DECENTRALIZED GOVERNANCE AND URBAN POVERTY IN GHANA: A CASE STUDY OF SELECTED URBAN SLUMS IN THE ACCRA METROPLITAN AREA.

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CERTIFICATION

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work towards the MSc. Development Policy and Planning and that, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published by another person nor material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree of the University, except where due acknowledgment has been made in the text

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ABSTRACT

Poverty is multi-dimensional. It is characterized by lack of purchasing power, exposure to risk, malnutrition, high mortality rate, low life expectancy, insufficient access to social and economic services and few opportunities for income generation. Though the incidence of poverty in Ghana is much higher in the rural areas, the Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS 5) revealed a growing incidence of poverty in Accra which stood at 10.6 percent. The recent renewed interest in urban issues has been due to the widespread idea that urbanization is speeding up. At the end of the year 2000 about half the world's population live in urban areas, in 1975 this was only 28%. In 1970, developing countries level of urbanization was 25%. In 1994, it has increased to 37% and it is projected to be 57% in 2025 (U.N.O., 2001).

Donors and development agencies have advocated decentralization as an important factor for broadening citizen participation and improving local governance, thereby promoting poverty reduction from bottom up. Local authorities and sub national governments have the most appropriate framework for implementing poverty reduction.

The foregoing sets the basis for this study which is geared at analyzing the effect of decentralization on urban poverty reduction efforts in the Accra Metropolis so as to make recommendations which will help the city and state administrators develop more positive policies and actions towards the urban poor thereby making the whole decentralization process in Ghana pro-poor.

To arrive at the set objectives, the study adopted a Case Study approach to fact finding. Under the case study approach, disproportional stratified sampling derived from Probability Sampling was applied to households using structured questionnaire in four urban slum communities in the Accra Metropolis. The study utilized both secondary and primary data. Although the main sources were secondary data, personal interviews as well as focused group discussions were used to supplement the secondary data. A total of 120 household questionnaires were administered using stratified sampling technique.

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Using the Case Study approach and supporting statistical data collection instruments, the study revealed striking findings.

The study revealed that there is; limited participation by the people in local government activities, low levels of education is a cause of poverty in the study area, there is high income inequality in the study area and also educational attainment, age, sex and income influences one's level of participation in local government activities.

Following from the findings, the study concludes that local governance for poverty reduction and local socio-economic development requires increased participation in public policy making and implementation, accountability, transparency, capacity building and responsive delivery of public services.

However, there is need for government to formulate and carry out thorough implementation of economic development plans and programmes that will provide employment, housing, education, improved health care facilities among other things specifically for the urban poor.

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List of Acronyms

AMA	-	Accra Metropolitan Assembly
CBO	-	Community Based Organization
C.T.P	-	Contribution to Total Poverty
DACF	-	District Assemblies' Common Fund
FGD	-	Focus Group Discussion
GLSS	-	Ghana Living Standard Survey
GPRS	-	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
GTZ	-	German Development Co-operation Agency
GWCL	-	Ghana Water Company Limited
HIPC	-	Highly Indebted Poor Country
IL	-	Income Levels (IL)
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
IP	-	Income Positions (IP)
MLGRDE-		Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Environment
MPCU	-	Metro Planning Coordinating Unit
MPHD	-	Metro Public Health Directorate
NDPC	-	National Development Planning Commission
NDAP	-	National Decentralization Action Plan
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organization
PAMSCAD	-	Programme of Actions to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment
P I	-	Poverty Incidence
SA P	-	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SIF	-	Social Investment Fund
UESP	-	Urban Environmental Sanitation Project
USD	-	United States Dollar
UPRP	-	Urban Poverty Reduction Project

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CHAPTER ONE

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1 Background to the Study

Over the last few years there has been a growing interest in poverty by the International Development agencies. Unfortunately however, there has often been a tendency to see poverty as a rural phenomenon. The implicit assumption has been that urban areas will benefit from growth.

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Much of the important research works on poverty in Ghana and elsewhere focuses mainly on the rural poor, because their numbers are so overwhelming. Policy makers have also focused on alleviating rural poverty, with good reasons. However, with trends showing increasing urbanization in the sub-Saharan Africa, researchers and policy makers are now appreciating the need to shift their attention to the problems of urban poverty.

Poverty has re-emerged in the development debate (beginning in early 1990s) due to the disenchantment and disappointing results of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). In sub-Saharan Africa, the period of SAPs (1980s) has been described as the lost decade (Martinussen, 1997). To some extent, the disappointing results and the conceptual critique of SAPs have forced the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank to reconsider their stand on economic growth and the use of the market as the sole means of allocating resources.

According to Nederveen (2001), the World Bank and the IMF now accept 'development from below' and participation of development stakeholders as necessary requirements for development and poverty reduction. These institutions now generally recognize that development and poverty reduction must be country-led and country-specific. Again, there must be broad internal consensus about the strategies to be applied to achieve poverty reduction. The World Bank and the IMF acknowledge that adopting these principles improve implementation of development programmes. These principles also

promote transparency and accountability, and therefore reduce corruption and mismanagement of development (Pinc, 2004).

It has been acknowledged widely that significant changes in the existing situation is attainable through greater empowerment of communities and more effective participation in decision making at the grass-root level as well as access to improved basic public goods and services like primary health care, sanitation, drainage and education (Ghana Decentralization Policy Review Draft Report, 2007).

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Decentralization has become a worldwide phenomenon and is now part of pluralistic democracy and development. Many countries use decentralization as a strategy for reducing poverty and for effectively delivering basic services to the poor. Donors and development agencies have advocated decentralization as an important factor for broadening citizen participation and improving local governance, thereby promoting poverty reduction from bottom up. Local authorities and sub national governments have the most appropriate framework for implementing poverty reduction and sustainable human development strategies. The developmental role of local government has become crucial, given the socio-economic challenges confronting the people at the local level. The ultimate and compelling objective behind improving upon the quality of life of the people is the reduction of poverty.

In Ghana, the primary focus of the decentralization effort has been to bring the responsibility for development closer to the people so as to make the people who benefit from development interventions, part of the planning and implementation of the solution, to ensure ownership and sustainability. Decentralization promotes good local governance where people are empowered and given the resources and capacity to perform the function of developing their localities.

1.2 Problem statement

The stated aim of the local government reform in Ghana was to transfer functions, powers, means and competences from the central government to the local government,

and to establish a forum at the local level where a team of development agents, representatives of the people and other agencies could discuss the development problems of the district and/or area and their underlying causative factors. On an ideological level, decentralisation is believed to support democratic participatory governance, improve service delivery and also rapid socio-economic development. It is argued that decentralized governance provides the political environment that is supportive of people's welfare through, for example, a demonstrated transparent, accountable and fair system of sharing resources and opportunities amongst the citizens to avoid the poorer members of civil society being more preoccupied with basic economic survival issues (Tendler, 1997).

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Decentralized governance can ensure a more efficient allocation of resources, enhance local resource mobilization and improve local governance. This, in turn, may pave the way for more effective poverty reduction strategies. Notwithstanding its virtues, decentralization has shown limited application and success record particularly in the area of urban poverty reduction in Ghana. A critical element in the incidence of poverty in most urban centers in Ghana is the poverty of the municipal and metropolitan authorities themselves. Most urban local governments have been delinquent with respect to resource mobilization and financial management.

The problem is further compounded by the reluctance of many central government institutions to effectively decentralize and devolve power to the local government institutions. The argument is that this level of government is generally incompetent and is unlikely to be able to hire and retain personnel at the level necessary for them to do those things that would enhance their ability to deal with the problem of poverty. Central to such ability is the provision of infrastructural facilities and services to cover all neighborhoods within their jurisdiction including those peri-urban areas occupied by the poor. Being disempowered themselves, many urban local authorities, especially those of metropolitan centers, are unable to respond effectively and innovatively to the challenges posed by urban poverty and poor urban environment of slums and shanty settlements.

Also, the general reluctance of central government authorities to give popular voice by surrendering power, authority, and resources to local-level structures and strengthening local-level institutions has had adverse consequences on local governance.

After several years of decentralization practice in Ghana coupled with the implementation of numerous poverty reduction interventions in the urban areas of Ghana, urban poverty is said to be on a phenomenal increase in Ghana. A recent study on urban development and economic growth commissioned by the World Bank with support from the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Environment and the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning which targeted strategic areas such as urbanization, decentralization and local economic development revealed that poverty was in the ascendancy in the urban areas of the country with urban poverty accounting for about 10 percent reduction in the country's Gross Domestic Product in 2006.

Available data from the Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS) 2005/2006 indicated that whereas there was a general reduction in poverty in Ghana, urban poverty was on the increase. The results from the GLSS 2005/2006 indicated that the proportion of Ghanaians described as poor in 2006 was 28.5%, falling from 39.5% in 1998. In the Greater Accra Region, poverty had fallen from 15.2 percent in 1998/99 to 11.8 percent in 2005/06. However, the Accra Metropolis experienced a phenomenal increase in poverty over the same period. Whereas poverty increased from 4.4% in 1998 to 10.6% in 2006, extreme poverty increased from 1.9% to 5.4% in the Accra Metropolis over the same period. More recent data estimate that at least two million urban dwellers are classified as poor, based on non-income indicators (housing, education and health). The manifestation of this alarming increase in urban poverty is inadequate urban amenities and social services, inequality and unemployment, low and irregular income and lack of participation in society and its development.

In the light of the above, the study seeks to investigate how decentralized governance has affected poverty reduction and improve the conditions of urban poor in the study area. The following questions were therefore considered to guide the study:

1. What is the nature and practice of decentralization in Ghana?
2. What are the causes and dimensions of urban poverty?
3. What is the nature and spatial distribution of poverty in Metropolitan Accra?
4. What are some of the policies and programmes that have been implemented to address the problem of urban poverty in the Accra Metropolis?
5. What has been the effect of these policies on the urban poor?

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1.3 Goal and Objectives of the Research

The goal of this research was to assess the effect of decentralized governance on urban poverty reduction in some selected urban slum communities in the Accra Metropolitan Area in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

Specifically, the study sought to achieve the following:

1. To assess the nature and practice of decentralization in Ghana.
2. To identify the causes and dimensions of urban poverty.
3. To examine the spatial distribution of poverty in the Accra Metropolis.
4. To discuss some of the policies and programmes that have been implemented to address the problem of urban poverty and the effect of same on the poor in the Accra Metropolis.
5. To provide recommendation on how to make urban poverty reduction programmes effectively pro-poor and sustainable.

1.4 Justification of the study

The first goal of the Millennium Development Goals is the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger by 2015 through the reduction by half, the proportion of people

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living on less than a dollar a day and the reduction by 50 percent the proportion of people who suffer from hunger. This noble goal cannot be attained in the face of increasing urban poverty in Ghana, even though significant gains have been made in the area of rural poverty reduction.

Also, the Millennium Development Goal of "Ensuring Environmental Sustainability" has as one of its targets the achievement of significant improvement in lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers, by 2015. The attainment of this target has a direct relationship with efforts aimed at addressing urban poverty within a decentralized structure.

The significance of the study stems from the fact that the concept of decentralization has in times past received and is increasingly receiving international attention in the fight against poverty on a sustainable basis. Also, the research qualifies to be a significant scholarly and professional contribution to the continuously growing body of knowledge in the areas of local governance, local economic development and urban poverty reduction. This is particularly so in terms of how these relate to the macro-policy framework and programmes in Ghana and the United Nations Millennium Development Goals.

Finally, the findings and conclusions of the study may serve as a basis for further research on the subject in the future.

1.5 Scope of the study

Against the background of financial, logistical and time constraints, the research focused on an urban setting in Ghana. This is because about 43.8 percent of the total population lives in urban areas of the country and also slums are phenomenal in urban areas (2000 Population and Housing Census). In the light of the above the study focused on the Accra Metropolitan Area in the Greater Accra Region. The reason for choosing this area was that, it has the highest record of urban poverty (Ghana Statistical Service, 2006). Specifically, the study was conducted in four selected urban slums and poor

communities in the Accra Metropolitan Area which were Nima, Old Fadama, Chorkor and James Town.

The study covered institutions involved in the decentralization process with the view to assess the extent to which decentralized governance has affected poverty reduction efforts in Ghana. The focus was on the policies, programmes and activities undertaken by these institutions to reduce poverty through the decentralized structures as well as the legal, institutional and regulatory framework for decentralization in Ghana. The study also covered the socio-economic characteristics of urban households, their level of participation in local governance and community development, access to social services like education, health and water and sanitation. The study was carried out between March and August, 2008.

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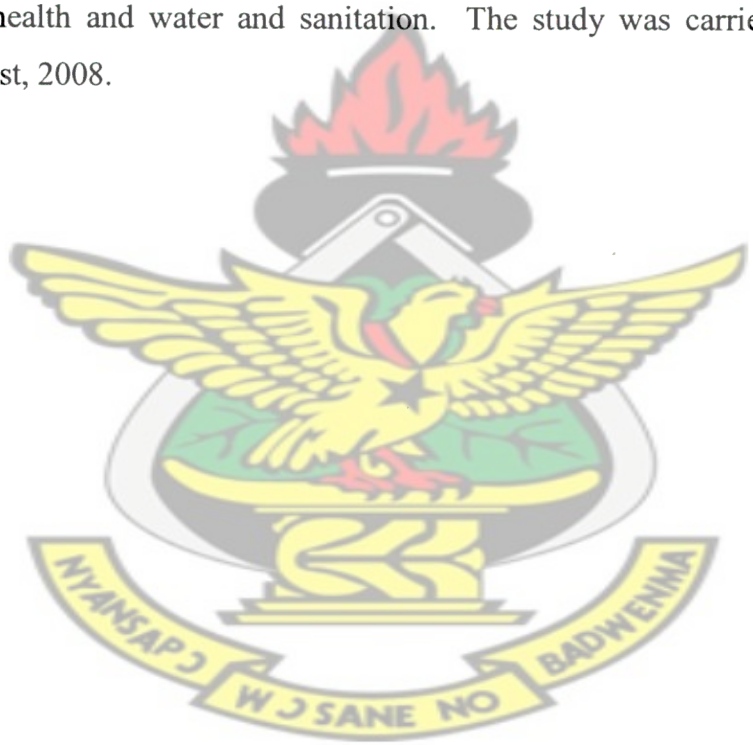
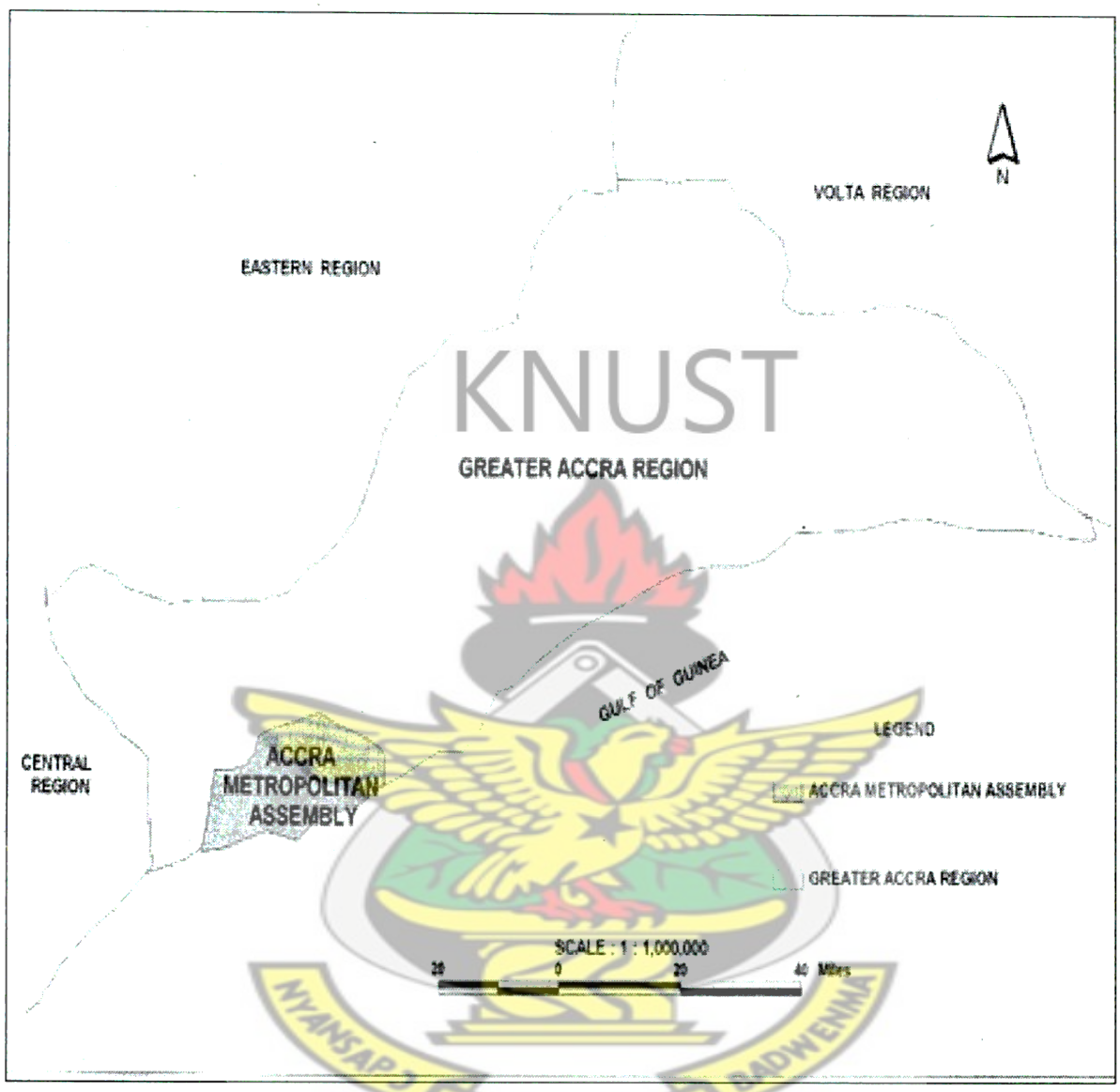


Figure 1.1 Map of Accra Metropolitan Assembly in Regional Context



Source: Planning Unit, AMA (2008)

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1.6 Limitation of the study

"The Accra Metropolitan Area was chosen because of the increasing rate of urban poverty in the area and the fact that there is the need for the Accra Metropolitan Assembly which is the decentralized governance institution for the area to take immediate steps to halt the situation". However, even though the study area has a high

rate of urban poverty, disaggregated data on spatial distribution of poverty is difficult to obtain.

This limitation, though challenging did not prevent the author from obtaining accurate research outcome as this limitation was compensated for by the generally good cooperation received from the respondents. In the process, the author also managed to access some quantitative data, which was combined well with the bulk of qualitative information to arrive at valid conclusions which when adopted will help fashion out strategies that will help mitigate the ever increasing canker of urban poverty in Ghana.

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1.7 Organization of the study.

To help in realizing the stated goal and objectives of the study, the research is organized into five chapters. Chapter One, the introductory chapter deals with the background of the study, problem statement, objectives and scope of the study as well as justification and limitations of the study.

Chapter Two discusses the conceptual framework that guided the investigations throughout its execution. Included in this chapter is a brief review of the concepts of decentralization and poverty, operational definitions of key concepts, the nexus between decentralization and poverty reduction and country experiences of decentralization in poverty reduction. Chapter Three is the research approach and methodology. It discussed the modes of inquiry employed in data gathering and analysis and a description of the research process that was followed throughout the investigations.

Chapter Four is an analysis of data gathered through the field survey. Chapter Five contains a discussion of the findings, recommendations and possible courses of action the author considers pertinent for addressing the complex and challenging phenomenon of urban poverty within a decentralized governance framework. The study closed with a list of main reference materials reviewed and consulted throughout the investigation, as well as a range of relevant, illustrative and supportive appendices.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS OF DECENTRALISATION AND URBAN POVERTY REDUCTION ISSUES

2.1 Introduction

The increasing rate of urban poverty and its effect on urban dwellers have resulted in the proliferation of several literatures that discuss the matter. Central to this discussion is how the concept of decentralized governance, when carefully planned, effectively implemented and appropriately managed, can lead to significant improvement in the welfare of people at the local level, the cumulative effect of which can lead to enhanced human development. This chapter defines and explains the key issues that give shape, support and insight into the study as well as a review of literature on decentralization and urban poverty reduction from global and national perspectives.

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2.2 The Definition and Meaning of Decentralization

The concept of decentralization has evolved overtime and has acquired several shades of meaning. According to the Africa Governance Forum (V) Concept Paper (2002), decentralization is a gradual process and is expected to enhance the opportunities for participation by placing more power and resources at a closer, more familiar, more easily influenced level of government. The advantages include organizational effectiveness, making public administration more responsive to the citizens by reducing poverty and promotion of national development. Although typically defined in public planning, management and decision-making as the transfer of authority and power from higher to lower levels of government or from national to sub-national levels (Rondinelli 1983; Collins and Green 1994) decentralization frequently has different characteristics for different writers. For example, decentralization has often been evaluated according to Rondinelli's (1983) four-part classification of delegation, de-concentration, devolution and privatization. Delegation involves transfers of responsibility to a lower organizational level, de-concentration means transfer of authority to a lower administrative level, devolution implies transferring authority to a lower political level

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and privatization takes place when tasks are transferred from public into private ownership. However, there is little agreement in the literature with regard to what these concepts actually entail. As an example, listing de-concentration among the forms of decentralization has triggered dissenting opinions from researchers who believe de-concentration is not a type of decentralization at all. In their view, de-concentration does not require any decentralization of power since it usually does not provide the opportunity to exercise substantial local discretion in decision-making. Therefore, they argue it should not be regarded as a form of decentralization (Nederveen, 2001).

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Other researchers do not consider devolution and privatization to be legitimate forms of decentralization. (Manor, 1999) argues that devolution is a concept quite separate from decentralization, in that it implies the divestment of functions by the central government and the creation of units of governance not in the direct control of central authority. He contends that devolution embodies a concept of separateness. He and others argue that decentralization and devolution are different phenomena: they use "decentralization" to describe an intraorganizational pattern of power relationships while devolution describes an inter-organizational pattern (Manor, 1999).

Whether to include privatization as a type of decentralization also has generated disputes. Collins and Green (1994) cited by Jütting, J. et al (2004) contend that, since decentralization involves the transfer of authority, functions, and/or resources from the centre to the periphery, while privatization involves a transfer from the public sector to the private sector, they are different concepts. A different, alternative perspective identifies commonalities between both public and private sectors and suggests shifting focus from confrontation between the two sectors towards common issues of governmental regulation, financial incentives and planning tools (Mackintosh, 1999) cited by Pinc (2004). Interestingly, none of the above definitions can singly be sufficient in giving a complete picture of real decentralization, though each of them constitutes a 'building block' to the complete concept. The study adopts the definition of decentralization as follows;

''Decentralization refers to the transfer of state/national responsibilities or functions from central government to sub-national levels of government, or from central agencies/offices to regional bodies or branch offices, or to non-governmental organizations or private concerns so as to bring the structures, procedures and practices of governance closer to the citizenry".

2.3 Historical Background of Poverty

Poverty is blessed with a rich vocabulary, in all cultures and throughout history. Rowntree's study, published in 1901 was the first to develop a poverty standard for individual families, based on estimates of nutritional and other requirements. In the 1960s, the main focus was on the level of income, reflected in macro-economic indicators like Gross National Product per head. In the 1970s, poverty became prominent, notably as a result of MacNamara's celebrated speech to the World Bank Board of Governors in Nairobi in 1973. Other factors that played a big role include the emphasis on relative deprivation, inspired by work in the United Kingdom by Runciman and Townsend. Townsend had the opinion that poverty was not just a failure to meet minimum nutrition or subsistence levels, but rather a failure to keep up with the standards prevalent in a given society. Thus, following International Labour Organization's (ILO's) pioneering work in the mid-1970s, poverty came to be defined not just as lack of income, but also as lack of access to health, education and other services.

The concept of basic needs inspired policies like integrated rural development. New layers of complexity were added in the 1980s. The principal innovations were:

(a) The incorporation of non-monetary aspects, particularly as a result of Robert Chambers' work on powerlessness and isolation.

(b) A new interest in vulnerability, and its counterpart, security, associated with better understanding of seasonality and of the impact of shocks, notably drought. This pointed to the importance of assets as buffers, and also to social relations (the moral economy, social capital). It led to new work on coping strategies.

(c) A broadening of the concept of poverty to a wider construct, livelihood.

(d) Theoretical work by Amartya Sen (1981), who had earlier contributed the notion of food entitlement, or access, and emphasized that income was only valuable in so far as it increased the capabilities of individuals and thereby permitted functioning in society.

(e) A rapid increase in the study of gender. Policies followed to empower women and find ways to underpin autonomy, or agency. In the 1990s, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) developed the idea of human development; 'the denial of opportunities and choices to lead a long, healthy, creative life and to enjoy a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity and self-esteem'.

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2.4. The meaning of poverty

According to the Word Bank (2004) 'Poverty is a pronounced deprivation of well being related to lack of material income or consumption, low levels of education and health, vulnerability and exposure to risk and voicelessness and powerlessness'. Poverty, just like its conceptual and social structural opposite pole, wealth - has many dimensions and manifestations. It always means a reduced (or complete lack of) access to material, economic, social, political or cultural resources needed to satisfy basic needs. As a multidimensional phenomenon, poverty is defined and measured in a multitude of ways. The UNDP view poverty as, 'being deprived of those opportunities and choices that are essential to human development: for a long, healthy creative life; for a reasonable standard of living; for freedom, dignity, self-respect and respect from other'. This is referred to as the life situation approach to poverty (Rakodi, 1995).

2.4.1 Absolute and Relative poverty

Poverty can be viewed in absolute and relative terms. According to Seragledin (1989:23), absolute poverty is the inability to secure the minimum basic needs for human survival according to standards so low that they challenge the adequate comprehension of most members of an industrial society, a condition that Robert MacNamara (1973) rightly labeled as beneath any concept of human dignity. Absolute poverty refers to subsistence below minimum, socially acceptable living conditions,

usually established based on nutritional requirements and other essential goods (e.g. per capita income under a certain arbitrarily fixed poverty line in United States Dollars (USD) per unit of time, a daily intake of less than 2,150 calories/person/day). Relative poverty compares the lowest segments of a population with upper segments, usually measured in income quintiles or deciles may be quantified by concentrating on a small number of key indicators such as the share, in national wealth or income, possessed by 20% of the poorest inhabitants of a country.

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Relative poverty measures the extent to which a household's financial resources falls below an average income threshold for the economy. Relative poverty is calculated using the Income Levels (IL) and Income Positions (IP) methods. These methods rely on defining a threshold that is relative to a widely accepted measure of well-being. In particular, they rely on a threshold that is relative to either income or expenditure. The final aim is to define a poverty line. In both cases, the "relative" definition of poverty may make the poverty line responsive to the way in which the income is distributed among individuals as well as the mean income.

Whatever will be said, however, holds its validity if expenditure is considered instead of income. In applied works, expenditure is sometimes taken as a more correct welfare indicator than income, as transitory shocks may drive observed income far from its permanent (or life-cycle) level. Expenditures, instead, are thought to better reflect this level of permanent income. Expenditure may therefore be more appropriate if concerns rest primarily on the level of welfare attained by a given individual or household. However, Atkinson, 1989, argued that where poverty is concerned with the right to a certain level of participation in a society, a minimum level of income might be more appropriate than expenditure (based on consumption).

2.4.2 Objective and Subjective perspectives

Poverty can be approached from objective or subjective perspectives. The objective perspective (sometimes referred to as the welfare approach) involves normative

judgments as to what constitutes poverty and what is required to move people out of their impoverished state. The subjective approach places a premium on people's preferences, on how much they value goods and services (hence the emphasis on individual utility).

2.4.3 Physiological and Sociological deprivations

Poverty concepts can be divided into two types of deprivations—physiological and sociological. Regarding the former, the line of thinking is as follows: people are poor because they lack income, food, clothing and shelter. Both the income and basic needs concepts of poverty stem from physiological deprivations. The concepts of poverty emerging from the perspective of sociological deprivations are rooted in the underlying structural inequities and inherent disadvantages. They are based on observations that even when resources are flowing into sectors dominated by the poor, they may not be able to take full advantage because of social structural impediments.

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2.5 Characteristics of Urban Poverty

Most studies attempting to describe urban poverty have focused on drawing out the characteristics of urban poverty, often by comparing rural with urban poverty. However, there is still much debate as to whether urban poverty differs from rural poverty and whether policies to address the two should focus on different aspects of poverty. In some views, rural and urban poverty are interrelated and there is a need to consider both urban and rural poverty together for they have many structural causes in common, e.g. socially constructed constraints to opportunities (class, gender) and macroeconomic policies (terms of trade).

Many point to the important connections between the two, as household livelihood or survival strategies have both rural and urban components (Satterthwaite 1995). Baker (1995) and Wratten (1995) illustrate this point in terms of rural-urban migration, seasonal labour, remittances, family support networks and single household headship. They argue that, single household heads in both urban and rural areas are more likely to

be poor unless there are beneficiaries of family support networks. Baker (1995) illustrates how urban and rural households adopt a range of diversification strategies, by having one foot in rural activities and another in urban. Conceptualizing urban poverty as a separate category from rural poverty is also problematic because of different yardsticks for defining urban poverty in different countries.

In an elaborate write up, Satterthwaite (2001:146) argues that urban poverty tends to exhibit eight major aspects. These are: (1) inadequate income which gives rise to inadequate consumption of necessities including food and, often safe and sufficient water; (2) inadequate, unstable or risky asset base both material and non-material including educational attainment and housing for individuals or communities; (3) inadequate shelter which is typically of poor quality, overcrowded and insecure; (4) inadequate provision of "public" infrastructure comprising piped water, sanitation, roads, footpaths, and so on which increases health burden and often work burden;

Other characteristics of urban poverty include; (5) inadequate provision of basic services such as daycare centers, schools, vocational training centers, health-care clinics, emergency services units, public transport, communications and law enforcement; (6) limited or no safety net to ensure that basic consumption can be maintained when income falls as well as to ensure access to shelter and health care when these can no longer be paid for; (7) poorer groups' voicelessness and powerlessness within political systems and bureaucratic structures, leading to little or no possibility of receiving entitlements; organizing; making demands; and getting a fair response.

2.6. Causes of Poverty

The causes of poverty can be attributed to different processes and multifaceted forces. This section tries to highlight some causes of the wide prevalence of poverty.

2.6.1Warfare:

The material and human destruction caused by warfare is a major development problem. For example, from 1990 to 1993, the period encompassing Desert Storm, per capita

GDP in Iraq fell from $3500 to $761 (Dercon, 2001). The drop in average income, while a striking representation of the drop in the well-being of the average Iraqi citizen in the aftermath of the war, fails to capture the broader affects of damages to the infrastructure and social services, such as health care and access to clean water. However, there is no doubt that the persistent civil wars, like in the case of Angola, Mozambique and Liberia have contributed significantly in impoverishing those countries.

2.6.2 Agricultural Cycles and Natural Disasters:

Many families that rely on subsistence production for survival, the period immediately prior to harvest is a 'hungry period.' During these periods of scarcity, many families lack sufficient resources to meet their minimal nutritional needs. Moreover, natural disasters such as hurricanes, droughts, flooding and earthquakes have devastated communities throughout the world. Developing countries often suffer much more extensive and acute crises at the hands of natural disasters, because limited resources inhibit the construction of adequate housing, infrastructure, and mechanisms for responding to crises.

2.6.3 Corruption and Social Inequality:

Corruption often accompanies centralization of power, when leaders are not accountable to those they serve. Most directly, corruption inhibits development when leaders help themselves with money that would otherwise be used for development projects. Another source of poverty throughout the world is social inequality that stems from cultural ideas about the relative worth of different genders, races, ethnic groups, and social classes. Ascribed inequality works by placing individuals in different social categories at birth, often based on religious, ethnic, or racial characteristics.

2.6.4 Pervasive Illiteracy and Widespread Diseases:

In least developed countries there is a high level of illiteracy. This is a very big problem in improving the livelihoods of people. The poor, who are also illiterate, have a limited chance of making use of improved production technologies and preventive health services. That is why diseases such as HIV and malaria have exacerbated the already

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precarious conditions of the poor. Diseases increase expenditure on health, at the same time reduces effective working time thus plummeting labor productivity and availability in the households. The association between diseases and poverty can be easily depicted using the case of HIV-AIDS.

2.7. Measuring Poverty

There are various techniques in measuring poverty; these include the Poverty Line Technique (PLT), Human Development Index (HDI) and Human Poverty Index (HPI). A poverty line is defined as the monetary cost to a given person, at a given place and time, of a reference level of welfare. People who do not attain that level of welfare are deemed poor, and those who do are not (Ravallion, 1998). The poverty line can be established by using the equivalent expenditure method or the food energy intake methods.

2.8 Poverty measurement in Ghana

Even though in recent times, non-income indicators such as access to health, education, housing, security and the level of employment have been increasingly considered in the measurement of poverty, the use of the poverty line is still widely used in Ghana (Government of Ghana, 2002). In other words, though the GPRS views poverty as multidimensional, the basis of analyses and projections is, to a large extent, based on the poverty line. The argument on the probable underestimation of urban poverty, and by extension the overall poverty level of Ghana is based on the Ghana Statistical Service food consumption poverty measurement. It is from this that a poverty line is set that indicates the level of standard of living measure at which minimum consumption (or nutritional requirements) must be met (GSS, 2006). The data on which this poverty line is set are derived from the third, fourth and fifth rounds of the Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS) – a multi-purpose and nation wide survey of households in Ghana, which collects information on the many different dimensions of households living conditions (GSS, 2006).

The use of the nutritional or food-based consumption poverty measurement and the setting of the poverty line take into account the following:

Use of adult equivalent scales in the measurement of household consumption expenditure which involves first; the adopting of the consumption (food) based poverty measurement results in the setting of two nutrition-based poverty lines. The first is a lower (extreme) poverty line of 2,884,700 cedis which is the income needed to meet nutritional requirement per adult per year.

The second is an upper (standard) poverty line 3,708,900 cedis which incorporates both essential food and non-food consumption. Individuals consuming at levels above this can be considered able to purchase enough food to meet their nutritional requirements as well as basic non-food needs (GSS, 2006a). Applying these two poverty lines, the incidence of poverty in urban and rural areas is shown in Table 2.1.

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Table 2.1. Poverty Incidence between Rural and Urban Areas in Ghana

	Standard Poverty Line		Extreme Poverty Line	
GLSS 5: 2005/6	**P. I %**	**C.T. P%**	**P. I %**	**C.T.P%**
Accra	**10.6**	**4.4**	**5.4**	**3.5**
Urban	10.8	14.3	**5.7**	**11.9**
Rural	**39.2**	85.7	25.6	88.1
All Ghana	28.5	-	18.2	-

Source (GLSS, 2005/6).

P.I- Poverty Incidence C.T.P –Contribution to Total Poverty

While not underestimating the depth and extent of rural poverty, the apparent description (both qualitatively and statistically) of overwhelming proportion of the total poor population as located in rural areas in earlier Living Standard Surveys may be due to the underestimation of the scale and depth of urban poverty. For instance, there was overall national poverty reduction of 51.7% and 36.5% (standard and extreme poverty lines respectively) in 1991/1992 to 39.5% and 26.5% (standard and extreme poverty lines respectively) in 1998/1999. This is because the adjustment made in the setting of the poverty line in terms of the non food consumption are very low in relations to cost of housing, transport, water and other needs which must be paid for by the poor in urban areas (Wratten, 1995; Rakodi, 2002; Mitlin, 2004; Satterthwaite, 2004).

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2.9 Theoretical Approaches to Poverty Analysis

The main objective of all approaches of poverty analysis is primarily to determine who are the poor households, individuals, or groups of individuals. There are two main approaches for estimating welfare for the purposes of analyzing poverty: Those that are based on an indicator of welfare, hence the name of the welfare approach which refers to the microeconomic concept of utility. The second approach is known as the non-welfare approach which is basically regarded as being more social in character than the welfare approach (Crook & Sverrisson, 2000).

The welfare approach refers to the numerous microeconomic precepts that postulate that economic actors are rational and that they behave in ways to maximize their benefit (welfare). Since economic welfare is not observable, the welfarist school has fallen back on real income and consumption expenditures as indicators of economic welfare. This is the approach advocated by the World Bank, the IMF, and the main development partner (Crook & Sverrisson, 2000).

The non-welfare approach is more sociological in nature. In contrast to the previous approach, this has to date been a multidimensional approach. There are two schools under this approach: The first is the basic needs school and the second is the capabilities.

The basic needs approach appeared in its operational guise in the 1970s in response to the policies for the fight against poverty proposed by the welfarists, and particularly to the policies of growth trumpeted as a tool for reducing poverty. It views poverty as a problem of unacceptable social inequality (Kanbur, 2002). Sen's (1981) school of capabilities approach was also developed in opposition to the welfare approach. The aim in this approach is for an individual or household to have the capacity to function well in society and not solely on the basis of its own functions.

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2.10 The Nexus between Decentralization and Poverty Reduction

Poverty reduction can be defined as all the programmes, strategies, activities as well as efforts adopted by organizations, governments, groups of people and individuals with the view to reversing or minimizing human deprivation and lack of basic survival opportunities to benefit from (Angelsen and Wunder 2003). The coupling of decentralization with poverty reduction is a relatively new preoccupation. Traditionally, decentralization was thought in relation to politics and to the sphere of power play between centre and the periphery, whereas poverty reduction was relegated to economic growth and distribution. This arbitrary division is increasingly thought untenable for good governance is seen as of crucial importance to poverty reduction, and the prerequisites of good governance contain elements of decentralization (Goldin et al, 2002.). The latter deepens the democratic process by engaging communities over decisions that shape their future, and by empowering them in the allocation of resources while holding accountable those that execute decisions on their behalf. However, the question is still pertinent whether the form of decentralization advocated and practised leads to poverty reduction or whether this is a pure, but untested, presumption. Evidence on the effects of decentralization on community welfare, and specifically on poverty reduction, is not conclusive. Where decentralization is said to be accompanied by participation, empowerment, transparency and accountability, its impact is likely to be positive for it reduces cost of service provision and transaction costs (Faquet, 2003).

The second concern that arises is precisely on the nature of the requirements, or prerequisites, for effective decentralization. Again this is a relatively new field though prerequisites for democracy and for good governance have been on the agenda since the foundation of the state or the development of a consciousness of the public. Presently, prerequisites for good governance include social and economic rights, free and contestable elections, the rule of law, independence of the judiciary and the media, a list that is enriched and extended with the passage of time and the sense that societies should primarily seek out and support the weak and the vulnerable as the better off and the strong can look after themselves (Millennium Declaration, 2000.). However, the prerequisites for effective decentralization are still emerging and are not altogether clear in their focus. For many analysts effective decentralization invariably means that there is devolution of power and that participation, empowerment and accountability of communities is a measure on how successful the process has been.

The final concern is about the instruments in support of decentralization that deal with poverty reduction. One can distinguish those instruments that are endogenous to decentralization and those that are exogenous. Within the endogenous instruments efficiency considerations loom large, including service to citizen, citizen satisfaction, and economies in the provision of services (World Bank, 2004). The exogenous instruments to decentralization in support of poverty reduction may even be more influential for efficiency considerations alone, and the well targeting of beneficiaries, may go some way but do not in themselves empower the poor. In this regard, micro-finance, pro-poor budgets and other initiatives that have a pro-poor bias are complementary instruments in support of decentralized processes. In this sense, decentralization is looked upon not only on its own merits but how far it helps or hinders other initiatives at the sub-national level that have a pro-poor or pro-community bias. If, for example, decentralization creates, or allows, sufficient policy space for communities to engage in activities that better their environment and living standards, then this in itself has an indirect impact on poverty reduction. In this manner, decentralization is not viewed solely from the prism of how power is shared between the centre and periphery

but also whether it allows, or encourages, the periphery to create its own developmental initiatives and civil society pride.

2.11. Decentralization experience in Uganda

The legislative foundation of the Uganda's decentralization system was provided by the local government Statute of 1993, which devolved some political and administrative powers to local governments through the council system. Later, most of the elements of the local council system were incorporated and strengthened as provisions for decentralization in the 1995 constitution. To operationalize the constitutional requirements for decentralized governance, the Local Government Act of 1997 was passed, devolving several political, administrative and fiscal powers to local governments which comprise the districts, city councils and municipalities. The main objective of the decentralization was the promotion of good governance through the strengthening of local institution and improvement in service delivery for poverty reduction.

2.12 Poverty reductions effort under Uganda's decentralization

After a successful stabilization of the macroeconomic environment by the early 1990s, the country embarked on a poverty reduction program that was designed to be delivered through a decentralization of governance. The following summarizes the achievements of the decentralization effort at urban poverty reduction in Uganda but with greater illumination of the employment effects and sectors where outstanding improvements in service delivery have occurred.

2.12.1 Employment Effects

The creation of new districts and implementation of the local government political and administrative structures provided several employment opportunities. Specifically, the creation of new districts expanded political and administrative jobs from a total of 6,036 in 1991 to 12,948 in 2006. In the educational sector, the implementation of the Universal Primary Education program necessitated the construction of new primary schools, which

generated increased demand for secondary education facilities. As a result, the total number of primary schools doubled to about 14,000 from 1990 to 2004. During the same period, the number of secondary schools increased by more than seven-fold to 3,645 (Ministry of Local Government, 2006).

The other sector of improved service delivery under decentralization is health. When user fees were abolished in 2001 in government health facilities, the health system was reorganized into a hierarchy similar to the political structure of the country. The system now comprises national and regional referral hospitals, and health centers that are categorized as Health Center 4, Health Center 3, Health Center 2 and Health Center 1. The categorization is essentially determined by the extent of services that are designed to be delivered at a given facility level. The operationalization of this structure required the construction of several new facilities, leading to growth in the number of health facilities, especially at the Health Center 2 level, which almost tripled in number between 2001 and 2004.

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2.12.2 Improvement in Service Delivery

The focus of the local government grant on primary healthcare, primary education, water and sanitation, feeder and access roads, agricultural extension, street lighting and market infrastructure was aimed at promoting service delivery both as a means and an end to decentralization. As a result, service delivery greatly improved under the decentralization system, particularly with respect to primary education and healthcare.

In the LGDP resource allocation for 2003/2004, the bulk of the development grant financed roads and drainage (37%), education (24%), health (15%), and water and sanitation (12%). The resource allocations correspond to the findings of an assessment survey that the Ministry of Local Government conducted in 2005/2006, which show that 66% of the sampled households were within 2 kilometers from a health facility, 54% were within 2 kilometers from a primary school, and 51% were within half a kilometer from a water source (MoLG, 2006). Under the universal primary education program school enrollment increased from 5.6 million in 1998 to 7.6 million in 2003, and gender

differential in schooling has been wiped out although rural-urban enrolment gaps have persisted. Rural water coverage increased from 55 to 60 percent of the population between 2003 and 2004 alone. Access to health services increased when new health centers were constructed and old ones rehabilitated at both the parish and sub-county levels.

2.12.3 Empowerment and participatory development

Decentralization has empowered citizens, heightened their awareness of the different custodians of responsibilities, delivered coordinated services closer to the people, promoted creative local resource mobilization and increased the responsiveness of public investment to the local popular demands (Emarut, 2006). The administrative hierarchy in the decentralized systems of governance has promoted the development of channels of communications between the population on the one hand and the local and central government on the other hand.

2.13 Challenges to Decentralization in Uganda

Onyach-Olaa (2003) summarizes some of the challenges experienced by Uganda's decentralization which also impacted negatively on poverty reduction efforts, the most notable ones being the local versus national development interests, sector-wide approach versus local government specific approach to national development, and capacity to plan, implement, and account for, development programs that are funded from various government and donor grants.

2.13.1 Structural conflicts

Donor assistance to Uganda has taken the form of general budget support and project aid. General budget support is oftentimes earmarked by donors to finance specific sectoral programs. Where development finance is delivered as project aid, it has been channeled directly to local governments or directly to local communities, bypassing the local government system. This has in many cases fragmented local development structures resulting in the exacerbation of the problem of coordinating and monitoring local development activities. Further, it has undermined the institutional growth of local

government systems and weakened community-local government linkages. Another source of institutional weakening is the sector-wide approach to development, which sometimes runs counter to decentralization when it bypasses local government planning processes and competes for resources with decentralization (Romeo, 2003).

2.13.2 Poor quality of services

Although access to social services has improved significantly in rural areas, improvements in the quality of the services have lagged behind quantitative indicators. For example, primary school dropout rates are still very high (especially due to cost factors), infant and maternal mortality ratios have not fallen, and public facilities are predominantly utilized by the poor as the better-off people opt for superior privately provided services. Regarding infrastructure, only limited progress has been made. For example, despite spending over 8% of the budget on roads and works since 1999, access to rural transportation and electrification remain very poor in contrast with the significant improvements realized for health, education, water and communication facilities (World Bank, 2005). According to World Bank databases, the state of Uganda's infrastructure development is very low compared to the sub-Saharan African average. Only 9% of Ugandan households have access to electricity compared to 27% for the average sub-Saharan African country. The proportion is 11% compared to 32% for piped water. The telecommunication sector, which has grown significantly, also lags behind, with 33% of Ugandans subscribing to telephone services compared to the 99% average for sub-Saharan Africa.

2.13.3 Accountability

Uganda's decentralization has also been characterized by an imbalance between upward and downward accountability. Emphasis has been given to upward accountability with the objective of ensuring that resources released from the center are properly accounted for, but not necessarily deployed properly. In this prioritization context, a strict mechanism for upward accountability was established and has been implemented at the expense of efficiency in resource utilization.

2.14 Decentralization and Poverty Reduction in Bolivia

The decentralization reform process in Bolivia took a new course with the adoption in 1994 of the Law of Popular Participation (LPP), a piece of legislation that encompasses a comprehensive set of territorial, political, administrative and fiscal aspects. In summary, this law has brought about two critical transformations:

1. The full transfer to municipal authorities of significant responsibilities and sources of revenue, together with the creation of a large number of new municipalities spanning urban/rural areas throughout the country.
2. The legal recognition of rural and urban grassroots territorial organizations and the creation in each municipality of a Vigilance Committee whose members are elected by these organizations and which hold the right to participate in planning processes and to audit municipal budgets.

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2.14.1 Poverty reduction efforts under decentralization in Bolivia

Political decentralization at the municipal level in Bolivia has satisfied the most important conditions required for such a process to be meaningful. Municipal bodies have been granted important decision-making powers, together with stable sources of financial resources. Moreover, national legislation has been rapidly implemented throughout the country. In 1995 each municipality received its share of national transfers (co-participation) and the first municipal elections under LPP were held in 1996.

Co-participation has drastically increased the income of local governments while at the same time it has considerably improved horizontal fiscal equity. Transfers rose from 52 million dollars in 1993 to 204 million in 1998, and the share of capital cities dropped from 92 percent to 40 percent (Altman and Lalander, 2003). During the same period, the share of total public investment executed at the local level increased four-fold. In 2000, municipal governments accounted for the execution of approximately 24 percent of total public investment and 35 percent of total social investment (Ministerio de Desarrollo, 2002).

Some scholars and decentralization specialists have also argued that popular participation has played a major role in the struggle against poverty in the country. Cavero (2004) and Ardaya (2003), cited by Jetté for example, state that municipal governments are responsible for the main factors that have contributed to poverty reduction during the last decade. Faguet (2003) also credits the shift towards social investment after 1994 to decentralization. With data covering the period 1987- 1996, he developed econometric models of public investment showing that, after 1994, investment in education, water, sanitation and agriculture not only increased throughout Bolivia but also that the increases were disproportionately high in those municipalities where the objective need for such services was greatest.

Pinc (2004) also addresses the question of the extent to which participation at the local level contributed to poverty reduction measured through the Unsatisfied Basic Needs (UBN) index. Based on quantitative and qualitative analysis, his principal findings also show that poverty tended to be reduced first in municipalities that enjoy historically stronger relationships with central government, are more urbanized, and are located at lower altitudes and in warmer climates. An institutional factor positively correlated with poverty reduction is the amount of resources spent per poor person, a factor that is closely linked to the ability of municipal governments to raise their own resources.

2.15 Conceptual Framework

The overall implementation strategy of Ghana's decentralization policy focused on five thematic areas; administrative decentralization, political decentralization, fiscal decentralization, decentralized planning and decision-making, and public - private partnership in development. It was envisaged that effective implementation of the five strategies of decentralization policy will affect poverty reduction efforts positively in Ghana.

Administrative Decentralization: In practice this was carried out by decentralizing 22 central government agencies to the MMDA level. What this meant was that the local level officials of the sector departments severed the direct vertical links with their parent

ministries / departments and for the purposes of day-to-day administration, discipline, performance appraisal, technical guidance, transfers, training and promotion, the district actors or officers came directly under the supervision of the local governments.

Political Decentralization involved the creation of Metropolitan/Municipal District Assemblies (MMDA) and sub-district structures (Urban/Town/Area Councils and Unit Committees). These provided a forum at the local level for the people to deliberate, legislate and execute actions necessary for development of their areas.

Decentralized development planning is promoted to support greater local decision-making autonomy. It provides for bottom-up participatory planning and the active involvement of communities and service providers in determination of development needs, priorities and the implementation of development programs to enhance delivery and access to services.

The fifth thematic area in the strategy for implementation of decentralization is *partnership between the public and private sector* in the provision of investment and services to ensure transparency and accountability and a more efficient use of resources.

Figure 2.1 provides a birds-eye view of decentralization's role in poverty reduction. It was adapted from Kauzya John-Mary, 2005, Decentralization: Prospects for Peace Democracy and Development, DPADM Discussion paper, United Nations, New York

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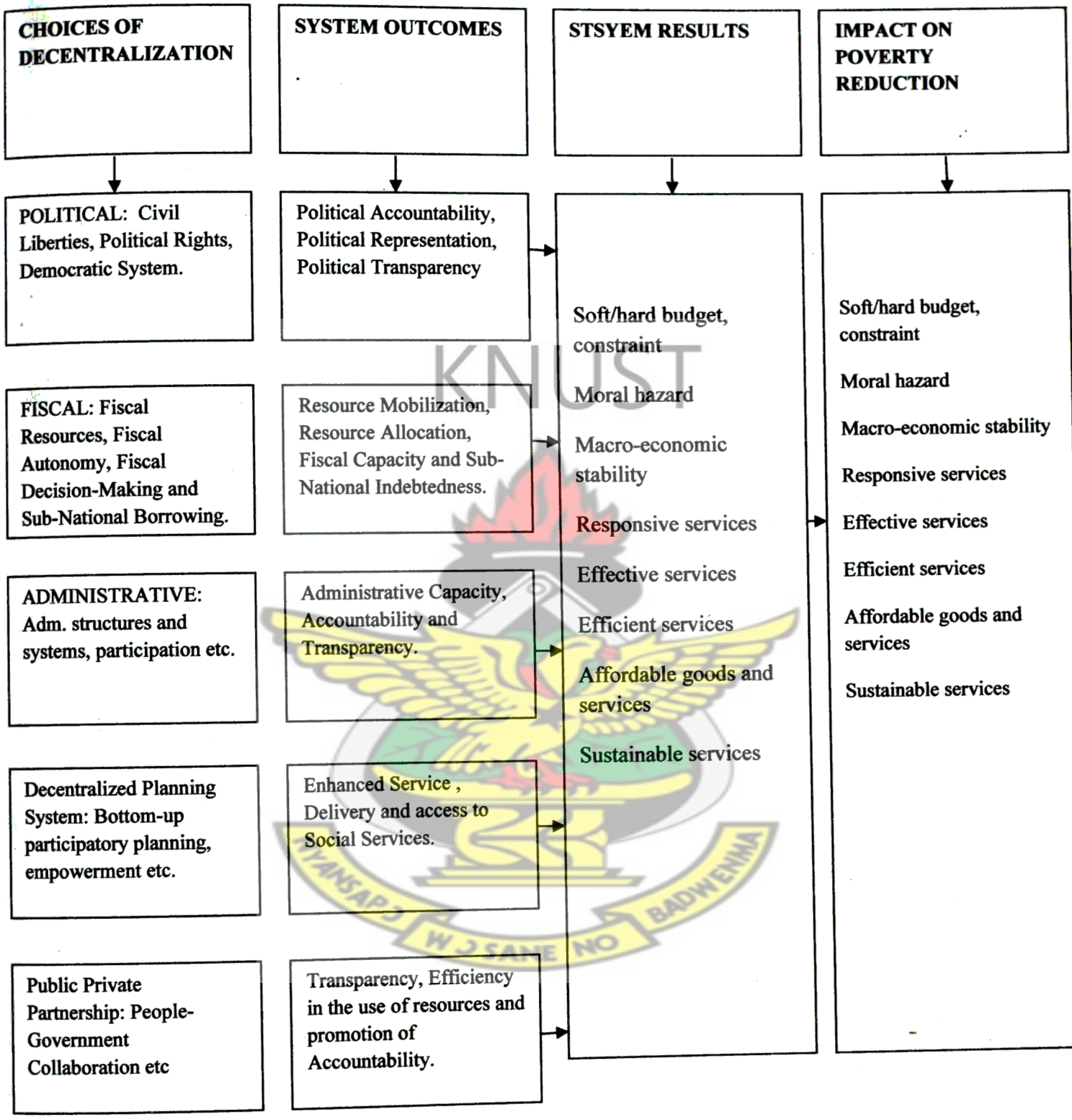
Figure.2.1 Conceptual Framework for Decentralized Governance and Poverty Reduction



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2.16 Conclusion

Decentralization has contributed to improve service delivery, increased transparency and has fostered participatory planning. It has heightened a sense of local ownership and improved accountability. Numerous jobs were created in the process leading to improvements in household income particularly in the case of Uganda. Decentralization has empowered citizens, heightened their awareness of the different custodians of responsibilities and has promoted citizens participation in local community development activities. However, it is highly conceivable that the achievements could have been much more pronounced both in terms of quantity and quality had the process guided by an unambiguous legal and institutional frame work, been sequenced, with capacity building leading the way.

Be that as it may and coming back to the main issue of decentralisation and urban poverty reduction, the author shares the conviction that there is a strong case for gradually extending municipal government responsibilities in the provision of public services, mainly in the fields of local infrastructure (road, energy, irrigation, water and sanitation), urban services, education, health, nutrition and social safety nets. There is also the need to allow those for whom development interventions are undertaken to participate in the decision making process, planning and the implementation of those development projects.

The next Chapter, which is Chapter Three is the research methodology. It discussed the modes of inquiry employed in data gathering and analysis and a description of the research process that was followed throughout the investigations in order to arrive at valid and reliable conclusions.

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CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter of the research describes in detail the procedures that have been followed in conducting the study. It constitutes a design of the research, sample size determination, data sources and collection methods, units of analysis and data analysis and presentation. The steps employed are described in detail below:

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3.2 Research Design

The case study approach was adopted for this research. Urban poverty is a contemporary phenomenon within real life context and an understanding of the issue requires careful and critical inquiry or examination in order to make decisions that take into consideration the special and peculiar circumstances surrounding the issue.

According to Kumekpor, (2002) a case study is "a systematic way of in-depth collection of information or investigating the circumstances of a person, a group, a community, an institution, or an incident. This necessarily implies a comprehensive examination, a critical analysis and interpretation of available data or information on real situation of a particular issue, event, occurrence or problem." Yen (1981 and 1984) cited by Makiriizi (2001) points out, among other things that, besides orientation to real life context, and to preserving the identity of what is being studied; case studies must deal with contemporary events.

3.3 Data sources and Collection Methods

The case study Approach has numerous advantages. Notable among them is that it allows for the use of various data collection methods (Inkoom, 1999). This study used a combination of primary and secondary data collection techniques.

3.3.1 Primary Data

Primary data were collected by various methods and from various sources. The primary data collection methods include key informants interviews, the application of structured

questionnaires, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) as well as through informal discussions and observations. Key informant interviews covered the following:

- The Assembly members of all the four communities
- The Deputy Metropolitan Planning Officer of the AMA
- The Programs Manager of People's Dialogue for Human Settlement (NGO)
- The Programme Officer, Decentralization Secretariat

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In all, a total of 120 structured questionnaires were administered to individual households in the selected sample from each community. The questionnaires were carefully prepared and tailored to respond to the research objectives and to address the research problem. FGDs were conducted in all the four communities. This involved at least 15 people and lasted for at least an hour. This was done not only for triangulation and information gathering purposes, but also geared at clarifying and validating data.

3.3.2 Secondary Data

Secondary data were obtained from published sources (reports, publications, books) and non-published materials (draft publications). These include documented information from the following sources;

- Accra Metropolitan Assembly, information gathered from this source included a profile of the Metropolis and poverty reduction programmes implemented in the Metropolis.
- Decentralization Secretariat, Accra. At this source, the decentralization policy and the Urban Poverty Reduction Project documents were obtained.
- People's Dialogue for Human Settlement. Information on their programmmes and their objectives were gathered.

- Literature from libraries of the following institutions were also utilized during the literature review; College of Architecture and Planning and KNUST main library

- Another source of information particularly for literature review was the internet.

3.4 Sampling

3.4.1 Communities

To understand the issues of decentralisation and urban poverty reduction, there was the need to look out for a suitable place for this study. Purpose sampling was used to select four urban slum communities in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) for data collection purposes for the reason that; whereas there have been studies on the social and economic conditions of urban slum dwellers in the Metropolis, such studies did not focus on how decentralisation affects poverty reduction. This research focussed on how decentralization affects poverty reduction. The sampled communities were, Nima, Old Fadama, Chorkor and James Town. These four communities were selected from a list of 10 poorest urban slum communities in the Municipality provided by the AMA because of their unique characteristics. Table 3.1 depicts the unique characteristics that inform their selection.

Table 3.1 Characteristics of sampled communities

Community	**Unique Characteristics**
Old Fadama	Predominant migrant population
Nima	Located within most slums in the Metropolis.
Chorkor	A mixed population of migrant and indigenous population
James Town	An indigenous fishing community

Source: AMA Poverty Profile, 2006.

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3.4.2 Household

Households have been sampled using disproportional stratified sampling technique because the sample frame representing the number of households in each community cannot be determined because of lack of data. Since the objective here was to look at the socio-economic conditions of urban dwellers, a uniform sample size of 30 was used. The communities were further divided into two strata of neighbourhoods after which an accidental sampling of 15 houses per stratum was made from the eight strata. In each stratum, female represented 40 percent and male represented 60 percent of all respondents respectively. This was so because in the metropolis, male are the major contributors of household income. Finally, an accidental sample was used to select a household (respondents) per house. In all, 120 questions were administered. A household was defined as individuals who occupy the same space and normally share food and amenities.

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3.5. Data Processing, Editing and Analysis

In terms of data processing, a number of techniques were used. Data obtained were edited, coded and tabulated. Editing was done with the aim of detecting and eliminating error to ensure clean and reliable data. Coding was done by classifying questions into meaningful categories in order to bring out essential patterns to inform the research questions posed. Data were then presented in the form of tables and diagrams to facilitate the analysis.

3.6 Units of Analysis/Enquiry

Units of analysis are the actual empirical units, objects and occurrences, which must be observed or measured in order to study a particular phenomenon (Kumekpor, 2002). It is the smallest unit around which data for the study was gathered and it must be related to the scope of the research, the problem being investigated and the kind of generalization to be made as well as be reproducible for double-checking. It is the most elementary segment of the phenomenon to be studied and in the case of this research, Table 1.1 indicates the various units of analysis for the study.

Table 3.2 Units of Analysis and Issues Discussed

Units	Sub-Units	Issues
MLGRD&E	Decentralization Secretariat	• The legal and institutional framework for decentralization in Ghana. • Various existing policies for decentralization in Ghana • Implementation of urban poverty reduction programmes in Ghana.
Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA)	Ashiedu Keteke, Osu Klottey and Ayawaso Sub-Metros.	• Spatial distribution of urban poverty in the Accra Metropolis. • Poverty reduction programmes and policies implemented in the Metropolis. • The level of collaboration between the Assembly and NGOs in the Metropolis.
Assembly Members		• The level of involvement in poverty reduction programmes in their locality
Poverty reduction related NGOs.		• Extent to which these institutions are impacting positively on the livelihoods of the beneficiaries of their programmes. • Level of Collaboration with the Assembly
Households		• Access to and availability of essential municipal services. • Income levels • Housing • Level of participation in local governance

Source: Author's construct 2008

3.7 Conclusion

Research methodology is the pillar upon which the research is founded and provides the basis for data collection and analysis. The validity and reliability of the research is dependent on the research approach and methodology used. The next chapter which is Chapter Four presents the data analysis and presentation phase of the study. It however starts with a brief profile of the area under study which is the Accra Metropolitan Area.

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SECTION FOUR

ANALYSIS OF DATA AND RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

In order to understand the issues that have been discussed in Chapter Two and also to find answers for the research questions as well as the objectives of this study, empirical evidence was gathered from various institutions, agencies and stakeholders involved in the decentralization process and efforts at reducing poverty in the Accra Metropolitan Area. This chapter therefore analyzes the data that was gathered through a field survey and tries to draw linkages with the objectives of the study and the research questions.

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4.2. Profile of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly

4.2.1 Location and size of Accra

Accra, the capital city of Ghana, has a total land area of 201 sq km. The southern boundary of Accra is the Gulf of Guinea stretching from Gbegbeyise to the Mukwe Lagoon near Regional Maritime Academy (Nungua). The boundary continues along the Maritime Road to join the Accra-Tema road to Nungua Barrier. It turns right to the Ashaiman road to the railway overhead bridge on the Motorway.

Accra lies in the Savannah zone with two rainy seasons, (May-mid July and mid August-October). As the area is close to the equator, there is very little variation in temperature throughout the year, and the daylight hours are practically uniform. Relative humidity is generally high; varying from 65% in the mid-afternoon to 95% at night. The mean monthly temperature ranges from 24.7°c in August (the coolest) to 28°c in March (the hottest) with annual average of 26.8°c. There are three broad vegetation zones in the Metropolitan area; shrub land, grassland and coastal lands.

4.2.2 Administrative Set up

The Accra Metropolitan Assembly was established by Local Government Establishment Instrument, 1989 (L.I. 1500). The Accra Metropolitan Assembly is made up of 104 Assembly Members, 68 of whom are elected and the remaining 36 appointed by the President. To support the work of the Assembly's Executive, are nine Sub-committees

such as Development Planning, Finance and Administration, Social Services, Works, Justice and Security, Water and Sanitation, Women and Children, Agriculture and Environment and finally, Education and Girl-Child Sub- committees. There are also 16 decentralized departments under the Assembly.

4.2.3 Population and Population Trend

With an estimated 2006 mid-year population of about 1,915,983 million people as projected from 2000 National Population and Housing Census by the Ghana Statistical Service, Accra, Ghana's capital since 1877, is today one of the most populated and fast growing Metropolis of Africa with an annual growth rate of 4.3%.

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Table 4.1: Population growth rate of 1960, 1970, 1984, 2000 2006 and 2007

	1960	**1970**	**1984**	**2000**	**2006***	**2007***
Population	338,396	636,667	969,195	1,658,937	2,006,017	2,066,388
Pop. Growth rate	-	6.32%	7.51%	4.30%	4.30%	4.30%

*Source: 1960, 1970, 1984 and 2000 National Population Census * Projected.*

The primacy of Accra Metropolitan Area as an administrative, educational, industrial and commercial centre in attracting people from all over Ghana, continues to be the major force for rapid population growth, with migration contributing to over 35% of the population increase. The gross population density for Accra Metropolitan Area was 10.03 persons per hectare compared to 6.23 per ha. in 1970. The highest densities in the country were recorded in the Accra Metropolis with an overall average of 69.3-persons per/ha.

At the community level, densities exceeding 250 persons/ha occurred mostly in the dominant immigrant and depressed areas and the oldest parts of Accra such as Accra New Town, Nima, James Town and Ussher Town while densities ranged between 17.5 - 40 persons/ha. in the high income areas. Accra's population like that of other urban centers is a very youthful with 56% of the population under the age of 24 years. It will be realized from the sex ratio that 51% of the population are females and the rest 49% males. This gives a sex ratio of 1:1.04 males to females. The dominance of females over males is a reflection of the nation wide trend where the estimated ratio is 1:1.03. The need to target

women in any development programme in the Metropolis can therefore not be overemphasized.

4.2.4 Housing

The housing landscape of Accra is characterized by an inner city area comprising a mixture of very low-density development with under-utilized service infrastructure on one hand and indigenous, low class, and high-density development with depressed conditions and over stretched infrastructure services on the other. There is also a haphazard peripheral residential development with barely sufficient infrastructure to support it. The estimated numbers of houses in the Accra Metropolis now stand at 131,355.

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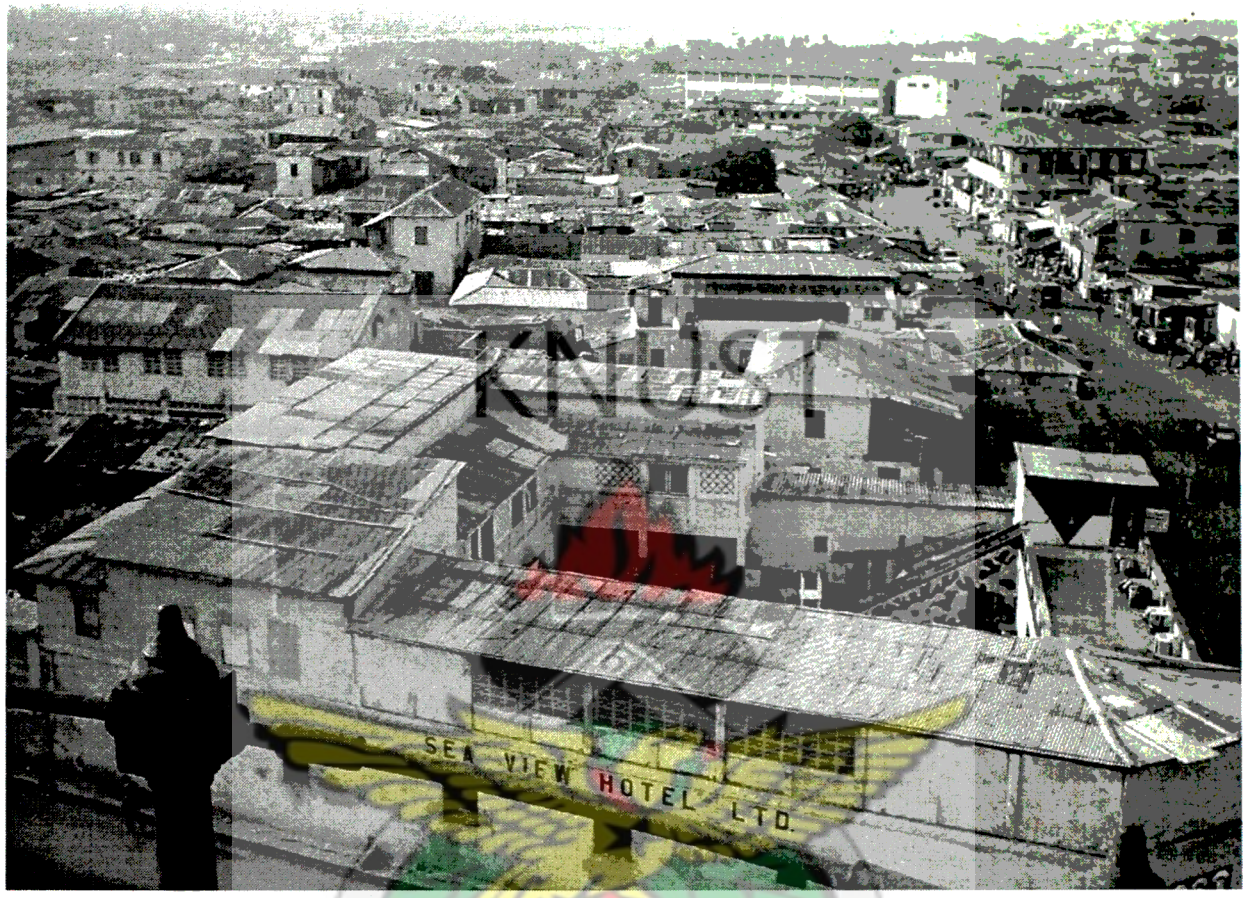
Housing in the Metropolis has been grouped into three broad categories: the low income, middle income and high income areas. The low income housing zones may be divided into indigenous and non-indigenous (dominantly migrant) areas. The low-income indigenous housing areas comprise Osu, Jamestown, Adedenkpo, Chorkor, La, Teshie and Nungua. The low-income non-indigenous housing areas include: Sukura, Kwashieman, Odorkor, Bubuashie, Abeka, Nima, Maamobi and Chorkor. Altogether these areas accommodate about 58% of Accra's population.

Available data on housing characteristics show that about 72% of households of Accra leave in compound houses. Proportion of households living in single housing unit or self-contained is estimated to be about 3%. About 25% sleep in unauthorized temporal structures like kiosks, shops and containers (ISSER and French Institute of Resource for Development, (2001).

Data collected on the nature of households' occupancy in Accra from the Ghana Living Standards Survey in 2006 suggested that, about 24.7% of occupants of the houses in Accra are owners, whereas 34.5%, 39.5% and 1.3 % of the occupants are renting, rent free and perching respectively. The fact that approximately 40.8% of residents are not owners (rent free and perching) becomes a problem for housing provision and maintenance in the Metropolis.

Figure 4.1: Aerial Photograph of Some Parts of Accra



Source: Metropolitan Works Department, AMA (2006)

4.2.5 Levels of income poverty

With reference to varying characteristics and income levels of residents, Accra has been stratified into four income zones to enable determination of level of poverty. The stratification is based upon housing characteristics and environmental conditions of the residential suburbs of the city. High-income zones are characterized by well-defined sector layouts, high taxable property values and superb neighbour infrastructure. The rest of the zones follow suit, as the fourth zone depicts depressed conditions. They are mostly unplanned areas of the city with poor or non-existent neighbour infrastructure and utilities. High inequalities exist in the distribution of income in Accra. Annual per capital income in the high income zones can be as high as $8,000. However, people who fall in the lower

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quartile of the first class income zone have an average per capita income of about $350 where as those in the highest quintile have an average annual income of about $4,000

The second-class residential zone, which hosts the largest proportion of residents of Accra, has an annual average income of $883. Income is unevenly distributed among households in this income class. Whilst the upper quintile has an average annual income of $1,100, the lower quintile has an average income of $195. About 65% of the zone falls below the annual average income of the zone.

The third class residential zone has an average annual income of $793.80 the upper quintile has an average annual income or per capita income of $1,300 whilst the lower quintile has an average income of about $195.

The fourth class zone's income levels are very low. They have per capita income of $410.06. While 6% of this income stratum earns income less than $126.15 per annum, the upper quintile earns an annual average of income of $817.22

Nevertheless, comparative analysis of city figure to national points to relatively higher standard of living in the Accra metropolis. The National Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of $350 is less favourable to $915.09 of Accra. The statistics above reveals that the poor in Accra are not just agglomerated at specific areas. Even, pockets of poverty exist in affluent residential areas like Airport Residential Areas. East Legon (Bawalashie), Dzorwulu etc. However, the overwhelming majority of the poor live in the old parts of Accra (Ussher Town, James Town, La Old Town, Teshie Old Town, Osu Anorhor, Nungua Old Town etc), poorly managed areas are (Nima, New Town, Akweteman, Sabon Zongo, Mamobi etc) and slums (Liberia Camp, Avenor, Sodom and Gomorrah, Abuja etc)

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4.2.6 The Economy of the Accra Metropolis

The economic activities identified within the Metropolis are concentrated within specific enclaves. The industrial enclaves (North and South Industrial, and the Light Industrial Area at Spintex road) within the Metropolis were set up to create light industrial hub for Ghana. Accra is the second most industrialized city in Ghana, contributing over 10% to the GDP. Over 30% of the manufacturing activities, representing over 50% of value

added, are located in the area. In 2000, there were nearly 200,101 persons working in various industries in Accra.

Commerce and service sectors are described as major contributors towards poverty reduction. The service sector is characterized by a few large and medium size enterprises engaged in import, export, wholesale, distribution, and retail businesses, and a myriad of small-scale traders, suppliers, transporters, and retailers. Commerce is the largest and most visible sub-sectoral activity.

Primary production, the smallest economic sector of Accra employs 91,556 people as at 2006. As a Metropolitan area and coastal city, the predominant primary economic activity is fishing and urban agriculture. Fishing engages about 77.8% of productive labor force in the primary sector. The operations are prominent at Jamestown, La, Teshie, Nungua and Chorkor fishing shores. The seasonality of the industry is correlated to nature of poverty in these areas especially among the fishermen. Provision of secure storage and processing facilities can go along way to reduce the impact of the seasonality of the industry as over 50% of the harvest potential go waste.

Urban agriculture involves growing of vegetables such as cucumber, carrots, lettuce, and onions along waterways and water distribution network. This activity can be seen along the motorway, the banks of Korle Lagoon and Odornaa.

4.2.7 Tentative Poverty Pockets

A comprehensive institutional stakeholder analysis carried out by the Accra Metropolitan Assembly has 10 communities as being the poorest in the Metropolis. The selection was mainly based on nature of poverty in these localities. Some of the characteristics identified are dilapidated structures, poor sanitation, occasional outbreak of diseases and unemployment. The communities identified include Teshie Old Town, James Town, Chorkor, Old Fadama, Nima, Akweteman, Ayidiki, La Old Town, Osu Anorhor and La Bawalashie. Altogether these areas accommodate about 52% of Accra's population. The study was conducted in 4 out these 10 poor communities.

Figure 4.2 shows the location of poverty pockets in the Accra Metropolis highlighting the 4 selected study communities.

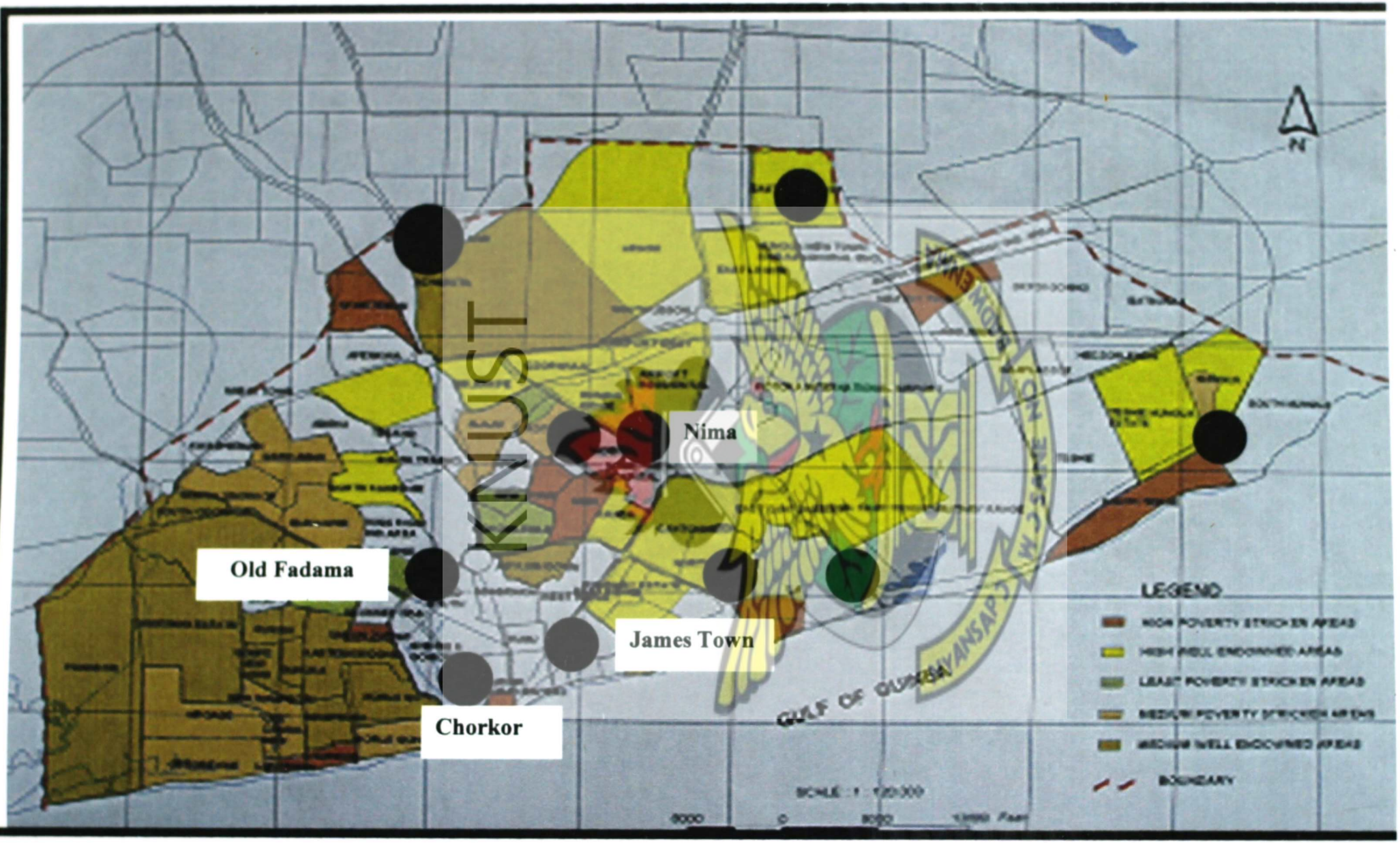

Fig. 4.2 Map of AMA indicating poverty pockets in the Accra Metropolis Source: Planning Unit (AMA), 2008

4.3 Analysis of Poverty Reduction Programmes Implemented in the Metropolis

With the decentralized system of administration that is being practised in Ghana, the District Assemblies (DA's) are the highest political and the local administrative authority as well as the implementing body in the District. They co-ordinate plans and activities of all decentralized ministries at the local level and implement all government policies so that the grassroots would be the ones to benefit from government policies. Their programmes and activities reflect the concerns and commitments at the national level on issues, policies and programmes. The Accra Metropolitan Area is the local government authority responsible for the management of the Accra Metropolis, an area where poverty is said to be increasing (GSS, 2006). In recognition of the presence of and the increasing levels of poverty in the Metropolis, the AMA has been selected as one of the 12 MMDAs to benefit from the Urban Poverty Reduction Project being implemented by the Ministry of Local Government Rural Development and Environment with the Social Investment Fund acting as the fund managers.

The issue of poverty reduction is central to the decentralization programme, even though there is the perception by some people that poverty reduction was not part of the original objectives of the decentralization process in Ghana but rather a latter objective forced by donors on the government. Given the central role of decentralization in the effort towards poverty reduction in Ghana, a number of poverty reduction strategies were introduced and implemented in the Metropolis. They include the Programme of Actions to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAMSCAD), the Productivity and Income Generation Fund popularly called the "District Assembly Poverty Alleviation Fund" started in 1996 but was phased out in 2007 and the funds directed to support the National Youth Employment Programme and the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Funds in 2002 through which a number of educational, health and sanitary facilities were provided in the Metropolis. The Poverty Alleviation Fund especially was to give the poor access to credit facilities to use in investment in job creation. Even though this is a laudable scheme and has assisted hitherto vulnerable groups like women in small-scale industries in the Metropolis, it was not well implemented for a number of reasons.

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First, the modalities for the selection of beneficiaries were not too clear. There was the perception whether right or wrong that most of the beneficiaries were selected along their political affiliations and not on their levels of deprivation and vulnerability. Second, there was a high default rate in the re-payment of the loans given out because the beneficiaries did not invest the loan rightly to create the expected job and benefits but rather regarded them as booty to meet personal commitments such as paying school fees of children.

Other poverty reduction intervention implemented by the Assembly includes; Urban Environmental Sanitation Project (UESP), which supported primary drainage, citywide sanitation and solid waste management components, and a new generation of community infrastructure upgrading initiatives in the Metropolis. The project embraced community participation and sustainable maintenance arrangements focusing on a "bottom-up" approach involving the beneficiary communities. The objectives of the UESP in the Accra Metropolis were to increase the health, general well-being and productivity of low-income communities by providing basic infrastructure and improving municipal services which, in turn, assists in the alleviation of poverty and improves the efficiency of the city generally. The UESP strove to involve communities throughout the identification, planning, design and implementation process much more so than in earlier projects. The communities selected for the project were chosen because they have the most acute infrastructure, environmental and health problems, as well as specific settlement dwellers that were willing to commit, participate and contribute to the upgrading proposals and community structure. Officials of the AMA, says the project benefitted over 22,000 households in the project area directly and indirectly.

Apart from these national poverty reduction programmes that were implemented by the Assembly, the Assembly on its own planned and implemented some programmes, though the implementation was done in collaboration with other interested parties. For instance, the Assembly, in collaboration with the Ministry of Tourism and Diasporan Relations is implementing the Old Accra Redevelopment Project (OARP). This project is an intervention in the areas of education, local economy development, housing, tourism and sanitation in some of the poorest urban communities in the Metropolis to revitalize the economy of Old Accra. The OARP is

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expected to improve the income of over 10,000 in James Town and Bukom through the provision of tourism infrastructural development.

The Assembly implemented a micro credit scheme that provided loans and training to improve fish smoking skills for fish mongers in James Town and Chorkor in 2002 and 2003. Again, there is an ongoing activity under the Urban Slum Upgrading Project to resettle the people of Old Fadama and 'Abuja' at Adjei Kotoku in the Ga West District with improved social services and housing. The resettlement when completed would create the presence of a bulk breaking point outside Accra with the capacity of being a centrifugal force to attract to itself, functions currently being undertaken in the Abuja and Old Fadama Area.

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The AMA with funding from the German Development Co-operation (GTZ), the Social Investment Fund (SIF) and the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Environment (MLGRD& E) has prepared an elaborate Pro-poor Programming document as criteria for participating in the Urban Poverty Reduction Project. The Pro-poor Programming document which takes into consideration the peculiarity and the dynamics of Accra's poverty provides the basis for any urban poverty reduction intervention in the Metropolis. Officials of the Assembly are optimistic that the Pro-poor Programming document would make poverty reduction efforts in the Metropolis more effective and sustainable.

4.4 Participation in Local Governance and Community Development.

Central to the decentralization process is the participation of the local people in the decision making process "whether it is in matters of financial decision-making such as in deciding a local council budget as it is done in Participatory Budgeting" in issues of development planning such as designing a community development plan, in aspects of service delivery such as earmarking where a feeder road will pass, where a water well will be dug or where a school or a maternity centre will be constructed, if the power to take such decisions is passed on from the centre to local governments / people / communities, it is within the realm of decentralization.

The study however revealed that there is limited participation in the decentralization process by respondents in the study area. About 45% of the respondents did not participate in the last District Assembly Election held in 2006 to elect Assembly

Members and Unit Committee Members to represent them in the Assembly and its sub structures even though they are aware of some of the functions of an Assembly Member and Unit Committees Members. The study revealed significant differences in the level of gender participation in the decentralization process. For instance, 78 percent of all those who did not participate in the last DA elections were women indicating that men tend to participate more in local level politics than women.

This position is re-enforced by the fact that only 11 Assembly Members, representing 16 percent of the 68 elected Members of the Metropolitan Assembly are women. It would be quite difficult to get women issues expeditiously addressed in a male dominated Assembly like the AMA. Again, a significant number of people representing 88% of the female respondents have never participated in any community meeting organized by the Assembly Members to discuss community development issues because their busy schedules does not allow them time for such community meetings while 79% say the Assembly Member does not seek their views on major issues being discussed on the floor of the Assembly.

There is a high level of apathy in local government activities by the respondents in the study area because their successive representatives to the Assembly have always denied them the right to participate fully in local government activities as required by the Local Government Act. Women demonstrated the greatest apathy in local government activities. It was also revealed from discussions with Assembly Members that section 16 of the Local Government Act (Act 462) which requires Assembly Members to meet their electorate before and after every General Meeting of the Assembly was not being adhered to because of the problem of funding.

Asked whether they do participate in the provision of basic infrastructure and services such as school buildings, community markets and places of convenience in their communities in any form; be it consultation, physical implementation, decision making or monitoring and evaluation, responses varied from community to community. The overwhelming view however was that respondents do not participate. It was only in the case of Chorkor that 40 percent of respondents said they had ever participated in the provision of social infrastructure and services in the community such as the community market and a primary school. This relatively high

rate of participation was attributed to the leadership style of the Assembly Member for the Area. For all respondents interviewed, only 30 percent have ever participated in the provision of social services in their communities with men within the age bracket of thirty six and forty five years dominating participation.

It was revealed that education, income, age and sex influence one's level of participation in local governance in the communities studied. For instance, 76 percent of all respondents who said they have not participated in community development activities as defined, have educational attainment below secondary education. It was also realized that the 5 percent of the respondents who have tertiary education did not show any interest in local government activities.

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Also, people in the middle age bracket defined in this study as the age between thirty six and forty five years, participated more in local government activities as 83 percent of those who said they have participated in local community development activities are within this age bracket.

4.5 Basic Infrastructure and Services in the Metropolis

In Ghana, the enormous development functions of the District Assemblies (DA) demand effective and efficient allocation, mobilization and management and other resources internally. However, internal resources alone cannot meet the development budget of the DA. Therefore there is the need for national resources for the implementation of development activities at the district level. In the past, revenue allocated to DAs under statutes in Ghana was not curative and viable enough to provide income for sustainable development.

The District Assemblies' Common Fund (DACF) established by District Assemblies' Common Fund Act 1993 (Act 455) which provides the framework for the disbursement of the constitutional provision of not less than 5 percent of the total revenue of the state to the District Assemblies for development has enabled the AMA, the largest recipient of the DACF to provide basic infrastructure and services in the fields of education, health and water and sanitation.

Even though the DACF together with other central government funds such as the HIPC Fund were to enable the MMDAs provide basic infrastructure and services, the

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survey revealed mixed results. When respondents were asked whether the present quality/availability of selected public goods and services (education, health and water and sanitation) in their communities in recent times had improved or not, most of the respondents were of the view that the health and educational sectors had improved, while urban sanitation is said to be deteriorating. The sanitation situation in the Metropolis is expected to further deteriorate with the introduction of charges for waste (refuse) disposal in some communities which was previously free. To forestall this, the Environmental Health Directorate of Assembly must be resourced and empowered to under-take rigorous house inspection. More than half, thus 54 percent of the respondents were of the view that health status has generally improved, this could be attributed to the introduction of the Mutual Health Insurance Scheme while the perceived improvement in education is attributable to the introduction of the Capitation Grant as well as the School Feeding Programme in the Metropolis.

From the foregoing, it is clear that the decentralization programme has achieved marginal success in terms of bringing some basic development intervention closer to the people. This notwithstanding, 51.6% of the respondents said they do not have faith in the AMA and its lower structures as the appropriate institution for solving community problems and responsive delivery of services. As to be expected, women constituted three quarters of this percentage while those in the age bracket of 26 to 35 constituted 70 percent. Table 4.2 depicts the responses to present quality and availability of selected public goods and services.

Table 4.2 Present Quality/Availability of Selected Public Goods and Services.

	Improvements		
Public Goods and Services	***Yes %***	***No %***	***Total***
Health	54	46	100
Sanitation	39	61	100
Education	53	47	100
Water	42.5	57.5	100

Source: Field Survey, 2008

4.6 People's Dialogue for Human Settlement (PD)

People's Dialogue on Human Settlements (PD) is a non governmental organization that works in partnership with the Ghana Homeless People's Federation to find permanent solutions to urban poverty in Ghana through the improvement of human settlements and shelter conditions. PD's assistance to the poor communities in the Accra Metropolis includes among other things, technical, facilitation and harnessing external resources to augment the resources mobilized by the poor communities. PD is contributing towards the attainment of adequate shelter for all with secure tenure and access to essential services in every slum communities in the Metropolis. People's Dialogue is registered with the Social Welfare Department and under the Companies Code, 1963 (Act 179) as a company limited by guarantee.

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PD is supporting about 5,000 families within the Accra Metropolis and their ages range from 16 to 70 years in diverse ways according to their different needs. With the active participation of beneficiaries, PD has developed five modules by which they assist the urban poor.

PD, under its Economic Empowerment Programme, has mobilized and built an organized federation of the urban poor known as Ghana Federation of the Urban Poor (GHAFUP), through which the urban poor and slum dwellers have been organized with a total membership of 3,500 families in the Metropolis. GHAFUP members in the Accra Metropolis have saved about Gh¢ 50,000 to operate a revolving small business loans for shelter improvements and socio-economic development. Through the small business loans, 732 people from Old Fadama and 534 people from Nima have received assistance from PD to improve their small business ventures so as to increase their income and consequently reduce poverty.

PD has also created a platform through which people living in slum and squatter settlements can engage with government and city authorities to explore alternatives to forced eviction through dialogue. PD has worked closely with GHAFUP to get the AMA make a policy shift from forced evictions to an organized relocation of the people of Old Fadama to Adjei Kotoku in the Ga West District.

The insufficient nature of the funds available to them as well as its irregular flow is one of the major challenges faced by PD. According to PD, they source for funds from individuals and international donors. The logistical demand that international

donor organizations look out for is a major limiting factor for the organization in getting access to large sums of money which they need considering the enormity of the situation of the poor in the Metropolis.

Another challenge is lack of coordination among stakeholders in the urban sector making program and project development and implementation very difficult. According to PD, this lack of coordination among stakeholders particularly NGOs providing varied interventions for the urban poor in the Metropolis particularly in the slum communities has led to duplication of effort at reducing poverty within the Metropolis. PD also complained about the fact that the AMA does not involve them in the Assemblies activities in the slum communities especially when they are the most dominant NGO operating in the urban slum communities of Accra.

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4.7 Implementation of the Decentralization Policy

The Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Environment exists to promote the establishment and development of a vibrant and well resourced decentralized system of local government for the people of Ghana to ensure good governance and balanced rural development.

According to officials of the MLGRD&E, even though the policy and legal frameworks for decentralization exist in unambiguous terms, the political will to properly decentralize at all levels has been the problem as successive governments have not demonstrated the political will to properly decentralize at all levels. Contrary to the view of Manor (1999) who has argued that devolution is a concept quite separate from decentralization because it embodies a form of separateness, the MLGRD&E sees it as a form of decentralization.

Officially, the thrust of Ghana's decentralization policy is said to be devolution. In reality however, two competing concepts of decentralization are operating in Ghana. The first is the devolution of major political and administrative responsibilities from central Government to District Assemblies, comprising partially elected bodies with the mandate for local government and local, community development. The second, running parallel to devolution intents is the process of administrative and technical de-concentration practised by Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) that plan and deliver specific services to communities.

With respect to pro-poor programming, the Ministry has adopted participatory development planning which incorporates the needs and aspirations of the poor. In order to strengthen and enable MMDAs to effectively perform their responsibilities regarding urban socio-economic development and poverty reduction, the implementation of the four components of the Urban Poverty Reduction Project has been mainstreamed into the MLGRD&E which is the Project Executing Agency. Also the DACF for instance has provided the MMDAs with the resources to address poverty at the local level.

On the creation of additional MMDAs (28 in 2004 and 32 in 2008), the position of the Ministry is that it would give voice to majority of the people across the country to participate in the decision making process concerning their development and also to develop and initiate programmes and projects that address their specific needs. To this end, the Ministry is considering a proposal to make every constituency a District.

It was realized however, that, even though there is an elaborate legal and regulatory framework for the successful implementation of the decentralization process, the implementation of the policy has been constrained by the following among others:

- Weak capacity to effectively monitor the implementation process and evaluate the performance of local government institutions.
- Weak economic base of some District Assemblies constraining their ability to mobilize adequate resources for the provision of services.
- Weak intersectoral collaboration owing partly to the absence of a central body with sufficient clout to oversee and guide the implementation process.

4.8 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

The demographic characteristics of a population are paramount to planning for development. The family or household is a very important institution when it comes to the issue of addressing the growing incidence of urban poverty in the Accra Metropolis. It is therefore imperative to understand the dynamics underpinning the various households within the study area. This sub-section of the report examines the demographic characteristics of the study communities. The variables that are under consideration here include the number of persons per household, the educational background, participation in local governance and the provision of social

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infrastructure, occupations as well as the income levels of the heads of these households.

4.8.1 Sex and marital status

The marital status of respondents varied from community to community. In the Muslim communities for instance, 75% of the respondents were living together as couples. Table 4.3 depicts the sex and marital status of respondents.

Table 4.3: Sex and Marital Status of Respondents

Marital Status	Male %	Female %
Married	68.75	67.5
Single	25	22.5
Divorced/Widowed/	6.25	10
Total	**100**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2008.

From the above, it is shown that on the average, 68.3 percent of the respondents are married. However, a greater percentage of married respondents were found in the predominantly Islamic communities of Nima and Old Fadama. In indigenous Ga communities of Chorkor and James Town, it was not common to see people co-habiting. The percentage of single headed household is 31.7 percent; this has a direct impact on poverty because the burden of taking care of the household is shifted on one person whose income might not be sufficient to meet all the household basic needs. This is in consonance with the position of Baker (1995) and Wratten (1995) who have argued that single household heads are more likely to be poor unless there are beneficiaries of family support networks.

4.8.2 Household Size of the Respondents

Household size impacts on living standards giving a certain income level. The household size of the respondents ranged from a minimum of 2 to as high as 13 for both male and female headed household. However, the average household size of the respondents is seven. The impact of large family size is such that it reduces the per capita expenditure especially when most of the family members are not income earners. In some of the large households visited, school children had to drop out of

school to allow elder siblings to complete Junior Secondary school. Some children also had to engage in petty trading to supplement the household income. The distribution of respondents by household size is depicted by Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Distribution of Respondents by Household Size

Household Size	Male %	Female %
2 – 5	35	40
6 – 9	50	47.5
10 and over	15	12.5
Total	**100**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

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About 85.9% of the households fall between household size of 2-5 and 6-9. Even though household size tends to reduce per capita expenditure, it can also enhance it. This has to do with the distribution of household between adult and children and also whether such adult is working, thereby supplementing the household income or is a dependant when he or she is not working. When there are more adults in the family who are working, the household income is enhanced and poverty reduced. However, in the area studied, 62 percent of the population is in the "dependent" ages who technically do not contribute to household income.

4.8.3 Age Distribution of Respondents

The studies revealed that majority of the sampled household heads were between 26 and 45 years old with age dependency ratio of 6.2:10. This means that there were 62 persons in the dependent ages for every 100 persons in the working ages in the communities studied. The large age dependency ratio in the study area is confirmed by the fact that Accra's population like that of other urban centers is a very youthful one with 56% of the population under the age of 24 years. The age-dependency ratio is the ratio of persons in the "dependent" ages (generally under age 15 and over age 64) to those in the "economically productive" ages (15-64 years) in a population.

Where detailed data are lacking, the age-dependency ratio can be used as an indicator of the economic burden the productive portion of the population must carry, even though some persons defined as "dependent" are producers and some persons in the "productive" ages are economically dependent. Table 4.5 depicts the age distribution in the study area.

Table 4.5 Age Distribution of Respondents

Age Groups Years	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*	*Percentage*
Less than or equal to 25 years	2	5	7	**5.8**
26 – 35	28	13	41	**34.2**
36 – 45	28	11	39	**32.5**
46 – 55	10	6	16	**13.3**
56 – 65	9	3	12	**10**
Greater than 65	3	2	5	**4.2**
Total	***80***	***40***	***120***	***100***

Source: Field Survey, 2008

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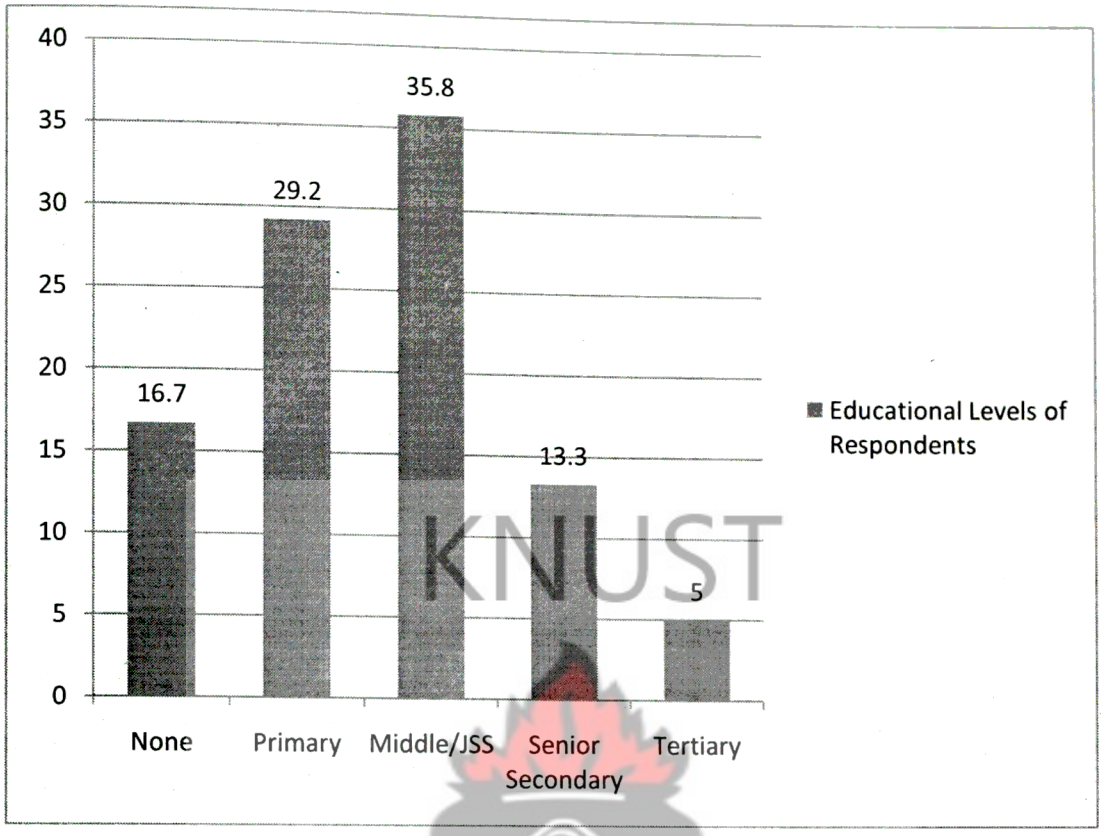
Table 4.5 shows that the majority of the respondents fell between the age 26 and 45 years and constituted 66.7 percent of the total household interviewed. This means that over 66 percent of respondents are in the child bearing bracket; these have the potential to increase the household size. This can also be described as the economically active population. This distribution has two implications on poverty. With an economically active household population, household members can work to earn income to cater for their basic needs. Thus, these can result in improved standard of living. Alternatively, the fact that most of them are within the child bearing age means there is the potential to increase the family size and because incomes are very low in the study area their poverty situation would be worsen.

4.8.6 Educational Status of Respondents

Education usually has a positive relationship with employment and consequently income so that the higher one is educated, the higher the chances of securing a well paying job. It was realized from the field survey that the highest educational level attained by most of the sampled households in the study area was the middle school level representing 35.8 percent of all respondents. About 16.7 per cent of the respondents in the Accra Metropolis have never had any form of formal education with women accounting for two-thirds of all uneducated people. This can partly explain the poor participation in local governance as most of these people are likely not to understand the decentralization concept. Figure 4.1 depicts the educational levels of respondents.

Figure 4.3 Educational Levels of Respondents



Source: Field Survey, 2008

Over 82% of the respondents have had some form of formal education. However, the level of education varied from primary to tertiary institutions. Thus, the number of years spent in school varies from 6 to 15 years. The study revealed that males have access to education than females in the study area. The exposure of more males than females to education will strongly impact on their incomes and consequently their poverty levels differently because there would be more employment opportunities for men to earn income than the opportunities for women. The low income levels of respondents explain the levels of educational attainment in the study area.

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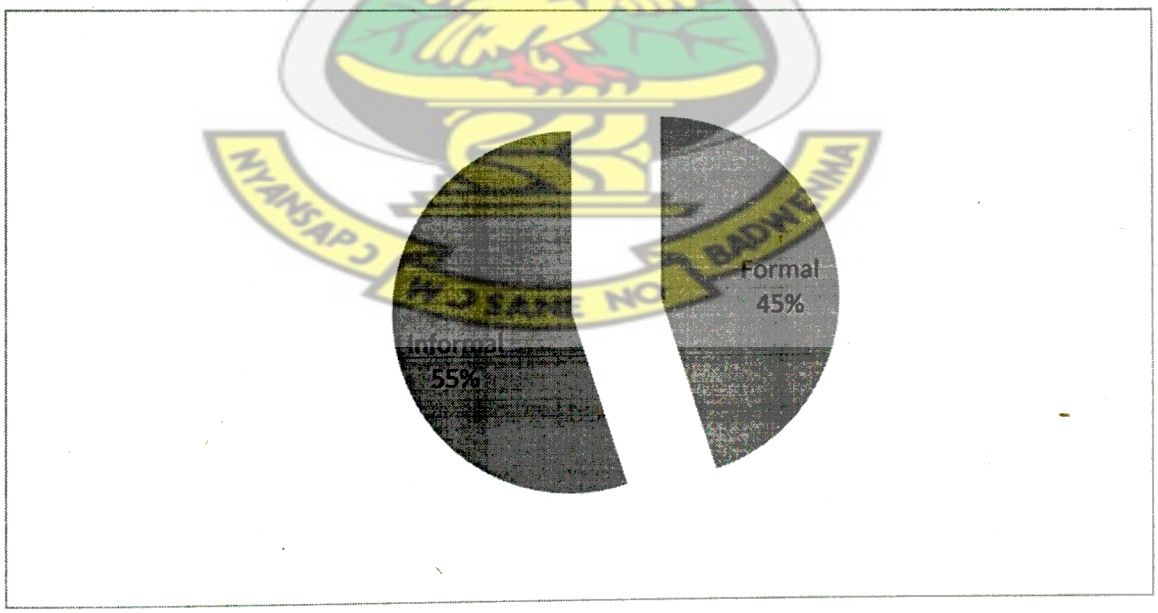
4.8.5 Employment Classifications of the Respondents

The generally low level of education in the study area manifested in the sectors of employment respondents are engaged in and the levels of income they earn. It was revealed from the study that about 11 percent of the respondents are unemployed with males accounting for only 32% of all unemployed respondents. This shows that more females are unemployed in the study area. The fact that women account for 68 percent of the unemployed means that in terms of gender women are more likely to be poorer than men because they would not be on any secured or regular income.

About 45 percent and 55 percent of all employed respondents are in the formal and informal sectors respectively. The private sector accounts for a significant proportion of formal sector workers representing 65 percent while 35 percent of respondents in formal employment are in the public sector. Of the 55 percent employed in the informal sector, 62 percent are in self employment while 38 percent are hired workers. It was revealed that the informal sector workers who were in the majority were not on social security. The implication is that when they become economically inactive, they would have no social security to live on thereby making them poorer.

Figure 4.4 Employment Classifications of Respondents



Source: Field Survey, 2008

The high percentage of self employed people in the study area can be attributed to the absence of small and medium scale enterprises to hire the services of the few reasonably trained artisans in the localities and the generally low level of education

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of the respondents making it difficult for them to secure formal employment within the private and public sectors. For instance, 95% of the respondents have educational qualification below tertiary education.

4.8.6 Average monthly Income of the Respondents

Household income and expenditure are paramount to poverty analysis. This is because it gives an indication of income inflows, its sources as well as expenditure outflows. The income of a household is a function of the number of persons working in the household and sometimes the level of educational attainment. Income is a determinant of household expenditure since it serves as the budget constraints to the amount that can be spent within a period, there is also bound to be correlation between income and poverty level of a household, all other things being equal.

Over 73 percent of the respondents earn a monthly income of not more than GH¢100. With this level of income, it would be extremely difficult for the residents to meet all their basic needs especially when rent charges are relatively high in the study area. On the average, a single room with a verandah in the study area costs about GH¢ 19. The low levels of income in the study area confirm Satterthwaite (2001:146) argument that urban poverty among others is characterized by inadequate income which gives rise to inadequate consumption of necessities including food and, often safe and sufficient water and often problems of indebtedness.

The average annual household income stands at GH¢ 1,806 with an annual expenditure of GH¢ 2,077. Even though the average annual income seems to be on the higher side considering the fact that the study was carried out in fourth class income communities, the study revealed that there are inequalities in the distribution of income. For instance, whiles the top 10.8 percent of the population account for about 70 percent of the average annual income, the bottom 36.6 percent of the population account for only 3 percent of the annual income. This huge distortion in income distribution was caused by the 5 percent of the population with the highest

level of education who are in good employment and earning relatively higher income. The major contributors of household income are heads of household.

The pattern of expenditure revealed that expenditure on food accounted for 41 percent of all household expenditure. Rent charges takes 22 percent of annual expenditure and expenditure on clothing takes as much as 12 percent of overall annual expenditure. The remaining 25 percent is spent on other household expenses. Table 4.6 depicts the distribution of respondents by monthly income.

Table 4.6: Distribution of Respondents by Monthly Income

Monthly Income Group Ghȼ	No. of Household	Percentage Distribution (%)
1 ≥50	44	36.7
51 > 100	44	36.7
101 > 150	19	15.8
151 > 200	5	4.2
201 > 250	5	4.2
251 > 300	3	2.4
Total	**120**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

4.8.7 Access to services

Gauging household poverty is also done in this study by assessing household's access to some essential services. Some of the most important housing characteristics concern the facilities which household have access to. Figure 4.3 depicts the proportion of household having access to portable water (defined as reliance on all sources of water apart from wells and natural sources), using adequate toilet facilities (a flush toilet or the KVIP toilet) and having access to electricity at the home.

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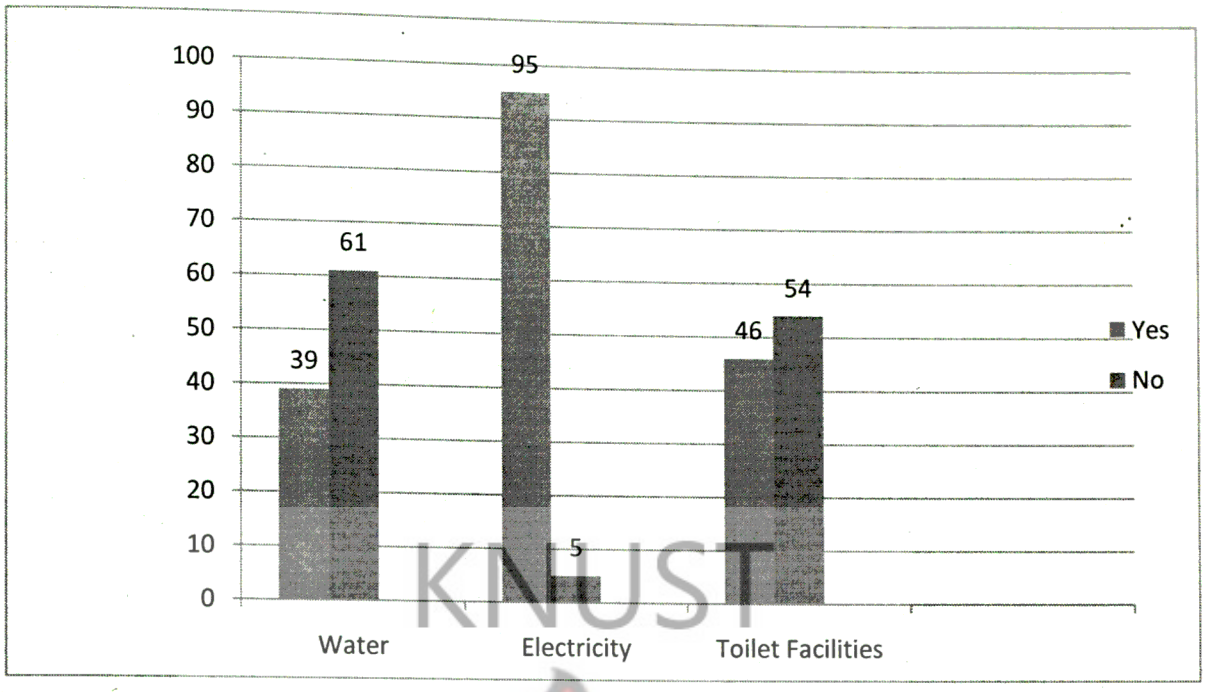
Figure 4.5 Access to Services



Source; Field Survey, 2008

Majority of the sampled households representing 61 percent depends on individual water vendors to supply them water in their home at astronomical prices because they do not have portable water in their homes. A bucket of water supplied by vendors sells at GHp30 whiles it could have been bought at less GHp5 if water were available at home using Ghana Water Company rates. Moreover, the irregularity of water supply in the study area of the Accra Metropolis makes it imperative for every household that can afford a water reservoir to have one. But the implication of this on health status of each family can be disastrous since much water – borne diseases can hit these communities.

4.9 Conclusion

The analysis phase has revealed issues in decentralized governance and urban poverty reduction that needs to be addressed. For instance, a number of the poverty reduction strategies which were introduced and implemented in the Metropolis by the AMA were central government and donor agency planned programmes.

Also the demographic characteristics of the study area are similar to most of the characteristics of urban poverty as described in Chapter Two.

The major findings and recommendations to address these issues are presented in Chapter Five which is the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS & CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter builds up from the previous one by looking at the findings obtained from the analysis of the field data in the light of the research questions as well as the objectives of the study. This chapter brings out the key findings of the study and appropriate recommendations to address these findings as well as a conclusion.

5.2 Summary of findings

5.2.1 Decentralization practice in Ghana

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The study revealed that devolution is officially the thrust of Ghana's decentralization policy. In reality however, two competing concepts of decentralization are operating in Ghana. The first is the devolution of major political and administrative responsibilities from central Government to District Assemblies, comprising partially elected bodies with the mandate for local government and local community development. The second, running parallel to devolution intents is the process of administrative and technical de-concentration practiced by Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) that plan and deliver specific services to communities.

The study also revealed that the successful implementation of the decentralization process has been constrained by a number of factors even though there is an elaborate legal and regulatory framework for implementation of the policy. The implementation has been constrained by the following among others:

1. Weak capacity of the MLGRD&E to effectively monitor the implementation process and evaluate the performance of local government institutions.
2. Weak economic base of some District Assemblies constraining their ability to mobilize adequate local resources for the provision of services.
3. Weak intersectoral collaboration owing partly to the absence of a central body with sufficient clout to oversee and guide the implementation process.

5.2.2 Participation in Local Governance and Community Development

The study revealed that education, income, age and sex influence one's level of participation in local governance in the communities studied. For instance, 76 percent

of all respondents who said they have not participated in community development activities as defined, have educational attainment below secondary education. It was revealed that those who participated most in local government elections and other community development activities have at least secondary school education. Also, people in the middle age bracket defined in this study as the age between thirty four and forty four, participated more in local government activities while more men participated in the last DA elections than women.

There is limited participation of the electorate in the decentralization process. Citizens participate reasonably only during District Assembly elections. The limited participation of the electorate is explained largely by the inadequacies of the Local Government (Urban, Zonal, Area and Town Councils and Unit Committees) Establish Instrument, 1994 (L.I.1589) and the non partisan nature of the District Assembly elections. Whereas the L.I. 1589 for instance provides that Assembly Members should meet the electorate before and after General Meetings, the L.I. does not provide the needed funding for such meetings and because the Assembly Members cannot sponsor such meetings they do not organize them at all.

Also, the Unit Committees, though fully constituted in the communities studied, are not functional because the members are neither being paid nor giving allowances. Furthermore, The AMA does not organize extensive consultation with the people when drawing the annual development plans as required by the Local Government Act, (Act 462) and the National Development Planning Commission's guidelines for plan preparation.

5.2.3 AMA and urban poverty reduction in the Accra Metropolis

Most poverty reduction proprammes that were implemented in the Metropolis were central government poverty reduction programmes based on the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers and not locally planned by the AMA. However, the AMA with funding from the German Development Co-operation (GTZ), the Social Investment Fund (SIF) and the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Environment (MLGRD&E) has prepared an elaborate Pro-poor Programming document as criteria for participating in the Urban Poverty Reduction Project. The Pro-

poor Programming document which takes into consideration the peculiarity and the dynamics of Accra's poverty provides the basis for any urban poverty reduction intervention in the Metropolis.

Currently, AMA's poverty reduction programmes has not brought about any significant improvement in the social and economic wellbeing of the urban slum dwellers for which reason 51.6 percent of the respondents said they do not have faith in the AMA and its lower structures as the appropriate institution for solving community developmental problems and responsive delivery of services. The living condition of respondents is deplorable with a high rate of unemployment particularly among the youth. However, it is expected that with the introduction of the Urban Poverty Reduction Project and the resources available for its implementation, significant improvement would be made on the lives of the urban poor if all components of the Project are implemented effectively.

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5.2.4 The Demographic Characteristics and its Implication on Poverty

The study revealed interesting demographic characteristics of urban slum dwellers which makes them susceptible to poverty. About 16.7 percent of the respondents in the Accra Metropolis have never had any form of formal education with women accounting for two-thirds of all uneducated people; this is cause of poverty in the area. The World Bank (2000) mentioned low levels of education and health as causes and manifestations of poverty. It was also shown from the studies that about 11 percent of the respondents are unemployed with males accounting for only 32%. The fact that women account for 68 percent of the employed means that in terms of gender women are more likely to be poorer than men because they are not on any secured or regular income.

The study revealed that there is high income inequality in the study area. For instance, while the top 10.8 percent of the population account for about 70 percent of the average annual income, the bottom 36.6 percent of the population account for only 3 percent of the annual income. In such an area, it is important for development planners to appreciate the sharp income inequities so as to develop special programmes that

directly target the low income earners as a way of addressing the income imbalances in the area.

5.2.5 AMA collaboration with NGOs in Poverty Reduction

There is lack of cooperation and coordination of the activities of NGOs providing varied forms of intervention to address the problem of growing incidence of urban poverty in the Metropolis. The Assembly is not coordinating the programmes and activities of such NGOs so well so as to maximize the benefit that would inure to the slum communities where most of them operate.

5.3 Recommendations

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Poverty has the consequence of breeding social disillusionment with respect to what the societal objectives are and member's responsibilities towards attainment of these objectives. Just as ignorance maintains poverty, so also can poverty perpetuate ignorance, since the victims cannot think and plan beyond where the next meal is coming from.

A society where majority spend almost 80 percent of their income on consumption and have little or nothing to save that could be ploughed back into the economy for re-investment, economic growth would be slow and impeded, since the rate of economic growth is a function of investment through multiplier effects. This means that the group of people affected would not participate effectively in the process of development of that nation.

From the analysis of findings relating to the living condition of respondents, it is obvious that poverty exists in the study area and it was also found that education, household size, occupation, employment, shelter, income and social infrastructural facilities such as health facilities, roads, electricity, good schools, accommodation, and water can be linked to the occurrence of poverty in the area. Therefore, any attempt to improving these factors will be a step in the right direction in reducing poverty in the region and in Ghana as a whole.

For any urban poverty reduction project to make the desired impact on the urban dwellers, Metropolitan Assemblies should design their development plans such that it

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is based on 'basic needs'. This 'basic needs' approach emphasizes the importance of separating generalized increase in income from the more significant attainment of the requirements for a permanent reduction of poverty through the provision of health services, education, housing, sanitation, water supply and adequate nutrition. The rationale of this approach is that the direct provision of such goods and services is likely to relieve absolute poverty more immediately than alternative strategies, since growth strategies usually fail to benefit the intended target and the productivity and income of the poor depend in the first place on the direct provision of health and education facilities. In the same vein, there is no guarantee that increased income will be spent on essential services, since, households vary in their ability to spend wisely and effectively. Specifically the following is recommended;

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5.3.1 Decentralization practice in Ghana

- The National Association of Local Government Authorities (NALAG) should lobby the MLGRD&E to amend section 16 of the Local Government Act (Act 462) to make the District Assemblies responsible for the cost incurred by Assembly Members in organizing community meeting. However, because of the huge financial burden that this would place on the Assembly, it is suggested that a maximum of two of such meetings should be sponsored in each electoral area per year by the Assembly. This would give meaning to the law and allow greater citizens participation in the decentralization process particularly in urban areas were there is high apathy and citizens' interest seem to be reducing in the decentralization process. This should be done before the next DA elections in year 2010.

- The Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Environment should prepare an overarching Decentralization Policy that defines more succinctly, the policy choices associated with devolution of authority, for planning, budgeting and accountability for development results at the level of MMDAs. Such a policy (drawing on relevant legislations already in place), will overcome the current situation in which every level of Government is claiming authority in various aspects of existing legislation.

- Following the policy, a Decentralization Strategic Framework, elaborating specific priorities over a given time-frame of five years will need to be prepared. This may well be based on an up-date and refinement of the National Decentralization Action Plan (NDAP) to align it closer to the GPRS II and any future Poverty Reduction Paper, making the strategic framework an instrument for overall national strategy and programmes towards accelerated growth and poverty reduction. In this context, a more systematic dialogue between the various strategic planning institutions – National Development Planning Commission (NDPC), Ministry of Finance & Economic Planning and the MLGRDE, the Local Government Service Council is needed in order to streamline the strategic focus for decentralization with the operational guidelines issued and implemented by these institutions.

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5.3.2 AMA and Urban Poverty Reduction in the Metropolis

- The AMA should develop a local Urban Poverty Reduction Plan based on the Pro-poor Programming document that has been prepared by the Assembly as this would directly address the needs of the urban poor in the Metropolis.

- The capacity of the Metropolitan Planning Coordination Unit of the AMA which would house the Local Project Implementing Agency (LPIA) of the Urban Poverty Reduction Project needs be enhanced to coordinate the implementation of the project effectively in the Metropolis. Currently, the unit made up of three professional planners as against the staff requirement of seven. The unit relies on the services of national service personnel. It is suggested however, that such personnel posted to the unit must possess the academic qualification relevant to the functions of the unit.

- Efforts to reduce poverty are unlikely to succeed in the long run unless there is greater investment in the human capital of the poor. Improvement in education, health and nutrition directly address the worst consequences of being poor. There is ample evidence that investing in human capital, especially in education, shelter and social services increases the poor's productivity and also attacks some of the most important causes of poverty. Improving the social

services of the poor will be an essential part of any long-term strategy for reducing poverty in the urban slums of Accra and the Metropolis as a whole.

Based on the demographic characteristic of urban slum dwellers in the Metropolis, which makes them susceptible to poverty, the study recommends the following as a way of addressing the vulnerability of urban dwellers;

- Skills Training for the Unemployed Youth

Since the study revealed that there is unemployment particularly among the youth, the study proposes skills training for the unemployed youth. Skills development involves a broad range of actors in education, training and production systems that aim at promotion of vocational and other job-related training that raises productivity and hence real wages. It places emphasis on more varied modalities of formal and non-formal types of training. The AMA should collaborate with the Vocational and Technical Education Division of the Ghana Education Service and the National Youth Council to provide this Skills Training at the sub-Metropolitan District level with funding from the DACF.

- Increasing Access to Finance and Microcredit Schemes

Increasing access to finance and microcredit to the trained youth and poor women to enter into business is a sure way of reducing poverty. It is generally difficult for the poor to get access to credit by conventional means because banks commonly require the security of collateral loans. Micro-finance and micro-insurance schemes are innovative ways of providing the poor with access to capital and thus a way out of poverty. Especially women often lack access to the financial resources necessary to escape poverty and social dependency. Micro-credit schemes can enable women to engage in economic activities and join social networks through which both poverty and social dependency can be overcome. The AMA should collaborate with micro-finance institutions in the Metropolis to advance such credit facilities to the poor.

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- Gender Disparity in Education

The elimination of gender gaps in all levels of education as exist in the study area is an internationally agreed development goal not least since the Dakar Declaration on Education for All in 2005. Educating girls is a powerful lever for their empowerment, as well as for reducing poverty. Girls who are educated are likely to marry later and to have smaller, healthier families. Education can translate into economic opportunities for women and their families. The Metropolitan Education Office should implement a quota system of admission at the secondary school level to allow girls to go beyond the Junior Secondary School level.

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5.4 Conclusion

Decentralization and the promotion of good local governance have come to be accepted in Ghana as constituting an enabling environment within which effective mechanisms for poverty reduction could thrive. The understanding is that local governance promotes good governance factors such as: participatory democracy and grass-roots or civil society participation in decision-making and resource allocations; transparency and anti-corruption mechanisms; human rights and administrative practice; equitable and fair access to services; a fair, balanced government and private sector and the separation of powers between the executive, legislative and judicial arms of government. This noble objective of the decentralization cannot be attained if strenuous effort is not made to ensure a complete decentralization at all levels and all forms from political to fiscal.

For decentralization to effectively impact on poverty reduction, the study concludes with the following observations. First, as with many other public services, effective implementation of poverty reduction strategies often requires detailed and specific local knowledge which may be most readily obtainable through a decentralized and locally accountable system of governance. The right kind of decentralization will therefore enable local government units to have sufficient technical and financial capacity to carry out their assigned functions. Based on the assumption that decentralization allows people to get what they want rather than what someone else wants them to want, poverty reduction programme, like other programmes, should reflect local and regional variations in preferences where appropriate. From this

viewpoint, decentralization in principle is good and this virtue depends upon political accountability and the inevitable need to strengthen the capacity of local service providers to be responsive.

Second, the relationship between decentralization and poverty reduction depends on the targeting of poverty-reducing public investment by local government units. Local government units implement the national poverty reduction policy, narrowly or broadly defined. A narrowly defined poverty policy uses transfers of income, in money or kind, to the poor. A broadly defined poverty reduction policy also encompasses policies intended to increase the productivity of the poor through the formation and maintenance of human capital – health and education – and improved access to markets and productive resources in general. Given the heterogeneity of resources, capacities, costs, needs and preferences in Ghana, some MMDAs will need much more financial and technical support to function effectively than others.

Thirdly, the expected benefits of urbanization with regard to health, education, gender inequalities, etc, have not materialized for which reason rural-urban migration is prevalent in the country. The urban poor, by far the largest component of the urban population, are not so different from rural inhabitants, which may relate to circular migration and residential ubiquity of many households. The issue of rural-urban migration should be taken into account in national poverty reduction strategies.

Finally, any policy designed by city governments to ameliorate the plight of the urban poor must among other things recognize that 'although recent research shows that female-headed households are not necessarily the 'poorest of the poor' (Simon, 1999), it is nevertheless important that policies recognize the diversity of household structures and organization in the design and implementation of urban poverty reduction policies.

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APPENDIX 1

I am a MSc. Student from the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, carrying out a research on Decentralized Governance and Urban Poverty Reduction in Ghana: A case study of selected urban slums in the Accra Metropolis. The information is purely for academic purposes in partial fulfillment for the award of MSc. Development Policy and Planning.

Household Poverty Questionnaire

Age.....

1. What is the size of this household
   a. Between 1 – 5
   b. Between 6 – 10
   c. Between 11 – 15
   d. Between 16 – 20
   e. Others (specify).....
2. How many people are in the "dependent" ages (under 15 and over age 64)? .....
3. How many people are in employment? .....
4. What category of employment best describes you?
   a. Unemployment ( )
   b. Self-employed ( )
   c. Private Formal Employment ( )
   d. Public Formal Employment ( )
5. What is the average monthly household income? .....
6. What is the average monthly household expenditure? .....
7. Which household expenditure takes a larger chunk of you income and about what percentage of your income do you spend on that?
   .....
8. How do you define poverty?
   .....
   Do you in any way see yourself as being poor? Yes ( ) No ( )
9. If yes, what do you see as the causes of poverty in this community and how does poverty manifests itself in this community?
   .....
10. Do you think that the Accra Metropolitan Assembly and its sub structures have a role in improving your standard of living? Yes ( ) No ( )

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11. If yes, please explain how and if no explain why _____

_____

12. Has the AMA implemented or are they implementing any special programme aimed at reducing poverty in this community? Yes ( ) No ( )
13. If yes, what are some of these programmes and how have they impacted on you life?

_____

14. In your own estimation, what has been the contribution of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly towards poverty reduction in this community?

_____

Education

15. How many people in this house are of school going age (Primary to JHS)?

_____

16. Of this number, how many are actually in school? _____
17. How many Primary and Junior High Schools are in this community? _____
18. How accessible are these schools? Please explain accessibility in terms of distance and affordability _____
19. By which means does school going children in this house get to school daily? Please chose among the following:
    a) Walking
    b) Riding Bicycle
    c) Motor transport
    d) Others, (please mention) _____

21a) Pleases, why this choice _____

20. Which institutions provide educational facilities in this community?

_____

Health

21. Do you have any health facility in this locality? Yes ( ) No ( )
22. Who is responsible for the management of these facilities? _____
23. Does the AMA support you in registering for the National Health Insurance Scheme?

Yes ( ) No ( )

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If yes, how did they do that?

.....

Housing, Water and Sanitation

24. Type of occupancy
    a. Owner only
    b. Owner with tenants
    c. Tenants only
    d. Others (specify) .....
25. How many rooms do you have in this house? .....
26. Do you have access to portable water in this house? Yes ( ) No ( )
27. Which of these facilities do you have in your house? Please indicate those applicable.
    a) Toilet { }
    b) Both room { }
    c) Store room { }
    d) Kitchen { }
28. If you do not have a toilet facility, how do you access the facility?

.....

Participation in local governance

29. Do you know the Assembly Member for this electoral area? Yes ( ) No ( )
30. Does the Assembly Member seek your view on major issues of the Assembly? Yes ( ) No ( )
31. How do you get your concerns and problems to the AMA for redress?

.....

32. How often is community forum organized in this community
    a) Very often
    b) Often
    c) Not often
    d) Not very often
33. Have you ever participated in such meetings? Yes ( ) No ( )
34. What do you think should be done to reduce poverty in this community?

.....

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APPENDIX 2

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Questionnaire for Poverty Reduction NGO

1. Name of institution.....
2. What are your objectives? .....
3. What is the legal, regulatory and institutional framework for your operation?

   Please give details as follows,

   Legal:

   .....

   Regulatory:

   .....
4. What kind of programmes are you implementing at the moment? .....
5. What is the target population of the project? .....
6. What is your organization's understanding of poverty in this community?

.....

7. What are the causes of poverty in this community?

   .....
8. What are the manifestations of poverty in this community? .....
9. What has your organization identified as been the coping mechanism of people in this community? .....
10. Who are the project beneficiaries? .....
11. What are the criteria for selecting project beneficiaries?.....
12. What have been the outcomes of these programmes? .....
13. What is the level of cooperation with the project beneficiaries? .....
14. What is the level of cooperation with the Accra Metropolitan Assembly?

    .....
15. Are the project beneficiaries involved in the planning, implementation and management of the project?

    Yes ( ) No ( )

16. If yes, at what stage of the project cycle is project beneficiaries involved?

.....

17. How sustainable are your projects after implementation? .....
18. Does the community have the necessary managerial and technical skills and competence to ensure the sustainability of the project? Yes ( ) No ( )
19. Have you organized any training programme aimed at enhancing the capacity of the project beneficiaries? Yes ( ) No ( )
20. What policies inform your programmes? .....
21. What are some of the challenges you face in providing poverty reduction intervention in this community? .....
22. What are your recommendations for effective management of poverty reduction programmes in an urban poor community like this? .....

.....

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APPENDIX 3

I am a MSc. Student from the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, carrying out a research on Decentralized Governance and Urban Poverty Reduction in Ghana: A case study of selected urban slums in the Accra Metropolis. The information is purely for academic purposes in partial fulfilment for the award of MSc. Development Policy and Planning.

Questionnaire for Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Environment

General Information

Position/status of respondent.....

Sex Male { }, Female { }

How long have you worked in this Ministry

One year to five years { } five years and above { }

Implementation of the decentralisation policy

1) What type of decentralisation is being practiced in Ghana?

.....

2) Do you think there is the political will to properly decentralise at all levels?

YES { }/ NO { }

Please give reasons for your answer.....

3) Do you think there are legal, institutional and regulatory frameworks for decentralisation in Ghana?

YES { } / NO { }

4) Please mention in each some of the frameworks

4.1 Legal.....

4.2 Institutional.....

4.3 Regulatory.....

5) In your own estimation, do you think the structures for the implementation of the decentralization programme as it exists now have clear and unambiguous roles and responsibilities? YES { }/ NO { }

If your answer is no; how can the situation be improved? .....

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6) What is the philosophy behind the creation of Metropolitan/Municipal/District Assemblies?

.....

7) Has the creation of more Metropolitan/Municipal/Districts Assemblies improved local governance and local economic development?

8) What about the provision of essential goods and services and making them accessible and affordable to the poor? .....

Pro-poor programming

9) To what extent does the Ministry promote and ensure poor sensitive budgeting and planning at the Metropolitan/Municipal/District Assembly level?

.....

10) Does the Ministry encourage the Assemblies to incorporate the concerns of interest groups such as civil society organisations, traditional authorities, youth and women groups etc in their development plans and poverty reductions programmes?

Yes ( ) No ( )

11) To what extent does the legislative context affect the capacity of the MMDA to take on poverty?

.....

12) To what extent does the financial context affect the capacity of the MMDA to take on poverty focused objectives?

.....

13) Do governments mainstream poverty in urban development strategies? If yes/no, why?.....

14) What can be done to ensure timely transfer of financial resources from central government (DACF, HIPC Fund, GET Fund etc) to the MMDA?.....

18) Would you say decentralization in Ghana has been successful in reducing poverty in Ghana?

Yes ( ) No ( )

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APPENDIX 4

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District Assembly Questionnaire

1. Name of respondent.....
2. How many people form the membership of the Assembly? .....
3. How many are appointed to the Assembly? .....
4. What is the urban poverty situation in the Metropolis?
5. What are the main causes of poverty in the Metropolis?
6. What forms does the poverty take? .....
7. How do you measure poverty in this Metropolis?.....
8. How is the Metropolitan Assembly dealing with the situation?

.....9

Do you have any special programmes for the urban poor in this Metropolis?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes mention some of these programmes and the areas where they are being implemented?

Type of Project	Area Implemented

9. What have been the effects of your interventions on the levels of poverty within the project areas and what mechanism do you use to measure this?

.....

10. Which towns and communities have been identified as poor in this Metropolis and why? Please list.....

11. Do you have any specific interventions for these towns and communities?
    Yes ( ) No ( )

12. What is the access level of the poor to government programmes such as?

Government Program	Access level
NHIL	High [ ] Average[ ] Not accessible [ ]
School Feeding	High [ ] Average[ ] Not accessible [ ]
Domestic Violence Bill	High [ ] Average[ ] Not accessible [ ]
Capitation Grant	High [ ] Average[ ] Not accessible [ ]

13. How sustainable are the programmes? Please explain.....

14. In you estimation do you see decentralization having any impact on poverty reduction?

.....

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