UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

A REVIEW OF GOVERNANCE AND POVERTY REDUCTION IN TEMA METROPOLIS

BY

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DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own original			
research and that no part has been presented for another degree in this University			
or elsewhere.			
Candidate's Signature Date			
Name:			
Supervisor's Declaration			
I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the dissertation			
were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of dissertation			
laid down by the University of Cape Coast.			
Supervisor's Signature			

ABSTRACT

The main purpose of the study was to examine how governance and poverty reduction have been enhanced through decentralisation, with the view to informing future strategies.

The study combined different methodologies including a review of existing and relevant data, and qualitative methods such as focus group discussions, and key informant interviews. Data collected during this study were electronically recorded, transcribed, thematically clustered, and reduced to a useable state. This was followed by thorough content analysis and personal reflection of the issues discussed.

The study shows that, while there has been significant progress in putting the local government structures in place, there are still difficulties in the operationalisation of the metropolitan sub-structures which should have been the main channel for community mobilisation, education, and ownership of local government policies and programmes. Thus, governance has largely been at the top, without a significant flow to the bottom.

It is therefore recommended that the capacities of the metropolitan substructures be strengthened to function effectively, including constituting all the required Unit Committees, and providing adequate financial, human and logistical support for the Zonal Councils and Unit Committees within the Metropolis. The scope and trend of capacity building should be widened to include relevant training for traditional authorities and organised civil society groups who provide additional entry point for grassroots participation.

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DEDICATION

To my sweet wife Nuna, and mother Gertrude Mensah.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CBRDP Community Based Rural Development Project

DAs District Assemblies

DACF District Assemblies Common Fund

DFID Department for International Development

ERP Economic Recovery Programme

GPRS I Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy One (I)

GPRS II Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy Two (II)

GLSS Ghana Living Standards Survey

GNP Gross National Product

GSS Ghana Statistical Service

HDR Human Development Report

HIPC Highly Indebted Poor Countries

HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus

IDA International Development Association

IMF International Monetary Fund

MCE Metropolitan Chief Executive

MCD Metropolitan Coordinating Director

MDGs Millennium Development Goals

MLGRD Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development

MMDAs Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies

MPs Members of Parliament

MPO Metropolitan Planning Officer

MTDP Medium Term Development Plan

NGOs Non-Governmental Organisations

PAMSCAD Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment

PNDC Provisional National Defence Council

PRSPs Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers

RCCs Regional Coordinating Councils

SAP Structural Adjustment Programme

TDC Tema Development Cooperation

TMA Tema Metropolitan Assembly

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

UNSD United Nations Statistics Division

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the study

African countries such as Ghana are not new to policy reforms. Before and after independence, they implemented a wide range of reforms such as decentralisation aimed at overhauling local governance for greater effectiveness, responsiveness and performance. Decentralisation is expected to support democratic and participatory city and local governance, improve service delivery and also lead to rapid socio-economic development, particularly poverty reduction. In spite of these many efforts, African countries have not reversed many of the multiple crises confronting their citizenry.

This notwithstanding, with the global recession in the 1970s, many countries were facing severe fall in macroeconomic indicators, and needed to salvage the situation. Liberalisation, privatisation, and decentralisation which were embedded in structural reforms were suggested. In diverse ways, decentralisation was supported by a variety of actors ranging from international development agencies to national governments, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society groups for different purposes. In Africa, decentralisation has been implemented in various forms by the governments of Ghana, Ethiopia, South Africa, Uganda, Namibia, and

Nigeria. In West Africa, it is difficult to find a country that does not have a decentralisation programme (Crawford, 2003).

Ghana's effort to improve the standard of living of her citizenry has necessitated the promulgation of several policies and programmes and establishment of institutions to that effect. This effort spans across domestic (central government, corporate entities, local government, and civil society organisations) initiatives and international spheres (bilateral, multilateral countries and organisations).

There have been earlier programmes such as Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) which was to defray the burden that resulted after the expenditure cuts, when the government agreed to adopt World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) policies in 1983. This was as a result of initiatives such as decentralisation, Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), and public sector reforms under the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) that was being implemented.

The ERP included policies bordering on market-based approach to development and poverty reduction consisting of getting prices right, improving governance, enhancing economic management, privatisation, reversing government failures, adjustment of government expenditure for growth, deregulation, establishing efficient market environment, liberalisation, changing of exchange regimes, among others. Consequently, the implementation of these schemes was to have a trickle–down effect on development and reduce poverty drastically, while social costs of adjustment were to be mitigated (Boafo-Arthur, 1999).

This policy of the World Bank and IMF has come under a lot of criticisms both from implementing countries and local and international agencies. These bordered on imposition of uniform policies on developing countries without due consideration to different economic environment of such countries. Also, the very policy constituents of the SAP for Ghana, including excess liberalisation (opening up of the economy), public expenditure cuts, and retrenchment among others worsened poverty levels and did not improve the macroeconomic environment in the country at the end (Boafo-Arthur, 1999).

On the civil society front, Jubilee 2000 spearheaded the call for instituting policies relevant to poverty reduction and dropping or cancelling the huge debt that was hanging on the necks of countries implementing World Bank and IMF policies. This call, together with the Bretton Woods institutions' research on debt, heightened the pressure to push for effective poverty reduction, enhance the impact of foreign aid and lending with its attached conditionalities.

By 1999, in various countries implementing the IMF/World Bank SAP, their economic and social structures were signalling for change, as both structural and stabilisation policies of the Bretton Woods institutions were having little impact on global poverty and inequalities (Akpokavie, 2003).

Although there is no single accepted definition of poverty among researchers and scholars, there are generally acceptable terms used to describe poverty such as income or consumption poverty, human development or under-development, social exclusion, ill-being, lack of capability and

functioning, vulnerability, livelihood unsustainability, lack of basic needs and relative deprivation (Maxwell, 1999).

These developments led to the adoption of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). In a bid to refocus on poverty of developing countries with improved aid access and less strings of conditions, these PRSPs are expected to contain the principles of country ownership, good governance, result and partnership oriented, comprehensive in scope, participatory in character involving civil society, while maintaining long term planning at best.

In the year 2003, the Ghana Poverty reduction Strategy (GPRS I) was introduced by the government of Ghana with the endorsement of the Boards of IMF and the International Development Association (IDA) as the basis for financial assistance from these two institutions. The aim of GPRS I which is the 'domesticated' version of the generic PRSPs was to aid development; promote growth and reduce poverty in addition to outlining the financing requirements for their implementation. The Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II) forms the basis of financial assistance through the Multidonor Budget Support and Debt relief and cancellation under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative and other financial assistance from the international financial institutions. Thus, the GPRS II is pivoted on the central goal to accelerate the growth of the economy so that Ghana can achieve middle income status within a measurable planning period (Government of Ghana, 2005). It proposes more emphasis on governance and civic responsibility, human resource development and accelerated private sector led growth and poverty reduction. In order to enhance the achievement of this aim, good governance is important.

Globally, the concept of "governance" and/or "good governance" has become known in both the academic and donor communities. First, there is the academic approach, which focuses mainly on the study of the different ways in which power and authority relations are structured in a given society. Second, there is the donor community's approach, which puts emphasis on the role state structures play in ensuring social, economic and policy equity and accountability through open policy processes.

Good governance, in the African context entails that government must ensure the economic stability, redistribution and achievement of development goals by acting responsibly, participative, transparently and accountably. Governance is the process of decision-making by which decisions made are implemented or not implemented. This is the case that pertains to Ghana's decentralisation: (a) that which opens up the decision making process and (b) which implements generally agreed upon decisions (Ayee, 2003). For this to be achieved, Ghana enshrined 'Issues of Local Governance' in Chapter 20 of her 1992 Republic Constitution, and promulgated the decentralisation law – the Local Government Act of 1993 and Local Government Service Act 46.

GPRS II and decentralisation are complemented by other policies related to poverty reduction and good governance on the international front. The United Kingdom has put in place the Commission for Africa calling for a 'big push' in aid, through international financial facility, with emphasis of poverty reduction. The Millennium Challenge Account of the United States of America is supporting the modernisation of agriculture in Ghana. There are others such as the Millennium Villages Project of the United Nations, and those of bilateral partnerships in Ghana.

The expectation was that the emergence of decentralisation would counter the widespread failure of centralised economic planning, to take account of local aspirations and to deliver appropriate local services. This was to move to a more democratic state, with much higher level of local representation, participation, choice and accountability which lends support for good governance and poverty reduction in all Assemblies.

Decentralisation was meant to in part serve as a link between central government and local people in order to improve participation and reduce poverty as the needs of the citizenry would be effectively taken care of. Thus, the link between participation and local governance has been seen as an important means of improving the effectiveness of services and empowering the poor to participate in the development process that affects their lives (Ayee, 2003).

It is, therefore, of policy importance to examine these policies and programmes using decentralisation as the focus; what is the likely impact, or how has it impacted on poverty reduction and governance in Ghana (local governance structures, functions and implementation) given the existing environmental conditions?

It must be emphasised that these poverty reduction and good governance efforts have been implemented since 1988. What policy and programme incentives would do the 'magic' of accelerating poverty reduction and enhance their governance system? This study explores the future of reduced poverty in Ghana from these perspectives and the availability of these incentives, using Tema Metropolis as case study. The choice of Tema is based on the rationale that (a) various levels of poverty such as the poor and very

poor, as well as the rich reside in the Metropolis, which helps the assessment of how the state of the poor and very poor are improving; (b) Tema Metropolitan Assembly (TMA) on its own has implemented development plans in addition to governance and poverty reduction policies and programmes; (c) the Tema Metropolis has relatively high level of literacy which can support the decentralisation structure; and (d) the study would be facilitated by the high level of cooperation and literacy (as observed from initial preliminary contacts) as compared to other Assemblies.

Problem statement

One of the unique observable phenomena that can be identified with developing countries such as Ghana after has been development which relates to economic growth and associated structural changes such as good governance, access to better housing, food, health, environmental and sanitation facilities for her citizenry. After independence from colonial rule in 1957, the government of Ghana took on a wider role and greater responsibility in meeting the welfare of the people, in the face of widespread poverty and socio-economic inequality.

It is noted that since independence, various policies and programmes have been implemented in Ghana aimed at poverty reduction, such as Decentralisation Policy, District Assemblies Common Fund, Poverty Alleviation Fund, Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy, and District Medium Term Development Plans. These policies have always come from the perspectives of consultants, politicians, technocrats, few policy makers and therefore devoid of effective citizen participation.

The fundamental problem of economic development in these processes is the ability to devise and incorporate appropriate established fact into policy, involving all necessary stakeholders, thus, channelling government action to support rather than impede development. This is against the background that there have been calls for inclusion of more people in the processes.

There appear to be gaps in policy and programme formulation and implementation. It is only recently that the idea of "bottom-up" approach to policy formulation has been emphasised. For instance, the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, for the first time in Ghana's history called for public contribution and submission into the 2006 national budget (Government of Ghana, 2005). This perspective is enshrined in the capabilities of individuals, households, communities, organised institutions such as civil society organisations, government institutions and other stakeholders. This relates to their productivities, participation and contribution. How has economic and social development played out at the ground level? Again, there has been observed lags in the implementation. Who participates in the implementation of poverty reduction and governance programmes?

It was observed that the process of the said transfer of power, resources and accountability to the local people have not been done in more acceptable manner. In addition, good governance and poverty reduction are expected to produce certain outputs and outcomes in terms of social services. These therefore, form the basis of the problem of the study, which would review the processes and why expected outputs and outcomes have not been satisfactory to the people of TMA.

The decentralisation programme offered a uniform structure and processes for all Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs). But there would be different outcomes and outputs due to how each local authority implements the programme. Is it therefore important to review how TMA has implemented poverty reduction and good governance activities.

Objectives of the study

The general objective of the study is to examine how governance and poverty reduction have been enhanced through decentralisation, with the view to informing future strategies.

The specific objectives are to:

- 1. Examine the poverty situation in the Tema Metropolis;
- 2. Examine the state of local governance in the Tema Metropolis;
- Identify current and previous poverty reduction programmes implemented by Tema Metropolitan Assembly;
- 4. Analyse the performance of Tema Metropolitan Assembly in achieving reduced poverty in the Metropolis; and
- 5. Make recommendations based on the findings of the study.

Research questions

- 1. What is the poverty situation in the Tema Metropolis?
- 2. What is the state of governance in the Tema Metropolis?
- 3. What current and previous poverty reduction programmes are implemented by Tema Metropolitan Assembly?

4. How well has the Tema Metropolitan Assembly performed in its efforts to reduce poverty in the Metropolis?

Significance of the study

First, the study is important because the output would help the Assembly in streamlining and modifying its processes of deciding on poverty and governance policy options. Secondly, it would help the Assembly to restrategise its development activities. The results of the review could help the Assembly focus on areas that would lead to greater success in terms of poverty reduction and good governance.

Also, the study would provide an insight into the two issues concerning their convergence and/or divergence, the angle through which each can reenforce the other, which happens to be a core factor in the policy-decentralisation, for future policy review. These would serve as the basis for policy recommendations regarding the implementation of current GPRS II for example, at reducing poverty in the country.

Finally, it is expected that this study would influence the work of key stakeholders in development. The outcomes of the study would become relevant for further research in the academia; shape the focus and direction of development partners; and inform the day-to-day activities of the citizenry, especially those located within the Tema Metropolis.

Organisation of the study

The study is organised under five main chapters. Chapter One includes background to the study, problem statement, objectives of the study, research

questions, significance of the study, and organisation of the study. This is followed by Chapter Two which focuses on literature review. Chapter Three outlines the methodology employed for the study while Chapter Four presents results and discussion. Chapter Five presents summary, conclusions, and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter discusses the concept of decentralisation from global and Ghanaian perspectives, and its linkages with good governance and poverty reduction. The chapter also discusses Ghana's decentralisation process, policy and legal framework, and ends with a look at the structure of local government in Ghana.

Decentralisation

Decentralisation has become a widespread and significant dimension of political, administrative and fiscal reform in many developing countries particularly since the 1980s. This was as a result of worsening situations of many economies at that time; decreasing levels of exports, rising prices for energy and imported goods, and diminishing foreign assistance (Rondinelli, Nellis and Cheema, 1983). Because of all of these factors, governments became interested in finding ways of using limited resources more effectively. It was then that the issue of policy reform was suggested.

In diverse ways, decentralisation was supported by a variety of actors ranging from international development agencies to national governments to non-governmental and grassroots organisations, though undoubtedly for

different purposes. In Africa, decentralisation is implemented in various forms by governments across the continent, inclusive of Uganda, Namibia, South Africa, Nigeria and Ethiopia among others. Indeed, in West Africa it is difficult to find a country that does not have a decentralisation programme (Crawford, 2003).

The implementation of decentralisation in many countries has been the policy direction of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. This was part of the package of structural adjustment programme prescribed for low income countries that were having economic problems in the early 1980s, such as high public spending, increasing poverty levels, vulnerability and exclusion of the people from decision making.

Generally, the emergence of decentralisation was a reaction to the widespread failure of centralised economic planning to account for local aspirations and to deliver appropriate local services (Devas, 1999). It also came with a renewed political call to move to the democratic state, with much higher level of local representation, participation, choice and accountability which lend support for good governance.

Decentralisation was in part to serve as a link between central government and local people through, enhancing governance as participation in decision making improves to reduce poverty as the needs of the citizenry would be effectively taken care off. Thus, the link between participatory and local governance has been seen as an important means of improving the effectiveness of services and empowering the poor to participate in the development process that affects their lives (Kyei, 2000).

Decentralisation has an inherent ambiguity in its meaning, as it is widely used by practising politicians, administrators and academics. This has been the case as it can be perceived from various stand points. However, the transfer of the responsibility for planning, decision-making or administrative authority from central government to field organisers seems to be widely accepted as central notion to decentralisation (Rondinelli, Nellis and Cheema, 1983).

Observations from the various countries suggest that decentralisation can take various forms and more than one dimension of decentralisation may be operating in a country. In Ghana for example, political and administrative authority have been devolved to the District Assemblies with responsibility for management, decision making, formulation of policies and enactment of byelaws for the area (Kyei, 2000; Article 79 of Act 462). Thus, three main types of decentralisation can be identified:

- Administrative decentralisation or deconcentration i.e. the re-location
 of branches of the central state to local areas, entailing a transfer of
 powers to locally-based officials who remain part of, and upwardly
 accountable to, central government ministries and agencies (Crawford,
 2003);
- Fiscal decentralisation i.e. the transfer of fiscal resources and revenuegenerating powers, to the local authority over budgets and financial decisions, to either deconcentrated officials and/or central government appointees or to elected politicians (Crawford, 2003);
- 3. Political decentralisation or democratic decentralisation or devolution (of power) i.e. the transfer of powers and resources to sub-national

authorities which are "(a) largely or wholly independent of the central government and (b) democratically elected" (Manor, 1995: 81-2).

Globally, the proposal of decentralisation was to achieve a number of benefits – two overarching ones are (a) deepened democracy and (b) enhanced socio-economic development. Deepened democracy and good governance was to be achieved through the process of extending political representation to the local level and political participation by local civil society.

The benefits of socio-economic development are expected to come from local government being more responsive and more accountable to citizens' needs and desires, thus reducing poverty in identifiable form to the people. These two benefits are interlinked and re-enforces each other in order to reach development - which must include governance in any respective Assembly, through local-level representation and participation in development planning processes, delivery of public services that are relevant to the local citizenry to reduce poverty. It is in this context that the study examines how the decentralisation policy has achieved these aims in the Tema Metropolis. Thus, has decentralisation led to a strengthening of democratic processes and to pro-poor developmental outcomes in the Metropolis?

In Ghana, since independence, successive governments have searched for a vibrant local government system to operate in order to help in the country's development. During the pre-1988 period, local governance was a structure in which central and local government institutions operated in parallel. It also involved the encroachment of responsibilities at times by better-resourced central government on the under-resourced local government

(Ayee, 2003). There was, therefore, the need to mitigate these problems of local governance.

In 1988, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) government initiated a comprehensive local government reform through ERP, with the intention to transfer functions, powers, means and competences from the central government to 110 demarcated local government areas that the policy had created. The main aim was to create a form at the local level in which a team of development agents, other agencies will agree on the development problem of the district or area, their underlying factors and decide on the combined action necessary to solve them.

Objectives of decentralisation

The scope of the concept of decentralisation is revealed by the many objectives that it supposedly serves. An often expressed hope is that decentralisation will reduce overload and congestion in the channels of administration and communication. Programmes are decentralised with the expectation that delays will be reduced and that administrators' indifference to satisfying the needs of their clientele will be overcome. It is assumed that decentralisation will improve government's responsiveness to the public and increase the quantity and quality of the services it provides. Decentralisation is often justified as a way of managing national economic development more effectively and efficiently. But it is obvious that governments in developing countries that have tried to decentralise have not always had effectiveness or efficiency as their primary goals. They have rarely embarked on a course of decentralisation primarily for economic reasons. Indeed, the economic impacts

of decentralisation have not usually been calculated beforehand. Thus, recent experiments with decentralisation cannot be assessed entirely by economic criteria (Rondinelli, Nellis and Cheema, 1983).

In many countries decentralisation is pursued in reaction to the technical failures of comprehensive national development planning or the weak impact of multi-sectoral, macroeconomic development programming. Neither of these has significantly increased the ability of central governments to formulate, articulate, and implement national development policies (Rondinelli & Ruddle, 1978).

Decentralisation is often seen as a way of increasing the ability of central government officials to obtain better and less suspicious information about local or regional conditions, to plan local programmes more responsively, and to react more quickly to unanticipated problems that inevitably arise during implementation (Maddick, 1963). In theory, decentralisation should allow projects to be completed sooner by giving local managers greater discretion in decision making so as to enable them to cut through the 'red tape' and the ponderous procedures often associated with over-centralised administrations (Rondinelli & Ruddle, 1978).

In some countries, decentralisation is seen as a way of mobilising support for national development policies by making them better known at the local level. Local governments or administrative units, it is assumed, can be effective channels of communication between the national government and local communities. Greater participation in development planning and management supposedly promotes national unity by giving groups in different regions in a country a greater ability to participate in planning and decision

making, and thus increases their stake in maintaining political stability. Greater equity in the allocation of government resources for investment is presumed more likely when representatives of a wide variety of political, religious, ethnic, and social groups participate in development decision making (Uphoff and Esman, 1974).

In countries where administrative capacity is low, decentralisation is sometimes seen as a means of creating larger numbers of skilled administrators and managers. Such skills, it is argued, are only strengthened when administrators have meaningful managerial responsibilities. Centralisation concentrates experience in the national capital, and contributes little to developing local leadership and initiative. Studies of decentralisation of land reform administration in the late 1960s and early 1970s concluded that properly carried out, decentralisation increased officials' knowledge of local conditions, motivated community leaders to take an active role, created better communications between local residents and leaders and between local and national officials, and increased community solidarity and interest in land reform projects (Montgomery, 1972). Moreover, it has become clear that many functions that are the responsibility of central ministries or agencies are performed poorly because of the difficulty of extending central services to local communities. Maintenance of roads, irrigation channels and equipment, and other basic physical infrastructure is sometimes done better by local governments or administrative units when they are given adequate funds and technical assistance than by central agencies, which cannot easily monitor deterioration or breakdowns.

Indeed, for some activities, decentralisation could increase the efficiency of central ministries by relieving top management of routine, repetitive tasks and allowing them more time to plan and monitor programmes that absolutely require central direction or control. Sub-national administrations can, it is argued, be more effective levels at which to coordinate actions requiring the participation of many agencies.

Little research has been done on the socioeconomic, political, or physical correlates of decentralisation, and thus little is known about which factors are associated with government pressures to deconcentrate or devolve planning and administrative responsibilities. Vieira's (1967) study of forty-five (45) countries, undertaken during the mid-1960s, indicates that the degree of devolution (measured by the ratio of local government revenues and expenditures to total government spending and receipts over a ten-year period) in both western and third world countries was significantly correlated with five factors. These factors include the age of the nation - older, wellestablished national governments having a higher degree of devolution than newer ones; and the size of gross national product – those countries with high levels of GNP tended to have higher degrees of devolution than poorer countries. The rest of the factors are the level of development of the mass media - those countries with a more sophisticated and widespread mass communication system tended to be more decentralised than those with incipient or weak systems; the level of industrialisation - industrialised countries tended to be more decentralised than those with agricultural economies; and the number of local governments. The size and density of population and the physical size of the country were not significant. Nor was the level of urbanisation. Constitutional structure and ethnic composition of the population were also insignificant factors. Sherwood (1969) concluded from this and other studies that the strong association between devolution and economic and technological factors tends to validate the generally held position that diverse structures within a system can be tolerated only when the integrity of the system itself is not in question. That is, national unity seems to be a necessary precondition for devolution.

Ultimately, however, decentralisation is an ideological principle, associated with objectives of self-reliance, democratic decision making, popular participation in government, and accountability of public officials to citizens. As such, it has been pursued as a desirable political objective in itself.

Potential benefits of decentralisation

Generally, decentralisation is aimed at improving local economic development and poverty reduction. Specifically, Asante and Ayee (2004, p. 3) outline the following potential benefits of decentralisation:

- Improved governance because if people see that their interactions with elected decentralised governments will lead to decisions that are more consistent with their wishes than those made by higher levels, they feel better connected to decentralised governments. Being able to influence public affairs in at least some modest ways that directly affect them and empower people, giving them a new sense of control and autonomy;
- 2. Improved efficiency because decentralised governments are said to be closer to the people, have good access to local information and

- understand local context well. If so, they can better identify the mix and level of services that their constituents need than the higher-levels can, thus improving allocative efficiency;
- Improved equity because if decentralised governments are familiar
 with local circumstances, they may be in the best position to more
 equitably distribute public resources and target poverty within their
 own jurisdictions;
- Improved responsiveness of government because local representatives
 are best placed to know the exact nature of local needs and how they
 can be met in a cost-effective way;
- 5. Enhanced accountability because local representatives are more accessible to the populace and can thus be held more closely accountable for their policies and outcomes than distant national political leaders (or public servants);
- 6. Political equality for greater political participation will reduce the likelihood of the concentration of power. Political power will be more broadly distributed thus making decentralisation a mechanism that can meet the needs of the poor and disadvantaged;
- Political education teaches the mass of the population about the role of political debate, the selection of representatives and the nature of policies, plans and budget, in a democracy; and
- 8. Training in political leadership creates a seedbed for prospective political leaders to develop skills in policy-making, political party operations and budgeting with the result that the quality of national politicians is enhanced.

Governance

The term 'governance' occupies a central stage in the development discourse and it is also considered as the crucial element to be incorporated in development strategy. However, apart from the universal acceptance of its importance, differences prevail in respect of theoretical formulations, policy prescriptions and conceptualisation of the subject itself.

According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (1997), governance is the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. Governance comprises mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. It is legitimate if it conforms to shared-social norms and values, which define appropriate structures of authority, the behaviour of those persons exercising such authority, and the appropriate outcome of intrasocietal conflict.

Particularly important in the context of countries in special circumstances, is the fact that UNDP's definition of governance encompasses not just the state, but the private sector and civil society as well. All three are viewed as critical for sustainable human development. The role of the state is viewed as that of creating a stable political and legal environment conducive to sustained development, while civil society institutions and organisations are viewed as a means of facilitating political and social interaction and mobilising groups to participate in economic, social and political activities.

The World Bank (1992) defines governance as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. It identifies three distinct aspects of governance: (i) the form of political regime; (ii) the process by which authority is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development; and (iii) the capacity of governments to design, formulate, and implement policies and discharge functions. This definition of governance is concerned directly with the management of the development process, involving both the public and the private sectors. It encompasses the functioning and capability of the public sector, as well as the rules and institutions that create the framework for the conduct of both public and private business, including accountability for economic and financial performance, and regulatory frameworks relating to companies, corporations, and partnerships. In broad terms, then, governance is about the institutional environment in which citizens interact among themselves and with government agencies and officials.

It is worth noting that the definitions of governance provided by the UNDP and the World Bank converge on the term as referring to a process by which power is exercised.

Generally, there may be two approaches to governance. They are the top-down (centralised) approach and the bottom-up (decentralised) approach. The centralised system of governance depends on a hierarchical system in which decisions are taken at the executive level and passed down to the grassroots, and where the entire process of formulation and implementation of

policy is carried out under the direction of the government, with the people put in a passive position (Ayee, 2000).

The bottom-up approach to governance allows for decisions to be taken at local/community level, taking the needs and opinion of local residents and people into account as much as possible in the formulation and implementation of development projects and policies.

In as much as national governance relates to the entire nation, local governance relates to the governing and administering of an area by a body which is elected, either wholly, in part or whatever way by the citizens of the area (Devas, 1999). The issues of who makes decision and how, who influences decisions and what are the outcomes of those decisions are under the control of the local government which fall under decentralisation system of governance. The expected outcome in this system is development of the local area in terms of the services provided, the process involved in reaching the decisions on those services and to deal with them are imminent concerns of poverty reduction.

Elements of good governance

Good governance is, among other things, participatory, transparent and accountable, effective and equitable, and it promotes the rule of law. It ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources.

Good governance is critical poverty reduction. This is because unresolved governance issues stand in the way of ordinary people from

obtaining opportunities, justice and access to livelihood resources. These barriers create and perpetuate poverty, while better governance is the key to conflict resolution, growth and poverty reduction.

Below are some of the elements that can be identified with good governance (Abdellatif, 2003, p. 25):

- Participation: All men and women, rich and poor, should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests. This freedom of association and speech implies full implementation of International Labour Organisation Convention 87;
- 2. Rule of law: Legal frameworks should be fair and enforced impartially, particularly, the laws on human rights;
- 3. Transparency: This is built on the free flow of information. Information must be made available in a timely manner so that stakeholders can participate and contribute properly; this is crucial to the success of poverty reduction strategies;
- 4. Responsiveness: Institutions and processes should try to serve all stakeholders. This is particularly the responsibility of government and the judiciary;
- 5. Consensus orientation: Mediating differing interests to reach a broad consensus on what is in the public's best interests. This is also a key objective of social dialogue and a challenge for social partners given their heterogeneous membership base;

- 6. Equity: All individuals, irrespective of their sex, ethnic, political, religious and economic background, should have opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being and have a voice through their representative organisations;
- 7. Effectiveness and efficiency: Processes and institutions should produce results that meet the needs of the poor while making the best use of resources;
- Accountability: Decision-makers in government, the private sector and civil society organisations – including trade unions and employers' organisations – should be accountable to the public, as well as to institutional stakeholders; and
- Strategic vision: Leaders and the public should have a broad and longterm perspective on good governance and human development, along with a sense of what is needed.

Poverty reduction

Poverty can be seen to be multidimensional in nature. By definition, it is a lack of elements such as access to basic needs, power, voice, and security. It is about income through gainful employment, access to rights, social protection and participation of the poor in shaping their destiny (Akpokavie, 2003). There have been many definitions of poverty due to its dimension. The simplest method to defining poverty is to use monetary indication and proxies linked to estimates of income and consumption (DFID, 2001). In this case, a basket of goods and services is used to define poverty indicators such as:

- Poverty rate: the percentage of people who cannot afford the basic basket of good and services;
- 2. Poverty gap: the gap between a person's income and the poverty line; and
- 3. Income distribution which takes the form of Gini coefficient methods, relating to how far the rich are from the poor and what proportion of the population is rich or poor.

In 1990, more than 1.2 billion people – 28 percent of the developing world's population – lived in extreme poverty. These were the poorest of the poor, struggling to make ends meet on less than \$1 a day. The target of the first Millennium Development Goal is to halve this proportion and those suffering from hunger by 2015. By 2001, the proportion of extremely poor people fell to 21 percent in the developing world. From 1990 to 2001, rates of extreme poverty fell rapidly in much of Asia with the number of people living on less than \$1 a day dropping by nearly a quarter of a billion people. It fell slowly in Latin America, changed little in Northern Africa and Western Asia, and increased from low levels in the transition economies of South-Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. But in sub-Saharan Africa, which already had the highest poverty rates in the world, millions more fell deep into poverty (UNSD, 2005).

Generally, it is observed that economic growth is a necessary condition for poverty reduction, depending on the population growth and level of inequalities of income distribution. The participation of the poor in economic growth is dependent on certain factors such as access to health and education, infrastructure in rural areas, laying a fair ground for participation in decisionmaking. Thus, poverty reduction frameworks are the direct links to touching the lives of the poor.

A Comprehensive Development Framework approach was launched in 1998 (World Bank, 1998). It recommends a holistic approach to seeking a better balance in policy-making and implementation. It highlights the interdependence of all elements of development. These are social, structural, human, governance, environmental, macroeconomic and financial.

World leaders attending the World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995, on the basis of common pursuit of social development, launched a global drive for social progress and development embodied in the following commitments (United Nations, 1995):

- 1. Create an economic, political, social, cultural and legal environment that will enable people to achieve social development;
- 2. Eradicate absolute poverty by a target date to be set by each country;
- 3. Support full employment as a basic policy goal;
- 4. Promote social integration based on the enhancement and protection of all human rights;
- 5. Achieve equality and equity between women and men;
- Attain universal and equitable access to education and primary health care;
- Accelerate the development of Africa and the least developed countries;
- 8. Ensure that structural adjustment programmes include social development goals;
- 9. Increase resources allocated to social development; and

10. Strengthen cooperation for social development through the UN.

In addition, there are other internationally supported initiatives dealing with poverty reduction such as the Poverty Reduction Strategies, Commission for Africa, Millennium Challenge Account, and New Partnership for Africa's Development.

Linkages among decentralisation, governance and poverty reduction

Decentralisation has been considered as a strategy that brings service delivery closer to the consumers, improves the responsiveness of the central government to the public demand and thereby reduces poverty, improves the efficiency and quality of public services and empowers lower level units to feel more involved and in control of their developmental process (Asante and Ayee, 2004). In this context, decentralisation embodies elements of local government decision-making at the local level where decision making involves the local people. This is one of the elements of good governance that decentralisation upholds and, therefore, it is based on the premises that participation in local government decision-making would improve.

This means that the authorities at the local levels also have a certain level of freedom to decide on what to do and implement policies that are necessary to speed up their progress and wellbeing. This standard of living relates to the quality and quantity of service delivery available to the public. Thus, with the inclusion of the local people in decision-making, for instance, in the annual budget and strategic plan of the respective MMDAs, there is the likelihood that the best needs of the local people would be considered and implemented to achieve best results. Moreover, the critical and most urgent

poverty issues would be taken up at the local level. In this case, poverty elements in the Assembly, whether it relates to water, education, health or whatever the case may be would be given the needed attention.

Good governance has great value for enhancing development. It also places responsibilities on the citizenry to facilitate their developmental process. One of such responsibilities is the sensitisation of the populace to know how and what they are required and expected to do in order to enhance the development of their areas, communities, towns and the nation as a whole.

Decentralisation can have a direct relationship with poverty reduction in three ways (Ayee, 1995, p. 33):

- The implementation of strategic poverty reduction policies and programmes require location/Assembly specific knowledge and information. This can easily be obtained from decentralised system of governance and structure for the use of both the local and central government;
- 2. The decentralisation process gives the Assembly the authority to raise internal revenue from the Assembly, aside the transfer from the central government and thus transfer is based on a certain agreed poverty reduction formulae such as the type used in administering the District Assembly Common Fund (DACF). This gives the Assembly added opportunity to deal with their peculiar poverty issue, rather than depending solely on what is transferred from the central government to them; and
- 3. In addition to transfer of power and some level of authority, the central government also transfers financial assistance to each Assembly to

undertake specified and/or unspecified projects all with the aim of reducing poverty for the people in the locality.

The foregoing establishes the fact that the integration of values such as democracy, popular participation, responsiveness, accountability and equity which serves as bedrocks of decentralisation would lead to general good governance at the Assembly and improve poverty levels in the MMDAs.

As shown in Figure 1, decentralisation involves the devolution of political, fiscal and administrative responsibilities from the central to the local level. This allows for pertinent political decisions to be made at the local level, taking into account the prevailing local peculiarities. It is important that political decisions are localised and not generalised. When generalised, such decisions may run the risk of being unsuitable for the local situations. Decentralisation also allows fiscal planning and management at the local level, thereby ensuring easy prioritisation of local needs, as well as identification of sources of local revenue generation. Political and fiscal decentralisation is supported by localised administration, thereby cutting bureaucracy associated with central administration.

When practised properly, political, fiscal and administrative decentralisation should lead to empowerment and active participation at the local level as more and more people get involved in decision-making and decisions become more responsive and tailored to the needs of the people. Empowerment and participation should lead to local control over statutory structures, improved local resource mobilisation capacities, and influence of citizens and institutions through participation and representation.

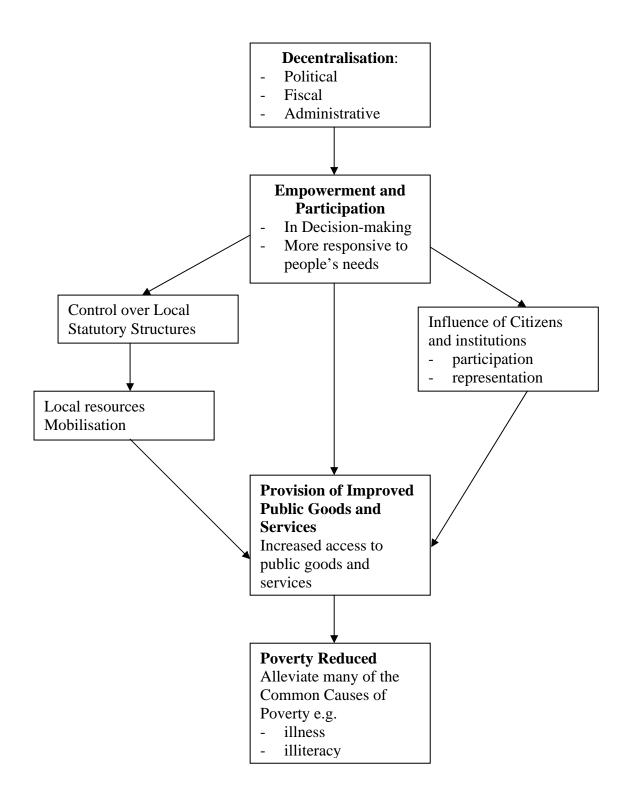


Figure 1: Linkages among decentralisation, good governance and poverty reduction

Source: Asante and Ayee (2004, p. 20)

Altogether, empowerment and participation, as well as their implications for responsiveness to the needs of the local people should lead to improved public goods and services. Such goods and services as healthcare, education, social amenities, legal aid, water, sanitation, roads and other infrastructure should become more available and accessible to local communities.

Ultimately, increased access to public goods and services should lead to poverty reduction by alleviating the common causes of poverty such as poor health, infant and maternal mortality, illiteracy, and lack of suitable environment for livelihoods generation.

Decentralisation process in Ghana

In the pre-independence era of British colonial rule the earliest attempts at local administration during the colonial era were with the 355 native authorities, which centred on a chief or some unit of local royalty which was not well-defined (MLGRD, 1996). Thus, the interest of the colonial masters was mainly to help rule, as to administer law and order. This continued until the passage of a new Municipal Council's Ordination in 1953. This was after the 1943 ordinance had established elected town councils for Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi–Takoradi and Cape Coast (MLGRD, 1996).

After independence, a new Local Government Act, Act 54 of 1961 was passed that made a distinction between central and local government institution for administration. The difference came from the fact that there were central government institutions at the national capital that had branches at the local district level that had responsibility for national issue while the district/local government institutions were formed with well-defined localities.

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While the central government bodies at the local level had qualified personnel, less defined local responsibility and slow decision-making to response to local needs, the local government institutions lacked the required personnel and resources to meet their needs. These situations gave rise to certain constraints and problem including encroaching on the responsibilities of the local government by the central government bodies. Related institutions went their own way without consultation, local government was seen to be ineffective and unable to meet the services required of them, and the upper hand that the central government bodies had over the local government eliminated the local citizenry from decision-making and activities that impacted upon their lives.

With the existence of these problems of local government, before and after independence, various commissions or committees of inquiry were formed to review local governance. These include:

- 1. The Watson Committee (1949)
- 2. Sir Coussey Committee (1949)
- 3. Sir Sydney Philipson (1951)
- 4. The Fredrick Bourne Committee (1955)
- 5. The Greenwood Commission (1957)
- 6. The Regional Constitutional Commission (1957)
- 7. The Akuffo-Addo Commission (1966)
- 8. The Mills-Odoi Commission (1967)
- 9. The Constituent Assembly (1969)

In spite of the recommendations from the various commissions and committees, the aims of local government and decentralisation could not be

achieved. Further efforts saw the passage of the Local Administration Act 359 of 1971 but modified to become the Local Administration (Amendment) Decree of 1974, NRCD 258, to begin actual implementation. This gave rise to 65 District Councils and certain sectors decentralised to the local/district level such as agriculture, education, survey and town planning, community development, among others (MLGRD, 1996). Despite these efforts and empowerment, there were renewed problems in addition to the previous ones that it sought to remedy. These developments gave background to the structure, form and content of the local government reforms of Ghana in 1988.

Decentralisation policy in Ghana

The key tenets of local government are enshrined in the 1992 Republican Constitution to achieve democratic participatory governance; effective and efficient service delivery; and rapid socio-economic development.

Chapter 20 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana makes provision for local government. Article 35 (6d) requires the state to 'make democracy a reality by decentralising the administrative and financial machinery of government to the regions and districts and by affording all possible opportunities to the people to participate in decision-making at every level in national life and government'. The Constitution also establishes the DACF to make resources available for local level development (Government of Ghana, 1992 Article 252 (2)).

In order to achieve these, a number of programmes were envisaged to be implemented, including political decentralisation by establishing MMDAs and Regional Coordinating Councils (RCCs); administrative decentralisation by transferring staff from sector ministry to local government; fiscal decentralisation by allowing the Assemblies to raise their own local funds; decentralised planning by making Assemblies the planning authority; and decentralised management of public-private partnerships (Commonwealth Local Government Forum, 2009).

Legal framework for decentralisation in Ghana

The PNDC government introduced a general reform in Ghana in 1983. In order to enhance local administration and decentralisation, the PNDC government in 1988 formulated and passed a major piece of legislative reform, the Local Government Law (PNDC Law 207). This created 110 designated districts within Ghana's ten regions, with non-partisan District Assembly (DA) elections held initially in 1988/89 and subsequently every four years in 1994, 1998, 2002 and 2006.

The law stated that two-thirds of DA members should be elected on an individual, non-party basis, while one-third should be appointed by central government, along with a chief executive for each district. The stated aim of the 1988 Local Government Law was to promote popular participation and ownership of the machinery of government by devolving power, competence and resources to the district level.

In addition to the legal backing from the constitution, there are other legislative instruments pertaining to local government such as:

- Civil Service Law 1993 (PNDCL 327);
- Local Government Act 1993 (Act 462);

- National Development Planning (System) Act 1994 (Act 479);
- National Development Planning Commission Act 1994 (Act 480);
- District Assemblies Common Fund Act 1993 (Act 455);
- Local Government Service Act 2003 (Act 656);
- Institute of Local Government Studies Act 2003 (Act 647); and
- Other Legislative Instruments such as for the creation of new MMDAs.

Structure of local government in Ghana

The Republic of Ghana practices a unitary state. The country is divided into ten administrative regions, with a regional minister appointed by the President as the Head of State.

The structure of the current local government system in Ghana is provided by the Local Government Act of 1993, Act 462 (Government of Ghana, 1993). As shown in Figure 2, the principal units of local government are the MMDAs. Between all the Assemblies and the central government are the RCCs which are made up of the representatives from each of the Assemblies in the respective regions and from the regional Houses of Chiefs. The role of these bodies is to coordinate policy implementation amongst the MMDAs.

Metropolitan assemblies are larger and host bigger populations (over 250,000) than the DAs (population 75,000 and over). The Municipal assemblies host populations of over 95,000, thus placing them between DAs and Metropolitan Assemblies. Based on the defined criteria, Tema falls within the category of a Metropolis.

The total number of MMDAs has varied over the years. In 1988, the

then 65 local authorities were reviewed and reorganised into 110 MMDAs. In 2004, the government further reviewed and created a further 28 bringing the total to 138 (Commonwealth Local Government Forum, 2009; Ghana News Agency, 2007). At the time of conducting this study, the total number of MMDAs further increased to 170, comprising 6 metropolitan, 40 municipal and 124 district Assemblies (MLGRD & Maks Publications, 2009).

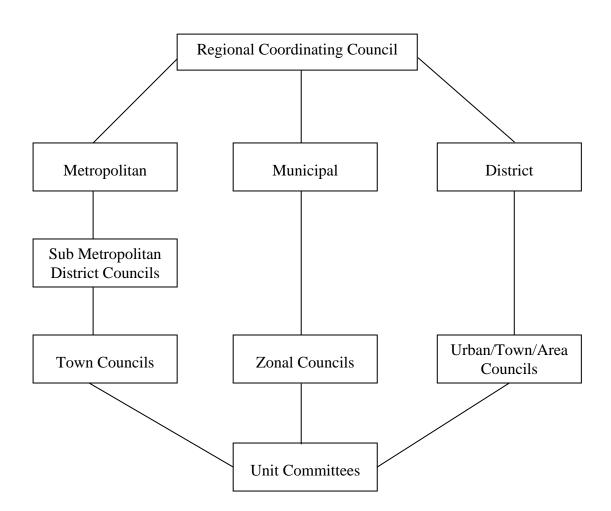


Figure 2: Structure of local government system in Ghana

Source: MLGRD (1996)

The internal political and administrative structures and sub-committees of the MMDAs are also provided by the Local Government Act of 1993, Act 462 (Government of Ghana, 1993). As indicated in Figure 3, the Assemblies perform executive functions through its main organ, the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee is elected by the General Assembly. The sub-committees deliberate over issues and make recommendations to the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee in turn reports to the General Assembly.

The District Chief Executive, who holds the office by virtue of nomination by the President and the support of two-thirds of the membership of the Assembly, heads the Executive Committee. He or she is responsible for the performance of the executive and administrative functions of the Assembly and serves as the chief representative of the central government in the district.

Under the executive committee are five mandatory sub-committees. They include the development planning committee, the social services sub-committee, the works sub-committee, the justice sub-committee, and the finance and administration sub-committee.

With the exception of the presiding member, all Assembly members must sit on at least one sub-committee. The Assemblies have full discretion to establish further committees as they see fit. They are also empowered to establish joint committees with one another for any project in which they hold a joint interest. Such joint committees must report to the Executive Committees of the Assemblies involved.

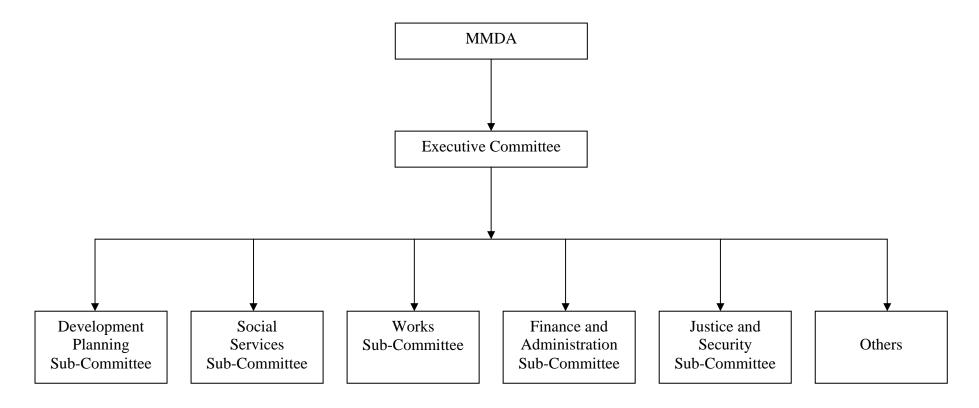


Figure 3: Sub-committees of the executive committee of the Assembly

Sources: MLGRD (1996)

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter elaborates on the approach employed for the study. It starts by profiling the study area. It also provides a framework within which the study was conducted using carefully selected methods, techniques and tools for collecting, organising and analysing the data.

Profile of Tema Metropolis

This study focused on the Tema metropolitan area of the Greater-Accra region. The Tema Metropolis shares common boundaries with the Accra Metropolis to the west, the Ashaiman municipality to the north-west and Dangme West District to the north-east. The Metropolis is bordered to the south by the Gulf of Guinea.

The industrial sector of the Metropolis represents the most important productive sector in terms of local revenue generation. Currently, there are three steel manufacturing companies in Tema, a large aluminium smelter, and several major food and fish processing companies such as Nestle Ghana Limited, Ghana Cocoa Processing Company, Pioneer Food Cannery and Ghana Agro Food Company. There are also large textiles manufacturing companies.

Beside the heavy industries, there are also numerous light industries, with over 250 factories in the Metropolis engaged in eight major areas: chemicals, textiles, food processing, engineering, paint, fish cold stores, printing and wood working.

The Metropolis has a huge port, and has been designated a Free Port and Export Processing Zone, whereby special facilities are accorded to imports and exports without payment of customs duties or local taxes. Utilities and social services are modern.

Efficient and good economic and social infrastructural facilities are in place and are continuously being upgraded. Tema, the capital of the Metropolis is less than 25 kilometres away from Accra, which provides the largest and most affluent market for both consumer and intermediate goods in the country.

The 2000 Ghana Population Census and Household Survey put the total population of the Metropolis at 511,459 made up of 252,109 males and 259,350 females (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002). The Metropolis is also known to have a high population growth rate of 2.6 per cent (Tema Metropolitan Assembly, 2004). This could be attributed to rampant migration of people from other parts of the country to Tema in search of jobs at the industries and factories (TMA, 2004).

The choice of Tema Metropolis as the study area was due to its suitability for possible capturing of views of the various social, cultural and religious groups. The fact that Tema Metropolis has a heterogeneous population notably Ga-Adamgbe, Akan, Ewe, Hausa, among others, makes it a suitable study area to reflect diverse sentiments.

Research design

The research is cross sectional and combines different methodologies;

(a) review of existing data and information relating to decentralisation, poverty and good governance in the Tema Metropolis; and (b) qualitative processes using focus group discussions and key informant interviews. The qualitative aspects considered in addition include historical studies and reviews that lend support for the impact of decentralisation on governance and poverty situation. The use of reviews, analysis of existing data and qualitative methods is to complement each other and to strengthen the outcome of the analysis.

Study population

The population of the study comprised core and programme staff of TMA, Assembly members, representatives of registered NGOs operating in the Metropolis, and opinion leaders recognised by the TMA. The distribution of the study population was as shown in Table 1:

Table 1: Distribution of study population

Population	Number
Core staff	6
Programme staff	78
Assembly members	56
NGOs	365
Opinion leaders	112

Source: Field data (2008)

Sampling techniques

The purposive sampling technique was used to select the target population that were involved in the study. The rationale behind the purposive sampling technique was to locate information-rich sources. The five separate groups of stakeholders (core staff, programme staff, Assembly members, NGOs, and opinion leaders) were generally deemed to be knowledgeable and experienced in the local governance and poverty reduction processes in the locality.

The respondents for the key informant interviews were purposively selected from amongst the core staff because of their positions, knowledge and experience in the local governance system in the Tema Metropolis. Out of the 6 core staff, a sample size of 3 representing 50 per cent of the population was selected. They are the Chief Executive, Coordinating Director, and Planning Officer.

Convenience sampling was used to select participants for the focus group discussions. Due to usually busy schedules, participation in the focus group discussions was based on availability of the target participants. Out of 78 programme staff, 18 were able to participate fully in the focus group discussion. Among the 56 Assembly members of TMA were 8 females. All the 8 females were able to join 13 of their male counterparts in the focus group discussion. Also, representatives of 42 NGOs joined the focus group discussion out of the 365 registered, while 36 out of the 112 opinion leaders recognised by the TMA participated in the focus group discussion.

The total number of respondents (both key informants and discussants) is 120 and the distribution of this is as shown in Table 2:

Table 2: Distribution of respondent

Respondent	Number
Core staff	3
Programme staff	18
Assembly members	21
NGOs	42
Opinion leaders	36

Source: Field data (2008)

Research instrument

For the purpose of this research, an interview guide for Key Informant Interviews and a Focus Group Discussion guide were used. The choice of these research instruments over a structured interview was informed by the nature of the research; a review which requires mainly qualitative data collection through open-ended discussions. Both guides were divided into two parts (Parts A and B) as shown in Appendices A and B. The first part (Part A) covered demographic variables such as gender, age, educational qualification, status in Assembly, and duration of work or attachment to the TMA. The second part (Part B) covered the four research questions, with specific subquestions under each main question.

Data collection

Primary data was collected through four separate focus group discussion sessions and three key informant interviews. The first focus group discussion was held on March 3, 2008 with Assembly members. The second focus group discussion was held on March 22, 2008 with representatives of NGOs operating within the Tema Metropolis. The next focus group session was held on March 28, 2008 with personnel of the TMA. The final focus

group discussion was held on April 6, 2008 and attracted opinion leaders and community members in the Metropolis. The venue for all of the focus group discussion sessions was the Assembly hall of TMA. Participation in each of these sessions was based on convenience and availability.

Key informant interviews were held with 3 core staff whose positions at the TMA make them indispensable for this research. The Metropolitan Chief Executive (MCE), Metropolitan Coordinating Director (MCD), and Metropolitan Planning Officer (MPO) of the TMA were interviewed on separate occasions in their respective offices. The MCE and MPO were interviewed on March 19, 2008 while the MCD was interviewed on April 3, 2008. The interviews focused on the stated objectives of the study, using a set of open-ended questions under each objective as outlined in the guide.

Secondary data was collected over a period of two months, March to April 2008, through review and content analysis of documents relevant to the research. These documents were obtained from Institute of Local Government Studies and TMA libraries, and through online research. Data generated from this process were used to support the theoretical discourse on governance and poverty reduction in the Tema Metropolis.

Data analysis

Data collected during this study were electronically recorded, transcribed, thematically clustered, and reduced to a useable state. This was followed by thorough content analysis and personal reflection of the issues discussed. Due to the nature of this study, no statistical tools were used for data analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the study, based on the research questions set in Chapter One. It starts by presenting the characteristics of respondents followed by a discussion of the field data that was generated under each of the four research questions.

Characteristics of respondents

The characteristics of respondents that were considered for this study were sex, age, education, and occupation. Sex of respondents was important in determining the level of gender balance. Out of 117 discussants in the focus groups, 71 were male and 46 were females. All the three key informants were men. On age, 79 out of the 117 focus group discussants were above 35 years while the remaining 38 were below 35 years. All the three key informants were also above the age of 35.

Educational qualification of respondents was relevant in ensuring the level of understanding they would bring to bear on the issues under investigation. In this vein, the 3 key informants were educated up to University level, together with 76 of the focus group discussants. The remaining 41 discussants were educated up to diploma level.

The occupation of respondents was critical to ensuring that respondents were directly or indirectly involved with the work of TMA and had appreciable knowledge of various issues within the Tema Metropolis. All 3 key informants were fulltime public servants, same as 18 of the discussants; 21 were Assembly members with previous experience as professional teachers, traders, and community workers; 42 were fulltime staff in community-based NGOs; and 36 were individual opinion leaders with varying professions, such as teaching, journalism, petty trading, banking, farming, commercial driving, carpentry, and fishing. The rest are public servants, business owners and recent graduates.

The poverty situation in the Tema Metropolis

This section outlines and discusses results for the first research question based on responses received under the following sub-headings: understanding of poverty, dimensions and manifestations of poverty, causes of poverty, current coping mechanisms, future coping mechanisms, and potentials within the metropolis.

Understanding of poverty

Focus group discussants generally understood poverty to be the inability of an individual, family or a community to meet its universal basic needs such as good shelter, food, safe drinking water, clothing, education and health care. This understanding was not too far from those of the key informants who simply perceived poverty as the lack of basic necessities of life. These include shelter, education, health, clothing and ability to afford

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three meals a day. The key informants also mentioned that those who are below the poverty line as set by the Ghana Statistical Service (2008) are considered poor, aside inability to engage in decent employment for income and. Tables 3 and 4 summarises the perceptions of the focus group discussants and the key informants respectively on their understanding of poverty.

Table 3: Views of focus group discussants on the meaning of poverty

Discussants	Meaning of poverty
Group 1:	1. Lack of money or means of survival
Assembly	2. Lack of funds to educate ones children
members	3. Inability to provide ones daily needs or life needs
	4. No funds to go to hospital, school
	5. Lack of access to health facilities and education
	6. Lack of access to food and housing
	7. Lack of access to clothing
	8. Low income
Group 2: NGOs	1. Lack of basic necessities like food, shelter
	2. Unable to afford medical bill
	3. Poor education
	4. Very low income
	5. Low self esteem

Group 3:	1.	Inability of an individual, family or a community
Programme Staff		to meet its universal basic needs such as good
of TMA		shelter, food, safe drinking water, clothing,
		education and health care.
Group 4:	1.	Limited access to health facilities
Opinion Leaders	2.	Limited access to food
	3.	Limited access to basic education
	4.	Limited access to clothing

Source: Field data (2008)

Table 4: Views of key informants on the meaning of poverty

Key Informant	Meaning of poverty		
Metropolitan	1. Unable to enjoy basic necessities of life such as		
Chief Executive	shelter, food, good drinking, water, health facilities		
	2. Unemployment		
	3. Not able to make ends meet, resulting in limited		
	choices		

Metropolitan

1. Lack of basic necessities of life; shelter, food, clothing,

Coordinating

clean water, health, education

Director

2. One does not and cannot have them because of one's

peculiar circumstances

Metropolitan

1. Lack of basic amenities of life such as clean water,

Planning Officer

health facilities, food, shelter

2. Unemployment: lack of income to care for one and

family and to afford basic necessities of life

3. Employment but may earn so little as not to make

choices

Source: Field data (2008)

Beyond the views of the focus groups and key informants, Moser

(2004) emphasises that poverty is multi-dimensional, ranging from material to

immaterial dimensions. Poverty can be defined as lack of a conjunction of

financial, economic-productive, educational, assets such as

knowledge/cultural and political assets. Assets provide what Sen (1999) points

out as capability to reduce poverty.

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Dimensions and manifestations of poverty

The focus group discussants and key informants shared similar views on the dimensions and manifestations of poverty within the Tema Metropolis. Tables 5 and 6 outline the detailed responses of the discussants and informants.

Table 5: Views of focus group discussants on manifestations of poverty in Tema metropolis

Discussants	Manifestations of Poverty	
Group 1:	1. Inability to afford one square	
Assembly	2. Inability to afford decent clothing	
Members	3. Urban dwellers living in slum	
	4. Inability to pay school fees	
	5. Inability to seek medical attention/treatment	
Group 2: NGOs	1. Lifestyle	
	- Eating of food with low nutritional value	
	- Source of drinking water e.g. pond, river	
	- Cloths they wear- worn out, dirty	
	- Exposure to outside world	
	2. Lack of education and health infrastructure	
	3. Obsolete farming tools	

Group 3: 1. Poor diet

Programme Staff 2. Poor sanitary conditions

of TMA 3. Poor road infrastructure

4. Low antenatal care, high maternal death

5. Low credit worthiness

6. High prevalence of teenage pregnancy

7. High school drop-out rate

8. Malnutrition of children

Group 4: Opinion 1. Diseases

Leaders 2. Malnourishment

3. Poor shelter

4. Appearance (miserable)

Source: Field data (2008)

Table 6: Views of key informants on the meaning of poverty

Key Informant	Meaning of poverty
Metropolitan Chief Executive	Inability to afford one decent meal evidenced by malnourishment
	2. Inability to afford decent clothing evidenced by miserable appearance
	3. Poor shelter evidenced by metropolitan dwellers living in slums
	4. Inability to seek medical attention and treatment
Metropolitan	1. Children of school going age at home due to inability
Coordinating	to afford the cost of education
Director	2. Prevalence of water borne diseases
	3. Lack of basic socio-economic infrastructure
	4. Congestion in homes
Metropolitan	•
Planning Officer	least one decent meal per day
	2. Prevalence of all forms of social vices in the
	community such as prostitution, drug abuse and
	thievery
	3. High unemployment
	4. Poor diet

Source: Field data (2008)

A review of development literature reveals various dimensions of poverty. On the material side, lack of financial and economic productive assets is interrelated with income poverty, lack of food security and other types of consumption poverty. On the 'immaterial' side, lack of social assets in terms of access to networks and associations may deepen other dimensions of poverty. Somewhere in the middle there is poor health and low levels of education (low human capital).

Kanbur and Shaffer (2006) make a distinction between a consumption approach and participatory approach to poverty. The consumption approach is more akin to counting income and consumables at the household level. It requires quantitative methods of measurement. The participatory approach requires qualitative methods, and it has affinity to the assets approach. The participatory approach emphasises empowerment starting with the poor citizens' acquisition of political, social and educational assets through sensitisation and mobilisation into more active political and social participation.

Under the consumption approach, a distinction could be made between individual and collective consumption. The latter refers to the use of public services like the provision of water, health and education. To take the assets approach, there are certain 'intangible' collective goods like rule-of-law and political, social and economic rights. Lack or little use of such public services and goods can be defined as collective poverty. Usually, this type of poverty is usually shared by all individuals within a collective, independent of their

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household income and other aspects of individual poverty, although those with individual wealth may escape from this type of poverty.

Causes of poverty

Within the context of the Tema Metropolis, the focus group discussants identified many causes of poverty, including unemployment and poor access to credit for the start-up of income-generation activities as shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Views of focus group discussants on the causes of poverty in Tema metropolis

Discussants	Causes of poverty	
Group 1:	1. Inability to save and hence invest	
Assembly	2. Large family size depending on small income	
Members	3. Lack of job opportunities	
	4. Irresponsibility on the part of the men to take very	
	good care of their households; some men use all their	
	money on alcohol	
	5. Lack of employable skills	

Group 2: NGOs

- 1. Little or no access to credit, thereby making it difficult for local people, especially youth to start any income generating activities by themselves
- 2. Poor market access for farm produce
- 3. Intra-family disputes over land, rendering most families unable to generate the needed economic gains from land resources

Group 3:
Programme Staff

of TMA

- Taking over of farm lands by residential and industrial activities rendering most families who basically depend on agriculture penniless
- Teenage pregnancy leading to young girls' inability to continue their education and always end-up having no employable skills

Group 4:

1. Lack of job opportunities

Opinion Leaders

- 2. Few opportunities for vocational training for youth
- 3. Little or no access to credit

Source: Field data (2008)

The key informants cited general causes of poverty in Tema, including low levels of productivity and income, poor health, personal incapability,

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negative cultural practices and social attitudes, poor education, dependency culture, and inadequate infrastructure.

Apart from these general causes of poverty, the key informants also acknowledged that lack of good governance as well as general public policy failures have also perpetuated poverty in the Metropolis. It emerged during the interviews that, when left unaddressed, poverty can have major consequences for the Metropolis including hunger, drudgery, low esteem, a feeling of insecurity, vulnerability, powerlessness, isolation, sense of helplessness, inability to honour social obligations, weak capacity to educate children, under-utilisation of potentials, environmental degradation, and spread of diseases.

Current coping mechanisms

The discussants and informants generally acknowledged that local people in the Tema Metropolis adopted several ways of cushioning themselves in order to cope with the poverty situation. The key informants identified the following coping mechanisms in the various communities:

- Relying on remittances from relatives abroad;
- Alternating between a lot of economic activities, depending on the season;
- Engaging in petty trading such as selling water, firewood and foodstuffs;
- Resorting to self-medication when ill;
- Engaging in night activities like prostitution; and

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 Diverting from normal occupations to other odd jobs such as sand winning, woodcutting and selling, petty trading, child labour, and head pottering (kayayee).

The outcome of the focus group discussions also indicate that most people within the Metropolis engage in small-scale income-generation activities like barbering, dressmaking and petty trading in order to survive. Others have also engaged in illegal activities like prostitution, stealing and sand winning as shown in the Table 8.

Table 8: Views of focus group discussants on current coping mechanism against poverty in Tema metropolis

Discussants	Coping mechanisms	
Group 1: Assembly	1.	Buying on credit
Members	2.	Selling and paying of debt by instalment
	3.	Petty trading e.g. selling of firewood
	4.	Sand winning
	5.	Staking of lotteries
	6.	Prostitution
	7.	Stealing
	8.	Depending on friends/relatives for assistance

Group 2: NGOs

- 1. Cutting of firewood for sale
- 2. Making of fufu pestle for sale
- 3. Farming (growing of vegetables) and foodstuffs
- Undertaking menial jobs such as carrying load for people in the cities (Kayayee)
- 5. Charcoal burning for sale
- 6. Borrowing
- 7. Assistance from friends and relatives
- 8. Irrigation farming (from the dams)
- 9. Credit facilities to increase production

Group Three:

1. Charcoal burning

Programme Staff of

2. Cutting firewood for sale

TMA

- 3. Petty trading
- 4. Sand-winning
- 5. Prostitution
- 6. Stealing
- 7. Undertaking menial jobs
- 8. Casual employment as farmhands and househelps
- 9. Buying things on credit to trade
- 10. Relying on foreign remittances

Group Four:

1. Family planning to reduce the size of the family

2. Diverting to farming during lean fishing season

3. Cutting and selling of fire wood

4. Undertaking of menial jobs likes farm hands and head pottering (Kayayee) at the seashore

5. Truck pushing

6. Some of the young girls are engaged in prostitution

7. Barbering

8. Fishing

9. Construction work

10. Buying and selling on the street

Source: Field data (2008)

Future coping mechanisms

All respondents (both discussants and informants) underscored future interventions that are needed in the Metropolis in order for local people to come out of poverty. The key informants suggested the following coping mechanisms for dealing with poverty in the Metropolis:

- Change in lifestyle; cultivate the habit of saving;
- Irrigation facilities should be provided to farmers;
- Agriculture extension services should be provided to farms;
- Credit facilities should also be extended to local people to venture into income-generating activities;

- Provision of employable skills; and
- Improving the socio-economic infrastructure.

Table 9 presents the suggestions by way of interventions that were proposed during the focus group discussions.

Table 9: Future coping mechanisms against poverty in Tema metropolis

Discussants	Coping mechanisms
Group 1:	1. Vocational training
Assembly	2. Micro financing
Members	3. Employment generation
	4. Financial support from family sources
	5. Cultivating savings habits
	6. Availing to skill training in the informal sector
	7. Forming co-operatives to solicit financial assistance
	from NGOs
	8. Move from the habit of self-medication to seek medical
	treatment

Group 2: 1. Provision of storage facilities

NGOs 2. Change in lifestyle

3. Crop rotation

4. Provision of irrigation facilities with existing dams

5. Upgrading of existing vocational / technical schools

6. Formation of cooperatives

7. Sensitisation of the populace on positive living

Group 3: 1. Alternating between the selling of fish and crop farming

Programme depending on the season.

Staff of TMA 2. Learning a trade e.g. tie and dye, hairdressing, catering

3. Formation of co-operatives to help each other

4. Petty trading

Group 4: 1. Creation of employment

Opinion 2. Provision of electricity

Leaders 3. Improvement of farming practices

4. Provision of agricultural extension services

5. Forming of groups or unions to access large tracts of

land for farming and to access loans and credit facilities

Source: Field data (2008)

Potentials

The focus groups discussants and key informants agreed that Tema Metropolis is endowed with a variety of potentials, which when properly tapped, could support the quest for poverty reduction in the Metropolis. The following major potentials were identified:

- Available and cheap labour;
- Existence of ready market for produce;
- Existence of the harbour;
- Presence of socio-economic infrastructure;
- High water table in certain areas which can be tapped in the provision of potable water and for irrigational purposes;
- Presence of the beach;
- Proximity to industries;
- Availability of land at relatively cheaper cost for both industrial, agricultural and residential purposes;
- Proximity to free zone enclaves; and
- Conducive environment for livestock rearing.

The state of governance in the Tema metropolis

A review of literature on Tema reveals that until 1952, Tema was a small fishing village when the Government of Ghana decided to develop a deep seaport there. The Tema Development Corporation (TDC) was created to supervise the development process in the new Tema township. Tema became an Autonomous Council in 1974 and was elevated to the status of a Municipal Assembly in December, 1990 (MLGRD and Maks Publications, 2009). In

2007, Tema was further elevated to a metropolis through an Executive Instrument issued by the President of the Republic. TMA is the pivot for local governance in Tema.

As prescribed by the decentralisation policy, the Assembly has a Chief Executive who is nominated by the President of the Republic of Ghana and must receive two-thirds of the votes of the Assembly. The Chief Executive is responsible for the day-to-day performance of the executive functions of the Assembly. He also supervises the departments of the Assembly and he is the chief representative of the central Government in the Metropolis.

TMA has an 84-member Assembly and is the highest political and administrative authority in the Metropolis. Fifty-six Assembly members, two-thirds of the Assembly, are directly elected by universal adult suffrage. Twenty-five members are appointed by the President in consultation with chiefs and other interest groups in the Metropolis. Five members of Parliament are ex-officio members.

The Assembly has a Presiding Member who presides over its General Assembly meetings. The Metropolitan Co-ordinating Director who is a career civil servant is the secretary to the Assembly and performs administrative functions.

The Executive Committee of TMA is composed of not less than onethird of the total membership of the Assembly and is chaired by the Chief Executive. The Executive Committee co-ordinates plans and programmes of the sub-Committees and submits these as comprehensive plans of action to the Assembly. It also implements resolutions of the Assembly and oversees the administration of the Metropolis in collaboration with the office of the Metropolitan Chief Executive. The Executive Committee has the following Sub-Committees:

- Development Planning Sub-Committee;
- Social Services Sub-Committee:
- Works Sub-Committee;
- Justice & Security Sub-Committee;
- Finance & Administration Sub-Committee:
- Environment and Sanitation Sub-Committee; and
- Women and Children Sub-Committee.

The Sub-Committees are responsible for collating and deliberating on issues relevant to the Assembly in its deliberative, executive and legislative function. They submit their recommendations to the Executive Committee for consideration and subsequent presentation to the general Assembly for ratification.

The Assembly also has a Public Relations and Complaints Committee which is chaired by the Presiding Member. This Committee receives complaints made against the conduct of Assembly members and its staff from the public and makes recommendations to the Assembly.

In addition to the above-mentioned structures, there are 5 Zonal Councils and 133 Unit Committees. The Zonal Councils are Kpeshie, Kpone, Katamanso, Tema, and Manhean.

There is a Metropolitan Security Committee in the Metropolis of which the Metropolitan Chief Executive is the Chairman. It draws its membership from the Police, Armed Forces, Bureau for National Investigation, Customs, Excise and Preventive Service, Ghana Immigration Service, and Fire Service. This committee is responsible for all matters relating to security in the Metropolis.

Administratively, police operational areas are termed 'regions'. Tema is a regional headquarters of the Police Service. However, the police administrative area is not conterminous with political jurisdiction. Thus, the Tema Police region stretches beyond the jurisdiction of the Tema Metropolis. Within the Tema region, there are seven Police Districts made up of Communities 1 and 2, Railways and Ports, Prampram, Ada and Dodowa. Each of these districts, which have a large jurisdictional area, is headed by senior Police personnel not below the rank of Assistant Superintendent of Police.

Regarding the extent to which these structures are functional, both the discussants and key informants acknowledged that there are difficulties in the operationalisation of the local government structures in the Metropolis. They cited for example that operation of the Zonal Councils has been hampered by lack of offices, logistics and staff. Only Kpeshie and Tema Zonal Councils have offices and even in their cases, these councils are faced with serious logistical and human resource problems.

Under a Community Based Rural Development Project (CBRDP), Katamansu and Kpone Zonal Councils and Unit Committees received technical support in preparing their own operational plans. It was also revealed that only about half of the Unit Committees required have been constituted.

It was therefore emphasised by all respondents that there is a gap in the democratic structures created by the non-operational Zonal Councils and Unit Committees. Since the Zonal Councils and Unit Committees are at the very grassroots of the Metropolis and are, therefore, the channel for grassroots

consultation and participation in the governance process, their inactivity means that citizens do not have the needed opportunity to feed into policy and programme development. More so, this phenomenon has broken the channel for community mobilisation, education, and ownership of government policies and programmes. There is little information flow between the Assembly and the local community, and thus, governance has been at the top, without a flow to the bottom. Even among the Assembly members, respondents cited poor performance of their functions. This was blamed on the lack of requisite capacity and experience. Some Assembly members just do not participate in any sessions, especially the ex-officio members who also serve as MPs in the Metropolis.

Some focus group discussants indicated that there is political interference in the work of the Assembly which hampers progress. There are political undertones in the selection of high ranking officials in the Assembly, including the Presiding Member and Zonal Council chairs. The political inclination of the MCE, MPs and Assembly members hampers effective, non-partisan work.

The respondents (both focus group discussants and key informants) also cited certain situations in the governance process which hamper the full realisation of the local government process. These were delays in executing Assembly decisions, low involvement in project design and implementation by stakeholders such as Non-Governmental Organisations and opinion leaders, and inadequate logistics, motivation and remuneration for administrative staff.

Poverty reduction programmes implemented by the TMA

This section discusses the major poverty reduction programmes implemented by TMA. A review of existing documents revealed that organised poverty reduction programmes by the TMA started in 1996 and by the year 2006, 3 of such programmes were initiated namely: (a) Five-Year Development Plan 1996 – 2000; (b) Poverty Reduction Strategy 2002 – 2005; and (c) Medium Term Development Plan 2006 – 2009.

Five-Year Development Plan 1996 – 2000

The five-year development plan was drawn in congruence with the objectives and strategies of the broader national development framework, the erstwhile Ghana Vision 2020. The plan had 5 main objectives, namely social development, economic development, infrastructure development, environmental development, and spatial development (TMA, 1996).

The social development objective laid more emphasis on expanding existing facilities in education, health, water, sanitation, recreation, security and fire-fighting towards the improvement of human capital and attraction of investors. By increasing access to these basic facilities by the local people, the Assembly would contribute towards the development of people which should ultimately lead to the eradication of poverty in the metropolis. In order to achieve this objective, several projects were implemented including rehabilitation and upgrading of existing schools and health facilities, construction of new schools and health facilities, and the provision of entirely new social facilities in areas of recreation, security and fire-fighting in response to investor attraction.

Under the economic development objective, TMA embarked on an investment drive to ensure maximum growth around industrial manufacturing, services and non-traditional exports. As Tema is the main industrial and port city, the attainment of this objective was particularly congruent to the nation's objective of shifting the structure of the economy from agriculture dependence to industrial based. In this pursuit pilot projects and extension services were established in non-traditional export activities, providing credit and other inputs to improve fishing, livestock and crop farming sub-sectors, promoting industrial estates, accelerating the establishment of the export processing zones, and establishing a viable investment promotion unit.

With bias in favour of operation and maintenance of existing infrastructure such as roads, coastal protection, drainage and the sewerage system that would improve the physical conditions of the area, the infrastructure development of the five-year development plan was to lead to the creation of the necessary enabling environment needed to retain current and planned investments. An operation and maintenance package to sustain existing and planned investments was implemented, alongside expansion and completion of the sewerage, drainage and coastal protection projects.

In pursuit of achieving the environmental development objective, the TMA put in place broad monitoring and management teams to ensure that the environment was investor friendly. Strategies adopted towards this objective include cleansing of the lagoons, replanting of coconut trees along the beach front, cleansing of shipwrecks along the coastal frontier and the conservation of forestry and wildlife resources.

The spatial development strategy created a more efficient land-use and land management arrangement, including a redevelopment plan for the central business district, an intensive and decentralised development control package focusing on the fast growing peri-urban areas.

Poverty Reduction Strategy 2002 – 2005

Following the expiration of the five-year development plan in the year 2000, TMA developed a new poverty reduction programme for the period 2002 to 2005. It was called the Poverty Reduction Strategy and it critically examined the prevailing development situation of the then municipality and prioritised key development problems and their associated potentials, opportunities, constraints and challenges under 5 thematic areas, in line with the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS I). The Poverty Reduction Strategy focused on 5 main areas, namely micro economy, production and gainful employment, human resource development, basic services, vulnerable and the excluded, and good governance (TMA, 2002).

The micro economic objective was to ensure sound improvement in the internally generated funds of the Assembly, match revenue with expenditure, and achieve improved financial management practices. The production and gainful employment objective sought to increase productivity and generate employment, halt reduction in farmlands and support marketing and distribution of farm produce.

Under the human resource development and basic services objective a target was set to reduce the number of shift schools in the Metropolis by 25 per cent, improve the human resource base of the health services by 25 per

cent, and increase effective refuse collection and disposal coverage in the municipality. For the vulnerable and the excluded, the strategy was to reduce unemployment, increase enrolment in vocational and skills training institutions, and increase credit facilities for those who are mostly in needed.

The strategy for good governance included the provision of adequate logistics for the TMA administration, institution of mechanism to track outcome of decisions of Assembly, provision of forums for MPs to meet Assembly members and opinion leaders to discuss the utilisation of their share of the common fund, increase transparency and capacity to monitor activities of CSOs and ensure conducive legal environment within the metropolis.

Medium Term Development Plan 2006 – 2009

In 2006, a Medium Term Development Plan (MTDP) was launched by TMA as the new programme for development and poverty reduction in Tema for the period 2006 to 2009. The MTDP was developed in line with the pillars of the national Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II) namely private sector competitiveness, human resource development, and good governance and civic responsibility (TMA, 2006).

The main policy direction and focus private sector competitiveness was to systematically address the structural constraints at the policy and institutional levels that hampered private sector competitiveness in agriculture in the medium term and in the industrial and other sectors over the long term. In line with the above, the development focus in this sector was to improve the agricultural sector through the provision of adequate road networks to the main production areas and settlements, improve energy supply to agro-related

activities within the metropolis and provide infrastructure that would facilitate a ready market for agricultural produce, and ensure that the benefits of this growth are widely shared through better job opportunities.

Under the pillar of human resource development, the MTDP sought to ensure the development of a knowledgeable, well-trained and disciplined labour force with the capacity to drive and sustain private sector led growth. The broad policy areas included education and improved skill development, access to healthcare, malaria control, prevention and treatment of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), access to safe water and adequate sanitation, housing and slum upgrading, and population management.

The broad objective of good governance and civic responsibility was to empower state and non-state entities to participate in the development process and to collaborate effectively in promoting peace and stability. The focus under this pillar was on making the zonal councils more functional, improving coordination with relevant security agencies in the area of public security, and increasing private participation in governance and civic responsibility. The MTDP 2006 – 2009 is still being implemented at the time of conducting this study.

Performance of the TMA in its efforts to reduce poverty in the metropolis

According to the Mission Statement of TMA, the Assembly exists to improve the quality of life of people in the metropolis, through the provision of essential services and the creation of an enabling environment for sustainable development. This is in line with the mandate of MMDAs as stipulated in the Local Government Act of 1993, Act 462. In reviewing the

impact of TMA as a local government entity on poverty reduction, two main benchmarks were used, namely (a) level and quality of participation in policy making and implementation; and (b) economic and social outcomes.

Level and quality of participation in policy making and implementation

Decentralisation was premised on the fact that grassroots concerns or needs would be taken up by their representatives to the Assembly level for consideration. In this case, their needs would have been taken care of by the implementation of appropriate socio-economic policies and programmes.

Underlying the difficulties associated with poverty reduction in the Tema metropolis is the weakness of governance and the absence of an engaged citizenry, Assembly members, and civil society. Also lacking are the right environment of encouraging citizens' participation at both local and Assembly levels, giving and receiving feedback and comments on policies and implementing programmes that directly impacts on the people.

The establishment of the lower levels of decision-making through Assembly members was to enhance popular participation, by bringing in previously excluded groups. Thus, the Assembly concept was to ensure that Assembly members carry the ideas and needs of the masses to the Assembly for consideration in its development plans and, when necessary, for onward submission into the national budget.

However, there are difficulties in the functioning of the local government structures in the metropolis; little or no interaction between Assembly members and electorates; operation of the Zonal Councils has been hampered by lack of offices, logistics and staff; only about half of the Unit

Committees required have been constituted; Assembly members lack requisite capacity and experience.

Since the Zonal Councils and Unit Committees are at the very grassroots of the metropolis and are therefore the channel for grassroots consultation and participation in the governance process, their inactivity means that citizens do not have the needed opportunity to feed into policy and programme development. More so, this phenomenon has broken the channel for community mobilisation, education, and ownership of government policies and programmes. There is little information flow between the Assembly and the local community, and, thus, governance has been at the top, without a flow to the bottom. This lack of access to the needs of the people has led to the implementation of projects that are not relevant to the wellbeing of the people.

It was revealed that most of the Assembly members do not know the laid down Assembly processes. In addition, they lack personal knowledge of pertinent issues which would have enabled them to contribute meaningfully to decision-making and deliberations. One reason that has been attributed to this situation in TMA is the partisan nature of voting for Assembly members. As electorates vote on party lines irrespective of the aspirants' competences, they tend to deliver little to decision-making both at the local and at the Assembly levels. It was noted that less than 15 Assembly members effectively contribute to deliberations during sessions. This has been attributed on the one hand to the inability of the Presiding member to provoke informed discussions, and on the other hand to the Assembly members' low level of understanding of the decentralisation concept and procedures.

Though attendance levels of recent sessions have been observed to be encouraging, there is hardly two sessions held per year even though the calendar of the Assembly stipulates four sessions. Thus, it takes time to take decisions for social welfare. Figures retrieved from the TMA show that progressively, capital expenditure of the Assembly overrides recurrent expenditure, which suggested a move towards development projects as shown in Table 10. However the inability to obtain components of the capital expenditure limits the capacity to strongly affirm that the needs of the people are being met through increasing capital expenditures.

Table 10: Breakdown of TMA expenditures from 2002 – 2004

Expenditure Heads	2002		2003		2004	
	Amount (¢)	%	Amount (¢)	%	Amount (¢)	%
Personnel Emolument	5,329,400,582	24.22	6,536,560,214	21.08	11,137,237,696	21.08
Transportation	2,647,228,142	12.03	2,770,666,452	8.93	3,873,619,886	8.93
General Expenditure	1,788,808,305	8.13	1,788,150,869	5.77	2,838,742,301	5.77
Maintenance, Repairs & Renewals	686,859,587	3.12	1,392,808,216	4.49	687,255,178	4.49
Other Current/ Miscellaneous Expenses	3,438,938,332	15.63	2,209,011,057	7.12	1,943,137,239	7.12
Capital Expenditure	8,110,870,413	36.86	16,317,236,749	52.61	20,834,677,363	52.61
Total	22,002,105,662	100	31,014,433,557	100	41,314,669,662	100
Excess Revenue/Deficit	(1,018,144,380)		64,109,838		(644,323,616)	

Economic and social outcomes

The economic and social outcomes were reviewed under four main thematic areas, namely (a) poverty reduction and economic empowerment; (b) education; (c) health; and (d) water and sanitation.

Poverty reduction and economic empowerment

The main thrust of all the Assembly's development plans and strategies was to accelerate the economic development of the metropolis, taking advantage of its strategic location as a major port and industrial city of Ghana. A review of various Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS) revealed that the rate of poverty (Ghanaians who lived below "the poverty line") was 39.5 percent in 1998/99, down from 51.7 percent in 1991/92, and now at 28.5 per cent in the year 2005/06 (GSS, 2008).

Although poverty could be looked at from various perspectives such as income or consumption, stakeholders' understanding of poverty in the Assembly relates to individual, family or community that cannot afford to meet its basic needs such as food, clothes, shelter, basic health care and education and/or general condition of deprivation on which a person or group of people live.

A household survey in Tema Metropolis in 2002 revealed that average income was ¢400,000 (GH¢40) per month, while average expenditure averaged ¢750,000 (GH¢75). Taking expenditure as a proxy for income, average income was said to be around ¢750,000 (GH¢75) per month (TMA, 2002).

The 2004 Human Development Report (HDR) of TMA (TMA, 2004) measured poverty levels using the human poverty index created by the United Nations Development Programme, which take into account the multidimensionality of poverty. The index captures three aspects of deprivation. The first is survival, and it is emphasised by the proportion of the population that will die before the age of 40. The second is the proportion of the adult population that is illiterate. The third is the ability to have a decent standard of living. This is measured using three variables, namely the proportion of the population without access to health service; the proportion of the population without access to safe or improved water source; and the proportion of underweight children aged less than 5 years. In the absence of data for the Metropolis on the proportion of the population that will die before the age of 40, a proxy was developed using the regional under-five mortality rate. Estimates of the incidence of poverty, measured as the proportion of persons with consumption expenditure below the poverty line in the Tema Metropolis in 2000 was 19 per cent. The estimated human poverty index confirms that poverty in the municipality is lower than in most parts of the country as can be seen in Table 11.

The HDR further indicates that despite the lower incidence of poverty (measured using consumption expenditure) in the Metropolis and relatively lower measures of deprivation, approximately 44 per cent of households in the Metropolis consider themselves to be poor or very poor. Sixty percent of the rural respondents compared to 42 per cent of the urban respondents considered themselves to be poor or very poor. Observations made from the poverty profile of TMA indicate that the poorest regions in the Metropolis are

settlements of the indigenous people whose main occupation is basically agriculture or petty trading (TMA, 2004)

Table 11: Poverty indicators in Tema metropolis

Indicators	•	Tema metropolis		
	Ghana	All	Urban	Rural
Headcount Index (2000)		19	17	35
Human Poverty Indicators:				
Human Poverty Index	41.8	19.4	19.3	20.3
Adult Illiteracy Rated	46.6	20.4	20.2	22.9
% without access to Health Service	42.4	5.9	6.0	8.4
% without access to improved water source	5.9	4.5	4.8	1.3
% underweight children	25.8	37.6	37.7	36.6
Subjective Poverty (2003):				
% neither Poor nor Rich	43.2	46.6	48.4	27.0
% Poor	37.1	25.5	25.0	31.1
% very Poor	9.7	18.3	17.2	29.8

Source: TMA (2004)

The nature of poverty in Tema is not quite different from those that characterise Assemblies with substantial urban communities. The rate of economic and social poverty dimensions are considered to be improving on a slow pace because of the unique national and international status of Tema, which serves as national and international port, housing major industries and transit point to the eastern side of the country.

There are serious infrastructure and housing issues. Apart from the main urban areas such as Tema Township, Sakumono, and Tema Manhia, the housing infrastructure in the Metropolis is not in the best state as rural areas have houses made of mud and thatch. Compared to the national average, a much larger proportion of houses in the Metropolis have facilities such as an inside tap, electricity for lighting, and water closets. A significantly larger proportion of urban households also have access to pipe-borne water (87.6%) compared to rural households (72.5%) (TMA, 2004).

There is a high school drop-out rate as a result of interwoven socioeconomic elements such as low incomes and unskilled human resources. The inhabitants in such communities are not qualified enough for any better wage employment. Thus, they are stuck in odd jobs such as 'shoe shine' jobs.

Related to the issue of drop-out of girls is teenage pregnancy. This is a prevalent issue, as some girls depend on their male counterparts for living. The nature of poverty also features in the lifestyle of the poor. The poor depend on food with low nutritional value, drinking water from ponds or rivers, and clothes that are worn-out and/or dirty, among others. There is also the health component of poverty. Apart from the major urban areas, there is low antenatal care, high maternal death, malnutrition in children, and deliveries take place out of health facilities.

Education

The various development plans and strategies of TMA have all had a goal for the education sector, to increase access and provide quality and efficient education through the provision of more infrastructure facilities and

educational inputs. Within this goal are several objectives: reducing the number of shift schools in the public sector, increasing enrolment in schools in deprived areas especially the girl-child, increasing the retention rate of teachers in deprived areas, and improving and standardising private schools.

A number of ambitious strategies were planned to achieve those. The strategies span across all the spheres of education. In practice, however, the gap between the actualised and the projected targets for education sector is wide. For example, during implementation of the MTDP 2002 – 2006, only four out of the 36 classrooms for primary schools planned were constructed, while the enrolment rate at the basic level also experienced an increase of 0.7 per cent in 2004 over that of the year 2002. Table 12 shows the enrolment levels for both teachers and pupils at the basic level for the years 2002 and 2004.

Table 12: Pupil-teacher enrolment in 2002 and 2005

Educational	No. of Pupils Enrolled		No	o. of Teac	hers Enr	olled
Level			Tra	Trained		trained
	2002	2004	2002	2004	2002	2004
Primary	33,777	34,353	834	919	2	8
J.S.S	21,115	21,434	872	988	3	5
Total	54,892	55,787	1,706	1,907	5	13

Source: TMA (2006)

In addition to these, information gathered revealed that there was steady increase in enrolment at the pre-school, primary and junior high schools from the 1999/2000 to 2003/2004 academic years.

Although enrolment and literacy rates are rising, education is not only about raising literacy levels and providing the human resources needed for economic growth, it is the individual's means of securing better livelihood. To this end, more needs to be achieved in meeting Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) education targets of equal girls' enrolment in elementary school and universal primary education.

Health

The goal of TMA for healthcare was to improve upon the health status of the population. This goal was to be achieved through a number of actions. These included enhancing efficiency in delivery and increased access to health services, ensuring sustainable financial arrangements that protect the poor and improving access to safe water in rural communities and peri-urban communities. This was against the background of the United Nations MDGs related health targets:

- Halt and reverse spread of HIV;
- Halt and reverse spread of Malaria;
- Reduce mortality of under- five year olds by two-thirds; and
- Reduce maternal mortality by three-quarters.

Table 13 shows the performance of the top five diseases reported over the period (2003 - 2004), with malaria as the leading reported case. There was a large increase in reported cases, about 35.5 per cent. Hypertension and skin

diseases declined slightly by 3.5 per cent and 1.1 per cent respectively, showing positive results over the period.

Table 13: Diseases reported in 2003 and 2004

No. of case	% Change	
2003 %	2004 %	
26.86	62.4	35.5
14.9	11.4	3.5
6.16	5.05	1.11
-	0.09	-
-	0.06	-
	2003 % 26.86 14.9	26.86 62.4 14.9 11.4 6.16 5.05 - 0.09

Source: TMA (2006)

Table 14 indicates the various communicable diseases prevailing in the Metropolis over a period of 5 years. Again, Malaria came up as the leading communicable disease with massive infections across the Metropolis. The overall achievement in tackling diseases could be described as mixed. This is because the main reported case, malaria, continues to show upward trend while the other reported cases are not in decline.

Table 14: Trend of communicable diseases prevailing in Tema metropolis

2002	2003	2004	2005	2006*
58002	58424	61081	62132	26922
-	1149	5415	3928	1847
-	398	1404	1038	290
-	244	938	749	456
-	255	813	471	174
-	141	599	395	34
-	105	322	360	90
-	22	78	82	30
-	56	106	77	30
-	20	50	37	16
		58002 58424 - 1149 - 398 - 244 - 255 - 141 - 105 - 22 - 56	58002 58424 61081 - 1149 5415 - 398 1404 - 244 938 - 255 813 - 141 599 - 105 322 - 22 78 - 56 106	58002 58424 61081 62132 - 1149 5415 3928 - 398 1404 1038 - 244 938 749 - 255 813 471 - 141 599 395 - 105 322 360 - 22 78 82 - 56 106 77

^{* 2006} figures are half-year report.

As at 2004, there were 63 private health care facilities in Tema Metropolis, in addition to the public health facilities listed in Table 15. Updated figures were not readily available. However, the data provided shows that TMA's quest to bring healthcare closer to the residents of the Metropolis is still far from reality since there are still fewer than necessary health centres.

Table 15: Types of public health facilities

Name of Clinic/Hospital	Location/Community
Ashaiman Health centre	Ashaiman
Kpone Health Centre	Kpone
Manhean Health Centre	Tema Newtown
Tema General Hospital	Tema
Tema Polyclinic	Tema
Tema Port Health	Tema
TMA Maternity	Tema
Oyibi Clinic	Oyibi

Water and sanitation

Water supply in the Metropolis has been observed to follow the ruralurban divide. It was revealed that the majority of residents in the urban areas have access to pipe-borne water whilst their rural counterpart on the other hand depend on rivers, streams, ponds, dams and sometimes tanker services for their water supply.

Although most urban communities have access to pipe-borne water, the problem with the pipe-borne water system is the regularity of flow. Thus, they have to use the services of water tankers in filling the gap created by non-constant flow. The state of water and sanitation facilities in the Metropolis is depicted in Table 16.

Table 16: Water and toilet facilities constructed from 2002-2006

Physical output achieved	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Total
Hand Dug Wells	0	0	0	0	0	0
Boreholes	10	0	2	0	0	12
Pipe System	0	0	1	0	0	1
Household Latrines	0	637	22	0	4	663
Institutional Latrines	13	16	8	6	5	48
Pipe Extensions Constructed	0	0	0	0	2	2

Bore-holes and hand-dug wells which form the major sources of water for most rural communities elsewhere in the country are few in the Tema communities. This is so because of the saline nature of the water table in the Metropolis.

The number of household latrines constructed was 637, 22 and 4 for 2003, 2004 and 2006 respectively. If the 2003 rate of construction were continued, it would have enhanced the level of disposal of human waste.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the study, highlights the main findings, conclusions, and makes some recommendations for the improvement of local government performance and reduction of poverty in the Tema Metropolis.

Summary

This study set out to review governance and poverty reduction in the Tema Metropolis. It sought to achieve five main objectives, namely, to examine the poverty situation in the Tema locality; examine the state of local governance system; identify current and previous poverty reduction programmes implemented by Tema Metropolitan Assembly; analyse the performance of Tema Metropolitan Assembly in reducing poverty.; and recommend ways to improve local government performance and reduction in poverty.

For the realisation of these objectives, the study combined different methodologies including a review of relevant primary and secondary data obtained from Institute of Local Government Studies, TMA, and through online research. Data generated from this process were used to support the

theoretical discourse on governance and poverty reduction in the Tema Metropolis. The qualitative methods used include focus group discussions, key informant interviews, and historical studies that lend support for the impact of decentralisation on governance and poverty situation. In all, four separate focus group discussions were held for Assembly members, programme staff of TMA, representatives of NGOs, and opinion leaders from the Metropolis, altogether comprising 117 participants. Three key informants were interviewed. They include the Metropolitan Chief Executive, Metropolitan Coordinating Director, and Metropolitan Planning Officer of TMA. Data collected during this study were electronically recorded, transcribed, thematically clustered, and reduced to a useable state. This was followed by thorough content analysis and personal reflection of the issues discussed.

Major findings

The main findings of the study are:

Poverty in the Tema Metropolis was described as limited access to the basic necessities of life; food, safe drinking water, shelter, education, health, and clothing. Poverty manifests itself in various forms and dimensions in the Tema Metropolis, including inability to afford at least one decent meal per day; inability to afford decent clothing; poor shelter; inability to seek medical attention and treatment; inability to afford the cost of education; prevalence of water borne diseases; lack of basic socio-economic infrastructure; congestion in homes; prevalence of all forms of social vices in the community; and high unemployment;

- Causes of poverty identified in Tema Metropolis include low income base; low productivity; poor health; personal incapability; negative cultural practices and social attitudes; low level of education; dependency culture; and inadequate infrastructure;
- The local people in the Tema Metropolis have adopted several ways of
 cushioning themselves in order to cope with their poverty situation.
 These include reliance on remittances from relatives abroad:
 alternating between seasonal income-generation activities; resorting to
 self-medication when ill; engaging in night activities like prostitution;
 diverting from normal occupations to other odd jobs such as sand
 winning, illegal logging, child labour, and head-pottering (kayayee);
- It emerged that the Tema Metropolis is endowed with a variety of potentials which, when properly tapped, could support the quest for poverty reduction. These potentials include: availability of cheap labour; existence of ready market for produce; existence of the harbour and the beach; presence of socio-economic infrastructure; proximity to industries and free zone enclaves within the Metropolis; availability of land for industrial, agricultural and residential purposes; and conducive environment for livestock rearing;
- While there has been significant progress in putting the local government structures in place, there are difficulties in the operationalisation of the sub-structures. The functionality of the Zonal Councils is hampered by lack of pertinent logistics, while just half of the Unit Committees required have been constituted. So, the channel for community mobilisation, education, and ownership of local

government policies and programmes has been weakened and there is little information flow between the Assembly and the local community, and thus governance has been at the top, without a flow to the bottom;

- The full realisation of the local government process is hampered by poor performance of Assembly members mainly due to inadequate capacity and experience; political interference in the work of the Assembly; delays in executing Assembly decisions; low involvement of key stakeholders such as NGOs and opinion leaders in project design and implementation; inadequate logistics; and low motivation and remuneration for administrative staff;
- In reviewing the performance of TMA in achieving reduced poverty in
 the Metropolis based on its development plans and strategies since
 1996, it was noted that the levels of economic and social poverty
 dimensions are considered to be improving, though at a slow pace; and
- Despite the lower incidence of poverty in the Metropolis and relatively lower measures of deprivation, available data shows that approximately 44 per cent of households in the Metropolis consider themselves to be poor. The poverty profile of TMA indicates that the poorest regions in the Metropolis are settlements of the indigenous people whose main occupation is basically agriculture or petty trading and who have the least opportunity to participate in the local governance process in the Metropolis.

Conclusions

From the findings presented, it can be concluded that achieving a reduction in poverty is by no means the sole responsibility of one single entity within the local government area. It is the joint responsibility of all levels of public authority, private undertakings, organised civil society, and development partners. The GPRS II affirms this conclusion by stating that the overall objective of good governance and civic responsibility is to empower state and non-state entities to participate in the development process and to collaborate in promoting peace and stability in the body politic (Government of Ghana, 2006).

Secondly, it can be concluded that a strong level of participatory local governance would have greater impact on poverty reduction since the needs of the local people would be taken into consideration in the development and implementation of the Assembly's development plans and programmes. In the context of TMA, the sub-structures which would serve as the driving force for this strong level of participatory governance are in shambles. Thus, the Assembly is not fully supportive of self-reliant and people-centred development.

Ultimately, local ownership of development has not been achieved in the Tema Metropolis. The poor, therefore, are likely to remain poor because the current local governance practice prevailing in the Metropolis does not provide them with adequate power and resources to act and participate in decision-making on issues that affect their lives.

Recommendations

From the study findings and conclusions, the following recommendations are proposed for consideration by the TMA and its stakeholders towards improvement of local government performance and reduction of poverty:

- First, the TMA and relevant stakeholders should strengthen the capacities of the metropolitan sub-structures to function effectively as the channel for gathering the views of majority of citizens to feed into local policy and programme development. Such capacity strengthening must necessarily include constituting all the required Unit Committees, and providing adequate financial, human and logistical support for the Zonal Councils and Unit Committees within the Metropolis. On financial support, it is recommended that TMA should dedicate at least 50 percent of its internally generated funds towards meeting the financial needs of the sub-structures, such as operational costs and remuneration. Human resource needs of the sub-structures could be met through recruiting and retaining sufficient staff, orientation for new members and staff, and regular training of members and staff on their roles and responsibilities;
- Also, TMA and other relevant stakeholders should strengthen the
 individual capacities of Assembly members to perform their roles and
 responsibilities as representatives of the people in the management of
 the affairs of the Metropolis. Such capacity building should involve
 orientation, training and re-training in relevant subject areas such as
 Assembly by-laws, budget tracking, monitoring, evaluation, and

reporting. Assembly members should also be trained in skills such as community mobilisation, communication, public relations, and facilitation of community meetings. These skills, when acquired, would make Assembly members much more accountable, effective and efficient in delivering their main function of representing the voices of local people in the formulation and implementation of local development programmes in the Metropolis;

- To ensure a holistic, proactive and collective development process within the Metropolis, the scope and trend of capacity building should be widened not only to staff and members of the Assembly and its substructures but also traditional authorities and organised civil society groups. Tema and Kpone traditional councils and the many local NGOs operating in the Metropolis provide additional entry point for grassroots input into the local development process if properly deployed;
- Or civil society organisations in the Metropolis should intensify education on the new local governance system, emphasising the need for citizens' participation in the development process. Such education and sensitisation would reduce apathy and make local people more willing to participate and to hold the duty bearers of the Assembly accountable. It would also increase resource mobilisation as an informed citizenry would be more willing to pay taxes and levies for the collective good of all inhabitants of the Metropolis;
- Since information flow is vital to the realisation of participatory local governance for poverty reduction, a well functioning and well

Metropolis. The system should focus on using reliable tools for disseminating and collecting information, such as setting up a community desk at the Assembly, installing notice boards in the premises of the Assembly, holding community durbars, hosting interactive radio programmes, and using internet services. Such information systems will open up the Assembly and make information accessible to the citizenry, as well as spread the development opportunities within the Metropolis. The internet in particular provides an opportunity for opening up the Metropolis to potential external investors, which could lead to mobilisation of resources for poverty reduction programmes;

It is further recommended that the MCE of TMA should be elected by the inhabitants of the Metropolis rather than the prevailing situation in which central government makes the appointment. This will make the MCE and the Assembly more accountable and responsive to the local people and strengthen in a sustainable way the democratic legitimisation of local government. Political interference especially from central government and political parties would also reduce when an elected MCE holds allegiance to the electorate.

Suggestions for further study

This study has been limited to the Tema Metropolis with the goal to improving local government functions for poverty reduction in that area. Further studies are suggested in other MMDAs in Ghana in order to get a

national picture of the performance of local government in achieving one of its key mandates, which is poverty reduction.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Part One

1.	Date:
2.	Location:
3.	Focus Group:
4.	Number of participants by gender: Male Female
5.	Age Group: 18 to 35Above 35
6.	Educational Level: Diploma & belowBA/Bsc & above
7.	Occupation: NGOTMAAssembly MemberOthers
8.	Duration of work or attachment to TMA:
	Under Three Years Five Years Over Five Years

Part Two

Research Question One: What is the poverty situation in the Tema Metropolis?

- What is your understanding of Poverty?
- What dimensions and manifestations of poverty exist in the Tema Metropolis?
- What in your view are the causes of poverty?
- How do residents of the Metropolis cope with the poverty situation?
- What future coping mechanisms would you suggest?
- What potentials exist for poverty reduction in the Metropolis?

Research Question Two: What is the state of governance in the Tema Metropolis?

- What democratic structures exist in the Metropolis for local governance?
- To what extent are these structures functional?
- How participatory has decision-making been in the Tema
 Metropolis?

Research Question Three: What current and previous poverty reduction programmes are implemented by Tema Metropolitan Assembly?

- What poverty reduction programmes have been implemented by the Tema Metropolitan Assembly in the past?
- What is the current programme for poverty reduction in the Tema
 Metropolitan Assembly?

Research Question Four: How well has the Tema Metropolitan Assembly performed in its efforts to reduce poverty in the Metropolis?

- What is the level and quality of representation and participation in decision-making and policy implementation?
- What economic and social outcomes have been achieved?

APPENDIX B: GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW

Part One

1.	Date:
2.	Location:
3.	Position in TMA:
4.	Sex of respondent:
5.	Age Group: 18 to 35Above 35
6.	Educational Level: Diploma & belowBA/Bsc & above
7.	Duration of work or attachment to TMA:
	Under Three Years Five Years Over Five Years

Part Two

Research Question One: What is the poverty situation in the Tema Metropolis?

- What is your understanding of Poverty?
- What dimensions and manifestations of poverty exist in the Tema Metropolis?
- What in your view are the causes of poverty?
- How do residents of the Metropolis cope with the poverty situation?
- What future coping mechanisms would you suggest?
- What potentials exist for poverty reduction in the Metropolis?

Research Question Two: What is the state of governance in the Tema Metropolis?

- What democratic structures exist in the Metropolis for local governance?
- To what extent are these structures functional?
- How participatory has decision-making been in the Tema
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Research Question Four: How well has the Tema Metropolitan Assembly performed in its efforts to reduce poverty in the Metropolis?

- What is the level and quality of representation and participation in decision-making and policy implementation?
- What economic and social outcomes have been achieved?