

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

SLUM DWELLERS' PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNANCE OF
SLUM WITHIN THE ASHAIMAN MUNICIPALITY OF GHANA



ERIKA MAMLEY OSAE

2024



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WITHIN THE ASHAIMAN MUNICIPALITY OF GHANA

BY

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Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy degree in
Development Studies

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DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my original research and that no part has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature.....Date.....

Name: ERIKA MAMLEY OSAE

Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisors' Signature Date:

Name:

Co-Supervisors' Signature..... Date:

Name:

ABSTRACT

Slums are being created in many developing world cities as a result of rapid urbanisation, poor infrastructure, and inadequate facilities to accommodate the growing urban population. This study investigated the participation of slum dwellers in the governance of slums in two communities within the Ashaiman Municipality of Ghana. Using a systematic random sample technique, 390 slum inhabitants provided cross-sectional data. In the Ashaiman settlements of Tulaku and Manmomo, key informant interviews were also carried out with a selected core officials of the municipality, community leaders and civil society organisations. Atlas ti 9 was used to analyse the themes in the data, and STATA 14.0 was used to generate descriptive statistics. The investigation produced the following results: first, the majority of slum inhabitants in the study area were involved in the local governance system. Second, slum residents' involvement in the decentralised local governance structure was influenced by their educational attainment, length of residence, and intention to remain in the community. Third, important players in the local governance structure included assembly members, unit committee members, opinion leaders, and slumpreneurs. Fourth, most of the inhabitants largely participated in activities related to cleanliness and sanitation. The municipal assembly should implement programmes to enhance participation in local governance amongst the slum dwellers. The central government through the local government authority should also facilitate the provision of essential public infrastructural facilities such as drains, paved roads and educational facilities in the study areas.

KEY WORDS

Decentralised

Lifestyle

Participation

Slum governance

Slum dweller

Slumpreneur

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the memory of my late father, Gideon Teye Kisseih.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACET	African Centre for Economic Transformation
ASHMA	Ashaiman Municipal Assembly
AYOC	Ashaiman Youth Coalition
FEDUP	Federation of the Urban Poor
GHAFUP	Ghana Federation of the Urban Poor
IDEG	Institute for Democratic Governance
IRB	Institutional Review Board
LFF	Local Finance Facility
MCE	Municipal Chief Executive
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MLGRD	Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development
MMDAs	Metropolitan, Municipal, District Assemblies
MTDP	Medium Term Development Plan
MWRWH	Ministry for Water Resources, Works and Housing
NIMCOSS	Nimba Community Services
PD	Peoples' Dialogue
PM	Presiding Member
PPLG	Public Participation in Local Governance
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SDI	Slum Dwellers International
STMA	Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Assembly
STMA-CSUF	Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Assembly- Citywide
SUF	Slum Upgrading Facility
TAMSUF	Tema-Ashaiman Municipal Slum Upgrading Facility

UCC	University of Cape Coast
UCCIRB	University of Cape Coast Institutional Review Board
UG	University of Ghana
UN	United Nations
UNCHS	United Nations Commission on Human Settlements
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlement
WIEGO	Women in Informal Employment: Globalising and Organising

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

The United Nations launched the Sustainable Development Goals with the intention of addressing the problem of slums among other things. By 2030, "Nations of the World should ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums," according to Target 1 (United Nations, 2014: 37). Goals 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 13, and 17 of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the United Nations explicitly address the problem of slums. Making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable, for instance, is the focus of SDG Goal 11 (Sticzay & Koch, 2015; UN, 2014). Therefore, in order to address the needs of slums through the provision of basic services and decent, affordable housing, as well as to enable participation in governance processes towards the realization of the New Urban Agenda, the African Union's Agenda 2063, and the Africa Urban Agenda initiatives, more investment in urban management systems is imperative.

Urban areas are considered "development accelerators" and play a leading role in political conflicts as they strive to be integrated into democratic systems (Paller, 2019). Additionally, they are the global hubs of the economy, attracting a wide range of people for a variety of reasons, such as the pursuit of improved employment and financial prospects (Halima, 2016; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2019). Ashaiman, a city in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA), has the ability to attract new immigrants because of the opportunities it presents for cheap housing.

Slums have to be upgraded since there is increasing evidence that human growth is dependent on how well urbanisation is managed. Despite a decrease in the percentage of the world's urban population living in slums between 1990 and 2016, the number of people living in slums increased sharply from an estimated 792 million in 2000 to over one billion in 2016, according to the UN's (2016) progress report on the SDGs (UN, 2020). According to the UN (2020), there will be greater challenges in achieving sustainable cities due to the growing number of people moving from rural to urban slums.

It has been acknowledged that rapid urbanisation is an important worldwide phenomenon. Slums and informal urban settlements are home to an estimated 850 million people worldwide, or one in every seven individuals (Sticzay & Koch, 2015). Urbanisation in developing countries is expected to add 1.5 billion more residents to the urban population by 2025, with 80% of them residing in slums. On the other hand, slums have a significant impact on a number of vital aspects of life, both locally and globally, such as politics, social exclusion, health, education, and child mortality (UN-Habitat, 2003). The term "slum" has negative connotations from its earliest beginnings since it is associated mostly with areas that are hotspots for criminal activities.

The term "slum" was described as "a range from high density, squalid central city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities" by the World Bank and the United Nations Commission on Human Settlement (UNCHS) (2001 as referenced in Gilbert, 2009: 705). Slums are defined as "neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor" (Cities Alliance, 2006: 3). According to the United Nations Expert Group Meeting, a slum is "an

area that combines, to various extents, the following characteristics: poor structural quality of housing, overcrowding, and insecure residential status, as well as inadequate access to safe water, sanitation, and other infrastructure" (UN-Habitat, 2003: 12). While the physical and space were stressed in all of the previously mentioned concepts, the social and human beings living in such areas have been neglected.

In the literature, the terms "slum" and "informal settlements" are interchangeable (UN-Habitat, 2017). The UN-Habitat (2003) and Rashid (2009) recommended that slums and informal settlements be classified as one and the same, notwithstanding the claims of certain academics who maintain that the two are clearly different. According to Mahabir, Crooks, Croitoru, and Agouris (2016), the two are the same. The perspective held by the latter (UN-Habitat, 2008; Rashid, 2009; Mahabir et al., 2016) is adopted by this study. Whether seen as distinct concepts or as a single unit, slums and informal settlements both refer to impoverished areas that have a substantial influence on the social, political, and economic landscape (Mahabir et al., 2016).

According to Fox (2014: 3), neoliberalism and modernization theories portray slums as "a natural and temporary manifestation of a market failure arising from the dynamics of structural change in the labour market." In addition, slums offer low-cost housing for labourers and function as socially cohesive areas with opportunities for growth in income, security of tenancy, and local economic development (Malecki & Ewers, 2007; Brugman, 2010; Asare, Osaе & Pellow, 2015; Mahabir et al., 2016). A contributing factor to the growth of slums is the modernization and neoliberal policies to cut back on welfare

spending, together with a lack of investment in urban management and administration (Goss, 2001; Devas, 2001; Stacey & Lund, 2016).

Likewise, as Devas (2001) and Turok and Borel-Saladin (2016) point out, little is known about the institutional and political processes that determine if and how the poor contribute to or can influence the goals of local government. Nevertheless, studies show that the majority of slum dwellers work in factories, the informal sector of the economy, various home-based businesses, or as domestic workers, security guards, or hairdressers (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2016). Town planners and social reformers have worked together over the years to better the lives of those living in slums (Asare et al. 2015). This has been accomplished by development initiatives such as UN-HABITAT's and other development partners' slum upgrading facility programme.

Fukuyama (2014) defines governance as a government's ability to enforce laws and provide services within a democratic framework. Helmsing (2002) defines local governance as a system where social structures and decision-making are carried out locally. Slum governance ensures peace within slums by using internal governance systems and institutions based on slum dwellers' value systems. Literature often overlooks the dynamic relationships between location, population, and economics in favour of static analyses of the social and physical issues confronting slums. Four rubrics are used to categorise slum discourse: people, place, economy, and governance. These rubrics focus on survival strategies, sociability, and the way of life.

Jankowska, Weeks, and Engstrom (2012) argue that slum settlements, despite their negative connotations, are instances of small-scale communities located in third-world urban areas that provide a variety of risks and

opportunities. Slum settlements in urban areas arise when population growth exceeds the ability of cities to accommodate them. Where basic building and land laws are not enforced resulting in the rapid rise of slums (Fox, 2014). Manmomo and Tulaku, two slum communities in the Ashaiman Municipality of Ghana's Greater Accra region, are an example of uncontrolled slum growth.

As Tema's port and industrial city were being built, Ashaiman emerged as a dormitory town that offered low-cost housing for the unskilled labour needed by the industrial city (Doxiadis, 1975; Hart, 1973; Piel, 1974 & 1976; Owusu, 1999). But over time, governments neglected the Ashaiman community, supporting the claim that the spread of slums is a direct result of the government's ongoing failure to fund urban development and to establish strong institutions for managing urban areas. Fox (2014:3) states that the slum issue is "symptomatic of government failure to manage urbanisation proactively."

Statement of the Problem

In Ghana and in many other developing countries, slums are the most obvious manifestation of urbanisation and poverty in the cities. The creation of slums is associated with several factors, including continuous rural-urban migration, limited land supply and dysfunctional regulatory frameworks. In addition, institutional and implementation failures to address the needs of the urban slum dweller are contributory factors (Mensah, Osae & Asare, 2021; Wibbels, 2019). Decentralisation is intended to enhance local governments' responsiveness to citizens' concerns, but with regard to social service delivery, it has separated Assemblies from the underprivileged (Crenstil & Owusu, 2018).

In 2010, 12,545,229 people lived in slums in cities in Ghana, making a 4.5 percent slum growth rate per annum (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). Ashaiman Municipal Assembly is a one-town municipality aptly described by Chalfin (2019: 501) as a “booming commercial town where everything is for sale, and nearly everybody is for hire”. Previous studies on slums have been done in housing, mapping slums using remote sensing, slum upgrading, elections and politics, political culture, power structure and infrastructure provision (Obeng-Odoom, 2010; Ehigiator, 2013; Owusu & Afutu-Kotey, 2014; Asare, Osae & Pellow, 2015; Paller, 2012, 2014, 2015, 2019). Other studies on livelihood situations in slums, participation in elections, and tenure security issues were not left out in the study of slums. These studies can be categorised into people, place, economy and governance being the rubrics discussed by Stacey and Lund (2016) and Turok and Borel-Saladin (2016). However, empirical research on participation in slum governance is lagging in the literature, particularly in Ashaiman.

The perception that slums are hotbeds of social, political and environmental risks has fuelled debate for slum clearance and eviction policies by governments across Africa. However, the strong associational life of slums, especially the formation of savings groups, has empowered slum dwellers' ability to negotiate and leverage credit enhancement from development partners and the government (UN-Habitat, 2014). It is made possible due to a strong leadership role in the governance of slums. The UN-Habitat's Slum Upgrading Facility Working Paper 10 (2009) (SUF) project demonstrates slum dwellers' resilience, ability to engage local government authorities effectively, and how they influence the agenda of the decentralised system.

Findings from studies have confirmed the assertion that the inability of the government to incorporate slum dwellers as part of the overall planning process and scheme was a significant factor in slum development (Cities Alliance, 2014). Results from studies seeking to investigate how individuals understand decentralisation and the evolving nature of slums have demonstrated that slums are not just a bad part of urban areas but also have good aspects that merit further investigation. Local government officials should take advantage of the informal organization and structure of slum inhabitants to further development. The lack of effective decentralised sub-district organizations in urban communities is a major factor limiting the mechanisms available for interacting with them (Cities Alliance, 2014).

According to Fox (2014) and Bolay, Chenai & Pedrazzini (2016), the causes and effects of urban slums are hyped up and influenced by preexisting views. For this reason, the study seeks to unravel the local governance systems through formal and informal relationships and to examine the underlying factors that make it appear a seamless relationship with the slum dwellers to address the preconceived opinions. Thus, it is necessary to investigate the roles played by these actors in the slums as well as the relationships between the various groups of people, the way of life of slum dwellers, their sociability, the economy, and local government in terms of their ability to participate in decision-making, maintain safety and security, and uphold communal harmony. Therefore, putting slum dwellers' experiences with the governance system on the global urban theoretical agenda will reflect knowledge gained from practice that is too often overlooked by critical urban theory.

The two selected communities in the Ashaiman municipality offer a chance to look into the phenomena. Despite the existence of a functioning Municipal Assembly, certain activities are taking place outside of the formal administrative structure. Despite not being a part of the officialdom, the slum residents and their leaders create an environment where the administrative structure depends on them to run smoothly. The goal of the study is to analyse and document this phenomenon in order to shed light on this enigma.

Research Objectives

The general objective of the study was to investigate slum dwellers' participation in the governance of slums within the Ashaiman Municipality of Ghana.

The specific objectives are to:

1. Analyse slum dwellers' participation in the decentralised local governance system,
2. Examine the role of actors in the local governance systems,
3. Establish the relationships amongst lifestyle, sociability and local governance in the slums,
4. Make recommendations for improving slum dwellers participation in the decentralised local governance system.

Research Questions

1. How do slum dwellers participate in the decentralised local governance system?
2. What roles do actors in the slum play in the decentralised local governance systems?

3. What are the relationships amongst the lifestyle, sociability and local governance of the slum dwellers within the Ashaiman Municipality?

Significance of the Study

There are three perspectives that are used to discuss the study's significance: research, policy, and theoretical worth. This study aims to make a substantial contribution to the national discourse on slum governance, given that slums represent the most prominent expression of poverty and urbanisation in developing country cities, particularly in Ghana, where slum growth is becoming more prevalent. The research aims to challenge the negative perception of slums that has been the narrative. It seeks to correct that erroneous impression about slums and how the decentralised local governance system can work effectively with slum dwellers to improve their lot.

The study would provide policy-makers and implementers with valuable knowledge and information to enable them to improve local governance. The results would allow them to appreciate the role slum dwellers play in the governance of their communities and impact policy formulation locally and nationally. It would further draw their attention to the role of slum dwellers and how they participate in the governance process and contribute to the realisation of some provisions in global initiatives such as the SDGs, the New Urban Agenda, the African Union's Agenda 2063 and the Africa Urban Agenda initiatives.

The lessons could serve as an important consideration for managing the proliferation of slums in urban areas and inform the rethinking of slum governance and local governance. How the principal-agent theory of participation and citizen participation, the slum of hope and despair theories, the

pathways-out-of-poverty and cul-de-sac theories, and their applicability in the context of Ghana and Africa, would be informed by the findings and used to expand upon or incorporate certain ideas into the current theories.

Operational Definition of Key Concepts

The operational definition of slum, slum governance, slum dwellers' participation in slum governance, decentralised local governance system, lifestyle, sociability and economy as key concepts used in this study are explained below:

1. Slums are remarkable sites of aspiration, resourcefulness and self-sacrifice in the face of adversity while they also present a state of hopelessness and despair. They are also affordable entry points into urban areas, where migrants into the city obtain essential skills.
2. Slum is generally defined as a settlement with inadequate housing and basic services, and uncontrolled development resulting in overcrowding, congestion and insanitary conditions. Slums are seen as “essential symptoms of poverty” as well as “potent vehicles for reducing poverty” (Turok & Bore-Saladin, 2016:2). The vibrancy and energy exhibited by slums make them worthy of study.
3. Slum governance is about how slums are governed, which include the leadership structure and how associations are formed to enhance the resident's welfare as well as manage the community's affairs. Slum governance happens between the powerful agencies, in this case, the administrative class with the municipality and the slum leaders, to contribute to decision-making and governance.

4. Participation in slum communities deals with the involvement of the individuals in the development of slums, particularly in planning and delivery of developmental project. It discusses the importance of participatory approaches to development, where it discusses the power distribution and connections and links between the different actors in the slum communities.
5. Decentralised local governance system means ensuring safety, security and maintenance of peace in the community, which invariably makes it liveable.
6. Lifestyle refers to how slum dwellers live in the community.
7. Sociability refers to the built environment and its relation to social services.
8. Economy refers to how “everything is for hire and buy”. It deals with the survival and coping strategies of the slum dwellers.

Delimitation

Thematically, the focus of this thesis is on slum dwellers participation in the decentralised local governance system. Specifically, it captures slum dwellers participation in decentralised local governance system, the role of actors in the local governance system, and the relationship amongst lifestyle, sociability and local governance in the slums. Geographically, two slum communities (Tulaku and Manmomo) within the Ashaiman Municipality in the Greater Accra Region served as the study locations. For the target population, it captures household heads and key informants including the core staff of the local government authority, civil society representatives, community leaders

and academia. It further covers the leaders of recognised associations and the assembly members for the respective communities.

Organisation of the Study

The thesis is organised into seven chapters. Chapter One covers the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives and research questions, operational definition of key variables, delimitation and organisation of the study. Chapter Two reviews the relevant literature, which covers theories, empirical, and conceptual issues related to the study. It examines theories and concepts including participation, slum development, decentralisation and local governance. Other related concepts discussed are slums, slum dwellers, participation, slum governance, lifestyle, sociability, and decentralised local governance. Chapter Three presents the methodology detailing how the study was carried out and how data was collected and analysed. Chapters Four, Five and Six present the results and discussions based on each of the specific objectives. Chapter Seven presents the summary, conclusions, recommendations and areas for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The literature review draws attention to the contradictions, inconsistencies, contestations, and strengths and weaknesses of the body of existing literature. The review incorporates insights from previous research to guide the planning and execution of a new investigation (Bell & Bryman, 2007). A literature review clarifies and enhances the issue under investigation and offers insights into the present status of knowledge in a selected topic based on the body of existing literature. According to Creswell (2003), a literature review serves as a foundation for recognising deficiencies, criticisms, and linkages within the selected subject of study. It also offers a synopsis, contrasting and comparative viewpoints, and insightful data.

Lessons drawn from empirical studies on slum governance and slum dwellers' participation in local governance are discussed. Then the theories and concepts are presented in a conceptual framework. The chapter is organised into five sections. Following the introduction, the next section focuses on the theoretical review. The third section deals with the conceptual review, while the fourth section presents the conceptual framework. The fifth section is about the chapter summary.

Theoretical Review

The theories underpinning this research are the slum of hope and despair theory, pathways-out-of-poverty and cul-de-sacs theory, principal-agent theory and theories of participation and citizens' participation, all set in the neoliberalism and urban theory discourse.

Slum of Hope and Despair Theory

To comprehend the creation of slums and the mechanisms that lead to their expansion, Stokes (1962) presented the theory of the slum of hope and despair as well as escalator and non-escalator classes. The term "slum of hope" describes the psychological reaction of slum residents who are determined to raise their level of living and perhaps leave the slum in favour of better housing outside of it. The first settlement of strangers or recent immigrants is sometimes referred to as the "slum of hope" since it offers hope to those who live there. On the other hand, a slum of despair occurs when its residents have no desire to leave the area or upgrade their standard of living. People in the slum of despair are compelled to stay there where conditions are worse because they are unable to integrate into city life owing to a lack of skills such as education, language, and other crucial social and economic resources (Stokes, 1962). These are typically the most vulnerable and impoverished people.

Urban slums are frequently regarded as one of the most dangerous places on earth. In other words, it is generally believed that slums—or, for a more acceptable term, informal urban settlements—are the worst possible places to live (Gilbert 2009). According to Davis (2006), the current and future cities are primarily built out of shabby bricks, recycled plastic, cement blocks, and scrap wood rather than being fashioned out of glass and steel as imagined by earlier generations of urbanists. A large portion of the urban world of the twenty-first century squats in squalor, surrounded by sludge, waste, and ruin. The remnants of the solid mud dwellings of Catal Huyuk in Anatolia, built at the very beginning of city existence 9000 years ago, may make the one billion city people who live in such slums envious (Davis, 2006).

The spirit and goal of Target 11 of the SDG 7, which aspires to dramatically reduce the number of slum inhabitants and improve their lives by 2030, are being undermined by the expanding prevalence of slums, particularly in the cities of the developing world. But some have claimed that the definition of the word "slum" is ambiguous and that it is regarded differently depending on socioeconomic class, culture, and ideology (Gilbert, 2009). Gilbert (2009) adds that because of variations in what constitutes a "slum," the idea of slums is likewise not consistent across time. The term "slum" cannot, therefore, be used in any context that is universally acceptable. This is due to the fact that in cities where housing quality generally improves over time, neighbourhoods that do not develop eventually turn into slums due to relative neglect.

Slums are frequently assumed to be the areas with the lowest incomes and the poorest quality of life. Even while urban slums are typically thought of negatively, several research on slums have shown the creativity of those who live there (UN-Habitat, 2008; Gilbert, 2009). These studies have emphasized how resourceful slum dwellers can be in mobilising resources and establishing infrastructure and welfare services in these areas. Additionally, they have emphasised that the existence of slums is due to the fact that they satisfy the demands of disadvantaged groups (such as the desire for affordable housing) in the lack of effective governmental policies and societal will regarding urban housing and incomes Gilbert, 2009).

The majority of studies that look at the livelihood situations of slum communities (either positively or adversely) frequently make the assumption that slums are uniform and unchanging, failing to compare the minor variations within slum communities (Gilbert, 2009). In the context of slums, mobility-

related livelihood solutions in particular have not received enough attention. The focus has been on the situation of the poor in relation to higher income groups, even when mobility and livelihood issues have been examined (Bryceson et al., 2003). This predicament generally results from the belief that the poor lack the means necessary to engage in mobility-related livelihood choices.

Ashaiman, an urban slum community in Accra (Ghana), serves as an illustration of the different circumstances that are sometimes overlooked in research on urban slums and livelihoods. People in Ashaiman pursue a variety of livelihood options that are linked to or dependent on migration. The desire to either move from their current settlement to other areas where opportunities are many as proposed by the hope and despair theory has a direct link to the slum dwellers in Ashaiman communities. Although Tulaku and Manmomo communities in Ashaiman are fast developing, many commercial activities taking place within the community and its environs, threaten livelihood patterns and tenure security. Against this background, this theory best fits the research to explore the challenges confronting them and how they surmount them. This will help to ascertain whether there has been some positive escalation in the lives of the original settlers due to the identified commercial activities or whether the status quo remains.

Moreover, the challenges faced by the dwellers in the Tulaku and Manmomo communities needs to be resolved so that the settlers could have easy access to all social infrastructure in order for them to have hope instead of despair. However, the extent of their involvement in decentralised governance system would determine how well the settlers could take control of their own

development affairs (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2018). Therefore, the theory of hope and despair offers the opportunity to examine how dwellers in Ashaiman's participation in local governance offer them hope in terms of social and economic development.

However, there are two classes of slum dwellers within the community. These are categorised by Stokes (1962) as the escalator and the non-escalator. The groups expected to move up through the class structure for enhanced status and improved standard of living are referred to as the escalators. Whereas the reverse applies to the non-escalators, who are denied opportunities to move up in the class structure within the slum community. This theory best fits the Tulaku and Manmomo slum communities that have existed for several decades and would help examine the governance structure and development over the years.

In contrast to Stokes' idea (1962) of the slum of hope and slum of despair, scholars have renewed interest in the wake of increased urbanisation, especially in the South, and the region's rising global incidence of poverty. Due to the fast rate of urbanisation, which made it challenging for the city to plan for, provide services for, and manage the urban environment, the term "urban slums" was born (Humphrey & Hossain, 2010). Slum of despair features deteriorating neighbourhoods where everything seems to be heading toward collapse. On the other hand, a slum of hope is distinguished by advancement from a process of development to improvement and consolidation.

Studies have shown that earlier works on slums differ from contemporary research regarding the extent to which slums emerge as permanent features of cities and urban centres. Rather, studies on informality

and informalisation indicate that slums are not excluded spaces but are integrated on different terms (Mahabir et al., 2016; Humphrey & Hossain, 2010). Recommendations are made for scholars to develop further more nuanced theories of urbanism in a globalised world. Again, contemporary studies conceptualised the different aspects of informalisation in urban social, economic and political processes (Turok and Borel-Saladin, 2016).

Through their 2008 study of Nima, an Accra slum settlement, Owusu, Agyei-Mensah, and Lund supported the claim that slum communities are not consistent and homogeneous. Slums are characterised by the pursuit of various livelihood options that are linked to migration. They obtained their data from a number of sources, such as comprehensive studies, key informants, interviews, firsthand observations, and census records. The study came to the conclusion that slums are not just a bad thing about cities; they also offer advantages. The pathways-out-of-poverty and cul-de-sacs theories, which address a slum dweller's determination to either escape poverty or stay trapped in the system, support this notion even more.

Theory of Path-ways and Cul-de-Sac

This theory was put forward by Turok and Borel-Saladin (2016) to present a clearer understanding of the relationship between slum characteristics and household life chances, as situated in the context of local labour market conditions. By connecting people to the opportunities concentrated in cities, "the dynamic interactions between these phenomena - place, people, and economy - are bound to influence whether informal settlements help or hinder human progress" (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2016: 2). Slums are an inevitable outcome of communities changing; as living standards improve, they eventually

vanish. Not only are they indicators of approaching poverty, but they can also successfully reduce it.

Scholars agree that filthy living conditions in slums inhibit social growth and negatively impact people's quality of life (Arimah, 2010). This is referred to as being in a "poverty trap" or "cul-de-sac." People are unable to realise the economic possibilities that cities have to offer because of this trap. As Turok and Borel-Saladin (2016) point out, the situation is becoming the apex of the social ladder rather than its beginning. People who live in slums face the danger of being caught in emotional hotspots of discontent and disillusionment.

According to the cul-de-sac theory, slums preserve the contrast, strengthen human capital, raise household incomes through personal networks, and serve as social escalators. The cul-de-sac theory strongly suggests that structural barriers obstruct both individual and group advancement. However, by providing inexpensive access to urban possibilities, slums aid in uplifting households from rural poverty and onto a path to success (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2016).

This theory further asserts that the debilitating conditions force residents to live in constant misery and insecurity. Through their engagement in the governance processes at their level, slum residents can either escalate their levels upwards or downwards, as illustrated by the route and cul-de-sac theories. It validates the idea of the "slum of hope," which offers hope to those who are new to the slum since there are opportunities for progression.

According to Glaeser (2011), the theory of the pathway out of poverty emphasizes how natural qualities enable disadvantaged people to transcend their circumstances. In addition to differing perspectives on the characteristics of

informal settlements per se, there are disagreements over how these settlements evolve over time and impact the opportunity structures of its residents. These theories on the importance of slums are not well supported by systematic data. The fundamental issue lies in the disparate experiences of "people" and "place." There is a long-standing, commonly held view that slums in rapidly urbanising countries are a fleeting phenomenon (World Bank, 2008).

As countries transition from rural, agrarian civilisations to industrial nations, slums play a crucial role by facilitating migrant workers' access to urban labour markets (Saunders, 2012). They serve as reasonably priced gateways into urban economies where people can acquire necessary skills. Over time, the people living in these slums move up and out into healthier neighbourhoods: Urban slums are frequently the starting point for middle-class wealth accumulation (Glaeser, 2011). Preserving their inferior quality contributes to reducing the expense of living for low-income populations and alleviating rural overcrowding (World Bank, 2008). To put it succinctly, slums are a natural byproduct of societies undergoing change and eventually go away as living standards rise. They are effectively signs of poverty, but they can also be effective means of alleviating it.

On the other hand, slums are enduring characteristics that demonstrate how cities are unable to adequately accommodate population increase (Davis, 2006). Due to the fact that many individuals migrate in reaction to rural issues, the increase in the labour supply outpaces the growth in the demand for labour in cities. Congestion and structural limitations prevent concentrated populations from producing agglomeration economies (Buckley & Kallergis, 2014; Turok & McGranahan, 2013). The official housing market and public infrastructure

are unable to accommodate the growing number of households, resulting in bottlenecks and an increase in informality as people figure out their own solutions (Arimah, 2010; MacKinnon, 2015). Unsanitary slums, sometimes known as "cul-de-sacs" or poverty traps, impede social advancement and degrade human well-being by preventing individuals from realising the economic potential of urban areas. They face the risk of falling into a condition of negativity and discontent because they are no longer the starting point but rather the destination of the social mobility ladder.

Cross (2013) notes that informal settlements facilitate the initial stage of the progression by providing newly arrived urban immigrants a suitable and affordable place to live. The most popular option is renting, with flexible payment plans to accommodate people's erratic incomes. Although the temporary homes are compact and frequently crowded, they provide the fundamental need for security from the weather and theft and give residents a little extra money to cover other household expenses. In order to use electrical devices and study at night, residents can band together to arrange connections to the energy grid and fund shared equipment. To save transportation expenses, their settlements are comparatively well-located in respect to places of work and industrial areas (World Bank, 2013). Some are near middle-class areas where people can work as gardeners, housekeepers, or security personnel. Individuals make short-term sacrifices of worse living conditions in order to improve their financial situation through hard work, the acquisition of new skills and information (Payne, 2005; World Bank, 2013; 2018). When their income and resources allow, they either renovate and improve their own properties or relocate to better housing in better neighbourhoods.

"Cul-de-sacs" and "pathways out of poverty" theories emphasize how the government must provide social and economic security to residents of slums. At least in terms of traditional place-based interventions and urban planning, the government should only play a supportive role in this process of social mobility and gradual upgrading (World Bank, 2008; 2013; 2019). It is believed that there are no notable market failures and that any government action could misrepresent the interests of urban migrants. Even the most well-meaning state initiatives have the ability to supplant and replace benign self-help initiatives. Although living conditions in informal settlements might not be desirable, they are affordable and economical. According to the World Bank (2008), people should have the freedom to live where and how they choose, as well as in an environment where they may successfully carve out a place for themselves in the economy. Allowing slum upgrading to occur naturally and in line with rising household earnings will minimise social unrest and the removal of low-income households.

Payne (2005), and the World Bank (2013) argue that extensive efforts to revitalise deprived regions will only increase living costs, impede mobility, and threaten the viability of informal businesses. Enforcing standard building guidelines and land-use regulations may inadvertently promote private investment into newly developed informal settlements as a way to get around these restrictions. Cross (2013) argues that the state would be better served by doing little more than enforcing rigid laws and standards that penalise those who live in slum communities. The slum residents in Tulaku and Manmomo slum areas exhibited the resilient qualities suggested by the pathway out of poverty theory. In order to have the most financial resources possible for growth, the

settlers want to participate in a variety of commercial activities (World Bank, 2008). However, issues with housing, rent, and land acquisition serve as roadblocks that weaken the resolve of the settlers. This explains why, in order to improve the standard of living for slum settlers, the theory calls for government involvement through inclusive governance structures and the creation of social infrastructure.

Four main conclusions emerged from Turok, Budlender, and Visagie's (2017) longitudinal study, which used data from South Africa to examine the development of individuals residing in informal settlements in comparison to those living in recognised urban and rural locations. First of all, it lends credence to the notion that as informal settlements, or slums, proliferate throughout the world, it is critical to ascertain whether or not their occupants have better prospects in life. To separate the important characteristics of socioeconomic mobility for inhabitants in different locations, they employed transition matrices. The findings in the literature led to the conclusion that the majority of people living in informal settlements were not physically confined to them. Because of this, there is some room in urban systems for slum dwellers to be integrated into formal, established residential neighbourhoods. In line with the pathways theory, the second finding showed that slum dwellers had a somewhat higher chance of overcoming poverty than did rural residents.

In a similar vein, a fraction of slum inhabitants declined into poverty in comparison to their rural counterparts. However, the examination of labour market dynamics produced mixed findings, which might be partially attributed to the limited sample size. Thirdly, the research confirmed that informal settlements functioned similarly to rural areas, citing an employment example

where residents make little progress towards regular employment. Fourthly, the findings again suggest that there may be some locational advantage for slum dwellers in support of the pathways theory. This was inspired by a particular Gauteng situation. Considering the exploratory and provoking nature of the study, recommendations for further investigation were made. It demands further investigation on the social and spatial dynamics of slum communities.

The role of informal settlements in human development as proposed by the Pathway-out-of-poverty and Cul-de-sac theory has been summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: Contrasting perspectives on the role of informal settlements

	Pathway-out-of-poverty	Cul-de-sac
People and community	Individuals travel to urban areas with great aspirations and resolve. When they are cut off from conventional kinship and subsistence networks, they create new kinds of financial security. New social media platforms encourage their effort, business, and human resources.	Individuals who are forced to migrate and have limited abilities wind up at the back of the employment line. They find it difficult to advance past unstable jobs and subsistence lifestyles. The unforgiving environment depletes spirits, induces tension, and erodes communal solidarity.
Place and location	In relation to urban employment and means of survival, informal settlements are strategically located. People with irregular or low wages can afford and benefit from shelter. These neighbourhoods serve as relatively cheap entry points to urban job opportunities.	Shack settlements are illegal, situated on hazardous territory, and subject to dangers. People are deterred from investing because of their insecurities and vulnerabilities, which limit their attachment to the location. Unstable settlement designs lead to inefficiencies and make upgrading more difficult.
Economy and investment	A greater labour pool supports agglomeration economies, spurs economic expansion, and increases employment. Enthusiastic entrepreneurs produce vigour, inventiveness, and dynamic creativity. Growing salaries encourage spending on renovation and property development	Due to the skills gap, an abundance of low-skilled labour does not promote employment creation. Residents and shack settlements face discrimination from employers and investors. Local enterprises are small, ineffective, and provide goods of poor quality.
Governance and policy	The main goal of the state is to encourage migration in the direction of urban opportunities. It is more preferable to prioritise self-help, incremental upgrading, and basic public services than comprehensive settlement improvement.	A proactive stance from the government can prevent a leadership void when undemocratic entities take charge. The government can organise overall development and offer essential social and physical protections.

Source: Authors compilation based on available literature (2021)

According to Philip et al. (2014), slums are viewed as permanent elements of the urban landscape that highlight the systemic barriers to social participation as well as the permanence of poverty and inequality. Urban labour and land markets are not flexible, but rather segregated, and upward mobility is restricted by institutional impediments and labour demand deficiencies that self-reliance cannot overcome. The dispersed geographical structure of urban areas poses a significant obstacle to the attainment of equitable growth, meaning that countries cannot just depend on growth to mitigate poverty and inequality. Governmental organisations must play a larger role in promoting social improvement and realising the economic potential of growing cities.

The idea is that a lot of people are forced to relocate to informal settlements. Droughts, conflict, food insecurity, and rural poverty can all put pressure on them to leave. People who don't have the necessary education, training, or "soft" qualities that companies value end up at the back of the line when applying for jobs. Friends and family provide connections, but their best opportunities are for the least attractive, lowest-paying jobs. Inequality is reinforced by the abundance of unskilled labour, which maintains low salaries and unfavourable working conditions (van der Berg, 2014). Individuals struggle to learn new skills or save money for the future, and they are forced to work in casual or dead-end jobs (MacKinnon, 2015). Without funding, real estate, training, or industry expertise about suppliers and consumers, it is nearly impossible to launch a high-quality product company (La Porta & Shleifer, 2014). Although it is extremely difficult to get beyond this, some make a living by scavenging trash and scrap metal on waste sites, keeping small livestock, or

gathering wood to sell on the side of the road (Bundy, 2014; Seeliger & Turok, 2014).

Frequent job rejections lower self-esteem and morale; people become demoralised and more detached from the workplace; boredom, laziness, and hazardous behaviour rise; and stress undermines mental health and employability. Hopes, expectations, and earnings are further undermined by exposure to recurrent shocks of neighbourhood crime, violence, and illness (Jansen et al., 2015). The continual struggle for limited resources, the persistent strain on households, and the acts of "slumlords," or strong gatekeepers who benefit themselves by charging outrageous rents to inhabitants, all weaken the social fabric of the community (Fox, 2014).

Unauthorised and frequently located on marginal land, informal settlements can present environmental risks. Residents are vulnerable to heavy storms, flooding, shack fires, and the spread of illness because of the inadequate shelter, dense population, and lack of infrastructure (Seeliger & Turok, 2014). According to Holloway and Roomaney (2008), they experience bodily pain, psychological setbacks, disruptions to their livelihoods, loss of property, unforeseen expenses, and temporary displacement. They are less attached to the location and discourage investment in real estate due to the fear of being evicted and other anxieties. The hostile environment push people to act more like transients and send any extra cash to their rural relatives rather than solidifying their status in the city (Mabin, 1990; Philip et al., 2014). According to Posel and Marx (2013), migration is circular rather than linear because individuals

maintain ties in rural areas to share the risks of unemployment and poverty and to offer insurance.

Furthermore, the shacks' disorganised layout makes it impossible for emergency vehicles to approach them and hinders interior circulation. Renovating the infrastructure is far more expensive and disruptive to society for public authorities than starting from scratch with greenfield construction. Due to their substantial earnings from slum rentals, the informal landowners and power brokers frequently dissuade, postpone, or prohibit the government from improving these settlements (Posel and Marx, 2013). Resentment and disaffection are fuelled by the comparisons that shack residents draw with the more wealthy neighbouring neighbourhoods.

Principal-Agent Theory

According to Jensen and Quijano (2015), the principal-agent theory offers explanations for why local governments perform as well as why they respond to the demands and desires of their constituents. According to the theory, citizens in this study have been tasked with carrying out particular tasks and responsibilities, and decentralised local government is referred to as the "agent" in this connection. Furthermore, as the "principals," the slum inhabitants carry out the same tasks and responsibilities as the principal-agent theory. However, in order to determine the level of citizen involvement in the decision-making processes, it is necessary to analyse the level of citizen participation before evaluating the performance of the local government.

The principal-agent theory is plagued with uncertainties regarding agents' knowledge of the dynamics of slum dwellers, skills and abilities to act

in the best interest of their principals, herein the slum dwellers. Likewise, the principals also lack the ability and mechanisms to participate in the decision-making process and demand accountability (Jensen and Quijano, 2015). From the literature, the principal-agent theory underscores the need for active citizen participation. Hence, the concept citizen participation evolved to bridge the gap in participation to address the challenges in the principal-agent theory and to check excesses of bureaucrats, politicians and the elite dominant class.

Theories of Participation and Citizens' Participation

The concept of citizen's participation is discussed with a particular focus on what kinds of participation, who participates, how and to what extent. It helps to explain the linkage between participation and slum governance. Participation is "a positive relation between persons because it allows the person to experience himself existing and acting together with others" (Mejos, 2007: 80). It also allows for the realisation of oneself as well as the realisation of the community. However, participation takes different forms, from solidarity, opposition, conforming, non-violent or avoidance and distrust of the community (Mejos, 2007). Hamdi and Goetherts' (1997) theories of participation in Action planning for cities focuses on levels of participation which discusses participation from the initiation, planning, designing, implementation and maintenance stages. According to Walker (2002), as participation grows, so does the need for better services, and subnational institutions are under pressure to satisfy the growing local demand. The idea that public goods provisions are consistent with public sector accountability is further supported by Kearns (2003). Crawford (2004) agrees that involvement could result in increased

responsiveness and accountability. Shah (2007) argues that insufficient opportunities for engagement render it merely rhetorical. The concept of levels of participation by Hamdi and Goethert (1997) aims to bridge this divide.

According to the theory of citizens participation, there are four main players in participation: the community, the state, the market and civil society. Figure 1 shows the triangle with civil society at its centre. It claims that things have changed, with citizens actively participating in development and decision-making at their levels due to urbanisation and the emergence of new forms of public involvement in the governing process. Hamdi and Goethert (1997) description of citizen engagement as an act of responding to public voices, concerns, and opinions regarding decisions that impact them serves to reinforce this. Figure 1 presents equal and strong links amongst actors. It illustrates that participation is anticipated to occur when there are obvious connections between the players, as well as equal opportunities and strengths.

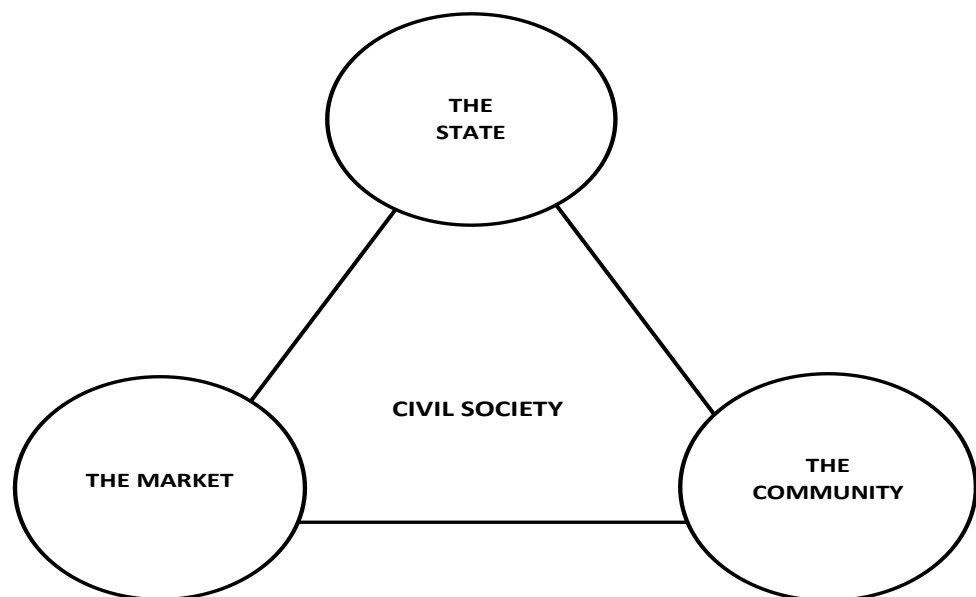


Figure 1: Idealised picture showing equal power and strong link among actors

Source: Hamdi (2014)

Literature reviewed endorses the position that civil participation improved projects and gives better results and more sustainable solutions (Imparato & Ruster, 2003). Empirical evidence shows that citizen participation has yielded positive results, especially in slum upgrading projects (Imparato & Ruster, 2003). However, the reality in terms of participation on the ground is depicted in Figure 2.

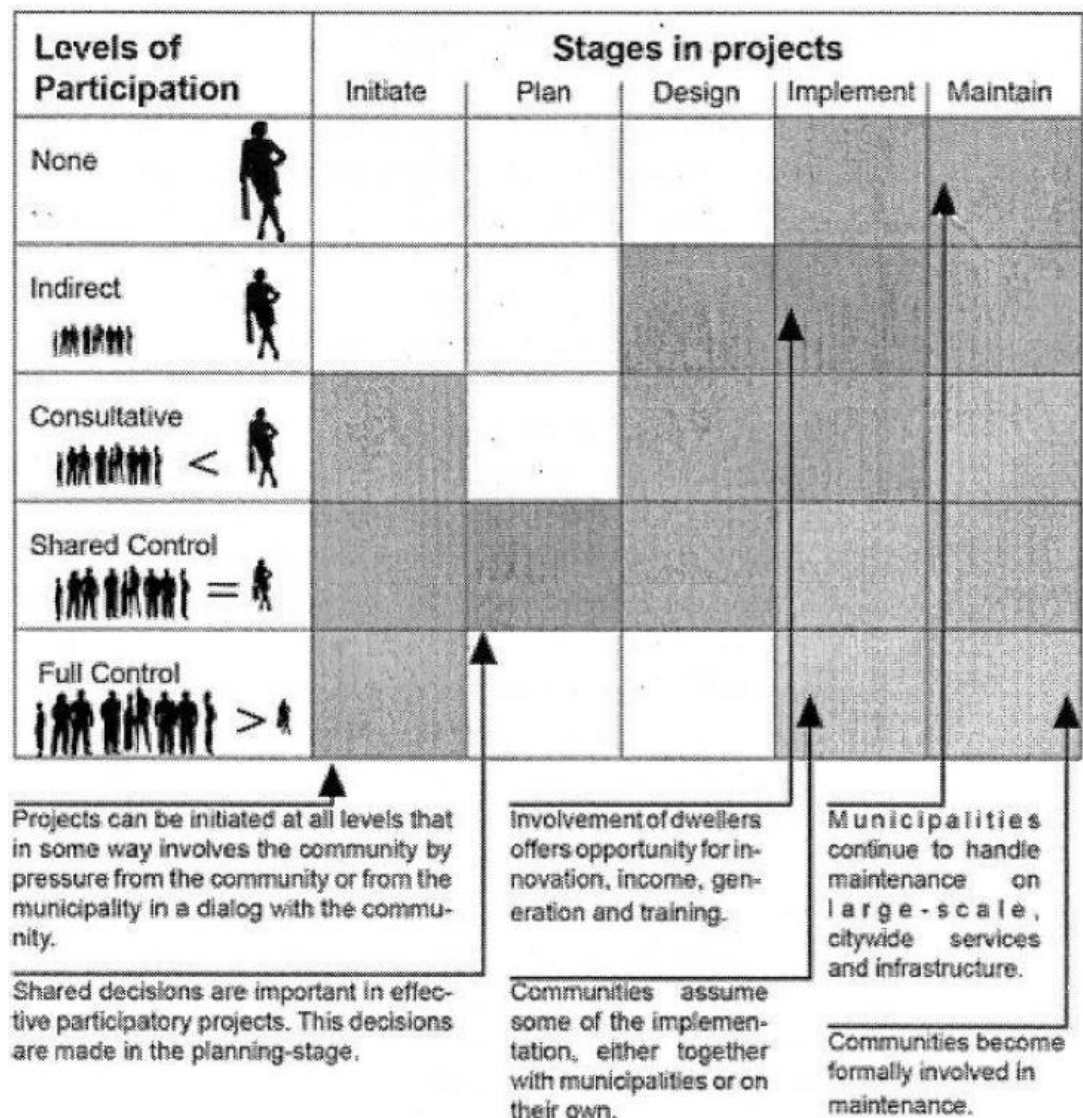


Figure 2: Desirable levels of participation

Source: Hamdi and Goethert (1997).

Participation not only adds to local knowledge and pertinent facts about the projects, but it also strengthens local ownership and demands responsiveness from the citizens. However, protracted delays or changes in approach brought about by participation can damage relationships with stakeholders and foster mistrust, which makes participation difficult. It is not that participation is expensive; rather, this is what deters people from participating. The largest expense related to participation is the time and effort required to create participatory mechanisms and procure specialised services during the project phase (Bergman, 2016).

The five levels of participation identified by Hamdi and Goethert (1997) can be applied to any development project. The levels are none, indirect, consultative, shared control and full control. These levels indicate the level of involvement of citizens or different actors and the responsibility and partnership exhibited. The none-level of participation, indicates that there is no dialogue with the principals. Such a project is a high risk one and bound to fail. The indirect category is similar to the none-group; but the principal gains information through secondary sources as it poses a high risk.

The consultative level offers a valuable but less effective means of gaining a general sense of the community's thoughts on particular issues. The shared control level occurs when principals and agents work together as equals, assuming that each actor has something important to contribute. This level is ideal in participatory planning theory, but it is also the most time-consuming to implement. The final level is full control, which is also ideal in theory, but it is highly risky because power hierarchies within and among the principals

discriminate against weaker groups or individuals. Imparato and Ruster (2003) explored the preferred method with reference to using lessons from Latin America to further improve participation levels.

Their work showed that a high level of participation might not be practical or beneficial due to the different circumstances of project formulation and implementation. They assumed that slum dwellers have limited time to spend on projects and sometimes in the participatory process.

Hamdi and Goethert (2014) enhanced the participation levels with desirable levels at different stages of the project cycle. This would involve the principals at different stages and strengthen the relationship, which will be of mutual interest as depicted in Figure 2. It shows the desirable levels of participation being the – initiation, planning, designing, implementation and maintenance stages of participation.

Notwithstanding the many benefits that community development has brought to many areas, the field has encountered several difficulties worldwide. The assertion made by Amoako and Cobbinah (2011) and Gulyani and Basset (2015) that certain projects have been unable to be completed successfully due to community development obstacles while others have made community development unsustainable is evidence of this. Projects in Kenyan slums have failed because of the residents' negative attitudes, which include drinking and laziness. These attitudes have made it difficult for the residents to maintain their jobs and take care of themselves (Philp & Cohen, 2020). Slum dwellers' participation in projects has been limited by many of these failures, which has made them feel powerless over their circumstances. This is corroborated by the

findings of Weitzman and Bailey (2018), who found that rural Canadians' unfavourable attitudes hindered numerous projects by resisting them because they felt their beliefs and values and that of the programmes did not align.

Weitzman and Bailey (2018) discovered that the absence of rural communities' input in project design resulted in their nonparticipation since they were unaware of the initiatives' significance to the beneficiary communities. Because they believed that these initiatives were being forced upon them, the residents opposed the schemes. One prevalent issue that has limited numerous programs in slums all throughout the world is insecure land tenure (Philp & Cohen, 2020). Because the people in emerging nations do not own land, many projects have failed. Due to the belief that their lands belong to the owners and that they may be forced to leave, many people who do not own land are discouraged from supporting and taking part in community development. Numerous projects have also been hampered in some locations by societal difficulties.

Agyabeng et al. (2022) claim that because many chiefs in these communities in northern Ghana lacked the necessary skills for the projects, the excessive reliance of the locals on their chiefs in community development was caused by the cultural values of these communities. People from rival ethnic groups have also been unable to work together on projects due to ethnic tensions in Ghanaian slum communities (Adamtey et al., 2021). This problem is particularly severe in areas where there is a lot of ethnic diversity.

Using the participatory theory, Purwanto, Sugiri and Novian (2017) indicated that decentralisation has brought participation to the fore of planning

and development. Weitzman and Bailey (2018) conducted a study to understand how the local context and specific programme elements shaped participation in slum projects, and how participation impacted physical upgrading, community development, and empowerment outcomes. Strong local government agencies or pertinent non-governmental organisations were found to have achieved good physical upgrading, with strong and adaptable institutional frameworks providing further support (Das & Takahashi, 2009). As demonstrated particularly in Indonesia, physical upgrading outcomes may still be satisfactory even in cases where community participation is low provided local government institutions show significant capacity and intent. In both programmes, low participation in the community and inexperienced or unenthusiastic non-governmental organisations serving as facilitators impacted community development outcomes in various ways (Adusei, Oduro-Ofori, Amponsah & Agyeman, 2018).

Debnath, Bardhan, and Sunikka-Blank (2019) argued that robust community engagement and the establishment of a well-structured local governance institution are necessary to solve the issue of people's low participation in projects. This underscores an important fact – while efficient physical upgrading is more predictable and amenable to strict timeframes; participatory community development, especially when involving the poor, is nearly always tortuous and unpredictable (Debnath et al., 2019). Shunning leaders and other intermediaries with strong ties to poor communities makes attaining meaningful community development that much harder (Reed, Vella, Challies, De Vente, Frewer, Hohenwallner-Reis & van Delden, 2018).

However, the potential for effective state-civil society synergy for slum development varies because of contexts' unique opportunity structures, which, in turn, influence the specifics of programme design. For instance, restrictive regulatory frameworks and general apathy for government institutions impeded community development in Pakistan, which failed to reach the poorest (Falco, Zambrano-Verratti & Kleinhans, 2019). Cultural protocols that uphold social hierarchy generally left the poor silent or deferent in slum community decision-making. Conversely, the supportive larger policy environment in Ahmedabad, buoyed by its long history of powerful civil society engagement, enabled slum project to surmount significant barriers, especially traditional ones that restrict women's participation.

Purwanto et al. (2017) explained that participation can catalyse community development and physical upgrading outcomes. Yet, without identifying and removing impediments inherent in the opportunity structure (legal, political, or socio-cultural), participation in development projects is often just lip service – neither effective nor empowering. NGOs and CSOs experienced in microfinance can encourage communities to participate in empowering community development. Higher degrees of government intervention may restrict and make it more difficult for local authorities to mend, as their effectiveness depends on supportive project specifics and opportunity structures. Creative project designs, like women-centred engagement and flexible governance structures for slum projects, may prevent onerous opportunity systems from eroding a programme's potential for empowerment (Dasgupta & Beard, 2007; Khwaja, 2009). According to Falco et al. (2019),

physical upgrading in slums offers more successful outcomes from early and careful evaluation of which ends, in which conduct, and for how long participation would be most effective. The “quality” of physical upgrading hardly influenced households’ sense of empowerment. Lacking basic services and infrastructure hugely constrains development and empowerment of poor communities. However, participation might prolong projects and even generate conflict among stakeholders (Sanyal & Mukhija, 2001), which begs questioning its assumed usefulness under all circumstances at all times (Khwaja, 2004; Mansuri & Rao, 2013; Rigon, 2014).

Local contexts with the relevant institutional capability could accelerate more physical upgrading for the advantage of slum dwellers by maximising or even minimising community engagement. This is not intended to suggest a sacrifice of accountability or transparency, as fewer regular engagement does not weaken citizen control provided that appropriate institutional structures are made for meaningful participation (Collins & Ison, 2009; Mansuri & Rao, 2013). Microfinance is one example of a community development target in a slum neighbourhood that benefits from the leadership of NGOs or CSOs with relevant knowledge and commitment. These goals are unlikely to be maintained in the absence of significant community ownership and involvement. Planners should prioritise how and where citizens participate rather than requiring substantial participation in every step or component of development programs, such as slum communities.

Slum upgrades, in the opinion of Reed et al. (2018), can improve urban impoverished neighbourhoods and provide the locals more influence.

Empowered communities are better able to implement and maintain upgrading measures (Philip & Cohen, 2020). An example is how the poorest communities may be empowered via effective state-NGO-community coordination in slum upgrading. The project will provide useful insights for other decentralised communities in South and Southeast Asia that want to alleviate urban poverty through participative and sustainable processes (Reed et al. 2018), These cities can utilise these lessons to design their own initiatives. For policymakers and planners to fully understand the complicated and multifaceted nature of slum upgrading, more comparative study is still required. According to Philip et al. (2020), future studies should try to identify and examine individual empowerment factors that are pertinent to a given setting in greater detail.

Institutional Theory – Formal and Informal structures and systems

Institutions are rules, organisations, and the mediators of the rules (North, 1979 as referenced in Fernando & Lawrence, 2014). Chambers (2005) define institutions to mean both rules and organisations. Institutional theory “examines organisational forms and explains reasons for having homogenous characteristics or forms in organisations which are within the same organisational field” (Fernando et al., 2014: 162-163). According to Carpenter & Feroz (2001, as referenced in Fernando et al., 2014), the theory emphasises that organisations function inside a social framework of norms, where values are taken for granted assumptions about what constitutes suitable or acceptable economic behaviour.

Institutional theory's central claim is that organisations may strengthen or preserve their legitimacy by behaving in accordance with stakeholder and

institutional expectations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Fernando et al., 2014). This study uses Carpenter and Feroz's (2001) definition of institutions as referenced in (Fernando et al., 2014), which emphasizes the social structure of organisations. Institutional theory has become a dominant perspective in macro-organisation theory (Suddaby, 2014). This study categorises organisations into two groups: formal and informal. The formal organisation comprises the formalised local government system and its functionaries. The informal organisation represents the various associations in Ashaiman, from professional through trade, welfare, and ethnic to youth clubs within the communities.

According to institutional theory, social processes and structures have a tendency to develop their own stability and meaning (Suddaby, 2014). The theory does not help accomplish certain goals. The social constructivist stance challenges the classification of boundaries, arguing that institutional and technical categories are socially constructed. They argue that the lack of power relations in institutional theory's analysis is the theory's missing piece. Nonetheless, whether in formal or informal institutions, power is essential.

When determining levels, spaces, and forms of power and examining their interactions, a power cube can be a helpful tool. With the aid of this instrument, a researcher can carry out a thorough power analysis of any setting or topic to fully investigate forces and relationships in order to identify prospective avenues for advocacy and strategies for challenging power dynamics (Devas, 2001). Institutional theory misses other fascinating institutional narratives, like the interactions between the formal and informal systems, when it concentrates solely on the results of institutional processes,

like the operation of the local government structure. Because institutional theory tends to focus more on ticking boxes or counting items than on the holistic institution, it has a tendency to see institutions as "reified constructs or black boxes."

Neoliberalism and Urban Theory

Neoliberal ideas are shaping cities through various urban processes shaping a diversity of urban contexts. The neoliberal urban policy suggests a rethink of urban policy making ideas to be strongly linked to urban developmental interventions (Parnell & Robinson, 2012). The neoliberal commitment was to reduce state spending, which invariably affects welfare systems and is argued to be a positive way of lifting people out of poverty. The long tradition of community leadership now joined the hard-fought right to elect leadership as in the election of District Assembly persons in the Ghanaian context has further strengthened the debate on the importance of community-based organisations. This recognised community participation in expanding political activities as it has become an important space for negotiation, interaction and recognition for legitimacy and endorsement (Parnell & Robinson, 2012). These community leadership structures have their value systems.

The research that is now accessible on neoliberalism and urbanisation aims to define and analyse how neoliberalism has affected cities worldwide. According to the literature, the emphasis should be on radically reimagining urban management methods and systems from a rights-based viewpoint rather than one that is development-oriented (Parnell & Robinson, 2012). State

practices are defined by the rights-based literature, which has established an active space rather than an opposition space to government policy. Nonetheless, it has been demonstrated that well-organised, cohesive communities outperform equally impoverished but divided areas when it comes to utilising metropolitan opportunities.

The theoretical analysis has highlighted the importance of strong governance systems in the development of slums. Settlers in slum communities have endured so many discomforts in the respective migration processes and hence are always desirous to have good standard of living. However, constraints and challenges within their communities of settlement impedes their smooth development. Therefore, with the right form of community engagement and inclusion in the governance systems, slum dwellers would be more empowered to champion the course of rapid development so they could be out from poverty. Much is required from governments and other non-governmental organisations in this regard through strengthened decentralisation process.

Conceptual Review

The following concepts are reviewed to support the research: slum and slum dweller; slum governance; participation in slum communities; uniqueness of Ashaiman slum; slum upgrading; The Amui Dzor Housing Development project; slum development; decentralised and resilient slums; and decentralised local governance system.

Slum and Slum Dweller

The term "slum" has negative connotations from its early beginnings, which is why people associate it with places where crime is prevalent and

stigmatise it. According to the World Bank/UNCHS (2003), a "slum" might be anything from an unkempt, high-density inner city tenement to an informal squatter settlement. Slums "are the neglected parts of the cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor and, in most cases, are without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities" (Gilbert, 2009: 705).

The body of research on slums has tended to concentrate more on the static evaluation of the social and physical issues (e.g., Davis, 2006; 2007; UN-Habitat, 2004, 2012, 2014 cited in Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2016: 2) than on how these issues affect the residents' capacities and income trajectories. But according to the opposing viewpoint (Perlman, 2014, Saunders, 2012, cited in Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2016), "slums are sites of remarkable aspiration, resourcefulness and self-sacrifice in the face of adversity; their social vibrancy and energy make them worthy of special policy attention" (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2016: 2).

As developing countries transition from rural, agrarian civilisations to industrial nations, slums play a crucial role by facilitating migrant workers' access to urban labour markets (Turner, 1968; Saunders, 2012). Additionally, they provide new immigrants with inexpensive entry points into cities where they can acquire necessary skills (Frankenhoff, 1967; Kisseih, 2007; Asare et al., 2015). Turok and Borel-Saladin (2016: 2) argue that "slums are part of the temporary growth pains of societies in transitions that gradually disappear as living standards rise". They also argue that slums are essential symptoms of poverty and potent vehicles for reducing poverty. However, until now, slums

are increasingly becoming obvious permanent features of cities and urban centres, defeating the notion that they are temporary growth pains.

UN expert groups characterise slums as "a contiguous settlement with inadequate housing and basic services," emphasising the importance of place and people (UN-Habitat, 2003). Slums, also known as squatter settlements, are residential places that are located on unclaimed property, and typically violate official building limitations (Arimah, 2010). According to Ali and Sulaiman (2016), it was also defined as "residential buildings built on "planned" and "unplanned" areas which do not have formal planning approval". In all three of these categories, poor living conditions, inadequate provision of social services, and poor infrastructure characterise slums. According to UN-Habitat (2007), a slum dweller is a person living in a slum household or a group of people sharing a roof in an urban area who do not meet one or more of the five criteria listed above for a slum. Slum dwellers are often stigmatised, isolated, and excluded from social and economic opportunities (Bergman, 2016). However, not all slum dwellers are impoverished; the high rate of urbanisation and global population are responsible for the growing number of slum dwellers. For the purposes of this study, slum dwellers are defined as those who live in slums and are either rich or poor.

Participation in Slum Governance

"The involvement of a community, group, or individual dweller in the development of the slums in a development project" is what is meant by participation (Bergman, 2016: 7). The notion of levels of participation by Hamdi and Goethert is a key component of the literature review (1997). The theory

talks about how crucial the participatory method is to the process of development. According to Bergman (2016), slum populations are getting more and more voice and opportunities to engage in the development process. According to Offei-Aboagye (2009), it occurs when people and groups have a sufficient and equitable chance to ask questions, voice their preferences for the outcome, and participate in the decision-making process. Therefore, participation and or involvement is typically defined as slum dwellers having a part in, being able to participate in, or being involved in events or activities that improve their well-being. These could include taking part in a project, casting a ballot for a local government representative, holding protests, or supporting a cause.

New forms of civil participation are emerging, with governments cooperating and enabling development (Bergman, 2016). They further discuss the power distribution, connections, and links between the different actors in the development process within the community. Figure 2 depicts the idealised picture, showing equal power and strong links between actors (Hamdi, 2014). Figure 3 depicts the reality of unequal powers, weak asymmetrical links and fragmented community and state as a true picture of reality.

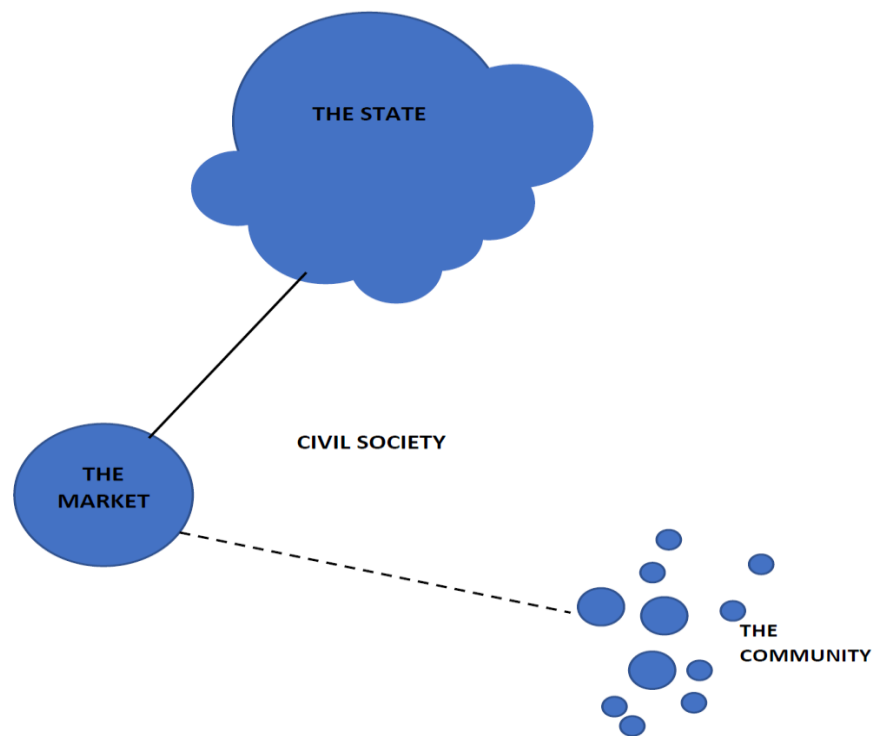


Figure 3: Reality picture, with unequal power, unsymmetrical weak links and fragmented community and state

Source: Hamdi (2014)

A joint evaluation by the World Bank and the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) between 1991 and 1997 revealed positive outcomes regarding citizen participation in slum upgrading projects. It was discovered that overall citizen participation improved projects and gave better results and more sustainable solutions over the years (Imparato & Rusler, 2013: 18 cited in Bergman, 2016). This research adopts Bergman's definition of participation which involves community, group or individual slum dwellers in development projects to improve their slums.

However, Turok and Borel-Saladin (2016) argued that the definition of the slum has focused chiefly on its physical characteristics and categorised it

under four broad rubrics. These four rubrics are people, place, economy and governance. Slums are also referred to as ‘informal settlements’, and the term is used interchangeably (UN-Habitat, 2016). Based on the various definitions provided above and for this research, the Turok and Borel-Saladin (2016) definition that considers all four broad rubrics of the slum with a focus on the interface between the people and governance is adopted. The terms slum and informal settlements will be used interchangeably in this work.

Slum Development

Slum development in Africa has resulted from several factors, such as rural-urban migration, conflict and civil war, poor urban planning and the lack of secure tenure. However, several scholars, including Costello (1987) and Muwonge (1980), attribute slum development to rapid urban growth due to rural-urban migration. Urbanisation is said to be the driving force behind the proliferation of slums in Africa (Arimah, 2011; Mensah, Osae & Asare, 2021). The lack of or near absence of affordable housing coupled with urban poverty compels low-income earners and new migrants to the urban centres to squat on vacant public land. History attributes the creation of cities along the coastal areas of West Africa during the colonial era as setting the pace for urbanisation (Oppong, 2016). So, with the urban biased development where concentrations of services such as schools, hospitals, banks and paved roads are skewed to urban areas to the neglect of rural areas resulted in the gradual movement of people from rural areas to the urban centres in search of socio-economic opportunities.

The evolution of slums and squatting in most sub-Saharan African countries have been attributed to the high cost of affordable and decent accommodation and a deficit in the affordable housing supply. Slums are occupied by individuals belonging to several households (Oppong, 2016). The UN-Habitat (2013) notes that of nearly one billion people alive today, one in every six human beings are slum dwellers, and this number is to double in the next thirty years.

However, slums are becoming a real threat to the world, with increasing inequality and the unfair distribution of resources, slums continue to grow at an uncontrollable pace (Elgizawy, El-Haggar & Nassar, 2016). Approximately one billion people, or 18% of the global population, live in slums. The policy of most governments of the developing world has been that the informal settlements or slums must be demolished, evicted or pulled down and replaced with mass standard housing units built strictly according to regulated urban plans. This approach has not proven successful from site and service programmes through slum upgrading and, until recently, the policy of integration with its attendant challenges (UN-Habitat, 2013).

Slum Upgrading

The concept of “slum upgrading” is a process through which informal areas are gradually improving, formalising and incorporating into the city itself through extending land, services and citizenship to slum dwellers” (Cities Alliance, 2016 as cited in Bergman, 2016: 8). It is a way of urbanising areas by giving the residents a sense of their rights as residents in the formal municipality. It also offers slum dwellers the opportunity to improve their areas

and provide basic services they lack, economic resources and much needed social support. Slum upgrading is an intervention introduced by the World Bank (2003) to address the slum menace and minimise the effect of slum clearance and evictions, which further aggravated the plight of dwellers. The Cities Alliance is a global coalition of cities and development partners, including governments, committed to scaling up approaches to poverty reduction. As part of their programmes, the Cities Alliance have grants to support three types of projects: city development strategies, citywide and national slum upgrading, and sustainable financing strategies (Shorebank International, 2011).

Until the 1970s, the traditional approach of governments to solving the problem of slum settlements was through negligence and clearance, whereby they replaced them with the modernist high-rise style public housing on the city's periphery (Teferi, 2017). Until the recognition of slums as urban realities that need a reasonable solution to enhance the environment, slums will continue to increase. After years of implementation, the evaluation showed that these programmes were hampered by a deficiency of government programmes on how to improve slum settlements.

The programmes underestimated some key issues in slum upgrading, such as secure land tenure, proper targeting and community participation (Davis, 2006; Teferi, 2017). Literature has it that slum upgrading happened between the period of the 1960s through early 1970s during the modernisation and urban growth phase. Then it continued from the mid-1970s through the mid-1980s during the redistribution with growth/ basic needs era; through the late 1980s through early 1990s during the enabling approach era; then finally

through the mid-1990s, during the sustainable urban development era (UN-Habitat, 2006).

The participatory process of upgrading slums has been acknowledged by the UN-Habitat (2020) as the most effective method for addressing the problems faced by slum residents. The rationale is that community participation helps citizens develop a sense of ownership and belonging during implementation (African Centre for Economic Transformation, 2013). The allocation is done at different levels and degrees of intensity in the identification, timing, planning, design, implementation, evaluation and post-implementation stages of development projects (Imparato & Ruster, 2003).

A number of slum upgrading projects have been undertaken in Ghana, notably sponsored by the UN-Habitat and Cities Alliance through development partners such as the GAMADA, People's Dialogue and some municipal assemblies. Some were alley paving in the Old Accra community by GAMADA and the Accra Metropolitan Assembly; the Zongo Development Fund also ensured the construction of some pavements within the Zongo communities, whereas the UN-Habitat Newsletter (2008) sponsored a major slum upgrading project in the housing sector. This was the Amui Dzor housing development project, which involved constructing a mixed-use residential-commercial facility to house 42 households. In addition, the project involved the temporal relocation of the squatters on the site to a wooden structure.

The Amui Dzor Housing Development project of the UN-Habitat SUF

Slum Upgrading Facility (SUF) was a technical cooperation and seed capital facility with a central objective to mobilise domestic capital for slum

upgrading projects and their activities. The SUF programme in the Urban Finance Branch of UN-HABITAT at the time worked to provide business solutions to social and affordable housing. It was piloted in four countries, namely Ghana, Sri-Lanka, Indonesia and Tanzania (UN-Habitat Working Paper 8, 2009). It was a programme initiated by the UN-HABITAT to meet the Millennium Development Goals on slums, Goal 7, Target 11, and assist national and especially local governments to raise sustainable funding for the upgrading and prevention of slums.

As part of the city-wide slum upgrading, two city-level Local Finance Facilities (LFFs) were initially established in Tema and Sekondi-Takoradi. However, with the creation of new political boundaries in 2007, some of the cities merged such as Tema-Ashaiman with SAEMA changing to STMA. The two LFFs were Tema-Ashaiman Metropolitan Slum Upgrading Fund (TAMSUF) and STMA-CSUF being Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Assembly Citywide Settlement Upgrading Fund. They were all inaugurated in 2007 and duly registered under the Company's Code of Ghana and made operational and functional at the time.

Two separate boards managed the LFFs with representatives from various professional bodies and associations, as well as the municipalities. These two facilities were managed by a joint secretariat where a manager, together with his team of Chief Finance Officer, Accountant, and Project Assistant with an intern, implemented the decisions of the Board. In addition, they worked with a SUF Country Advisor who served as a key liaison between

the facilities and the UNH in addition to other administrative and programme functions performed.

These LFFs aimed to support interventions for slum upgrading in their areas of operation. The facilities were designed to work with organised people living in slums and local financial institutions to mobilise investments for slum upgrading. The primary objective was to develop, test and apply new and innovative means of financing pro-poor urban development with a strong emphasis on mobilising domestic capital. The TAMSUF Board, the People's Dialogue on Human Settlements (PDG), The Ghana Federation for the Urban Poor (Ashaiman Branch) and the Amui Dzor Housing Cooperative Society constructed a mixed used commercial, residential facility in the Amui Dzor area in Ashaiman. It was a three-storey irregularly shaped building with a total gross floor area of 1,236sqm. It comprised 15 commercial units for rent, a commercial toilet and bath facility for residents in the area for a fee, 5 two-bedroom self-contained apartments, 26 chamber and hall facilities, a communal toilet and bathing facility and individual kitchens for 26 chamber and hall units. This was a highly subsidised project with a selling price per chamber and hall unit of GHC7,030.15 and the self-contained apartment for GHC14,060.30. The then Ministry of Water Resources, Works and Housing (MWRWH) also supported the project with an amount of GHC29,714 which was a form of subsidy towards the project (TAMSUF, 2011).

Decentralisation and resilient slums

Crawford (2004) states that decentralisation entails the transfer of power, responsibilities, and finances from central government to sub-national

levels of government. The process of transferring power and resources from the national government to local governments is known as decentralisation. Decentralisation means transferring authority to lower-level entities so they can act on behalf of the centre. According to all of these definitions (Rondinelli, 2007; Devas, 2005), decentralisation is the transfer of power, responsibility, and authority from the federal government to local government units so they can offer services to the people.

Decentralisation, can result in responsive governance. As development can be successfully adapted to meet local needs, local government is stated to have the capacity to provide services in line with local residents' needs (Ayee and Crook, 2003; World Bank, 2004). Two presumptions form the foundation of the claim that decentralisation can increase responsiveness. First, because they are more in touch with the populace, local politicians are better able to meet requirements by drawing on their understanding of the area. In the end, the procedure may result in the efficient provision of services. Second, decentralisation can help local residents hold public officials responsible for their actions by allowing them to remove council members they believe to be dishonest or ineffective (Ayee and Crook, 2003; World Bank, 2004; Smith, 2013; Agyemang-Duah, 2008). With the adoption of PNDCL 207 (1988), decentralisation changes in Ghana were implemented about thirty years ago. The Republic of Ghana's 1992 Constitution upholds the decision to delegate decision-making authority to subnational administrations in order to guide local development initiatives.

The Local Governance Act, 2016 (Act 936) and the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462) support the reforms (Republic of Ghana, 1993; 2016). The District Assembly system was established as the top political body at the local level as a result of the reforms' execution. District Assemblies are in charge of leading neighbourhood projects and organising neighbourhood resources for subnational development (Republic of Ghana, 1992; 1993; 2016). District Assemblies are required to provide basic infrastructure and services in education, health, water, and other programmes to improve the quality of life of people in their communities, as stated in Section 12 (sub-sections 1 to 5) of Act 936.

District Assemblies are tasked with managing the district's environment and human settlements in order to make cities more resilient, according to Section 12 sub-section 3(f) of the constitution (Republic of Ghana, 2016). The National Housing Policy (2015), the National Urban Policy Framework and Action Plan (2012), and other national policies provide the framework and basis for urban renewal or slum upgrading, slum decongestion, and forced eviction when necessary. All of these provisions have influenced Ghana's efforts to address slums, which are mostly influenced by the worldwide trend.

Decentralised Local Governance System

Decentralisation in the 21st century is a complex issue which cannot be reduced to a mere public-sector phenomenon. Decentralisation has ceased to be a local-government affair and turned into a local-governance issue (Helmsing, 2002). Governance embraces governmental institutions, but it also subsumes informal and non-governmental mechanisms. Although local government is a

component of governance, it is simply the institution and structure, as local governance deals with the mechanisms and processes for managing institutions. Thus, local governance happens when there is active citizen involvement, not between powerful agencies. The important relationship in governance “is not between levels of government but between government and people” (Goss, 2001: 36). This relationship is being redefined in practice and renegotiated by the agencies and citizens. This is where the issue of slums and local government interact and negotiate.

The debate on decentralisation has received massive attention over the years. Decentralisation refers to the restructuring of authority so that there is a system of co-responsibility between the institutions of governance at the central, regional and local levels in tandem with the principles of subsidiarity (Shah, 2007). Walker (2002) sees decentralisation as the transfer of political power, decision-making and resources from central to sub-national levels of government for effective governance. Again, decentralisation stresses the responsibility of institutions and actors at the local levels to act in tandem with the principles of subsidiarity. Kendie and Mensah (2008) confirm that common characteristics of decentralisation include the sharing of power and responsibility between the different levels of government. They emphasize that decentralisation is anticipated to improve service delivery, increase participation and eventually result in good local governance.

However, decentralisation is enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, and the primary relevant legislation is the Local Government Act 1993 (Act 462) as amended by the Local Governance Act 2016

(Act 936). The country is divided into 16 administrative regions, each headed by a regional minister appointed by the President of the Republic (MLGRD, 2019). A District Assembly is the highest political authority in the district and shall have deliberative, legislative and executive powers as enshrined in Article 241 (3) of the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana (Republic of Ghana, 1992). There are three types of administrative levels: metropolitan, municipal and district as depicted in Figure 4. In addition, there are also sub-district political and administrative structures which are subordinate bodies of the assemblies. These include sub-metropolitan district, urban, town, zonal and area councils as well as unit committees. The sub-structures perform functions assigned to them by law or delegated to them by the assemblies (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012).

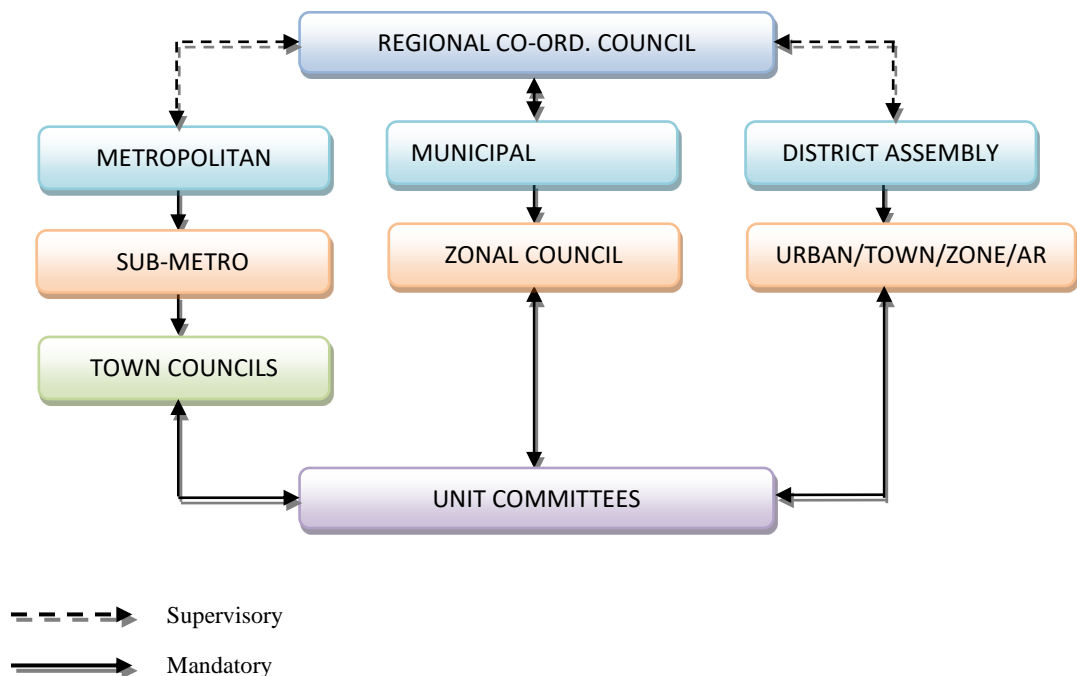


Figure 4: Structure of Ghana's Local Government System

Source: Ministry of Local Government & Rural Development (2018)

The Local Governance Act, 2016 (Act 936) makes it obligatory for metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies to involve citizens in their activities to promote an inclusive society predicated on public official accountability and responsiveness. Most notably, “participation” is an essential constitutional right in Ghana. Section 240-2 (e) of Chapter 20 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana highlights the importance of participation at the local governance level. It is also in line with Ghana’s National Popular Participation Framework policy of November 2019. Hence, the importance to investigate and document this phenomenon of local participation within the Ashaiman Municipality.

The Local Governance Act (2016) Act 936 is a comprehensive law which makes extensive provisions for enhancing the participation of all citizens in local governance. Participation is closely linked with empowerment and has seen an advancement in local governance and development in Ashaiman. The background study motivates this research to seek to unravel the governance systems through formal and informal relationships between the slum dwellers and the decentralised local governance system. The study explores slum dwellers’ understanding of decentralisation in general and how structures in the decentralisation process interact and negotiate with slum dwellers while they influence the decentralised system.

Local government is defined as a government by the popularly elected bodies charged with administrative and executive duties in matters concerning the inhabitants of a particular district. Local government is meant to mobilise and harness local resources with the support of the centre to ensure

development. It is supposed to be the lowest tier of government closest to citizens and community (Kendie & Martens, 2008; Shah, 2007). This implies that local governments are the legal and administrative authority at the local level with powers to ensure effective local governance. Attempts at local administration in Ghana started during the colonial era with the native authorities (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2010). This was centred on a chief or some unit of local royalty. The native authorities were not democratic but were mere representatives as they were hand-picked. Their main interests were to help the British colonial government, with limited involvement in local administration, to administer law and order. Municipalities were established by the Municipal Ordinance of 1859 in the coastal towns of Ghana.

In 1943, a new Ordinance set up elected town councils for Accra, Kumasi, Secondi–Takoradi and Cape Coast. In 1953, the Municipal Councils Ordinance was passed and followed by the Local Government Act, 1961, Act 54. In all these pieces of legislation, the distinctions between central and local government institutions were maintained. The central government bodies had better qualified personnel in terms of management skills and professional expertise, while the opposite was for local governments.

However, Ahwoi (2010) asserts that five categories of people use decentralisation as a concept differently. For instance, to politicians it is a law; the academics write on the subject, analyse and critique it, whereas for the public administrators and local government practitioners, it is their daily working lives and are often confused by the different definitions given to it.

Finally, the lawyers use it for argument and its ramifications by judges who interpret it and apply it in judicial decision-making. Ghana's public administration reforms in the early 1980s factored in its decentralisation systems variants of devolution, de-concentration and delegation of power. The description states that decentralisation "is a tool of public administration reforms that involves the transfer of functions and powers, skills and competences and means and resources to lower levels of governance, normally structures of local government, though, in some jurisdictions, the transfer is to other spheres of governance". The research traces Ghana's local government history from post-independence constitutional history to focusing on Ghana's local government and decentralisation agenda.

Over the past three decades, decentralisation has been an important policy issue. While it has waxed and waned in many countries as central governments have failed to fully relinquish financial control over municipalities even when directed to do so by legislation, cities have emerged with generally stronger financial tools than they had to go into the period.

The uniqueness of Ashaiman slums

The history of slums dates back to the European Industrialization era in the 19th century (Gilbert, 2009). It was used to refer to the overcrowded and neglected inner city tenements. The Ashaiman community traces its history back to the 1940s and is aptly described as "a direct outcome of global capitalism's mid-century expansion" (Chalfin, 2019: 501). Ashaiman developed out of the development of the Tema township. According to government documents, the wastelands of Ashaiman, which was then about 9.6

kilometres from the heart of the planned city, posed an alternative for the migrant working class. Government documents, as noted by Piel (1976) cited in Chalfin (2019), indicated that Ashaiman was referred to as 'Mile 7', which was on the 'Accra-Ada Road' in 1948. This was when the population was just about 185 and was barely regulated by government authorities.

Historically, Ashaiman was left out of the first phase of development of the Tema township development plan by then prominent Greek international planning consultant and theoretician of Ecistics by the name Constantine Doxiadis in 1951 (Kisseih, 2007). Its uniqueness is that the real growth began in the late 1950s with a demand for construction labour to work on Tema's new port and town. Wakely (2003) further corroborated this in an unpublished Ibis feasibility report that Ashaiman thus provided an affordable alternative to the high housing cost in Tema's formal communities.

Ethnically, Ashaiman is one of the most diverse and heterogeneous urban communities in Ghana, composed of people from almost all ethnic groups in the country as well as a sizeable foreign population from the West African sub-region (Kisseih, 2007; Chalfin, 2014; ASHMA, 2018). Furthermore, the location of Ashaiman contributes significantly to its continuous growth and closeness to Tema as it offers opportunities for casual and unskilled employment in the Tema and the Tema-Accra industrial corridor. Aside from all these, Ashaiman has acquired a reputation as a reception area as it maintains ethnically-based welfare associations that provide social safety nets and a 'launch pad' for newcomers, making it a densely populated and congested area. The Municipal Chief Executive (MCE) described Ashaiman's congestion a

trading problem in a February 18, 2020 Daily Graphic piece. The following is how the MCE said it:

“the population of the area outnumbered the size of the land.

Currently the population density stands at 10,000 people per square kilometre. Assuming all of us come out to even stand, I don’t know the size of space each person will occupy”

(Ashaiman Municipal Makes stride. (2020), Daily Graphic p: 23.

Manmomo was one of the original seven electoral areas before elevating to a municipality status in 2008 (MLGRD). According to oral history, the VALCO Flat area in Manmomo was developed by the VALCO Aluminium Smelter (VALCO) at the time for its workers, which later opened up the community and led to its growth. The old flat, however, still stands in the area.

Empirical Review

Studies by urban planners and development specialists in the developing world, including Africa, looked at governance as setting out to fix what went wrong in African cities (Myers, 2005). Further studies sought to strengthen decentralisation through the empowerment of local government structures and citizens' participation. Focusing on some studies done in the area of slums, Pushpa's (2011) study discusses the word slum and how problematic it had become because the definitions keep changing due to the criteria for determining poverty and slum. It was set in the Indian slums with reference to Chennai and Mumbai and how the Indian government used census reports to revise the definitions of slums.

The study discovered that one thing still remains constant in all of the definitions of a slum. The definitions referred to the poorly built tenements, mostly temporary in nature, and the congestion with unsanitary conditions, which confirms all other definitions discussed earlier (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2016; UN-Habitat, 2003). Gilbert (2009) also supports the position that the word slum is dangerous as it confuses the physical problem of poor-quality housing with the characteristics of the people living there. However, the modernist line of thinking that slums can be eradicated must be reconsidered because they are only spatial entities that can be easily identified, targeted and reached.

Likewise, the people living in those spatial entities must be factored into the discussion as they form part of the city space and perform specific roles in the local or general economy. Thus, the question of the epistemology is “the hegemony of poverty described as reproduced in spaces other than slums, more so now with neoliberal development policies resulting in a volatile remaking of many cities” (Roy, 2011; Pushpa, 2011: 638). Demagogic governments resort to demolishing slums even though experience has shown that policy to be ineffective (Gilbert, 2009). It emphasises the need to rethink urban poverty and slum theory and assess the implications, effects and impact.

Pushpa’s claim bolsters the position that the discussion of slums must move away from the confines of spaces of poverty and forms of popular agency and draw on four different epistemological categories – peripheries, urban spaces, concepts that have their distinctive genealogies as spaces in the making and a form of theory. This is where Puspha’s work drew inspiration heavily from Davis’s *Planet of Slums* (2006) and the UN-Habitat’s *Challenge of Slums*

(2004). The research concludes with a suggestion for “a passage from slum as a population terrain to slum as theory” (Pushpa, 2011: 639).

The neoliberalist approach to slum menace is eviction while the modernist approach is that of slum clearance, simply zero tolerance for slums. This has a market-driven approach where rehabilitation of slum dwellers is the aim, with private developers and redevelopment lurking around to assume ownership of the space. So, in their bid to solve the slum problem, it rather results in compounding it further, thus confirming the position that resettlement disrupts the lives of slum dwellers. Slums are not homogenous, as presented in academic literature. Hence, the need to go beyond to better appreciate slums as a theory, as argued by Pushpa (2011). The evictions and uncertainties present anxieties of those facing grim spectre beyond being a provocation. Another gap that needs to be addressed is the ethnographic severe case studies of slums to help address the grand narrative about slums as a meta-theory. Such investigations on the city as a site of everyday practice will provide valuable insights and linkages to the macro-structural processes and the finer texture of human experience (Pushpa, 2011).

Paller (2019) provides a view from below as it offers a glimpse into how local urban communities, especially informal settlements, also called slums, make democracy work. The methodology was purely ethnography and focused on informal norms of five informal urban settlements in Ghana, namely; Old Fadama, Ga Mashie, Ashaiman and two informal settlements in Kumasi. The study confirmed the resilience of slum dwellers as they devised various strategies to cope with insecure living conditions. This was done through

grassroots associations that were involved in a wide range of activities including community management, provision of social amenities and infrastructure, finance and credit through revolving savings and loan schemes, religious and social affairs. The study discovered that the reliance on informal networks for protection was the approach used.

The study confirms the position that slum communities depend on the strength of social networks and underlying networks of reciprocity and social capital for survival in cities. This magnifies the discussion on how the dual process of political liberalisation alongside rapid urbanisation in Ghana interacts, supports and even shapes each other. Further stressing how these poor neighbourhoods are emerging as spaces of intense political importance for the future of urbanisation. Paller (2019) recommends that informal settlements in urban neighbourhoods be recognised as sites of great importance because they are becoming sites of politics in their own right. Thus, placing a premium on the level of governance within the slum, the systems and structures in place ensure the communities are liveable.

A critique of Paller's book is that the researcher fell to the known disadvantages of ethnographic research in a bid to "go native" and became a conveyor belt, more or less. Part of the critique of the author was that he took on much with such broad comparison, ultimately compromising accuracy. Paller concludes that "slum clearance", which has become a significant strategy to deal with poor neighbourhoods since the colonial era, has failed, and a new strategy is in order. Gilbert (2009) also reaffirmed that slum clearance had not proven effective, and a new approach was needed. The research discovered that

most slum dwellers have the financial capital to upgrade their communities if they are given a chance by city authorities. This supports the claim that slums present a range of vulnerabilities and capabilities (Jankowska, Weeks & Engstrom, 2012). Another gap identified and recommended for further studies is the study of informal institutions in the study of democracy and how they foster political participation in local decision-making and cooperation in community affairs. This is where this research is relevant as it seeks to explain how these informal institutions influence decision-making and local agenda in Ashaiman.

Chalfin's (2014) research in Tema and Ashaiman on "Public things, excremental politics, and the infrastructure of bare life in Ghana's city of Tema" explains leadership and public life patterns in the context of the current global political economy and state retrenchment. The paper opens up new ways to think about civic life. Then uses the governance of public services, such as public toilets, which extends beyond distribution and management, to demonstrate claims to a right to the city. The paper further narrates how urban populations co-opt public services and transform them into "sites of political possibility" (Chalfin, 2014). The paper corroborates the position by Paller (2019) that during the process of struggle and a claim to public infrastructure, a new meaning to local populations occurs.

Chalfin's (2014; 2023) findings confirms the argument that the governance of public services provides the possibility for new leaders to emerge, where daily interactions coalesce into strong social ties and deliberation to strengthen an emerging public sphere. The governance and management of

resources in the broader context of the right to the city and the emergence of civic life open new possibilities for the study of leadership, political authority, and distributive politics (Chalfin, 2014). Though the right to life is an inalienable right, it is also a theme, one thing omitted by activists and planners who seek progressive change in the lives of people and urban communities. The rivalry between political units regarding who should rule notes affects development processes.

Since urban development processes have taken on partisan political programmes and actions, which results in certain citizens claiming a right to live in the city over others. An attempt to understand these dynamics and complexities cannot be made outside urban politics. The argument for decentralised governance premised on institutional effectiveness, and responsive development has been weakened by institutional capacities, ineffective supervision and monitoring and overly partisan considerations (Diko, 2014).

Urban planning and urban development have been relegated to the background, with rather policy planning and implementation programmes related to social development dominating the urban development process. The challenge becomes even more daunting as the urban dilemma continues to worsen and with increasing urbanisation, informality, and politics. The political class recognises the importance of these settlers for their parochial gains, ready to sacrifice urban space management. The politics of urban development is pervasive as the issues are intricate and constantly evolving. Hence, the need to

focus on Chalfins' recommendation on the leadership and political authority of slums.

Turok and Borel-Saladins' (2016) article on 'The Theory and reality of Urban Slums: Pathways-out-of-poverty or cul-de-sac?' explores two contrasting perspectives on the role the informal settlement plays in urban labour markets. The purpose of the study was to address the question – whether informal settlements enable people to move out of rural poverty or restrict their ability to get ahead in life. The study focused on South Africa, stating three reasons for its selection: the stark social and spatial inadequacies, policy ambivalence towards informal settlements and rising social unrest within poor communities.

The study used the pathway and cul-de-sac theories to analyse and discuss the issue. Findings from the study indicate that informal settlements are probably sub-optimal living environments, yet they are affordable and reasonably efficient economically. The study categorised the many factors and forces at work under four broad rubrics: people, place, economy and governance. It first confirmed the proposition that the people who move to urban slums are motivated, tenacious and resourceful, thus the lifestyle having an impact on them. Secondly, those informal settlements facilitate the first step in the process of progression by providing affordable and appropriate shelter for new urban settlers. This is the sociability bit where the social net enables entry into the system.

The slum dweller is prepared to improve their housing and living area; however, the rigid nature of the legal framework makes it impossible. Hence,

informality advocates recommend simplifying the legal framework to enable slum dwellers have some tenure security, which will encourage them to improve their own housing and living areas. Slums are also enduring features of the urban landscape that demonstrate the structural impediments to social inclusion and the persistence of poverty and inequality (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2016: 6).

Castells (2010) establishes the distinctions between several processes of social dynamics: inequality, social exclusion, individualism and perverse integration, which are all borne out of capitalist restructuring. The slums act as social escalators, strengthening human capital and raising household incomes through personal networks. Whereas the cul-de-sac idea suggests that systematic obstacles impede individual and collective progress. The research found that slums help lift households from rural poverty onto a path of prosperity. The findings consistently show that households are better off in informal areas than in rural areas.

Further confirming the assertion that slum settlements offer a step up for former rural households. Government policies are ambivalent as they are torn between eviction, relocation, redevelopment, benign neglect and incremental upgrading of slums. Preliminary evidence shows that employment rates are much closer to formal urban areas than to rural areas while admitting conditions of employment are noticeably worse. The research recommends using other forms of data to assess households' magnitude and timescale and economic progression.

Mahabir, Crooks, Croitoru and Agouris (2016) posit that research on slums must focus on all three constructs namely; exploring the socio-economic

and policy issues; exploring the physical characteristics and the modelling of slums. While they acknowledge that each construct is valuable, they recommend a more holistic approach to understanding and appreciating slums truly. They synthesize the social and physical constructs to provide a more holistic synthesis of the slum problem. They believe this leads to a deeper understanding and consequently improved approaches for tackling the challenge of slums at all levels—local, national and regional scales.

The main contribution of the authors was two-fold. First, they identified the pressing issues surrounding slums based on current understanding ranging from theory to practice. Secondly, they put forward a future integrated research agenda for developing a deeper understanding of the fundamental underlying processes that define and shape slums. They discussed how modelling, monitoring and analysing slums over the years had impacted the slum discourse using data and assessing how data was collected through current and advanced technologies such as remote sensing, crowdsourcing and spatial data infrastructures and modelling. They concluded that using current and advanced technologies greatly improved data collection in slums. Some pressing issues surrounding slums were highlighted in the literature, such as the growth of slums which is anticipated to persist for some time. However, they noted that substantial work on slums focused on only one of the three constructs: the social and physical. Going forward, they provided a framework to help study the slum issue from the three constructs.

Owusu et al. (2019) studied how cities may better manage man-made and natural disasters, safeguard lives, mitigate the effects of social, environmental, and economic risks, and foster inclusive, sustainable growth. They used the Accra Metropolis as a case study to examine how informal ties contribute to infilling and the development of slums in the context of Ghana's efforts to make cities resilient. For the analysis, descriptive approaches were employed. The results showed that infilling in slums is facilitated by informal ties. Slum inhabitants had both potential and challenges for themselves and AMA. They also had no intention of going back home or participating in land use decision-making. Instead of forcibly evicting slums, the authors suggested that the AMA enforce development control bylaws, carry out slum improvement initiatives, and involve slum dwellers in these initiatives. Accra needs the collaboration of slum dwellers and the AMA to become resilient. The recommendation was that the national government and other stakeholders should devote the necessary political and policy attention to mainstreaming the issue of slums in all urban development agendas.

A study by Nkrumah, Bawole, Ahenkan, Mensah & Preko (2023) showed that slum dwellers have an adequate understanding of policies that affect the dwellers' lives. It also indicated that, slum dwellers use statutory, technological, media and right-to-vote-based strategies to influence government policies. This further revealed that implemented policies did not align with realities in the slums.

Using mixed method approach to examine slum dwellers conditions in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA), Adamtey et al. (2021) found that

informal ties contribute to in-filling in slums. Slum dwellers do not plan to return home, they are not involved in land use decision making and the slums have opportunities and challenges to the slum dwellers and AMA. Adamtey et al. (2021) recommended that the AMA should avoid forced eviction of slums and rather enforce development control bye-laws, implement slum upgrading programmes, and involve slum dwellers in upgrading programmes. Slum dwellers should cooperate with AMA to make Accra resilient. The mainstreaming of the issue of slums in all urban development agendas needs to be given the needed political and policy attention by central government.

Owusu, Nursey-Bray and Rudd (2019) used qualitative research approach to study slum dwellers in Ghana and found that, ethnic and tribal differences, negative attitude of the inhabitants towards projects, lack of land ownership by inhabitants and poor monitoring and supervision of projects undermines developments within the slum communities. They recommended that slum dwellers in urban Ghana are granted access to land and also be included in governance systems to enable them to be supportive of community development efforts.

The findings from previous studies (Owusu, Nursey-Bray & Rudd, 2019; Adamtey et al., 2021; Nkrumah et al., 2023) indicate that, slum dwellers participation in governance system would have a strong link to the development of slum communities. This is because, judging from the theory of Path-ways and Cul-de-Sac, and the hope and despair theory, people with slum settlement seeks to be given opportunities to raise their standard of living (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2018). Therefore, when slum dwellers become part of decision making

through an inclusive and decentralised governance system, they would become empowered to pursue developmental projects to alleviate them from poverty (Nkrumah et al., 2023).

Studies by Nkrumah et al. (2023) and Adamtey et al. (2021) on slums dwellers examined their understanding of policies that affect their lives and slum dwellers conditions in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly respectively. Nkrumah et al. (2023) indicated that, slum dwellers use statutory, technological, media and right-to-vote-based strategies to influence government policies. Their findings concluded that implemented policies do not align with realities in the slums. Whereas Adamtey et al. (2021) concluded that slum dwellers do not plan to return home, they were not involved in land use decision making and the slums present opportunities and challenges to the slum dwellers and AMA. Both studies recommend mainstreaming the issue of slums in all urban development agendas while their issues are given the needed political and policy attention by central government.

Owusu, Nursey-Bray and Rudd (2019), in their study on slum dwellers in Ghana, found that ethnic and tribal differences, negative attitude of the inhabitants towards projects, lack of land ownership by inhabitants and poor monitoring and supervision of projects undermined developments within the slum communities. It was therefore, recommended that slum dwellers in urban Ghana are granted access to land as well as included in governance systems to win their support for community development efforts. The findings from the earlier studies (Owusu, Nursey-Bray and Rudd, 2019; Adamtey et al., 2021; Nkrumah et al., 2023) indicate that, slum dwellers participation in governance

system would have a strong link to the development of slum communities. This is because, judging from the theory of Path-ways and Cul-de-Sac, and the hope and despair theory, people with slum settlement seeks to be given opportunities to raise their standard of living (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2018). Therefore, when slum dwellers become part of decision making through an inclusive and decentralised governance system, they would become empowered to pursue developmental projects to alleviate them from poverty (Nkrumah et al., 2023).

Asare et al. (2015) studied the community of Amui Dzor, a unit within the Tulaku area of the Ashaiman Municipality which sought to document a new kind of project that sought to improve the living conditions of the slum dwellers under the UN-Habitat Slum Upgrading Facility Project (SUF) which was launched in 2005. It was in response to UN Millennium Development Goal 7, Target 11 (UN-Habitat, 2005 in Asare et al., 2015). The project was designed to mobilize domestic capital for urban upgrading activities while leveraging global and domestic capital investments. The paper took anthropology out of the academy to confront critical public concerns. In that, the paper sought to discuss the issue of slums from the relationship of such conditions to a context of meaning that changes with one's viewpoint aside from the known definition associated with slums.

The paper critically reviewed the project from the slums, culture and attachment perspective, looked at the project site, the project and its financing model, and the design and its designer through managing the construction. It concluded that the project demonstrated how a poor community became a participant in a housing project that radically changed their living

circumstances. It demonstrated that being poor and living in slums does not mean people are dirty or disorganised. Also, it debunks the negativity associated with slums. It confirms the project was an infrastructure of social organisations that enabled the local community to be brought into the effort of revitalization. "Slum upgrading and urban renewal is possible when commercial banks can be persuaded that such projects can and should be financed at affordable interest rates," was the project's main takeaway (Asare et al., 2015: 372).

The main critique of this project was that although the project withstood challenges, it is yet to be replicated in Ghana although it has become a model for some African countries such as Tanzania, Sierra-Leone and Liberia to send communities and experts to understudy and replicate. However, the project team acknowledged some key lessons. One is the active participation of the slum dwellers in the entire project, from design to execution. Then again, noted that the spaces provided in the apartments were too tight and in any future replication will ensure the sizes are increased with less furnishing to allow for occupier upgrades.

King and Amponsah (2012) studied the role of city authorities in contributing to the development of urban slums in Ghana. They used the mixed research approach to gather data for the study. They used questionnaires to collect quantitative data from 1060 sampled heads of households from three slums: Old Fadama in Accra, Amui Dzor in Ashaiman and Akwatia Line in Kumasi. Key informants and institutional heads were interviewed. They included heads of utility companies and the Physical Planning Departments of

the respective Assemblies. Research findings were that most of the residents in the slums originated from the Northern Sector of Ghana. In addition, the level of collaboration among regulatory agencies was found to be weak, thereby allowing the fast and uncontrolled emergence of slums.

Lessons Learnt

The empirical review of the studies provides crucial insights towards shaping this research methodology. In all the reviewed studies, the relevant areas showed the importance of the methodology and approach used. The studies used either mixed methods or pure qualitative methods, demonstrating the strengths of each approach and the richness of the outcomes. The following assumptions guides this study:

1. The adoption of mixed method research approach supporting with basic descriptive statistics;
2. The use of purposive sampling techniques to facilitate the unit of analysis;
3. The essence of documentary review;
4. The use of themes for the analysis in qualitative data.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework draws inspiration from the participation and citizens' participation theory of Hamdi and Goetherts (1997), Mahabir et al (2016) and Turok et al (2016) theory of the pathways-out-of-poverty and cul-de-sac. It illustrates how the study's primary character, a slum dweller, communicates both formally and informally with the two institutions—ASHMA, TDC and NGOs/Development partners. The term "formal channels"

refers to how the ASHMA serves formal letters to slum inhabitants asking them to meetings, including townhall and fee-fixing resolution sessions. In contrast, the informal channels comprise, among other things, association meetings, social event participation, and walk-ins to the assembly to voice grievances or request clarification.

Through both formal and informal routes, the NGOs interact with slum dwellers in an equitable manner. The NGOs and DPs help the slum dwellers develop their capacities by organising capacity-building training for a select number of community leaders and by giving them tools to organise clean-up campaigns, such as cutlasses, shovels, rakes, brooms, wheelbarrows, and gloves, to name a few.

The conceptual framework examines the slum governance practices of slum dwellers within the Manmomo and Tulaku communities of the Ashaiman municipality. It examines the interactions between slum dwellers and the decentralised system. A closer look is given to the role that actors play in the local governance structure. It examines the principal actors, key figures, and social safety nets that are employed in the administration of respective slums. It examines the impact of slum dwellers participation in development initiatives on the decentralised system. Furthermore, it investigates the formal and informal channels along with their interactions with the municipal assembly and development partners.

Then it explores the link amongst the people being the lifestyle of the slum dwellers, the economy being the market they operate, the place (sociability) being how living in the slum impacts them and how it all plays out.

Figure 5 demonstrates how participation of slum dwellers happens in the decentralised local government system through formal and informal channels. It shows how the leaders of slum dwellers engage the local government systems herein referred to as the institutions and their departments and the Tema Development Company. The interface with the institutions is through formal and informal channels with the administration, the regulators, planning department and the policy framework within which the system operates.

The leadership, citizens use their social ties to ensure participation in other institutional arrangements such as engagement with NGOs and development partners. These other institutions use their administrative structures and systems to offer slum dwellers and citizens the needed support, build their capacities, empower them using the rights-based advocacy approach whereas the institutional arrangements interface each other. The desired results ensures active participation by citizens and their leaders in the decentralised local governance system. Due to sustained capacity building from the other institutions, the leadership of slum dwellers are empowered to lead their members effectively, they are better able to advocate on their behalf. As a result of effective leadership at the community level, they are better able to ensure enhanced security and also secure tenure as they collectively protect each other. The leadership ensures provision of services in the communities which eventually improves the livelihood of citizens and ultimately sustainability of the community. However, in the event that the slum dwellers are not given the opportunity to participate in the decentralised local governance system, the

reverse of the positive outcomes may be experienced by the residents of the slum.

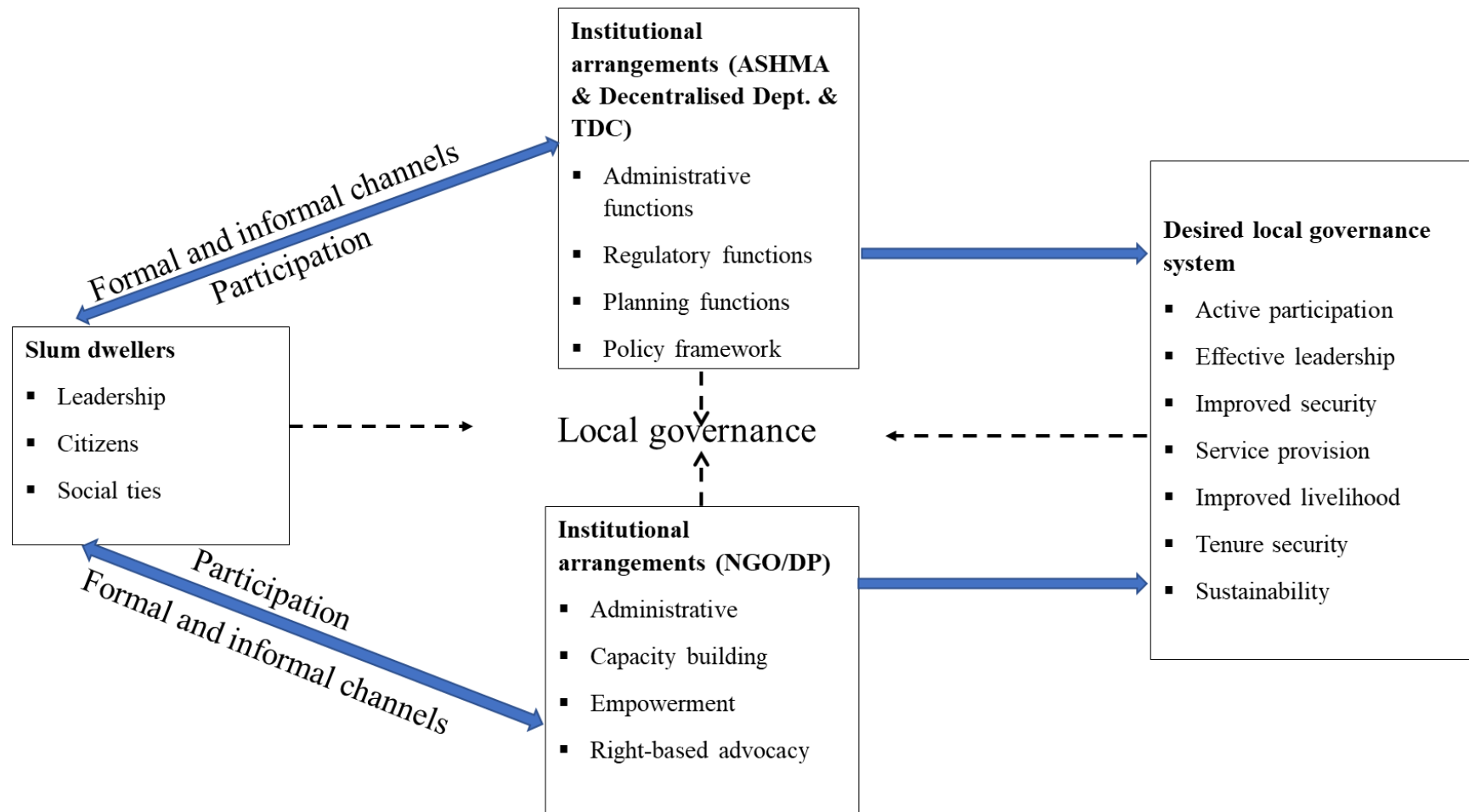


Figure 5: Conceptual framework of slum dwellers participation in slum governance

Source: Based on various literature (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997; Mahabir et al, 2016; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2016 etc.)

Summary of the Chapter

The chapter reviews the theoretical, conceptual and empirical evidence of slum dwellers participation in the decentralised local governance system and the conceptual framework. The chapter shows the interlinkages among the different theories, concepts and practices while it identifies some gaps in the literature as a basis for the study. The literature reviewed confirmed the assertion that the inability of the government to incorporate slum dwellers as part of the overall planning process and scheme was a significant factor in slum development. It concludes that a conscious effort must be made to place the experiences of slum dwellers in the governance system on the global urban theoretical agenda to reflect practice-driven knowledge that too often falls off the radar screen of critical urban theory. The next section presents the methodology used for the study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The assumptions and philosophical underpinning for the entire research process are provided by research methodology. According to Creswell (2003) and Kumekpor (2003), it outlines the format and forms that the research takes as well as the proper techniques for gathering and analysing data and how to come to reliable findings from the research. This chapter presents the research design, study areas, study population, sampling approach, data collection, and instrument design. It also deals with pre-testing, field work, data processing and analysis, ethical procedures and summary of the chapter.

Research Design

The researcher's worldview, premised on specific assumptions, is known as their research philosophy. These presumptions provide the foundation or starting point for the study plan (Creswell, 2009). The choice, one's own beliefs, one's working style, and practical factors are guided by research philosophy. It is crucial to establish the research philosophy for two reasons. First, it describes the role of the researcher during the research regarding whether it allows personal opinions to be part of the research or to step back and view the research from a neutral point of view without being influenced by the researcher's personality or background (Creswell, 2009).

Second, it enables the researcher to choose the techniques and instruments most suitable for the study. The awareness of a research philosophy enables the researcher to choose the techniques, articulate the instruments that are most suitable for the study, explain the reasons for adopting specific research

methods and instruments, and enumerate limitations (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). For example, in a study based on interviews, the researcher has to clarify the reason for the limited number of participants and their overall contribution to the research (Creswell & Poth, 2016).

There are three primary paradigms of research philosophy that are used by social scientist. These are positivism, interpretivism and pragmatism (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2009). The pragmatism philosophical paradigm provides the ideal ontological underpinning for this study because both qualitative and quantitative data is required to address the research questions.

Pragmatism emphasizes that things and events gain meaning and significance through interaction (Dalsgaard, 2014). The pragmatism philosophical paradigm permits researchers to use methods, techniques, and procedures of enquiry that are appropriate for a particular research issue under study. The mixed method approach is used in research that follows the pragmatic philosophical paradigm, allowing the researcher to rely on the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative approaches (Creswell & Creswell, 2016). The study design and data collection methods for both the interpretivist and positivist paradigm can be combined under pragmatism. The paradigm allows for the use of statistical procedures that permits generalization of findings as well as non-statistical ways of data analysis. Participation and slum governance issues have become so rampant and a huge problem confronting many cities, so the choice of pragmatism allows for the selection of the methods, techniques, and procedures that best fit the research that seeks the truth.

Based on insights from the pragmatic philosophical paradigm, the study adopted the mixed research methods approach. Using a mixed methods

approach allows the use of designs that complement each other. For instance, by using a rigorous design, the quantitative approach reveals what works, while the qualitative approach indicates how it works (Akorsu & Enu-Kwesi, 2016). This method allows for in-depth understanding of the phenomenon from the knower. It helps to investigate slum dwellers' participation in the governance of slums within their communities. The mixed methods approach is centred on the premise that the use of qualitative and quantitative approaches in a study provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone. It examines the role of actors in the local governance system, then attempts to establish the relationship amongst lifestyle, sociability and local governance in the slum. This will give meaning to the benefits of a mixed method whereby a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods provides strengths that offset the weaknesses of each approach.

The cross-sectional survey design was adopted as the study design. According to Yates (2003), a researcher must justify the approach chosen because there are several techniques with specific advantages and disadvantages, including unique means of collecting and analysing data. In a cross-sectional survey design, participants are often chosen at random to respond to a variety of questions about their background and prior experiences (Creswell, 2009; Creswell & Poth, 2016). The cross-sectional survey design provides comprehensive guidelines for the data collection. It ensures a selection of relevant research approaches, the design of the sample plan, and the questionnaire, a comprehensive guideline for the data collection process to be adopted for the study.

Study Area

The Ashaiman Municipality is chosen as a study area because it is a unique urban sprawl with pockets of slums. It has an effective agency in the form of a very well-organised associational life that dialogues and engages with the principals, in this case, the decentralised local governance system, which is striking and worth exploring. The study area comprises Tulaku and Manmomo communities within the Ashaiman Municipality. The Ashaiman Municipality occupies an area of 30.2 sq km and shares boundaries on the North and East with the Kpone-Katamanso District and on the South and West with the Tema Metropolis as shown in Figure 6. Ashaiman falls within the latitude $5^{\circ} 42^1$ North and longitude $0^{\circ} 01^1$ West. The Ashaiman Municipality is located about 4 kilometres north of Tema and about 30 kilometres from Accra, the capital of Ghana as shown in Figure 7.

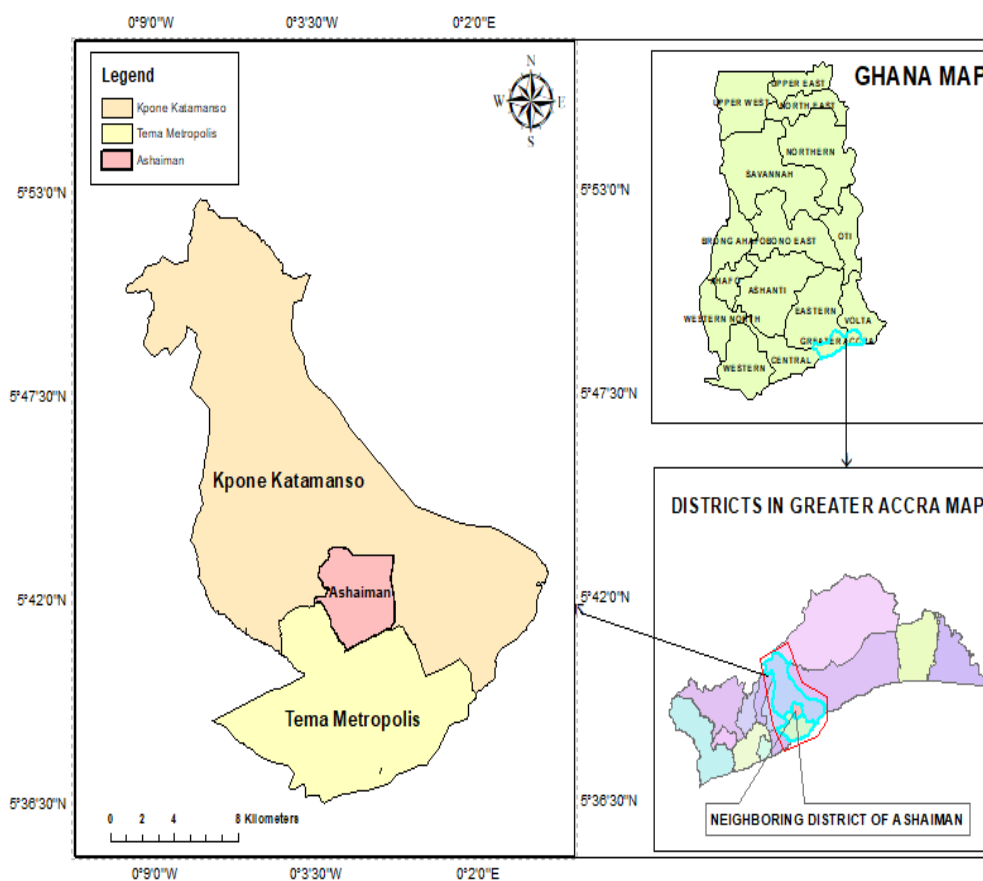


Figure 6: Map Showing the Neighbouring Districts of Ashaiman Municipality

Source: Department of Geography and Resource Development, University of Ghana, Ghana (2021)

Most of the soils are sandy clays that are good for growing vegetables, including cucumber, okra, pepper, and cabbage. The bulk of farmers primarily grow food for the community market. The area's geology is composed of granite, gneiss, and schist, which are Precambrian rocks from the Dahomeyan formation. Generally flat, the area is a part of the Accra-Togo lowlands. There are a few isolated hills in the area, but they are only about 65 metres high. Drainage and road building are made easier by the relief. The Municipality is subject to a climate that extends from Ghana's east coast into Togo. The range of rainfall is 730 mm to 790 mm. The vegetation cover is made up of savanna grasses and shrubs because of the low rainfall regime. However, due to human

activity, the natural vegetation no longer exists as the whole municipality is almost built up. Figure 7 shows the map of Ashaiman.

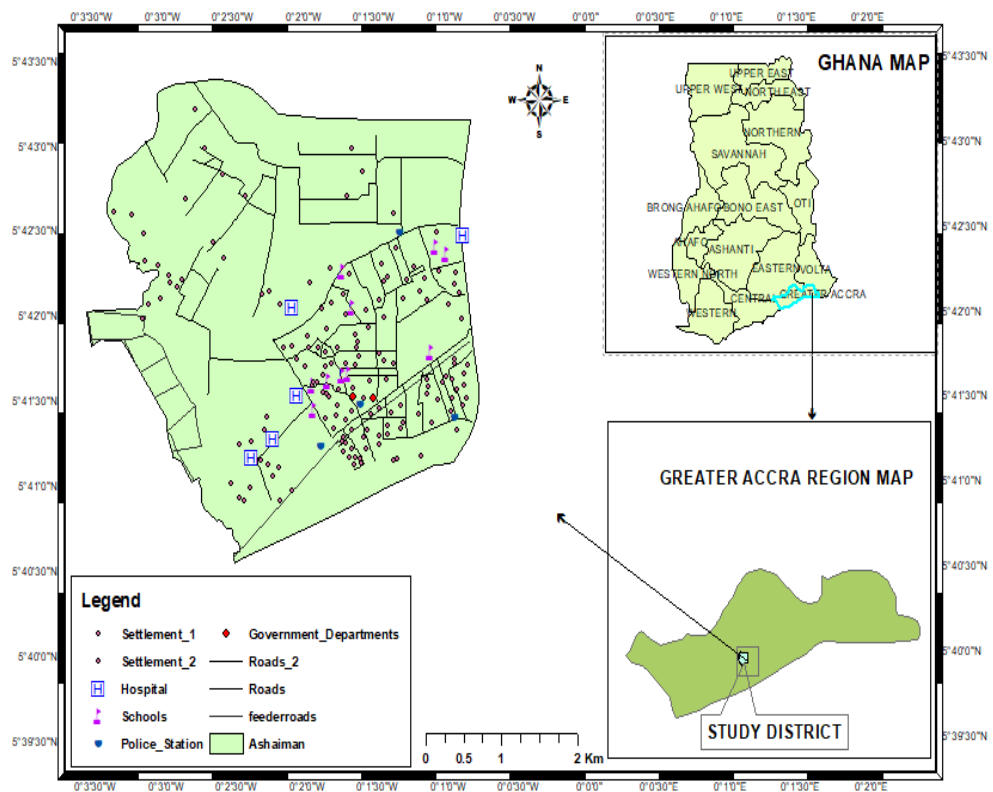


Figure 7: Map of Ashaiman Municipality

Source: Department of Geography and Resource Development, University of Ghana (2021)

The Gbemi River runs southwards across the municipality in a north to south direction. To the north-west is the Ashaiman Dam, which previously served as a source of water for agricultural activities but currently under threat due to human activities. The municipality is well drained, yet human activities have affected the drainage system resulting in occasional flooding. Aside from the municipality having well engineered drains along the major roads in the township, drainage within the residential units is very poor as there are no well-engineered drainage systems. As such, the surroundings within these units have

been marred with liquid and solid waste, compounding the existing sanitation problem.

Areas such as Newtown, Roman Down, Middle East and Tulaku suffer from flooding during periods of heavy rainfall. This is attributed partly to the irregular development control exercises by the Municipal Assembly to prevent people from building on waterways and near water bodies. About one-third of the Ashaiman municipality is served by good access roads covering the main and centre of town (ASHMA, 2018). The uncontrolled development in the municipality has compounded the creation of slums with the poor sanitary condition. It is estimated that about 55% of the buildings are sandcrete, while 15% are just shacks made of wood and aluminium sheets (ASHMA, 2018).

Ashaiman is a sprawling “urban settlement”, part of which exhibits characteristics of a slum (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). It is home to people from many ethnic groups, including people from the West African sub-region (Kisseih, 2007). The Municipality is divided into seven zonal councils and 17 electoral areas. It has 27 Assembly members, including the Municipal Chief Executive (MCE) and the Presiding Member (PM), of which 8 are appointed and the remaining 17 elected (ASHMA, 2018). This is meant to ensure the devolution of power to the lowest structures for effective local governance. The municipality is headed by a political head, the Municipal Chief Executive. The Municipal Assembly carries out legislative, deliberative and executive government functions as spelt out in the then Local Government Act 462, Sections 10, now amended and replaced by the Local Governance Act (2016), Act 936 (Republic of Ghana, 2016).

Ashaiman is a single municipal settlement comprising twenty-two communities with no rural settlement. These are Afariwa, Community 21, Community 22, Lebanon (1-5), Jericho, Official Town, Newtown, Nii Adzor, Middle East, Tulaku, Fitter Line, Zongo Laka, Roman Down, Night Market, Asensu, Christian Village, VALCO Flat, Market Square, Manmomo, Sikafoanbantem, Taifa, and Tsuibleoo. However, the uncontrolled activities of developers who do not follow urban plans and urban development policy have resulted in the haphazard, uncontrolled and uncoordinated nature of the municipality (ASHMA, 2018). The more pronounced areas known for uncontrolled development are, amongst others, Manmomo and Tulaku settlements which are selected as the study area.

Regarding chieftaincy, the Ashaiman divisional area comprises three communities: Ashaiman, founded by Nii Ashai, Moni-Obaanye founded by Nii Oko, and Nmpoasei, founded by Nii Amui (ASHMA, 2018). The people of the Ashaiman Municipality belong to the Tema Traditional area with its paramountcy at Tema. Four clans make up the Ashaiman divisional area which forms part of the Tema traditional area. These clans are the Amuitse We clan, Aboitse We clan, Amorkortse We clan and Odaitse We clan (ASHMA, 2018).

In terms of ethnicity, the most recent official figures from the municipal assembly indicate that the largest ethnic groups in the municipality are the Ga-Adangme, who constitute 25%. Ewe 23.4% and Akan 23.4%, Dagbani, 17.5%, Nzema and Wala (1.6% respectively), while the others constitute 7.8%. As of 2017, the total household population was 68,325, with 23,289 houses. The percentage of households per house was 1.1, and the population per house was 11.2, with an average household size of 5.1 and an average room occupancy rate

being 11.2 persons, which is higher than the UN standard of 2.5 persons (Ashaiman Municipal Assembly Medium-Term Plan, 2018).

Ashaiman is home to well organised and recognised professional, trade, ethnic, tribal, welfare and youth associations with formal structures and systems to ensure proper governance and compliance and minimise deviance from the association. These associations have sanctions and reward systems in place. For instance, the Ghana Statistical Service (2012) documented a formidable Garages Association under the Ghana National Association of Garages with over 400 artisans and 950 apprentices. This associational life is worth investigating as they demonstrate how structured the informal sector operates in the community. Tulaku and Manmomo are two communities with a combined household population of approximately 5,281 persons - 1,860 for Tulaku and 3,421 for Manmomo (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). They were selected because of their uniqueness in terms of support for development interventions and historical background.

Manmomo houses the VALCO Flats, the original quarters built for the workers of the then VALCO aluminium smelter before it lost its development control. The boundaries of Manmomo are from the main market road - Nii Tetteh Amui from the north-eastern side of the traffic lights to Lebanon on the south east. It is located north-east from Chief Grumah Street junction to south-west Alhaji Sani Street junction, then south-east to the main road from the main station road to north-west Asensu Bar roundabout called Nii Ashai Street. Manmomo is in the heart of the Ashaiman township with well labelled streets. It has two private health facilities, the Afenyo Memorial Hospital and Forson Memorial Hospital, and three private schools - Manhyia International School,

Abundant Grace and White Star International School, with no public facilities except for tarred and connected roads and drains. It is densely populated with vibrant economic activities in the form of stores in front of houses by the roadside and tabletop businesses as shown in Figure 8.

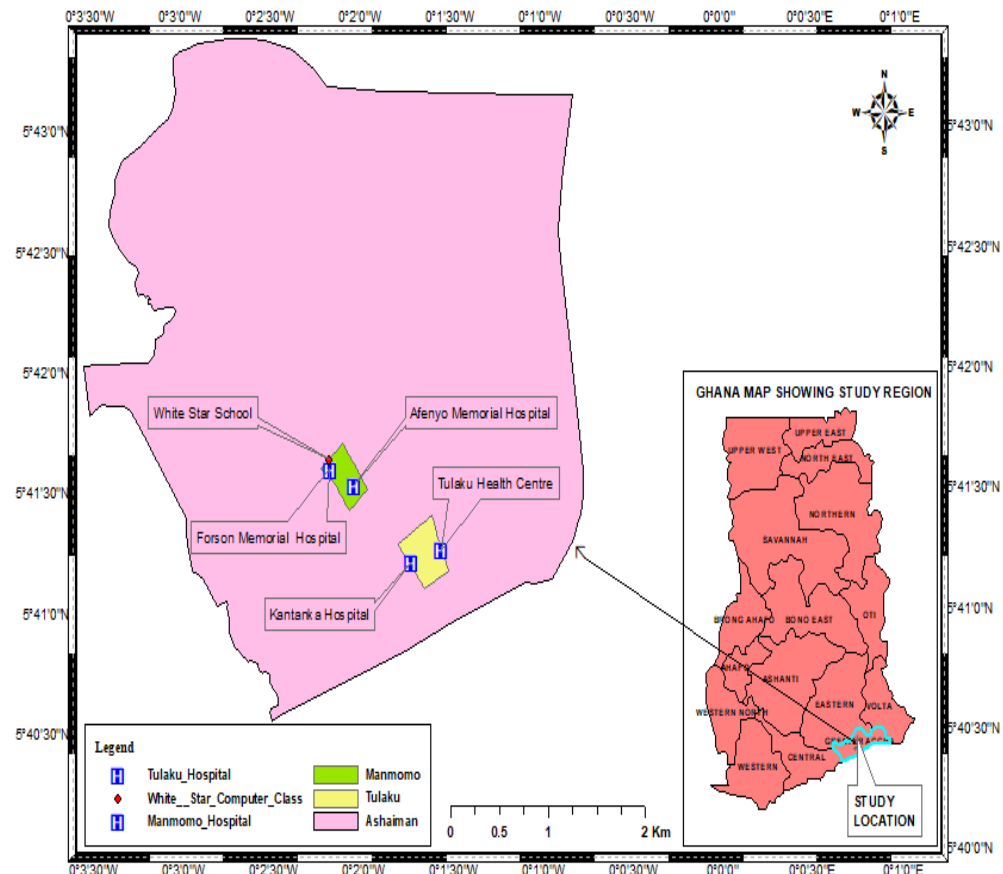


Figure 8: Map of the study area showing Tulaku and Manmomo (2021)

Source: Department of Geography and Resource Development, University of Ghana (2021)

Tulaku is a densely populated settlement along the Tema Motorway, which bears all the characteristics of a slum (ASHMA, 2019). However, the landscape is changing over the years, with many developments along the Tema motorway stretch of the community, which was previously not the case. It is located just off the first exit from the motorway and bordered to the north by the Ashaiman traffic light and Interchange Bridge, to the west by the Accra-Tema motorway, to the east by the Tulaku EP Church through Kaketo Junction and to

the south by the Accra-Aflao main road (ASHMA, 2019). Tulaku had no stretch of tarred roads and drains, and it is dusty with bustling activities. The only public facilities are the Ashaiman Health Post and a public toilet serving the entire community. However, there are individual private bathhouses and toilets and a market.

Study Population

Study population refers to the subjects of the population that are the research project's focus (Pandey & Pandey, 2015). The Ashaiman Municipality had a population of 208,060 covering a total land area of about 45km². It experienced an annual population change of 0.8 percent between 2010 and 2021 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2021). It is further estimated to have about 23,289 houses with a total household population of 68,325 (ASHMA, 2018). The estimated household population size for Tulaku was 1,860 and 3,421 for Manmomo.

The study population comprised two categories of respondents who form the formal and informal groups operating in the community. The formal group refers to the assembly functionaries and civil society organisations (CSOs) that engage and interact with the communities. The assembly functionaries were the Municipal Chief Executive (MCE), Municipal Coordinating Director (MCD), Municipal Planning Officer (MPO) and Municipal Engineer (MiE). The CSOs are the executive directors or programme officers of Nimba Community Services (NIMCOSS), OXFAM Ghana, People's Dialogue (PD) and Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG) and person from academia.

The informal group comprised the leaders of recognized welfare, trade and professional associations, youth clubs such as Ashaiman Youth Coalition (AYOC), the Zongo Chief or Queen mother (Magazia), Amui Dzor Residents Association, Federation of the Urban Poor, Ashaiman branch/ Ghana Federation of the Urban Poor (GHAFUP) and founding leaders or members of Ashaiman Women in Progressive and Development. It is out of these broad categories that the sample of 15 pre-determined participants for the qualitative aspect of the study was selected. In addition, adult household members in the selected study areas also constituted part of the study population and provided the quantitative data. These categories of respondents formed part of the study population because they have either lived in the communities for many years with much experiences about slum governance or they are formal institutions involved in the management of the slums.

Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

Sampling techniques are of two kinds: probability and non-probability. Given the complexities and dynamics of the study, adopting a single technique was not appropriate, thus purposive and a systematic random sampling techniques were used. There were estimated household population size of 1,860 Tulaku, and 3,421 for Manmomo. Therefore, the total household population for the two communities was 5,281. Using the Krejcie and Morgan (1970) table for determining sample size, 390 adult household members were obtained. A proportion of the two communities based on the household size implied that 255 adult household members were selected from Manmomo and 135 from Tulaku (see Appendix F for the formula).

Using a systematic random sampling technique, a sample interval of 13 and 14 were estimated for Tulaku and Manmomo respectively. In Tulaku, for instance, starting at a random location, each dwelling unit that fit the sample interval was chosen until the appropriate sample size was reached. The household heads in the selected houses formed the sample for the study. However, simple random sampling employing the lottery method was done to choose one adult household member in homes with more than one housing unit. The same process was used to obtain the sample for Manmomo. If a selected house was empty at the time of study the next one was selected to replace it. In Tulaku, the starting point was the Kaketo Junction whereas in Manmomo, the entry point was the Valco Flat in the community and interviewed respondents until the required sample was attained. Table 2 presents the sampling size and technique used.

In addition to the sampled household respondents, the purposive sampling method was utilised to select 13 key informants at the point of saturation where no new information were emerging as shown in Table 2.

The unit of research was the decentralised system (formal) and the leadership of the associations (informal sector) actors living and working in the slum. Figure 7 is a diagrammatic representation of the methodology.

Table 2: Sampling Size and Technique

Category	Different types of Respondents	Population size	Sample size	Sampling Technique	Remarks
Formal	Functionaries of MA	60	3	Purposive	Purposively selected one person with requisite knowledge in the community & participation in slum governance over the years
	CSOs	8	4		
	▪ PD/ UNH SUF				
	▪ Ibis West Africa/OXFAM				
	▪ NIMCOSS				
	▪ IDEG				
	Academia				
	▪ UG (ISSER) or	6	1		
	▪ KNUST (Planning)				

Source: Author's construct (2020)

Table 2: Cont'd

Category	Different types of Respondents	Population size	Sample size	Sampling Technique	Remarks
Informal	Leaders of selected recognised associations – <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ AYOC ▪ Welfare ▪ Trade ▪ Professional (Garages) ▪ FEDUP/GHAFUP ▪ AWPDP ▪ AHDA 	7 recognised association leaders	7	Purposive	Used purposive sampling technique to select one person each from the listed associations & groups, persons with interest & willingness to participate as well as relevant to the study.
	Adult Household Member <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tulaku ▪ Manmomo 	5281 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1860 ▪ 3421 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 135 ▪ 255 	Systematic sampling	Used Krejcie and Morgan (1970) table for determining sample size. With the sample interval of 13 & 14 for Tulaku & Manmomo respectively, every 13 th & 14 th structure in Tulaku & Manmomo was selected - Sample interval = population/sample size

Source: Author's construct (2020)

Sources of Data

The study was based on both secondary and primary sources of data. The secondary data were gathered from sources including journals, books and internet sources. Primary data were obtained from household respondents and key informants including the programmes directors of OXFAM, IDEG, NIMCOSS, PD, representatives from Ashaiman Youth Coalition, Assembly members, community leaders, Amui Dzor Housing Development Cooperative leader, president of the Ashaiman Federation of the Urban Poor and core functionaries of the municipal assembly as well as one person from academia.

The secondary data sources helped generate information on the general governance, participation and slum development issues. In addition, it helped review relevant municipal assembly documents (e.g. Medium Term Development Plans and reports), and reports of NGOs and development partners.

On the other hand, the primary data was generated through the use of interview schedule as well as interview guide and provided information on oral histories of the settlement, governance structure, social structures, community services, participation in development projects and decentralised activities at the community level. In addition, an observation checklist guided the transect walk which provided information on the physical changes within the slums as shown in the research flowchart (Figure 9).

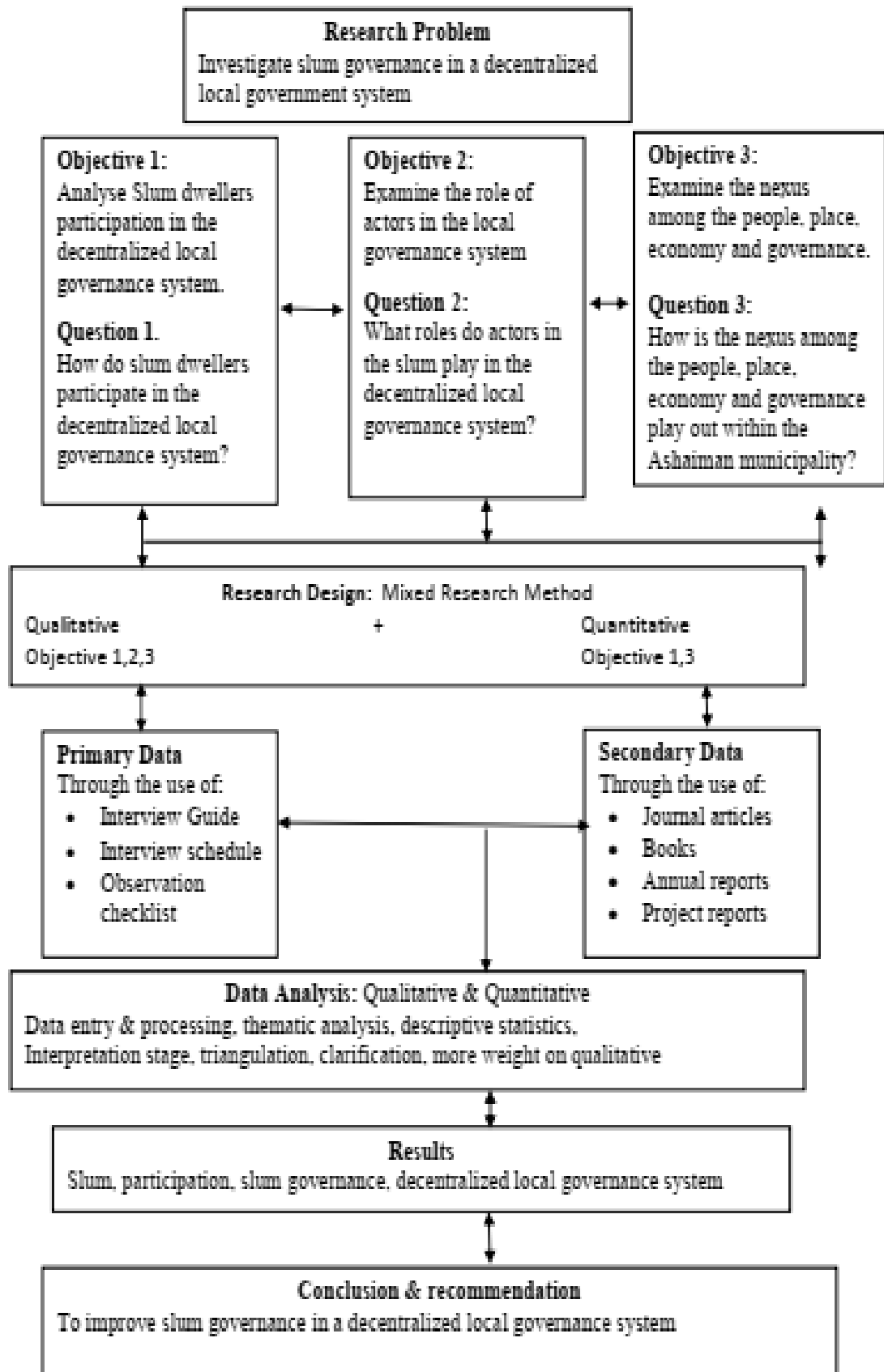


Figure 9: Diagrammatic representation of the Methodology

Source: Author's construct (2020)

Data Collection Instruments

There were three data collection instruments used for the study. These were interview guides, interview schedule and observation checklist. The interview guide was administered to the key informants from a pre-determined selected 15 representatives earlier listed. The interview schedule was administered to the adult household members in the two communities. The observation checklist was used by the principal investigator and research assistants to directly observe the physical infrastructure, services, socio-economic activities. It afforded the research team to observe the community structure and dynamics.

First, the interview schedule covered all four specific objectives of the study and comprised seven sections with both open and close ended questions. Section A covered the general characteristics from demographics, while Section B focused on housing and household characteristics. Sections C, D, E dealt with the economic activities; access to urban services; quality of life respectively. Then Section F was dedicated to the governance and community participation; the nexus amongst lifestyle, sociability, economy and governance, while Section G looked at the challenges in the community (Appendix E).

Second, the interview guide had four broad sections. Section A formed the introduction, which focused on the background and demographics of respondents. Section B looked at participation in the decentralised local governance system. Here, it sought to know who a slum dweller was from the perspective of the respondent, discussed the platforms used, types and frequency of engagement, participation in decision making, and the process and practices used to ensure participation in the decentralised local governance

system. Section C assessed who were the actors in the slum. It sought to find out who were the actors governing the slum, who these leaders were, what makes one a leader and any criteria used in selecting their leaders. It further probed how community leaders were appointed, what roles they play and how they govern the community. It discussed their level of influence in decision making and governance of their community, their understanding of who a leader is and what challenges these leaders (actors) face in the performance of their duties. Section D examined the nexus amongst the people, place, economy and local governance (Appendix A, B & C).

Third, the observation checklist (see Appendix D) was used to complement the other sources of data. It looked at the physical environment from roads (tarred and untarred), drainage (gutters), access to some amenities – toilet facilities, health facility, schools (private and public), the housing structure and other social facilities available in the communities as well as the lifestyle of the citizens.

Pre-testing

Pre-testing of the data collection instruments was carried out in the Tsinaigber community in Ashaiman Municipality with similar characteristics as that of the two selected communities. The experiences and lessons learnt informed the review and fine-tuning of the instruments. In addition, it served as training ground for the five research assistants who received training on 26th – 27th June, 2021. The pre-test served as further training and the data generated was analysed to test the methods of analysis that had been chosen.

In order to enhance the reliability and validity of the research before the commencement of the study, the researcher pre-tested the interview schedule

with the research assistants for the adult household heads and the interview guide for the pre-determined key informants from the core functionaries of the municipal assembly, assembly members, community leaders and civil society. The pre-testing allowed the researcher to obtain information to improve the contents, format and sequence of some aspects of the instruments. It also enhanced the research's reliability and validity before the actual field work commenced. It also enabled the researcher to estimate time needed for the interview, which was estimated at 45 minutes to one hour per respondent.

Field work

Five field research assistants were recruited and trained to assist in the process of data collection, data entry and cleaning. In recruiting research assistants, considerations were given to persons with tertiary level education, data collection experience, and an understanding of the local language and culture. The field assistants underwent a two-day training to enable them to understand and appreciate the aim and objectives of the study and ethical issues in social research. The training covered techniques of asking relevant questions, note taking, listening, tablet use and tape recording of interviews, where necessary as basic entry and relationship building techniques for the first day. The second day was used for field practice to pre-test the instruments and familiarize themselves with the community, taking note of the entry points and noting key features for actual data collection.

The interview schedule and interview guide were translated into Twi, a common dialect spoken by a number of residents in the community, to aid the discussion. The transect walk formed part of the principal investigators' observation of the community structure in terms of the power dynamics,

changes in physical infrastructure and services, and general socio-economic activities. Interviews were carried out concurrently with the qualitative and the quantitative data collection using an interview guide and schedule to facilitate triangulation. In all, 33 days was used for the data collection (12 days in Tulaku, 15 days in Manmomo, and the remaining 6 days split between the Municipal Assembly, CSOs, and DPs). Data was collected between July and August, 2021. The research assistants (RAs) collected data using the interview schedule and took part in the transect walk to get familiar with the communities and gain appreciation of the issues. Table 3 is a summary of the actual data collection.

Table 3: Summary of actual data collection exercises

No.	Activity	No. of day(s)	Date	Responsibility	Community
1.	Training of research assistance	1	26 /06/2021	Researcher	Atomic, Kwabenya
2.	Training of Research Assistants (Field-Transect walk)	1	27/06/2021	Researcher & 5 Research Assistants	Ashaiman – Manmomo, Tulaku & Tsinaigber
3.	Pre-testing	7	28/06/2021 to 08/07/2021	Researcher & 5 Research Assistants	Tsinaigber
4.	Administration of interview schedule	12	09/07/2021 to 21/07/2021	5 Research Assistants	Tulaku
5.	Administration of interview schedule	15	09/07/2021 to 24/07/2021	5 Research Assistants	Manmomo,
6.	Key informants' interview – CSOs, ASHMA, DPs, Community leaders	6	09/07/2021 to 30/07/2021	Researcher	Ashaiman Accra

Source: Author's compilation (2021)

Data collection in Manmomo and Tulaku started on 9th July, 2021, with all five research assistants scheduling a convenient time to visit the communities. This was done over a period of 33 days for the two communities. After 5 days of intense data collection, a zoom meeting was organised in the evening to check in with research assistants about how they were fairing on the field and if there were some challenges and questions that needed to be clarified

and corrected in the CAPI. A transect walk in the two communities with the research assistants together with the assembly members and some opinion leaders made it easier for us to appreciate the communities and observe living there as well as some physical characteristics.

The integrity checks were done at two levels, the researcher conducted the initial checks by running checks through the data, then the Data Analyst also run same as a double check. This ensured that the data was accurate and where gaps were identified in responses, enumerators or research assistant was quickly identified and asked to resolve. This process helped to ensure integrity of the data. In addition, the research assistants could be traced using the coordinates to ensure data was collected within the community. The GPS coordinates also enabled us to authenticate location of the data collected at any point in time. However, due to the nature of the households, you could have one GPS repeated for one location although it represents different households. The reason is that within a particular dwelling, you could have more than one household, several with some being family members or tenants living within the same space.

In social science research, challenges abound and are inevitable, yet there are procedures and techniques to minimise these challenges. The data collection exercise coincided with the 2021 National Population and Housing Census coupled with the COVID-19 pandemic and its associated restrictions. Although the houses in the slum communities had been numbered by the local authorities, they were not in an order for an easy sampling, however the systematic random sampling technique was adopted using the 13th house in Tulaku and 14th house in Manmomo and that facilitated the sampling process. The haphazard nature of the settlements made it difficult as one entered deeper

into the communities. The outskirts appeared orderly; but it did not apply to the entire community.

Apart from the spatial issue, Ashaiman is a highly partisan, politically charged community which has the tendency of affecting their responses, hence the need to appear as neutral as possible and explain for respondents to understand the rationale for the study. Then the issue of the COVID-19 pandemic also posed a huge challenge as not all respondents were comfortable engaging aside the risk to the researchers. The researchers ensured compliance with the COVID-19 protocols on the field by sanitising respondents and offering them facial masks if they did not have one before conducting the interviews. However, this was not wholly complied with as most people could not be bothered.

The data collection period coincided with the extension of 2021 National Population and Housing Census coupled with the COVID-19 pandemic and its associated restrictions, so there was some participant apathy. Most participants expressed frustrations as to why to grant another interview. It took the intervention of the assembly members and opinion leaders to grant the research team interviews. It was observed that respondents' answers to questions 21(a) and 21(b) showed no form of associational life. The non-attendance of any group or association to meetings was that in the last 12 months (2020 through most of 2021) restrictions posed by COVID-19 on public gatherings affected meetings. Due to the pandemic, people were still not comfortable to meet although they went about their businesses in the crowded market places with ease and no concerns. It was observed that wearing a nose mask in the community was almost non-existent as one could easily be identified as a

stranger by wearing a nose mask and strictly adhering to the COVID-19 protocols.

Some respondents refused to be interviewed because they were tired of being counted and had to answer too many questions and were not ready for any interview. The issue of a no option button if the responses were not listed was detected to have not been activated, so that was resolved. Then, responses from respondents such as “I don’t know” when it came to the question of participation and whether they had participated in some development projects before were all noted and resolved before they went back the next day to continue with the data collection.

A strategy was devised to ensure they worked in pairs in the community at any time. This was for one local research assistants to accompany the outsider, and that greatly facilitated their acceptance in the communities. Due to the nature of the dwellings, one could witness several households living in one compound, so the two research assistants working in a community made it easier to cover a lot. A simple systematic random sampling technique and balloting were deployed based on the nature of the communities.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical implications of the study covered anonymity, confidentiality and privacy to avoid potential hazards to the respondents. This research was guided by standard ethical principles of informed consent and confidentiality guidelines in line with the University of Cape Coast Institutional Review Board (UCCIRB). Ethical Clearance with ID (UCCIRB/CHLS/2021/38) was provided by UCCIRB, in line with national ethical clearance. Appropriate steps were taken to ensure that the research agenda was clearly understood, and the

information gathered for research purposes was authorised before any formal and informal interaction with participants commenced.

After the consent of the respondents were granted and their voluntary participation secured, information about the research was explained to the sampled persons who were willing to participate in the study. The participants were assured of anonymity and confidentiality. The participants' identities were also kept anonymous through the numerical coding of the responses. The participants were informed that they had the right to withdraw from the exercise at any time they wanted. There was some minimal compensation for the participants in the form of a bottle of water, two cakes of perfumed soap, a small bottle of hand sanitizer and a nose mask if the respondents did not have one. Generally, the study adhered to other codes of ethics regarding the research design, data collection and information retrieval, as well as attributing secondary data to the valid sources.

Data Processing and Analysis

Both qualitative and quantitative data analysis techniques were used. The quantitative data collected for objectives 1 and 3 was analysed using descriptive statistics with tables that displayed the frequency and percentages distribution of the variables. The STATA 14.0 software, was used for the quantitative analysis. On the other hand, ATLAS ti 9 software was used for the qualitative data analysis. The qualitative data were transcribed verbatim with the help of the field assistants and saved into Microsoft word and analysed thematically. This software was used to import entire survey answers to open-ended questions into an ATLAS ti 9 software for analysis of objectives 2 and 3. It facilitated the systematic coding and development of a system of meaning that

unlocks the specific research subjects. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 were devoted to the analysis of the data; in each chapter, each of the objectives was covered, and chapter 7 concluded with a summary, recommendations, and conclusions.

Summary of Chapter

The chapter highlights the design of the study, the methodology and the instruments used for data collection, and the analytical procedures used. The mixed method approach of research was used for the study. The study population covered household heads and key informants including local government core functionaries, civil society representatives, academia and selected community leaders. Both primary and secondary sources of data were gathered for the study. The primary data were collected with interview guides and interview schedules. Pre-test of the instruments were administered at Tsinaigber. The next chapters present the field data using percentages, tables, charts and graphs.

CHAPTER FOUR

SLUM DWELLERS' PARTICIPATION IN THE DECENTRALISED LOCAL GOVERNANCE SYSTEM

Introduction

This chapter presents the key findings from Manmomo and Tulaku in the Ashaiman Municipality. The chapter discusses the demographic characteristics of the respondents and slum dwellers understanding of participation, the extent of participation as well as the factors that impact their participation in the decentralised local governance system. The chapter further covers the platforms for participation, the processes and practices used to facilitate participation in the decentralised local governance system.

Demographic characteristics of the household respondents

Factors such as sex, age, marital status, education level, ethnicity, and occupation have an influence on one's level of participation. In order to put the study into context, these background characteristics of the respondents were examined. The details are presented in the subsequent sections.

Sex

About 50.8 percent of the sampled household respondents were males, while the remaining 49.2 percent were females (Table 4). In Tulaku, females made up the majority 53 percent of the respondents with males making up 47 percent. However, in Manmomo, females made up 47 percent of adult household members with 53 percent being males. The overall dominance of male household heads over females is a reflection of the social structure of most communities in Ghana, where males are heads and thereby control productive resources of their households (Ghana Statistical Service, 2021). According to

Namiro (2016), males as slum dwellers can withstand unfavourable conditions associated with slum communities as compared with their female counterparts. This assertion could partly be attributed to males dominating the slum communities as found in Manmono, one of the study area with 53 percent males.

Table 4: Sex distribution of household respondents by community

Community	Female		Male		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Manmomo	121	47	134	53	255	65
Tulaku	71	53	64	47	135	35
Total	192	49	198	51	390	100

Source: Field data, (2021)

Age

The age distribution of people in the sampled households of the two communities showed that the majority were within the age brackets 36-59 years with the least being those above 60 years old (Table 5).

The data is broken down by gender and represents the total population in sampled houses across various age groups. Out of the 553 individuals, 45.3% were female and 54.7% were male. The largest age groups, accounting for 10% and 10.9% of the total population, respectively, were 30-34 and 35-39. The elderly were the smallest group, making up only 0.6% of the population 75 years of age and above.

There were comparatively few people in the oldest age categories (70–74 years and above), with the majority of the population concentrated in younger and middle-aged groups. Those in their working-age years (20–59) were the majority at almost 58% of the population, with children and teens (ages 0–19)

making up about 25.7% of the total. The distribution of genders was fairly even throughout the age categories, while certain cohorts showed clear distinctions in particular areas, such as a larger proportion of females in the 20–24 age group.

Table 5: Number of people in the sampled households

Age Cohort	Male		Female		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
0-4	11	2	12	2.2	23	4.2
5-9	20	3.6	18	3.3	38	6.9
10-14	20	3.6	20	3.6	40	7.2
15-19	22	4	19	3.4	41	7.4
20-24	18	3.3	27	4.9	45	8.2
25-29	22	4	20	3.6	42	7.6
30-34	38	6.9	17	3.1	55	10
35-39	32	5.8	28	5.1	60	10.9
40-44	23	4.2	24	4.3	47	8.5
45-49	21	3.8	11	2	32	5.8
50-54	33	6	17	3.1	50	9.1
55-59	12	2.2	11	2	23	4.2
60-64	14	2.5	6	1.1	20	3.6
65-69	3	0.5	7	1.3	10	1.8
70-74	3	0.5	1	0.2	4	0.7
75+	2	0.4	1	0.2	3	0.6
Missing	8	1.4	12	2.2	20	3.6
Total	302	54.7	251	45.6	553	100

Source: Field data (2021)

The age pyramids of members of the sampled households (Figures 10 and 11) did not depict a typical developing country situation where the base of the pyramid is broader. In other words, the two communities had narrower base than that of Ghana. The reason could be attributed to the fact that Manmomo and Tulaku are migrant communities. It was easy for migrants to integrate into the

city life and that the study area provided cheap accommodation for first time entrants to the city (Asare et al., 2015; Osae et al., 2021).

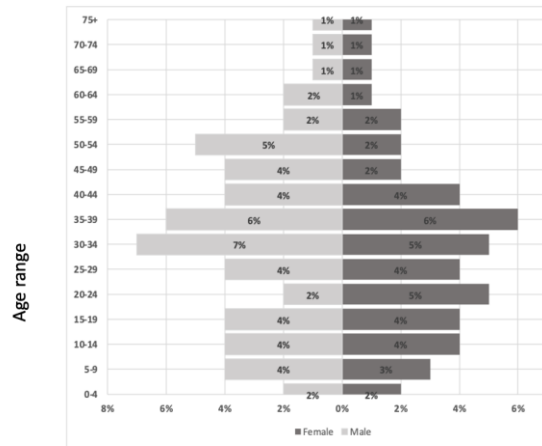


Figure 10: Sample population pyramid –
Manmomo

Source: Field data (2021)

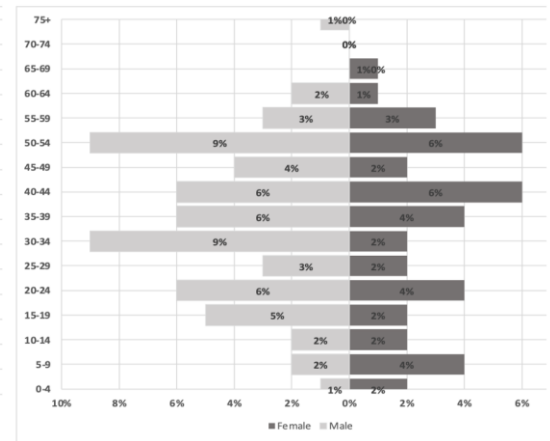


Figure 11: Sample population pyramid
– Tulaku

Source: Field data (2021)

Marital status

Among the slum dwellers, about 50 percent of the respondents were married, while 33.7 percent, 8.67 percent, and 7.65 percent had never married, divorced, or been widowed, respectively as shown in Table 6. The findings indicate that a similar number of impoverished people, married or not, reside in slums.

Table 6: Marital status of the household respondents

Marital status	Manmomo		Tulaku		Total	
	F	%	f	%	f	%
Divorced/ Separated	20	7.8	14	10.4	34	8.7
Married	124	48.6	72	53.3	196	50.3
Never married	91	35.7	40	29.6	131	33.6
Widowed	20	7.8	9	6.7	29	7.4
Total	255	100.0	135	100.0	390	100.0

Source: Field data (2021)

Religious affiliation

Christians made up 53.8 percent of all respondents, while the remaining 46.2 percent were Muslims as shown in Table 7. This depicts a near balance in religious affiliations amongst the residents. There were no respondents professing other faiths other than the two dominant ones presented.

Table 7: Religious affiliation of respondents

Religion	Manmomo		Tulaku		Total	
	F	%	f	%	f	%
Christian	146	56.8	64	47.4	210	53.8
Islam	109	42.4	71	52.6	180	46.2
Total	255	100	135	100	390	100.0

Source: Field data (2021)

Educational levels

With regard to educational levels of respondents in the study area, those who have basic education were dominant (43.8%), compared to secondary education (21.9%), tertiary level (14.3%) and no schooling (18.9%) as presented in Table 8. This result is contrary to that of Arkorful et al. (2021) study in Accra

that 48.7 percent of their respondents in slums had tertiary education or above, while 16 percent had no formal education.

Table 8: Educational level of respondents

	Manmomo		Tulaku		Total	
Educational level	f	%	F	%	f	%
JHS/JSS/ Middle school	84	32.6	49	36.0	133	33.9
SHS/SSS/ Secondary	51	20.0	35	25.7	86	21.9
No Schooling	50	19.6	24	17.7	74	18.9
Primary School	31	12.2	8	5.9	39	9.9
Bachelor Degree	19	7.5	9	6.6	28	7.1
Diploma/HND	14	5.5	7	5.2	21	5.4
Master Degree	5	2.0	1	0.7	6	1.5
Other	2	0.8	2	1.5	4	1.0
PhD and above			1	0.7	1	0.3
Total	256	100.0	136	100.0	392	100.0

Source: Field data, (2021)

Ethnicity

The results showed a high ethnic diversity among the sampled respondents as shown in Table 9. The Hausa (22%) and Ewe (21%) tribes were the dominant ethnic groups in the study area, which is fairly consistent with the finding of Ghana Statistical Service (2021) that Ewes were the dominant ethnic group in the Ashaiman Municipality. This finding was also consistent with

earlier studies (Kisseih, 2007; ASHMA, 2018; Appiah-Kubi & Amoako, 2020).

Table 9 shows that there were no Guans and Mande respondents in Tulaku.

Table 9: Ethnicity of respondents

Ethnic group	Manmomo		Tulaku		Total	
	F	%	F	%	f	%
Hausa	46	18.04	39	28.89	85	22
Ewe	51	20	32	23.7	83	21
Other	37	14.51	16	11.85	53	14
Mole-Dagbani	23	9.02	24	17.78	47	12
Twi	34	13.33	8	5.93	42	11
Adangbe	31	12.6	5	3.7	36	9
Fante	18	7.06	4	2.96	22	6
Ga	8	3.14	7	5.19	15	4
Grusi	5	1.96	0	0	5	1
Guan	1	0.39	0	0	1	0
Mande	1	0.39	0	0	1	0
Total	255	100	135	100	390	100

Source: Field data (2021)

Occupation

Craftsmanship (47.96%) was the dominant economic activity in the study area, followed by trading (26.53%), formal employment/salaried work (11.48%), food processing and cookery (6.12%), livestock rearing (3.83%), transport business (3.06%), and agriculture/crop farming (1.02%) as presented in Table 10. The livestock rearing group indicated their constant engagement with the municipality because they were deemed a nuisance and had lost most of their

land to infrastructural development. Farmers who tilted available farmlands on the fringes of the Tulaku community, for example, had lost their agricultural land to development as a result of the construction of the China Mall, gas stations, and other commercial projects. The constant threat necessitates their regular engagement with the municipality for some form of protection to secure whatever was left.

A key informant commented that the enforcer of the district assembly bye-laws is a culprit, leading to conflict of interest. He described this scenario as this:

The issue of livestock rearing and stray animals in the community is a challenge because the assemblyman is a culprit and finds it difficult to enforce the law [Community leader, 69 years, KII].

The findings further show that respondents from both Manmomo and Tulaku communities were engaged in diverse socio-economic activities such as trading, craftsmanship, teaching, transport operations, and serving as security personnel or theft prevention officers. Traders constituted 55 percent and 68.6 percent in Manmomo and Tulaku respectively. Trading mainly consisted of selling cooked and uncooked food in polythene bags, selling of sachet water, vending electricity units, selling water, operators of gambling joints and small pubs. In addition, the study found specific occupational activities of masons, carpenters, tilers, salon beauticians, scrap dealers and private waste collectors using the tricycle motors often referred to as Abobo Yaa in the slums.

Table 10: Primary Occupation of Respondents

Community	Primary Occupation	Female		Male		Total	
		f	%	f	%	f	%
Manmomo	Trader	66	55.0	32	24.1	98	38.7
	Others	39	32.5	30	22.6	69	27.3
	Private sector workers	9	7.5	35	26.3	44	17.4
	Civil/ Public						
	Servants	3	2.5	11	8.3	14	5.5
	Teacher	3	2.5	9	6.8	12	4.7
	Driver/ Transport operator	0	0	9	6.8	9	3.6
	Security officer	0	0	7	5.3	7	2.8
	Total	120	100	133	100	253	100
Tulaku	Trader	48	68.6	26	42.6	74	56.5
	Private sector workers	8	11.4	18	29.5	26	19.5
	Others	13	18.6	6	9.8	19	14.5
	Driver/ Transport operator	0	0	6	9.8	6	4.6
	Teacher	0	0	3	4.9	3	2.3
	Civil/ Public						
	Servants	1	1.4	1	1.6	2	1.5
	Security officer	0	0	1	1.6	1	0.8
	Total	70	100	61	100	131	100
Totals of both communities	Trader	114	60	58	29.9	172	44.8
	Others	52	27.37	36	18.6	88	22.9
	Private sector workers	17	8.95	53	27.3	70	18.2
	Civil/ Public						
	Servants	4	2.11	12	6.2	16	4.17
	Driver/ Transport operator	0	0	15	7.7	15	3.91
	Teacher	3	1.58	12	6.2	15	3.91
	Security officer	0	0	8	4.1	8	2.08
	Total	190	100	194	100	384	100

*Others include craftsmanship (food joint operators and *slumpreneurs*)

Source: Field data, (2021)

Length of stay and participation in slum governance

The results showed that the respondents had a long period of stay in their respective communities as depicted in Table 11. About 34 percent of the respondents had stayed in their communities for more than 20 years, while less than two percent had stayed in their communities for less than one year. Those who had stayed in the two communities for between 6 – 20 years participated more in the decentralised local governance system. Such people could be said to have lots of development issues in the area and would want them to be heard or addressed by participating in community meetings. About 61 percent of the respondents live in rented accommodation as presented in Table 10.

Table 11: Length of stay in the community

Length of stay (years)	Manmomo		Tulaku	
	f	%	f	%
More than 20	89	34.77	47	34.56
16 – 20	32	12.5	18	13.24
6 – 10	52	20.31	26	19.12
1 – 5	49	19.14	20	14.71
Less than 1	5	1.95	2	1.47
Total	256	100.00	136	100.00

Source: Field data (2021)

Households who make a living from small table-tops and vegetable carts have their income generating assets eroded and destroyed during slum evictions. Table 11 shows that about 34% of the slum dwellers had lived within their community for over 20 years. This is supported by standard migration theory which suggests that length of stay of residence has positive effects on inclusion

and well-being of migrants in receiving society (Adger et al., 2021). While Turok and Borel-Saladin (2016) suggest that length of residence of migrants perceive lower human security than recent arrivals, and thus low-income areas are more likely to represent cul-de-sac for migrants rather than pathways-out-of-poverty.

Additionally, interactions with the key informants revealed that those who had stayed in their communities for 6 to 20 years participated more in the decentralised local governance system. A key informant at ASHMA noted that such people tend to have knowledge of the developmental issues in the area and would want them to be heard or addressed by participating in community meetings. The Land Act, Act 1036 of (2020), a revised land legislation, confirms what a key informant at ASHMA claims about Ghana's land regulations, which state that if you live somewhere for more than ten years, you automatically own it without any notice or removal. This section of the Act raised tension amongst the majority of slum dwellers of Tulaku in particular who did not have tenure security and the Tema Development Company (TDC) who hold the land in trust for the Tema Traditional Council. Most of the slum dwellers who were interviewed reported that they paid ground rent to the TDC. The key informant at ASHMA confirmed that there was conflict of roles between them and the TDC in respect of development control. The officer shared these words;

When our officers embark on their routine building control exercises the slum dwellers often are adamant to their instructions. They claim they take instructions from TDC
[ASHMA, 38 years, Female]

Another key informant from the civil society organisations also corroborated the conflict of roles between the Assembly and the TDC. He reported that the TDC in 2017 was converted into a limited liability company with enhanced mandate to expand its operational and geographical scope beyond the Tema Acquisition Area. He again noted that the planning and development of the municipality were also a core function of the local government authority under the Local Governance Act of 2016 (Act 936), thus causing conflict and deepening sense of insecurity for residents of the slums particularly, Tulaku. He shared these words:

The conflict of roles is affecting the efficient management of the slum. You live in an environment where one entity sitting somewhere thinking that they own the land, whilst another entity sitting somewhere says that we have the planning and control of the use of land. So you will be there and somebody will come.....oooh TDC has sold this land to me and has permit to build [CSO, 47 years, Male].

To further buttress the point of the conflict in functions, another key informant at the Physical Planning Department of ASHMA stated;

When people present their genuine documentation as proof of ownership of a place to apply for building permit, it is difficult to ascertain whether it falls within the municipality's development planning scheme. The reason is the TDC issues permits allowing for works to go whereas the municipality which is responsible for development planning and control is not privy to the said plan the TDC used in approving the permit. So, our

inability to share information is not allowing us to work efficiently [ASHMA, 44 years, Male].

The above quotations suggest that there was no coordination between the agencies responsible for managing the municipality. The inadequate collaboration amongst the authorities could lead to the neglect of responsibilities and further worsen issues such as health hazards, unhealthy environment and soil deterioration. This confirms King and Amponsah's (2012) earlier findings that the level of collaboration among regulatory agencies is weak and thus allowing for the fast and emergence of slums in cities. In such situations of insecurity of tenure, slum dwellers would be unwilling to commit resources towards the development of the community as put forward by the slum of hope and slum of despair theory. The lack of commitment towards development of the area was evident in the ownership of dwelling units. The majority (61.73%) of the respondents rented houses, while the remaining (38.27%) had their own accommodation.

The inadequate coordination of physical development at the slums in an era of rapid urbanisation coupled with the seemingly irreversible flow of people from rural to urban areas seeking better jobs, Manmomo and especially Tulaku areas could develop into unplanned and uncontrolled slum settlements. These threaten development objectives within the municipality and the region as a whole in the face of spatial fragmentation and growing economic inequalities.

From the transect walk of the two communities, it was observed that Manmomo was more developed than Tulaku because Manmomo had tarred roads and well demarcated inner alley ways, whereas the road network in Tulaku was in a bad state, which led to heavy dust pollutions as vehicles passed. Tulaku

also had lots of temporary structures, compared with Manmomo. There were lots of small table-top businesses in addition to stores lined up along the main road in both communities.

However, along the boundaries on the main dual carriage road in Tulaku, high-rise buildings were lined up with brisk business happening, thus, shielding the community from being noticed unless one approached it from the Ashaiman overpass stretch or the western side. The reason is that most residents in Tulaku did not have tenure security, but only relied on temporary permits from TDC. This condition prevented them from the construction of permanent structures. However, some well-developed structures along the main road including the China Mall were situated at the western side of the community.

Participation in community development initiatives

The majority (74.3%) of the household respondents reported a decline in participation in the governance of slums. They attributed it to the fluid nature of the community, whereby it was becoming cosmopolitan and highly urbanised, resulting in more individualism than enhanced social cohesion. Other reasons mentioned for the declining participation include inadequate time, distance from their workplace to their residence and non-responsiveness of the municipality to their suggestions has resulted in apathy. The respondents kept blaming the ineffective participation to the perceived re-centralisation of decision-making instead of decentralisation. They claimed that most development projects were no longer decided at the local level but rather at the national level and handed down to the municipal assembly for implementation.

A key informant stated these words:

Of late, all you see is a contractor move to site and when you ask they tell you the contract was awarded to them from Accra. We no longer take part in deciding what our needs are [Community leader, 69 years, KII].

Participants in Manmomo (82.21%) and Tulaku (83.58%) reported that they were not aware of consultations to discuss development projects. Instead, they observed initiatives being implemented in their respective communities with little to no beneficiary consultation. This confirms Hamdi and Goethert (1997) argument as shown in Figure 3, which depicts the reality of unequal powers resulting in weak asymmetrical links and fragmented community consultations and involvement in development projects.

Participation in the Decentralised Local Governance System

The key informants as well as the household heads from both communities confirmed that there were two ways for choosing leaders in the communities. The first was the formal approach, which consisted of voting for the positions of unit committee or assembly member. The officials at ASHMA noted that this approach was enshrined in the Local Governance Act (2016), Act 936. It was revealed from the interactions that the actual persons elected into this formal structure of governance were very limited in number, ranging between one or a maximum of five persons for an entire electoral area. To ensure effective participation, the few elected residents were required to frequently engage the residents and forward their complaints or suggestions to the zonal council for onward transmission to the assembly. However, most of the residents

noted that these individuals hardly solicited their concerns. A key informant remarked:

The unit committee member is not visible in this community. He is not concern about our issues. He is just interested in his own cattle business. [Community leader, 65 years, KII].

The quotation reflects the low level of engagement among local elected representatives and their electorates. This corroborates the conclusions drawn by Dzacaklo et al. (2023) indicating a deficiency in local citizen involvement with elected officials for the planning and execution of participatory development. The low level of public participation in local government was attributed by the authors to a number of factors, such as inadequate funding for local governments, weak political structures in the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies, and a lack of public awareness and education regarding the significance of local participation.

The second approach for choosing leaders was the informal system whereby seniority, dominance of ethnicity, political connections and social status were key considerations. These observations were made as to how the leaders are appointed, the role they play and how they govern their community:

The criteria include all of these in my view, the way of life of the individual, how you comport yourself, how you contribute to the welfare of the people, how one obeys bye-laws, your lifestyle, age because they respect and revere experience; longevity also makes you an automatic leader if you exemplify all of the above. The reason is the early settlers know the boundaries of the

community well and how it all began. [Community leader, 54 years, KII].

Another respondent elaborated that:

The community appoints or sometimes confers on you the leadership role based on the qualities indicated above. It even extends to how your children behave in the community because it is an indication that you are responsible and a high-level person [Community leader, 35 years, KII].

Another criteria was added by another key informant as;

A community leader must have moral integrity and must be above reproach [Community leader, 54 years, KII].

In both communities, the household heads and some of the key informants agreed that the informal leaders were very attached to the communities and had knowledge of the issues that affected the lives of the citizens. Therefore, persons who exhibited these qualities often assumed such leadership roles. Interactions with the residents showed that they accorded the local informal leaders with much respect due to the close engagement they had with them. A participant remarked;

The association executive involves all the residents in decisions concerning development of the area. She even attends funerals and wedding ceremony of residents. [Community leader, 35 years, KII].

It was learnt from the community leaders and civil society organisations that in younger ethnically diverse slums, seniority was less important in the selection of leaders compared to influence through networks of enterprise,

political ties, and educational attainment. This confirms World Development Report (2007) position on the appointment of leaders in informal settlements. In the two slum communities, seniority—that is, the person who joined the community first—was a significant factor in determining the leader in Tulaku and Manmomo. While all the respondents mentioned that slum dwellers had access to informal slum leaders, access to some formal or elected leaders was limited due to bureaucratic procedures and social connections.

The officials of the local government authorities rejected the claims made by the household heads about limited access to the formal governance structure. Though they acknowledged logistical constraint for a continuous interaction with the residents, they stressed that the local people were adequately involved in the planning, budgeting and rate and fee-fixing processes. They also attributed the low levels of townhall meetings to the COVID-19 pandemic and the related ban on public gatherings.

When asked whether they participate in the municipal assembly meetings or any activity, 73 percent of the respondents in Manmomo claimed that they are hardly involved in assembly meetings or activities. In contrast, 61.02 percent of the respondents in Tulaku indicated that the municipal assembly occasionally organised townhall meetings in their community to talk to the assemblyman.

When further asked to indicate the type of activities they participated in, the responses were very low. Table 12 shows that residents in Tulaku (45.28%) and Mamnomo (54.17%) were largely involved in sanitation issues.

Table 12: Types of activities they participated in

Activity	Manmomo		Tulaku	
	f	%	f	%
Sanitation	24	45.28	13	54.17
Social Development	14	26.42	4	16.67
Solid waste management	4	7.55	3	12.5
Road construction	1	1.89	1	4.17
Health campaigns	3	5.66	1	4.17
Market construction	1	1.89	0	0
Education programmes	3	5.66	0	0
Community Radio	1	1.89	0	0
Others	2	3.77	2	8.33
Total	53	100.00	24	100.00

Source: Field data (2021)

The respondents reported less participation on issues regarding market, education and discussions on community radio in both communities. Further engagements with some of the key informants revealed that the only landmark project they participated in was the UN-SUF project, thereby confirming the low levels of participation as indicated by the household heads. A key informant reported the following:

During the SUF project, we were consulted at every stage of the process from the design to the construction stage. We gave our inputs and that made us feel valued and important. [Community leader, 54 years, KII].

Another key informant stated that;

I even participated in all stages of the project from initial design to construction. I was a foreman on site and even supervised the federation members who provided labour. [Community leader, 69 years, KII].

The comment provided validate the desirable degrees of participation diagram of Hamdi and Geothert (1997), as shown in Figure 2, which illustrates the different stages and levels of engagement. Slum dwellers in Tulaku took part in the SUF initiative in an indirect capacity, consulting as evidenced by individuals who reported being consulted at every turn. In Tulaku, several heads of households claimed to have been instrumental in the SUF project. As per the accounts of certain important informants, they fulfilled the functions of labourers, foremen, and suppliers of construction materials. This is confirmed by a remark made by key informant as:

The SUF project was great, some members supplied iron rods, others sand and labour which helped improve our income and livelihoods. The project made sure we the slum dwellers benefitted fully from the project [Community leader, 69 years, KII].

The findings also support Hamdi and Goethert's (1997) argument that citizen participation increases the project's sustainability by strengthening the sense of community ownership for its facilities and services. As such, involvement requires responsiveness and strengthens local ownership. This affirms the roles that the slum inhabitants played in having complete control over the project, which makes them feel acknowledged as they have a say in all decision-making.

To ascertain slum dwellers frequency of participation in the decentralised local governance system, the respondents were asked to indicate the number of times they were involved. A six point-scale was used as depicted in Table 13. The majority of the respondents in both Manmomo (74.31%) and Tulaku (74.03%) reported that they were never involved in meetings of the local government authority in the last one-year period. Few respondents reported to have been involved either once or twice within the period of assessment.

Table 13: Number of times attended meeting

Number of times	Manmomo		Tulaku	
	f	%	f	%
None	107	74.31	57	74.03
One	23	15.97	9	11.69
Two	8	5.56	9	11.69
Five and more	2	1.39	2	2.6
Four	1	0.69	0	0
Three	3	2.08	0	0
Total	144	100.00	77	100.00

Source: Field data (2021)

Summary of Chapter

The chapter discussed slum dwellers participation in the decentralised local governance system. The findings show that residents who had stayed in the slums for more than 20 years were inclined to participate in the governance system than those with relatively fewer years of residence. In respect of leadership positions, it was unearthed that the slums relied on both formal leaders elected into the decentralised structures of the local government

authority and informal appointments of renowned residents. The majority of slum dwellers reported low levels of participation in the formal governance systems, except for sanitation related activities.

CHAPTER FIVE

ACTORS IN THE LOCAL GOVERNANCE SYSTEM

Introduction

This chapter deals with the second specific objective which examines the role of actors in the local governance system. It seeks to identify the key actors in the slum communities, and their functions. It also covers the leadership structure of the slums and the obstacles the leaders face in carrying out their responsibilities. It further describes the power brokers and their influence on the local governance system in the study area.

Actors in Local governance system

The key informants at ASHMA explained that the municipal assembly was responsible to the citizenry as mandated by the Local Governance Act, 2016 (Act 936). The ASHMA calls for input from the citizenry into the assemblies' programmes and projects. According to the municipal assembly key informant, these requirements are expressly spelt out under Sections 40 – 48 (Participatory Governance at the Local Level), and Sections 86 – 89 (Planning Functions of the District Assemblies: Economic Planning).

Interactions with the respondents showed that the actors involved in the governance of Manmomo and Tulaku operate at national, regional and local levels, with diverse functions. The actors in the study area were key civil society and development partner organisations including IBIS Public Participation in Local Governance programme/OXFAM, Nimba Community Service (NIMCOSS), Ashaiman Youth Forum (AFY), Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG), Governance Issues Forum (GIFs), UN-Habitat Slum Upgrading Facility (SUF) project, and People's Dialogue. The functions of the actors are summarised in Table 14.

Table 14: Functions of key actors in the governance of slums in the study area

Level	Actors	Functions
National	Ministry of Local Government & Rural Development	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Responsible for the promotion of government policies and projects 2. Promotes governance and balanced rural-based development
	Ministry of Water Resources Works and Housing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Responsible for the provision of decent housing and shelter
	Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Responsible for the protection of land 2. Especially Tulaku lands
	Ministry of Gender and Social Protection	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Responsible for the protection of women, children and the vulnerable in the study area
	OXFAM Ghana	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provided technical support 2. Built capacity of municipality 3. Identified and trained youth 4. Funded development activities aimed at building capacity
	Nimba Community Support Services	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Local NGO focused solely on youth 2. Mobilised youth in the community 3. Trained and empowered youth to engage duty bearers responsibly 4. Trained youth in hands-on skills development 5. Organised youth fora
	Institute for Democratic Governance	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Organised governance issues forum 2. Empowered youth to engage duty bearers
	UN-Habitat	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provided technical support for slum upgrading 2. Provided capital for pilot project in Amui Dzor 3. Coordinated activities of the association 4. Leveraged associations savings for more capital 5. Supervised construction of slum upgrading facility pilot project

□ Table 14: Cont'd

	People's Dialogue	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Local NGO responsible for mobilising slum dwellers 2. Introduced savings culture amongst the slum dwellers 3. Served as a mouth piece for slum dwellers 4. Advocated against their eviction and demanded protection 5. Instrumental in securing land for demonstration project 6. Served on the SUF Board 7. Demanded accountability at every stage
Regional	Ghana Federation of the Urban Poor	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Responsible for mobilising slum dwellers 2. Mobilising savings amongst slum dwellers 3. Advocating for protection of slum dwellers
	Tema Development Company	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Custodians of most of Ashaiman lands 2. Responsible for the planning and re-zoning of lands in the Tema – Ashaiman areas
Municipal	Ashaiman Municipal Assembly	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Enforce development control 2. Involve citizens in their activities in order to promote inclusiveness 3. Responsible for the development of the community 4. Enforce law and order 5. Responsible for planning of the community 6. Responsible for the provision of infrastructure
	Federation of Urban Poor, Ashaiman Branch	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Advocated for recognition as a formidable group at the municipal assembly 2. A force to reckon with
	Amui Dzor Residents Association	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lead advocate for infrastructure especially construction of roads in Tulaku 2. Advocates for tared road with bitumen to reduce dust

Table 14: Cont'd

Local	Slum entrepreneurs (<i>slumpreneuers</i>)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Powerbrokers in the community 2. Providers of basic services such as electricity vending, sale of water, provision of accommodation, entertainment facilities, 3. Provide food and beverages, shelter and social life to residents 4. Vendors of electricity and water 5. Managers of private toilets and bath houses 6. Lease land to slum dwellers at a fee 7. Enforce law and order in community 8. Provide protection
	Assembly member	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Duly elected representative of the community 2. Liaison between community and municipal assembly 3. Source of information between community and municipal assembly 4. Engages in public inspection of bye-laws 5. Represents community at the assembly 6. Sends feedback to assembly
	Unit Committee members	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Closeness to the community 2. Liaison between assembly member and community 3. Interacts more closely with citizens in the community 4. Updates and appraises assembly member of recent happenings in the community

Table 14: Cont'd

Religious leaders	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provide spiritual support to community 2. Serves as mediator in conflict issues, etc 3. Provides general support 4. Advocates for services and infrastructure 5. Ensures peace and harmony
Tribal heads	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provides guidance and support to members 2. Peace broker 3. Mobiliser of hometown residents 4. Mobiliser and fundraiser to support worthy course and members in need
Opinion leaders	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Influencers 2. Decision-makers 3. Provide support both financially and physically 4. Advisors in the community 5. Advocates for services and infrastructure 6. Arbitrators and mediators 7. Serves as role model
Food operators	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provide sustenance 2. Provide life supporting services 3. Runs business 4. Employs community members

Source: Field data 2021

Actors and Power Brokers in the Slum

This section discusses the actors and power brokers in the slum communities at the national, regional and local levels (Table 14). These actors and powerbrokers are also known as stakeholders in the responses from the key

informant interviews of CSOs, ASHMA functionaries, and community leaders as well as that of household heads are discussed. There were varied responses as to who the actors and the powerbrokers were in the slum communities. The residents largely considered stakeholders who had engagements with them in the past as the main qualifying criteria to be considered as an actor. When a key informant was asked who an actor and a powerbroker in the community was, he remarked:

The actors are the opinion leaders, of which I am one. They include assembly members, unit committees, Imam and other religious leaders, and the tribal/ethnic chief [Community leader, 69 years, KII].

The actors and powerbrokers present some criteria that the communities have imposed on their leaders and expect of them. The criteria were presented by an informant as:

It is also about how influential you are in the community, your ability to intervene in matters and be listened to [Community leader, 65 years, KII].

The issue of longevity came up strongly as intimated by this key informant as:

One's longevity also makes you an automatic leader if you exemplify all of the above. The reason is the early settlers know the boundaries of the community well and how it all began [Community leader, 69 years, KII].

A household head remarked that some actors are rendered ineffective because they are culprits in the illegalities and remarked;

....In terms of governance especially issues around rearing of livestock in the community, since assemblyman is part, he has challenges controlling others. (Adult household head, 49 years, Tulaku)

The above quotations suggest that the residents had an erroneous impression about who an actor was. These opinions could adversely affect their levels of reception to national and regional actors who might want to undertake interventions in the communities. Discussed in the subsequent sections are the opinions of the respondents about the roles and functions of the actors.

National Level Actors

Key informants at both local government authority and civil society explained that national actors operate at the national level but their activities and actions influence the slum dwellers. The national actors as shown in Table 14 were the ministries of Local Government, Decentralisation and Rural Development; Water Resources Works and Housing; Lands and Natural Resources; Gender, Children and Social Protection; and civil society organisations and development partners such as OXFAM Ghana, NIMCOSS, IDEG, UN-Habitat and People's Dialogue.

Ministry of Local Government, Decentralisation and Rural Development

The official of the ASHMA acknowledged that these national actors collaborate with the municipal assembly and some local NGOs to implement development programmes. The development partners and CSOs, for instance, carry out direct implementation with the assembly and some local NGOs. The respondents made reference to these national actors in different ways. They claimed that the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development

awarded contracts at the national level on behalf of the local assembly, thereby limiting their levels of participation in such projects. The CSO key informants indicated that the Ministry of Local Government, Decentralisation and Rural Development was responsible for the promotion of government policies and projects in the municipality and region.

It further promotes governance and balanced rural-based development. For instance, the ministry was to ensure that public places of convenience were provided in lorry parks and in slum communities. However, in the case of the two communities, respondents' reference to the ministry awarding contracts directly with no involvement or input from the residents as a major concern. They felt the ministry was not performing its supervisory and policy functions well. A key informant remarked that;

Of late, all you see is a contractor move to site and when you ask they tell you the contract was awarded to them from Accra. We no longer take part in deciding what our needs are....
[Community leader, 69 years, KII].

Another key informant remarked as follows:

The ministry is not performing its role at all. Can you imagine the ministry awarding contract for the construction of a public toilet for residents of Official town area in Community 22 where they have no need for public toilets. The project has become a white elephant as it is too far from the residents [Community leader, 35 years, KII].

The above quotations implies that the MLGD&RD, which is required to ensure local level participation rather does not involve the residents in project planning

and implementation. The situation had culminated in the lack of ownership for projects executed by the ministry. The informants at the ASHMA reluctantly confirmed the situation. According to the informant, the project was not restricted to the study areas but it was the project approach adopted by the ministry for a number of beneficiary communities nationwide. This is in line with the theory of participation espoused by Hamdi and Goethert (1997) which states that citizens' participation is an act responding to public concerns, voices and opinions about decisions that affects them. The citizens of Ashaiman boycotted the toilet facility because they felt their concerns were not addressed properly.

Ministry of Water Resources, Works and Housing

The key informants also mentioned the Ministry of Water Resources, Works and Housing (MWRWH) as an important national stakeholder in the study areas. They noted that the ministry was responsible for the provision of decent housing and shelter. The participants in Tulaku particularly made reference to the ministry of water resources, works and housing in respect of their instrumental role in the Slum Upgrading Facility project. They explained that the MWRWH supported the UN-Habitat Slum Upgrading Facility project in Tulaku called the Amui Dzor Housing Development project with cash donation an amount of GH29, 714 in the form of subsidy towards the project and ensured the waiver of some permits for construction to begin. This finding is supported by project reports submitted to the UN-Habitat and MWRWH (TAMSUF Report, 2009). A key informant remarked;

During the SUF project, the Ministry of Works and Housing supported the project well, that is how come we now have this

facility which is serving individuals and the community with a child welfare clinic located there (Community leader, 65 years, KII).

Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection

Key informants from both civil society organisation and a community leader mentioned the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MGCSP) as a key actor in their activities in the community. They claimed the ministry was responsible for the protection of women, children and the vulnerable, which corroborates the core mandate of the ministry. According to the community leader and some of the key informants, the ministry supports women and women's groups in the municipality. The key informants indicated that the Federation of Urban Poor which was a women led group had received support directly from the ministry. The key informant cited the example of how the federation received direct support during the COVID-19 pandemic. They reported that they were recognised by the ministry and got invitations to attend women's programmes at the national and sometimes international levels. The key informant remarked as follows:

As the women's leader with all my executives being women, we receive a lot of invitation to important state functions and programmes including invitations to participate in programmes organised by the Women's ministry [Community leader, 56 years, KII].

The quotation suggests that women and vulnerable groups within the study areas recognised the ministry of gender, children and social protection as a major

actor in the decentralised local governance system through their recognition and participation in events organised by the ministry.

OXFAM Ghana

Respondents from the two communities made reference to Ibis Ghana West Africa now OXFAM/IBIS an international non-governmental organisation, which played a key role in the development of their respective communities. The key informants talked about how the international NGO sought to strengthen local governance with a focus on the zonal council, which comprised the sub-structures of the local government authority. The respondents indicated that the NGO supported the youth in the study areas and Ashaiman as a whole. One community key informant noted that through the Ibis intervention which sought to build capacities of assembly members, unit committees and the youth in Ashaiman, two of the beneficiaries later gained appointments as the chief executive officer of the municipality. The sitting chief MCE was also a beneficiary of the youth training organised by Ibis through NIMCOSS. This was corroborated by a local government key informant in these words:

Ibis made Ashaiman what it is! Out of their intervention, two chief executive officers emerged as beneficiaries of the numerous training programmes [ASHMA, 38 years, Female].

Oral histories from key informants from the two communities indicate that Ibis made a lasting impression on the communities. According to the key informants, Ibis implemented a programme called Public Participation in Local Governance (PPLG) in Ashaiman. This programme afforded the residents the opportunity to receive direct training, support and implements for regular clean-up exercises

and community engagements. This was corroborated by a key informant who was then a youth leader in Manmomo;

I was part of the Ashaiman Youth Coalition at the time and received so much training that made us a powerful force to reckon with in the community [Community Leader, 54 years, KII].

These quotations demonstrate the importance of capacity building support given to communities either through direct support or through training programmes. Ibis as an NGO according to records implemented its rights-based approach to development in the communities. The proposition of the theory of participation provided an opportunity for these residents to participate in the developmental agenda in their communities. This is because the NGO's strong community engagement led to the establishment of well-structured zonal council, which is a sub-structure of the municipal assembly.

The civil society key informants explained the Ibis programme approach was the rights-based approach to development. According to the informant, Ibis focused on building capacities of the local government functionaries in the communities, recognised leadership of associations, professional bodies and youth groups. This is supported by project reports which stated that Ibis believed, that all humans as citizens have a right to decent living conditions, respect for their culture and a right to participate in decision making that affects their life. The interactions show that, Ibis also believed that citizens have responsibilities towards the development of their society. These responsibilities outlined by the key informants include respect the rules and laws, participation in electoral processes and payment of taxes. A key informant revealed that Ibis

promoted the understanding of a dual rights-and-duties relation, which fundamentally is the basic social contract in all democratic societies.

Nimba Community Support Services

According to a civil society organisation key informant, the Nimba Community Support Services (NIMCOSS), had an intervention in the Ashaiman municipality with funding from Ibis. As a programme officer of the civil society organisation (NIMCOSS), he had direct interactions and engagements with the residents of the two communities. According to him, NIMCOSS was instrumental in the governance processes of the study communities. He stated that their mission as an organisation was to create innovative and strategic opportunities for the urban poor to improve their environmental and human well-being. These were achieved through training, advocacy, networking, action-oriented research and implementation of other direct user-led projects.

According to the CSO key informant, NIMCOSS activities focused on deepening local governance through, among others, creating platforms for participatory civic engagement, facilitating capacity building of local government authorities and other civil society actors, and advocacy; while empowering the youth and women through their mobilisation for active participation in governance, technical and vocational skills training schemes and micro - credit support facilitation.

A community leader who doubles as a key informant shared his experience with the NIMCOSS flagship project in Manmomo of which he was a beneficiary. According to him, NIMCOSS, created a platform called the Youth Governance Fora. This forum was designed to include the youth in

governance process and promote popular participation in local governance towards demanding social accountability and responsiveness of public officials and service providers alike at the community level. This civic engagement platform served several purposes including deepening the nature of the interrelationship between the youth, tradesmen and women and welfare associations on the one hand, and the political structures in the localities on the other.

Then another purpose he intimated was that the fora was used to articulate, define and develop the continuing functioning of local government structures and how they were used to mobilise the various community groupings for the development of their localities. The fora also met the needs of the residents in the area of informed governance and ensured that all key actors in the governance space of the localities participated in the governance of the communities. He stressed that these fora were a great platform where all the key agencies and personalities in the study communities and Ashaiman as a whole sought to have a turn to explain their programmes and activities and rendered the stewardship of their respective agencies to the citizens. He remarked as follows;

NIMCOSS really empowered us and that is how come I am a key actor in the local government system representing my community. I am confident because I received numerous trainings from NIMCOSS. [Community Leader, 65 years, KII]

Civil society organisations play a crucial role in communities by complementing functions of government. These quotations were confirmed by project reports from Ibis which stressed the importance of the rights-based

approach to development. As discussed in the contextual analysis, there are expanding roles for civil society organisations' engagement with the public sector. However, this must be understood in the context in which civil society organisations have operated over the years. Many development organisations have run parallel programmes to the District Assemblies, providing direct services to local communities. This has been necessitated by the high level of poverty, especially in the rural areas and slum communities of the country, and as a result, citizens' understanding of the role of government has been much weaker.

The Rights-based approach to development is a relatively new and challenging endeavour for many civil society organisations willing to engage with public sector institutions to facilitate the respect and responsiveness of these institutions to the rights of citizens. This corroborates Devas (2001) claim that the role of civil society organisations in serving as checks, balances the power of the state and market; and working towards making real a vision of a just, decent society at the local level is very recent and not entrenched.

Institute for Democratic Governance

A CSO key informant listed the Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG) as a key actor in the Ashaiman community at large and the two communities in particular. When asked what role IDEG played in the study areas, he indicated that IDEG received support from Ibis to deepen the interface between local civil society organisations and public sector institutions, notably the MMDAs in the PPLG programme areas, for effective delivery of basic social services using the deliberative democracy methodology.

The key informant further intimated that IDEG facilitated the mobilisation of civil society actors in forming effective ad hoc coalitions, made up of development and advocacy NGOs and organised labour associations, against economic and social policies that were deemed detrimental to the well-being of the slum dwellers. In order to achieve this goal, the key informant explained that IDEG organised the Governance Issues Forum (GIFs) in Ashaiman to empower the youth to exact accountability from the duty bearers. The CSO key informant confirmed the finding as a true reflection of their activities in Ashaiman and remarked:

IDEG organised the governance issues forum (GIF) and we have produced some reputable CSO leaders from that platform who are playing key roles not only in their community but also in the country at large [CSO, 58 years, KII].

The quotation confirms insights from the principal-agent theory which explains that principals demand accountability from the agents once they are empowered.

UN-Habitat SUF project

Respondents from Tulaku made reference to the UN-Habitat Slum Upgrading Facility (SUF). The respondents were all full of praise for the project because it provided dwelling units for beneficiary slum dwellers. The key informant reported that the slum dwellers participated in the planning, design and implementation of the project. He was quick to add that he was the manager of the facility. According a civil society key informant, the SUF project was a technical cooperation and seed capital facility with a central objective to mobilise domestic capital for slum upgrading projects and its activities such as community mobilisation towards the construction of physical projects.

The CSO key informant explained that the SUF programme in the Urban Finance Branch of UN-HABITAT worked to provide business solutions to social and affordable housing which was piloted in four countries: Ghana, Sri-Lanka, Indonesia and Tanzania. She further noted that the programme was initiated by the UN-HABITAT to meet the then Millennium Development Goals on slums, Goal 7, Target 11, and assist national and local governments to raise sustainable funding for the upgrading and prevention of slums.

According to the key informant, unfortunately, after the successful project in Tulaku, it was not replicated or scaled-up, not even in other slum communities as this was a pilot phase. When pressed to explain why the project had not been replicated, he claimed that the unavailability of land was the major challenge although the Tema Traditional Council and TDC initially had allocated land for replication within the Tulaku community. These claims were confirmed by the People's Dialogue and GHAFUP representative. UN-Habitat reports carefully documented the entire process in their newsletters and working papers. The CSO key informant remarked:

We are still in discussions with the land owners regarding the replication of the successful project. Land tenure issues is a major headache and negotiations can last forever [CSO, 47 years, KII].

The quotation above supports claims about land tenure issues and why slum dwellers were reluctant to commit resources to develop their communities. It further confirms Turok and Borel-Saladin's (2018) findings that slum dwellers are prepared to improve their housing and living area if they have tenure security.

People's Dialogue

Respondents in Tulaku were impressed with role played by People's Dialogue (PD) in their community as a formidable federation. According to the key informant, PD facilitated their mobilisation and establishment of the federation while building their capacities to enable them effectively and efficiently manage their affairs after some years of direct mentorship and coaching. A key informant remarked:

If not for PD, we would not be this attractive federation that is sought after by financial institutions. We have a savings scheme which has enabled us to mobilise a lot of funds to revolve amongst us at an affordable interest rate [Community leader, 56 years, KII].

The aforementioned narrative was validated by similar findings from studies of grassroots led development carried out by Satterthwaite (2004) and Mitlin and Patel (2014). Slum dwellers who are able to mobilise financial resources through revolving savings programmes, in the opinion of the authors, may positively influence development policies and promote development.

Regional Level Actors

The regional level actors form the intermediary between the national level actors and the local level actors. They are the Tema Development Company (TDC) and the Ghana Federation of the Urban Poor (GHAFUP).

Tema Development Company

The respondents from the two communities mentioned the Tema Development Company (TDC) and Ghana Federation of the Urban Poor (GHAFUP) as key actors who played critical role in the slums. According to a CSO key informant, TDC was the custodian of most of Ashaiman land as well

as being responsible for the planning and re-zoning of lands in the Tema – Ashaiman areas. He indicated that some of TDC’s functions in terms of planning and re-zoning tends to conflict with the core functions of the municipal assembly under the Local Governance Act, Act 2016 (Act 936) and the LI 1889 that establishes the assembly. According to the key informant, this confusion in roles has become a bone of contention which affects the enforcement of development planning exercises within the study communities. The finding corroborates earlier quotations by ASHMA key informants on the seeming conflicting functions between the two agencies.

To further buttress the point of the conflict in functions, another key informant stated:

TDC is always on us for the payment of ground rent which we religiously pay. Revenue officers from ASHMA also comes here to request for similar payments. This is quite confusing for many slum dwellers [Community leader, 54 years, KII].

The quotation supports King and Amponsah’s (2012) finding on the conflicting roles that often erupt between regulatory agencies mandated to manage the local government area.

Ghana Federation of the Urban Poor

The respondents listed the Ghana Federation of the Urban Poor (GHAFUP) as a key actor. Some of the key informants explained that the federation has been responsible for mobilising slum dwellers across the country and region, promoting the culture of savings amongst slum dwellers, and advocating for the protection from eviction. A key informant noted that the federation had sound financial muscle such that it has become an attraction to

financial institutions but rejected such offers knowing very well that it might lead to an increase in the interest rate paid by the slum dwellers, thereby continued to run their own revolving loan scheme. She stated that:

The banks have been chasing us with loans but we don't need that. We have enough savings and our own interest rate which is not exploitative. We receive support from our mother association Slum Dwellers International (SDI) [Community leader, 56 years, KII].

Municipal Level Actors

Key informants from the two communities identified three municipal level key actors in the governance of the slums namely; the Ashaiman Municipal Assembly; Federation of the Urban Poor - Ashaiman Branch; and the Amui Dzor Residents Association. ASHMA key informant made reference to the assembly's mission statement which states that it "exists to improve the living standards of its citizenry through effective planning and, resource mobilization in collaboration with all stakeholders, to provide general socio-economic, infrastructure and basic services in an environmentally sustainable manner" (ASHMA, 2021).

Some of the community level key informants claimed that the assembly was ineffective in the discharge of its mandate. For instance, a community leader key informant sharply criticised the municipal assembly for not living up to its mission. According to him, the assembly hardly listens to the residents and shared these words:

Much as the assembly recognises this association, they are not responsive to our requests and needs [Community leader, 69 years, KII].

Another key informant from Tulaku explained that the only time the assembly actively engaged the residents was during the UN-Habitat Slum Upgrading Facility Project. According to him, since that time, they reach out to the assembly with their request to no avail. A community leader narrated it as this:

After the construction of the SUF project, we lobbied hard to get the road in front and by the side done to make the facility accessible. Although it has been done it is yet to be tarred, and because it is motorable, we have so many cars using it and creating so much dust for the residents [Community leader, 65 years, KII].

To further stress the non-responsiveness of the municipal assembly to their overtures, an informant stated that:

The last time the assembly reached out to us was during the COVID-19 pandemic if my memory serves me right [Community leader, 56 years, KII].

The quotations emphasized the low levels of community participation on the part of ASHMA aside from complementing the efforts of the UN-Habitat SUF project.

Amui Dzor Housing Cooperative and Amui Dzor Residents Association

Interactions with a key informant in Tulaku revealed that an association called The Amui Dzor Housing Cooperative was formed and had since been very active and vibrant in the Tulaku community. He said it was an association

of the residents and beneficiaries of the SUF project. According to him, the SUF project was a mixed used residential commercial facility and was fully occupied. The key informant stressed the importance and influential role played by this cooperative in ensuring the UN-SUF project was done. He claimed the residents were encouraged to form the association because they had made initial deposits for the acquisition of the dwelling units from their savings and needed to be actively involved to ensure its completion, and handing over as well as management of the facility. He remarked that:

We had to form the association to ensure the facility is well-maintained and there is order. I also coordinate the repayment of the loan facility to ensure no one defaults in the payment of the dwelling units purchased [Community leader, 56 years, KII].

According to the key informant, members of the Amui Dzor Housing Cooperative were made up of the residents of the facility and the shop owners. These are the 13 households and 15 commercial tenants including a health post which caters to the needs of the entire community. The key informant claims that the municipal assembly was even a tenant of the cooperative. When asked how, he said they acquired a shop and used it as a child welfare clinic for the community. This claim was confirmed by the ASHMA official who remarked that;

The SUF project was a very useful project. Even the assembly is a beneficiary as we approached the cooperative for an office space to house a child welfare clinic for the community and they willingly offered us space [ASHMA, 38 years, female].

A CSO key informant gave an oral history of the project and the instrumental roles played by several actors. He said that, together with the TAMSUF Board, the People's Dialogue on Human Settlements (PDG), the Ghana Federation for the Urban Poor (Ashaiman Branch), and the Amui Dzor Housing Cooperative Society they constructed a mixed used commercial residential facility in the Amui Dzor area in Tulaku, Ashaiman.

Figure 12 is the front view of three-storey irregular shaped building with a total gross floor area of 1,236m² referred to as the Amui Dzor mixed-use residential-commercial facility. According to him, the facility comprised the following: 15 Commercial units for rent, a commercial toilet and bath facility for use by the general public, 5 number two-bedroom self-contained apartments, 26 Chamber and Hall facilities, a communal toilet and bathing facility specifically for the occupants, individual kitchens for 26 chamber and Hall units. The key informant further stated that the selling price per Chamber and hall unit was GHS7,030.15 and the self-contained apartment was GHC14,060.30 when the exchange rate was \$1: GHS1.4. Whilst the MWRWH also supported the project with an amount of GHS29,714 which was a form of subsidy towards the project corroborating the facts in the TAMSUF Report, 2010.



Figure 12: Amui Dzor mixed use residential-commercial facility constructed by UN-Habitat Slum Upgrading Facility

Source: Author, 2021

Local Level Actors

Interactions with some key informants listed the following as key actors in the study areas. These included the slum entrepreneurs, assemblyman, unit committees, Imam and other religious leaders, and the tribal heads/ethnic chief as key actors in the local governance system. According to the key informant, these actors helped bring peace and order in the community and also contribute to the welfare of the people. Discussed in the subsequent sections are the findings in connection with these actors.

Slum entrepreneurs “*slumpreneurs*”

Interactions with the CSO key informants revealed a class of actors referred to as the “real powerbrokers” in the slum community. According to one CSO official, the slum entrepreneurs also called *slumpreneurs* provide sustenance and other basic necessities of life such as accommodation, public bathhouse, public toilets, vendors of water and electricity and above all protection. It was revealed that slum entrepreneurs mostly did not reside in the

community but had agents and representatives who reported the happening of the slums to them. It was further learnt that the *slumpreneurs* were purely business men and women with a clear motive to make profit. One key informant made these observations:

Then the slum lords are really the lords; they run things, control things, and move things in the slums, so in terms of security, protection, enforcement, and everything that revolves around the slum, they are in charge [CSO, 47 years, IDI].

Another CSO key informant also noted that;

So, I am probably differentiating them into social powers, physical, and economic (market women, businesswomen) who also wield a certain force in the community. They normally vend food and provide sustenance to the community and are very important [CSO, 44 years, IDI].

These quotations support Paller's (2019) finding that informal slum dwellers rely on informal networks for protection. He claims slum dwellers devised various coping strategies to deal with the insecurities in the community. As indicated by the key informant, the *slumpreneurs* provide security, protection, enforcement of their own laws and everything that revolves around the slum. These findings further confirm the conceptual framework (Figure 5), which shows the power relations between these actors in the slum community. The findings showed the close link between slum dwellers using formal and informal channels to ensure engagement with institutions to achieve the desired local governance system where active participation, effective leadership, improved

security, service provision, improved livelihood, tenure security and sustainability is achieved.

Another community key informant stressed the importance of *slumpreneurs* especially the women in the community. She supported the claim that these slum entrepreneurs can be categorised into social, physical and economic powers. She emphasised that women played a crucial role in the communities whereby they provided sustenance in the form of food vending. Food vending was visible all over the two slums, and all had huge patronage as was observed during the transect walk. The key informants who happened to be a food vendor decried the unpaved nature of their roads which frequently led to dusty conditions (Figure 13). She stressed not a kilometre of stretch of their roads was paved, thus affecting their food vending business.



Figure 13: Unpaved streets of Tulaku

Source: Author 2021

The finding confirms that of Osae et al. (2022) about the bustling 24/7 local economy in Ashaiman. Slum dwellers live a fast life and are always on the move in search of survival. To further stress the importance of *slumpreneurs*, another key informant remarked:

Slumpreneurs are there making money by providing hotel services and run restaurant and these are all people who don't live in the slums (90%). They are purely business people and they find that place as market. Some people run commercial bathrooms, sell water, and electricity. They get it at a wholesale, and they retail to the slum dwellers [CSO, 47 years, IDI].

The above statement supports the claim of Jankowska et al. (2012) that slums present a range of vulnerabilities and capabilities. The *slumpreneurs* provide infrastructure and services in the form of social amenities that will help improve the living conditions of dwellers. These include provision of accommodation, water and electricity, commercial bathrooms and toilets and entertainment centres. These were all observed to be active and enjoying brisk patronage in the slum. Field observation also supports Chalfin's (2014) position that the governance and management of resources in the broader context of claiming a right to the city and the emergence of civic life, opens new possibilities for leadership, political authority and distributive politics.

Assembly members

All the key informants mentioned the assembly members, zonal council and the unit committee members as key actors in the decentralised local governance system. According to an ASHMA official, the role of an assembly member is enshrined in the Local Governance Act 2016, (Act 936). He noted

that Sections 7 and 16 provide some details on who an assembly member is and what his/her duties are respectively. Specifically, Section 7 spells out the qualification and disqualification of members of the District Assembly, while the Section 16 discusses the duties of an assembly member. This is supported by the illustration of the assembly members' role shown in Figure 4 in the structure of local government system. The key informant stressed that Section 16 requires assembly members to maintain close contact with the electoral area of the District Assembly, consult the electoral area on issues to be discussed in the assembly, collate their views, opinions and proposals and transmit same to the assembly. A community key informant claimed that the assembly member, to a large extent, performs the functions spelt out in Section 16 of the Act. A respondent remarked;

Hmm... I think the Assembly member is very critical in the decision-making space. When it comes to more formal and organised issues, then you see the Assembly member
[Community leader, 56 years, KII].

This supports earlier claims by community key informants about the roles and functions of assembly functionaries. The assembly member is seen as the father or mother of the community. Expectations of the assembly member is very high as there is the belief that he/she must raise funds to develop the area. This is guided by the principle of voluntarism and communal ways of self-help development which was the underlying principle in 1988 (Ahwoi, 2010). However, this belief and practice have no basis nor place in modern day democratic practice yet has become a norm.

Zonal Council and Unit committee members

The respondents affirmed that the unit committee member was very much closer to the slum dwellers and therefore, a key factor in the decentralised local governance system. The key informant noted that the unit committee members are closest to the community and report issues of concern to the assembly through the zonal council (see Figure 4). In Tulaku for instance, the assembly member indicated that he relied heavily on the support of his two-unit committee members to govern the community. This was corroborated by a key informant who remarked that:

The assembly person works closely with his unit committee who regularly update him on pressing issues such as reporting the death of a destitute, theft case and any other issue that warrants his attention and intervention [Community Leader, 56 years, KII].

The quotation is consistent with what is enshrined in the Local Governance Act of 2016 (Act 936) where unit committees are expected to be instrumental in the governance of local areas.

Opinion leaders

Some key informants noted that opinion leaders comprising religious leaders, tribal heads and influential persons in the community were key actors depending on the issue at stake. A CSO key informant shared his experience of how an influential opinion leader took charge during the COVID-19 pandemic. During the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, it was initially difficult restricting movement of people in the community, so the police resorted to relying on respected and influential opinion leaders, who encouraged their followers to

respect the directives issued by the President and the protocols. He remarked as follows:

During the lockdown, when they established a market at the Mandela park, an opinion leader called Chairman K actually controlled the people, and enforced the social distancing. They were even recognised by the police [CSO, 58 years, IDI].

The quotation suggests that individuals who wield much authority and power are deemed powerbrokers as the community respects them. A key informant named an individual who wielded so much influence in the community as;

The Alhaji who constructed the China Mall, for instance, is a powerbroker and very influential in the community [ASHMA, 38 years, Female].

The ASHMA key informant claims that the aforementioned person has been in talks with some of the Tulaku settlers to purchase their land and build an ultra-modern truck park for the Ashaiman Municipality, which would be a scale replica of the Accra Mall. She went on to say that the goal of the project was to make it easier for well-known local artists such as Stonebwoy and his Bhim Nation Movement, to perform in the neighbourhood. According to her, Stonebwoy is a well-known dance hall performer who resides in the Ashaiman community and has been hosting annual concerts that have drawn thousands of visitors from all over the nation. This artiste has made it an annual affair which has elevated the status of the municipality, according to other community key informants and respondents. For this reason, the private owner intended to relocate the people occupying the area of land at Tulaku in order to build a facility that would support this performance. Wang (2022) found that expanding

elite development projects in slum areas have resulted from the privatisation of public land, which supports this finding.

When asked who a powerbroker was in their opinion, a community key informant described the powerbroker as an influential person in the community who wields authority and contributes to the running of the community. According to him, one can only contribute and influence decisions if recognised by the slum dwellers as having what it takes to intercede on their behalf. He stressed that such opinion leaders be they tribal heads, religious leaders and influential persons must be persons recognised by local police and other state agencies. This was observed by a community key informant:

As I sit here you can tell I am a powerbroker. Tribal heads together with other chiefs and the Traditional Council all respect me. Also, our religious leaders including Imams and Pastors as well as some opinion leaders wield authority [Community leader, 69 years, KII].

The key informant at ASHMA noted that the assembly also recognised the following stakeholders as actors who are officially in their database. These actors were:

- i. Council of Churches;
- ii. Council of Charismatic Churches;
- iii. Lebanon Landlords Association;
- iv. Dressmakers & Tailors Association;
- v. Beauticians & Hairdressers Association;
- vi. Ashaiman Women in Progressive & Development;
- vii. Tribal heads –

- Moslem Council,
 - Ewe Council,
 - Ga-Dangme Council,
 - Akan Council;
- viii. Trade & Businesses Association –
- Artisans Associations (e.g. welders),
 - Truck pushers Association,
 - Drivers Union,
 - Tipper Drivers Association;
- ix. Moslem Youth Association;
- x. Federation of Ashaiman Youth;
- xi. Market Associations –
- Mandela Market,
 - Main market,
 - Valco Flat,
 - Adjei Kojo Junction; and
- xii. Ashaiman Federation of the Urban Poor.

Levels of Influence of Actors and Power Brokers in Slum Governance

The level of influence in decision making largely depends on recognition and the respect one commands in the community as claimed by community key informants. This came to light when a community key informant remarked:

If the community does not recognize you; it will be difficult to make an impact in the community. But once you have their recognition, then you are able to influence decisions and

participate in the governance process. The assembly recognises the importance of the community leaders to reach out to the people, so they always involve us in their activities [Community leader, 69 years, KII].

Buttressing the importance of the assembly involving these key actors in assembly decisions, a CSO key informant made reference to Act 936 of 2016.

The respondent remarked;

Maybe some of the necessary actions have to be the obligatory nature, because they have Act 936 on their side, so the Municipal Assembly has to oblige to them [CSO, 58 years, IDI].

The Local Governance Act 2016 (Act 936) makes it obligatory for local government authorities to reach out to their communities. The law provides various avenues for engaging citizens including the use of social media. The key informant noted that the Municipal Assembly was not taking advantage of the various social media platforms already created in the communities to engage the community members in discussions and seek their opinion. A community leader key informant noted that, they have created so many WhatsApp platforms to share information and network. These platforms were available for the local government structure to utilise. However, ASHMA still resort to the formal ways of communicating with them, which were not effective in this technological age, where almost everybody owns a mobile phone of a sort. She said that the slum dwellers themselves were engaging with themselves at various levels through different means.

According to the CSO key informant, even the religious leaders who also have a captive audience were taking advantage of social media to reach out

to their members. He said the youth also used social media to engage and interact amongst themselves. Key informants from Tulaku and Manmomo stressed the importance of using new media, especially whatsapp platforms to share information, network, raise funds and educate themselves. The respondents wondered why the Municipal Assembly was yet to adopt this approach. A community key informant remarked;

The assembly is not engaging the community using social media, as an assembly man I have a platform to reach out to my electorates and I use that a lot [Community leader, 54 years, KII].

The youth and religious leaders noted that they actively use social media to reach out to their community. A CSO respondent summed it up in this narration:

Social media is for the young people and they use it well, and the faith-based institutions as well because they have a captive audience [CSO, 58 years, IDI].

Findings from the two communities indicate that the majority of the slum dwellers own mobile phones (98.21%), confirming the high usage of social media to engage. This is the more reason why ASHMA should take full advantage of the social media platforms to interact more with their constituents. The Municipal Assembly acknowledges the importance and ease of using social media platforms to reach out to its constituents but acknowledges the challenges associated with it. They fear the negative side would be the spread of misinformation if no safeguards are put in place. They also bemoan the cost implications on the already constrained budget of the Municipal Assembly.

Challenges of Leaders in Performance of Duties in the Slum

All the respondents and key informants responded that the leaders had several challenges in the performance of their roles in the community. The respondents mentioned a number of challenges stemming from individual, social, economic and financial issues. Leaders in the study areas were confronted with a number of challenges as the premium placed on their mandate warrants a certain lifestyle as well as expectations. An ASHMA key informant noted that a community leader must be exemplary and have a deep pocket to meet the numerous demands and needs of the community. He remarked;

I can say that the assembly member because the community sees him as a father, a Moslem also from Northern extraction, so people listen to him. Any concerns in the community comes to him, it is very involving [ASHMA, 41 years, Male].

An association leader in Tulaku expressed her concerns about the community not receiving the attention of the assembly. She recounted how their countless engagement with the assembly had not yielded results with regards drain construction and tarred roads.

The key informant noted that Tulaku could not boast of one kilometre stretch of tarred road (Figure 13), and had to experience dusty conditions in the dry season and muddy conditions in the wet season. She recounted how it took the interventions of some NGOs to support their slum upgrading programmes. According to her, a development partner facilitated the construction of roads within Tulaku that has opened up the once closed community. She expressed her frustration that since the roads were constructed it had become a thoroughfare and major route to avoid traffic. This was observed during the

transect walk in Tulaku as vehicles busily plied the road with pockets of stagnant water in potholes splashing on pedestrians and persons along the main roads. The key informant expressed their concerns:

Much as the assembly recognises this association, they are not responsive to our requests and needs [Community leader, 65 years, KII].

A key informant of the CSO explained that participation in the decentralised local governance system goes with responsiveness from both sides.

Figure 14 illustrates the relationship between the actors in the governance of slums in the Ashaiman municipality as explained by respondents and key informants in the Tulaku and Manmomo communities. This Figure demonstrates the relationship that exists between the national, municipal and local actors. It shows the direct flow of communication between these actors with the local level actors as the main actors – the assembly member, and the unit committee members on one hand, the opinion leaders comprising of the tribal heads/ ethnic leader, religious leaders and slum entrepreneurs, on the other hand. These actors work together to ensure participation in local governance at their levels of operation.

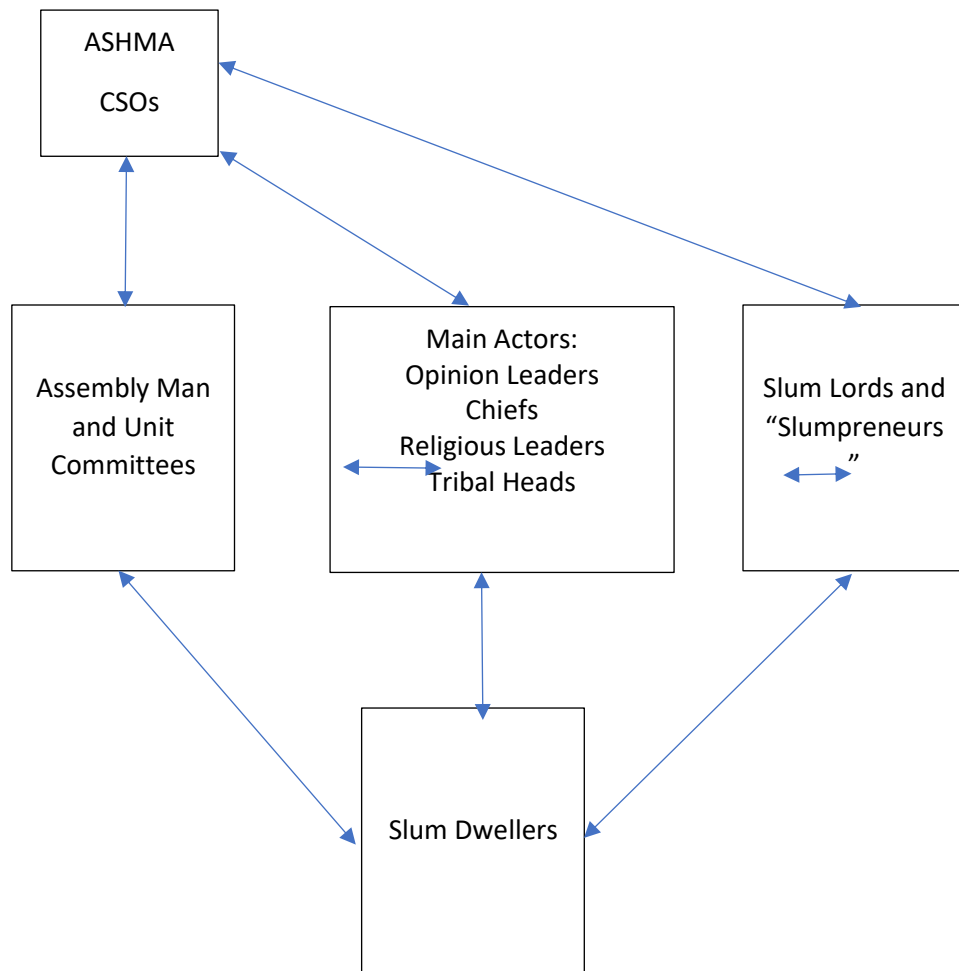


Figure 14: Relationship between the actors in the governance of slums

Source: Author's construct (2021)

Role of Other Actors in the Local Governance System

The study also found it imperative to assess the role of the other actors in the local governance system as part of Objective 2. The key activities played by the other actors included design, implementation, initiation, and planning in the local governance system. As shown in Figure 15, other actors are crucial to the start of projects within the local governance system. Less than 5 percent played a role in the design and implementation of the local governance system. Approximately 13.6 percent of the participants said that Ibis Public played a significant role in the local governance system's planning process.

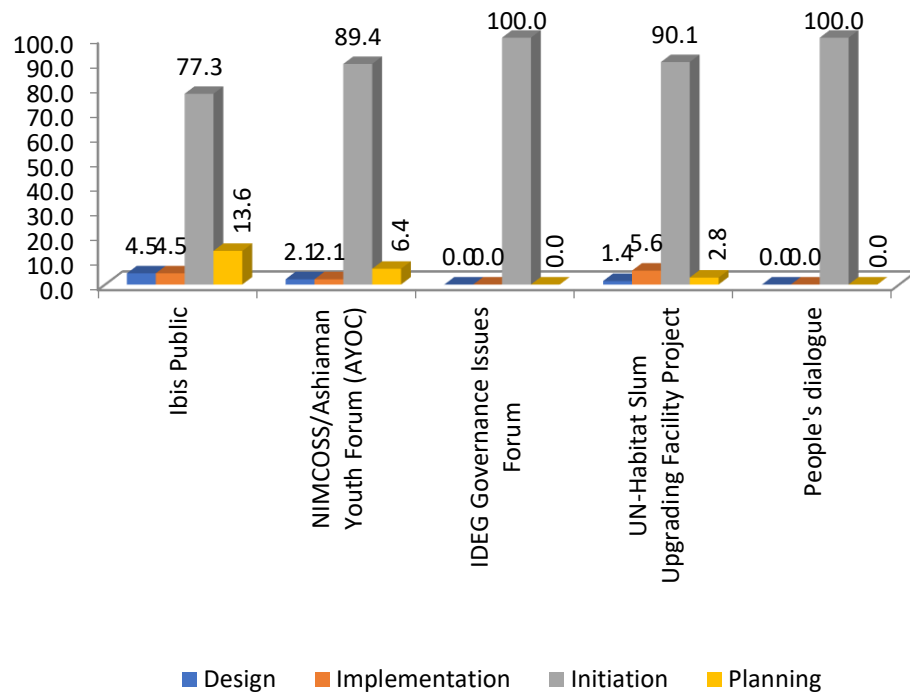


Figure 15: Role of others actors in the local governance system

Source: Field data 2021

Civil society organisations are yet to help people, groups and governing institutions meet their mutual responsibilities to the society at the local level. Civil society organisations and, by extension, the citizenry have not understood governance well. Governance has been interpreted and understood in abstract terms. There is the need for the citizenry to understand that the ability of people to vote in a free and fair elections, bolstered by informed choices, and for elected representatives to deliver on electoral promises all combine into what has been defined as governance.

Summary of Chapter

The Municipal Assembly, CSOs, and slum dwellers were found to be separated by a layer as shown in Figure 14. The Municipal Assembly works with the slum dwellers through their unit committees and assembly members. It was determined that the assembly member served as the primary mediator or interface between the municipal assembly and the slum inhabitants. Despite

being seen as powerbrokers, opinion leaders, chiefs, religious leaders, and tribe heads all had a role in the community. They contributed to the preservation of harmony and tranquillity. Slumlords, a third group having social, physical, and financial influence, were referred to as slum entrepreneurs, or *slumpreneurs*. These groups of actors were found to be influential in maintaining harmony between the communities living in poverty and in charge of supplying food for them.

In addition to these players, a few respondents mentioned that the GIFs from IDEG, People's Dialogue, NIMCOSS, Ibis PPLG, and UN-Habitat SUF project had all made a substantial contribution to the growth of local governance in the communities of Tulaku and Manmomo. The Tulaku-based GHAFUP members who benefited from the slum upgrading facility project recognized the value of communicating with the local government and financial institutions. These actors performed a variety of roles at various points in the slum dwellers' lives.

CHAPTER SIX

RELATIONSHIP AMONGST LIFESTYLE, SOCIABILITY AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE

Introduction

This chapter addresses research objective three which analyses how the slum dwellers' lifestyle, sociability, economy and local governance are linked. It focuses on the slum dwellers' living conditions, opportunities for advancement in life, the enabling environment provided by the community, how lifestyle, sociability, economy, and local governance support slum living, access to social services, and the uniqueness and vibrancy of the study areas.

Living Conditions of Slum Dwellers

Only 14.7 percent of the respondents in the two communities had access to monthly remittances. Turok & Borel-Saladin (2016) observed that the majority of slum dwellers work as industrial workers, in the informal economy, as security guards, hairdressers, or domestic workers, among other home-based enterprises, were considered to be part of those with lower incomes. They also noted that through informal networks, household incomes are raised, thereby strengthening the human capital and acting as social escalators.

In respect of the types of dwelling places occupied by the respondents shown in Table 15, the majority (80%) of them lived in houses with concrete floor, cemented exterior walls, and corrugated iron roofing. With waste disposal in the slums, about 86 percent of the respondents disposed of their waste with the help of private waste collectors. This was confirmed by the minimal burning of refuse amongst the slum dwellers (2.30%). With regard to the provision of toilet facilities, 50% of the residents relied on the use of ventilated improved

pits (VIP latrines) and these were mostly privately owned. This is confirmed by Chalfin (2023) who compares Ashaiman communities to that of Manhean and Ziginshore and described the situation as public provisioning of private sanitation. This was because most homes in the two communities and by extension the Ashaiman community do not have toilets, whether septic, plumbed, or pan latrines which had been outlawed linked to Tema metropolis centralised sewage system.

Table 15: Living conditions of slum dwellers in Manmomo and Tulaku

Housing material		Manmomo		Tulaku		All communities	
		f	%	f	%	f	%
Main floor material	Cement / concrete	221	86.7	94	69.1	315	80.6
	Earth / mud	13	5.1	36	26.5	49	12.5
	Stone / brick	4	1.6	3	2.2	7	1.8
	Tiles	12	4.7	1	0.7	13	3.3
	Wood Planks	4	1.6	2	1.5	6	1.5
	Other	1	0.4			1	0.3
Roofing material	Cement / concrete / tiles	6	2.3	17	12.5	23	5.9
	Corrugated iron (zinc / tin)	132	51.6	50	36.8	182	46.4
	Slate	118	46.1	68	50	186	47.4
	Wood	0	0	1	0.7	1	0.3
	Cement / concrete / tiles	6	2.3	17	12.5	23	5.9
Exterior wall material	Cement / sandcrete	198	77.3	45	33.1	243	62.0
	Corrugated iron (zinc / tin)	1	0.4	1	0.7	2	0.5
	Stone / burnt bricks	47	18.4	3	2.2	50	12.8
	Wood	10	3.9	87	64.0	97	24.7

Source: Field data (2021)

Almost 50 percent of the household heads reported that they had been using ventilated improved pit (VIP) latrines in the two study areas (Table 16).

Open defecation was low among the respondents (10.46%). This is in contrast to findings by Mensah et al. (2021) in the Ga East, Ayawaso West and Tema West Municipal assemblies where water and sanitation situation in squatter settlements were very poor as settlers practised open defecation and waste disposal in the nearby bush. These were confirmed by key informants from both the community and ASHMA that most households had toilet facilities or patronised public facilities in the communities.

Table 16: Sanitary conditions of slum dwellers in Manmomo and Tulaku

Description	Manmomo		Tulaku		All communities	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
<i>Solid waste disposal</i>						
Dumpsites	1	0.4	1	0.7	2	0.5
Household Dustbins	34	13.3	10	7.4	44	11.2
Other	9	3.5	0	0	9	2.3
<i>Private waste</i>						
collectors (Tricycles)	212	82.8	125	91.9	337	86
Total	256	100	136	100	392	100
<i>Types of toilet facility</i>						
Bucket Toilet	0	0	1	0.7	1	0.3
Flush to Open Sewage	20	7.8	24	17.6	44	11.2
Flush to septic tank	89	34.8	17	12.5	106	27
No Facility/Bush/field	35	13.7	6	4.4	41	10.5
Pit Latrine with Slab	2	0.8	0	0	2	0.5
<i>Ventilated Improved</i>						
Pit (VIP) Latrine	110	43	88	64.7	198	50.5
Total	256	100	136	100	392	100

Source: Field data (2021)

Reasons for Living in the Slum

Table 17 shows the reasons cited by the household respondents for residing in the slums were social cohesion, low rent, family ties, respect from

children, access to social services, proximity to work place, and longevity of stay in the slum. The majority of the respondents reported the availability of social services (94.47%) and, proximity to workplace (90.12%) and social cohesion (83.86%) as the major reasons for living in the study areas, while the least cited reason was low rent (55.16%).

Slums dwellers in the study areas contrary to findings by Mensah et al. (2021) and Paller (2019), had relatively better access to social services. This may be due to the distinctive characteristics of Ashaiman communities in general, where social services, water, and power are widely available and reasonably priced. The communities are linked to the national power grid and have a steady supply of portable water. Furthermore, there are some authorized vending enterprises where one may purchase electricity, and water that is kept in large polytanks and sold to the public by smart entrepreneurs. This confirms the assertion that slums are becoming a permanent feature of cities and urban centres, thus defeating the notion that they are temporary (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2016). Through informal networks, household incomes are raised, through the strengthening of the human capital and acting as social escalators.

About 90% of respondents said that they were close to their place of employment. Scholars such as Kisseih (2007), Asare et al (2015), ASHMA (2018), Paller (2019), Mensah et al. (2021) have also attested to the fact that Ashaiman communities supply labour to the Tema Metropolis and other areas. According to Chalfin (2023), Ashaiman's population is anticipated to have increased by more than 300,000 by 2014 as the city moved from being the bedroom community of Tema to being the main migrant catchment area of Greater Accra. In addition to municipal provisioning, the city has trouble

managing population expansion as a result of everyday newcomers to the municipality.

Table 17: Reasons for living in the slum

Reasons	Manmomo		Tulaku		Total	
	F	%	f	%	f	%
Low rent						
Yes	98	57	41	51.2	139	55.2
No	74	43	39	48.8	113	44.8
Social cohesion						
Yes	143	82.7	70	86.4	213	83.9
No	30	17.3	11	13.6	41	16.1
Access to social service						
Yes	161	93.1	78	97.5	239	94.5
No	12	6.9	2	2.5	14	5.5
Proximity to work place						
Yes	157	90.8	71	88.8	228	90.1
No	16	9.2	9	11.2	25	9.9
Children upbringing						
Yes	98	58.3	41	53.2	139	56.7
No	70	41.7	36	46.8	106	43.3
Longevity of stay						
Yes	136	79.1	60	75.9	196	78.1
No	36	20.9	19	24.1	55	21.9

Source: Field data (2021)

Some of the key informants explained that living in the study areas appears to be welcoming for most of the inhabitants. Although they believed that there are few petty thefts, it did not make the community dangerous to live in. A key informant recounted:

We have everything in Ashaiman, water, electricity and depending on where you live security, so what else do you want.

Yes, we have petty thefts around but I think it's normal with every community and there is also family around. So, for me, all of these add up to make living in Tulaku comfortable [Community leader, 54 years, KII].

Others also stated:

People are buying, people are working in the community. Home based enterprises are thriving. So, it is an economy which people have to recognize and support [CSO, 47 years, IDI].

In terms of identity and communal spirit, is so strong. The social capital is heavy. You can't find that anywhere. You will find these tribal groups. You will find these village networks. You will find these savings groups and it works. We dwell so much on the social capital in these kinds of communities. That's my understanding of what I see [CSO, 47 years, IDI].

As to what made the study areas unique, the following remarks were made:

Ashaiman is unique in several ways I already mentioned. But I'll add the closeness to the Tema Harbour and the cheap and affordable housing makes it the first attraction. Look, you can't rent a single room in Tema, but you can do that here because the price is cheap. To the extent that we even have shared rooms which is very cheap, so new entrants and young guys are able to start there and make savings to upgrade later to rent their own rooms [Community leader, 54 years, KII].

If Ashaiman was not unique, why would all the foreigner's troop here to do business [Community leader, 65 years, KII].

These observations confirm literature by Chalfin (2023), Osae et al. (2022), Asare et al. (2015) and Abu-Salia et al. (2015) that Ashaiman provided cheap accommodation and its proximity to the port city of Tema made it a first point of call to migrants to the city. A key informant in Tulaku noted:

We know ourselves very well in Tulaku and relate cordially here. But in terms of supporting each other, that no longer exists and I can attribute it to urbanisation. We have a lot of new entrants to the community who carry with them their old ways of doing things [Community leader, 49 years, KII].

The neoliberal commitment which ensures a reduction in state spending invariably affects welfare systems which is argued to be a positive way of lifting people out of poverty. So, the formation of community-based leadership and associations has helped to lift slum dwellers out of extreme poverty and given them a voice as noted by a key informant in these words.

The slum is a contested space. This whole space is highly contested and I will be naïve to conclude that all has been smooth. So, it being productive as it allows me to want to work with them more to achieve change and that's how it has been [CSO, 55 years, IDI].

The slum is a highly contested space because the slum dweller is hardworking, entrepreneurial, resourceful and self-reliant as their main aim is to improve upon their living conditions through their own investments by way of labour and capital, as long as barriers to their initiatives are removed. Since

welfarism has been cut, the slum dweller has no option but to work hard to survive in this space, hence their resourcefulness and resilience to irk out a living under any condition. This is supported by findings from Osae et al. (2022) and Mensah et al. (2021) who found the majority of squatters were engaged in economic activities in the informal sector.

The *slumpreneurs* have taken advantage of the vacuum created by the state not being able to provide welfare to slum dwellers to provide them with the needed basic services at a fee. In addition to providing basic services, they also provide security and protection for slum dwellers. This supports conclusions of Mensah et al. (2021) that state failure to bridge the economic inequalities between the urban and rural areas was a contributory factor to creating an opportunity for other actors to step in. Owusu et al. (2015) also found the distinctive feature of slums in the pursuance of multiple livelihood strategies tied to migration.

Household Assets owned by Slum Dwellers in the Tulaku and Manmomo

One's settlement may define his or her wealth and possessions. In this context, the study assessed some resources or assets owned by slum dwellers (Figure 14). The results showed that the majority of the slum dwellers own mobile phones (98.21%), television (92.35%), and refrigerator (56.63%), but few had access to motorable assets such as car (4.34%), motorbike (8.42%), bicycle (5.87%), and tricycle (2.04%). The finding does not indicate high diversity in household assets among slum dwellers, as claimed in a related study (Abu-Salia et al., 2015) in the Ashaiman Municipality. Rather, it shows that slum dwellers have better means of communication, entertainment, and storage, but may struggle to patronise private transport services because most of them

do not have vehicles. This is consistent with Paller (2019) and Asare et al. (2015), who noted that most slum dwellers have sufficient resources than most people in the city.

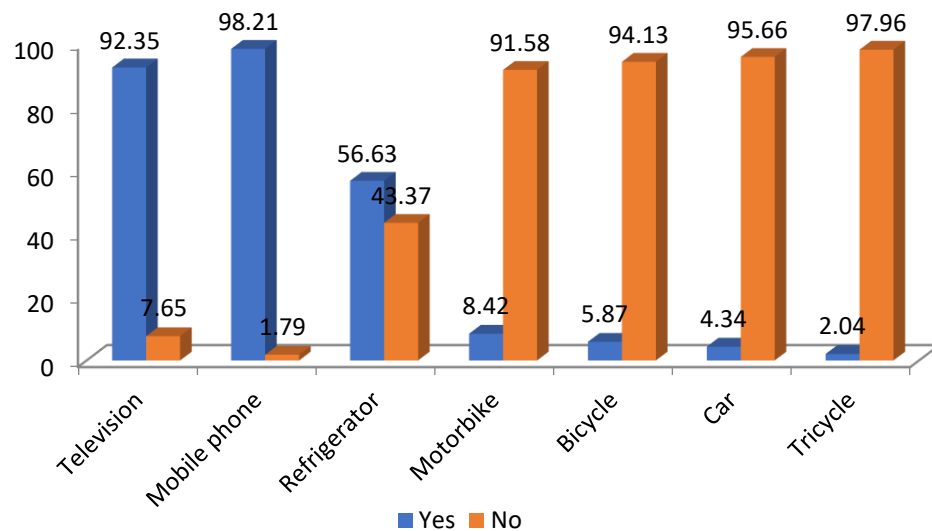


Figure 16: Household assets owned by slum dwellers in the Tulaku and Manmomo

Source: Field data (2021)

Opportunities Available to Progress in Manmomo and Tulaku

People need some opportunities to progress in life. Most often than not, people living in the slum do not have such opportunities to better their lives (Mahabir et al., 2016). Figure 17 shows that most slum dwellers indicated that they had access to sanitation systems, including public toilets (85.97%) and private waste collection systems (70.92%) that made life comfortable for them. However, 60.71 percent and 77.40 percent indicated that there was low existence of a well-built market and tarred motorable roads to enhance their livelihoods because the absence of these facilities negatively affected their businesses.

Respondents noted burning of refuse among the slum dwellers in the two communities and open defecation, which were of major concern to the

environment was minimal. The finding corroborates that of Osumanu et al. (2015) that open defecation and open space waste disposal are very common in slum areas in the Wa Municipality. A community leader key informant noted that good sanitation facilities, such as public toilets and private waste collection systems, make life easier for them. He further stated that in addition to the public toilets, individual households, through a World Bank – GIZ project, supported interested households to have their own toilets, thus helping improve sanitation issues. According to the key informant, there were opportunities for households to take advantage to construct their own toilet but not many could take advantage of it. The reasons according to the key informant were due to land tenure issues, as earlier indicated, Tulaku has tenure security issues, thus preventing majority of the residents from taken advantage of the World Bank project.

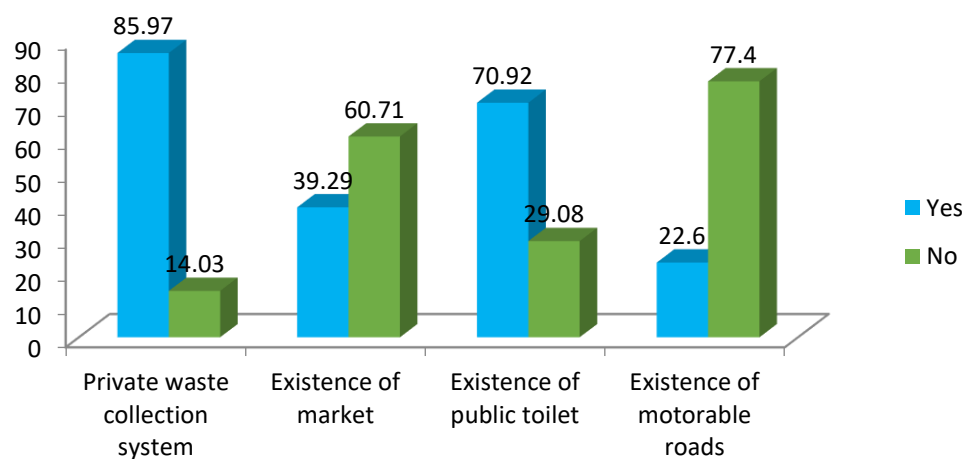


Figure 17: Opportunities available to progress in the slum in Tulaku and Manmomo

Source: Field data (2021)

The key informants on their part noted that, the slum communities offer opportunities for people to advance in life. However, they explained that this

depends on the efforts of the individual to take advantage of a particular opportunity that presents itself. Figure 18 is an entertainment centre that contributes to the revenue stream of the Municipal Assembly through the payment of tax and tolls. A community leader key informant made this observation:

There are lots of opportunities here. There's thriving business, anything you set out to do flourishes provided you are focused and do it well. So you see because of the opportunities here in Ashaiman, people from all walks of life troop into Ashaiman daily to conduct business, thus adding to the crowdedness and chaos people see [Community leader, 65 years, KII].

An ASHMA official key informant confirmed the resilience and hardworking nature of slum dwellers. He noted that slum dwellers contribute their quota to the development of local economy and must be encouraged and supported by the local government system. He described it as follows:

....ok, for the slum dwellers in terms of their contribution to the local economy, such dwellers are hardworking and pay taxes to the assembly which supports development and overhead costs [ASHMA, 41 years]



Figure 18: Entertainment centre in Tulaku

Source: Author (2021)

This was further corroborated by another ASHMA official key informant who emphasised the importance of revenues they collect from slum dwellers as taxes which goes to support the overhead costs of the assembly. She remarked that;

It will surprise you some of the slum dwellers own shops in the community from well-built shops to make shift entertainment centres. Some also undertake menial jobs, truck pushing, and hawking as economic activities to pay taxes to the assembly [ASHMA, 38 years].

The responses clearly show the assembly's interest in terms of their economic gains from the taxes and tolls collected. To the local government authority, the slum dweller was an asset as their economic activities support their operations' overhead costs. They generate income from such facilities as shown in Figure 18. This supports the argument by Nkrumah et al. (2023) that informal

settlements contribute significantly to economic and urban development through revenue mobilisation, job creation, and the provision of labour.

In further probing to understand the nature of the opportunities available, this observation was made by a key informant from the community:

Yes, it does, but is on and off if I may say. I use myself as an example. I have been a school proprietor in this community for years. However with the introduction of the Free Education policy by the Akuffo-Addo government, I have lost all my clients, in fact it has collapsed my school. Most parents removed their wards and enrolled them in public schools to benefit from the policy, leaving me with just a few that didn't make economic sense so I arranged and had them enrolled in other schools [Community leader, 69 years, KII].



Figure 19: Inside view of the entertainment centre in Tulaku

Source: Author (2021)

A respondent recounted how the government policy affected his onetime thriving business of providing education to the community. This has

necessitated changing course and exploring new avenues using the same facility for some useful venture. Figure 19 shows how the slum dweller to survive has converted one of the classrooms into an entertainment centre where customers play snooker, have gambling machines and charge a fee for watching international football matches shown on DSTV. These are smart ways of ensuring survival whilst generating income.

Slum communities' ability to provide an enabling environment for thriving businesses

The respondents explained that the community provided the enabling environment for businesses, although there were few factors that could also affect businesses adversely. They stated that situations where government or other factors affected businesses. Some of the key informants reported the following:

So depending on the business, you either flourish or collapse, and one needs to be proactive to survive. In my case, I am working on turning my facility into a vocational institute since I have lost out on the regular school education [Community leader, 69 years, KII].

An enabling environment for thriving businesses could be provided- if innovation and creativity are encouraged; municipal authorities work with local populations to find solutions to local problems; low hanging fruits and gains to improve quality of life. However, trust must be built between local populations and authorities to work together [CSO, 44 years, IDI].

Another key informant remarked:

I think I have already explained this, if Ashaiman didn't provide the enabling environment, I don't think the Syrians, Lebanese, Moroccans, Turkish, Indians and the different West African tribes engaging in business would have moved here. The population and its location attract people which are good for business. The issue is everything you sell gets buyers [Community leader, 49 years, KII].

Ok for the slum dwellers (and the Assembly as well) in terms of their contribution to the economy such dwellers are really hardworking and most of them are engaged in menial jobs in the community [ASHMA, 41 years].

The quotations support the findings from Otiso (2002), UN-Habitat (2006) and Gilbert (2009) that slum dwellers engage in menial jobs and businesses and the creativity of those who live there for survival. It is further supported by Osae et al. (2022) findings that slum dwellers are resourceful and resilient and engage in all manner of activities in the informal sector for survival.

Lifestyle, Sociability, Economy and Local Governance in the Slum

The respondents noted that life in the slum communities appeared to be flexible in everything, from the food people eat to other necessities of life. A key informant noted:

Cost of living in Manmomo is affordable, it ranges from shared rooms, single rooms and self-contained houses. It all depends on your pocket. Aside that cost of living is also very low, you can

find food to buy and eat at any time of the day, over here we don't sleep, there is a 24/7 business activity [Community leader, 44 years, KII].

Another key informant remarked:

People are not so much interested in the governance process, all they are interested in is survival, how to make ends meet on a daily basis [Community leader, 69 years, KII].

A key informant intimated:

You remember I said anything you put your hand to sells, so people are interested in working to make a little either for the day or save to upgrade themselves [Community leader, 65 years, KII].

Similarly, a respondent corroborated in these words:

I like using examples. I will use water, WASH and maybe economy. In terms of lifestyle, we are discussing a majority of people who are migrants who migrated to this settlement with the hope of making some economic gains [CSO, 44 years, IDI].

The quotation suggests that survival was key for the slum dwellers. Osae et al. (2022), Asare et al. (2015), Osumanu et al. (2015) and Abu-Salia et al. (2015) all confirm the resilience and hardworking nature of slum dwellers. A respondent aptly described them as;

They didn't come to Accra to watch the sea; they came to make money. So, we have people whose lifestyles are already modelled along getting their daily bread or making money. Some of the social trappings that guide their lifestyles have all been

broken and shattered when they are in the city. So, they have an independent life that nobody is watching [CSO, 47 years, IDI].

The respondent further stressed that they have broken their traditional lifestyles in terms of the food they eat and preferences as a result of their quest to make ends meet and make savings towards improving their lives. This has resulted in the thriving food vending business in the community as shown in Figures 20 and 21. There is also a thriving business around the water and sanitation sector (WASH) because people want to bath but do not want to own or create personal ones as depicted in Figure 20. This confirms studies by Ablo et al. (2018). A key informant explained:



Figure 20: Brisk business in Tulaku – Water vendor and Okada business

Photo: Author (2021)

So, they have broken their traditional lifestyles; the kinds of food they eat, their preferences and tastes. It creates a whole set of markets and local economy [CSO, 47 years, IDI].

This assertion validates Parnell and Robinson's (2012) assertion that neoliberal urban policy proposes a reconsideration of urban policy formulation concepts

that are closely associated with development initiatives. These communities have more access to urban opportunities because of their organised and cohesive communal structure. The communities' diversity forces them to acknowledge the significance of relationships, negotiations, and recognition for support and legitimacy. According to Osae et al. (2022), social safety—defined as the perception of one's historical and conventional ties—as well as social acceptability, social network, security, and opportunities for business were among the survival strategies (Figure 21). The slum communities in Ashaiman are made up of a variety of traits, abilities, tenacity from past survival experiences, flexibility, social capital, political clout in numbers, and a young population.



Figure 21: Food vendor in Tulaku and other table top enterprise under the umbrella

Source: Author (2021)

Accessibility to Social Services

Living in Ashaiman appears to be welcoming for most of the inhabitants. Although they believe that there are few petty thefts. This does not make a living in Ashaiman a very dangerous place to live. A key informant noted:

People are buying, people are working in the community. Home based enterprises thriving. So, it is an economy which people have to recognise and support [CSO, 47 years, IDI].

In terms of identity and communal spirit, is so strong. The social capital is heavy. You can't find that anywhere. You will find these tribal groups. You will find these village networks. You will find these savings groups and it works. We dwell so much on the social capital in these kinds of communities. That's my understanding of what I see [CSO, 47 years, IDI].

As to what makes Ashaiman unique, the following was reported in other interviews:

Ashaiman is unique in several ways I already mentioned. But I'll add the closeness to the Tema Harbour and the cheap and affordable housing makes it the first attraction. Look, you can't rent a single room in Tema, but you can do that here because the price is cheap. To the extent that we even have shared rooms which is very cheap, so new entrants and young guys are able to start there and make savings to upgrade later to rent their own rooms [Community leader, 54 years, KII].

If Ashaiman was not unique, why would all the foreigner's troop here to do business [Community leader, 54 years, KII].

These observations confirm literature by Asare et al. (2015) and Abu-Salia et al. (2015) that Ashaiman provides cheap accommodation and its proximity to the port city of Tema makes it a first point of call to migrants to the city. In a related interview again, these came to light:

We know ourselves very well in Tulaku and relate cordially here. But in terms supporting each other, that no longer exists and I can attribute it to urbanisation. We have a lot of new entrants to the community who carry with them their old ways of doing things [Community leader, 49 years, KII].

The neoliberal commitment which ensures a reduction in state spending invariably affects welfare systems which is argued to be a positive way of lifting people out of poverty. Thus, the formation of community-based leadership and associations has helped to lift slum dwellers out of extreme poverty and given them a voice.

This is a contested space. This whole space is highly contested and I will be naïve to conclude that all has been smooth. So, it being productive as it allows me to want to work with them more to achieve change and that's how it has been [CSO, 55 years, IDI].

A key informant noted that the slum is a highly contested space because the slum dweller is hardworking, entrepreneurial, resourceful and self-reliant as their main aim is to improve upon their living conditions through their own investments by way of labour and capital, as long as barriers to their initiatives are removed. She further noted that since welfarism has been cut, the slum dweller has no option but to work hard to survive in this space, hence their resourcefulness and resilience to irk out a living under any condition. The *slumpreneurs* have taken advantage of the vacuum created by the state not being able to provide welfare to slum dwellers to provide them with the needed basic services at a fee. In addition to providing basic services, they also provide

security and protection for slum dwellers. Studies by Mahabir et al. (2016) and Humphrey and Hossain (2010) support the notion that slums are contested spaces in that they are not excluded spaces but are integrated on different terms.

Uniqueness and Vibrancy of Tulaku and Manmomo

People are attracted to a particular location when that community provides opportunities and other life essentials that makes life worth living. The interactions with the respondents revealed that the two communities presented an enabling environment for the inhabitants, thereby confirming the position of Turok et al. (2016) and Jankowska et al. (2012). Respondents from the two communities indicate the uniqueness of their communities and the several opportunities it presents. A key informant remarked:

Tulaku is unique in several ways. First, anything you want is available here and anything sells too. Despite the increase in population over the years, we still know each other. The bustling economy whereby there are activities 24/7 makes living here special [Community leader, 69 years, KII].

According to respondents from Tulaku and Manmomo, despite the population growth from 190,972 in 2010 to 208,060 in the population and housing census of 2021, they still know who they are and can identify newcomers to their towns. It demonstrates the cohesive nature of the community although the respondents claimed that the communal spirit was lost to individualism due to the dictates of the time, but it was still obvious that social capital was their strength. Some key informants expressed the following;

Cost of living too is very low, in fact affordable, reason why you have lots of new entrants to the city coming to Ashaiman [CSO, 44 years, IDI].

In as much as they are all coming from diverse tribes, they are able to live together in unity, the cohesion is there so that makes the place unique [ASHMA, 41 years, Male].

Contrary to findings by Olutuah (2012) and Bird et al. (2017), that slums lack basic and essential facilities such as electricity, potable water, drainage system, schools, health facilities, and recreational grounds, yet people still found comfort living in the slum. This study found that the two communities did not lack the aforementioned basic amenities, thereby making them unique. This is because the slum has a low standard of living and its occupants are drawn there by respect and affection for one another. The respondents from the two communities indicated that they lived in houses with concrete floor, cemented exterior walls and corrugated iron roofing. According to the respondents, they had access to private waste collection systems in addition to electricity connection. These findings are in contrast to findings by Olutuah (2012) and Bird et al. (2017) in other slums, which lacked all the basic resources and facilities.

Chapter Summary

This chapter sought to establish the relationship amongst the lifestyle, sociability, economy and governance of slum. The majority of the respondents in the study area were low-income earners and live in concrete floor cemented exterior walls and corrugated iron roofing. This is not the typical description of slum residence. It further revealed that social cohesion, low rent, family ties,

respect from children, access to social services and proximity to workplace, and longevity of stay in the slum are the main reasons why people continue to live in the slum. The slum communities offer opportunities for people to tap into, as it provides the enabling environment for thriving business. Life in general in the slum communities appears to be flexible in everything from food, clothing and accommodation. The slum dweller recognises the slum is a highly contested space and as such the slum dweller is hardworking, entrepreneurial, resourceful and resilient as their main aim is to improve upon their living conditions.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The chapter presents the summary of the study, conclusions, and recommendations. The limitations of the study, contributions to knowledge and suggestions for future research are also presented.

Summary

The objective of the study was to investigate slum dwellers participation in the governance of slums within the decentralised local governance system. The study sampled 390 adult household respondents and 13 key informants from civil society organisations, the local government authority in the municipality and opinion leaders comprising assembly members, federation leaders, tribal heads, chief, influencers and religious leaders. The pragmatism philosophical paradigm was adopted as it was the ideal ontological underpinning for the study because both qualitative and quantitative data was used to address the questions.

A purposive and systematic random sampling technique was adopted because a single technique was deemed inappropriate due to the complexity and dynamics of the research. A sample interval of 13 and 14 were estimated for Tulaku and Manmomo respectively. However, a simple random sampling employing the lottery method was used to select one adult household member in homes with more than one housing unit. Both primary and secondary data was collected with interview guides and interview schedule. The quantitative data was analysed using STATA 14.0 software version with descriptive

statistics using percentages, tables, charts and graphs, while Atlas ti 9 software was used to analyse the qualitative data in themes.

The key findings of the study were as follows:

1. People who had lived in the slums for longer than 20 years were more likely to take part in the governance structure than people who had lived there for shorter periods of time.
2. The slums depended on both official leaders chosen for the decentralised local government authority structures and unofficial appointments made by well-known locals for leadership roles.
3. With the exception of activities pertaining to sanitation, the majority of slum inhabitants indicated minimal levels of participation in the formal government institutions.
4. The assembly member was the main liaison between the residents of the slum and the municipal assembly.
6. *Slumpreneurs* were influential people with social, physical, and financial status, and were known as slumlords. These actors were found to have a significant impact on upholding unity, protection and providing food for the impoverished areas. There were services in the slum including sanitation services, electricity connection, water and affordable rent, which made life comfortable for dwellers.
7. The residents recognised their slum as neglected place. The government and private investors did not channel investments to the slum, which has created avenues for *slumprenuers* to provide services to improve the lot of the slum dweller, while making profits from their endeavours.

8. Businesses in the service and trade sectors thrived in the slums as result of ready available and high consumer market due to the high population density of the two study communities.
9. The tenure insecurities of the Tulaku residents as a result of the conflicting roles between the TDC and ASHMA needs to be resolved to enhance slum dwellers inventive, creative, resourceful and entrepreneurial skills.
10. The respondents reported that the dwellers had access to water, electricity and other basic essentials, contrary to the notion that slums lack most of the basic necessities of life, thereby making the two communities unique as they offered opportunities for growth.

Conclusions

The conclusions from the findings of the study are drawn. First, the participation of slum dwellers in the decentralised local governance system was generally minimal due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the public limitations that followed. This was a major problem, as municipalities are required by the Local Governance Act, 2016 (Act 936) to involve their residents in the local community's development. In general, there was a high level of participation in the sanitation-related issues. The respondents and key informants indicated that the UN-Habitat slum upgrading facility project in Tulaku was the main initiative in which a large number of slum dwellers and the assembly participated.

Second, community leaders, particularly the *slumpreneurs*, are key actors in the slums and their involvement in local governance must be recognised. The reason for this is that by providing accommodation, food, security, and protection, they hold a considerable amount of control and power

in the administration of slums. By directly involving these important local actors in the governance of slums, Hamdi and Goethert (1997) theory of participation—which holds that participation is an act of responding to public concerns, voices, and opinions about decisions that affect them—will be confirmed and everyone's level of participation will be greatly increased.

Third, there existed tenure insecurities as a result of conflicting roles between the TDC and ASHMA. This had resulted in simmering tensions and in order to prevent any such conflicts their roles must be clearly defined. This is due to the fact that having a solid tenure enhances social interaction and lifestyle since slum dwellers may make improvements to their homes and actively participate in slum governance. Slum dwellers are inventive, creative, resourceful, and entrepreneurial due to their survival instinct, which drives them to convert anything they can get their hands on into a successful enterprise.

Recommendations

The following recommendations were made:

1. Government through the Ministry of Local Government, Decentralisation and Rural Development should take initial steps to improve the living condition of slum dwellers through the provision of education facilities, construction of drains and paved roads. The implementation of these policies and programmes can empower these slum dwellers to participate actively in the governance system of their communities.
2. The TDC and ASHMA should take immediate action to resolve the tenure security and development control concerns of the Tulaku

inhabitants in particular. Conflicting roles of the two agencies must be resolved to ensure clear mandate for each organisation by government.

3. To cure the conflict over planning and development control issues, government must convert TDC into a decentralised department to ensure it works and collaborates with the MMDAs in its jurisdiction to ensure development control is not derailed.
4. Government must take away the development control functions of the TDC to compel them to share their plans with the MMDAs.
5. The Municipal Assembly should ensure that policies to encourage participation in local governance target community leaders, especially the *slumpreneurs*.
6. The assembly must adopt modern ways such as the use of social media platforms to reach out to citizens instead of sticking to the formal and traditional ways.
7. The residents must continue to exact accountability from duty bearers to involve them in decisions that affects their very lives and existence.
8. The slum dwellers must also abide by the by-laws of the municipality. In order to ensure compliance, slum dwellers are expected to abide by basic regulations and to watch out for one another. They ought to oppose illegal activities in general that affects development control in particular.
9. Development partners should continue to complement activities of government through empowerment activities and service provision. Development partners must replicate successful development programmes such as the slum upgrading facility project.

Contributions to Knowledge

First, by studying slum dwellers interactions with the decentralised local governance system, the research advances our understanding of the subject. The study provided information, in particular, regarding the different powerbrokers and stakeholders involved in the governance of the slums and how *slumpreneurs*' efforts promote slum development and a thriving local economy.

Second, the application of the theories of the cul-de-sac, the path-ways-out-of-poverty, and the slum of hope and despair in two study communities showed the determination of key informants and respondents to move up the social ladder and escape the cul-de-sac. The results of the study validate concepts from the principal-agent theory, which explains why, once empowered, principals require or exact accountability from their agents. The study therefore, has brought a new dimension to the application of these theories.

Thirdly, it broadens our understanding of slums, showing that they may also be lively, liveable communities rather than just filthy, hopeless colonies. This knowledge addition would enable policy makers to better understand slums and contemplate formalizing parts of them by improving them with the installation of basic infrastructure like drainage and asphalt roads.

Limitations of the Study

1. The COVID-19 pandemic and its restrictions on public gatherings posed a major limitation on the study. The researcher acquired extra personal

protective equipment such as face masks, hand sanitisers and soaps for the research assistants as well as the participants.

2. The coincidence of my data collection with that of 2021 national housing and population census data collection period where respondents complained of fatigue from interviews. With the help of some influential key informants in the two communities, we were granted audience to conduct our interviews. Two local community assistants accompanied the research assistants, thus paving way for them to collect data without any resistance.

Suggested areas for further studies

Based on the findings, further research is required in these areas:

1. Assess the impact of the powerbrokers in the slums, especially the slum entrepreneurs (*slumpreneurs*).
2. Investigate how formal institutions can use social media platforms like WhatsApp to engage and enhance participation by local residents/slum dwellers.

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APPENDICES**APPENDIX A****INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SLUM COMMUNITY LEADERS****Introduction**

The researcher is a PhD candidate at the School for Development Studies, University of Cape Coast. She is conducting a research on investigating slum dwellers participation in the governance of slums within the Ashaiman Municipality of Ghana with a focus on Tulaku and Manmomo communities. Your community has been selected and you are kindly to share your opinion on the issues in this interview schedule. Your responses are completely anonymous and cannot be traced back to you the respondent.

For Official Use**Code:**

Ashaiman Municipality (Tulaku/ Manmomo)

Name of Community:

Name of interviewer:

Date of Interview:

Name of Association:

Section A: Introduction**1. Background and description of respondent**

- a. Employment status.....
- b. Sex: Males/ Females:
- c. Age:
- d. Highest Level of Education:
- e. Marital Status:

Section B. Participation

1. In what ways do you participate in the decentralised local governance system?
 - a. Is it through clean-up campaigns/ exercises
 - b. Payment of local taxes
 - c. Through assemblies fee-fixing resolution consultations
 - d. Through direct engagement with the assembly
 - e. Any other (specify).....
2. In what ways does the municipal assembly involve you in their activities?
3. In your view, who participates in the municipality's activities and why?.....
4. Indicate the level at which you participate in the assembly's activities and briefly explain.
5. At what stage do you participate, is it at the initiation stage planning, design, implementation or the maintenance stages?
6. What slum upgrading activities have been made in your community Tulaku/ Manmomo in the past?
7. Briefly describe your level of involvement in the upgrade project.
8. Briefly describe the role did you play in the project?
9. Briefly describe the role you played in any of these upgrading and development projects in your community or the municipality at large - NIMCOSS/ Ashaiman Youth Forum (AYOC); IDEG Governance Issues Forum; UN-Habitat Slum Upgrading Facility project; Any other (Specify).....

10. Please indicate at which the stage you were involved as at the initiation stage, be it the planning stage, design, implementation or the maintenance stage, or you were involved at all stages. Briefly share

Section C: Actors in the governance of the slum

11. Who in your opinion are the key actors or players in this community?
12. How do you become a key actor, player or opinion leader?
13. How does one become a key actor in this community? Is it an elective position or not?
14. Why do you consider them as key actors or players? Please explain.....
15. What roles do these key actors or players play in the community?
Kindly list some
16. How effective is their role in terms of leadership?
17. How do these actors engage and interact with the municipality?
18. Kindly explain how these leaders are able to influence decisions at the assembly level?

Section D: Nexus amongst lifestyle (people), sociability (place), survival and coping strategies (economy) and governance (safety, security, harmony)

19. Does this community provide you the opportunity to progress in life?
20. How do people living in this community relate with one another?
21. Has living here got any influence on people and how they relate to each other?
22. Briefly explain how this community provides an enabling environment for thriving business?
23. What roles do the actors or key players play to ensure peace and harmony in the community?
24. In what ways has living in this community given any leverage over the other communities?
25. What makes living in your community enjoyable and fun?
26. Do you feel safe in this community?
27. In your view, how does the community co-exist with the municipal assembly?

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CORE STAFF OF ASHAIMAN
MUNICIPALITY

Introduction

The researcher is a PhD candidate at the School for Development Studies, University of Cape Coast. She is conducting a research on investigating slum dwellers participation in the governance of slums within the Ashaiman Municipality of Ghana with a focus on Tulaku and Manmomo communities. Your community has been selected and you are kindly to share your opinion on the issues in this guide. Your responses are completely anonymous and cannot be traced back to you the respondent.

Code:.....

Position in ASHMA:

Participation:

1. What is your understanding of participation?
2. Who are slum dwellers?
3. In what ways do you engage them in your activities?
4. How do they participate in your activities?
5. In what ways do the slum dwellers participate in the Municipality's activities?
6. Please indicate the forms in which they participate be it through formal or informal means?
7. What specific roles do they play?

Actors:

1. Who are the key actors the assembly engages with?
2. How does the assembly get to involve the key actors?
3. How influential are those who participate in the assembly's activities?

Nexus amongst people (lifestyle), place (sociability), economy (survival strategies) and governance:

1. Briefly describe the nature of the relationship between the assembly and the slum dwellers? Is it mutual, beneficial or hostile?
2. How would you describe the relationship between the assembly and slum dwellers?
3. How does the community provide an enabling environment to support thriving economy/ business?
4. In what ways does all of the lifestyle of the people, the place and the economy affect the governance of the community?

APPENDIX C
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS
(CSOs)

The researcher is a PhD candidate at the School for Development Studies, University of Cape Coast. She is conducting a research on investigating slum dwellers participation in the governance of slums within the Ashaiman Municipality of Ghana with a focus on Tulaku and Manmomo communities. Your community has been selected and you are kindly to share your opinion on the issues in this interview schedule. Your responses are completely anonymous and cannot be traced back to you the respondent.

For Official Use

Code:

Name of CSO:

Name of interviewer:

Date of Interview:

Section A: Participation in the decentralised local governance system

1. Slum dweller participation
 - a. Understanding of participation
 - b. Platforms, type and frequency of engagement
 - c. Decision making process
 - d. Process and practices used to facilitate engagement and participation

Section B: Actors in the governance of the slum

2. Find out how they engaged the actors in governing the slum, who these leaders were

- a. Mode of identification of leaders
- b. Process of engagement/ Court trust to engage
- c. Influence in decision making
- d. Type of relationship with leaders

Section C: Nexus amongst people (lifestyle), place (sociability), economy (survival strategies) and governance

- a. Check whether in their understanding the community provides the enabling environment for thriving economy (business) and how
- b. Probe their understanding of how the lifestyle, sociability, the economy and local governance makes living there all these years

APPENDIX D

OBSERVATION CHECKLIST

During the data collection, the researcher and assistants will observe and pay attention to the physical characteristics of participants and community in considering slum characteristics.

1. The mood of the participant.
2. Physical surroundings – house, community
3. Sanitation – cleanliness – gutters, litter, waste, filth disposal
4. Inspect drains and gutters
5. Sanitation at lorry parks, markets and public spaces within community
6. School facilities
7. Health facilities
8. Water sources
9. Road – paved, bitumen, gravel

APPENDIX E**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SLUM HOUSEHOLD HEADS****Introduction**

The researcher is a PhD candidate at the School for Development Studies, University of Cape Coast. She is conducting a research on investigating slum dwellers participation in the governance of slum within the Ashaiman Municipality. Your community has been selected and you are kindly to share your opinion on the issues in this schedule. Your responses are completely anonymous and cannot be traced back to you the respondent.

Could you please spare some time (a maximum 45 minutes) to answer the following questions?

Consent given ☐.

For Official Use

Code:

Ashaiman Municipality	Manmomo	_
	Tulaku	_
Name of interviewer		
Date of interview	write DD/MM/YY	_ _ / _ _ / _ _

**A. INTRODUCTION, HOUSING AND HOUSEHOLD
CHARACTERISTICS**

1.	Sex of respondent	1=Male; 2=Female	<input type="text"/>
2.	Age of respondent	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
3.	What is your marital status	1=Married; 2=Never married; 3=Divorced/separated; 4=Widowed	<input type="text"/>
4.	Religious affiliation	1=Christian 2= Islam; 3=Traditional; 4=None; 5=Other, specify	<input type="text"/>
5.	What is your highest education attainment?	<input type="text"/> No Schooling <input type="text"/> Primary School <input type="text"/> JHS/JSS/ Middle school <input type="text"/> SHS/SSS/ Secondary <input type="text"/> Diploma/HND <input type="text"/> Bachelor Degree <input type="text"/> Master Degree <input type="text"/> PHD and above	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
6.	What is your nationality?	1=Ghanaian 2=West Africa National 3=African National 4=Others, specify _____ —	<input type="text"/>
7.	Ethnicity of respondent	1=Ga 2=Twɔ 3=Fante 4=Adangbe 5=Ewe 6=Hausa 7=Mole-Dagbani 8=Guan	9=Grusi 10=Mande 11=Others, specify _____ <input type="text"/>

8.	How long have you lived in this community?	1 = Less than 1 year 2 = 1 – 5 years 3 = 6 years – 10 years 4 = 11 years – 15 years 5 = 16 years – 20 years 6 = more than 20 years	<input type="text"/>
9.	Who owns the house you live in?	1=Self-owned; 2=rented; 3=owned by relative;	<input type="text"/>
10.	If not owned, do you pay for rent?	1=Yes 2=No	<input type="text"/>
11.	If you pay any rent, how much rent does the household pay per month?	0000 = don't know	GHC <input type="text"/>
12.	Number of rooms occupied by you and your household (exclude kitchen if it is used as sleeping place by family)	Number: <input type="text"/>	
13.	Which of the following assets do you have in your house?	i. TV	<input type="text"/>
		ii. Refrigerator	<input type="text"/>
		iii. Phone (fixed line)	<input type="text"/>
		iv. Car	<input type="text"/>
		v. Bicycle	<input type="text"/>
		vi. Others (specify).	<input type="text"/>
14.	What is the main material of the floors of the main house?	1 = earth / mud ; 2 = Dung; 3 = Wood Planks; 4 = stone / brick; 5 = cement / concrete; 6 = tiles; 7 = Parquet/Polished Wood:	<input type="text"/>
	What is the material of the roof of the main house?	1=No Roof; 2 = thatch (grass / straw / palm fronds); 3 = wood; 4 = corrugated iron (zinc / tin); 5 = tarpaulin (plastic sheets); 6 =	<input type="text"/>

	What is the material of the exterior walls of the main house?	1 = mud / mudbricks / wattle; 2 = Cardboard; 3 = Tarpaulin; 4 = Cane/Palm/Trunks; 5 = wood; 6 = corrugated iron (zinc / tin); 7 = stone / burnt bricks; 8 = cement / sandcrete; 98=Other Specify _____ _____	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
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B. HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS' CHARACTERISTICS

For this section, have the respondent gather as many household members as possible in order to help answer the questions. A household includes all the people who eat out of the same pot, and stays in the house permanently for 6 month.

1. Household members' characteristics

ID	a) Last Name Start with the Respondent	b) First Name	c) Sex 1 = male 2 = female	d) What is [NAME]'s relation to respondent? (use relationship codes)	e) What is [NAME]'s age? (write age in years or best guess if unknown). If individual is less than 1 year record 000, Move to → g if [NAME] is not infant	f) Enter Infant's age in months (write age in months or best guess if unknown.)	g) What is [NAME]'s religion? (use religion codes)	h) What is [NAME]'s ethnicity? (use ethnicity codes)	i) How long have you lived in this community? (Use code on Longevity of residence)
i.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
ii.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
iii.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
iv.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
v.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
vi.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

ID	a) Last Name Start with the Respondent	b) First Name	c) Sex 1 = male 2 = female	d) What is [NAME]’s relation to respondent? (use relationship codes)	e) What is [NAME]’s age? (write age in years or best guess if unknown). If individual is less than 1 year record 000, Move to → g if [NAME] is not infant	f) Enter Infant’s age in months (write age in months or best guess if unknown.)	g) What is [NAME]’s religion? (use religion codes)	h) What is [NAME]’s ethnicity? (use ethnicity codes)	i) How long have you lived in this community? (Use code on Longevity of residence)
vii.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
viii.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
ix.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
x.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xi.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xii.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xiii.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xiv.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xv.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xvi.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xvii.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

ID	a) Last Name Start with the Respondent	b) First Name	c) Sex 1 = male 2 = female	d) What is [NAME]'s relation to respondent? (use relationship codes)	e) What is [NAME]'s age? (write age in years or best guess if unknown). If individual is less than 1 year record 000, Move to → g if [NAME] is not infant	f) Enter Infant's age in months (write age in months or best guess if unknown.)	g) What is [NAME]'s religion? (use religion codes)	h) What is [NAME]'s ethnicity? (use ethnicity codes)	i) How long have you lived in this community? (Use code on Longevity of residence)
xviii.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xix.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xx.			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<u>Code A: Relation to head</u> 1= respondent 2= head 3 = husband 4 = wife 5 = son 6 = daughter 7 = parent 8 = other relatives			<u>Code B: Marital Status</u> 1 = never married 2 = monogamous marriage 3 = polygamous marriage 4 = divorced 5 = widowed 6 = separated			<u>Code C: Religion</u> 1=No religion 2=Atheist 3=Traditionalist 4=Muslim 5=Christian 6=Others		<u>Code D: Ethnicity</u> 1=Ga 2=Twɪ 3=Fante 4=Adangbe 5=Ewe 6=Hausa 7=Mole-Dagbani 8=Guan	9=Grusi 10=Mande 11=Others, specify _____

2. Household members' education (For HH members 6 years and above)

	a) Does (NAME) ever attend school? 1 = yes; 2 = no → 03 3=Infant→ end	b) what is the highest level of school [NAME] has completed? (use education codes)	c) Does [NAME] currently attend school? (1 = yes; 2 = no → e)	d) What is the highest class does [NAME] completed? (use education codes) (after answering →.03)	e) Why [NAME] is not in school? (use out-of-school codes)
i.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
ii.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
iii.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
iv.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
v.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
vi.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
vii.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
viii.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
ix.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
x.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xi.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xii.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xiii.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xiv.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xv.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xvi.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xvii.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xviii.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xix.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xx.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Code D: Highest Educational Level

1=None 9=A'Level
 2= Kindergarten 10=Training College
 3= Primary 11=P/Sec/T/T
 4=Middle 12=Polytechnic
 5=JSS 13=University
 6=SSS 14=Non-formal
 7=Voc/Com/Tec 15=Koranic

 8=O'Level 16=Other, (specify)

Code E: Highest Class Completed

Not completed any year=0
 Completed years 1=1
 Completed years 2=2
 Completed years 3=3
 Completed years 4=4
 Completed years 5=5
 Completed years 6=6

 Completed years 7=7

Code F: Reason for absence from school

1=Too young
 2=Cannot afford expenses
 3=Working
 4=Pregnancy
 5=Sickness/disability
 6=Refused to continue
 7=Completed schooling
 8 = outside school going age
 88=Other (specify)_____

Code.....: Longevity of resident

1=5months and below
 1=6months – 5 years
 2=6years – 10 years
 3=11years – 15 years
 4=16years – 20 years
 5=21years – and over

3. Household members' occupations (Enumerator: ask for HH members 15 years and older only.)

	a) What is [NAME]'s primary occupation? (use occupation codes)	b) Has [Name] worked for wages or other kinds of payment (including payments from selling products) in the last month? 1=Yes 2=No→C	c) What type of employment is this? 1=trading;2=agriculture 3=food processing and cookery; 4=formal employment; 5=livestock; 6=poultry; 9=transport business; 10=Others, specify
i.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
ii.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
iii.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
iv.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
v.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
vi.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
vii.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
viii.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
ix.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
x.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xi.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xii.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xiii.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
xiv.	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

B. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

18	Are you engaged in any major economic activity?	1=Yes 2=No→move to Section C	<input type="checkbox"/>
19	What economic activity are you engaged in?	1=trading; 2=agriculture 3=food processing and cookery; 4=formal employment; 5=livestock; 6=poultry; 9=transport business; Retired=10 11=Others, specify_____	<input type="checkbox"/>
20	Where is your working place located?	1=At home 2=within the neighbourhood 3=within Ashaiman; 4=Outside Ashaiman 5= both within and outside Ashaiman	<input type="checkbox"/>
21	What is the distance from your residence to your workplace?	Km:_____ Don't know.....	
22	Are you engaged in any minor economic activity?	1=Yes 2=No→Section C	<input type="checkbox"/>
23	How much do you earn in a month?	GhC:_____	
24	How much of your income is from major economic activity?	GhC:_____	
25	How much of your income is from minor economic activity?	GhC:_____	
26	Do you receive any form of remittance	1=Yes 2=No → C	<input type="checkbox"/>
27	How much do you receive in remittance every month?	GhC_____	

C. ACCESS TO URBAN SERVICES

1.	How satisfied are you with the general waste management system in the area?	1=Very Satisfied; 2=Somewhat Satisfied; 3=Satisfied; 4=Somewhat Unsatisfied; 5=Unsatisfied.	<input type="text"/>
2.	What kind of toilet facility do members of your household usually use?	1=Flush to Open Sewage; 2=Flush to septic tank; 3=Ventilated Improved Pit (VIP) Latrine; 4= Pit Latrine with Slab; 5=Pit Latrine without Slab/Open Pit; 6=Bucket Toilet; 7=Hanging Toilet/Latrine; 8=Stream/River; = No Facility/Bush/field;	<input type="text"/>
3.	Is the toilet facility you are using private or public	1=private; 2= public.	<input type="text"/>
4.	Do your household share this toilet facility with other household?	1=Yes; 2=No.	<input type="text"/>
5.	How many households use this toilet facility?	1= 1- 10 other households 2= More than 10 other households	<input type="text"/>
6.	If public toilet how far is it from your house?	Km _____	
7.	How long does it take you to use the toilet?	Minutes: _____	
8.	Do you pay to use the toilet	1=Yes 2=No	<input type="text"/>
9.	How much do you pay each time you use the toilet?	GhC: _____	
10.	Do you have a market in this community	1=Yes →Q4; 2=No.	<input type="text"/>
11.	Where is the nearest market?	1=Neighbouring community 2=Ashaiman 3=Outside Ashaiman	<input type="text"/>
12.	How far is the market that you or your household usually go to?	Km: _____	

		Don't know						
13.	What type of market is it?	1 = permanent market (every day) 2 = periodic market (once a week);						<input type="text"/>
14.	What do you normally buy from the market	Food and fish						<input type="text"/>
		Processed products						<input type="text"/>
		Others: specify						<input type="text"/>
								<input type="text"/>
15.	Are the following facilities in the market?	1=Yes 2=No→Q17.	Perma nent buildin g	Mkt stalls	Stor age	Toi let	Load ing bay	
			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	
16.	What is the state of the market infrastructure?	1 = very good; 2 = good; 3 = fair; 4 = poor; 5=very poor;	Main buildin g	Mkt stalls	Stor age	Toi let	Load ing bay	
			<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	
17.	Do you have road to your house?	1=Yes; 2=No.→Q20;						<input type="text"/>
18.	What is the type of road leading to your house?	1=Tarmac; 2=paved motorable; 3=paved unmotorable; 4=unpaved motorable; 5=unpaved unmotorable; 4=path.						<input type="text"/>
19.	What is the condition of the road?	1=very good; 2=good;3= fair; 4=bad; 5=very bad						<input type="text"/>
20.	Where is the nearest road?	1=in the neighbourhood; in the community; 3=outside the community						<input type="text"/>
21.	How long does it take you to the nearest road by walking?	Minutes:_____						
22.	What is the type of nearest road?	1=Tarmac; 2=paved motorable ; 3=paved unmotorable;						<input type="text"/>

		4=unpaved motorable; 5=unpaved unmotorable; 6 =path.	
23.	What is the condition of the nearest road?	1=good;2= fair; 3=bad	<input type="text"/>

D. QUALITY OF LIFE

1.	Do you like living in your community?	1=Yes 2=No→Section E	<input type="text"/>	
2.	Reasons for your response	i. Low rent ii. Social cohesion iii. Access to social service iv. Proximity to work place v. Children upbringing vi. Longevity of stay vii. Others, specify	Yes	No
3.	Why do you still live here?	i. No other place ii. Belonginess iii. Low rent iv. Social cohesion v. Family ties vi. Others, specify	Yes	No
4.	Do you intend leaving this community in the future?	1=Yes 2=No→Section E	<input type="text"/>	
5.	Why your response?	i. Rent ii. Social cohesion iii. Conflict iv. Incidence of robbery v. Stigmatization/prestige vi. Level of proximity to my economic activity vii. Others, specify	Yes	No

E. GOVERNANCE AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

1.	How do you hear about what the Municipal Assembly is doing? ENUMERATOR: Allow respondent to specify up to three	0 = Don't hear; 1 = relatives, friends, neighbours, co-workers; 2 = community Notice board; 3 = Assemblyman/Unit Committee; 4 = paramount or section chief / chieftdom officials; 5 = newspaper 6 = radio; 7 = TV; 8 = Other: _____	 ____ ____ ____
2.	Have you heard about the Ashaiman Municipal Assembly?	1 = yes; 2 = No → Q14	____
3.	Have you ever visited the Ashaiman Municipal Assembly notice board?	1 = yes; 2 = no	____
4.	In the past year, have you talked with any person from the Ashaiman Municipal Assembly or participated in any meeting organised by the Ashaiman Municipal Assembly?	1 = yes; 2 = no	____
5.	Do you think the Ashaiman Municipal Assembly listens to what people in this community want or what they need?	1 = yes; 2 = no	____
6.	Do you know of any project the Ashaiman Municipal Assembly is doing or has done?	1 = yes 2 = no	____
7.	How would you rate the performance of the Ashaiman Municipal Assembly	1 = very good; 2 = good; 3 = fair; 4 = poor; 5 = very poor	____
8.	Have you heard about the Assembly Member in your community?	1 = yes; 2 = No → Q20	____
9.	Have you ever visited the Assembly Member notice board?	1 = yes; 2 = no	____
10.	In the past year, have you talked with any person from the Assembly Member or participated in any meeting organised by the Assembly Member?	1 = yes; 2 = no	____
11.	Do you think the Assembly Member listens to what people in this community want or what they need?	1 = yes; 2 = no	____
12.	Do you know of any projects the Assembly Member is doing or has done?	1 = yes 2 = no	____

13.	How would you rate the performance of the Assembly Member?	1 = very good; 2 = good; 3 = fair; 4 = poor; 5=very poor	<input type="text"/>
14.	Have you heard about the Unit Committee?	1 = yes; 2 =No→Q25	<input type="text"/>
15.	In the past year, have you talked with any Unit Committee or participated in any meeting organised by the Unit Committee?	1 = yes; 2 = no	<input type="text"/>
16.	Do you think the Unit Committee listens to what people in this town or what they need?	1 = yes; 2 = no	<input type="text"/>
17.	Do you know of any project(s) the Unit Committee is doing or has done?	1 = yes 2 = no	<input type="text"/>
18.	How would you rate the performance of the Unit Committee?	1 = very good; 2 = good; 3 = fair; 4 = poor; 5=very poor	<input type="text"/>
19.	If the following were given GhC100,000 to complete a project in this area, do you believe they would spend all the money doing a good job on the project or would they cut some of the money?		
	a) MP	1 = they would do a great job and spend all the money on the project 2 = they would do a good job but cut a little money 3 = they would do a bad job and cut most of the money 4 = they would just take all the money 9 = don't know	<input type="text"/>
	b) Ashaiman Municipal Assembly		<input type="text"/>
	c) Assembly Member		<input type="text"/>
	d) Unit Committee		<input type="text"/>
	e) Community leaders		<input type="text"/>
	f) Local NGO		<input type="text"/>
	g) International NGO		<input type="text"/>
	h) Resident Association		<input type="text"/>
	i) Traditional Authority		<input type="text"/>
20.	Do you have a voter registration card?	1 = yes; 2 = no	<input type="text"/>
21.	Did you vote in the last District Assembly Elections?	1 = yes; 2 = no	<input type="text"/>

22.		a) Does any member of this household belong to any [...]? 1 = yes 2 = no → next option	b) Has any member of this household attended a meeting of this group in the past 12 month? 1 = yes; 2 = no	
	i.	Women's association	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	ii.	Youth group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	iii.	Trade/professional group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	iv.	Religious group (such as Bible study/prayer group)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	v.	Trade union	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	vi.	School management committee (or SMC or PTA)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	vii.	Political organisation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	viii.	Labour gang	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	ix.	Ethnic/hometown Association	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	x.	other group: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Have you participated in deciding on any development project?	1 = yes; 2 = no	<input type="text"/>		
24.	What type of project did you participate?	1=Education; 2=Health; 3=Sanitation; 4=Water; 5=Solid Waste Management; 6=Agriculture; 7=Social development project; 8=Market; 9=Road; 10=Communications; 11=Radio; Others: Specify: _____	<input type="text"/>		
25.	Which entity initiated the project?	1=Central Government; 2=MP; 3=Ashaiman Municipal Assembly; 4=Local Councillor; 5=Traditional Authority; 6=Unit Committee; 7=Community leaders; 8=Local NGO; 9=International NGO	<input type="text"/>		
26.	Was the project implemented?	1 = yes; 2 = no; 3=Don't know	<input type="text"/>		
27.	What was the contribution of the members of the community?	1=Money; 2=unskilled labour; 3=skilled labour; 4=local resources; 5=Nothing; 6=others: Specify _____) 98=Don't know	<input type="text"/>		
28.	How would you rate participation of the community members in implementation of the project?	1 = very good ; 2 = good ; 3 = fair; 4 = poor; 5 = very poor	<input type="text"/>		
29.	Did you participate in any of these upgrading and development projects?		Yes	No	Don't remember
		Ibis Public Participation in Local Governance programme			
		NIMCOSS/ Ashaiman Youth Forum (AYOC)			
		IDEG Governance Issues Forum			
		UN-Habitat Slum Upgrading Facility project			
		Other (Specify)			

30.	At what stage were you involved		Initiation	Planning	Design	Implement.	Maint.	None
		Ibis Public Participation in Local Governance programme	___	___	___	___	___	___
		NIMCOSS/ Ashaiman Youth Forum (AYOC)	___	___	___	___	___	___
		IDEG Governance Issues Forum	___	___	___	___	___	___
		UN-Habitat Slum Upgrading Facility project	___	___	___	___	___	___
31.	Has the community leaders organised meeting for community participation for decision making	1 = yes; 2 = no; 3=I don't know					___	
32.	If yes, (to question 31) how many times?	___ ___						
33.	How many times have you participated in community meetings? (Note: record "00" if respondents have not participated in any)	___ ___						

34.	When was the last community meeting organised? (Note: record “0000” if respondent don’t know)	<div style="text-align: center;"> _ _ _ _ _ (year) </div>
35.	Why was the last community meetings organised	
	a) Decide on a project	_ _
	b) Construction of a project	_ _
	c) Contribution to finance a project	_ _
	d) Communal labour	_ _
	e) Festival	_ _
	f) Don’t know	_ _
36.	Did you participate in the community meeting?	1 = yes; 2 = no _ _
37.	What is your impression of the last community meeting in terms of community members’ participation in decision making?	1 = very good ; 2 = good ; 3 = fair; 4 = poor 5 = very poor _ _

F. NEXUS AMONGST LIFESTYLE, SOCIABILITY, ECONOMY AND GOVERNANCE

1.	Does this community provide you the opportunity to progress in life?	1 = yes; 2 = no	<input type="text"/>
2.	Has living here got any influence on people?	1 = yes; 2 = no	<input type="text"/>
3.	Does this community provide an enabling environment for thriving economy?	1 = yes; 2 = no	<input type="text"/>
4.	Has living in this community given any leverage over the other communities?	1 = yes; 2 = no	<input type="text"/>
5.	Do you feel safe in this community?	1 = yes; 2 = no	<input type="text"/>
6.	Does the lifestyle have any influence sociability and the economy?	1 = yes; 2 = no	<input type="text"/>
7.	Does sociability have any influence on lifestyle and economy?	1 = yes; 2 = no	<input type="text"/>
8.	Does the economy have any influence on lifestyle and sociability?	1 = yes; 2 = no	<input type="text"/>

G. CHALLENGES IN THE COMMUNITY

1.	What challenges or problems do you encounter in this community?		Yes	No
		i. Eviction	__	__
		ii. Congestion	__	__
		iii. Poor governance	__	__
		iv. Participation in decision making process	__	__
		v. Poor sanitation	__	__
		vi. Inadequate water supply	__	__
		vii. Accessibility to property	__	__
		viii. In adequate social cohesion	__	__
		ix. Neighbourhood conflict	__	__
		x. Incidence of robbery	__	__
		xi. Stigmatization/ prestige	__	__
		xii. Level of proximity to my economic activity	__	__
2.	Any other comments			

APPENDIX F
KREJCIE AND MORGAN (1970) FORMULA FOR CALCULATING
THE POPULATION SIZE

$$n = \frac{x^2 N p (1 - p)}{e^2 (N - 1) + x^2 p (1 - P)}$$

Where:

n = sample size

χ^2 = Chi-square for the specified confidence level at 1 degree of freedom

N = Population size

P = Population proportion (if unknown 0.5)

e = Acceptable sampling error

APPENDIX G

APPROVAL OF THESIS PROPOSAL AND INSTRUMENTS FOR
FIELD WORKUNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & LEGAL STUDIES
SCHOOL FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

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0204083364 / 0277899273

COAST

Website: <http://ucc.edu.gh>
Email: doirds@ucc.edu.ghPOST OFFICE BOX 01
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE
CAPE COAST

Our Ref:

10th May, 2021

Your Ref:

The Chairperson
Institutional Review Board
University of Cape Coast
Cape Coast

Dear Sir,

**APPROVAL OF THESIS PROPOSAL AND INSTRUMENTS FOR FIELD WORK –
ERIKA MAMLEY OSAE**

This is to inform you that Erika Mamley Osaе has successfully defended her thesis proposal on the topic “Slum Dwellers’ Participation in the Governance of Slum within the Ashaiman Municipality of Ghana”. I have also examined the instruments that have been developed for the field work, and deem them as reflective of the literature and suitable with respect to the methodology.

Kindly accord her all the assistance that is required to enable her to undertake the field work. Attached is my curriculum vitae.

Thank you

Sincerely

Prof. J. V. Mensah

APPENDIX H

ETHICAL CLEARANCE FOR CONDUCT OF RESEARCH

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & LEGAL STUDIES
SCHOOL FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
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POST OFFICE BOX 01
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
CAPE COAST

Our Ref: DIDS/IL/ Vol.1/069

10th May, 2021

Your Ref:

The Chairman
Institutional Review Board
University of Cape Coast

Dear Sir,

**ETHICAL CLEARANCE FOR CONDUCT OF RESEARCH: ERIKA MAMLEY OSAE,
SS/DSD/18/0003**

We write to introduce **Ms. Erika Mamley Osaе**, a PhD student at the Department of Integrated Development Studies, School for Development Studies. Ms. Erika requires ethical clearance to proceed with her data collection for the thesis titled, **"Slum Dwellers' Participation in the Governance of Slum within the Ashaiman Municipality of Ghana"**.

We confirm that the Department has approved Ms. Erika's proposal and has granted her permission to conduct and complete her thesis as part of the requirements to obtain her Doctorate degree.

We would therefore be grateful if her thesis proposal could be reviewed to enable her carry out the research.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,


Frederick Koomson (PhD)
HEAD

APPENDIX I

ETHICAL CLEARANCE -ID(UCCIRB/CHLS/2021/38)

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD SECRETARIAT

TEL: 0558093143 / 0508878309
E-MAIL: irb@ucc.edu.gh
OUR REF: UCC/IRB/A/2016/1055
YOUR REF:
OMB NO: 0990-0279
IORG #: IORG0009096

13TH AUGUST, 2021

Ms. Erika Mamley Osae
Department of Integrated Development Studies
University of Cape Coast

Dear Ms. Osae,

ETHICAL CLEARANCE – ID (UCCIRB/CHLS/2021/38)

The University of Cape Coast Institutional Review Board (UCCIRB) has granted Provisional Approval for the implementation of your research titled **Slum Dwellers' Participation in the Governance of Slum within the Ashaiman Municipality of Ghana**. This approval is valid from 13th August, 2021 to 12th August, 2022. You may apply for a renewal subject to submission of all the required documents that will be prescribed by the UCCIRB.

Please note that any modification to the project must be submitted to the UCCIRB for review and approval before its implementation. You are required to submit periodic review of the protocol to the Board and a final full review to the UCCIRB on completion of the research. The UCCIRB may observe or cause to be observed procedures and records of the research during and after implementation.

You are also required to report all serious adverse events related to this study to the UCCIRB within seven days verbally and fourteen days in writing.

Always quote the protocol identification number in all future correspondence with us in relation to this protocol.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'S. Asiedu Owusu'.

Samuel Asiedu Owusu, PhD
UCCIRB Administrator

ADMINISTRATOR
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST