Half a Decade of Implementation of Ghana's Urban Policy: Stocktaking the Successes and Failures of Flagship Projects

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Executive Summary

Background

Ghana has experienced rapid growth of the urban population in recent years. This growth presents a myriad of opportunities for and barriers against the country's quest for sustainable development. The barriers appear to dictate the urbanisation discourse. To maximise the prospects of urbanisation and mitigate the threats, the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development in Ghana, with support from the German International Development Cooperation Support for Decentralisation Reforms (GIZ-SfDR) and Cities Alliance, launched the National Urban Policy in 2012. The overarching goal of the policy is "to promote a sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of urban settlements with adequate housing, infrastructure and services, efficient institutions, and a sound living and working environment for all people to support the rapid socio-economic development of Ghana"

The policy's impact is not a major feature of the conventional literature after almost half a decade of implementation. Therefore, this study aims to take stock of the policy's successes and challenges by focussing on seven flagship projects. The flagship projects are: a) Street Naming and Property Addressing, b) Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority, c) Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project, d) Ghana Urban Transport Project, e) Public-Private Partnership, f) Local Government Capacity Support Project, and g) Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3. These projects, believed to be a representative sample of the projects in the policy document, were selected on the advice of the Ghana Urbanisation Think-Tank.

Methodology

The design is mainly qualitative. Interviews and field observations were the major media for data collection. To ensure geographical validity in the results, Ghana was divided into three spatial clusters namely, a) the Southern Cluster, b) the Middle Cluster, and c) the Northern Cluster. The District Assemblies within each of the three clusters were categorised into Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies to reflect the typologies of District Assemblies in Ghana. One Metropolitan Assembly, Municipal Assembly and District Assembly was selected from each cluster for the study.

Secondary and primary data were obtained from the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies and other relevant institutions within and outside the study areas, and from the conventional and grey literature (such as newspapers) to meet the objectives of the study. The researchers collected the secondary data through desk review of relevant project documents, annual progress reports and the Medium-Term Development Plans of the relevant Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies that were covered in the study. Project reports from the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development were vital sources of secondary data.

The primary data, on the other hand, were obtained through direct interviews with relevant (implementing) institutions. The institutions include the selected Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies, and the Ministries of Local Government and Rural Development

(MLGRD), Environment, Science, Technology and Innovation (MESTI), Lands and Natural Resources (MLNR), and Works and Housing (MWH). The other institutions from which primary data were gathered are the Land Use Planning and Spatial Development Authority, Ghana National Fire Service, National Ambulance Service, and Utility Service Providers (Ghana Water Company Limited and Electricity Company of Ghana). Through Focus Group Discussions, the researcher collected primary data from traders at some open markets, commercial drivers at bus terminals, meat processors at abattoirs, residents along some named streets in Kumasi and Accra, and residents of Ga Mashie.

The interviews were conducted with the aid of interview guides, which were designed to elicit data to assess the effects of the seven flagship projects. The assessment was based on nine themes as follows: a) sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of urban settlements, b) improved local government revenue and balance sheet, c) shift in public sector budget allocations to support the broad objectives of the NUP, d) private sector and donor investment in fixed capital and local capacity attracted or re-allocated by the programme, e) qualitative improvements in critical urban service delivery, f) contribution to low carbon development or climate resilient urban development, g) local employment or work opportunities created, h) shift in public sector narrative regarding urbanisation as an opportunity, and i) contribution to a "sense of place", "right to the city" or new urban identities. These themes reflect the objectives of the National Urban Policy.

Each theme was sub-divided into specific variables following which each variable was assigned a weight that ranged from 0-1 (where 0 means the project has not been successful and 1 means the project has been successful). The study used an ordinal scale (high degree of success = 67 – 100%; medium degree of success = 34 – 66%; low degree of success = 0 – 33%, and insufficient evidence) to summarise the level of success of each of the seven-flagship projects under each theme. The assessment was supported by data from the institutions and actors that were covered in the study.

Findings

The findings of the study are organised according to the nine evaluation themes.

a) Sustainable, Spatially Integrated and Orderly Development of Urban Settlements

All the seven flagship projects have positively impacted, although at different degrees, the operations of public institutions, improved living and work environment, and enhanced socio-economic development efforts. For instance, the Street Naming and Property Addressing has led to the naming of about 75% of roads in the central business districts of the 46 Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies that received support from the Urban Development Grant. Additionally, the Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority, through its spatial plans, has played a profound role in providing a foundation for orderly development of urban human settlements. Similarly, the Ghana Urban Transport Project has impacted positively on urban infrastructure and service delivery, improved the working environment of the urbanites and supported local socioeconomic development efforts. The upgrading interventions under the third phase of the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project have improved the living conditions of the inhabitants and micro entrepreneurs at Ga Mashie.

Nonetheless, the flagship projects have made little progress in increasing the stock of housing. The plausible explanation is that none of these projects was designed to increase the housing stock. The Bus Rapid Transit has also not made the desired impact due to keen competition from other transport service providers (taxis and mini buses operating in the informal economy) in the city. Competition between the Bus Rapid Transit and the informal transport service providers is inconsistent with the project design. Finally, the effects of the Street Naming and Property Addressing are limited to the few beneficiary communities in the districts that were covered in the study. This underscores the need to scale up the project to cover all communities.

b) Improved Local Governance and Assemblies' Revenue Base

The results point to steady improvement in Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies' capacity to mobilise internally generated funds. The assemblies' capacity to mobilise internally generated funds has increased by an average of 90% in real terms between 2012 and 2017. The plausible explanation for this is the assemblies' use of strategies such as revenue target-setting and reconciliation, rotation of revenue accountants and collectors, and engagement of private contractors for revenue collection. Surprisingly, none of the assemblies attributed the improved internal revenue performance to the Street Naming and Property Addressing. This could be explained by the project's skewed concentration on property addressing instead of combining that with taxable property identification and valuation for the collection of realistic rates.

The Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project, Ghana Urban Transport Project and the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3 have enhanced the management and liveability of the beneficiary cities through infrastructure provision. The infrastructure provided includes market stores and sheds, engineered landfill, improved road, commuter buses, abattoir, community alleys and community centre.

c) Shift in Public Sector Budget Allocations and Attraction of Private Sector and Donor Investments

The results of the study indicate that the flagship projects have contributed marginally to shifting public sector budget allocations towards the broad objectives of the National Urban Policy. Available evidence shows that an amount of USD 250,000 was provided to co-finance the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3 in Ga Mashie, Accra. Similarly, the Street Naming and Property Addressing directed public sector budget to implement the spatial planning objectives of the National Urban Policy. The project's replication effect is evident in Ghana Post's Property Addressing System. The District Performance Assessment Tool also illustrates the Local Government Capacity Support Project's replication effects. Nevertheless, the overall replication effects of the flagship projects and impact on shifting public budget towards the broad objectives of the National Urban Policy have been less profound.

The Public-Private Partnership arrangements at the level of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies have made positive impacts in the areas of sanitation and market infrastructure provision. This illustrates the ability of the flagship projects to leverage private funding and capital for investments. There are also marked improvements in capacity building efforts at the local level. For instance, the Local Government Capacity

Support Project organised capacity enhancement workshops for district assemblies that could not meet the minimum conditions for District Development Fund under the Functional Organisation Assessment Tool in 2015. After the workshop, the assemblies were able to satisfy the conditions and thus received funding from the District Development Fund in the third year of the programme's implementation. Nevertheless, the flagship projects appear to have entrenched the Assemblies and central government's dependency on external funding for policy and plan implementation. Given that the external funding and technical support for programmes and projects is time-bound, over-reliance on them undermines their replication by central and local government bodies. This could be the explanation for the limited attempts at replicating the projects in other areas.

d) Qualitative Improvements in Critical Urban Service Delivery

The results show that the projects have improved the quality of urban service delivery. For instance, the Street Naming and Property Addressing has contributed to improvements in delivery of services such as refuse collection, water supply, energy supply, health and security. Similarly, the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3 has improved sanitation service delivery at Ga Mashie. Approximately, 50 households in the community received funding and technical support to construct improved household toilet facilities. The Urban Development Fund, under the Local Government Capacity Support Project, has also contributed to the expansion of community infrastructure in the 46 beneficiary districts. The structure plans and settlement schemes and layouts prepared by the Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority have enhanced public service (water and electricity) delivery.

In contrast, the Quality Bus System in Accra, under Ghana Urban Transport Project, has not improved commuter time. Travelling on mini-buses and taxis that operate in the informal economy, appears to be faster than the commuter buses. Although the corridors run through the heavily populated business areas, which could have promoted transit-oriented development, the sprawl in the city implies high populations at the periphery. Limiting the Bus Rapid Transit to only one corridor in the city will not motivate commuters to travel longer distances to patronise them when there are alternatives such as the mini buses. The failure to develop the cities to have a transit-orientation undermines the effectiveness of the bus rapid transit.

e) Contribution to Low Carbon Development or Climate Resilient Urban Development

Anecdotal evidence obtained by the study indicate that the flagship projects may have had positive implications for low carbon development and community resilience to climate change. For instance, the alleys and drainage canals that were constructed in Ga Mashie, under Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3, have reduced the incidence of storm water flooding. Furthermore, the biogas plants that have been attached to the abattoirs in Tamale, Ho and Bolgatanga (under the Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project and the Urban Development Grant) have the tendency not only to promote the use of improved energy but also reduce the economic actors' adverse ecological footprints. Finally, the Bus Rapid Transit could reduce the greenhouse gases from the transport sector, which could complement the reductions from the use of the biogas digesters to minimise Ghana's adverse ecological footprints. However, the analysis is based on anecdotes, which implies the need for studies to determine the impact of the flagship projects on the emission of green-house gases.

The study identified that the District Assemblies' planning layouts make provisions for green infrastructure and for the preservation of wetlands and riparian areas. This is consistent with the national green infrastructural network and the tenets of sustainable city. Nevertheless, there is evidence to conclude that the lands have been encroached upon for grey infrastructural purposes. This practice threatens ecological sustainability of the cities.

f) Local Employment or Work Opportunities Created

The results indicate that the flagship projects have made profound contributions to employment creation at the local level. For instance, the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies recruited labour for ground truthing and the erection of property signages under the Street Naming and Property Addressing. Although these jobs were temporary, they supported the livelihoods of those who were employed during the project's tenure. Similarly, the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3, through the GN Bank, offered economic actors at Ga Mashie many of whom were women, micro loans to invest in their enterprises. The tricycles the project provided for refuse management have created employment for a dozen youth in the James Town. These youth move from house-to-house for refuse collection at a fee. The alleys at Ga Mashie, which were constructed under the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3, have improved the businesses of food vendors who are located along these alleys. The results of the study show further that infrastructure from the Urban Development Grant (73 markets, 19 lorry parks, 5 artisan villages, 14 abattoirs and 3 agro-processing centres) have improved the working environment of the beneficiaries. These improvements include the use of clean energy for meat processing and wider physical space within which to operate.

g) Shift in Public Sector Narrative Regarding Urbanisation as an Opportunity

There is increasing recognition for the importance of urbanisation in sustainable development. This is evident in the establishment of the Urban Development Unit within the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development in Ghana. However, the urbanisation narrative in Ghana overly concentrate on the problems that are associated with urbanisation. The problems that are commonly mentioned in Ghana's urbanisation narrative include the proliferation of informal settlements and slums, urban sprawl, waste management problems, pollution, and loss of vegetation. Positive impacts such as agglomeration, specialisation, and economies of scale are less pronounced in the narrative. We deduce from the continued emphasis on the adverse effects on urbanisation in the narrative that the flagship projects have made little impacts in changing the urbanisation discourse.

h) Contribution to a "Sense of Place", "Right to the City" or New Urban Identities

Results from the study indicate that some of the flagship projects have made profound impact on the beneficiaries' 'sense of place' and 'right to the city'. For instance, through the Street Naming and Property Addressing, a section of the residents along some notable streets in Kumasi maintain that the street names give them a sense of identity and pride. Similarly, the improved public bathrooms, in-house toilet facilities and alleys at Ga Mashie under the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3, have contributed to the residents' "right to the city". The traders at the renovated Ho Central Market and the economic actors at the Ho and Bolgatanga abattoirs feel that they are part of government's plan of action.

Challenges

Despite the successes in the first five years of implementation, the National Urban Policy is far from achieving its goal of promoting a sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of urban settlements. This is attributable to the under-listed factors:

- The Street Naming and Property Addressing has made limited contributions to revenue generations at the local level. The project's successes are limited to identifying property and streets and naming them.
- The Bus Rapid Transit is yet to transform the urban transport system. The informal transportation subsector appears to be more preferred choice for commuters in the cities. The lack of transit orientation in the design and development of the cities, amid the continued sprawl, and coupled with the confinement of the Bus Rapid Transit to a single corridor, undermines the choice of the Bus Rapid Transit as the preferred mode of transport.
- Low replication effects of the flagship projects. The central and local government bodies continue to overly rely on external funding, which undermines their ability to replicate the flagship projects in other cities. For instance, the Bus Rapid Transit, engineered landfill sites and market renovations are limited to a few cities. The implication is that the benefits of the projects may be limited to the targeted cities, which could hamper the orderly development of all urban settlements in Ghana.
- Public-Private Partnerships arrangements at the district levels are yet to transfer an amount of risk to private partners and unleash the full potentials of the private sector. Currently, the private sector actors are only engaged by the assemblies after which they are paid commissions based on their performance. Failure to make the private partners risk -takers undermines the principles of effective Public-Private Partners.
- Weak coordination of the National Urban Policy's programmes and projects. The coordination and implementation responsibilities of urban projects are fragmented among several institutions, none of which has ultimate coordinating responsibilities although the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development launched the policy. This undermines any attempts to stock-take the successes and challenges of the policy and could explain the concentration of the present study on the flagship projects.

Recommendations

To consolidate the gains made in the first five years of implementation, the following recommendations require consideration:

- The Street Naming and Property Addressing should be combined with property valuation for the administration of realistic property rates. This would enable land value capture, which could impact the incomes of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies and other revenue mobilisation agencies in Ghana.
- The urban transportation sector should be reformed to ensure that the trotros and taxis that operate within the informal sub-sector complement the Bus Rapid Transit. These informal agents should be restricted to the assigned routes, while expanding the coverage of the Bus Rapid Transit and developing the cities to have transit orientation, to ensure complementarity. This proposal requires the strengthening of the capacity of Centre for Urban Transportation in Ghana and Greater Accra

Passenger Transport Executive to ensure compliance with local byelaws. Powers from the assemblies, whose jurisdiction the Bus Rapid Transit will operate, will have to transfer powers to the Greater Accra Passenger Transport Executive to ensure compliance with allocated routes by the taxi and trotro drivers. The effectiveness of the Bus Rapid Transit can reduce the transport sub-sector's negative ecological footprints.

- To mitigate urban sprawl, spaces planned for urban green infrastructure should be protected. The state should exercise its powers of expropriation, acquire and pay compensations to acquire the lands to prevent encroachment. The private organisations should be encouraged to invest in housing for rental purposes. This could promote densification and ultimately ensure space economy. Such an approach will be consistent with the transit orientation of the city, which is recommended above.
- Public-Private Partnerships arrangements for revenue mobilisation at the local levels need to be amended to make the entities risk-bearers. The private entities should be given targets to meet instead of taking a commission based on the amount that is mobilised. This should start with a study to determine the revenue potential of the assemblies to facilitate the setting of realistic targets.
- Lessons from the Participatory Slum Upgrading in Ga Mashie and infrastructure such as abattoirs and market sheds indicate that micro and small-scale projects can make significant contributions to local socio-economic development. In this regard, the Ministries of Local Government and Rural Development, and Works and Housing should replicate the participatory slum upgrading interventions to improve conditions in other urban slums. Replicating the economic interventions (such as abattoirs, market stores and sheds, and Bus Rapid Transit) in other urban areas could contribute to making these areas countermagnets to Accra, Kumasi, Tema and Sekondi-Takoradi.
- Strong coordination of programmes and projects in urban areas. This paper recognises that a city is a system where there is an interplay of a myriad institutions. Improper coordination of programmes and projects undermines stock-taking and for taking corrective measures at the appropriate time where necessary.

The next phase of the National Urban Policy should emphasise urbanisation as an opportunity instead of threat. In this regard, programmes and projects that harness the potentials inherent in urbanisation should be the focus. The following proposals could be considered:

- Smart mobility development with focus on people mobility, information logistic mobility and information mobility. Sub-ways could be encouraged in the heavily population areas of the cities to enhance transportation in terms of safety, reducing congestion and carbon emissions.
- Urban development financing by focusing on Public-Private Partnership and other public-only initiatives that take advantage of urban agglomerations. This could promote employment and ultimately improve urban safety and security.

- Recognising municipal solid waste as a resource rather than a problem and developing innovative strategies to harness the resource potentials. This could enhance the environmental quality of urban life.
- Replication of participatory slum upgrading interventions in other slums in the cities while abating the formation of new slums through initiatives that promote housing affordability.
- Promoting spatially integrated hierarchy of settlements to allocate functions and foster synergies.

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1. Introduction

The global urban population has increased by almost five folds in the last six decades. As of 2016, approximately 55% of the world's population lived in urban areas (Zhang, 2016). Forecasts indicate that by 2030, three in five people in the world will reside in urban areas (UN-Habitat, 2016). The urban population growth rate is higher in the global south, particularly in Asia and Africa, than the global north although the latter is more urbanised (Zhang, 2016). Consequently, over 90% of the expected growth in the urban population will occur in the global south, particularly in Asia (54%), Africa (32.5%) and Latin America (6.8%) (Zhang, 2016). This explains Asia and Africa's status as the fastest-growing urban agglomerations in the world (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division, 2014).

The narrative indicates that rapid urbanisation in the global north prior to the 1950s made a profound contribution to the region's development (Narayan, 2014; Zhang, 2016). The global north cemented its status as an engine of economic growth due to the effects of large agglomerations on higher productivity and stronger growth (Arouri et al., 2014). The World Bank (2006) data reveal that only a few countries in the world attained per capita income levels of US$ 10,000 before reaching 60% level of urbanisation. For instance, the United States' gross domestic product (GDP) per capita was US$ 3,380 at 28% level of urbanisation in the 1980s but increased by over ten-folds to US$ 37,832 in 2006 at 81% level of urbanisation (The World Bank, 2006). Similarly, China's rapid rate of urbanisation has contributed to the nine-fold increase in its gross domestic product per capita since 1960. Within this period, China's rate of urbanisation has more than doubled. The possible conclusion from the development experience of these countries is that urbanisation is a catalyst for rapid socioeconomic development (The World Bank, 2009; Turok, 2014).

The apparent 'magic' of urbanisation in stimulating development is partly explained by the theory of agglomeration economies. The theory suggests that high concentrations of human population and economic activities in urban areas produce economic advantages. Examples of these advantages are the generation of new skills, ideas and innovations (Glaeser 1999); proximity between producers, readily available labour and consumers (market) leading to low cost of producing and distributing goods and services (Krugman 1991; Alonso-Villar 2001; Handerson 2002; 2004); and cost-effectiveness in the provision of public infrastructure and services (Oduro et al., 2014). A negative picture is, however, portrayed of the co-relationship between urbanisation and development in the global south. For instance, Bouare (2006) maintains that urbanisation has had negative effects on the gross domestic product of 24 out of 32 case study countries in the global south within the period of 1985 to 2000. Brückner (2012) confirms this from a panel study in Africa, which found an associated between increases in the rate of urbanisation and a significant decline in real gross domestic product per capita. The plausible explanations for the observed negative relationship between urbanisation and the growth of gross domestic product in the global south are: a) increased vehicular traffic with the associated costs on health and productivity (Jain et al., 2012; Tsekeris and Geroliminis, 2013; Zhang and Batterman, 2013), b) sprawl and the associated effects on efficiency (Kleemann et al., 2017; Masoumi, 2014), and c) squalor and the attendant effects on national health (Arimah, 2011; Dagdeviren and Robertson, 2011; Mutisya and Yarime, 2011; Smit et al., 2017). These effects are expected to exacerbate as the

human population in the global south continues to increase. In this regard, some scholars conclude that urbanisation is a threat to sustainable development of cities in the global south (Cobbinah et al., 2015; Hove et al., 2013).

However, inferring from experiences of the global north, the adverse effects of urbanisation in the global south can be mitigated if the governments in the region are able to draw on the global recognition[1] of, and new information on the role of urbanisation in sustainable development. Accordingly, some African countries have formulated policies with the aim of leveraging on the international memes and ambitions to maximise the opportunities that are associated with urbanisation. For instance, in 2012, the Government of Ghana launched the National Urban Policy with the aim of promoting a sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of urban settlements (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012). Similarly, the National Urban Development Policy of Nigeria has been developed to promote a dynamic system of clearly defined urban settlements (Federal Ministry of Power Works and Housing, 2016, p. 39). The Ethiopian Urban Development Policy Framework also aims to reduce unemployment and slums, increase access to land and basic services in urban areas, and strengthen urban-rural linkages (Kassahun and Tiwari, 2012; UN-Habitat & Cities Alliance, 2014; World Bank, 2014a). The UN-Habitat is supporting 28 countries, 16 of which are in Africa, to develop an urban policy (Oyuela, 2017).

The discussion reflects a possible shift in perspective towards viewing urbanisation as an 'opportunity' rather than as a 'threat'. It also depicts the recognition of the profound contributions urban policies can make in the development and sustenance of urban areas. However, there is a sense that the policy rhetoric may have been preceded by weak political-will and institutional capacity to address the barriers against sustainable and inclusive urban growth. This sense may have been influenced by the lack of clarity on the progress towards the attainment of the goals and objectives of the available urban policies in Africa (Turok, 2015). The rarity of urban policies in Africa and the skewed focus of the urbanisation narrative on its effects (Boudreaux, 2008; Cobbinah et al., 2015; Potts, 2012; van Noorloos and Kloosterboer, 2018) could plausibly explain the lack of clarity on the successes and challenges of the urban policies in Africa.

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to take stock of the successes and challenges of Ghana's National Urban Policy by focussing on seven flagship projects. The study forms part of a comprehensive study that aims to develop a national urban transition assessment for Ghana. Its goal is to provide strategic inputs on Ghana's urbanisation and climate resilient city development process. Although the assessment is limited to Ghana's Urban Policy, the results could have significant policy relevance for other countries in the global south whose urbanisation experiences are like that of Ghana.

[1] The Sustainable Development Goal 11 and the UN-Habitat's Urban Agenda.

2. Nature of Urbanisation in Sub-Saharan Africa

2.1 Urbanisation in Sub-Saharan Africa

The urbanisation literature indicates that Africa is the fastest urbanising region in the world (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division, 2015). The proportion of Africans who lived in urban areas doubled between 1950 and 2010; rising from approximately one to almost two in ten persons (see Table 1). Assuming that the current population growth rate of 2.55% (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division, 2015) will not change significantly, 60% of Africans will reside in urban areas by 2050. This implies that more than half of the expected global population growth from now to 2050 will occur in Africa (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division, 2015, p. 3). This confirms Africa's status as the fastest growing continent in the world ((United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division, 2012).

Table 1: Urbanisation in the World and Africa

	Population ('000)				Urbanisation Level (%)				Urbanisation Rates (%)		
Region	1950	2000	2010	2050	1950	2000	2010	2050	1950-2000	2000-2010	2010-2050
World	745,495	2,858,632	3,558,578	6,252,175	29.44	46.69	51.6	67.18	2.69	2.19	1.41
Developed regions	441,845	881,344	957,251	1,127,222	54.47	74.14	77.45	85.93	1.38	0.83	0.41
Developing regions	303,650	1,977,289	2,601,326	5,124,953	17.64	40.08	45.96	64.11	3.75	2.74	1.70
Asia	245,052	1,392,232	1,847,733	3,309,694	17.46	37.44	44.37	64.36	3.47	2.83	1.46
Europe	280,602	514,545	536,611	591,041	51.27	70.80	72.69	82.17	1.21	0.42	0.24
Latin America and the Caribbean	69,264	393,619	465,246	650,479	41.38	75.49	78.84	86.62	3.48	1.67	0.84
Northern America	109,667	247,911	282,480	395,985	63.9	79.13	81.99	88.61	1.63	1.31	0.84
Oceania	7,907	21,924	25,857	40,346	62.38	70.43	70.66	73.05	2.04	1.65	1.11
Africa	33,004	288,402	400,651	1,264,629	14.36	35.56	39.19	57.70	4.34	3.29	2.87

Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division (2012)

In the African continent, Ghana and South Africa's urbanisation experiences seem to supersede those of other countries. Currently, approximately 53% of Ghanaians and 64% of South Africans live in urban areas (Table 2). Countries in Africa that have similar urbanisation experiences are those that have more urban than rural populations (Table 2). However, the entire urban population of these countries, except Cameroon and Côte d'Ivoire, is equivalent to that of a single city in Ghana (Accra: 2 million) or South Africa (Cape Town: 3 million). This implies that the urbanisation experiences of these countries are not likely to have profound implications for urban policy in other African countries.

The urban populations of Cameroun and Côte d'Ivoire are comparatively lower than that of Ghana and South Africa. Besides, Cameroun's urban policy is at the preparatory stage (Oyuela, 2017) while the Cote d'Ivoire's Infrastructure for Urban Development and Competitiveness of Second Cities was submitted to the World Bank for support in 2017 (World Bank, 2017). The fledgling urban policies of these countries exclude them from a study that aims to determine the successes and challenges of the implementation of urban

policies from which lessons can be drawn to enhance the subsequent implementation phases. In this regard, Ghana and South Africa were the ideal cases for any study that aims to determine the successes and challenges of urban policies. However, South Africa's Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) was only approved in April 2016 whereas Ghana's Urban Policy has been implemented since 2012. Ghana's Urban Policy was, therefore, selected for the present study. The assessment focusses on seven-flagship projects that have been implemented in Ghana since 2012.

Table 2: Levels of Urbanisation in Sub-Saharan Africa

SN.	Country	Population '000	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	S.N.	Country	Population '000	Urban (%)	Rural (%)
1.	Angola	22,138	43	57	26.	Malawi	16,829	16	84
2.	Benin	10,599	44	56	27.	Mali	15,768	39	61
3.	Botswana	2,039	57	43	28.	Mauritania	3,984	59	41
4.	Burkina Faso	17,420	29	71	29.	Mauritius	1,249	40	60
5.	Burundi	10,483	12	88	30.	Mozambique	26,473	32	68
6.	Cameroon	22,819	54	46	31.	Namibia	2,348	46	54
7.	Cape Verde	504	65	35	32.	Niger	18,535	18	82
8.	Central African Republic	4,709	40	60	33.	Nigeria	178,514	47	53
9.	Chad	13,211	22	78	34.	Réunion	886	95	5
10.	Comoros	752	28	72	35.	Rwanda	12,100	28	72
11.	Congo (Brazzaville)	4,558	65	35	36.	Sao Tome and Principe	198	67	33
12.	DR Congo	69,360	42	58	37.	Senegal	15,548	41	59
13.	Côte d'Ivoire	20,805	53	47	38.	Seychelles	93	55	46
14.	Djibouti	887	77	23	39.	Sierra Leone	6,205	40	60
15.	Equatorial Guinea	778	40	60	40.	Somalia	10,806	39	61
16.	Eritrea	6,537	22	78	41.	South Africa	53,140	64	36
17.	Ethiopia	96,506	19	81	42.	South Sudan	11,738	19	81
18.	Gabon	1,711	87	13	43.	Sudan	38,764	34	66
19.	The Gambia	1,909	59	41	44.	Swaziland	1,267	21	79
20.	Ghana	26,442	53	47	45.	Tanzania	50,758	31	69
21.	Guinea	12,044	37	63	46.	Togo	6,993	39	61
22.	Guinea-Bissau	1,746	49	51	47.	Uganda	9,396	65	35
23.	Kenya	45,546	25	75	48.	Western Sahara	586	81	19
24.	Lesotho	2,098	27	73	49.	Zambia	15,021	40	60
25.	Liberia	4,397	49	51	50.	Zimbabwe	14,599	33	67
26.	Madagascar	23,572	34	66					

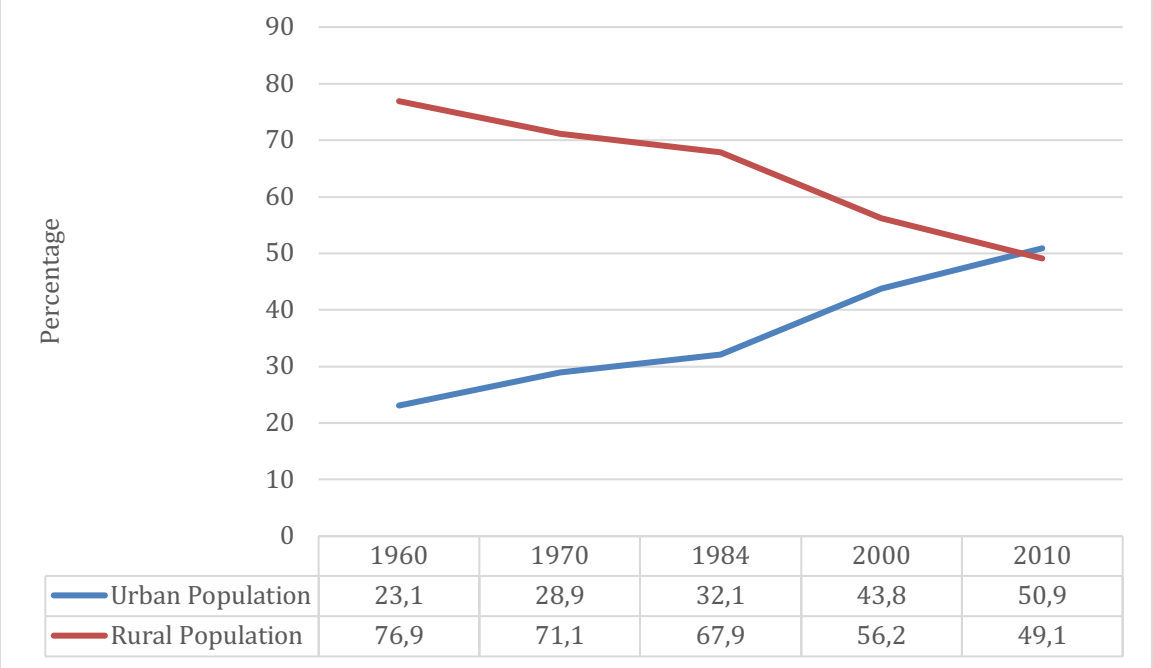
Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2014)

2.2. The Need for Urban Policy in Ghana

2.2.1 Nature and Effects of Ghana's Urbanisation

The definition of an urban area in Ghana is based on population (i.e. number of people living in a settlement) due to its simplicity (Cobbinah and Niminga-Beka, 2017). A settlement with a population of 5,000 people or more is regarded as urban. This is the operational definition of an urban area in this study. This does not suggest that the socio-economic and ecological dimensions of urbanisation are immaterial to the discourse. Rather, the plenitude of national demographic data and the dearth of data on the socioeconomic and spatial dimension of urbanisation, limits the discussion of urbanisation in Ghana to demographic characteristics.

Comparatively, the urban population of Ghana has recorded a more rapid growth than the rural population (see Figure 1). It grew by 4.7% per annum between 1960 and 1970, declined to 3.3% between 1970 and 1984 and increased to 4.6% between 1984 and 2000. The rural population growth rates were 1.6%, 2.3% and 1.5%, respectively, for the 1960-1970, 1970-1984 and 1984-2000 inter-censal years (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a).



	1960	1970	1984	2000	2010
Urban Population	23,1	28,9	32,1	43,8	50,9
Rural Population	76,9	71,1	67,9	56,2	49,1

Figure 1: Trend in Urbanisation, 1960 -2010
Source: Ghana Statistical Service 2014a

The growth in the urban population is, however, concentrated in few cities, implying urban primacy (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b). In the year 2000, only eight out of the 88,656 localities in Ghana accounted for almost 20% of Ghana's population (Ghana Statistical Service, 2005). Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi, Tamale and Tema also accounted for over 35% of Ghana's urban population as of 2010. The high population growth rates have possibly made the cities the hotspots of economic activities in Ghana (Cobbinah and Niminga-Beka, 2017). Nevertheless, the authorities of these primate cities in Ghana lack the administrative and financial capacities to contain and manage urban growth (see: Gough & Yankson, 2006;

Doan & Oduro, 2012). Consequently, urbanisation in the cities have been associated with a) uncontrolled physical development, b) urban sprawl, c) conversion of green infrastructure to grey infrastructure, d) environmental degradation (Rakodi 1999; Lanjouw & Sparrow, 1999; Aberra and King 2005), and e) congestion and growing housing deficits leading to the proliferation of informal settlements and squalor. The National Urban Policy was therefore launched to address the problems that are associated with Ghana's urbanisation.

2.2.2 Overview of the National Urban Policy

With funding from the German International Development's Support for Decentralisation Reforms (GIZ-SfDR) and supported by Cities Alliance, the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development developed the National Urban Policy document. Its overarching goal is "to promote a sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of urban settlements with adequate housing, infrastructure and services, efficient institutions, and a sound living and working environment for all people to support the rapid socio-economic development of Ghana" (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012).

The policy's goal is disaggregated into 12 objectives as follows: a) to facilitate balanced re-distribution of urban population; b) to promote a spatially integrated hierarchy of urban centres; c) to promote urban economic development; d) to improve environmental quality of urban life; e) to ensure effective planning and management of urban growth and sprawl, especially of the primate cities and other large urban centres; f) to ensure efficient urban infrastructure and service delivery; g) to improve access to adequate and affordable low-income housing; h) to promote urban safety and security; i) to strengthen urban governance; j) to promote climate change adaptation and mitigation mechanisms; k) to strengthen applied research in urban and regional development; and l) to expand sources of funding for urban development and strengthen urban financial management.

The policy's impact is not a major feature of the conventional literature after almost half a decade of implementation. The Available studies have largely centred on the evolution of the National Urban Policy (UN-Habitat, 2014; 2017), its role in addressing the urbanisation challenges in Ghana and the opportunities for and barriers against its successful implementation (Turok, 2015). Other studies have focussed on the policy's significance in ensuring 'right to the city', and promoting urban informal economy (Crentsil and Owusu, 2018). Many others have also discussed the policy's prospects in managing urbanisation more coherently (Obeng-Odoom 2010; World Bank, 2014b). To add to existing literature and address the knowledge gap on the policy's successes and challenges, this study takes stock of the successes and challenges of the National Urban Policy in Ghana. The focus is on the policy's flagship projects in Table 3 details.

Table 3: Study Areas

Project	Location	Reference
Street Naming and Property Addressing	All cities and towns in Ghana	Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (2010); Ministry of
Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority	All districts in Ghana	Environment, Science, Technology and Innovation (2013); Japanese International Cooperation Agency (2018); Ghana National Spatial Development Framework (2015: Volumes I & II); SDF-NSEZ (2015: Volumes I & II)
Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project	Kumasi, Tamale, Ho and Sekondi-Takoradi	Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development
Ghana Urban Transport Project	Greater Accra Metropolitan Area	World Bank (2017)
Public-Private Partnership	All Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies	Yakubu & Sulemana, (2016); Global Communities
Local Government Capacity Support Project	46 Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies	World Bank (2015)
Participatory Slum Upgrading – Phase 3	Ga Mashie, Accra	UN-Habitat (2009)

3. Research Methods

3.1 Research Approach

The research design is mainly qualitative, which allowed in-depth analyses of the variables that were used to take stock of the successes and challenges of the National Urban Policy. Nevertheless, some qualitative data were triangulated with quantitative data to enrich the analyses. To ensure geographical validity, Ghana was divided into three clusters namely, a) the Southern Cluster (comprising the southern part of the Western Region, Greater Accra Region, Central Region and southern part of the Volta Region); b) the Middle Cluster (comprising the Ashanti Region, Brong Ahafo Region, Eastern Region and the northern halves of the Western and Volta regions); and c) the Northern Cluster (comprising the Northern Region, Upper East Region and Upper West Region). Figure 2 depicts the three clusters.

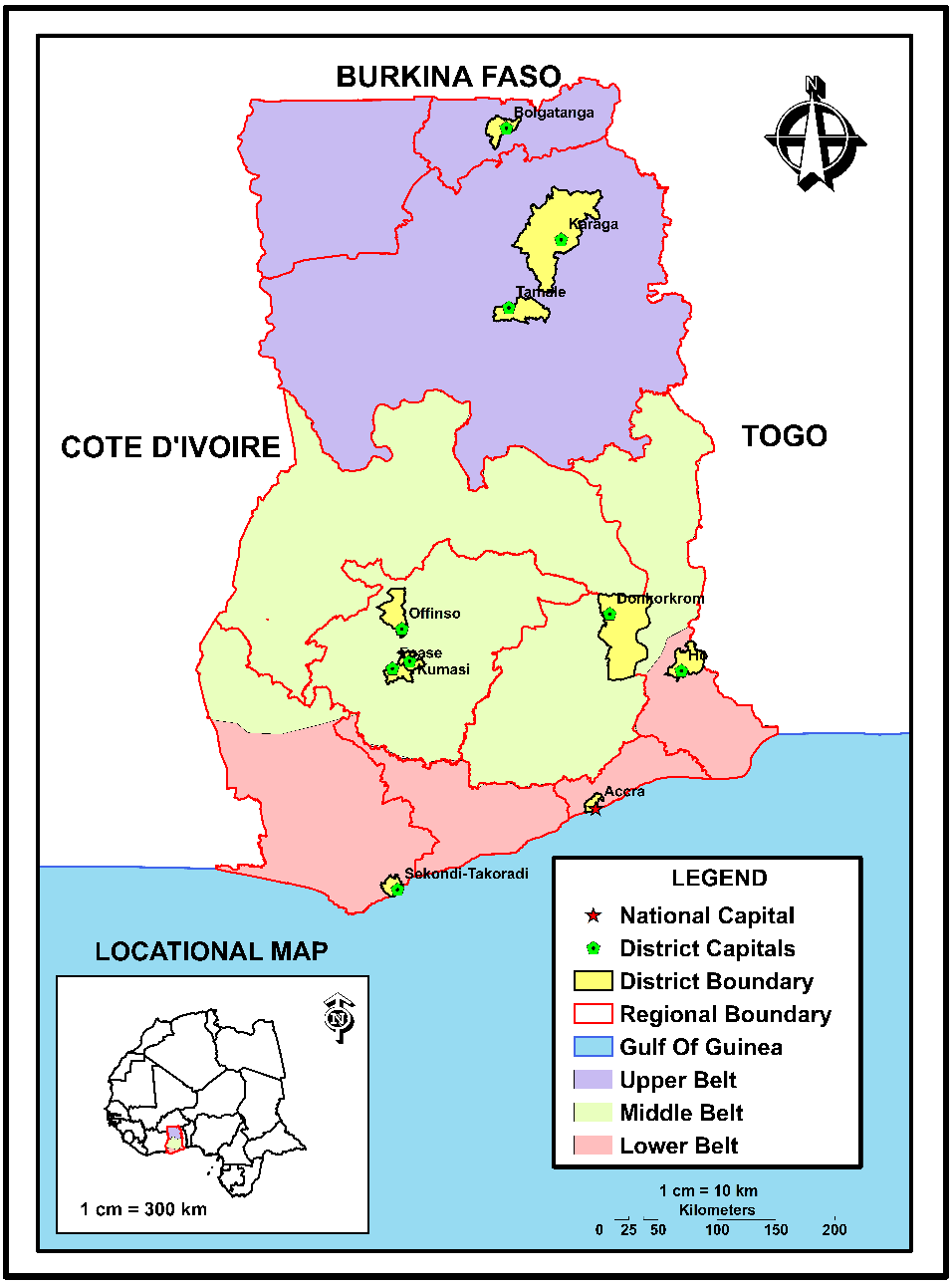


Figure 2: Map of Ghana Showing the Three Clusters used in the Study

The District Assemblies in the three clusters were further stratified into Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies. The strata are consistent with the typologies of assemblies in Ghana. The Kumasi, Tamale and the Accra Metropolitan Assemblies were selected from the Middle, Northern and Southern Clusters, respectively. The Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly, being the only Metropolitan Assembly in the Middle Cluster, benefitted from all the six flagship programmes; hence its inclusion in the study ensured efficiency in data collection. The Accra Metropolitan Assembly also benefitted from all the flagship projects except the Ghana Urban Management Pilot Programme. Like the Kumasi

Metropolitan Assembly, the inclusion of Accra Metropolitan Assembly in the study ensured efficiency in data collection.

The Ho Municipal and Kwahu Afram Plains North District Assemblies from the Southern Cluster; Offinso South Municipal and Obuasi East District Assemblies from the Middle Cluster; and the Bolgatanga Municipal and Karaga District Assemblies from the Northern Cluster. The Ho Municipal Assembly was included in the study on the advice of the Ghana Urbanisation Think-Tank. The Municipality is one of the southern local areas that benefitted from the Ghana Urban Management Pilot Projects. Table 4 presents details of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies from which data were gathered for the study. The Development Planning Officer, Physical Planning Officers and District Finance Officers were the units of enquiry from the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies.

Table 4: Selected Assemblies for the Study

Project	MMDA
1. Street Naming and Property Address System	All the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies included in the study
2. Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority	
3. Public-Private Partnership	
4. Local Government Capacity Support Project	
5. Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project	Accra, Kumasi and Ho
6. Ghana Urban Transport Project	Accra
7. Participatory Slum Upgrading Project	Ga Mashie, Accra

3.2 Sources of Data and Methods of Data Collection

The study used data from both secondary and primary sources. This allowed for data triangulation. The term secondary data is used in this study to refer to data that were used to address research questions that are different from the ones the original collector sought to answer (Vartanian, 2011). Therefore, the secondary data were obtained from project documents, annual progress reports from the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies and Medium-Term Development Plans. A checklist of data needs was prepared to guide the secondary data collection. It was structured to gather data on a) project objectives, b) funding arrangements including total cost and sources of funding, c) period of project implementation, and d) the effects of the projects on the evaluation themes as presented in Table 5.

On the other hand, the primary data were obtained through face-to-face interviews with the heads of Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies or those who were designated by the heads to grant the interview. The other institutions/organisations covered in the study were: a) the National Development Planning Commission, b) the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, c) the Ministry of Environment, Science, Technology and Innovation, d) the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, e) the Ministry of Works and Housing, f) the Ministry of Roads and Highways, g) the Land Use Planning and Spatial Development Authority, h) the Ghana Private Roads Transport Union, i) Ghana Fire Service, j) the Ghana Ambulance Service and k) the Quality Bus System in Accra.

Using interview guides, the heads of these institutions or designated officers were interviewed for the required data. Also, through focus group discussions, data were collected from traders at the Ho Central Market, meat processors at the Tamale, Ho and Bolgatanga abattoirs, residents along some named streets in Kumasi and Accra, and residents of Ga Mashie in Accra. The size of the focus group ranged from 6-10 members. Interviewing a wide range of institutions across the three clusters enhanced internal validity.

Data were also gathered through observation. The purpose was to gather graphical images to support some of the responses from the interviews. For instance, physical projects such as abattoirs, alleys, commuter buses, engineered landfill site, and market stores and sheds were observed. The data are presented in the form of plates/figures in this report.

3.3 Methods of Data Analysis

The data were analysed based on the nine evaluation themes in Table 5. Each theme was measured by the corresponding variables in column 2 of Table 5. Each variable was weighted point, which means that a flagship scores one (1) point if the variable in question has been satisfied. Therefore, the success of any of the flagship projects, using any of the evaluation themes, was determined by following equation below:

$$Success = \left(\frac{Total\ score}{Total\ Attainable\ Score}\right) * 100 \qquad \text{Equation 1}$$

An ordinal scale as follows: 'high degree of success' (67 – 100%), 'medium degree of success' (34 – 66%), 'low degree of success' (0 – 33%) and 'insufficient evidence' was used to determine the level of success of each of the seven-flagship projects. The colour codes in Table 6 were used to summarise the level of success of each of the flagship projects. The analytical approach does not consider the fact that each theme covers several variables some of which the flagship projects were not designed to achieve. For instance, the Street Naming and Property Addressing was never intended to ensure balanced redistribution of the urban population. In this regard, the result from the application of equation 1 may imply limited success. To overcome this, the researchers rated such cases as Not Applicable (NA) although that had little effects on the colour codes that were later applied in the summary table. It is also instructive to point out that the parameters were not weighted equally. For instance, the second theme, (which is improved local governance), is heavily weighted even though that has no effects on the results since the assessment has been based on each theme without using averages.

Qualitative data (in the forms of quotations and photographs) and quantitative data (such as Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies' annual incomes and projects' effects on employment) were used to support the project rating.

Table 5: Themes and Variables for Assessment

Evaluation Theme	Variables	Attainable Score
1. Sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of urban settlements	• Housing in terms of quantity and quality	1
	• Infrastructure and service	1
	• Operations of public institutions	1
	• Living environment	1
	• Working environment	1
	• Socio-economic development of communities	1
	sub-total	**6**
2. Improved local governance	• Balanced Re-Distribution of Urban Population	1
	• Spatially Integrated Hierarchy of Urban Centres	1
	• Urban Economic Development	1
	• Environmental Quality of Urban Life	1
	• Planning and Management of Urban Growth and Sprawl	1
	• Urban Infrastructure and Services	1
	• Adequate and Affordable Housing	1
	• Urban Safety and Security	1
	• Urban Governance	1
	• Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation Mechanisms	1
	• Research in Urban and Regional Development	1
	• Urban Development Finance	1
	sub-total	**12**
3. Shift in public sector budget allocations to support the broad objectives of the NUP	• Local government revenue base	1
	• Local government's balance sheet	1
	sub-total	**2**
4. Private sector and donor investment in fixed capital and local capacity attracted or re-allocated by the programme	• Investment from the private sector and donors	1
	• Private sector and donor investment in local communities?	1
	• Re-allocation of private sector and donor investment in fixed capital and local capacity	1
	sub-total	**3**
	• Sanitation services	1
	• Energy access (including electricity)	1

Evaluation Theme	Variables	Attainable Score
5. Qualitative improvements in critical urban service delivery	• Congestion	1
	• Spatial cohesion	1
	• liveable human settlements	1
	• Social exclusion (specific to women and children)	1
	sub-total	**6**
6. Contribution to low carbon development or climate resilient urban development	• Low carbon development	1
	• Urban resilience	1
	sub-total	**2**
7. Local employment or work opportunities created	• Impact on employment generation	1
	• Impact on the prospects and opportunities for work	1
	sub-total	**2**
8. Shift in public sector narrative regarding urbanisation as an opportunity	• Urbanisation as an opportunity	1
	• Financial support for harnessing the prospects of urbanisation	1
	sub-total	**2**
9. Contribution to a "sense of place", "right to the city" or new urban identities	• Neighbourhood as a sense of place	1
	• Right to a city	1
	• Creation of new urban identities	1
	sub-total	**3**

Source: Adapted from the Terms of Reference

Table 6: Template for Summarising the Flagship Projects' Level of Success

Evaluation Criteria	Flagship Projects																																	
	Street Naming and Property Addressing				Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority				Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project				Ghana Urban Transport Project				Public-Private Partnership				Local Government Capacity Support Project				Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3										
	H	M	L	N	H	M	L	N	H	M	L	N	H	M	L	N	H	M	L	N	H	M	L	N	H	M	L	N	H	M	L	N		
1. Sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of urban settlements																																		
2. Improved local governance																																		
3. Shift in public sector budget allocations to support the broad objectives of the NUP																																		
4. Private sector and donor investment in fixed capital and local capacity attracted or re-allocated by the programme																																		
5. Qualitative improvements in critical urban service delivery																																		
6. Contribution to low carbon development or climate resilient urban development																																		
7. Local employment or work opportunities created																																		
8. Shift in public sector narrative regarding urbanisation as an opportunity																																		
9. Contribution to a "sense of place", "right to the city" or new urban identities																																		

Source: Authors' construct

Legend

H High M Medium L Low N Insufficient evidence

3.4 Ethical Consideration

Research ethics were duly observed in the study. The purpose was to safeguard the validity and worth of the results. The ethical considerations include a) voluntary participation and the use of informed consent, b) offering a detailed explanation of the purpose of the study to the respondents prior to the interviews, and c) protecting the anonymity of the respondents in reporting the results. Participants were free to withdraw from the study at any time. Again, to ensure anonymity, the identities of participants were kept confidential.

3.5 Delimitation and Limitations

The study draws insights from seven-flagship projects to assess the effects (measured by the nine evaluation criteria in Table 5) of the National Urban Policy. Limiting the scope of the study to the seven flagship projects implies that the study does not present adequate information to measure the effectiveness of the National Urban Policy. Therefore, to have a complete picture of the successes and failures of the National Urban Policy, there is the need to assess its effectiveness, which should aim to answer the question: a) 'have all the planned programmes and projects been implemented?' and 'have the programmes and projects made or an on course to yielding the planned outcomes and desired impact?'

4. Analysis and Discussion

This section of the study is structured to reflect the effects of the seven flagship projects. The structure is based on the nine themes in Table 5.ev.

4.1 Sustainable, Spatially Integrated and Orderly Development of Urban Settlements

. The results of the study point to varying effects of the flagship projects on sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of settlements (see Table 7). The effects range from 'medium' for the Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority' to 'High' for the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3 and Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project (Table 7). Details of the assessment are provided in this section of the report.

4.1.1 Effects of the Street Naming and Property Addressing on Sustainable, Spatially Integrated and Orderly Development

The analyses revealed that the Street Naming and Property Addressing has profoundly impacted the operations of public institutions, improved living and work environments and supported socio-economic development efforts. For instance, the project has led to the naming of about 75% of roads in the central business districts of the 46 urban Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies that benefitted from the Urban Development Grant. Signal posts have also been mounted on approximately 83% of the named roads. The Street Naming and Property Addressing, together with Google Maps and GhanaPostGPS, have led to the ease of describing and navigating neighbourhoods by the citizenry and service providers (such as the Ghana Fire Service and National Ambulance Service). A Fire Service Official said:

> *"We are better able to locate distressed callers who identify the names of their streets. All callers need to tell us is the name of the street, and we will locate and serve them. Nevertheless, we find that many households are unfamiliar with the addresses of their streets and therefore hardly refer to them in their calls"*
>
> Official of the Ghana National Fire Service, 12 – 10 - 2018

From the foregoing discussion, the study rates the effects of the Street Naming and Property Addressing on sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of settlements *high* (Table 7). However, it emerged from the interviews with residents along some of the named streets in Kumasi and Accra that the new addresses are seldom used in discussions about addresses. The residents appear to be used to traditional ways of using popular landmarks as points of reference in giving directions. This underscores the need for education on the street names and addresses and more importantly how to navigate through communities and give directions using community maps.

4.1.2 Effects of the Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority on Sustainable, Spatially Integrated and Orderly Development

The results indicate further that the Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority, through the Physical Planning Offices of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies, has made significant contributions to the orderly development of urban settlements. Despite the weak enforcement of development controls, the settlement schemes and layouts the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies prepare have promoted orderliness in human settlement. Orderliness in these settlements has also enhanced the operations of utility service providers (such as the Electricity Company of Ghana, Northern Electricity Department, Ghana Water Company Limited and Transport Operators). With proper settlement layouts, service providers can easily access and serve their clients. An Official at the Head Office of Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority maintained that:

> *"Spatial planning in Ghana could have achieved better results if the process was devoid of political interference even at the local level. Assemblymen at the various Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies determine where to site kiosks and containers. They do this without recourse to settlement layouts. Chief Executives seldom back the offices to demolish unauthorised structures"*
>
> Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority, Head Office, Accra, 15.10. 2018

There was no evidence to suggest that Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority has impacted on housing supply, improved working environment and ensured socio-economic development of communities. Miskell (2016) argues that ideal spatial planning should comprise a collaborative process that is not solely centred on land use or prescriptive regulation but offers a useful mechanism, which integrates land use and social and economic investments. In this light, a fundamental value of spatial planning is reflected in its capability to deliver and create stable socio-economic conditions that promote an inclusive and sustainable development (New Zealand Productivity Commission, 2015). Given that Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority is yet to enhance socio-economic conditions in beneficiary communities, the study rates its effects on sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of settlements *'medium'.*

4.1.3 Effects of the Local Government Capacity Support Project on Sustainable, Spatially Integrated and Orderly Development

The Urban Development Grant, from the Local Government Capacity Support Project, has been used to provide 114 facilities to enhance local economic activities in the 46 beneficiary urban districts. The facilities comprise 73 markets, 19 lorry parks, 5 artisan villages, 14 abattoirs and 3 agro-processing centres. These infrastructure are known to have improved the economic activities of the beneficiary economic actors and improved the operations of beneficiary public institutions (such as the Ejisu Government Hospital).

The study observed that the capacity of the Bolgatanga abattoir, which is being built with funds from the Urban Development Grant, is likely to increase by about five-folds. Upon completion, the abattoir, which will have a slaughtering machine, will have the capacity to process 1000 animals in a day and will employ about 20 Master Butchers. The biogas digester, which is attached to the abattoir, can improve waste management and encourage the use of clean energy for meat processing. Similarly, the Abattoir projects in Tamale and Ho, under Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project, are expected to improve the working environment of the beneficiaries. The use of improved fuel (biogas and liquefied petroleum gas) in the abattoir will improve the safety of the processed meat and ultimately impact on public health.

Evidence from the study further suggests that the Local Government Capacity Support Project has strengthened the capacity of 46 Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies in public financial management and accountability, leading to improvements in infrastructure development and service delivery. The project, through the Social Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability Initiative[2], has improved citizen's engagement with urban assemblies in the areas of budgeting and auditing. These have improved the perception of the citizenry about financial administration and management at the local level. The citizenry and Civil Society Organisations have stepped up their demands for accountability from Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies. A Development Planning Officer remarked that:

> *"Now the citizens say that they do not want their revenue to be used to cover recurrent expenditure. They desire to see physical infrastructure that can better improve their living conditions. Many of these citizens also demand to know the status of development projects. They also demand answers when projects stall"*
>
> Development Planning Officer 1, 03.01.2019

In the basis of the above discussion, the study rates the effects of the Local Government Capacity Support Project on sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of settlements *'high'.*

4.1.4 Effects of the Ghana Urban Transport Project on Sustainable, Spatially Integrated and Orderly Development

Analyses of the data revealed that the Ghana Urban Transport Project has a) contributed positively to infrastructure and service delivery, b) improved working environment and c) supported socioeconomic development efforts in communities. For instance, the Bus Rapid Transit (Quality Bus System), known in the local parlance as "Aayalolo", has contributed to reducing congestion on some of the roads in Accra (Figure 3). The Quality Bus System operates with 245 buses and covers a-22 kilometre stretch from Amasaman to Tudu in Accra Central (see Figure 4).

[2] Involved 44,104 participants; organised 199 Town Hall meetings on Public Financial Management; 35,505 people participated in deliberations on public financial management

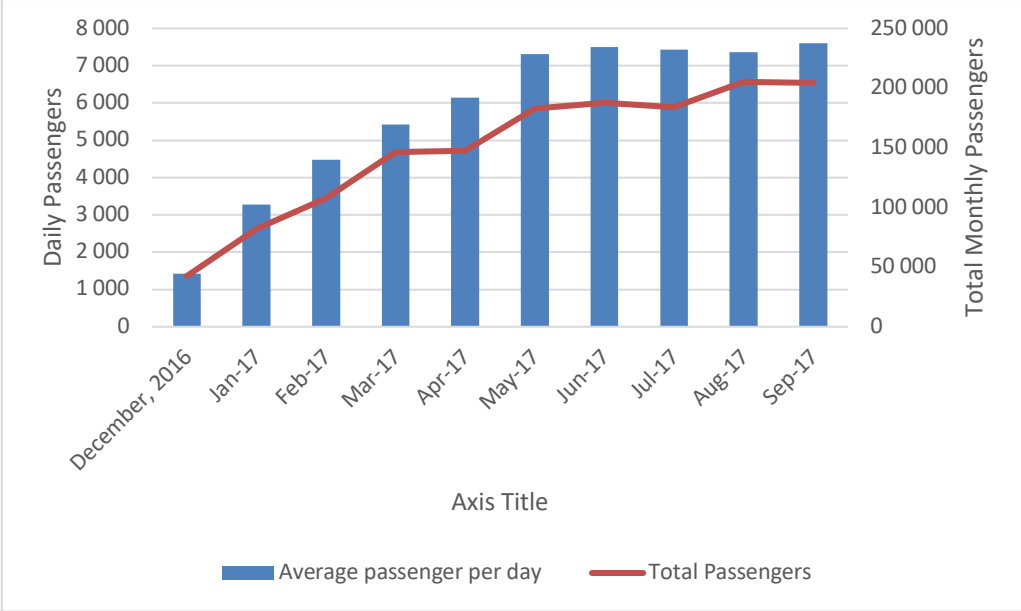


Figure 3: Ridership data of the pilot corridor
Source: Greater Accra Passenger Transport Executive, 2017 cited in Poku-Boansi and Marsden (2018)

The maximum capacity of each bus is 86 passengers. A bus thus takes the place of approximately 16 minibuses (known as trotros) and approximately 17 taxis whose carrying capacities are 15 passengers and 5 passengers, respectively. However, the impact could have been more profound if the project had led to an effective reform of the urban transport sub-sector, where the informal transport operators would complement instead of compete with the Bus Rapid Transit (Poku-Boansi and Marsden, 2018). Expediting action on the dedicated routes for the Bus Rapid Transit could have implications for travel time, patronage of the commuter buses and ultimately positive ecological footprints on the urban environment (in terms of greenhouse gases emission). This is deemed relevant considering that far more than just laying pathways to get from one place to another, transportation (infrastructure) has played a fundamental role in shaping the physical, social, and economic landscape in cities and regions all around any nation (Cytron, 2010). Hence, transport decisions directly influence development.

The effectiveness of the Bus Rapid Transit depends on the design and development of the cities to have transit-orientation and expanding the coverage to other road corridors in the city. Limiting the Bus Rapid Transit to only one corridor in the city will not motivate commuters to travel longer distances to patronise them when there are alternatives such as the mini buses.

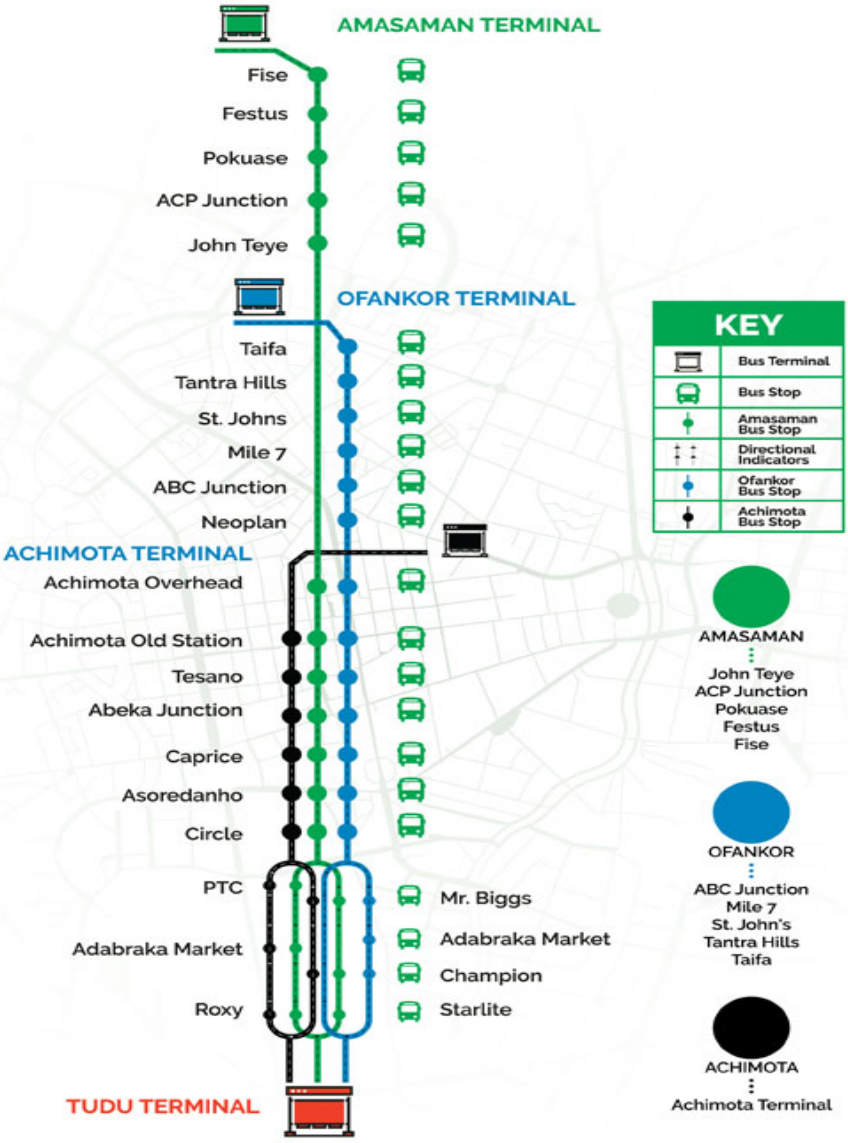


Figure 4: Accra's Bus Rapid Transit Rout
Source: Greater Accra Passenger Transport Executive (GAPTE), Undated

4.1.5 The Effects of the Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project and Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3 on Sustainable, Spatially Integrated and Orderly Development
The results of the study suggest that Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project has improved the living environment of the inhabitants and economic actors in the beneficiary districts. For instance, the upgrading of market infrastructure in Kumasi and Ho[3], under Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project, are expected to improve the working environment of traders in the market and promote spatial aesthetics. The 231 new stores, 52 warehouses and 12 new sheds that are under construction at the Ho Central Market are expected to create employment and improve the working conditions of the traders. Similarly, the Participatory Slum Upgrading project has had profound effects on sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of Ga Mashie. For instance, in

[3] 2-storey 16-unit shops, reconstruction of the Ho Central Market - 116 shops and reconstruction of the Ho Central Market - 115 shops

Ga Mashie in Accra, storm water flooding has been minimised due to the completion of over 14,000 square meters of alleys. At a focus group discussion, community members disclosed that:

> *"The alleys have not only reduced storm water flooding but also beautified the affected areas. Women economic actors also use the public spaces to prepare and vend street foods. These have improved livelihoods".*
>
> Focus Group Discussion at Ga Mashie, 16.10.2018

The above findings confirm the narrative in the conventional literature that slum upgrading in a participatory manner benefits the residents of the beneficiary communities (Patel, 2013). This notion underpins strategies by various development practitioners and policy makers to redefine development interventions to be 'people-centred'. The other community projects at Ga Mashie include: a) Community Centre (also called Community Youth and Homework Centre) which trains the youth to acquire relevant skill-sets and for community data collection, b) public bathrooms which ensures privacy and promotes human dignity, c) tricycles which enhances community solid waste management, d) in-house toilet facilities and e) Community Managed Fund project to facilitate micro and small enterprises' access to loan for productive activities. These community projects have improved livelihoods in the community.

4.1.6 Effects of Public-Private Partnerships on Sustainable, Spatially Integrated and Orderly Development

The Public-Private Partnership arrangements by the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies that were covered in the study have contributed in a myriad of ways to sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of settlements (Table 7). It emerged that the Public-Private Partnerships have had positive effects on infrastructure development and improved service delivery. For instance, through Public-Private Partnerships, market infrastructure have been built in Accra and Kumasi (Atonsu and Asawase), which have improved the working environment of the traders.

Additionally, private companies' involvement in waste management in the cities in Ghana has improved municipal solid waste management. The Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly has engaged service providers such as Zoomlion Ghana Limited, SAK-M Company Limited, Meskworld Company Limited, Waste Group Company Limited and Meskworld Company Limited in refuse management. The rest are Aryeetey Brothers Company Limited, and Anthoco Company Limited. These findings are consistent with the claim in the conventional literature that Public-Private Partnership deliver critical infrastructure projects in the global south (Melville, 2017). The importance of the Partnerships underlies Ghana's Public-Private Partnership policy (including the Public Private Partnership Bill, 2016[4]).

The above suggests that Public-Private Partnerships have provided the 'best of both worlds' of private and public involvement (Melville, 2017). In the area of private sector involvement in revenue mobilisation, it emerged that the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies bear all the risks. This undermines the principles of Public-Private

[4] The bill, when passed into an Act, will provide the legal framework for the development, implementation and regulation of Public-Private Partnership arrangement and projects between public institute and private entities for the provision of public infrastructure and services.

Partnerships and underscores the importance of legal framework for the operationalisation the Public-Private Partnership policy. Credence should be given to initiatives that make the private sector risk-takers. Nevertheless, the Public-Private Partnership initiatives have contributed to the sustenance, spatially integration and orderly development of settlements (Table 7).

Table 7: Effects of the Flagship Projects on Sustainable, Spatially Integrated and Orderly Development of Settlements

Evaluation Theme	Variable	SNPAS	LUSPA	GUMPP	GUTP	PPP	LGCSP	PSUP
Sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of urban settlements	Housing in terms of quantity and quality	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Infrastructure and service	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
	Operations of public institutions	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
	Living environment	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
	Working environment	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
	Socio-economic development of communities	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
	Total	4/6	3 /6	5/6	4/6	5/6	4/6	6/6
	Rating	High	Medium	High	High	High	High	High

4.2 Improved Local Governance

Ghana's local government system is grounded in the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana 1992 and the Local Governance Act of 2016 (Act, 936). Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies are established as the highest political authority at the local level, and have deliberative, legislative and executive powers. In this regard, the sub-themes that were used for the assessment of the effects of the flagship projects on local governance are: a) revenue mobilisation, b) balanced re-distribution of urban population, c) spatially integrated hierarchy of urban centres, d) urban economic development, e) environmental quality of urban life, f) planning and management of urban growth and sprawl, g) urban infrastructure and services, h) adequate and affordable housing, i) urban safety and security, j) urban governance, k) climate change adaptation and mitigation mechanisms, l) research in urban and regional development, and m) urban development finance.

4.2.1 Effects of Public-Private Partnership on Local Governance

The analysis of the incomes of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies were considered from two sources, namely internally generated funds and external funds (i.e. funds from central government and development partners or donor agencies). The results indicate steady improvement in the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies' capacity to mobilise internally generated revenue (Table 8). The assemblies'

capacity to mobilise the internally-revenue has increased by about 90%[5] (minimum = 41% for Accra Metropolitan Assembly; maximum = 144% for Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly) between 2012 and 2017. Karaga District Assembly's capacity to mobilise revenue from internal sources has increased by over seven-folds from GHS 25.92 in 2012 to GHS 187.44 in 2017.

The Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies attribute the steady improvement in their internal revenue mobilisation capacity to a myriad of factors, which include prosecution of tax defaulters, revenue target-setting and reconciliation, quarterly training of revenue collectors, and rotation of revenue accountants and collectors. It also emerged that some of the assemblies have engaged the services of private contractors for revenue collection. For instance, the Atwima-Kwanwoma District Assembly engaged Brainchain Consult from 2013 – 3015 and Greenfield from 2017 to date for revenue collection. Within the period, the District's internal revenue has increased from GHS 731.79 in 2013 to GHS 1,142.56 in 2017.

Similarly, the involvement of the private sector in revenue collection by the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly has improved its revenue collection performance. The Assembly's internally generated revenue capacity has improved from GHS 28,240 in 2010 to GHS 70,573.34 in 2017, which represents a three-fold increase. These illustrate the importance of partnership arrangements with the private sector for improved revenue collection (see Inman, 2005; Colverson and Perera, 2011; National Council for Public Private Partnerships, 2016; United Nations, 2008).

Table 8: Trend Analyses of the Incomes of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies Since 2012 – Adjusted by 2017 Consumer Price Index of 232.2

District	2012		2013		2014		2015	
	IGF (000)	External (000)	IGF (000)	External (000)	IGF (000)	External (000)	IGF (000)	External (000)
Accra	42087.18	n.a.	50192.75	n.a	64098.85	n.a	79863.34	n.a
Kumasi	23979.74	n.a.	26781.30	57843.70	40129.08	84070.67	48268.55	67161.62
Tamale	16542.15	18087.5	9979.93	9519.32	2675.94	n.a	3038.84	n.a
Ho	n.a.	n.a.	n.a	n.a	2875.34	13860.23	13862.23	27531.04
Offinso	n.a.	n.a.	658.02	4259.17	897.30	5623.06	911.25	4994.95
Bolgatanga	1248.24	6636.00	1932.18	11674.82	943.16	7720.73	3916.20	9882.22
Atwima Kwanwoma	644.06	5856.35	731.79	4646.00	981.04	8454.52	997.00	4871.32
Kwahu Afram Plains North	n.a.	n.a.	448.65	1858.40	775.66	3028.87	566.29	5658.95
Karaga	25.92	1910.24	69.79	5758.65	97.71	7437.59	121.63	6831.41

[555] Covered Accra Metropolitan Assembly, Kumasi metropolitan Assembly, Bolgatanga Municipal Assembly and Atwima-Kwanwoma District Assembly

District	2016		2017	
	IGF (000)	External (000)	IGF (000)	External (000)
Accra	59227.53	94152.29	n.a.	n.a.
Kumasi	58577.49	101729.45	70573.34	16679.74
Tamale	2909.23	34821.07	3210.33	n.a.
Ho	3210.33	26510.12	2719.80	23638.77
Offinso	817.54	7876.27	1146.55	4801.53
Bolgatanga	2454.60	16270.97	n.a.	n.a.
Atwima Kwanwoma	1142.56	5511.39	1224.31	1603.17
Kwahu Afram Plains North	711.85	5455.56	498.50	3286.10
Karaga	187.44	5882.27	193.42	5643.00

Source: Data obtained from the APR of the Assemblies on the NDPC Website; and Finance Officers of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies

4.2.2 Effects of the Local Government Capacity Support Project on Local Governance

Improvements in the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies' capacity to mobilise revenue from internal sources could also be linked partly to the capacity enhancement programmes that were organised for them under the Local Government Capacity Support Project. Not only have the programmes enabled the assemblies to access funds from the District Development Fund and the Urban Development Grant (in the case of the Metropolitan and Municipal Assemblies), they have also witnessed improvements in their local revenue administration and management capacities. Generally, data from the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development indicate that the 46 Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies that benefitted from the Local Government Capacity Support Project experienced a-148% rise in IGF from GHS 75,826,397.80 in 2011 to GHS 188,086,501.73 in 2017. This confirms the claim in the conventional literature that skill transfer or any form of training support service is central to ensuring the provision of adequate and sustainable funding for the core operations of the local planning authorities (Yeboah and Obeng-Odoom, 2010). However, the limitation of the data is the use of the nominal values as well as the lack of a comparison between the 46 beneficiary districts and non-beneficiaries. In this regard, the analysis has not ruled out rival explanatory factors.

The Urban Development Grant, from the Local Government Capacity Support Project, has also made profound contributions to infrastructural expansion. Table 9 presents the breakdown of infrastructural projects that have been provided under the Urban Development Grant. These projects not only have the tendency to impact on the local climate but also improve spatial aesthetics and harmony. For instance, the use of Liquefied Petroleum Gas and biogas in the abattoirs in Tamale, Sokode and Bolgatanga can minimise the use of woodfuel and its attendant effects on the environment and

human health (Inkoom and Biney, 2010). Furthermore, using the commuter buses under the Ghana Urban Transport Project can reduce GHG emission and ultimately reduce Ghana's negative ecological footprints.

Table 9: UDG's Contribution to Infrastructural Development

Education (199 projects)	**Health (83 projects)**	**Road and Transport (57 projects)**	**Public Safety and Security (41 projects)**
• 166 classroom blocks • 11 dormitories • 15 teachers' apartments • 7 community libraries with ICT laboratories	• 29 Community Health Planning Services (CHPS) Compounds • 23 Clinics and Health Clinics • 12 Doctors' apartments • 8 nurses' apartments • 11 hospital blocks	• 28 culverts • 24 road rehabilitations • 5 footbridges	• 9 Magistrate / Circuit / High Courts • 20 Police Stations • 7 Fire Stations • 5 Police Apartments
Water and Sanitation (127 projects)	**Urban Social Infrastructure (13 facilities)**		
• 93 mechanised boreholes • 34 water closets	• 10 Community centres / recreational facilities • 3 town parks		

Source: Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, *unpublished*

4.2.3 Effects of the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project on Local Governance

As has been discussed under section 4.1, the interventions from the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3 have minimised flood occurrences at Ga Mashie. This finding is in line with the argument that slum upgrading interventions that are people-centred and participatory, have the potential to address or minimising occurrence of and exposure to climate change risks (Jaitman and Brakarz, 2013; Corburn and Sverdlik, 2017). Similarly, the street vendors along the improved alleys in Ga Mashie claimed that their incomes have improved. It was observed that community members gather on the alleys in the evening for socialisation purposes. This has improved the sales of the economic actors who are located along the

Additionally, the project has improved the quality of housing units. Accessibility to the housing units along the alleys in Ga Mashie has improved (see Figure 5). However, there is no ample evidence to suggest that the projects have increased housing stock. This could be explained, in part, by the regulatory role, instead of direct housing provision, performed by the Government of Ghana. In this regard, the flagship projects have not impacted on the National Urban Policy's housing initiatives such as land banking, sites and services, non-conventional housing finance and housing cooperatives.

Figure 5: Alley Paving Works at Ga Mashie, Accra
Source: Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, Unpublished

The results indicate further that the project has impacted on local economic development. For instance, through the Group Ndoum (GN) Bank, economic actors in Ga Mashie, were supported with loans ranging from GHS 200 – 2000 to invest in their businesses. Participants of the group discussion with the beneficiaries remarked that:

> *"The loans, although were small, have been helpful in expanding businesses. The women beneficiaries have won the respect of their spouses. They are now consulted in family decision making processes".*
>
> Focus Group Discussion at Ga Mashie, 16.10.2018

4.2.4 Effects of the Street Naming and Property Addressing on Local Governance
None of the assemblies attributed its improved internal revenue generation capacity to the Street Naming and Property Addressing although the project's key objective was to improve tax/revenue collection by revenue agencies. A probable reason for this was the skewed concentration of the assemblies' efforts on street naming instead of combining that with taxable property identification and valuation for the collection of realistic rates. A Physical Planning Officer argued that:

> *"The Assembly's revenue database covers all the taxable property within its area of jurisdiction. The Revenue Collectors continuously update their records. In this regard, we will not attribute the observed improvements in our internal revenue generation capacity to the Street Naming and Property Addressing"*
>
> Interview with Physical Planning Officer, 03.01.2018

The Physical Planning Officer's claim reflects the views of the officials that were interviewed from the other Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies. The limited impact of the project on the revenue mobilisation capacity underscores the need to consolidate the Street Naming and Property Addressing with the Ghana Post's Property Addressing System as well as encourage assemblies to value the properties in their jurisdiction for rating purposes. Realistic rating could be an avenue to capture the part some of the rise in the value of property especially when the increase is the result of public investments.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that the Street Naming and Property Addressing has made improved the quality of housing units. For instance, the street names have improved the images of neighbourhoods and enhanced accessibility to housing units. The project has also made a positive impact on urban safety. As stated in section 4.1.1 of this report, the

project has improved the emergency response of the Ghana National Fire Service. It has also improved the services of utility companies such as the Electricity Company of Ghana and Ghana Water Company Limited. These utility companies can identify their clients by the official street names and addresses that complement their Geocoding system.

4.2.5 Effects the Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority on Local Governance

The data in Table 10 illustrate the importance of the Physical Planning Office in revenue generation to the assemblies. It is observed that "land" is an important source of internal revenue to the assemblies. Furthermore, through "fines" on owners of unauthorised structures in their pursuit for orderliness in urban settlements, the Officials of the Physical Planning Units of the District Assemblies contribute to their revenue base. The effects of the Physical Planning Department on the internal revenue generation capacity of the assemblies, dovetails well with the data from the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, which show that property rates for the 46 Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies that benefitted from the Urban Development Grant increased by 256% between 2011 and 2017 from GHS 14,511,383.78 to 51,701,944.07. However, the Physical Planning Department's impact on revenue may have been more significant if the Department could lead the preparation of layout instead of the current situation where individual contractors do it for approval by the assemblies. Playing a lead role could make profound impact on the assemblies' revenue base.

Table 10: Contribution of Land to the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies' IGF Mobilisation Capacity

District	2015			2016			2017		
	IGF (000)	Land (000)	%	IGF (000)	Land (000)	%	IGF (000)	Land (000)	%
Accra	40057	9901	25.0	29703	12513	42.0	n.a.	n.a.	-
Kumasi	24207	1503	6.0	29377	1324	5.0	35393	n.a.	-
Tamale	1524	187	0.0	1459	210	0.0	1,610	107	6.6
Offinso	457	89	19.0	410	89	22.0	575	60	10.45
Atwima Kwanwoma	500	373	75.0	573	371	65.0	614	368	60.0
Kwahu Afram Plains North	284	30	11.0	357	3	1.0	250	24	10.0
Karaga	61	0	0.0	94	2	2.0	97	13	13.0

Source: Data obtained from the Finance Officers of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies

The study observed further that Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority has contributed to the adoption and implementation of the recommendations on planning legislation and development guidelines. Currently, a draft Legislative Instrument on Land Use and Spatial Planning Regulations is before Parliament for consideration and approval. This instrument will enable the Authority and all the Physical Planning Officers of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies to monitor compliance with planning and zoning regulations. This could have implications for harmony and aesthetics in the built and natural environment (Korah et al., 2017). Furthermore, the Ghana Building Code, which outlines development control rules and general building requirements, structural load and design, constructional practices among others, ensures compliance with standards in the built environment. It is worthy of note that the Building Codes did

not derive from any of the flagship projects. Nevertheless, they have implications for the planning and management of urban growth.

Evidence suggests further that the capacity of the officials of the Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority and those of the Physical Planning Offices at the assemblies in the use of Geographical Information Systems has been enhanced. The Officials were trained in the use of the "Map Maker" software for the mapping of streets and property. This is impacting positively on their work; evident in the quotation below:

> *"Using Map maker to prepare structure plans speeds up our work. The outlook of our work is also beautiful. We use the software to guide physical development and produce maps for Medium Term Development Plans. Now, planning schemes must be geo-referenced, so without the GIS-based software, our work would have been difficult. Indeed, the capacity enhancement training we received from the project has been beneficial".*
>
> Physical Planning Officer 2, 16.10.2018

The quotation reflects the views of all the Physical Planning Officers that were interviewed in the study. However, the Officers complained that they were inadequately trained in the use of the software for planning purposes. They claimed that they are limited to using the software for basic instead of advanced functions such as update of new properties and streets, scheme preparation, revenue monitoring and for permit control. Other advanced functions they cannot perform are network analysis for transportation planning and point density and basic interpolation. This has implications for continued refresher training support to the officers at the Physical Planning Departments to stay relevant and be innovative.

4.2.6 Effects of the Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project and Ghana Urban Transport Project on Local Governance

Interviews with the Finance Officers of the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly, Ho Municipal Assembly and Tamale Metropolitan Assembly revealed that the improvements in market infrastructure (in Kumasi and Ho) and meat processing centres (Tamale and Ho) may impact on the traders' readiness to pay their rates to the assemblies. They argued that the traders have seen the judicious use of the taxes they pay to the assemblies, hence their readiness to pay the rates. This anecdotal evidence illustrates the importance of Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project, to improved revenue base of the assemblies. It also denotes the catalytic effects of development-partner supported projects

In terms of urban infrastructure and services, climate change adaptation and local economic development, the Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project has enhanced the management of the beneficiary cities through infrastructure provision. The infrastructure includes market stores and sheds in Kumasi and Ho, engineered landfill site at Sokode near Ho, and abattoir in Ho, Bolgatanga and Tamale. Figure 6 presents a pictorial view of some of the infrastructure from the flagship projects.

Figure 6: The Flagship Projects' Effects on Infrastructure

Top-left to right: Bus Rapid Transit in Accra; Top-right Ho Central Market in Ho
Bottom-left: Abattoir in Sokode; Engineered landfill at Akroful

The abattoir in Sokode near Ho and engineered landfill site are expected to employ 15 and 35 staff (as drivers, labourers and masons), respectively. Similarly, the Bus Rapid Transit in Accra under the Ghana Urban Transport Project also employs over 200 staff and have trained over 60 women in driving. These jobs have far-reaching implications for the livelihoods of their families. The project's support for local economic development also lies in the traders' access to the central business district in Accra. As stated earlier, the buses cover a-22 kilometre-stretch from Amasaman to Tudu in Accra Central (refer to Figure 4).

Based on the above discussion, the study concludes that the flagship projects have improved local governance, particularly in revenue mobilisation, in the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies that were covered in the study (Table 11). However, the study could not adduce enough data to conclude on the effects of the flagship projects on a) balanced re-distribution of urban population, b) spatially integrated hierarchy of urban centres, c) planning and management of urban growth and sprawl, d) adequate and affordable housing, and e) research in urban and regional development.

Table 11: Effects of the Flagship Projects on Local Governance

Evaluation Theme	Variable	SNPAS	LUSPA	GUMPP	GUTP	PPP		
Improved local government revenue and balance sheet	• Balanced Re-Distribution of Urban Population	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	• Spatially Integrated Hierarchy of Urban Centres	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	• Urban Economic Development	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
	• Environmental Quality of Urban Life	0	1	1	N	1	0	1
	• Planning and Management of Urban Growth and Sprawl	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
	• Urban Infrastructure and Services	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
	• Adequate and Affordable Housing	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	• Urban Safety and Security	1	1	0	N	1	1	1
	• Urban Governance	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
	• Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation Mechanisms	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
	• Research in Urban and Regional Development	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	• Urban Development Finance	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
	Total	2/12	4/12	6/12	3/12	8/12	3/12	5/12
	Rating	Low	Low	Medium	Low	Medium	Low	Low
Shift in public sector budget allocations to support the broad objectives of the NUP	• Local government revenue base	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
	• Local government's balance sheet?	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
	Total	0/2	0/2	2/2	0/2	2/2	1/2	0/2
	Rating	Low	Low	High	Low	High	Medium	Low

In terms of balanced redistribution of urban population, the study observed that policy initiatives (extracted from the National Urban Policy and presented in Table 12) were

beyond the scope of the flagship projects that were covered in the study. For instance, none of the flagship projects was designed to create and develop new growth points to Accra and Kumasi or promote accelerated growth of small and medium sized towns. All the flagship projects included the primate cities of Kumasi and Accra as beneficiaries and may have inadvertently caused the population to drift further to these areas. For instance, improvements in the transportation systems of Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi under Ghana Urban Transport Project and Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project, have implications for liveability of these cities. This will ultimately consolidate their status as attractive destinations for migrants and entrench their primacy.

As with population redistribution, there is no substantive evidence to conclude on the effects of the flagship projects on the planning and management of urban growth and sprawl. The projects have not ensured that investments and development are directed towards targeted countermagnet growth areas neither have there been green belts to contain urban sprawl. The projects have rather consolidated the primacy of the few urban centres evident in the concentration of the projects in the primate cities; and appear to portray a focus on the management of the challenges associated with urban primacy instead of addressing its structural causes. However, this conclusion may be biased due to the focus of the present study on the flagship projects instead of a holistic assessment of the National Urban Policy, and thus underscores a study to assess the effectiveness of the National Urban Policy half-a-decade into its implementation.

Similarly, there is no evidence that the flagship projects are contributing to the attainment of the policy's initiative of probing and establishing an effective integrated planning system for greater metropolitan areas has been. Even though the National Development Planning Commission encourages joint project planning, a review of the Medium-Term Development Plans of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies that were covered in the study revealed limited attempts to jointly plan and implement projects. Water and sanitation, and road development projects could have been jointly planned and implemented by the assemblies. A plausible explanation for the apparent lack of joint planning is the huge capital requirements for these projects, coupled with the lower procurement thresholds of the assemblies (up to GHS 75,000 for works by Metropolitan Assemblies. Such projects are almost always planned and implemented by Ministries, Department and Agencies at the national level. A classic example is the engineered landfill site in Ho that was implemented by the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development. The implication is that local governance in Ghana may be limited to basic infrastructural provision unless the capacities of the local assemblies are strengthened to plan and management large infrastructure. There should also be trust in their capabilities to manage large infrastructure.

Table 12: Policy Action Areas that the Flagship Project Have Not Impacted

Action Area	Policy Initiative
Balanced Re-distribution of Urban Population	• Create and develop new growth points as countermagnets to fast growing cities such as Accra and Kumasi • Promote Accelerated growth of small and medium sized towns (including district and regional capitals) • Ensure that existing and newly created centres adhere to best environmental and land management practices
Spatially Integrated Hierarchy of Urban Centres	• Undertake a study and establish a hierarchy of urban centres for defined functions and levels of services • Spatially integrate regional and district capitals by transportation and communications facilities and other relevant services • Minimise the travel time between service centres of all sizes and their hinterlands • Establish rural service centres and strengthen rural-urban linkages to promote agriculture and the development of agro-based industries
Planning and Management of Urban Growth and Sprawl	• Ensure that investments and development will consistently and increasingly be directed towards targeted countermagnet growth areas • Probe and establish an effective integrated planning system for greater metropolitan areas, which embrace different political districts • Strengthen the use of remote sensing (such as aerial photographs, satellite imageries) and Geographic Information System (GIS) to enhance urban development and management.

Source: Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012

4.3 Shift in Public Sector Budget Allocations and Attraction of Private Sector and Donor Investments

This section of the report combines evaluation themes 3 and criterion 4 to determine the public-sector budget allocations and private sector and development partner support towards the implementation of the National Urban Policy (Table 13). Any attempts to replicate the projects with public sector funding could imply a shift in public funding towards the attainment of the objectives of the National Urban Policy.

4.3.1 Effects of the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3 on Shift in Public Sector Budget Allocation and Private Sector and Donor Investments

The results indicate that the flagship projects covered in this study have contributed marginally to shifting public sector budget allocations towards the broad objectives of the National Urban Policy although private sector and development partner funding has been significant (Table 13). The evidence available suggest that the Government of Ghana

and the Accra Metropolitan Assembly provided an amount of USD 250,000 to co-finance the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3 in Ga Mashie, Accra. This contributes to slum upgrading, which is a key objective of both the National Urban Policy and the National Housing Policy. Nevertheless, limited attempts have been made to replicate the model in other slums in Accra and other cities in Ghana.

Table 13: Central Government's Budgetary Allocation to the National Urban Policy

Flagship Project	Amount[6]	Source of Funds	References
1. Street Naming and Property Address System	USD 30 Million	The USAID, World Bank	https://citinewsroom.com/2018/07/16/allotey-asks-has-ghanapost-gps-replaced-property-street-naming-project/
2. Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3	USD 250,000	Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development and Accra Metropolitan Assembly	Preliminary Report on the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3 for Ga Mashie
3. Local Government Capacity Support Project	USD 175 Million	World Bank	http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/718261534773525282/pdf/LGCSP-Financial-Statements-31Dec-2017.pdf http://www.lgcsp.gov.gh/overview/
4. Ghana Urban Management Pilot Programme	40.5 Million Euros	Agence Française Développement (AFD)	http://www.mlgrd.gov.gh/posts/programmes-projects/5-ghana-urban-management-pilot-project-gumpp/?plugin=145
	4 Million Euros	Government of Ghana	https://www.newsghana.com.gh/ghanas-urban-development-initiative-commended/
5. Ghana Urban Transport Project	USD 90 million	International Development Association Credit Global Environment Facility Grant Agence Française Développement (AFD) Government of Ghana	World Bank. 2017. *Ghana - Urban Transport Project (English)*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/933711488510098083/Ghana-Urban-Transport-Project

[6] No uniform currency used for reporting. Converting to a uniform currency risks either under-valuation or over-valuation due to the volatile nature of the general price levels in Ghana.

4.3.2 Effects of the Street Naming and Property Addressing and Local Government Capacity Support Project on Shift in Public Sector Budget Allocation

The Street Naming and Property Addressing has directed public sector budget to implementing the broad objectives of the National Urban Policy. The project's replication effect is evident in the Ghana Post's Property Addressing System, which is being implemented with public funding of approximately USD 2.5 million (Table 13). The District Performance Assessment Tool, which attempts to mainstream good practices from the Functional Organisation Assessment Tool into the use of the District Assemblies Common Fund (DACF), also illustrates the replication effects of the Local Government to Capacity Support project.

Generally, the replication effects have been marginal (Table 14), which implies limited effects on shifting public budget towards the broad objectives of the National Urban Policy. Nevertheless, evidence from Table 13 indicate that the financing arrangements for the flagship projects imply the ability of the central and local government bodies to leverage external funding for the implementation of the National Urban Policy Objectives. For instance, the Government of Ghana received 28 million Ghana Cedis from the Agence Française Développement (AFD), *a Development Partner/*, to build engineered land fill site and a modern abattoir in the Ho Municipality. Part of the funds was used to reconstruct the Ho Central Market.

4.3.3 Effects of the Public-Private Partnerships on Shift in Public Sector Budget Allocation
The Public-Private Partnership arrangements in the District Assemblies have attracted private funding to support local development efforts. The effects have been more visible in areas such as sanitation and market infrastructure. For example, Public-Private Partnership arrangements have contributed towards the expansion of market infrastructure in Asawase and Atonso in Kumasi, and ultimately enhanced the livelihoods of traders. Additionally, private companies such as Zoomlion Ghana Limited, SAK-M Company Limited, Meskworld Company Limited, Waste Group Company Limited and Meskworld Company Limited are supporting the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies to manage solid waste in their areas of jurisdiction. These companies enter the partnership arrangements with their fixed capital, which illustrates the ability of the flagship projects to attract private funding and capital for investments.

4.3.4 Effects of the Public-Private Partnerships on Capacity Enhancement
With regards to capacity building and investments in local communities, the Ghana Urban Transport Project, through Scania Ghana, collaborating with the Greater Accra Passenger Transport Executive (GAPTE), has trained over 60 females to be employed as bus drivers and conductors. This is a strategy to create jobs and promote equal opportunities for gender. The Local Government Capacity Building Support project also organised capacity enhancement workshops for the three district assemblies that could not meet the minimum conditions for District Development Fund under Functional Organisation Assessment Tool in 2015 (FOAT Report, 2015)[7]. The assemblies could meet the conditions and thus received the DDF during the third year of the programme.

[7]

Similarly, the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project has enhanced the capacity of government officials through learning at various forums. The Ghana County Team[8] benefitted from the 2013 Regional Workshop for Participatory Slum Upgrading Phase 3 countries in Nairobi. The workshop introduced the participants to tools for community engagement, and urban planning to enhance integration. Other regional workshops in 2014 and 2015 provided a platform for countries to solicit technical advice from technical teams from UN-Habitat and other Phase 3 countries to address implementation difficulties. Also, the project's partnership strategy has strengthened the local communities' capacity in project cycle. For instance, the Community Development Committee, which was established to represent residents of Ga Mashie on the project management, received training in community project management, community funds administration and management. The training programme was organised by Housing the Masses and the Slum Development International.

Table 14: Effects of the Flagship Projects on Public Sector Budget Allocations and Attraction of Private Sector and Donor Investments

Evaluation Theme	Variable	SNPAS	LUSPA	GUMPP	GUTP	PPP	LGCSP	PSUP
Private sector and donor investment in fixed capital and local capacity attracted or re-allocated by the programme	• Investment from the private sector and donors	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
	• Private sector and donor investment in local communities?	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
	• Re-allocation of private sector and donor investment in fixed capital and local capacity?	0	0	N	1	1	1	1
	Total	0/3	0/3	2/3	3/3	3/3	3/3	3/3
	Rating	Low	Low	High	High	High	High	High

Regardless of the successes in revenue mobilisation and administration, investments in fixed capital, and enhancement in local capacity, the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies continue to depend on external funding for the implementation of their project (refer to Table 8). The flagship projects appear to have entrenched the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies' and to an extent the central government's dependency on external stakeholders for plan implementation. This claim is based on the limited attempts to replicate the interventions in other areas as well as the limited financial contributions from central government to project funding. The flagship projects' effects public sector budget allocations and attraction of private sector and donor investments are summarised in Table 14.

[8] Comprises Project Administrator, Project Manager, Project Accountant, Project Planning Officer and Director of Ga Mashie Development Agency

4.4 Qualitative Improvements in Critical Urban Service Delivery

The urban services covered in the study are water and sanitation, energy services, ambulance and security services.

4.4.1 Effects of the Street Naming and Property Addressing on Critical Urban Service Delivery

As discussed in section 4.1 of this report, the Street Naming and Property Addressing has contributed to improvements in the delivery of urban services such as refuse collection, water supply, energy services and health and security. Water and sanitation service providers are now able to locate their clients using street names. Similarly, the National Fire Service and National Ambulance Service can locate their distressed callers using the street names, which leads to rapid responses to people in distress.

4.4.2 Effects of the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project on Critical Urban Service Delivery

The Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3 interventions have improved the delivery of sanitation services to the beneficiary communities. Approximately, 50 households have received support from the project to construct improved toilet facilities (Figure 7). The project has also supplied four tricycles to James Town in Accra for house-to-house refuse collection (see Figure 8). These services, coupled with the alley paving (already presented in Figure 5), ensure spatial harmony and promote liveability of the settlement.

Similarly, cohesion and aesthetics in Ga Mashie have improved due to the alleys that were constructed under the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project. The household latrines and solid waste management infrastructure have had implications for the liveability of the settlement. Participants at the Focus Group Discussion in the community summed up the importance of the project and its implications for inclusion as follows:

> *"We thought our concerns did not matter to successive governments in Ghana. However, the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project has taught us that we were and are always part of the residents on Accra. We wish that the project could be extended to cover the entire community to totally improve our settlements".*
>
> Focus Group Discussion at Ga Mashie, 16.10.2018

The participants' remark above illustrates the effects of the Participatory Slum Upgrading on the residents' sense of place and belonginess in the urban milieu.

Figure 7: Improved Household Toilet Facilities

Figure 8: Tricycles for House-to-House Refuse Collection

4.4.3 Effects of the Local Government Capacity Support Project and Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority on Critical Urban Service Delivery

The results indicate that the Urban Development Fund, under Local Government Capacity Support Project, has contributed to the expansion of the community infrastructure in the 46 beneficiary Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies covered in the study. Details of these projects have been provided in Table 10 of this report.

The community parks (such as the Rattray Park in Kumasi) contribute to spatial aesthetics and provide platform for urbanites to socialise. Similarly, the Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority has improved the delivery of public services (such as water and electricity) through the preparation of structure plans and settlement schemes and layout. Spatial planning principles such as harmony, aesthetics, convenience (accessibility), comfort (green environment) and conformity guide the preparation of the layouts. The implication is that the activities of the Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority and the Physical Planning Departments of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies help to create liveable settlements. However, the reactionary nature of planning in Ghana, where development precedes planning (Cobbinah et al., 2018), undermines the effectiveness of the Physical Planning Departments. An official is quoted as:

> *"Some of the District Assemblies in Ghana do not have Physical Planning Officers. Therefore, some Physical Planning Officer oversee more than one district. This*

undermines their effectiveness. Consequently, development takes place in some of the communities without the guidance of settlement schemes. In this case, planning only comes in to address problems after they have occurred.

Physical Planning Officer 4, 22.10.2018

4.4.4 Effects of Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project on Critical Urban Service Delivery

The market stalls that have been built in Ho and Kumasi, under Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project, promotes space economy. The three-storey market infrastructure at Ho makes efficient use of the land on which the market is built. The accompanying pre-school facility could promote convenience for the traders who operate in the market with children. The flagship projects' effects on the delivery of critical urban services are summarised in Table 15.

Table 15: Effects of the Flagship Projects on Qualitative Improvements in Critical Urban Service Delivery

Evaluation Theme	Variable	SNPAS	LUSPA	GUMPP	GUTP	PPP	LGCSP	
Qualitative improvements in critical urban service delivery	Sanitation services	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
	Energy access (including electricity)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Congestion	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
	Spatial cohesion	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
	Liveable human settlements	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Social exclusion (specific to women and children)	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
	Total	1/6	3/6	4/6	3/6	5/6	3/6	5/6
	Rating	Low	Medium	High	Medium	High	Medium	High

4.5 Contribution to Low Carbon Development or Climate Resilient Urban Development

Government, across the globe are actively pursuing strategies to develop a low carbon trajectory (Mulugetta and Urban, 2010). In this regard, low carbon development is critical to reducing Ghana's negative ecological footprint and for resilience, which is the pathway to the sustenance of the current civilisation. In this context, the study analyses the effects of the flagship projects on low carbon development and climate change resilience. The results are summarised in Table 16.

4.5.1 Effects of the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project, Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project and Local Government Capacity Support Project on Low Carbon and Climate Resilient Development

As discussed earlier, the alleys and drainage canals that were built in Ga Mashie (Figure 9), under the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3, have reduced the occurrences incidence of stormwater flooding. This is an important means to promoting the resilience of the community to the effects of climate change. Similarly, the biogas

plants that have been attached to the abattoirs in Tamale, Ho and Bolgatanga have the tendency not only to promote the use of improved energy but also reduce the actors' adverse ecological footprints. Effective use of the biogas could ensure the following: a) reduction in the use of woodfuel for productive uses, b) reduction in GHG emission and c) minimisation of waste management problems.

Figure 9: drainage Canals along the Alleys to Mitigate the Effects of Flooding in Ga Mashie

4.5.2 Effects of Ghana Urban Transport Project and Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority on Low Carbon and Climate Resilient Development

The effects of the flagship projects on low carbon and climate resilient development are summarised in Table 16. The savings in GHG emission from the Bus Rapid Transit under Ghana Urban Transport Project could complement those from the use of the biogas digesters to reduce Ghana's adverse ecological footprints. Peprah et al. (2019) and Agyemang-Bonsu et al. (2010) indicate that emission levels in Ghana from the energy sector have increased from MtCo2e in 1990 to 13.5 MtCo2e in 2012. The authors attribute the increases, partly to the increasing vehicular population. For instance, the total number of registered vehicles in Ghana increased by almost four-folds from 511,063 vehicles in 2000 to 11,122,700 in 2010 (Ministry of Roads and Highway, 2011). Motorised vehicles account for almost 90% of the total number of vehicles in Ghana. The total emission from the transport sub-sector as a proportion of the total emissions from the energy sector in Ghana has risen from 42% in 1990 to 47.8% in 2012. Peprah et al. (2019) observe a highly positive correlation (coefficient of 0.998) between the total emissions from the transport sector and the total number of vehicles in Ghana. Agyemang-Bonsu et al. (2010) also attribute the increasing emission of precursor gases, heavy metals and CO_2 Equivalent Emissions in Kumasi from 2000 and 2005 to the increasing number of vehicular.

In this regard, the Bus Rapid Transit system in Accra, which uses higher capacity commuter buses, could contribute to minimising the emissions from the use of motorised transport. This underscores the need to improve the Bus Rapid Transit and expand the services to cover other road corridors in the cities. The cities should also be designed to be consistent with transit-oriented development, which will render the Bus Rapid Transit

effective. The data also underscore the importance of non-motorised transport in reducing Ghana's carbon footprints. This warrants supportive infrastructure such as bicycle lanes along the roads in the cities. Such infrastructure and the use of non-motorised transport in the cities could complement the efforts of the Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority and the local Physical Planning Departments towards for the promotion of green infrastructure in urban areas (see Figure 10).

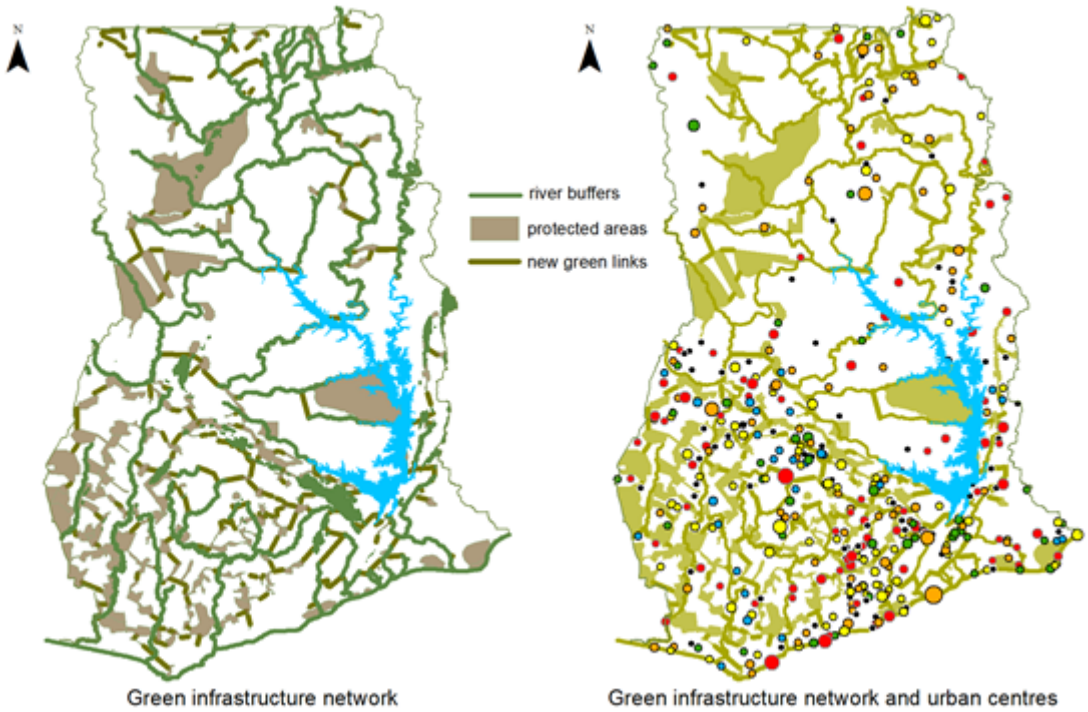


Figure 10: National Green Infrastructure Map
Source: Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority, Head Office 2018

Consistent with the national green infrastructural network, the local planning layouts make provisions for green infrastructure and for the preservation of wetlands and riparian areas. However, these lands are often encroached and used for grey infrastructural purposes (Amponsah et al., 2016; 2015). They are often rezoned and used for other land uses that are considered to make the best use of prime urban land. This practice threatens ecological sustainability of the cities (Azunre et al., 2019). Public acquisition of the lands, after compensating the owners, could be an important strategy to sustaining them in the urban landscape.

Table 16: Effects of the Flagship Projects on Low Carbon Development or Climate Resilient Urban Development

Evaluation Theme	Variable	SNPAS	LUSPA	GUMPP	GUTP	PPP	LGCSP	PSUP
Contribution to low carbon development or climate resilient urban development	Low carbon development	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
	Urban resilience	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Total	0/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	1/2	0/2	1/2
	Rating	Low	High	High	High	Medium	Medium	Medium

4.6 Local Employment or Work Opportunities Created

The results in Table 17 indicate that the flagship projects have had effects on employment creation at the local employment. For instance, as indicated in section 4.2 of this report, the Participatory Slum Upgrading Project, through the GN Bank, offered economic actors at Ga Mashie micro loans (ranging from GHS 400 – 2,000) to invest in their enterprises. The beneficiaries point to their ability to expand their businesses with the micro loans. Additionally, the project's tricycles for refuse management in James Town have created employment for a dozen youth in the community whereas the alleys in Ga Mashie have improved the businesses of the food vendors who sell along these alleys. Local community members were also recruited by the contractor, who was awarded the contract, to build the alleys.

The Street Naming and Property Addressing also recruited labour from the communities for ground truthing and for erecting of property signages. For instance, the Karaga District Assembly spent GHS 30,800 to engage 110 people for seven days for ground truthing and for mounting property signage. Similarly, the Kwahu Afram Plain North District employed 21 people for its Street Naming and Property Addressing. Although the employment was temporary, the project supported the livelihoods of the community members who were engaged.

The abattoirs in Tamale, Bolgatanga and Ho, under Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project, are expected to impact on the livelihoods of the economic actors. The Bolgatanga abattoir, which is expected to employ 20 Master Butchers will have the capacity to process about 1000 animals in a day. The Ho abattoir, when completed, is also expected to employ about 30 people and support the livelihoods of people across the municipality. The upgraded Ho Central Market, which adds 231 stores, 12 sheds, and one each of clinic, police station and fire station, will have positive implications for employment at the local level. For instance, the additional stores and sheds may employ a minimum of 243 traders at the market.

The infrastructure from the Urban Development Grant (73 markets, 19 lorry parks, 5 artisan villages, 14 abattoirs and 3 agro-processing centres) could also improve the working environment of the beneficiaries. For instance, health officials at the Ejisu Government Hospital reported of improved health care delivery, which is the result of modern laboratory the hospital benefitted from the Urban Development Grant. The data also indicate that commercial drivers at the Sofo Line bus terminal in Kumasi are pleased to have benefitted from the Urban Development Grant. A driver is quoted to have said:

> *"We used to close from work anytime it rained. However, with the renovation and can work from dawn to dusks if we wish"*
>
> Source: Driver at Sofo Line Lorry Park, Kumasi: 14.12.2018

The above quotation reflects the view of the 20 drivers who were interviewed from the lorry park. Anecdotal evidence also suggests that the private waste management groups in Kumasi and Accra employ local people for waste management. The limitation of the analyses is the lack of quantitative data to support the claims, hence the use of estimates for the analyses. Nevertheless, the qualitative evidence illustrates that the flagship projects have impacted positively on employment creation.

Table 17: The Flagship Projects and Employment at the Local Level

District	Street Naming	PSUP	GUMPP	GUTP	LGCSP	LUSPA
Accra	50	*30	Na	200	*50	0
Kumasi	45	na	Na	na	*45	0
Tamale	45	na	Na	na	*30	0
Ho	30	na	243	na	*25	0
Offinso South	30	na	Na	na	*23	0
Bolgatanga	30	na	*30	na	*25	0
Karaga	110	na	Na	na	*20	0
Atwima-Kwanwoma	24	na	Na	na	*20	0
Afram Plains	24	na	Na	na	*20	0

Source: Field Survey, 2018

**estimate* *na = not available*

The effects of the flagship projects on employment and the prospects and opportunities for work have been high for all except the Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority. The Authority uses the existing Physical Planning Officers for its work. There is no evidence to suggest that the Authority has led to employment of additional staff to the Physical Planning Departments of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies.

Table 18: Effects of the Flagship Projects on Employment at the Local Level

Evaluation Theme	Variable	SNPAS	LUSPA	GUMPP	GUTP	PPP	LGCSP	PSUP
Local employment or work opportunities created	Impact on employment generation	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
	Impact on the prospects and opportunities for work	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
	Total Rating	2/2 High	0/2 Low	2/2 High	2/2 High	2/2 High	2/2 High	2/2 High

4.7 Shift in Public Sector Narrative Regarding Urbanisation as an Opportunity

To some scholars, urbanisation is central to Ghana's strategy for achieving faster and more inclusive growth. This is because agglomeration and densification of economic activities in urban conglomerations promote economic efficiencies and provide more opportunities for earning livelihoods (Adarkwa, 2012). Some of the scholars argue that that Ghana's urbanisation has among others, coincided with stable and rapid economic growth (NDPC, 2004; 2005; 2006; World Bank, 2015b), resulted in the reallocation of labour to jobs with higher marginal productivity, and unleashed the potential benefits of agglomeration, specialisation, and economies of scale (Bulman et al., 2014; World Bank, 2015a). Other scholars add that urbanisation has been an important factor in Ghana's poverty reduction efforts (Owusu and Agyei, 2008; Owusu, 2013), enabled higher quality education to reach a larger proportion of the population; and led to improvements in quality of life due to the greater access to urban services (Korah et al., 2016; Adarkwa,

2011; 2012; Songsore, 2009). The Government of Ghana (2012) acknowledges the prospects of urbanisation in the National Urban Policy in Ghana by stressing that:

> *"Urbanisation is one of the most significant processes that have affected human societies... It is an inter-sectoral phenomenon involving all aspects of human society and economy. Towns and cities perform various functions not only for the space economies they serve, but increasingly the importance of some of them extends to the regional and global levels … The close association between urbanisation and socioeconomic development requires that every effort must be made to minimise the challenges, and thus enhance or maximise the benefits of the process".*
>
> Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (2012:10)

The above could be the rationale behind the establishment of the Urban Development Unit within the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development. However, the growth of the cities and towns is occurring with little or no direction (Cobbinah & Niminga-Beka, 2017; Owusu, 2010). Problems such as the proliferation of informal settlements and slums, urban sprawl, congestion, waste management problems, pollution, and loss of vegetation have been associated with Ghana's rapid urbanisation. These problems continue to shape the urbanisation discourse and lead many scholars and practitioners to argue that the nature of Ghana's urbanisation undermines the productivity of its cities and reduces the extent to which they can perform their roles in national development (Peprah et al., 2019; Yankson and Bertrand, 2012; Uwe, 2003; Cobbinah et al., 2017; Darkwa et al., 2018). In this regard, the Ministry of Works and Housing states that:

> *Rapid population growth and increasing urbanisation have made shelter one of the most critical challenges currently facing the country. Increasing overcrowding, declining quality of housing and access to housing services characterise much of the housing stock in Ghana.*
>
> Ministry of Works and Housing (2015:1)

The implication is that Ghana's urbanisation problems have clouded its prospects in the urbanisation discourse. Scholars and practitioners, therefore, focus on how the problems can be addressed instead of how the prospects can be maximised. This is evident in the National Urban Policy's aim to address Ghana's urbanisation problems through a) population redistribution, b) integrated hierarchy of urban centres, c) urban economic development, d) planning and management of urban growth and sprawl, e) climate change and adaptation and f) urban development finance. Many other scholars also focus on the management of the urbanisation problems (Peprah et al., 2019).

In contrast to the claim by the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, the evidence presented in this report indicate that the adverse effects of rapid urbanisation continue to drive the urbanisation. The plausible conclusion is that the flagship projects have made little impacts on changing the urbanisation discourse (Table 19).

4.8 Contribution to a "Sense of Place", "Right to the City" or New Urban Identities

The results show that some of the flagship projects have contributed to a sense of place and right to the city by some of the urbanites. The Street Naming and Property Addressing has contributed to a sense of place and pride. A section of the residents along Prof. Dr. Dr.

Wirreko-Brobbey street in Kumasi maintained that the name of the street has given them a sense of identity and pride. They are better able to direct people to their addresses. Naming the streets after prominent and accomplished individuals (such as Prof. Dr. Dr. Wirreko-Brobbey in the above example from Kumasi) gives the residents a sense of identity and pride. A resident claimed that "naming our street after Prof. Dr. Dr. Wirreko-Brobbey makes us proud". This claim resonates that of people from other districts that were covered in the study. However, the use of the street names and property addresses is limited among the residents who are used to the traditional ways of giving directions and locating addresses. The limited use of the named streets and addresses has implications for mass education on their use.

The Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3 interventions in Ga Mashie has also made profound contribution to the residents' "right to the city". Participants of a focus group discussion held in Ga Mashie remarked that:

> *The community centre, improved public bathrooms, in-house toilet facilities and alleys make us feel part of the city of Accra. Hitherto, we felt neglected by the city authorities. This feeling was heightened by the apparent lack of response to our calls to address the incessant flood occurrences in our community. We hope that the interventions will be extended to cover the entire community".*
>
> Focus Group Discussion at Ga Mashie, 16.10.2018

The traders at the Ho Central Market reported of their pride and sense of being part of the city due to the renovation of the Ho central market. A trader remarked that "the renovation of the market is a recognition of our importance in the city landscape". Even though the abattoirs in Bolgatanga and Ho are yet to start operation, the actors are proud that they will be working in improved and hygienic conditions. They are excited about the attached biogas facility that will run on the waste generated by the abattoirs. The effects of the projects on the urbanisation narrative and sense of place are summarised in Table 19.

Table 19: Effects of the Flagship Projects on the Urbanisation Narrative and a Sense of Place

Evaluation Theme	Variable		LUSPA	GUMPP	GUTP	PPP	LGCSP	PSUP
Shift in public sector narrative regarding urbanisation as an opportunity	Urbanisation as an opportunity	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
	Financial support for harnessing the prospects of urbanisation	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
	Total	0/2	0/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	0/2	0/2
	Rating	Low	Low	High	High	High	Low	Low
Contribution to a "sense of place", "right to the city" or new	Neighbourhood as a sense of place	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
	Right to a city	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
	Creation of new urban identities	1	0	1	0	0	0	1

Evaluation Theme	Variable		LUSPA	GUMPP	GUTP	PPP	LGCSP	PSUP
urban identities	Total Rating	3/3 High	2/3 High	3/3 High	0/3 Low	1/3 Low	0/3 Low	3/3 High

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

The National Urban Policy was launched to provide a trajectory for urban planning and management in Ghana. The policy became necessary because the growth of cities and towns in Ghana was occurring with little or no direction. The consequences of the apparent lack of direction have been the proliferation of slums and informal settlements, urban sprawl, waste management problems, pollution, and loss of vegetation. These problems lead many scholars and practitioners to argue that the nature of Ghana's urbanisation undermines the productivity of its cities and reduces the extent to which they can perform their roles in national development. In this regard, the National Urban Policy aims to promote a sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of urban settlements.

The policy has led to the planning and implementation of several projects. Nevertheless, the effects of the National Urban Policy and other urban policies in Africa are unclear in the conventional literature. The rarity of urban policies in Africa and the skewed focus of the urbanisation scholarship on its effects possibly explain the lack of clarity on the successes and challenges of the urban policies in Africa. To address this research problem, the study was designed to take stock of the successes and challenges of the National Urban Policy of Ghana after almost half-a-decade of implementation by focussing on seven flagship projects as follows: a) Street Naming and Property Addressing, b) Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority , c) Ghana Urban Management Pilot Programme, d) Ghana Urban Transport Project, e) Public-Private Partnership, f) Local Government Capacity Support Project, and g) Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3.

The assessment was based on the following nine criteria: a) sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of urban settlements, b) improved local government revenue and balance sheet, c) shift in public sector budget allocations to support the broad objectives of the NUP, d) private sector and donor investment in fixed capital and local capacity attracted or re-allocated by the programme, e) qualitative improvements in critical urban service delivery, f) contribution to low carbon development or climate resilient urban development, g) local employment or work opportunities created, h) shift in public sector narrative regarding urbanisation as an opportunity, and i) contribution to a "sense of place", "right to the city" or new urban identities.

Analyses of data that were obtained from both secondary and primary sources indicate that the flagship projects have attained different levels of successes. This is summarised in Table 20. The 'red spots' in Table 20 do not mean that the National Urban Policy has been less successful but reveals the limitation of the study's focus on the flagship projects in taking stock of the successes and challenges of the National Urban Policy.

Table 20: Summary of the Successes and Failures of the Flagship Projects

Evaluation Criteria	Flagship Programmes / Projects																							
	Street Naming and Property Addressing				Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority				Ghana Urban Management Pilot Project				Ghana Urban Transport Project				Public-Private Partnership				Local Government Capacity Support Project				Participatory Slum Upgrading Project – Phase 3			
	H	M	L	N	*H*	M	L	N	*H*	M	L	N	*H*	M	L	N	*H*	M	L	N	*H*	M	L	N	*H*	M	L	N
1. Sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of urban settlements																								
2. Improved local governance																								
3. Shift in public sector budget allocations to support the broad objectives of the NUP																								
4. Private sector and donor investment in fixed capital and local capacity attracted or re-allocated by the programme																								
5. Qualitative improvements in critical urban service delivery																								
6. Contribution to low carbon development or climate resilient urban development																								
7. Local employment or work opportunities created																								
8. Shift in public sector narrative regarding urbanisation as an opportunity																								
9. Contribution to a "sense of place", "right to the city" or new urban identities																								

5. Challenges of the National Urban Policy

The results of this study indicate that the National Urban Policy is far from achieving its goal of promoting a sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of urban settlements. This is attributable to the under-listed factors:

- The Street Naming and Property Addressing has made limited contributions to revenue generations at the local level. The project's successes are limited to identifying property and streets and naming them.
- The Bus Rapid Transit is yet to transform the urban transport system. The informal transportation subsector appears to be more preferred choice for commuters in the cities. The lack of transit orientation in the design and development of the cities, amid the continued sprawl, and coupled with the confinement of the Bus Rapid Transit to a single corridor, undermines the choice of the Bus Rapid Transit as the preferred mode of transport.
- Low replication effects of the flagship projects. The central and local government bodies continue to overly rely on external funding, which undermines their ability to replicate the flagship projects in other cities. For instance, the Bus Rapid Transit, engineered landfill sites and market renovations are limited to a few cities. The implication is that the benefits of the projects may be limited to the targeted cities, which could hamper the orderly development of all urban settlements in Ghana.
- Public-Private Partnerships arrangements at the district levels are yet to transfer an amount of risk to private partners and unleash the full potentials of the private sector. Currently, the private sector actors are only engaged by the assemblies after which they are paid commissions based on their performance. Failure to make the private partners risk -takers undermines the principles of effective Public-Private Partners.
- Weak coordination of the National Urban Policy's programmes and projects. The coordination and implementation responsibilities of urban projects are fragmented among several institutions, none of which has ultimate coordinating responsibilities although the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development launched the policy. This undermines any attempts to stock-take the successes and challenges of the policy and could explain the concentration of the present study on the flagship projects. To consolidate the gains made in the first five years of implementation, the following recommendations require consideration:
- The Street Naming and Property Addressing should be combined with property valuation for the administration of realistic property rates. This would enable land value capture, which could impact the incomes of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies and other revenue mobilisation agencies in Ghana.
- The urban transportation sector should be reformed to ensure that the trotros and taxis that operate within the informal sub-sector complement the Bus Rapid Transit. These informal agents should be restricted to the assigned routes, while expanding the coverage of the Bus Rapid Transit and developing the cities to have transit orientation, to ensure complementarity. This proposal requires the strengthening of the capacity of Centre for Urban Transportation in Ghana and Greater Accra Passenger Transport Executive to ensure compliance with local byelaws. Powers from the assemblies, whose jurisdiction the Bus Rapid Transit will operate, will have to transfer powers to the Greater Accra Passenger Transport Executive to ensure compliance with allocated routes by the taxi and

trotro drivers. The effectiveness of the Bus Rapid Transit can reduce the transport sub-sector's negative ecological footprints.

- To mitigate urban sprawl, spaces planned for urban green infrastructure should be protected. The state should exercise its powers of expropriation, acquire and pay compensations to acquire the lands to prevent encroachment. The private organisations should be encouraged to invest in housing for rental purposes. This could promote densification and ultimately ensure space economy. Such an approach will be consistent with the transit orientation of the city, which is recommended above.
- Public-Private Partnerships arrangements for revenue mobilisation at the local levels need to be amended to make the entities risk-bearers. The private entities should be given targets to meet instead of taking a commission based on the amount that is mobilised. This should start with a study to determine the revenue potential of the assemblies to facilitate the setting of realistic targets.
- Lessons from the Participatory Slum Upgrading in Ga Mashie and infrastructure such as abattoirs and market sheds indicate that micro and small-scale projects can make significant contributions to local socio-economic development. In this regard, the Ministries of Local Government and Rural Development, and Works and Housing should replicate the participatory slum upgrading interventions to improve conditions in other urban slums. Replicating the economic interventions (such as abattoirs, market stores and sheds, and Bus Rapid Transit) in other urban areas could contribute to making these areas counter-magnets to Accra, Kumasi, Tema and Sekondi-Takoradi.
- Strong coordination of programmes and projects in urban areas. This paper recognises that a city is a system where there is an interplay of a myriad institutions. Improper coordination of programmes and projects undermines stock-taking and for taking corrective measures at the appropriate time where necessary.

The next phase of the National Urban Policy should emphasise urbanisation as an opportunity instead of threat. In this regard, programmes and projects that harness the potentials inherent in urbanisation should be the focus. The following proposals could be considered:

- Smart mobility development with focus on people mobility, information logistic mobility and information mobility. Sub-ways could be encouraged in the heavily population areas of the cities to enhance transportation in terms of safety, reducing congestion and carbon emissions.
- Urban development financing by focusing on Public-Private Partnership and other public-only initiatives that take advantage of urban agglomerations. This could promote employment and ultimately improve urban safety and security.
- Recognising municipal solid waste as a resource rather than a problem and developing innovative strategies to harness the resource potentials. This could enhance the environmental quality of urban life.
- Replication of participatory slum upgrading interventions in other slums in the cities while abating the formation of new slums through initiatives that promote housing affordability.
- Promoting spatially integrated hierarchy of settlements to allocate functions and foster synergies.

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