

Local Governance Participation and Migration Status: A Tale of Two ‘Cities’ in Accra, Ghana

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The involvement of citizens in governance processes, particularly at the local level has been globally acknowledged to be crucial for development to such an extent as to be considered a condition for survival. However, participation is low among community members especially in the urban area. Against the background that differences have also been found to exist in the behaviour of indigenes and migrants with respect to their political participation, this paper seeks to examine the extent to which one’s migration status is an exclusionary factor to participation in the urban setting of Accra and what motivates their involvement. Using both quantitative and qualitative approaches, this paper draws on sampled residents in predominantly indigenous and predominantly migrant communities in Urban Accra. The findings have implications for urban development and citizens’ wellbeing especially with the provision of improved social services to the growing populations in communities in Urban Accra.

Keywords: Urban Accra, Asiedu Keteke, Ashaiman, Local Governance Participation, Indigenes and Migrants

1.0 Introduction

Globally, the involvement of citizens in the decision making processes at various levels of governance particularly at the local level has been widely endorsed by international organisations, development partners, governments, researchers and civil society as necessary for development (World Bank, 1989, 1992; Clarke, 1991; UNDP, 1993, Boateng, 1996). The World Bank (1992) for instance viewed the process of participation in local governance as underlying the success of various reforms and attempts at decentralization and therefore a crucial element for developing countries to move out of poverty and underdevelopment. In a similar vein, the Brundtland Commission concluded among others that ‘securing effective citizen’s participation’ was one of the main prerequisites of sustainable development (Clarke, 1991 p.56). Due to the importance of participation in local governance to the fight against poverty and underdevelopment in developing countries, there have been efforts at global, regional and national levels by development partners and governments to promote local participation in development practice and planning of localities. These efforts have largely been seen in the various decentralization reforms in the 1980s resulting in the increased

interest in local governance as offering the opportunity for more interactions among state and non-state actors for effective development at the local level (Nuijten, 2004).

Despite the global endorsement and efforts by various governments to promote participation at the local level, participation in Ghana is low and marked by lack of interest of citizens (Kumi-Kyereme et al. 2005; Afrobarometer 2008; NDPC, 2010). There is a dearth of research to shed light on the urban contribution to this low participation and the levels at which the different types of persons found in the jurisdiction of urban local authorities may be operating.

Various reasons have been given to the low level of participation to include cynicism and apathy on the part of community members (Ayee, 2003; Olowu and Wunsch, 2004). Olowu and Wunsch (2004) were of the view that when all resident members are getting, despite their payment of increased taxes, are denials of services or suggestions to raise more money or do communal labour for their projects, 'cynicism and apathy' set in. The lack of time, information, resources and low educational level, low esteem for local level elections and lack of trust for the whole system were extensively cited as challenges to participation (Agarwal, 1997; World Bank, 2001; Ayee and Amponsah, 2003) in addition to institutional ones confronting the decentralization process (Ayee, 2003). On the other hand, Milbrath (1965) as cited in Bilodeau (2009) argued that 'people participate when they feel they can make a difference, when they feel politically efficacious' (p. 146). According to Amponsah and Boafo-Arthur (2003), 'if local populations are convinced that political leadership delivers in terms of performance, and equity in allocation of resources, they would be motivated and their morale boosted, and they would be highly

Differences have been found to exist between indigenes and migrants in areas such as their access to resources, environmental issues, voting patterns and fertility behaviour in their destination areas (Kwankye, 1994; Codjoe, 2007; Anyidoho et al., 2008; In terms of access

to land resources, Anyidoho et. al. (2008) in their study of the chieftaincy institution in Greater Accra Region and its potential to reduce land insecurity also found that women and migrants were more likely than male indigenes to report insecurity-related land problems especially with access and particularly during times of land scarcity. In other words, both poor indigenes and migrants are challenged with access and security of land in urban Accra with the fast commoditization of land. Kwankye (1994) for instance, examined the variation in fertility between migrants and non-migrants in the predominantly migrant area of Ashaiman. He observed that migrants had higher observed fertility than non-migrants, which however, was explained by the positive influence of the age factor and not by migration status. In the case of White et al. (2005), they analyzed how migration and urban residence operated to alter fertility outcomes and gave the different perspectives of non-migrants and migrants. Similarly, Codjoe (2007) in examining the varying effects of fertility determinants among migrant and indigenous females aged 15 to found that although migrant households were wealthier, migrant females were more traditional and had more children living in foster care, and a lower proportion of them approved of men participating in household activities.

Bilodeau (2009) in investigating electoral participation among im(migrants) in Australia by their residential segregation found out that im(migrants) living in constituencies with high concentrations of im(migrants) participate more and tend to exhibit greater homogeneity in their partisan preferences. Of importance to this paper is the finding by Agyei-Mensah and Owusu (2010) that third- and fourth-generation migrants born in a migrant low-class residential area like Nima, had outlook and ways of doing things differently from earlier generations (Agyei-Mensah and Owusu, 2010). In effect, one's migration status does have an influence in some instances and differences even exist among migrants be they first-generation or second-generation or living in a high-concentrated area of migrants or not.

Using Arnstein's ladder of participation, Kumi-Kyereme (2008) found that citizens' levels of participation in the implementation of the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper showed elements of tokenism in the form of some degree of consultation. He however found that a significant relationship existed between the citizens' levels of participation and geographical locations with residents in rural communities being more likely to consider their participation as manipulation. He also found that the highest levels of participation in the form of partnership, delegated power and citizen control were rare with only District Assembly members in that category. This study was however focused on rural communities and on participation in policy-related activities. There is little research on how urban residents participate in local governance and the levels at which they do so using the spectrum of participation. To the extent that residents' effective involvement is key to the successful delivery of services to them, it is important to examine how residents in the cosmopolitan area of Accra, faced with a gamut of developmental challenges are involved in the decision-making process that goes on within their localities and what motivates or challenges them in their quest to do so. This paper therefore seeks to answer the following questions: How are residents in the urban space of Ghana's capital city, Accra involved in decision-making in their localities and is their migration status an exclusionary factor to their participation in decision-making at the local level?

2.0 Defining Local Governance and Participation

The concept 'local governance' seems to have relatively general and acceptable definitions based on the structures and processes of decision-making for development at the local level (Helmsing, 2002; Shah and Shah, 2006). The UNDP defined local governance as comprising of *'a set of institutions, mechanisms and processes through which citizens and their groups can articulate their interests and needs, mediate their differences and exercise*

their rights and obligations at the local level” (<http://www.undp.org/governance/local.htm>).

Shah and Shah (2006) defined local governance as ‘the formulation and execution of collective action at the local level’ (p1). According to them, it involves the direct and indirect roles of formal institutions of local government and government hierarchies as well as the roles of informal norms, networks, community organizations and neighbourhood associations in pursuing collective action by defining the framework for citizen-citizen, citizen-state interactions, collective decision-making and delivery of local public services (Shah and Shah, 2006). In other words, ‘local governance’ encompasses institutions of government, the private sector and civil societies; the systems, processes and procedures in place for planning, management and decision-making at the local level.

The concept of participation in development discourse, though of a ‘ubiquitous’ character, does not lend itself to a universally-acceptable definition and therefore is context-specific and dependent on who is defining it or in which discipline it is being defined. For instance, the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) defined ‘participation’ as ‘the organised effort to increase control over resources and regulative institutions by groups and movements of those excluded from such control’ (Pearse and Stiefel, 1979: p8). This definition recognises among others that ‘participation’ involves redistribution of power and this is closely tied up with equity and empowerment. The Human Development Report of 1993 of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) defined ‘participation’ partly in terms of people having constant ‘access to decision-making and power’ (p21) while the World Bank sees it as ‘the process through which, stakeholders influence and share control over developmental initiatives, decisions and resources which affect them (World Bank, 1994, 1996). This paper subscribes to the concept as being a process and defines participation as the process by which people take an active and influential part in shaping decisions that affect them and involves their awareness of and active

participation in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of projects undertaken in their localities not only by the local government unit but also other actors such as civil society.

2.1 Conceptualising Levels of Participation in Local Governance

The core principles of participation according to Priscoli (1997), border on the people having a say in decisions about actions that affect their lives and being promised that their contribution would influence the decisions taken. And in achieving this outcome, the process involved communicates the interest of all participants, meets the needs of all participants; seeks out and facilitates the involvement of those potentially affected; involves participants in defining how they participate, provides participants with the information they need to participate in a meaningful way and also communicates to them how their input was or was not used. In effect, participation as a process with various actors can be said to be of varying levels and not the same for all members in a locality.

The conceptualization of levels of participation has gone through the ladder, spectrum/continuum and matrix approaches among others with a minimum of four and a maximum of eight rungs or stages (Arnstein, 1969; Wilcox, 1999; OECD, 2001; World Bank, 2002; ODPM, 2002; IAP2, 2007). While the first and most popular conceptualization of the levels of participation, by Arnstein (1969) proposed an 8-rung ladder with manipulation at the lowest rung through subsequent levels of therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power to citizen control at the top rung, the World Bank's version is four-staged and starts at one end of the spectrum progressively from i) information-sharing and ii) consultation to iii) joint decision-making and iv) initiation and control by stakeholders (World Bank, 1994).

Arnstein (1969) intimates that there is no participation at all with the first two rungs of manipulation and therapy and while any semblance of participation starts with informing, consultation and placation, these three levels, according to her only display degrees of tokenism. She further alludes to the fact that at the first two rungs, power holders 'educate' or 'cure' the participants but the real intent is not to involve the citizens in planning or conducting programmes. Rungs 3 to 5 are varying levels of 'tokenism' where citizens or the have-nots get to hear about the programmes being undertaken and also voice out their views about them however, any feedback or advice given by them is not guaranteed any weight in the final decision-making. At these levels, citizens lack the power to insure that their views will be considered by the powerful and the final right to decide still rests with the power holders. Therefore, nothing much changes and the status quo is maintained. Real participation, according to Arnstein (1969), is achieved from the partnership through delegated power to citizen control although absolute citizen control is rare since final approval power rests with the state. This approach was criticised for being simplistic and overlooking important issues of heterogeneity between and among the haves and have-nots.

Wilcox's approach therefore adapted Arnstein's Ladder but with five rungs and introduced a philosophical progression in, through and around participation and proposed the various stages as *information* when the people in the locality are informed of what is planned and *consultation* where a number of options are offered to the residents to comment on and give their views which may or may not be included as input. The third level of *deciding together* should encourage the residents to provide additional ideas and options and join in deciding the best way forward. The fourth level of *acting together* is a continuation of the partnership between local residents and policy makers not only in decision-making but also in acting on the decision made. The final level of this model is *supporting independent community initiatives* (Wilcox, 1999). Although there is a highest level, the guiding principle

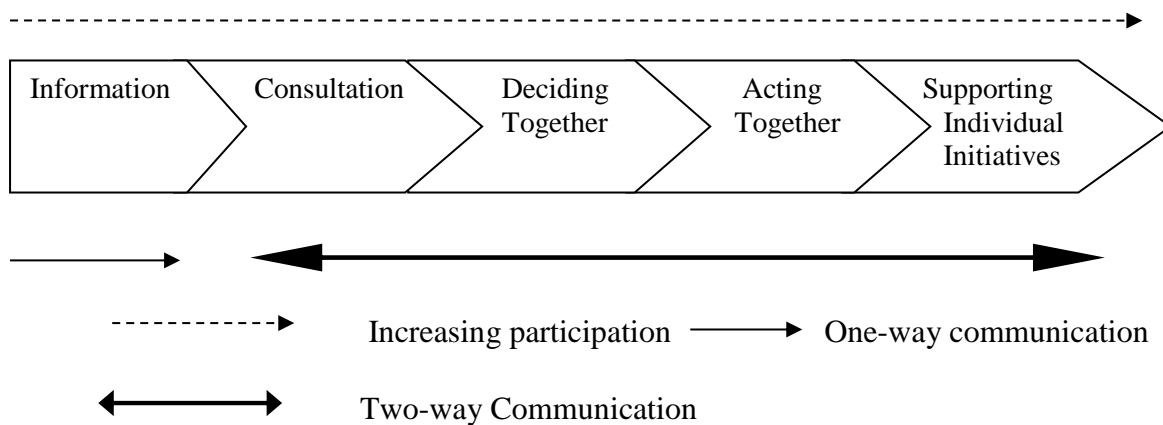
of Wilcox's model of participation levels alludes to the notion that no one level is intended to be 'better' than another but rather what is appropriate in any situation. In effect, not all are expected to be participating at the highest level of the ladder and there will be different levels of participation by different people within a given context. What is important however is that at each of these levels, there should be value in the processes undertaken to ensure effective participation.

The Wilcox framework can be said to have influenced the continuum or spectrum model of participation which this paper is based on. The spectrum or continuum concept of participation levels subscribe to the fact that there are no clear cut-off points or sharp limits for any one level of participation and that the lower level of participation progressively merges into the immediate higher level of participation and does not necessary see citizens going through all the levels from the lowest to the highest. This paper bases its assumption on the fact that there are different people, different contexts and decisions to be taken and therefore different levels of participation. Additionally, not all people would even want to participate or has the capability to participate. Indeed, the Wilcox's framework is rooted in and from the perspective of planning and this also makes it suitable for application at the local level.

Figure 1 shows the five-staged spectrum approach to the level of participation used in this paper which drew on the models of Wilcox (1999), the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM, 2002) and the International Association of Public Participation (IAP2, 2007). Information sharing was considered the first stage of participation without which, a citizen will not be able to know what to say when consulted or make 'informed' decisions. The first level of information was determined by respondents' knowledge of development programmes at the local level while the next stage of consultation involved their membership of groups that are directly involved in the development of the locality or interact with the

district assembly. Respondents' ability to demand accountability from the District Assembly about District Assembly Common Fund (DACF) and their belonging to a group of influence in the district corresponded to the third and fourth stages of deciding together and acting together respectively. The final stage of supporting individual initiatives was indicated by respondents' ability to initiate activities with little or no influence from the District Assembly.

Figure 1: Levels of Participation using the Spectrum Approach



Source: Author's construct adapted from Wilcox (1999); ODPM (2002); IAP2 (2007)

The UN defined migrants as persons who move to a country (region) other than that of their usual residence for a period of at least one year – so that the country (region) of destination effectively becomes their new country (region) of usual residence. The one-year duration makes the person a long-term migrant while another who falls within the same category but stayed away for at least three months but less than a year is considered a short-term migrant (UN Statistics Division, 1998) Therefore, for the purposes of this study, anyone who does not originally come/hail from the Greater Accra Region in which Ashiedu Keteke and Ashaiman are located, but has moved into the region and been resident in the local area for at least a year would be considered a migrant. Such a migrant will be referred to as a first-

generation migrant. Additionally, anyone born in the Greater Accra Region but who does not originally come from the region and traces his/her parental link to another region other than the Greater Accra Region, would be considered a second-generation migrant. An indigene on the other hand refers to anyone who originates from the Greater Accra Region by parental link or has one or both parents belonging to the Ga-Dangme ethnic group of the Greater Accra Region and is resident in the Region as of the time of the study.

3.0 Sources of Data

This paper draws on fieldwork data collected between March 2010 and June 2011 using both quantitative and qualitative methodologies in two purposively-selected areas in Urban Accra. Informed by the 2000 Population and Housing Census figures which make the population of Ashaiman almost twice the population of the Ashiedu Keteke, a sample of 135 and 220 individual respondents were drawn from households in Ashiedu Keteke and Ashaiman respectively. Through a multi-staged sampling approach, cluster sampling was applied at the electoral area level of each district and random sampling was applied to identify the structures and households from which individual respondents to the survey questionnaire were selected. Within each selected household, a male or female respondent who was aged at least 22 years and had lived in the household for at least a year was selected and interviewed based on their willingness to participate in the study. The minimum age of 22 years was decided on based on the fact that a respondent would have attained the legal age of 18 years and might have had the opportunity to exercise his/her franchise at least twice (at the local and the constituency/national levels). Additionally, at this age, a respondent is expected to have some level of education, experience and some degree of independence or freedom of association and not restrained from participating in the development process in the area if he or she chooses to.

The survey data was triangulated with in-depth interviews with key informants and focus group discussions with women and youth groups, informal discussions and observation in the two locations. Key informants included the district chief executives, assembly members, officials of the district assembly and leaders of NGOs while the women and the youth in each district were engaged separately in group discussions. Primary data from the survey were analyzed using descriptive statistics and statistical tests and the results were presented in tables and charts.

3.1 The Study Area

Accra is located in the Greater Accra Region which is in the south-central part of the country and hosts the national capital, Accra. Though the smallest of the 10 administrative regions, the region is the most urbanized region (87.7%) and is the second most populous region with 2,679,991 (15.4%) of the total national figure after the Ashanti Region. The region's population density increased from 441 to 895 and 1,236 people per square kilometre in 1984, 2000 and 2010 respectively while the national average for 2000 and 2010 was 79 and 103 people per square kilometre respectively. As the regional capital of the Greater Accra Region as well as the national capital of Ghana, Accra is a very 'busy' place in terms of developmental activities and focus making it a preferred destination for many who live in other parts of the country.

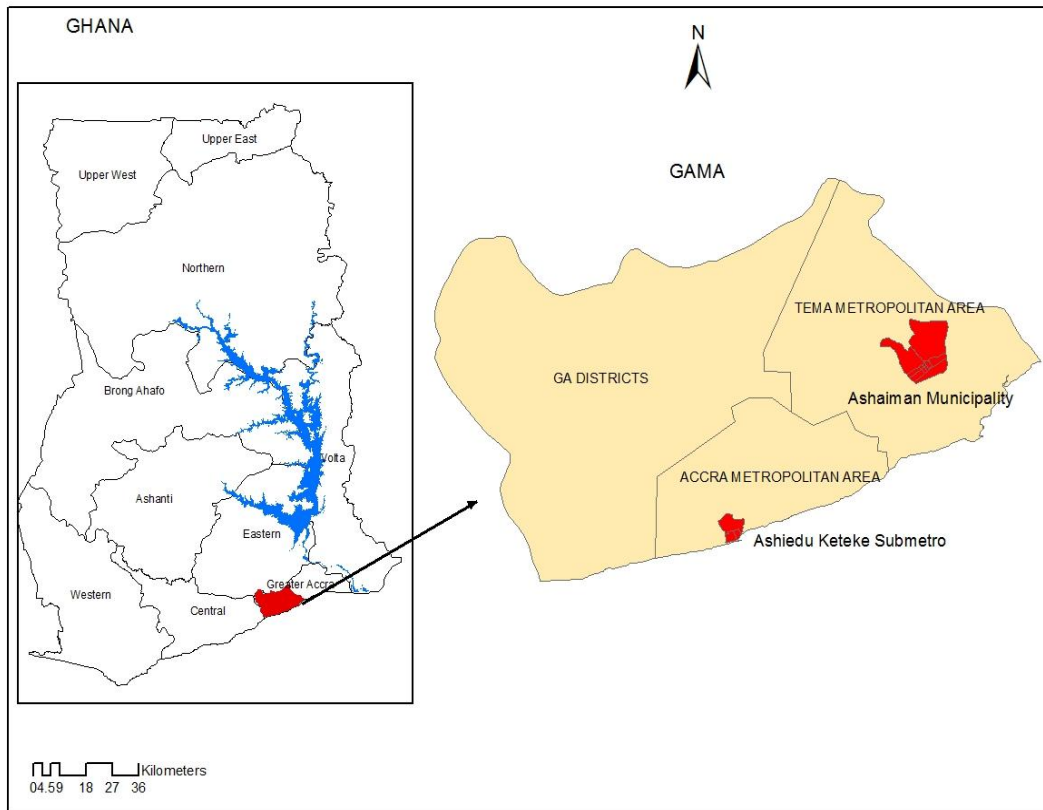
The city of Accra hosts a population which is diverse in nature in various aspects and reflective of the national situation and its cosmopolitan status also justifies its selection to assess the involvement of both indigenes and migrants. Additionally, it is faced with many developmental challenges which necessitate the involvement of citizens in finding solutions

to. The two selected areas of interest are the Ashiedu Keteke Sub-Metropolis¹ and Ashaiman Municipality² (See Figure 2). As part of the urban space of Accra, Ashiedu Keteke (Accra Central) and Ashaiman are popular destinations for migrants from both within and outside the country and therefore also face the challenges of insanitary environment, unemployment, urban poverty, overcrowding and slum development among others. Both areas are inhabited to varying proportions by populations of mixed ethnicities and also reflect the situation in the city – making them ‘cities’ within the city. Whereas Ashiedu Keteke hosts more indigenes than migrants, the reverse is the case in Ashaiman which hosts predominantly migrants. The perception of available job opportunities in Urban Accra triggered the migration from many other regions of the country into the area contributing significantly to the sprawling developments observed in the area, the high population density, low-income and poor infrastructure areas (Dickson, 1969; Benneh et. al., 1993). Similarly, AshMA MPCU (2010) acknowledges the uncontrolled development of houses and many slum areas characteristic of Ashaiman.

Figure 2: Regional Map of Ghana highlighting the areas of Ashiedu Keteke and Ashaiman

¹ Had a population of 88,717 people (GSS, 2002) with an annual population growth rate of 4.3%. Population projected at 128,984 (2010). It is a main part of the Central Business District and attracts about 200,000 people on a daily basis from other parts of the metropolis and country who come to the city for various reasons (Files of AKSMA).

² Located about four (4) kilometres to the north of Tema and about 30 km from Accra. Initially a dormitory settlement, its population has grown from 185 people in 1948 to 150,312 and 190,972 in 2002 and 2010 respectively at a more than 4 per cent growth rate.



Source: Field work, 2011

The situation of slum development is no different from what has been observed in the Ashiedu Keteke (Accra Central Area) with notable slums such as Old Fadama popularly known as ‘Sodom and Gomorrah’. With these challenges facing the two ‘cities’ and the fact that participation has been identified as being crucial to development, an assessment of residents’ participation in local governance is important in identifying the potential ways of engaging them better for development and ensuring better service delivery from the local authority.

4.0 Results and Discussion

4.1 Socio-demographic and Economic Characteristics of Respondents

Overall, 342 respondents were involved in the study with 39 percent found in Ashiedu Keteke. The respondents included more males (57%) and were of a youthful nature with

seven in ten of them aged up to 35 years and three per cent aged more than 60 years. In terms of educational level, four in ten respondents had basic education, about 28 per cent and 15 per cent had schooled to the secondary and tertiary levels respectively. More respondents in Ashaiman than in Ashiedu Keteke had at least secondary education.

With respect to their ethnic background, almost all ethnic groups were found in the study area. The Ga population understandably formed 37 per cent of respondents since they are the indigenes of the area and formed the majority in Ashiedu Keteke (Table 1). The distribution of the various ethnic groups by location showed that higher proportions of all ethnic groups (apart from Grusi and Gurma) and those from outside the borders of the country were found in Ashaiman making it a preferred destination between the two locations for many a migrant. This has earned Ashaiman such designations as the ‘ECOWAS’ of Ghana or what others prefer to refer to as the ‘United States of Ashaiman’ or the ‘New York of Ghana’.

Table 1: Respondents’ Ethnic Background by Location

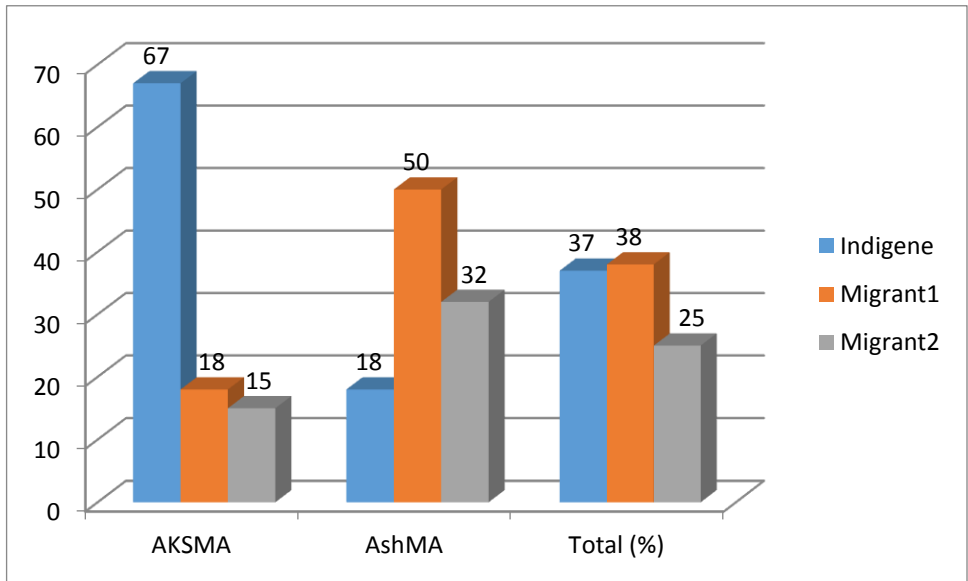
Ethnicity	Location		% of Total
	Ashiedu Keteke	Ashaiman	
Akan	19.5%	34.9%	28.9%
Ga-Dangme	65.4%	19.6%	37.4%
Ewe	6.0%	29.7%	20.5%
Hausa	0.8%	1.9%	1.5%
Mole-Dagbani	2.3%	7.2%	5.3%
Grusi & Gurma	5.2%	4.2%	4.7%
Other Ghanaian Groups	0.8%	1.5%	1.2%
West Africans	0.0%	1.0%	0.6%

Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total No.	133	209	342

Source: Field Survey (2011)

Out of the study sample of 342 respondents, 127 (37%), 129 (38%) and 86 (25%) were found to be indigenes, first-generation and second-generation migrants respectively (Figure 3).

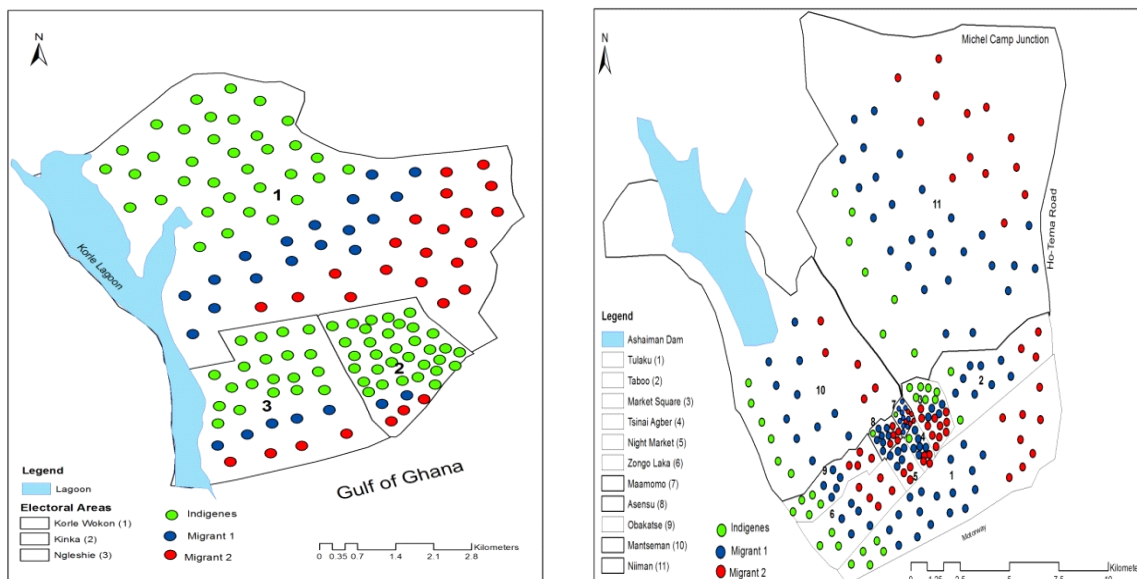
Figure 3: Migration Status of Respondents (%)



Source: Field Survey (2011)

The proportion of first-generation migrants (38%) covered in this study is close to the approximated 40 percent recorded by the 2000 Population and Housing Census as having come into the region from other regions of the country and even outside the national borders (GSS, 2005a). Their spatial distribution in the two locations is also shown in figure 4 according to their migration status (green, blue and red spots indicating indigenes, first-generation and second-generation migrants respectively).

Figure 4: The Distribution of Respondents by Migration Status in Ashiedu Keteke (Left) and Ashaiman (Right)



Source: Field Survey (2011)

Almost nine in 10 respondents (89%) indicated being engaged in one form of employment or another while 11 percent were unemployed. Those with some form of jobs were mainly self-employed and employees with significant associations with location, gender, educational level and migration status. More than half of the respondents in Ashiedu Keteke were self-employed (53.4%) whereas in Ashaiman, about that same proportion (52.2%) were employees with an additional 38 percent being self-employed (Table 2).

Table 2: Respondents' Employment Status in Both Areas

Employment Status	Areas		Total
	Ashiedu Keteke	Ashaiman	
Employee	20.3%	52.2%	39.8%
Apprentice	3.0%	3.8%	3.5%
Domestic Employee	0.0%	0.5%	0.3%
Self-employed, no employee	50.4%	28.7%	37.1%
Self-employed with employee	3.0%	9.6%	7.0%
Unpaid family worker	0.0%	0.5%	0.3%

Unemployed	20.3%	4.3%	10.5%
Schooling	3.0%	0.5%	1.5%
Total %	100%	100%	100%
Total No.	133	209	342

Source: Field Survey (2011)

A significantly higher proportion of indigenes resident in Ashaiman (61%) were employees as against their counterparts in the indigenous area of Ashiedu Keteke (18%) (See Table 3). Conversely, unemployment among indigenes interviewed in Ashaiman (8%) was lower than what was observed in Ashiedu Keteke (23%) – the location effect is again significant and more evident with the findings of the primary occupations of respondents. To the extent that unemployment is generally higher among all categories of respondents in Ashiedu Keteke than in Ashaiman also supports the location effect. This finding of high proportions of unemployment has significant association with the educational level of the people in Ashiedu Keteke and the lack of employment opportunities there unlike Ashaiman, which has the industrial city of Tema to fall on for employment opportunities.

Table 3: Respondents' Employment Status by Location and Migration Status (%)

Employment Status	Location**						Total		
	Ashiedu Keteke			Ashaiman			Indig	M1	M2
	Indig	M1	M2	Indig	M1	M2			
Employee	18.0	29.2	20.0	60.5	44.8	59.1	30.7	41.9	50.0
Apprentice	3.4	4.2	0.0	0.0	5.7	3.0	2.4	5.4	2.3
Domestic Employee	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0
Self-employed, no employee	50.6	41.7	60.0	23.7	31.4	27.3	42.5	33.3	34.9

Self-employed with employee	2.2	4.2	5.0	7.9	12.4	6.1	3.9	10.9	5.8
Unpaid family worker	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0
Unemployed	22.5	16.7	15.0	7.9	3.8	3.0	18.1	6.2	5.8
Schooling	3.4	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	2.4	1.2	1.5
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total No.	89	24	20	38	105	66	127	129	86

Source: Field Survey (2011)

Notes: Indig (Indigenes); M1 (First-generation migrants); M2 (Second-generation migrants)

** indicating significance at 5%

Respondents' primary occupations included trading (31%), banking and other tertiary professionals (11%), mechanics/electricians (10%), private businessmen/women (10%), Apart from traders (54%) and other workers in Ashiedu Keteke, there were higher proportions of other categories in Ashaiman. The significant proportions in different occupations in Ashaiman reflect the diversity of the people in terms of educational level as against the relatively more homogenous and lower levels of education among the respondents in Ashiedu Keteke.

Generally therefore, the income of respondents on the average was higher in Ashaiman than in Ashiedu Keteke. An analysis of the income levels of respondents according to their migration status and location showed that the average monthly income of indigenes interviewed in Ashaiman was higher than their counterparts' in Ashiedu Keteke. This finding draws attention to the opportunities that Ashaiman presents for instance by its closeness to the industrial city of Tema as well as the higher educational and employment status of the indigenes found there as compared to those in Ashiedu Keteke. In sum, the average monthly income of \$139.93 differed significantly by location and migration status.

Respondents were found to have lived in their current localities for at least a year and a maximum of 68 years with the average being 19 years. Thirty-six percent (36%) of the respondents had been living in their respective localities since birth. The average number of years spent in the Greater Accra Region for 131 respondents who had moved into the region was 15 years with the shortest being one year and the longest being 59 years. The average number of years stayed at destination was higher for Ashiedu Keteke. Understandably, indigenes had the highest mean (27 years) and the first generation migrants had the lowest (nine years).

4.2 Issues of Concern in Ashiedu Keteke and Ashaiman

Sanitation was an issue of concern irrespective of the location, sex and migration status. Health and employment issues were cited by only respondents in Ashiedu Keteke and females while only males and those in Ashaiman indicated transportation, infrastructural and sports development and decongestion. Education was an issue cited by more respondents in Ashiedu Keteke than Ashaiman and for more females than males as was the situation with security for more males than females and among those in Ashaiman than in Ashiedu Keteke. These were corroborated by key informants as follows:

“Waste management is one of the key demands on our resources. Electrification, street lighting and the construction of roads and drains, then the school project. Construction of classrooms, structures for both the basic and the second cycle institution. Ranking them, number one is environmental sanitation and waste management. Number two, I’d say the roads and finally education”. - Planning Officer, Ashaiman

“Our main problem here is the lack of toilet facility and refuse sites”.

- Focus Group Participant, Ashiedu Keteke

With this development gap, respondents showed dissatisfaction with sanitation (63%), drainage infrastructure (60%) and road infrastructure (47%). A significant association was observed between levels of satisfaction with services delivery and location with significant differences. A higher proportion of respondents in Ashiedu Keteke (97%) than in Ashaiman (86%) were satisfied with the health service provision. Similarly, such significant differences were observed with respect to sanitation, drainage facility, road infrastructure and security (Table 4). A major difference observed with respect to drinking water, was the higher proportion of respondents in Ashaiman (88%) than in Ashiedu Keteke (53%) who were satisfied with the delivery of drinking water in their respective localities. The educational situation of the two areas did not show much difference.

Table 4: Respondents’ Level of Satisfaction by Location

Service Provided	Drinking water	Health	Sanitation	Education	Drainage Facility	Road	Security
Ashiedu Keteke	53***	97	64	96	67	92	97
Ashaiman	88	86**	20***	91	23***	28***	68***

Source: Field Survey (2011)

Notes: *** (**) indicating significance at 1% and 5% respectively

4.3 Levels of Participation of Urban Residents on the Spectrum of Participation

By the conceptualization discussed earlier, seven in ten respondents were considered to be informed leaving 30 per cent who were unaware of any developmental programmes being pursued at the local level. The most popular programmes were National Health Insurance (83%) and National Youth Employment Programme (70%). Other programmes include School Feeding Programme (45%), Free Maternal Care (26%), Capitation Grant, Free Uniforms with significant gender

differences. More male youth were aware of the youth employment programme while the females were also more aware with the school feeding and maternal care programmes for obvious reasons linked to the traditional roles of feeding of children and their reproductive roles respectively.

Just a little over a quarter of respondents (26%) were found in the consultation stage with spatial difference as well as between indigenes and migrants. More respondents in Ashaiman were consulted and were part of the decision making process than those in Ashiedu Keteke. Forty-three per cent (43%) of 154 respondents made up those who were at the deciding together stage. With respect to whether respondents belonged to any committee or group with some influence in the area, just three per cent of 332 respondents indicated in the affirmative and indicated residents' associations, local government sub-structures, youth groups, ethnic, professional, political and sports groups. These respondents fell within the acting together stage. Just about seven (7) per cent of 104 respondents were found in the final level of supporting community initiatives (Table 5). A look at their levels by migration status showed that more indigenes were informed while more generation migrants were consulted.

Table 5: Respondents' Levels of Participation by Location and Migration Status

	Level of Participation (%)				
	Information	Consultation	Deciding Together	Acting Together	Supporting Individual Initiatives
Location		***	***		
Ashiedu Keteke	71	11	10	2	1
Ashaiman	69	36	51	3	6
Migration Status	**	**			
Indigene	79	21	40	3	1
1 st Gen. Migrant	61	26	44	2	2
2 nd Gen. Migrant	71	36	43	4	4
Total %	70	26	43	3	7

Source: Field Survey (2011)

Notes: *** (**) indicating significance at 1% and 5% respectively

Indepth interviews with key informants and observation gave an insight into the levels observed. The Sub-Metro Chair of AKSMA explains as follows:

“As for the traditional leaders, we work with them a lot. We tell them about developmental projects that have been approved and if they also have or need something, they let us know.

Our relationship is cordial. With the community members, we involve them in workshops and other activities but sometimes there are issues of low turnout?

5.0 Most Motivating and Challenging Factors to Local Governance Participation

There was not much difference between respondents in terms of their migration status regarding the need for development or to see improvement in general conditions. However overall, second-generation migrants dominated the respondents who wanted development as well as those who were motivated by other residents' involvement and their position as role models in the locality. By location and migration status, while indigenes dominated the group motivated by development in Ashiedu Keteke, the second-generation migrants dominated in Ashaiman. Though small, all respondents across migration status believed in the developmental potential of Ashaiman (Table 6). Supporting this finding is the contrast that no respondent had the same confidence in Ashiedu Keteke – an indication of underlying limitation to development in the area.

Table 6: Most Important Motivating Factor to Participation in Decision-Making Process at the Local Level by Location and Migration Status (%)

Motivating Factor	Location						Total (%)		
	Ashiedu Keteke			Ashaiman			Both areas		
	Indig	Migr 1	Migr 2	Indig	Migr 1	Migr 2	Indig**	Migr 1	Migr 2**
Nothing	57.1	66.7	68.4	36.8	41.0	16.9	50.8	46.0	28.6
Improvement in General conditions	34.5	29.2	26.3	36.8	34.0	43.1	35.2	33.1	39.3
All Hands on Deck	4.8	0.0	0.0	13.2	11.0	20.0	7.4	8.9	15.5
Role Model/Mobilization by leaders	0.0	0.0	5.3	2.6	2.0	6.2	0.8	1.6	6.0
Good leadership	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	4.6	2.5	2.4	3.6

Future political Career	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6	1.0	0.0	0.8	0.8	0.0
When informed	0.0	4.2	0.0	5.3	2.0	4.6	1.6	2.4	3.6
Other (potential of area/religion)	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6	6.0	4.6	0.8	4.8	3.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total No.	84	24	19	38	100	65	122	124	84

Source: Field Survey (2011)

Notes: ** indicating significance at 5%

Overall, the challenges to 335 respondents' participation included lack of time (25%), low participation and lack of leadership and resources (19%), lack of interest (13%), non-performance and mistrust of politicians (12%). Five percent of respondents were not motivated to participate in what went on in their localities due to the politicisation of issues as well as the conflicts and tension associated with participation in some instances. One's migrant status was a challenge to participation for about 3 percent of respondents. Significant differences were observed with the analysis of challenges by migration status (Table 7).

First-generation migrants were challenged by their busy schedules and therefore were unable to participate in what went on in their areas. This observation cut across both locations as was the case with respect to the lack of livelihood and education among indigenes explained by one indigene when he said, "*I can't go and queue and get someone a job when I don't have a job*". A higher proportion of first-generation migrants cited their migrant status as a challenge to their participation with a significantly higher proportion in Ashiedu Keteke than Ashaiman. They were also the least interested. While more indigenes were discouraged by the non-performance and mistrust of the leaders, more second-generation migrants were

not motivated to participate for lack of leadership/role models and low resources and non-involvement of other residents.

Table 7: Most Challenging Factor to Participation in what goes on in one's area by Location and Migration Status (%)

Challenge	Location						Both locations**		
	Ashiedu Keteke			Ashaiman					
	Indig	Mig1	Mig2	Indig	Mig1	Mig2	Indig	Mig1	Mig2
None/Not interested	11.2	0.0	25.0	15.8	19.4	7.6	12.6	15.6	11.6
Lack of means of livelihood/ money and illiteracy	20.2	4.2	10.0	7.9	4.1	4.5	16.5	4.1	5.8
Busy/Not available	15.7	20.8	5.0	26.3	33.7	28.8	18.9	31.1	23.3
Lack of information/ little or no interaction with leaders	4.5	0.0	0.0	13.2	12.2	6.1	7.1	9.8	4.7
Migrant Status-related	1.1	20.8	5.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.8	5.7	1.2
Dirty Politics/tension & conflicts	7.6	12.5	15.0	2.6	0.0	3.0	6.3	2.5	5.8
Non-performance and mistrust of politicians	18.0	12.5	10.0	10.5	7.1	13.6	15.7	8.2	12.8
Low participation/lack of leadership/resources	12.4	8.3	25.0	15.8	20.4	31.8	13.4	18.0	30.2
Other (ill-health, age, no payment)	9.0	20.8	5.0	7.9	1.0	4.5	8.7	4.9	4.7
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total No.	89	24	20	38	98	66	127	122	86

Source: Field Survey (2011) Notes: ** indicating significance levels at 5%
Indig (Indigenes); Mig1 (First-generation migrants); Mig2 (Second-generation migrants)

6.0 Conclusion and Recommendation

Participation in activities at the local level by residents in Urban Accra was found to be low with various challenges faced by indigenes, first-generation migrants and second-generation migrants in their various locations. With respect to the levels of participation, the study found that majority of the respondents participated within the first three stages of the spectrum consisting of information, consultation and deciding together with less than eight per cent in the final two stages of acting together and supporting individual initiatives. These results, indeed indicate that the higher levels of participation are rarely reached and though from a different approach (spectrum rather than the ladder), they corroborate Arnstein's (1969) and Kumi-Kyereme's (2008) findings.

The migrant status of an urban resident is not a challenge to all migrants. Second-generation migrants fit in as well as indigenes and the challenge is mainly to first-generation migrants. Lumping up all migrants does not unearth the nuances of the phenomenon experienced by them. The motivation of citizens for development is across board irrespective of location or migration status and can be used to rally more participation from citizens with the caution of not abusing it. Better engagement of citizens and empowering them to ensure that they demand accountability from duty bearers should be promoted to enhance better delivery of basic social services. The commitment of all is needed in this regard irrespective of the migration status. Finally, steps should be taken to create the enabling environment to take care of legal and bureaucratic tendencies which may tend to hamper the smooth engagement with citizens. Ensuring constant interaction with the people and making information available and easily accessible to the citizenry provides the impetus to local participation.

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