | Sec. Gumani chief                         |
| 3. MAHAMA NASHIRU       | Sec. Banvim Chief                         |
| 4. SEINI F. FAROUK      | Sec. Jisonayili Chief                     |
| 5. BUGAPEH CHARLES      | Department of Urban Roads.                |
| 6. COLLINS OSEI – ANTWI | Volta River Authority/N.E.D.              |

- |                             |                                      |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 7. FUSEINI YAKUBU           | Tamale Metro. Assembly (TAMA)        |
| 8. INSP. INUSAH NINDOW      | Traffic Unit T.A.M.A.                |
| 9. SYLVESTER GYOGLUU        | Town & Country Planning Dept (TCPD). |
| 10. FRANCIS DANSO           | T.C.P.D.                             |
| 11. IDDI ASUMA              | Environmental Health Officer T.A.M.A |
| 12. ASHETU ABDUL-MUMUNI     | Metro Finance Officer, T.A.M.A.      |
| 13. SHEPHEN TECKU           | Metro Works Engineer TA.M.A.         |
| 14. ABUBAKARI INUSAH ALHAJI | T.A.M.A.                             |
| 15. DE-VER ISSAC JUSTICE    | Regional Lands Officer.              |
| 16. GBECKOR-KOVE EDEN       | T.C.P.D.                             |
| 17. BUKARI M. DANLADI       | Area Manager V.R./NED                |

**APPENDIX III**  
**DEVELOPMENT PLANS VS LOCAL AGENDA 21: THE CASE OF ETHEKWINI,  
SOUTH AFRICA**

**Introduction**

Tamale and eThekweni are located in countries that are geographically far apart and in terms of size and population South Africa is far bigger than Ghana. Ghana's population of 18 million compared South Africa, which is 44 million, and in terms of size, South Africa is six times the size of Ghana. Despite cultural and other diversity that exist between the countries they have some communality in terms of urban problems. Both countries face problems of rapid urbanisation with the attendant problems of meeting demand for basic services. Secondly the changes in municipal boundaries have included rural peri-urban areas, which were outside municipal control.

Durban and Tamale face problems of infrastructure delivery, which is a challenge to the urban authorities. The problems of infrastructure is equally severe in the peri-urban areas of both cities which need to be addressed to achieve overall sustainable urban development. The cities are also committed to addressing the needs of local communities, poverty and sustainable development.

A response to community needs lies in adopting sustainable and participatory planning approaches as advocated in the LA 21. This report examines the eThekweni Municipality Integrated Development Plan (IDP) in relation to its adoption of LA 21 as a planning tool to achieve sustainable development for Durban. The IDP was analysed, as stated, to ascertain the extent to which the LA 21 process has been integrated in the planning process, and how the following steps are reflected in the planning process:

Partnerships

Community-Based Issue Analysis

Action Planning

## **Implementation and Monitoring**

### **Evaluation and Feedback**

The plans should also reflect the key features of a sustainable plan in terms of being *integrative, participatory, all-inclusive and equitable*. A brief comparison will be made respect of TAMA

## **Ethekwini Municipal Council and the Integrated Development Plan**

Since the return of democratic rule to South Africa, the government introduced the integrated development planning as a form of strategic planning for local government in South Africa since 1996. Much legislation and a number of reforms have also been instituted to support local government. All local authorities were mandated as part of their responsibilities to prepare IDPs to guide the development of their areas. In the view of the author, the IDPs that have been prepared are consistent with Local Agenda 21 and can be said to promote sustainable development. The data has been sourced from official reports and documents of EThekweni Municipal Council (EMC) and discussions with officials.

### *Geographical setting and environmental characteristics*

The EMC covers 2,287 square kilometres and is located to the eastern seaboard of South Africa. The EMC is 1.4% of the total area of the Kwazulu – Natal province but has 60% of the population. It has a wide diversity of land uses. Only 35% of the area is predominantly urban in character, with over 80% of the population living in these areas and which contain the majority of the dense informal housing.

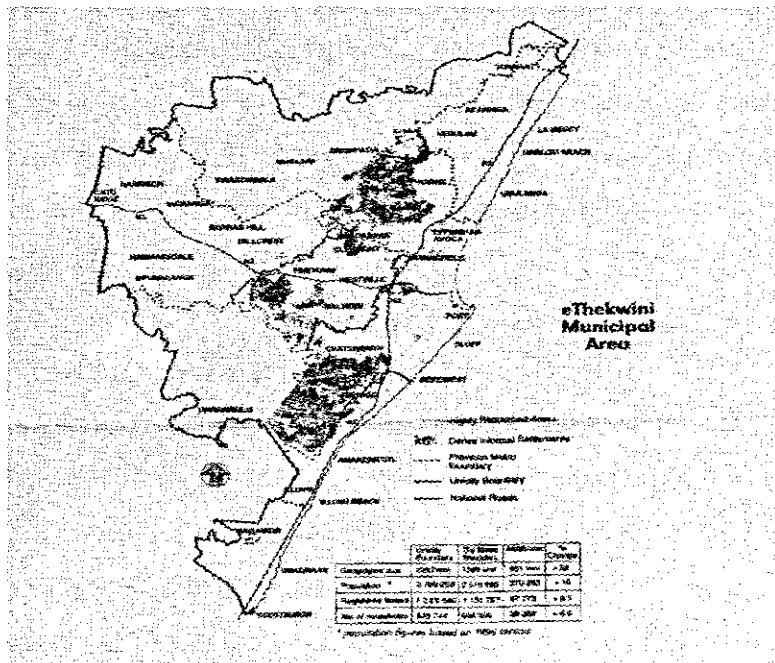
The natural resources of EMC reflect rich natural systems. The area is characterised by diverse topography, from steep escarpments in the west to a relatively flat coastal plain in the east. These diverse landforms support a wide variety of terrestrial, freshwater and marine natural ecosystems. The value of services provided by the open space asset (63 114 ha) is estimated to be R3.2 billion. (2003, IDP).

The socio-spatial environment reflects the legacy of apartheid. The spatial configuration of the EMC forms a 'T' shape with two major national freeways forming the main structuring elements. Areas closer to these national roads tend to be historically white areas, well provided with physical infrastructure and social amenities, while areas on the

periphery tend to be poorly resourced. This spatial development pattern has resulted inequality and inefficiencies across the EMC.



# Ethekwini Municipal Council Area



### *Socio-economic*

EMC has an estimated population of 3 million people. The Black African community makes up the largest sector (68%) of the population followed by the Asian community (20%), the Whites (9%) and Coloured (3%). The age profile reveals that, although the working age group comprises 68% of the population, there is relatively a large youthful population, with 38% under the age of 19 years. (IDP, 2003)

The economy is characterised by low economic growth. Durban is South Africa's major port city and the second largest industrial hub (after Gauteng). The EMC's economy has declined at 0.34% between 1990 and 1999, resulting in declining standards of living. The economy is currently growing at 4% per annum. The challenge that the city faces is to double the growth rate to 7.55 and create 18,000 jobs before 2010 to realise its strategic vision. (IDP, 2003)

### ***Political and Institutional Context***

The eThekweni Council has 200 councillors. One hundred of them are elected ward councillors and the other hundred candidates are elected to represent political parties on the basis of proportional representation. The Mayor of the municipality is the chairman of the Executive Committee. He performs the duties, including any ceremonial functions, and exercises the powers delegated to the mayor by the municipal council or Executive Committee.

The council established an Executive Committee comprising 9 members. The mayor decides when and where the committee meets. It is composed in such a way that parties and interests represented in the council are represented in the same proportion. The Executive committee is the management or principle committee of the municipality. It receives reports from other committees of council and must forward these reports together with its recommendations to the full council. The council has six committees and every councillor serves on at least one committee. Members of the Executive

Committee are tasked with the responsibility of chairing the supporting committees. The supporting committees are:

Tender and Contract Committee

Town Planning

Health and Safety

Economic Development and Planning

Infrastructure, Transport, Culture and Recreation

Housing, Land and Human Resources

These committees meet at least once a month. They have certain delegated powers according to which they take decisions on behalf of the council, and are required to report and make recommendations to Council on matters falling within their spheres of operation.

### ***Policy and legislative context***

The integrated development plans are shaped by several pieces of policy, legislation, as well as by guidelines developed at national level.

First, The Constitution of South Africa (1994) mandates local government to:

- Ensure a sustainable provision of services
- Promote social and economic development
- Promote a safe and healthy environment
- Give priority to basic needs
- *Encourage the involvement of communities.*

This means communities have a say in the delivery of services and must be involved in the planning processes.

The White Paper on Local Government (1998) sees integrated development planning as a way of achieving developmental local government. In terms of this, IDPs are intended to:

- Align scarce resources around agreed policy objectives and programmes
- Ensure integration between sectors within local government

- Enable alignment between national, provincial and local government
- Ensure transparent interaction between municipalities and residents, making local government accountable.

The White Paper also outlines policy principles that IDP must follow, and developed broad guidelines, seeing IDPs as a form of strategic, medium term planning, and encouraging a multi-sectoral approach to development.

The Municipal Systems Act of 2000 defines the preparing of an IDP as one of the core functions of a Municipality, and defines minimum requirements for the contents and processes to be followed in developing an IDP. The Municipal Structures Act of 2000 gave district municipalities the responsibility for integrated development planning.

In addition to legislation, a set of Guide Packs on Integrated Development Planning have been developed by the Department of Provincial and Local Government. These make suggestions on all aspects of the IDP, including its methodology; institutional organisation, the form of public participation, and the way crosscutting issues are incorporated into planning.

### **The eThekweni IDP Concept**

The IDP of eThekweni evolved from the vision of the city crafted in a 20 - Year Long Term Development Framework (LTDF) and adopted by civil society, the government, parastatals, tertiary institutions, unions and traditional leadership in November 2001. The implementation of the LTDF started at the end of 2001 with the preparation of the five-year development plan – the IDP. The IDP would:

Be a five - year management tool to realise the long-term vision.

Drive the city budget with implementable strategies that integrate and coordinate the actions of the various municipal service departments (instead of individually prepared development plans).

Allow for participation of local communities in budgetary decision-making and in ensuring the consideration of their needs.

(Moodley, 2004)

Subsequently the city's organisational structure and IDP has been adapted to reflect the major transformation that took place since 2001. This includes the move towards approaching the IDP as a "*single, holistic development approach*" (Moodley, 2004) in which the IDP process comprises of two major components namely:  
A strategic planning component, which entails strategic planning and strategic budgeting  
An operational planning component, which comprises operational planning budgeting and implementation

### ***Issues of Urban Development in EMC***

The EMC's IDP was prepared against a backdrop apartheid legacy. The growth problems of Durban reflect an inheritance of conditions of the past apartheid system among others. The urban form was characterised by institutional fragmentation, institutional unevenness, and restrictions on economic activity by black people, urban sprawl and spatial fragmentation. These key issues are reflected in the following inherited problems:

The location of the poorest people far from zones of economic opportunity.

Inefficient and costly infrastructure and transport systems linking urban peripheries to cores.

Inappropriate location of some industries.

The racially exclusive mix of residential and industrial areas with poor environmental and health effects in some areas.

An unequal distribution of skills and a largely unskilled work force.

Exclusion of the majority of the population from entrepreneurial activities.

Lack of institutional integration and communication.

(Urban Strategy Unit, 1996).

## ***Nature of the Plan, Aims and Objectives***

In the light of the above conditions, the IDP provided a holistic, participatory and integrated strategic plan to guide EMC growth and development. Its aims are in line with the provisions of the Guidance Pack, 2001:

Helps to eradicate the development legacy of the past through restructuring urban and rural areas; promoting social equality; redressing poverty and the adverse conditions of marginalised groups; and acts as a catalyst in the creation of wealth.

Makes the idea of developmental local government work through the development of integrated and sustainable projects and programmes; creating community ownership; providing a strategic framework for governance; enabling local government transformation; acting as a way of attracting investment; ensuring appropriate allocation of resources; facilitating delivery; and acting as a measure for accountability by politicians and officials.

Enabling co-operative governance through facilitating alignment, and acting as a mechanism for co-ordination between local, provincial and national departments.

The IDP has as its long-term strategic vision:

Meeting the basic needs of the people

Strengthening the economy

Building skills and technology

Achieving the vision will be guided by five key principles: a sustainable city, a caring city, a smart city, an equal and democratic city and a financially successful city. The municipality will ensure that these principles are embedded in all activities aimed at improving the quality of life of its people. An eight - point plan or (outcomes) are the focus areas of the IDP plan:

Sustaining the natural and built environment

Economic development and job creation

Quality living environments

Safe, healthy and secure environments  
Empower citizens  
Embracing our cultural diversity  
Good governance  
Financial viability and sustainability.

### **Plan Development Process**

#### *The Long Term Development Framework*

The development of the IDP started with the drafting of a long-term development strategy (LTDS) by a team commissioned by the EMC. The team, the IDP Planning team, prepared the draft framework to charter a development vision for the city for a 20-year period. The vision reads`:

*By 2020, eThekwin Municipality will enjoy the reputation of being Africa's most caring and livable city, where all citizens live in harmony.*

The IDP planning team consisted of local personnel with the requisite skills and measured up to the task. The draft Long-term Development Framework (LTDF) was subjected to a forum of all stakeholders where it was commented on and revised. The outcome of the forum was key challenges identified that the IDP was to address. These are the following:

Low economic growth and unemployment  
Poor access to basic household services  
High levels of poverty  
Low levels of literacy and skill development  
Sick and dying population affected by HIV/Aids  
Exposure to unacceptably high levels of crime and risk  
Unsustainable development practices  
Ineffective, inward-looking local government.

### *A Vision for the city - The Big Mama workshop*

The second step involved a large stakeholder workshop to sell the LTDF, kick - start the IDP and provide a vision and timetable for actors. This workshop had 450 participants drawn from all sectors of society and people. The participants were from civil society, government, traditional authorities, unions, tertiary institutions, and business. The workshop was called the “Big Mama” workshop, which agreed to the implementation of the LTDF and actions to be taken.

### *Assessment of Customer Needs*

The next step in the IDP process was conducting an assessment of the needs of the people. This was done in a rigorous manner and throughout the city. A 100 - ward needs assessment workshops were held in addition to separate workshops for small, emerging and organized businesses. The focus of each of these workshops was to ascertain real needs, rather than projects. These needs were to inform a strategic process that determined the way the city budget was to be allocated.

### *Strategic Prioritisation*

The needs assessment provided the inputs for the making of strategic choices about the best way to allocate scarce resources. The needs assessments and the long-term development framework (LTDF) influenced the prioritising of four key strategic areas namely (Moodley, 2004):

Residential community support

Business community support,

Strategic/platform infrastructure

Operations support.

Within these four strategic areas, sub-priorities were identified:

Residential community support: housing, social infrastructure and physical infrastructure.

Business community support: regeneration, business support and flagship projects

Strategic/platform infrastructure- bulk services.



Operations support: plant and equipment, new buildings and strategic internal infrastructure.

These sub-priorities were largely informed by the needs arising from the extensive needs assessment exercise.

### *Strategic Budget Allocation*

This involved allocating block sums of money to the 4 keys strategic priorities listed above and further dividing the block sums to cover the different sub-priorities. The process of strategic budgeting thus involved making choices about broad resource allocation which helped provide a framework for local decision-making around what projects will happen and when.

The needs obtained through the needs assessment process was tested against a strategic technical process, which involved interrogating the data that emerged; comparing them with existing information, and developing proposed technical interventions. A key strategic filter was the Spatial Development Framework (SDF), which helped provide guidance on what strategic infrastructure was needed, and where this should happen (Moodely, 2004)

The approach of making strategic block allocations was a novel idea and a departure from past practices where allocations were made after the plan was prepared. The block allocations and split were subjected to a second workshop dubbed “Big Mama 2” Budget workshop where the public debated the allocations. The participants were the same participants involved in the endorsement of the LTDF at the start of the IDP. The workshop enabled the citizens to have a real say in the council’s budget.

### *Project and Programme Prioritisation*

This step marks the beginning of what is regarded as an operational level process, which is more detailed and requires the actions and efforts of a range of stakeholders. At area level, communities, councillors and area management teams will prioritise projects and programmes with the funds made available to them, utilising the needs assessment data collected previously. What is unique about this process is that it is a

highly interactive process between the actual customers of the project, elected politicians and the administration that collaboratively determine the nature of the project.

#### *Approval by Executive Committee and Council*

The programmes and priorities were packaged and submitted for approval by Executive Committee and Council.

#### *Implementation*

Implementation at the local level involved all stakeholders and co-coordinated by area offices using facilities and resources of the Council and other service producers.

#### *Monitoring and Evaluation*

The municipality's new way of doing business is to ensure that its interventions are relevant and actually enable its residents to improve the quality of their lives. It is therefore imperative that a simple, workable and sustainable monitoring and evaluation system is put in place that allows the municipality to measure its successes and take corrective actions where necessary. (Figure 4 Simplified IDP process)

### **Restructuring of the EMC Organisational Structure**

A key feature of the EMC IDP was the alignment of the city organogram to the IDP so that the strategic goals and objectives could be achieved. The units or departments of the council terms of reference, budgets and outputs were based on the eight point strategic focus areas of the IDP (Figure 5 Organogram of EMC).

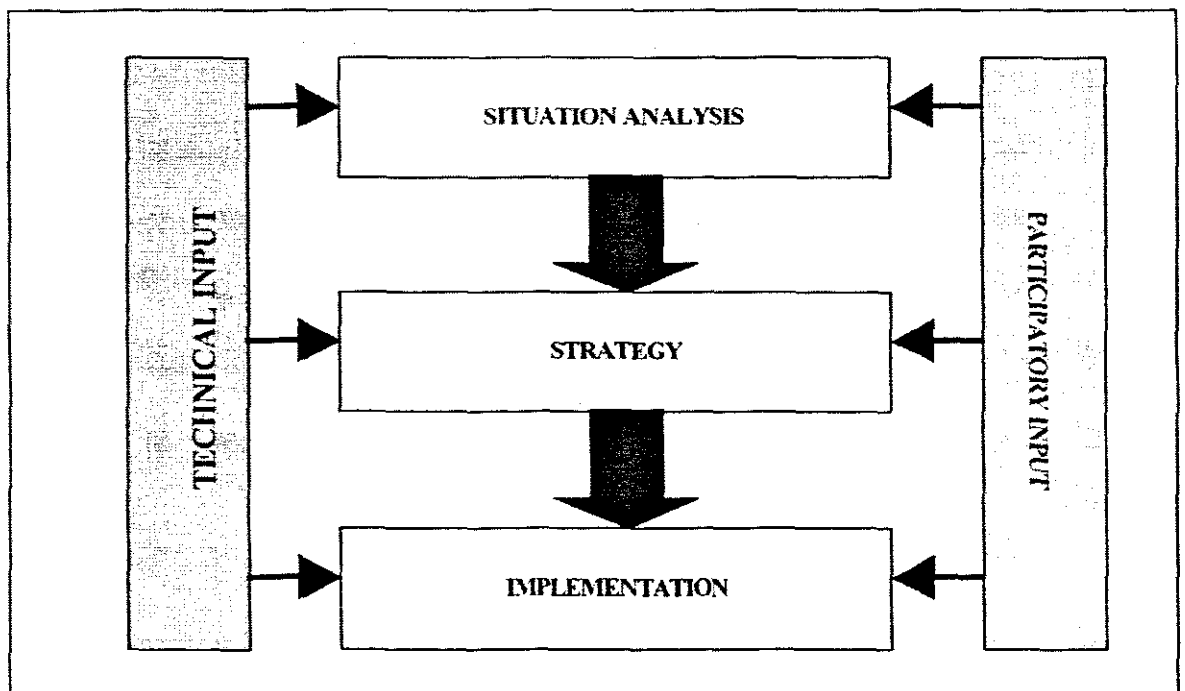
The departments were clustered into six and each cluster addressed the focus areas. The work attitude of departments changed from the previous compartmental and vertical relationship to one, which was integrated and horizontal in working relationship. This restructuring is in line with the provision of the LA 21 which advocates for reforms in existing structures of local government if their current status should hinder plan implementation. The IDP therefore created formal linkages between the planning process, the units of the council, the constituents and budgeting system.

## Analysis of the Planning Process and Characteristics

### *The Planning Process*

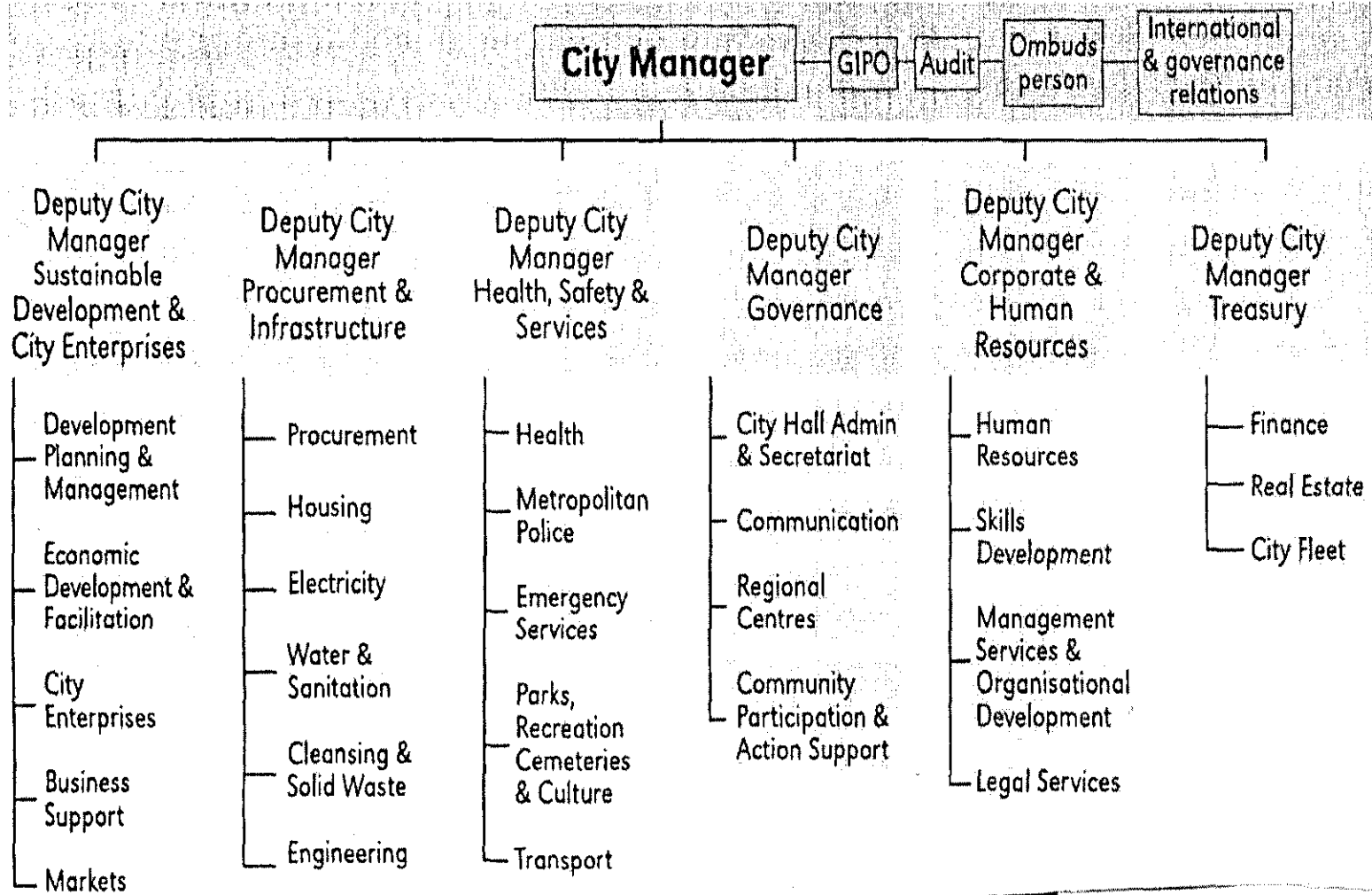
The overview of the IDP process has indicated that the stages followed are in line with LA 21 and responds to the needs of local communities. This is illustrated in (Fig. IDP process). It can be seen that though the process was driven by the EMC, it depended on the participation of constituents throughout the process from visioning, through prioritisation to implementation of plans. Participation was achieved at three levels: during the process stages, geographical and sectoral levels.

### Simplified IDP Process



The IDP Planning Process

# Approved Organogram Aligned with IDP



Geographic level meant interacting with communities, ward level, groups and other local based groups. The sectoral level involved meeting with the business community, NGOs, tertiary institutions, and traditional authorities.

### ***Characteristics***

The IDP plan also reflected the key features of a sustainable plan in terms of being ***integrative, participatory, all-inclusive and equitable***. These characteristics have enabled the plan to be responsive to community needs.

*Integration.* The IDP was integrative as it departed from the sectoral planning which previously posed problems of plan integration. Community needs were blocked together and formed the focus areas for intervention. For example, services such as housing, health and education are put together. The IDP team developed a methodology that enabled:

Focused and strategic analysis, where data is collected and analysed for a clear goal;  
A shared understanding of purpose by the various focus areas, instead of superficial attempt at integration; and  
A single planning, budgetary, implementation and evaluation cycle. (Moodely.2004).

Thus the plan was characterized by vertical and horizontal integration by bringing national policies to the local level and managing sectoral programmes in a holistic manner.

*Participation* The plan ensured participatory planning as already indicated. It involved constituents at three levels and was interactive. The participative process which is an on-going process of stakeholders involved ward workshops, sectoral workshops and “Big Mama” events. These were effective tools to mobilise citizens as well as business, labour and other spheres of government. Participation has continued in subsequent years, with 20 Community Mobilisers being appointed within the Community

Participation unit. It created the opportunity for the expressed views for diverse groups to be captured.

Stakeholder participation was also acknowledged as important if partnerships are to be formed and strengthened to assist in service delivery for improved quality of life. For this purpose, the Community Participation and Action Support department was established to ensure high citizen engagement. The EMC has experienced some benefits from the active citizen engagement ( Moodley, 2004):

Improved quality of service delivery by integrating ideas from those that are served and creating shared understanding between citizens and officials;

Allows citizens the opportunity to see the bigger picture and understand the need to prioritise as they are confronted with all the needs of the city; Engenders a culture of taking responsibility, mobilising people to play a greater role in for example community policing; and Breaks down barriers between 'us' and 'them' and building partnerships with civil society, NGO's and business.

Thus the IDP rests on a shared community vision couched through the participatory process.

The plan also recognised the heterogeneous nature of the municipality. In this regard the needs assessment was disaggregated to capture the views of the youth, differently-abled and business community. This is relevant when assigning roles and responsibilities in plan implementation. The plan also addresses the disadvantaged areas in terms of service levels and special initiatives instituted for those areas. The Area Based Management (ABM) strategy is a strategic approach to address areas of inequalities such as Inanda, Kwamashu and Ntuzuma (INK project) and the Rural Development Framework (RDF). These are initiatives that city authorities will focus on in working with communities and other stakeholders for improvements in their areas and address the backlogs of service delivery.

## **Achievements in Infrastructure Delivery**

### ***Water and Sanitation***

The EMC has made strides in addressing infrastructure demands. During the five years under review, Water and Sanitations activities focused on the delivery of water and sanitation services with emphasis being placed on meeting the goals of the eThekweni Integrated Development Plan. The Unit has managed to reduce the water supply backlog from 137 795 households in 2001 to 55 432 households in October 2005. In addition the sanitation backlog has been reduced from 232 192 households in 2001 to 140 193 households in October 2005. (Neil Macleod: Water and Sanitation Unit, EMC: 2005)

### ***Electricity***

The following was achieved in the period 2000-2005:

New streetlights installed	- 10 731.
Free basic electricity	- 10 000
Growth in Sales (units)	- 9.06 %
Growth in demand (units)	- 11.89 %

It should be noted that the free electricity was dispensed to areas that previously did not have it and concentrated in the black townships where the service backlogs are concentrated.

### **The Move towards Community Partnerships**

As one of the strategies to address the infrastructure backlogs particularly in the peri-urban areas, the EMC has started to mobilise partnerships and active participation of communities to deliver services. The IDP has achieved the conditions that ensure the development of effective partnerships in the IDP through:

The articulation and sharing of common vision, concerns and resources

Real participation by all stakeholders in the planning process

The IDP building on community strengths and weaknesses and structures

A favorable situation for the sharing of power with all stakeholders particularly at the lower level and the disadvantaged

People can only work together if they have a shared vision. The IDP process as a first step involved all stakeholders to charter a vision for the development of EMC. The community needs assessments and the “Big Mama” workshops were tools used to ensure that a shared vision was achieved. It also enabled all to be aware of the challenges involved and roles to be played by stakeholders. Community participation was key to the IDP and informed the process from the beginning to end.

The community issue analysis provided the opportunity for an understanding of the local environment that a partnership can be worked out. It enabled the identification of possible stakeholders and collaborators. Over 500 community-based organisations (CBOs) working in the areas of infrastructure backlogs have been identified, and a programme is currently on going to mobilise and build their capacity for partnership.

The EMA has a Community Participation Unit (CPU) that is tasked to organise the CBOs to be pivots in the community for speedy delivery of services. A citizen activation programme, which aims at creating in communities a sense of innovation, creativity and proactiveness toward self-employment, is also currently on going. It is believed that services will be supported in a sustainable manner if people are employed and economically empowered particularly women.

Two partnerships are being tried on a pilot basis with the NGOs. These are the home-based care programme and the urban agriculture in Kwamashu. The home-based care programme involves the Health, Education and Parks Department, while the urban agriculture the Department Of Agriculture, Environment and Tourism and Local Economic Development unit of EMC. The experiences from these pilot programmes will be used to increase and expand community partnerships with the municipality.

Finally the IDP has created the atmosphere for partnerships by the sharing of power particularly at the lower level of government and the community level. It means greater



say and opportunities for ward committees, traditional authorities and local groups. To this end the CPU has assisted a number of pilot communities to prepare local plans for implementation, which reflect their peculiar needs. Collaborators and CBOs already working in the communities will be identified to work with the local people. There is however the need to build the capacity of communities and strengthen their participation. The CPU is again carrying out that responsibility which is currently on going. It is hoped that these initiatives will empower local stakeholders in governance. It can be observed that though the formation of partnerships is still young it has evolved from the planning process.

### **Lessons for TAMA**

The IDP plan for EMC has some useful lessons, which TAMA can learn from. These are the focus of the plan, ownership, political commitment, planning process, generation of partnerships and special action areas.

#### *The Plan focus*

The IDP was focused on sustainable development with the welfare of people at the center of development. The IDP was therefore formulated along the lines of LA 21, which is an action plan for achieving holistic and sustainable development. The LDTF provided a long-term vision to guide the IDPs, which will operationalise the vision of the city. The IDP therefore committed itself on the eight important thematic strategic areas identified from the LDTF.

#### *Local Ownership of Plan*

A successful plan rests on the vision of the people if they are to claim ownership of the plan. This was achieved through high level of community participation throughout the plan formulation. Plan ownership was further strengthened by decentralization of decision-making to the ward level. Participation is not easy and the CPU was created to ensure strong communication and participation to the local level.

The EMC used local personnel to formulate the strategic LDTF and the IDP. The plan was therefore a home groomed document, which reflected the environment and planning methods adopted. It is a condition that favours plan implementation.

#### *Political commitment*

The Agenda 21 has stated that local government has the responsibility of driving the process of the LA 21 in partnership with their citizens. That political commitment has been demonstrated in EMC. Though the IDP was a national requirement, certain issues of mention indicate political commitment to the IDP. The realignment of the budget making to the IDP process, allocating bulk sums of money prior to action planning and subjecting the budget to public debate are good indicators of commitment. Conventional budgeting is normally at the end of the plan process, which makes proposals not aligned to resource allocations rendering the plans difficult to implement. Mention can also be made of the restructuring of the departments to deliver the thematic areas of the plan.

#### *The Planning Process.*

The plan's goal was the achievement of sustainable development. The planning process of the IDP as already mentioned followed the LA 21 planning process in terms of principles and characteristics. The process was therefore strategic and integrative. A long-term vision was set for the city and medium to short term actions formulated to achieve the vision. The IDP was the tool to achieve that vision. The plan was also integrative as the expressed needs of the various sectors in the city were obtained. These needs were synthesized into thematic areas for implementation. It fostered vertical and horizontal working of the units of the EMC as the organizational structure was restructured to deliver the outputs of the IDP.

#### *Generation of Partnerships to Manage Community Service Delivery.*

Mobilizing partnerships and participation of communities is one of the strategies to address service delivery. This strategy is coupled with capacity building to enable the communities at the local level to actively participate in the service delivery process. The

city authorities acknowledge the problem of its capacity to deliver services alone to all communities.

### *Special Action Areas*

The IDP Plan has provided the framework for special action plans to address projects in poor marginal settlements such as Inanda and Kwamashu, intended to address basic service levels. It is the objective of EMC to deliver services in these communities in partnership between the municipality, communities and NGOs. Thus the plan sees the importance of using partnerships to address the problem of equity and inclusiveness.

### **Conclusion**

The IDP for the EMC indicates the commitment by the council to the ideals of the Agenda 21 through the plan conception and stages taken. Innovative ideas have been introduced to the plan like the strategic budgeting system, the re-organisation of the institutional framework and the setting up of the Community Participation Unit (CPU) to strengthen and create partnerships for improved service delivery. It indicates the council's recognition that partnerships can be a vital tool in meeting the delivery of the city's service backlogs.

The Council however still has some challenges to deal with despite the positive strides it has made. *Firstly the demand for services as an immediate need is very strong and the ability to balance the short-term demand pressure with medium to long term planning can be very challenging. Related to this is securing enough funds to meet investment in infrastructure and maintaining free basic services in communities. It certainly will be difficult to provide free services indefinitely. The development of partnerships with communities could stretch resources and should be pursued strongly. Thirdly, sustaining community participation and involvement in development at the local level requires local institution building that can continuously maintain a link with the Council and also be a medium in the articulation of community needs. The development of CBOs and NGOs could provide an alternative as ward representatives are seen as partisan. They could also play a dual role in assisting communities with the visioning of plans, working out*

partnerships and implementing and monitoring projects for the communities, which is similar to the activities in the case study communities of Jusonayili and Gumah in Tamale.