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LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN WATER RESOURCE MANAGEMENT: CASE STUDY OF OLD FADAMA COMMUNITY, GHANA.

A THESIS

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Abstract

Participation of stakeholders at the local level (local participation) is evolving worldwide as a mechanism to address complex environmental problems such as water resource management. Remediation of the Korle lagoon in Ghana has encountered policy implementation challenges which in part have led to delay in project completion. The thesis examines how local authorities and civil society have responded to the policy implementation challenges by introducing participation and empowerment as a tool to solve the problem. Selecting the Old Fadama community on the lagoon's periphery as a case study, the thesis aims to understand the role the community plays in the formulation and implementation of the Korle Lagoon Ecological Restoration Project (KLERP) policy. Data derive from direct observations and surveys (questionnaire) in the Old Fadama community; organizational documents, and semi-structured interviews with various stakeholder groups. The results show that exclusion of stakeholders generates conflict and antagonism which hinders the implementation of policy. A pattern which emerges from the analysis of empirical material is that local and international bodies that share common interests align: this can be seen in the alliances of stakeholders in the participatory process. The local organization provides local manpower while the international

counterpart funds the process. It is alliances of this kind that obliged government to grant the local NGOs recognition, thus paving the way for negotiation with the NGOs and the community on the issue of policy revision. In theory, participation holds promise to address conflict, however in practice, a number of factors that feed into conflict characterize the process of participation in Old Fadama, such as ineffective information flow in the community, and low-levels of communication. These factors jointly undermine the full participation of the Old Fadama community. It is essential therefore for stakeholders to collectively tackle these obstacles in order to make local participation more sustainable, as well as for local authorities to effectively monitor the policy cycle.

Key words: KLERP, Stakeholder Participation, Empowerment, Sustainability, Case Study, Old Fadama, Favela Syndrome.

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Glossary of Acronyms and Abbreviations

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| AMA | ACCRA METROPOLITAN ASSEMBLY |
| ASP | ACCRA SUSTAINABILITY PROJECT |
| CEPIL | CENTRE FOR PUBLIC INTEREST LAW |
| CLD | CAUSAL LOOP DIAGRAM |
| COHRE | CENTRE FOR HOUSING RIGHTS AND EVICTIONS |
| DI | DREDGING INTERNATIONAL NV |
| EPA | ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY |
| FAO | FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION |
| GDP | GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT |
| ICRA | INTERNATIONAL CENTRE for development oriented RESEARCH in AGRICULTURE |
| KLERP | KORLE LAGOON ECOLOGICAL RESTORATION PROJECT |
| KWEA | KORLE WOKON ELECTORAL AREA |
| MDGs | MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS |
| MLGRDE | MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT RURAL DEVELOPMENT&ENVIRONMENT |
| MTDR | MINISTRY OF TRADE AND DIASPORA RELATIONS |
| MWRWH | MINISTRY OF WATER RESOURCES WORKS AND HOUSING |
| NAM | NON ALIGNED MOVEMENT |
| NEAP | NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ACTION PLAN |
| NGO | NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION |
| OFCDA | OLD FADAMA COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION |
| OPEC | ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES |
| PD | PEOPLES DIALOGUE ON HUMAN SETTLEMENT |
| UN-HABITAT | UNITED NATIONS HUMAN SETTLEMENT PROGRAMME |
| USD | UNITED STATES DOLLAR |

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Decision-making needs to take into account a wide array of stakeholders and shades of opinions if decision outcomes are to maintain a high quality (Simonovic and Akter, 2006). It is argued that a key driver of increased efficiency in water resource management is the involvement of all stakeholders, especially at the local level where resources originate (Hetland, 2008). Stakeholder involvement prevents marginalization and potentially reduces conflict (Giordano *et al.*, 2007). It is a potential contradiction that although stakeholders' involvement in decision-making is proposed as an approach to manage conflict, in practice the process usually reveals tensions inherent in the collision of diverse interests among stakeholders (Botchway, 2001). Nonetheless, stakeholder participation at the local level is fast gaining world wide approval as a mechanism to deal with complex environmental problems (Prager and Nagel, 2008). It is important to ask: what complex environmental problems serve as antecedents to the increasing significance of stakeholder participation in sustainable development discourse?

Problems of population growth and alarming rates of urbanization are among the key sustainable development challenges facing many sub-Saharan African countries (Barrios *et al.*, 2006; and Cohen, 2006). Rural-urban migration has served to exacerbate this situation. Boadi *et al.*, (2005) point out that within the last two decades, sub-Saharan Africa has topped the global urbanization chart on the measure of rate of growth of urban populations. Consequently, many urbanization-induced environmental challenges have emerged. Kropp *et al.*, (2001:110) refer to these urbanization-induced environmental challenges, particularly '*socio-ecological degradation by means of unrestrained population growth*', as the Favela syndrome. The syndrome is characterized by three key elements: urbanization, urban poverty and policy failure (Kropp *et al.*, 2001). In many ways, Ghana is an epitome of the Favela syndrome.

Ghana is dealing with extensive urban periphery settlements due to the massive migration of rural inhabitants to the cities, especially to the political and economic capital, Accra (Cohen, 2006). UNEP (2005) estimates the rate of urban growth in Ghana at more than 3% per annum, ranking Ghana 53rd among 184 countries covered by UNEP. Severe housing needs and urban poverty compel migrants to settle on marginal lands within and at the periphery of the cities (Tipple *et al.*, 1999; Kropp *et al.*, 2001;

and Yeboah, 2003). Persons in these settlements have low-income and the settlements in themselves often lack essential social services, especially those related to sanitation (clean water, sewerage and waste management system), resulting in heavy environmental pollution (Tipple *et al.*, 1999; Boadi and Kuitunen, 2002). Water resources usually become the key environmental component that suffers foremost from such unbridled pollution (Kropp *et al.*, 2001; Beck, 2005), a situation epitomized by the Korle lagoon in Accra.

The Korle lagoon is a highly polluted coastal lagoon; its depth has also been greatly diminished by siltation (Amuzu and Biney, 1995; Karikari *et al.*, 1998; Boadi and Kuitunen, 2002; Ansa-Asare *et al.*, 2008). Consequently, the floodwater carrying capacity of the lagoon has been reduced significantly. Following this, flooding is widespread during the rainy season and often results in loss of lives and properties (Amuzu and Biney, 1995; Tipple *et al.*, 1999). The threat to life and property, as well as the rapid deterioration of the lagoon itself, presented compelling and urgent needs for a more sustainable management of the lagoon. Out of these needs, the Korle Lagoon Ecological Restoration Project (KLERP) was conceived, and is being financed by the Government of Ghana, OPEC Fund for International Development, the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa, and the Kuwait Fund for Arab Development (Boadi and Kuitunen, 2002; and Armah, 2007).

KLERP is part of a bigger project called Accra Sustainable Project (ASP), jointly launched in 1994 by the Government of Ghana and the United Nations Centre for Human Settlement (UN-HABITAT). The key aim of the ASP was to strengthen the capacity of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) to effectively manage the varied and complex feedbacks that emanate from the development-environment nexus (Boadi and Kuitunen, 2002). The objective of KLERP was to improve the ecological features of the Korle lagoon. Unfortunately, this project, initiated in March 2000 and originally planned for completion in December 2003, is behind schedule, with varying opinions among stakeholders on the reasons for the delay. However, the project contractor and the AMA attribute the delay to the presence of about 30,000 slum dwellers in a community called **Old Fadama** close to the KLERP project site (Armah, 2007). According to the AMA, the continued presence of the settlers at Old Fadama hinders dredging of the lagoon and this costs Ghana one million USD for every month that the dredging equipment remains idle at the site (Armah, 2007). The settlers are of the opinion that they were not consulted, and therefore did not participate in the design and implementation of the project, hence their initial refusal to vacate (Armah, 2007). In 2003, the AMA won the court case that sought to evict the

settlers. Since then, the AMA has been reluctant in exercising its power to evict these settlers due to the heavy political implications involved in such an action. Northern Ghana, from where most of the settlers originate, is the political nemesis of the government. It is viewed that the government could lose more votes in northern Ghana if this sensitive issue is not handled properly. It is also probable that the action could be misinterpreted as ethnic discrimination.

However, considering the fact that Ghana's per capita GDP is about 2700 USD (Population Reference Bureau, July 2007), it is not very justifiable that the authorities allow the country to incur such huge economic losses due to the holdup of the KLERP; and this definitely has serious implications for the allocation of financial resources to other public services (Kropp *et al.*, 2001).

It is worth mentioning that during the early 1990s, within the framework of Agenda 21, African governments committed themselves to a continent-wide environmental action plan, called National Environmental Action Plans (NEAP), aimed at addressing the imbalance between development and environmental sustainability (Agyemang *et al.*, 2007). The environmental aspirations of Agenda 21 have been re-emphasized by the UN Millennium Development Goal number seven: to '*ensure environmental sustainability by integrating the principles of sustainable development into country policies and reverse the loss of environmental resources*' (Poku *et al.*, 2007:1162). While these global and national environmental commitments are necessary for sustainable development, the current hold up of the KLERP implementation process raises doubts about its sustainability. In spite of the fact that the Korle lagoon was previously viewed as a wetland of international importance (Ntiamoa-Baidu, 1991), it has almost lost its significance because of pollution. Yet efforts at finding solutions to the stagnation of the KLERP still leave much to be desired. It is against this background that this study was carried out to contribute to a solution of the stagnation of the KLERP and to the sustainable management of the lagoon.

Given that lagoon pollution is anthropogenic, the problem must necessarily be analyzed from both the social and natural scientific perspectives. Unfortunately, research on problems of pollution usually draws attention to the latter (O'Riordan, 2004; Grant, 2006). The state of research on the Korle lagoon pollution suffers from the same deficiency. Thus, much research remains to be done on the social facet of the problem, another motivation for the present research work. This study seeks to complement the

knowledge and information created by natural science researchers on the Korle lagoon pollution problem.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

Lack of participation at one or more stages of the environmental policy life cycle¹ could negatively affect the policy goals of a project. Marginalization of stakeholders could lead to conflict which in turn leads to delays in project implementation.

1.3 Main Goal

The aim of this study is to understand the role that local participation plays in the formulation and implementation of water resources management policies. The emphasis is on individuals and groups living in the Old Fadama community and their participation in the KLERP. It is expected that the thesis will contribute to a deeper understanding of the problem with especial focus on the perspective of the Old Fadama community. It is also anticipated that policy makers will use the findings of the study as a learning process that can assist them in the future to achieve better policy design and outcomes.

1.4 Research Questions

To respond to the research problem and the main goal, the following research questions have been formulated to guide the study:

- 1- **Participation roles:** What role have local groups in the Old Fadama Community played and do play currently in the process of formulating and implementing water resources management policies?
- 2- **Impediments to participation:** What are the impediments to their full participation in the policy formulation and implementation process?
- 3- **Impact on water management:** To what extent are the impediments directly or indirectly affecting the management of water resources in the Old Fadama community?
- 4- **Effective arrangements:** Are there more effective arrangements for settling disputes among water resources management stakeholders?

¹ The main stages of Policy Life Cycle include agenda setting, policy formulation, decision making, policy implementation, policy evaluation (Daalen, Dresen and Janssen, 2002)

1.5 Research Strategy

According to Guba and Lincoln (1998), a paradigm encapsulates three components: epistemology, ontology and methodology. The choice of paradigm primarily determines the methodology of any study (Guba and Lincoln, 1998; Hyde, 2000). This section covers the rationale and philosophical assumptions that underpin the thesis as a case study, particularly its ontological, epistemological and methodological leanings. The aim of the thesis is to understand the dynamics of local participation and this is linked to exploring the ‘how’ and the ‘what’ of this social phenomenon (Creswell, 1998; Mauthner and Doucet, 2003; McNeill and Chapman, 2005). According to Ponterotto (2005) and Flyvbjerg (2006), a case study is apt for research focused on the ‘how’ and ‘what’ of a social phenomenon as it is exploratory. This underscores the choice of case study as the strategy to use in the conduct of this research.

The thesis seeks to understand a social phenomenon; thus the research strategy could be qualitative (Chalmers, 2004; Ponterotto 2005). Here, the central theme of the thesis is to achieve deeper insights into the issues at stake from the historical, demographical and social context within which the problem is situated. Hence, the thesis focuses on research as a learning process which can potentially stimulate novel insights (Mauthner et al, 1998; McNeill and Chapman, 2005).

The epistemological paradigm of the thesis is interpretivism since it assumes that the meaning of social action is necessarily subjective (Bryman 2004; Yin 2003; McNeill and Chapman, 2005). This is particularly the case because the pollution problem is multi-dimensional such that different actors and stakeholders see it differently based on their social context and their relationship to it (Kvale, 1995; Heylighen *et al*, 2006). The ontological orientation of the thesis is constructionism since it recognizes that the author will eventually present a particular and therefore incomplete version of social reality (Bryman 2004; Flyvbjerg, 2006).

1.6 Thesis Outline

Following chapter one, **Chapter two** looks at the materials and methods. It deals with the study area, collection and analysis of empirical material. **Chapter three** presents the results and attempts to answer the research questions of the study. **Chapter four** involves the discussion. Implications of the findings for policy will be discussed based on the literature. **Chapter five** concludes the thesis with recommendations.

Definition of some terms used in this paper: ‘sustainability’² consists of three key dimensions: environmental, economic, and social (institutional, political). ‘Local’ refers to the lowest level of government administration within the framework of decentralization. ‘Participation’ refers to the contribution of all the resource stakeholders from the beginning of the research process and the improvement of local capacity in order that management decisions are entrenched in consensus and evenhanded resource use (Grimble and Wellard, 1997).

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This section is a review of the literature to put the issues of policy and governance, and participation and empowerment into perspective. It gives a brief overview of the theories surrounding these issues.

1.7.1 Policy and Governance

Policy formulation does not only involve one form of decision making or another but it is also central to governance (Lotz-Sisitka and Burt, 2006). In the past, policy formulation and subsequent implementation followed an objectivist, reductionist and top-down approach (Castelletti and Soncini-Sessa, 2006; Giordano *et al.*, 2007). Facts were gathered and this formed the basis of decision making in the process of finding solutions to problems associated with the human-environment nexus or any other policy area under regulation. This approach to policy making is what Ostrom (2000), described as ‘the danger of self-evident truths’. Ostrom (1999) further argues that the objectivist approach lured people into thinking that common sense alone informs their understanding of human-environment problems. Therefore it was only logical that a panacea³ was proffered to address all the ills arising from human-environment interactions (Ostrom *et al.*, 2007). Over time, however, most of the policy prescriptions that emanated from this approach failed; a situation which epitomizes our limited understanding of the feed backs that emanate from human-environment interactions (Liu *et al.*, 2007). The failure of the prescriptions is what gave rise to the need for alternative mechanisms to deal with the situation, and we can evaluate alternatives according to their capacity to stimulate decision making that

² The potential prolonged existence of human-ecological support systems and the structures on which they depend (Liu *et al.*, 2007)

³ In the context of governance of human-environment interactions, a panacea refers to a blue print for a single type of governance system such as government ownership, privatization, community property, that is applied to all environmental problems (Ostrom *et al.*, 2007). It is a sort of one-size-fits-all prescription which is inconsiderate of social context or temporal perspectives.

engenders better policy outcomes. Gibson (2005) reiterates the fact that in evaluation it is essential to focus on how individuals make choices and on how humanly established institutions constrain choice.

1.7.2 Participation and Empowerment

The number of alternatives to top-down governance is myriad; however, participation of stakeholders in all stages of the policy cycle (agenda setting, policy formulation, decision making, policy implementation, policy evaluation)-appears to have gained widespread approval (Giordano *et al.*, 2007). Participation is a process which captures both expert and lay knowledge in environmental management (Simon-Vandenberg, 2007). Although many shades of participation exist⁴, it is significant to note that all forms embrace one kind of stakeholder involvement or another. Here, the critical question is which kind of stakeholder participation is appropriate for a particular setting and what level of intensity is deemed sustainable (Fraser *et al.*, 2006).

Several researchers argue for example that empowerment of stakeholders through participation can improve the environmental management process (Murdock, 2005; Simonovic and Akter, 2006; Giordano *et al.*, 2007; Prager and Nagel, 2008). Another school of thought questions this assertion and posits that participation is not necessarily an improvement on the original top-down governance approach (Rowe and Frewer, 2004; Lizarralde and Massyn, 2008). Participation requires consensus-building, negotiation, conflict resolution, trade-offs and holistic thinking and these issues are frequently time consuming and expensive, irrespective of the scale (Giordano *et al.*, 2007). The opposing views in the on-going debate imply that there is the need to look at the issues at stake from the arena of complexity since either way, a mere reversal of governance approach seems to be insufficient to tackle multi-dimensional problems.

In the case of the KLERP, participation by the Old Fadama community is not an end. Rather, it is instrumental in the sense that it is a means to an end (Roberts, 2004). Here, the end or goal is behavioural change on the part of the stakeholders. It is however simplistic to assume that information access through participation will necessarily translate into behavioural change. Regardless of one's position on the matter, it seems evident that a certain gauge for evaluation is necessary to inform the

⁴ Participation : as 'consultation, as decision making, as partnerships for implementation, as capacity building, as expressing a need, as covering bases, as ownership, and as a mechanism of decentralization' (Lotz-Sisitka and Burt,2006:70-82)

stand an individual takes on the success or failure of the participatory process. According to Murdock (2005), any kind of evaluation has to capture either the process goals or the outcome goals. For instance, in relation to the participatory process, process goals reflect social learning and eventual relocation of residents, while outcome goals reflect the restoration of the lagoon to a better hydrological condition. An evaluation which focuses on process goals may consider the participatory exercise successful if the socio-economic inequality gap is bridged. At the same time, an evaluation which focuses on outcome goals may see the exercise as unsuccessful because the ecological condition of the lagoon may not have necessarily improved. In either case, the conclusion is subjective because it hinges on the values of the individual conducting the evaluation.

According to Rahnema (1992), participation as an ideology traces its roots to third world development. Owing to the failure of development projects in the 1950s and 1960s, social workers and field activists began to call for the inclusion of populations concerned with development in project design and implementation (Rahnema, 1992). The notion then was that such projects were unsuccessful because local populations were left out of the decision making process; a state of affairs that tended to perpetuate social inequality. Hence participation was proposed as a mechanism to promote equality through inclusion (empowerment). Interestingly, although participation was projected to address inequality, the literature is replete with cases where it instead perpetuated inequality (Lotz-Sisitka and Burt, 2006; Lizarralde and Massyn, 2008).

Central to the process of participation is the issue of mediation, which involves a discursive and spontaneous connection between the law and democracy (Lotz-Sisitka and Burt, 2006). Lately, Habermas's concept of discursive democracy within which participation resides, is becoming the normal practice in the management of water resources (Palerm, 2000). The theory of discursive democracy transcends communicative action as it encapsulates a theory of law and democratic institutionalization (Lotz-Sisitka and Burt, 2006). The theory considers *'democracy as not being ingrained in civic society or popular sovereignty, but in the structures of communication, for which Habermas takes for granted the prospect of consensus and argumentative discourse'* (Lotz-Sisitka and Burt, 2006:20). In discursive democracy, equal access to the discursive platform is a fundamental assumption. However, Palerm (2000) argues that this assumption in reality may not always be the case. For instance in Ghana, the history of participation shows that this is not the case (Botchway, 2001);

therefore, effective monitoring of the participatory process is necessary to ensure equal access to the discursive terrain.

Delanty (1997) argues that Habermas perceives popular or representative democracy as inadequate in capturing complications in modern plural societies. In the same vein, it is also argued that popular democracy fails to *'take account of the existence of multi-cultural pluralism, which challenges both the notion of unity of the civic community and the appeal to legitimacy on the basis of popular sovereignty'* (Lotz-Sisitka and Burt, 2006:19). These shortcomings of popular democracy underpin Habermas's proposal of the theory of discursive democracy of participation. The theory is significant for a number of reasons. First, it recognizes the reality of multi-cultural value systems. Next, it takes into account the problem of complication in modern societies. Finally, it identifies the question of law and institutionalization (Palerm, 2000; Lotz-Sisitka and Burt, 2006). In essence therefore, the theory of discursive democracy of participation takes into account both *agency (of individuals to make decisions) and structure (the establishment of new institutions through participatory practice)* (Lotz-Sisitka and Burt, 2006:20).

2. Materials and Methods

2.1 Study Area⁵

The Korle lagoon is a coastal wetland that joins the Gulf of Guinea at a point near Korle Gonno; a suburb of Accra (Grant, 2006). Serving as the major floodwater conduit for the AMA, the lagoon is estimated to drain a total catchment area of 400 km² (Karikari et al, 1998:2). The major hydrological input includes the Odaw River, two huge drains that border the lagoon, and rainfall (including runoff). A mixture of land uses characterizes the areas adjacent to the lagoon as shown in Figure 1 (Boadi and Kuitunen, 2002: 302). The entire settlements around the lagoon have been classified as 4th class residential areas⁶ by the AMA (Grant, 2006; and Armah, 2007).

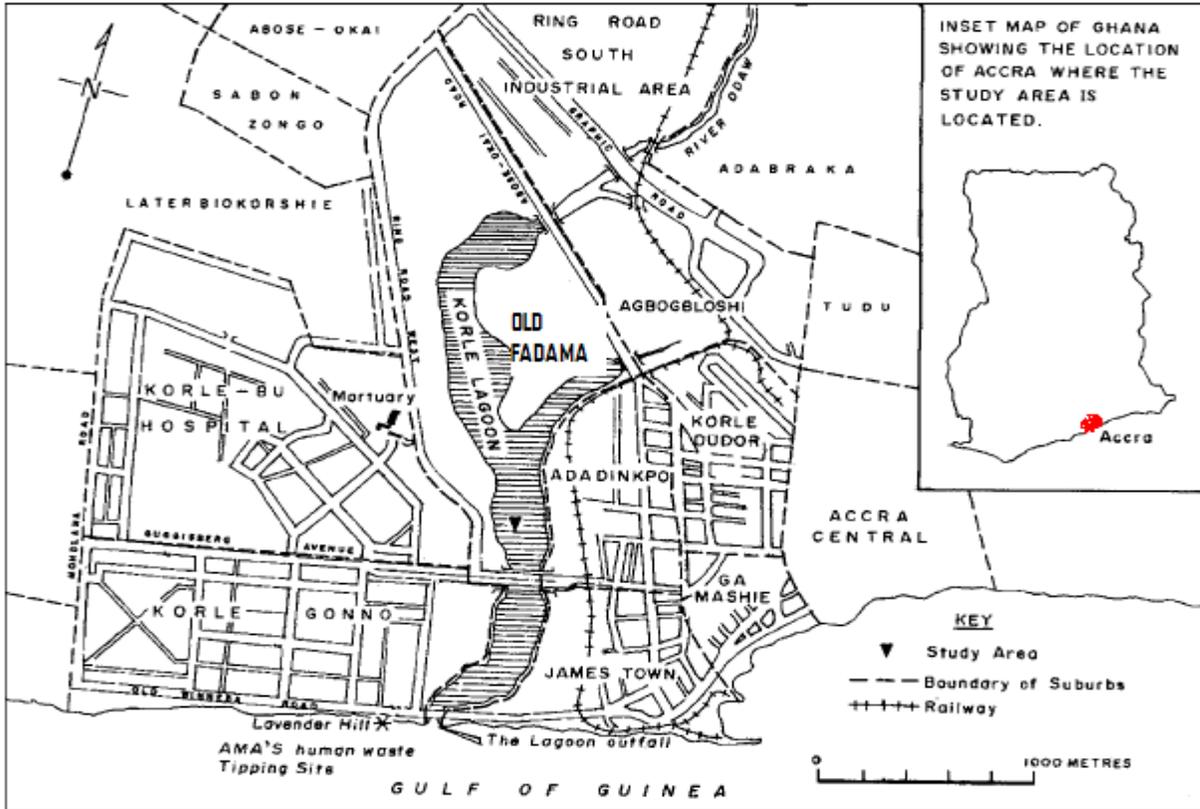


Figure 1: Map of study area and its environs (source: Boadi and Kuitunen, 2002)

⁵ Pictures of Old Fadama and the Korle lagoon are given in Appendices 1 and 2 respectively.

⁶ Class four settlements refer to peripheral settlements with population density of 250 persons per hectare and income levels of up to 350 USD per annum.

2.2 Data

2.2.1 Data Collection

Both primary and secondary data were collected in this study. Primary data comprised of interviews⁷ with the various stakeholders as well as direct observations and surveys in the Old Fadama community. Subsequent to reviewing the literature, the researcher also accessed published and unpublished reports from the NGOs and Government agencies to complement the primary data collected. Both primary and secondary data collected as part of the study will form the basis of the analysis in the thesis.

A number of respondents in the Old Fadama community were interviewed in order to explore how they understand the pollution problem and its relationship to the KLERP from their own perspective. The unit of analysis is individual resident members of the community. The goal of the interview was geared towards gathering qualitative data which captures maximum variation in the responses rather than quantitative information (Sandelowski, 1995; Yin, 2003; Bryman, 2004; and Kvale, 2006). In pursuit of this goal, the principle of informational redundancy or theoretical saturation was used to determine the scope of the survey in terms of the number of respondents that needed to be sampled (Sandelowski, 1995). This means that I continued with the survey of individuals in the Old Fadama community until there was no further emergence of new information. However, the challenge was to ensure that the number of respondents was adequate enough to reflect a wide array of perspectives on the pollution problem and the role of the community in the KLERP decision-making and implementation process.

In all, forty individuals consisting of 28 males and 12 females from the community were involved in the survey. Forty are too few respondents to enable statistical generalizations; however, the aim of the inquiry was to understand the participatory process. For this purpose, there were enough respondents. A number of opinion leaders in the Old Fadama community were also interviewed as part of the survey. The interviews were carried out in English, Twi and the local languages spoken in the community. In respect of the local languages, some of the opinion leaders served as interpreters. In the conversation between the researcher and the interpreter and vice versa as well as between the interviewee or respondent and the interpreter, data could be lost during the translation process (Yin,

⁷ Questionnaires administered in the community survey and interviews of various stakeholders are given in Appendix 4

2003). However, since the researcher has a fair knowledge of the languages spoken in the community, this error was reduced a bit but not entirely.

The community is heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity. Some of the tribes living in the community include Dagombas, Basares, Gonjas and Konkombas. It is therefore not uncommon to expect differences in culture, ethnic prejudices, power struggle, inequity and marginalized groups (Kacowicz, 1997; McGhee, 2003). The research was all inclusive and thus, did not focus on any of the tribes.

In order to enjoy cooperation from community members, the African Cup of Nations which was scheduled to commence in Accra during the time of the field study was used as a bait to elicit answers from respondents. However, the bait also brought in its wake a challenge to me because it became necessary to filter the vast amounts of information obtained from respondents in order to separate the relevant from the irrelevant.

Doing field studies in the community was challenging particularly when members are low income earners who had high expectations from me to solve their problems. Most of the opinion leaders in the community wanted to ascertain how this study will necessarily have a positive impact on the quality of their livelihoods. According to the opinion leaders, they posed these questions against the backdrop that similar previous studies had failed to significantly improve their living conditions.

All the respondents chosen for study in the Old Fadama community were 18 years or older: those who can make decisions about relocating on their own with little or no parental influence. Most of them live on their own and their decision-making is largely independent of parental influence. The demographics of respondents are as follows: half of all respondents were 18-25 years, 25% were 26-33 years, and 20% were 34-40 years. Only 5% were older than 40 years. This age structure and distribution of the respondents probably reflects the sources of livelihood in the community that predominantly demand physical exertion. The male to female proportion of the respondents was 7: 3. This may be a result of the fact that males were more willing to volunteer as respondents. This behaviour was expected because in most Ghanaian cultures and households, males have the final say when it comes to making decisions (Carr, 2005; Campbell, 2005; Tolhurst and Nyonator, 2006).

Although all respondents resided in the community, 20% worked outside the community at distances of up to 20km away. Married respondents represent 75% of the sample and unmarried, 25% . All but one

of the unmarried individuals indicated that they had no children. The number of children for married couples ranged between 0 and 9; the average number of children for all survey respondents is approximately 4. 50% of respondents have lived in the community for between 2-5 years while 40% have lived there for over 5 years. 5% of respondents have lived in the community for less than one year and another 5% have lived there for between 1-2 years. Although the research focused on residents, almost 50% of all individuals I contacted in the community indicated that they were non-residents but earned a living in the community. Such individuals were therefore disqualified as survey respondents.

Respondents were engaged in 13 types of occupation including predominantly trading, and scrap metal dealing. Others include porter, carpentry, bartending, catering, video house operator, secretary, factory worker, fashion designer, chemist, steel bending and Muslim priest. Except for one factory worker and one porter all the respondents earned a living in the community. Interestingly, each of the respondents was involved in only one occupation, a situation which shows that they had little livelihood diversification.

During the field work, I was able to track down initially unknown stakeholders who are active in the community, by obtaining help from known stakeholders. This mechanism of tracking down unknown but active stakeholders is identical to the snowball technique (Jandeska and Kraimer, 2005). The mechanism was both unexpected and incidental.

Apart from the community, I also carried out semi-structured interviews of two officials each from COHRE, CEPIL, AMA, PD, UN-HABITAT and the Project Contractors. The interview questions were open-ended in order to minimize the use of leading questions (Yin, 2003). This form of interview allowed me to contact most of the interviewees on two or more occasions to seek clarification on issues and questions arising from previous interviews. The goal was to ensure that the process is reflexive and iterative (Mauthner et al, 1998). Here, reflexivity is essential to hinder previous knowledge from misrepresenting my perceptions of the data (McGhee *et al.*, 2007). Except for the AMA officials, who were interviewed in English and Ga, all other stakeholder groups were interviewed in English.

The researcher encountered much administrative red tape in the government agencies within which the study was carried out especially the ministries and departments. It was mandatory that the Ministry of Water Resources, Works & Housing, which has oversight responsibility over the project approved the study before interviews at the project site could be granted. This may not be a sustainable practice

particularly when it comes to stakeholder participation: such practice is cumbersome and counter-productive leading to unnecessary delays. Bureaucracy does not only serve to exacerbate this delay, but it also has the potential to compromise autonomy and transparency in decentralized government agencies. More importantly, the practice has a danger of preventing research that is critical.

2.2.2 Data Analysis

2.2.2.1 Causal Loop Diagram

Water resource management problems are not only very complex, but they also manifest themselves at different spatial scales (Sendzimir et al., 2007; Liu et al., 2007). Capturing the space and time dimensions of problems of this nature, calls for tools such as systems analysis which have the capacity to analyze such complex problems across different spatial-temporal scales (Haraldsson and Olafsdottir, 2003; Pidd, 2003). The choice of systems analysis emanates from my quest to understand the overall dynamics of the pollution problem by considering the lagoon, the Old Fadama community and various stakeholders as one system of interacting parts over time and space as shown in the conceptual model (Figure 2).

A systems analysis tool namely Causal Loop Diagram (CLD) is used to further detail the four sub-systems that form the conceptual model. The CLD is used to diagnose cause-effect relations within the system. Figure 3, Figure 4, Figure 5 and Figure 6 feature each of the sub-systems⁸ of the conceptual model. The CLDs were basically developed from concepts in the literature and field studies.

⁸ In each sub-system, a plus sign designates identical direction; that is a decrease leads to a decrease or an increase leads to an increase (Haraldsson and Olafsdottir, 2003). A minus sign designates opposed direction; that is a decrease leads to an increase and vice versa. All arrows linking any two variables (the antecedent and consequent) in each of the four sub-systems indicate causality (Haraldsson and Olafsdottir, 2003). The arrows are valid only under 'ceteris paribus-all others being equal' (Pidd, 2003). R means Reinforcing as depicts a feedback that amplifies a condition while B depicts a feedback that dampens a condition (Haraldsson and Olafsdottir, 2003). The CLDs have limitations for a number of reasons, two of which are prominent: it is an abstraction of reality and thus does not comprehensively reflect all the complex interactions and feedbacks in nature-society nexus. Secondly, some of the variables used in the CLDs are uncertain, qualitative and subjective.

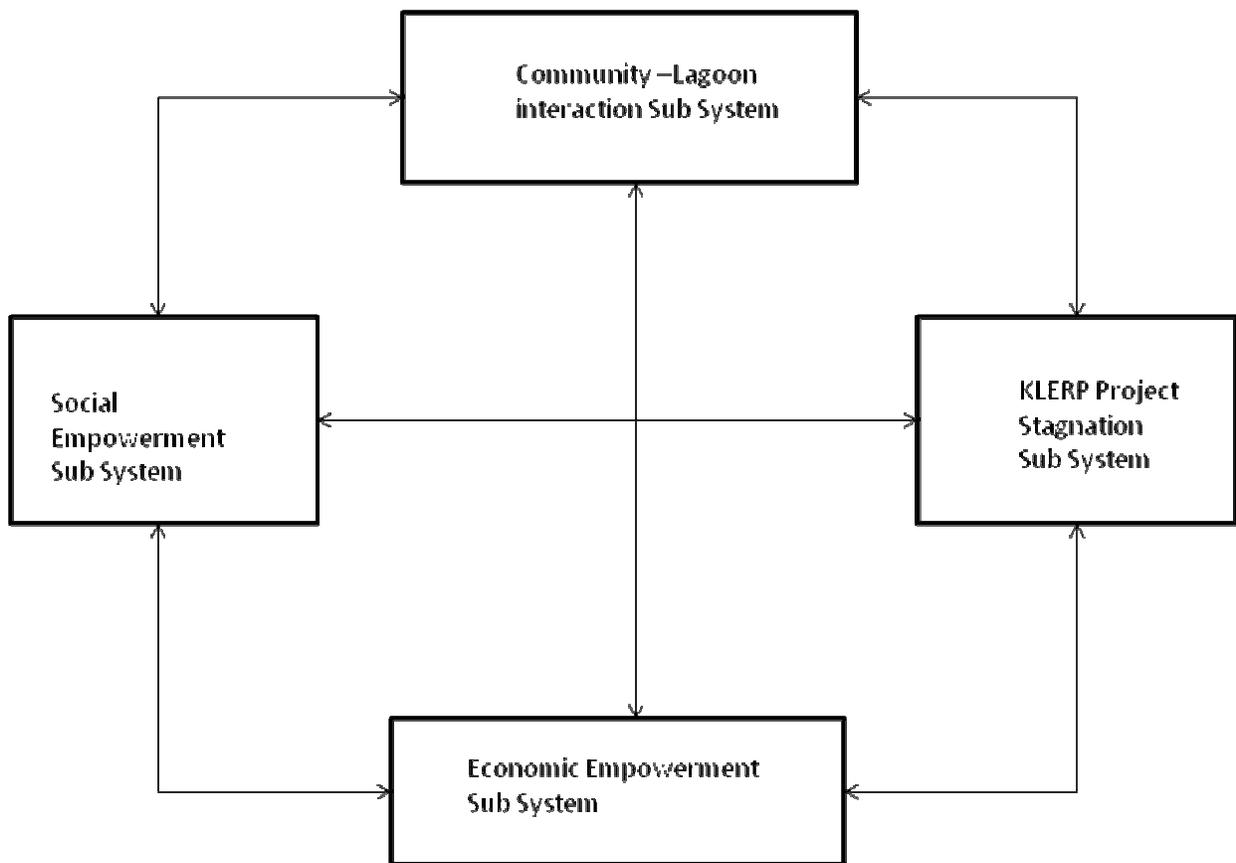


Figure 2: Conceptual Model of the Lagoon-Community-Stakeholders System

Figure 2 considers the lagoon, the community and various stakeholders as one system of interacting parts in time and in space. In time, the sequence of events is as follows: community-lagoon interaction leading to pollution and subsequent lagoon remediation (KLERP), and KLERP project stagnation. This is followed simultaneously by social empowerment and economic empowerment.

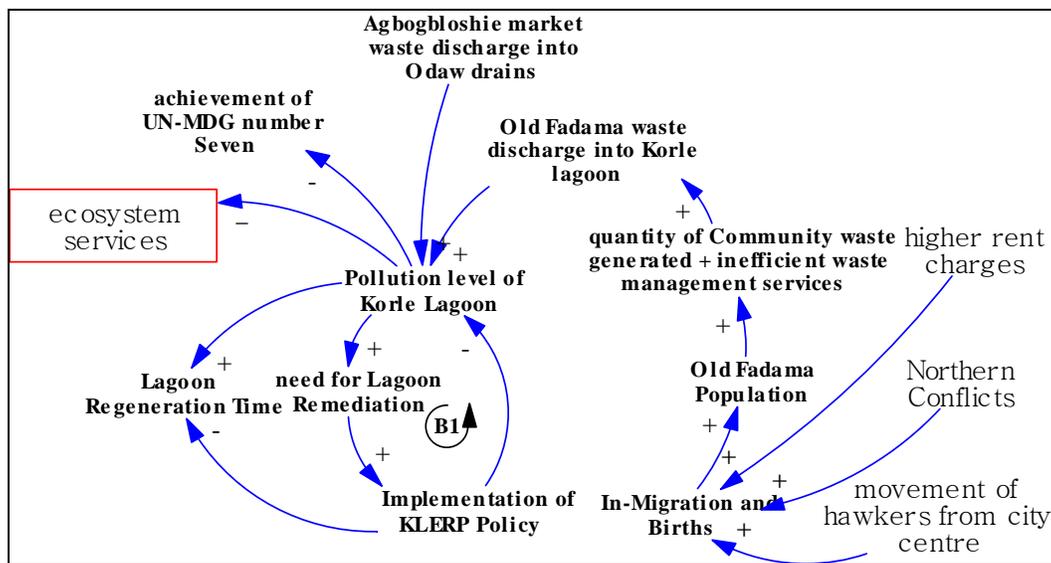


Figure 3: CLD of Lagoon-Community interaction subsystem

In Figure 3, three factors drive In-Migration to Old Fadama. First, the State Housing Corporation which provided low cost accommodation to low income earners collapsed due to bankruptcy (Tipple & Korboe, 1998; Yeboah, 2003). This took place at the national level. Consequently, individuals who could not afford alternative but higher cost of accommodation were compelled to move to fringe settlements such as Old Fadama where accommodation was cheaper (Appiahene-Gyamfi, 2003). This took place at the local level. Second, the northern conflicts of the early 1990s caused individuals to migrate south, particularly to Accra for shelter and employment opportunities (Boadi *et al.*, 2005). Most of these conflict-displaced individuals settled in Old Fadama, pushing its frontiers further towards the lagoon (Grant, 2006). Third, during the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) conference in Accra in 1992 local authorities compelled hawkers to move from the city centre and central business district and most of them eventually settled in the Old Fadama community (COHRE, 2004). It is very significant to note that these three drivers or events occurred between the formulation phase (1990) and implementation phase (2000) of the KLERP policy. The first and second drivers may be considered as distant drivers since the time lag between their occurrence and the emergence of community is long while the third driver is immediate because its occurrence directly resulted in an increase in the population of the Old Fadama community. The three drivers lead to an increase in the population of Old Fadama which in turn leads to more waste generation. Waste generation coupled with inefficient waste management services in the community means the waste is directly dumped into the lagoon. This

state of affairs is exacerbated by waste discharge into the Odaw drains, which ends up in the lagoon. Consequently, pollution levels of the lagoon rise, and thereby limit the ecosystem services the lagoon provides, a situation that threatens the achievement of Millennium Development Goal number seven. Over time, the value of the lagoon as a human-ecological support system diminishes. Although the critical question is at what pollution level or threshold does the government decide to remediate the lagoon, the fundamental fact is that high levels of pollution creates a need for lagoon remediation. Subject to the availability of funds, the KLERP policy is implemented to bring the pollution levels down (B1). Postponement of remediation worsens the state of the lagoon and further extends the regeneration time of the lagoon.

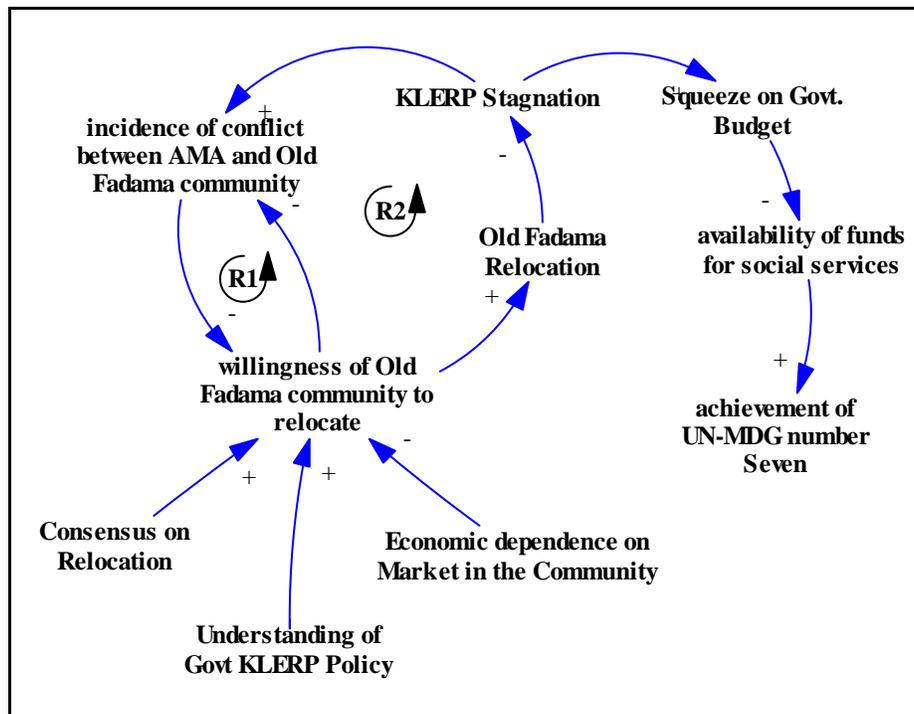


Figure 4: CLD of the KLERP Project stagnation subsystem

In Figure 4, three factors drive the willingness of the community to relocate: consensus on relocation which comes through negotiations and dialogue with government, understanding of KLERP policy which comes through social learning during the process of participation, and economic dependence on community market. Economic dependence on local market in the area appears to be the predominant driver of the willingness of the community to relocate. Most community members owe their income, livelihoods and survival entirely to the market as they have little or no income diversification.

Willingness of the community to relocate reduces the incidence of conflict between the AMA and the community (R1), and also potentially reduces delays in the implementation of KLERP (R2). This situation helps government to save money for allocation to other social services in order to enhance the achievement MDG Seven. The preceding statement is premised both on the assumption that government prioritizes social services and that there is little misappropriation of funds.

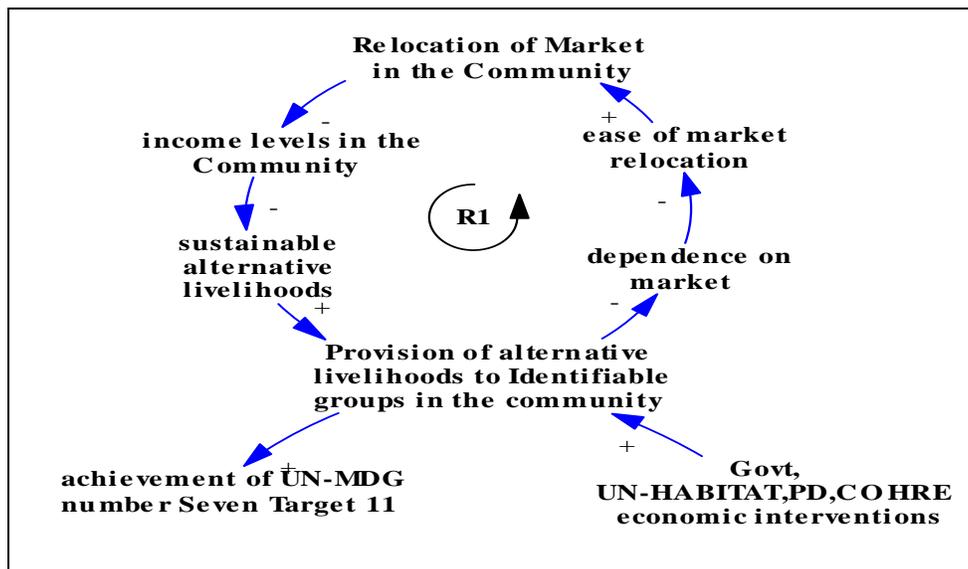


Figure 5: CLD of Economic Empowerment Subsystem

While Figure 3 and Figure 4 deal more with the precursors of stakeholder participation, Figure 5 and Figure 6 deal with the economic empowerment and social empowerment components of stakeholder participation, respectively.

In Figure 5, civil society and government interventions in the community such as micro-credit schemes provides alternative livelihoods to individuals and groups. This reduces the dependence of individuals on the local market and makes it easier to relocate the market. Relocation of market leads to loss of market-dependent income to individuals in the community but more sustainable alternative livelihoods through the initiatives of civil society and government (R1). This enhances the achievement of MDG seven.

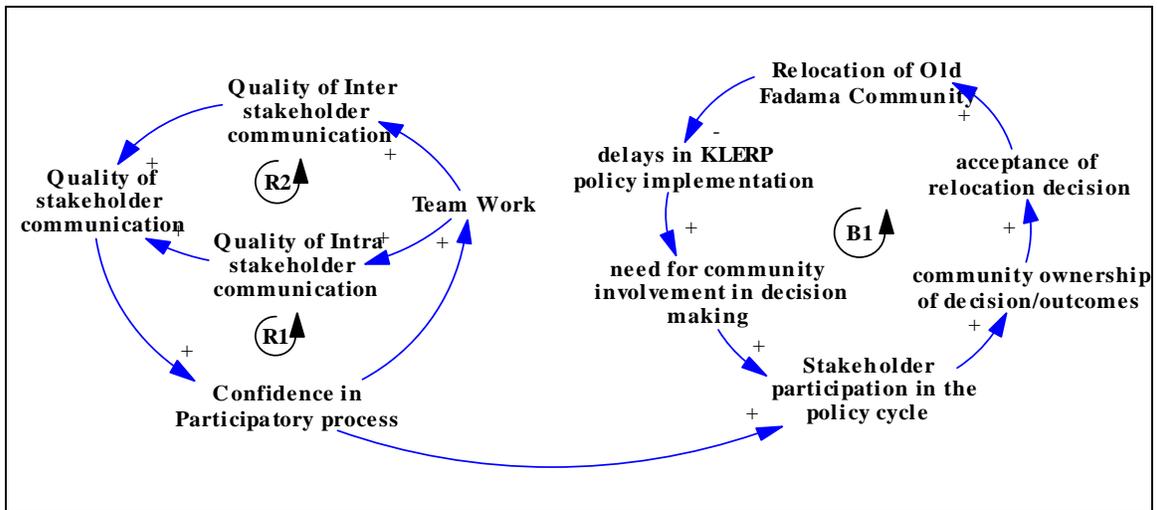


Figure 6: CLD of Social Empowerment Subsystem

In Figure 6, the quality of stakeholder communication depends on the quality of inter stakeholder group communication (AMA-community, among civil society, AMA-civil society) and the quality of intra stakeholder group communication (within the community and within each organization). Inter stakeholder and intra stakeholder group communication are both central to building confidence in the participatory process (R1) and (R2). The confidence that is built encourages more stakeholder participation in the policy cycle which in turn enhances ownership and acceptance of decision outcomes of the participatory process, a situation which potentially could forestall delays in KLERP policy implementation (B1). When there is no delay in KLERP policy implementation it makes it less necessary for community involvement in decision making. This leads to less stakeholder participation in the policy cycle.

Achieving higher quality intra stakeholder group communication is easier for the NGOs because their institutional structure is homogeneous. Although individuals in the NGO may have divergent views on various issues, the common goal of the NGO overrides all individual positions on the issues. However, for the community, this may not be the case. It is more difficult to communicate when the community is heterogeneous or multi-ethnic. The quality of inter NGO communication and NGO-community communication is unlike the quality of AMA-community communication. This appears to be the result of the spatial scale on which the AMA is operating. While community and the NGOs operate from the same spatial scale (local level), the AMA operates from higher spatial scale (metropolitan level).

2.2.2.2 Stakeholder Analysis

Within the context of this thesis, stakeholder analysis was used as a preliminary tool for scoping the relevant interests and perspectives that needed to be sampled during the field studies. The scoping was done in a back and forth manner between the literature and empirical material. Stakeholder analysis is recognized as a potent tool for analyzing and formulating policy because it has the capacity to assess the impact and consequences of policy on different groups in society (Grimble and Wellard, 1997; Edelenbos and Klijn, 2005). There are various ways of mapping the interests, importance and influence of stakeholders (Grimble and Wellard, 1997). Within the context of this paper stakeholders will be analyzed based on the classification scheme proposed by the International Centre for development-oriented Research in Agriculture (ICRA, 2005), as shown in table 1.

Key stakeholders refer to actors who are considered to have significant influence on the success or otherwise of the project. *Primary stakeholders* are the intended beneficiaries of the project; *secondary stakeholders* serve as intermediaries within the project. *Active stakeholders* are determinants of decision making; *passive stakeholders* are only affected by the decisions of others. This section further analyzes stakeholders using the matrix of *local influence* and *importance* (Grimble and Wellard, 1997) shown in Figure 7. *Importance* considers groups whose interests and needs the intervention strategy seeks to address while *influence* reflects the power certain stakeholders wield over the success of the project. Table 1 reflects the fundamental interest the various stakeholders have in the lagoon and the KLERP, whereas Figure 7 shows the dynamics of power at the local level in terms of the intervention strategies being implemented in the Old Fadama community. There are many stakeholders⁹ involved in finding lasting solutions to the problem of the Korle lagoon pollution, a fact that goes far in explaining that it may be a wicked problem (Mackenzie et al., 2006; Weber and Khademian, 2008).

⁹ A more comprehensive description of the various stakeholders is given in Appendix 3

Table 1: Fundamental interests of stakeholders in the Korle Lagoon and in the KLERP Project

| Stakeholder | Characteristics | Resource Use | Interest |
|---|---------------------------|--|---|
| Old Fadama community | Primary but passive | Disposal of waste into lagoon, water withdrawal and mitigation of flooding | Economic benefits; do not pay for waste management services |
| Agbogbloshie market traders | Primary but passive | Use of land near Odaw drains | Economic benefits from continued trading |
| Accra Metropolitan Authority(AMA) | Key, secondary and active | - | Resource Governance and Ecological health of the lagoon |
| Environmental Protection Agency | Key, secondary and active | - | Environmental health of the lagoon |
| Gbese and Korle Dudor Clans | Key, secondary and active | Cultural use of the lagoon | Sustenance of the cultural practice, history and beliefs associated with the lagoon |
| Dredging International (DI) | Key and secondary | - | Environmental Restoration of the lagoon. |
| Ministry of Tourism and Diaspora Relations (MTDR) | Key but primary | Development of leisure facilities around lagoon | Business/economic benefits, maintenance of the environmental/landscape aesthetics of the lagoon |
| Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Environment | Key, secondary and active | - | Resource Governance and Ecological health of the lagoon |
| Ministry of Water Resources, Works Housing (MWRWH) | Key, secondary and active | - | The Ecological restoration of the lagoon. |
| Centre for Housing Rights and Eviction (COHRE) | Key, secondary and active | - | Dialogue and participatory approach to resolve conflict between AMA and Old Fadama community |
| Centre for Public Interest Law (CEPIL) | Key, secondary and active | - | Legal representation of Old Fadama community in Court |
| Peoples Dialogue on Human Settlement(PD) | Key, secondary and active | - | Economic and Social empowerment of Community |
| UN-HABITAT | Secondary but key | - | Economic empowerment of Community |

| | | |
|----------------------|---|---|
| High Importance ↑ | Old Fadama Community (Women and Children) Gbese and Korle Dudor Clans | AMA PD COHRE CEPIL MTDR |
| ↓ Low Importance | Environmental Protection Agency | MLGRDE MWRWH DI UN-HABITAT GHANA GOVERNMENT |
| | Low Influence → High Influence | |

Figure 7: Stakeholders Matrix based on importance and influence at the local level

For instance in Figure 7, the Gbese and Korle Dudor Clans are the traditional custodians of the lagoon and its surrounding areas and thus they stand to benefit if the lagoon is remediated. In the same vein, the Old Fadama community is the beneficiary of the intervention strategies at the local level. In both cases, however, they lack the power to determine the success or otherwise of the relocation. Hence, they are in the domain of high importance but low influence. The Environmental Protection Agency is in the low influence and low importance domain because it does not benefit from intervention strategies in the community nor does it have power to determine the success of the KLERP. The MLGRDE, MWRWH, DI and UN-HABITAT have power to determine the success of the KLERP, but they are not the focus of the intervention strategies in the community; hence their high influence but low importance. The AMA, PD, COHRE, CEPIL and MTDR have high influence and high importance because they initiated the intervention strategies and have power to determine its success. Their power is derived from the decision making process which is projected through dialogue with Government, a situation which has culminated in a major shift in Government policy.

3. Results

The results are presented in two sections. In the first section referred to as internal, the results of the study as obtained by the researcher from the community and from the different stakeholders are presented. This section mainly pertains to the original research questions of the study. The second section referred to as external deals with a number of unexpected issues that emerged from direct observations in the community and from a critical examination of the participatory process by the researcher. The significance of the issues in the second section lays in the fact that not only does it characterize the participatory process but also it could potentially determine the sustainability and success of relocation in particular, and the participatory process in the Old Fadama community at large.

3.1 Internal

3.1.1 The perspective of the Contractor

The contractor¹⁰ was asked a number of questions relating to the level of communication between them and the community, main hindrances to project completion and the extent to which it has impeded management of the lagoon, the associated environmental, and socio-economic costs, and what in their view can be done to solve the problem. The contractor¹¹ indicated that the community's stay at the project site has impeded the progress of work such that it lags behind schedule by four years. They also reiterated that this fact constitutes the main hindrance to project completion (Figure 4 in section 2.2.2.1). The contractor and government have had to spend more on the project due to this impediment. Hence they strongly agree that it is necessary to relocate the Old Fadama settlers in order to facilitate project completion (Figure 4 in section 2.2.2.1). They further stated that the level of communication between the community and the contractor is satisfactory.

A mention was made by the contractor to the effect that most of the members of the community do not understand the significance of the project; and suggested community education on the importance of the project. However, they had no ideas on the mechanism by which the education should take place and on the issue of which institution should be mandated to engage the community in pursuit of this

¹⁰ Dredging International NV (DI), which is a member of Dredging Environmental and Marine Engineering (DEME) group, is the contractor executing the KLERP.

¹¹ Interviews with two officials of the communications department of Dredging International NV on 18th January, 2008

goal. Should relocation be successful the contractor anticipates completing the project in less than one year. Conversely, the project completion could extend beyond five years if the settlers remain at the project site.

3.1.2 Community Perception about the KLERP

Ninety-five percent of the respondents had heard about the KLERP during the pre- construction phase or in the course of construction. The main channel through which they received the information about the KLERP was through social contacts, particularly friends. Ten percent mentioned that they had the information via the electronic media mainly on radio. Interestingly, while 90% of the respondents strongly disagreed that living close to the lagoon has caused a delay in completion of the KLERP, the other 10% indicated that they agree with this assertion. There were mixed responses on whether the KLERP is a necessary and important project. While a few respondents indicated that they strongly agree about the importance of the project, the majority strongly disagreed. Most of the respondents who indicated that the project is important and necessary, are artisans and tradesmen. Some of these artisans further indicated that in the past, they had even applied for employment from the contractors. It is, however, unclear whether the importance the artisans and tradesmen ascribed to the project stems from the employment they hoped to secure in the course of the construction of the project. In any case there appears to be an element of self-interest in the answers the artisans and tradesmen gave. According to Watson and Sheikh (2008), self-interest has been regarded as one of humanity's most fundamental motivations. Could there be a correlation of attitude and profession?

3.1.3 What role have local groups in the Old Fadama community played in policy formulation and implementation in the past?

3.1.3.1 The Old Fadama community

All respondents indicated that the AMA previously did not send its representatives to Old Fadama community meetings, nor did the AMA give the community the opportunity to be represented on the assembly. Hence, in the past they played no role in policy formulation and implementation. According to Farrelly, 2005 such a situation portrays a lack of appreciation of what local groups could proffer. Since the metropolitan assembly is the platform on which decision making at the local level takes place, it means that the community was deprived of its contribution to policy formulation and implementation due to lack of representation. The respondents however agreed that

they have participated in discussions and meetings to express their opinion about the KLERP; but this participation was mainly restricted to their own internal community initiatives.

Five percent of the respondents mentioned that they have voted in past presidential and parliamentary elections in the Korle Workon Electoral Area (KWEA), which is nearest to the settlement. This group of respondents argued that since the KWEA has a representative on the assembly and they have voted in the same electoral area, then they take it for granted that they have representation. However, they were of the view that the assembly man responsible for the KWEA, who incidentally had died a few weeks back, was inefficient because he never communicated with them. It is worth mentioning that the assembly man's official mandate does not extend to the settlement, hence his inability to interact with the Old Fadama community.

COHRE¹² believes that inadequate consultation and non involvement of the community in the decision-making process could account for the delay in completing the KLERP and also that, a more comprehensive participation of stakeholders is necessary to stimulate project completion. **Incidentally, all respondents were of the opinion that their initial refusal to vacate (antagonism and conflict) was tied to their non involvement in the policy cycle. Hence it appears that exclusion additionally hampers implementation, in the manner identified by Fraser et al. (2006) and Edelenbos and Klijn (2005) whereby marginalization of stakeholders can lead to conflict and antagonism.** Respondents further stated that it is necessary for the AMA to involve them in the implementation process of the KLERP.

3.1.3.2 The AMA on the question of Law and Institutionalization

The AMA revealed that the 30,000 inhabitants in the community have no representation on the assembly for the reason that only formal residential areas are granted this right, thus there are no polling centres in the community. According to the AMA, establishing polling centres in a location not officially designated as residential will not only strengthen the resolve of the people to remain in the area but it also has the potential to legitimize an illegality.

¹² Interview with Sylvia Noagbesenu, Women and Housing rights programme officer, Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) on 21st January, 2008

3.1.4 What role are local groups in the Old Fadama community currently playing in policy formulation and implementation?

3.1.4.1 The Old Fadama community

Since January 2007, the community plays an increasingly important role in shaping the policy in the area through the participatory initiatives of civil society groups in the community. The community has direct representatives on the team that negotiates with the AMA. It is important to state that the community representatives are not part of the assembly but are members from the community. The participatory process initiated by PD and COHRE in the community has two main components: **economic empowerment through micro-credit schemes** (Figure 5 in section 2.2.2.1), and **social empowerment through dialogue with government** (Figure 6 in section 2.2.2.1). The empowerment of the community by these organizations is premised on the recognition that the community is dis-empowered¹³. The process of dialogue, although time-consuming, has yielded significant results because it has been decided that the settlers are to be relocated instead of the original proposed eviction by the AMA. Through negotiation under a one-year period all stakeholders have now reached a fundamental understanding that the continued stay of the community within the vicinity of the lagoon is no longer tenable, as it is environmentally, socially and economically unsustainable. The relocation is a major shift in the position of Government. It emphasizes the importance of and the need for compromises and trade-offs in the bid of the stakeholders to reach consensus on the matter.

COHRE¹⁴ has year-round training programmes and micro-credit schemes for identifiable groups within the community, particularly women's cooperatives. **Their projects are aimed at empowering women to earn a good living when they finally move to the proposed relocation area at Agyin Kotoku near Amasaman in the Ga East district.** COHRE praises democracy and participatory governance because it has led to relocation.

¹³ Disempowerment refers to constraints relating to how power relations limit the choices, opportunities and well-being of individuals or groups (Mayoux and Mosedale, 2005).

¹⁴ COHRE is a Geneva-based NGO which focuses on promoting and protecting housing rights. It runs three regional programmes in Africa, Asia-Pacific and the Americas. The Africa regional programmes office is located in Accra.

Of all stakeholders involved in solving the problem, PD¹⁵ has the most significant presence in the community in terms of the number of programmes and activities. All the individuals surveyed were not only able to identify PD's office location in the community, but most of them were either directly involved in PD participatory initiatives or had relatives engaged in community-led programmes introduced by PD. These programmes include meetings twice a week with the Old Fadama Community Development Association (OFCDA), also micro-credit and saving schemes, and peer-to-peer interactions (Figure 5 in section 2.2.2.1). One of the weekly social group meetings which take place on Sundays was instituted by the community while the other meeting on Wednesdays was introduced by PD. Some respondents in Old Fadama also indicated that under the auspices of PD, they had benefited from community to community exchanges either within Ghana or outside where they had the opportunity to observe, share and learn how their counterparts are coping with urban poverty, evictions and secure tenure. PD has been able to take advantage of the local and traditional institutional structures in the community and this seems to have worked well for both parties.

3.1.4.2 The AMA on Civil Society representation of the Community

AMA officials who were interviewed mentioned that the AMA recognizes the fact that a number of NGOs acting in partnership with the community are involved in dialogue with the AMA in order to entirely resolve the conflict. The AMA pointed out that there is the need to assess whether all these organizations are genuinely pursuing the interest of the community. Also, the AMA further asserts that it is necessary to assess whether these organizations have the mandate to represent the community as a whole or whether they merely represent sectional interests considering that the community is multi-ethnic.

¹⁵ PD is a community-based NGO established in December 2003 in response to the need to work with the urban poor in Ghana to alleviate poverty and improve the living conditions as well as explore alternative solutions to forced evictions through negotiation and dialogue. It works in close collaboration with Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI) and in alliance with the Ghana Federation of the Urban Poor (GHAFUP), a network of community-based organizations participating in savings and loans schemes for land, housing, infrastructure development and livelihood improvement (Morris et al, 2007).

3.1.5 What are the impediments to the full participation of the community in policy formulation and implementation?

Although all respondents were unanimous that they were left out of the decision-making process, the reasons they assigned for this exclusion differ somewhat. More than 80% of the respondents cited lack of communication and AMA neglect of and bias against the community. Others stated that they had no explanation.

Since the beginning of participation, it appears that there are two main impediments to the full participation of the community in the policy cycle: ineffective information flow in the community, and low-levels of communication between the community and the assembly. All respondents were aware of the evictions initially proposed by the AMA. However, apart from a few opinion leaders, many of the respondents had no idea that the Government position on the matter had shifted from evictions to relocation. The main channel by which information is disseminated in the community is unofficial, that is friends and social contacts. This is a channel that the MWRWH has failed to utilize. Therefore, the results are not surprising. It is significant that for some of the individuals who were aware of the relocation, they neither knew where they will be relocated nor when the relocation will take place. This situation shows the importance of informal social channels for communication.

It also emerged from the interviews that communication between the residents and the AMA is episodic. Both sides agree that there has been little communication between them except when the AMA comes during fire outbreaks to ascertain the extent of damage to households in the community. Such fire outbreaks occur almost on an annual basis. Again, both sides agreed on the need to increase the level of communication between them in order to enhance the participatory process. This point is salient because during the period of transition of the community to Agyin Kotoku the AMA needs to communicate extensively with the community in order to ensure an incident-free or effective relocation process: respondents agreed that communication and participation are integral to the success of the relocation process because the relocation process needs to reflect the views expressed by all stakeholders (Simon-Vandenberg, 2007).

3.1.6 To what extent are these impediments directly or indirectly affecting the management of water resources in the community?

It is now taken for granted by all stakeholders that the stay of the community at the project site affects the completion of the KLERP, and by extension affects the management of water resources in the community (Figure 4 in section 2.2.2.1). Any situation that delays relocation fundamentally affects the management of water resources. **Lack of efficient and reliable information dissemination and lack of communication with the AMA both risk delaying relocation. According to Farrelly (2005), false information can lead to confusion, and in this case confusion may reinforce the stay of the community near the project site. The research found that this seems to be the main reason for the delays of the KLERP and a reason that will eventually affect the management of the lagoon. Given that the lack of flow of information in the community has the potential to generate confusion when the time to relocate comes, it is plausible that lack of flow of information could delay the relocation process and eventually affect the management of the lagoon. Also, there is the likelihood that the main communications channels (friends and social contact) in the community can create ‘room’ for diverse names of new locations and time frames for relocation to emerge and circulate in the community, and thereby create confusion.**

3.1.7 Is there an effective arrangement for settling disputes among water resource management stakeholders?

The research found that certain key effective arrangements for settling disputes exist. The existing arrangements include extensive communication networks among the civil society groups, and effective communication between the civil society groups and the Old Fadama community. During the field study, the good communication network was instrumental in tracking down NGOs such as COHRE and PD. According to Edelenbos and Klijn (2005), networks of this type have been helpful in many participatory initiatives because they enhance the flow of information among stakeholders. Therefore the good communication network among these NGOs could enhance the flow of information among stakeholder groups that are participating in this case (Figure 6 in section 2.2.2.1). **However, currently the NGO-initiated stakeholder meetings are not permanent institutions. Also, the various NGOs consider the level of communication between them and Government as just satisfactory. The research also found certain proposed arrangements for settling disputes, including establishment of an institution that will coordinate stakeholder-group activities in the**

community, increasing the level of communication between civil society groups and Government, and ensuring regular stakeholder meetings. COHRE proposed that a federation of stakeholders associated with the problem could be constituted to regularly streamline the activities of the NGOs and foster regular communication with government in order to prevent duplication of functions and other institutional conflicts. According to COHRE, the federation should not necessarily be mandated to regulate or monitor but rather to coordinate stakeholder activities.

CEPIL¹⁶ recognizes that the participatory activities of PD, COHRE and the UN-HABITAT in the community may have played a significant role in reaching the consensus on relocation. However CEPIL still asserts that this is not enough as there is the need to set up an institution which will enhance communication and understanding among all stakeholders in order to speed up project completion and to ensure a smooth transition of residents from the old to the new location. According to CEPIL, this institutional set up is necessary for two reasons. First, the participatory process is not only necessary now but also it is needed throughout the process of community transition and thereafter. Second, the new institution could serve as a permanent platform for resolving the disputes among the stakeholders.

3.2 External

3.2.1 Political Expediency and Relocation Time Table

The respondents were unanimous that when the planned relocation becomes a reality, they will need more than six months to adequately prepare for their transition to the new site. The relocation plan is useless if it fails to incorporate a time horizon indicating the start and end dates for the relocation process. Direct observations in the community revealed that more housing structures are under construction for a number of reasons. Some residents hinted that they are deliberately putting up the structures in anticipation of securing compensation from Government, as part of the relocation package. Other respondents stated that they needed to expand their lots due to increase in family size. To some extent, the additional housing that residents are still constructing in the community is tied to the absence of a time table for the relocation process. In any case, with the benefit of hindsight I argue that it is most likely that the relocation exercise may take place only after the general elections in December, 2008; probably, in the middle of 2009. The current government is therefore likely to score

¹⁶ Interview with Mercy Akwamour, Information Officer of CEPIL on 16th January, 2008

political points for its policy shift from evictions to relocation during the elections while the cost to the environment and the economy arising from the postponement of the relocation exercise is overshadowed by the 2008 political and electioneering campaigns.

3.2.2 Central Government meddling in Local Governance

The AMA¹⁷ won the case to evict the settlers but the Vice President of Ghana (Alhaji Aliu Mahama) intervened and promised to settle the impasse amicably. Since then, the matter has been expressly handled by the Ministry of Tourism and Diaspora Relations culminating in the decision of government to relocate the settlers at Agyin Kotoku near Amasaman in the Ga East district. The AMA suggests that this shift in government policy not only reflects the fact that central and local government believe in participatory governance but also that, it imposes a new set of social responsibilities on the AMA, as a decentralized government policy implementer, since the AMA must provide social services at Agyin Kotoku to render it habitable. Given that the internally generated income of the AMA is insufficient to take care of the new responsibility (Boadi and Kuitunen, 2003; Asomani-Boateng, 2007), the obligation therefore lies on central government to furnish the AMA with the financial resources needed to fulfill this social responsibility. In all this, it appears that the AMA is implicitly unhappy with the interference from central government. The AMA further asserts that the practice is inimical to the autonomy and independence of the assembly. It suspects that this interference might weaken the enforcement capacity of the assembly in respect of putting into effect of its programmes and regulations. The fact that position of Chief Executive of the AMA is appointed by government compromises the neutrality and effectiveness of the appointee, who can hardly ignore interference from officialdom; this creates a situation that could compromise accountability of the AMA to its constituency (Eckardt, 2008). Some members of the AMA indicated that in order to strengthen the accountability and political will of the position of Chief Executive, this position should be made by election rather than appointment.

3.2.3 Market Dynamics and its Magnetic Appeal to the Community

The local market and scrap metal smelter in the community constitute an incentive for residents to remain at the project site (Figure 4 and Figure 5 in section 2.2.2.1). The Agbogbloshie market located in the community is a major source of revenue to the AMA as the AMA collects tolls from

¹⁷ Interview with Nuumo Blafo III of the Public Relations Directorate of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly on 6th February, 2008.

hawkers and taxes from traders who operate in the market. It is significant to note that yam, onion and tomatoes are produced in northern Ghana and transported to the market in the community. According to the FAO (2005), three-fifths of tomatoes supplied to Accra are delivered to this market. The same vehicles that transport the food items double as carriers of conflict victims to the community.

Trade in various commodities in the market revolves around commodity-specific associations (FAO, 2005). Here, the associations operate along the lines of traditional chieftaincy models, with a market queen for each specific commodity, as heads (Levin et al., 1999; FAO, 2005). In order to be eligible to sell in the market it is mandatory to be a member of one of the associations. The survey revealed that although the residents cited non-involvement in government policy implementation as the main reason for their refusal to quit the project site, more than 80% of the respondents had their livelihoods tied to the market and the scrap metal smelter found in the community. Some of the respondents served mainly as porters in the market.

It was revealed in the course of interviews that the market existed before the community came to exist in its present form, unlike the scrap metal smelter. However, today both constitute the main source of convergence for residents. Relocation will thus alienate many of the residents from their main source of livelihood. As long as the market remains in the community, it will be an incentive for relocated settlers to come back again in order to make ends meet. This implies that any measure that only relocates residents without concomitantly relocating the market may not be socially, economically or environmentally sustainable. Fortunately, the AMA realizes this challenge and has therefore put in place a plan to relocate the market, in the long term. It is expected that this act will release the population pressure near the project site occasioned by business and trading activities. The AMA faces an uphill task not only because it stands to lose substantial revenue (Owusu and Lund, 2004) but also because the market associations are very resilient; surviving most political and economic upheavals in the past (FAO, 2005). The resilience of the associations is tied to their fluid, flexible and self-reliant mechanisms (Levin et al., 1999), for one thing having managed to steer clear of donor support and funding of their trading activities because of the perceived unreliability, inadequacy and short term horizon associated with it (FAO, 2005). Instead, the association operates its own vibrant micro-credit schemes via a revolving fund.

3.2.4 Population Dynamics and Challenges for Effective Relocation

The fact that 10% of respondents indicated that they settled in the community less than two years ago implies that the population in the community may have increased, subsequent to the eviction notice in 2002. According to PD, its 30,000 population estimate is therefore likely to be a conservative estimate since it was taken five years ago. This makes it imperative for the AMA to immediately conduct a head count to determine the current population in order to monitor the population of the community even before the relocation exercise takes off. Although this operation is cost- intensive, it is necessary for three reasons. First, it opens a window of opportunity for authorities to comprehensively appraise how much compensation Government has to pay to the individuals whose households are to be demolished. Second, the AMA will be able to identify and mark all the structures in community. Subsequently, the AMA may then refuse compensation to any individuals who put up additional housing structures in the community. Third, the population estimate will serve as a tool for planning the commensurable social services that needs to be put in place at the new location before residents in the community are relocated.

PD¹⁸ asserts that in order to put the pollution problem into perspective and to assess the extent of impact on the lagoon, there is the need to consider the population dynamics in the community. The day time population is totally different from the night population in the community (Appiahene-Gyamfi, 2003). According to PD, at least 5,000 people out of the estimated 30,000 individuals living in the community are floating. This suggestion was reflected throughout the surveys that I conducted in the community. PD further suggested that since there are 38 communities within the catchment of the lagoon, it was imperative that the AMA considers them all in its bid to restore the lagoon to its preferred ecological state. This is particularly salient considering that activities in the remaining 37 communities could also be counter productive to the restoration of the lagoon.

¹⁸ Interviews with Kojo Anane (programme coordinator) and Farouk Braimah(Executive Director) of PD on 18th January, 2008

4. Discussions

Summary of findings: The emergence and expansion of the Old Fadama settlement occurred between the formulation phase and implementation phase of the KLERP policy. This situation should have compelled the AMA to reformulate the KLERP policy because at that moment the dynamics of the pollution problem had changed significantly. Until January 2007, the Old Fadama community did not play any role in shaping policy in the area; this non involvement coupled with their economic dependence on the community market appears to account for the refusal of the community to accept eviction in 2003. Currently the community plays an increasingly important role in shaping the policy in the area through the participatory initiatives of civil society groups in the community. The community has direct representatives on the team that negotiates with the AMA. However, factors such as low-levels of communication between the community and the AMA, and ineffective flow of information in the community impede the full participation of the community. Certain key effective arrangements for settling disputes exist: extensive communication networks among civil society groups and between civil society groups and the community. What is lacking is effective communication between the AMA and central government on the one hand, and the community and civil society groups on the other hand. Increasing communication between the AMA-central government and civil society groups-community divide has been proposed as an arrangement that can effectively enhance conflict resolution.

Some members of the community indicated that they vote in presidential and parliamentary elections but they do not have representatives on the assembly-a platform for local decision making. Therefore in terms of popular democracy alone, they are not constrained in their choices. Using popular democracy as indicator or yardstick of freedom of choice does not reflect the realities or complications in the old Fadama community because popular democracy over simplifies the situation. It also fails to show how the community was not involved in decision-making at the local level. On this basis, it implies that popular democracy may not be a good indicator in this case. According to Delanty (1997), Habermas sees popular democracy as inadequate in capturing complications in modern plural societies. This deficiency in popular democracy is amply demonstrated when it comes to the participatory process in the community. Lack of participation of the community on the assembly meant that their voices were not heard. According to Gibson (2005) this situation shows how humanly created institutions (structure), such as the AMA in this case, limit the choices of the community and individuals to contribute to decision making (agency). Another way in which structure constrains agency is in the

composition of the civil society groups-community team that negotiates with government. The team lacks gender balance because none of the members on the team is a woman. Cultural practices (structure) in the community therefore constrain the choices of women (agency) to take part in decision-making.

A pattern which emerges from analysis of the empirical material is that local and international bodies that share common interests align: this can be seen in the alliances of stakeholders in the negotiation and participatory process. It is a kind of cooperation by necessity. Typical of this trend are the CEPIL and COHRE as well as PD and UN-HABITAT alliances, respectively. In both cases the local organization provides local expertise and manpower, while the international counterpart funds the process, and the partnerships lend credibility and legitimacy to the local NGOs. In fact, according to PD¹⁹, it is alliances of this kind that obliged the Government to grant the NGOs recognition, thus paving the way for negotiation with the NGOs and the community on the issue of policy revision. It is worth mentioning that these alliances may be short-lived and the duration of the alliance is largely determined by the availability of funding from the international organization²⁰. This situation has implications for sustainability. Hence it is pertinent to ask how the local NGOs propose to fund the participatory process when the alliances end, given that participatory processes could be expensive. For how long will the local NGOs be able to sustain the participatory process in the post-alliance period?

Another pattern which emerges from the analysis of empirical material relates to the different shades of participation (Lotz-Sisitka and Burt, 2006:72) that characterize different aspects of the process in Old Fadama. For instance, the dialogue between the community and the AMA reflects participation as consultation and participation as decision making. The desire of the community to secure representation on the local assembly reflects participation as decision making and participation as a mechanism of decentralization. The alliances among the civil society groups in the community reflect

¹⁹ Interviews with Kojo Anane (programme coordinator) and Farouk Braimah(Executive Director) of PD on 18th January, 2008

²⁰ Interviews with Kojo Anane (programme coordinator) and Farouk Braimah(Executive Director) of PD on 18th January, 2008

participation as partnerships for implementation. In general, the participatory process in Old Fadama reflects participation as ownership. However, ownership is not in terms of owning the lagoon but in terms of owning the decision-making process.

The programmes initiated by civil society groups to economically empower the community appear to have provided economic security to many individuals. In Old Fadama, the sustainability and the outcome of the economic empowerment component of participation in the community may be contingent on a number of factors, four of which are prominent.

First, economic empowerment needs to be sustainable even with the transition to a new location. This is particularly important so that the need does not arise for residents to come back to the community, once relocation has taken place.

Second, the alternative livelihoods should have the capacity to generate either equal or more income than their previous sources of income. According to Mayoux (2005), the benefits of micro-credit schemes that accrues to a community in general and particularly vulnerable groups such as women, hinges on a number factors; most significantly on the kind of ownership of financial institutions and on the technique (interest rates, repayment schedules, demand of collateral, magnitude of credits). In addition, the responsibility lies on local NGOs to devise schemes and programmes which are economically self-sustaining since funding from their international counterparts can not be guaranteed in the long term. For instance, the micro-credit schemes should be structured to encounter low default rates when it comes to repayment of loans in order to render it sustainable in terms of how many individuals or groups it can support and also in terms of how long it will last.

Third, vulnerable groups, such as women and children and other marginalized persons, example from particular ethnic groups, must be included in the analysis for creating economic programmes. According to Levin et al. (1999), livelihoods and employment in Accra are gendered. For instance, 99% of onion traders in the Agbogbloshie market are males while within the same market, only 2% of tomato traders are males (Doss, 2002; FAO, 2005). The alternative livelihoods strategy that the NGOs are implementing in the community has to take these differentiated gender needs into account in order for the impact of the programmes to be comprehensive and also to prevent lock-in effects.

Fourth, the NGOs need to include more diverse members of the community, particularly women, on its team that negotiates with Government. This is necessary for two reasons. To begin with, it will address the notion that perhaps, the NGOs represent sectional rather the interest of the entire community. Mapping the community to determine dominant and vulnerable groups, in order to ensure equity and comprehensive coverage of all views in the participatory process, and effective monitoring of participation to ensure equal access to the discussion platform, are both needed. Next and more importantly, since the survey revealed that friends and social contacts are the main channel through which information flows in the community, more diverse inclusion could both enhance the spread of information on the relocation timetable and the decisions taken on the issue of compensation to members of the community. Here, the goal is to reduce both confusion and conflicting information so that the relocation process does not unduly delay.

In Old Fadama, the sustainability and the outcome of the social empowerment component of participation in the community depends on whether the following issues can be comprehensively addressed: Who is setting the agenda - Is it the civil society groups or the community members themselves? What criteria are used to determine the quota of representation for the various ethnic groups on the team that negotiates with the government? Do all individuals and groups in the community have equal access to discussions, regardless of gender, ethnicity or social status? How does the participatory process propose to handle this complexity? Given that PD²¹ cited power struggles among certain individuals in the community it is necessary to ensure that the participatory process is not hijacked by a few privileged individuals and opinion leaders in the community who perhaps seek to dominate the process and perpetuate their self-interests.

The worldviews of interest groups, or paradigms, are closely related to their perceptions of problems and the resultant solutions they propose (Soderbaum, 1993; Huetting and Reijnders, 2004). The various stakeholders in this research reflected this phenomenon. For instance, the NGOs generally felt that the way forward is to simultaneously adopt economic empowerment through micro-credit schemes (free market capitalism) and social empowerment through participatory democracy (discursive democracy of

²¹ Interviews with Kojo Anane (programme coordinator) and Farouk Braimah(Executive Director) of PD on 18th January, 2008

participation). The contractor advocated for attitudinal change on the part of the community and further proposed environmental education as a mechanism that can bring about this change (new environmental paradigm). The AMA mainly preferred the use of policy instruments to effect the change (institutional approach). Tensions may exist among these perspectives (Zetter and Hassan, 2002; Roosevelt Jr., 2006), yet in this case the paradigms may not necessarily be mutually exclusive. Given that the pollution problem is multi-dimensional, with many aspects of the problem, the various stakeholders could find use for their perspectives in various parts of the solutions

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

The Old Fadama community previously did not play any role in KLERP policy formulation and implementation. The non involvement of the community in the policy cycle appears to account for the initial conflict between the AMA and the community. Since January, 2007 however, the community plays an increasing important role in shaping policy in the area through participatory initiatives of civil society groups in the community. The extensive communication network that exists among the civil society groups is a key effective arrangement for settling disputes. Arrangements for settling disputes among water resource stakeholders such as the establishment of an institution to coordinate stakeholder activities have also been proposed. The local market in the community constitutes an economic incentive for residents to remain in the area. Therefore, it appears that any measure that relocates the community without concomitantly relocating the market may not be sustainable.

A pattern which emerges from the analysis of empirical material is that local and international bodies that share common interests align: this can be seen in the alliances of stakeholders in the participatory process in Old Fadama. The local organization provides local manpower while the international counterpart funds the process. It is alliances of this kind that obliged government to grant the local NGOs recognition, thus paving the way for negotiation with the NGOs and the community on the issue of policy revision. In theory, participation holds promise to address conflict, however in practice, two factors that feed into conflict characterize the process of participation in Old Fadama: ineffective information flow in the community, and low-levels of communication. These factors jointly undermine

the full participation of the Old Fadama community. It is essential therefore for stakeholders to collectively tackle these obstacles in order to make local participation more sustainable, as well as for local authorities to effectively monitor the policy cycle.

5.2 Recommendations

It appears that structures have constrained agency of the community. Internally, the cultural value system of the community is structured to favour males so there is no woman on the team that negotiates with government. Externally, the community has no representation on the assembly where decision-making at the local level takes place. Therefore it is important to critically examine the connection and interaction between structure and agency in the participatory process in Old Fadama. The goal is to strengthen agency and demand-driven approaches in the participatory process.

No formal communication structures have developed through the practice of participation in the community nor have any extensive communication structures been set up to coordinate the activities of stakeholders in order to minimize conflicts and duplication of functions. Communication network among the stakeholders particularly the civil society groups, are informal. Therefore there is the need to set up such an institution with the mandate to coordinate stakeholder roles but not necessarily to regulate or monitor stakeholder activities. Also, there is the need to increase the level of communication and flow of information in the community in order to persuade marginalized groups on the fringes of participation to take part in the process.

Access to micro-credit schemes should be made more comprehensive in order to encourage very poor individuals to participate.

As a recommendation for further research, it is imperative to focus on the development of dependable indicators for monitoring and evaluation of the participatory process. Indicators could be developed to monitor and evaluate the following factors that influence participation: historical antecedents and equal access to the discussions, stakeholder capacity, and role of civil society groups in agenda setting, population dynamics, institutional dynamics and power relations.

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APPENDIX 1: PICTURES OF OLD FADAMA COMMUNITY



Old Fadama Informal Settlement (source: UN-HABITAT, 2006)



Old Fadama Informal Settlement (source: Asomani-Boateng, 2008)



Old Fadama Community (source: COHRE, 2004)



Old Fadama Community (source: COHRE, 2004)

APPENDIX 2: PICTURES OF THE KORLE LAGOON



Land Use on the periphery of the Korle Lagoon (source: Frederick Armah, 2008)



Point Discharge into the Korle Lagoon (source: Frederick Armah, 2008)



Point discharge into the Korle lagoon (source: Frederick Armah, 2008)



Plastic material on periphery of Korle Lagoon (source: Frederick Armah, 2008)

APPENDIX 3: LIST OF STAKEHOLDERS

Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA)

It is a corporate body and the highest political and administrative arm of the Government at the local level. 70% of the 104 members are elected while 30% are Government appointees (Armah, 2007). It undertakes the legislative, deliberative and executive functions of Government. Among others, the functions of AMA include provision of a sound and healthy environment; the planning and development control of all infrastructure in Accra as well as provision of public safety and comfort (Armah, 2007). There are fifteen Electoral Areas under the AMA. The Old Fadama community is closest to the Korle Workon Electoral Area of the Assembly. The Ashiedu-Keteke sub-metropolitan assembly has oversight responsibility for the community (Armah, 2007).

Centre for Public Interest Law (CEPIL)

CEPIL is an Accra based legal team which renders consultancy services to individuals and communities on issues bordering on human rights (Armah, 2007). In 2000, CEPIL was the first NGO to have brought the impasse between the AMA and the community to the limelight. The main contention of CEPIL at the time was that the community could co-exist with the lagoon restoration project and also that Government should necessarily offer the residents an alternative location before the community evicts. CEPIL together with COHRE drew the attention of Government that it is a signatory to a number of international human rights conventions and that the evictions would compromise its commitments under these conventions (COHRE, 2004).

Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE)

COHRE is a Geneva-based NGO which focuses on promoting and protecting housing rights. It runs three regional programmes in Africa, Asia-Pacific and the Americas. The Africa regional programmes office is located in Accra. COHRE, by dint of its international experience realized that exclusive focus on the legal aspect of the problem was unlikely to result in sustainable outcomes for all stakeholders; hence the need for negotiation and participation (COHRE, 2004).

Dredging International NV (DI)

Dredging International NV (DI), which is a member of Dredging Environmental and Marine Engineering (DEME) group, is the contractor executing the KLERP. The group has for 150 years been involved in core dredging, land reclamation and hydraulic engineering services which span all continents (DI-Ghana news, 2008). DI recognizes the need to communicate clearly and consistently with their many stakeholders, clients, business partners and the public at large, as contained in its communications standards and guidelines (DI-Ghana news, 2008). Although this recognition is laudable, it should be translated into practical commitments and actions in order to render it sustainable.

Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)

It is mandated by law to issue environmental permits and pollution abatement notices, prescribe standards and guidelines relating to pollution of air, water and land; and other forms of pollution including the discharge of waste and the control of other toxic substances (Armah, 2007). Under its mandate, the EPA enforces environmental requirements through issue of notice in writing to request for environmental impact assessment and any such information specified (Armah, 2007).

Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Environment (MLGRDE)

The Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development & Environment is responsible for entrenching participatory governance at the local level (Armah, 2007). This ministry formulates, implements, monitors, evaluates and coordinates reform policies and programmes to democratize governance and decentralize government machinery with a view to energizing local governments to serve as effective institutions for mobilizing and harnessing local resources for local administration and development (Armah, 2007). It is mandated by law to facilitate development of all human settlements through community and popular participation. It is also responsible for promoting a clean and healthy environment (Armah, 2007).

Ministry of Water Resources, Works and Housing (MWRWH)

Its core functions are the formulation and coordination of policies and programmes for the systematic development of Ghana's infrastructural requirements with respect to works, housing,

water supply, sanitation and hydrology (Armah, 2007). It monitors the performance of both public and private agencies undertaking infrastructural projects (Armah, 2007).

Ministry of Tourism and Diaspora Relations (MTDR)

Its main mandate is to develop and promote tourism. Since tourism in a clean environment has the potential to stimulate economic growth, the Ministry made it a policy not only to get involved in the participatory governance process involving all stakeholders, but also it initiated the process (Armah, 2007).

Peoples Dialogue on Human Settlement (PD)

This is a community-based NGO established in December 2003 in response to the need to work with the urban poor in Ghana to alleviate poverty and improve the living conditions as well as explore alternative solutions to forced evictions through negotiation and dialogue. It works in close collaboration with Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI) and in alliance with the Ghana Federation of the Urban Poor (GHAFUP), a network of community-based organizations participating in savings and loans schemes for land, housing, infrastructure development and livelihood improvement (Morris et al, 2007). The broad objectives of PD are among others, to economically empower individuals and identifiable groups living in the community and also to train them to engage local authorities through discursive communication. In collaboration with the Ministry of Tourism and Diaspora Relations, there is also an initiative to create consultative participatory partnerships among stakeholders in the urban sector. Here, PD aims to contribute to the realization of Goal 7, target 11 of the UN Millennium Development Goals: *improving the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020* (COM HABITAT Report, 2005, Morris et al, 2007). At the local level the participatory activities of PD and allied stakeholders have led to a major shift in Government policy from evictions to relocation of the Old Fadama community.

United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT)

UN-HABITAT is mandated by the UN General Assembly to promote socially and environmentally sustainable towns and cities with a view to provide adequate shelter for all. In 2006, UN-HABITAT in line with its vision to realize Goal 7, target 11 of the Millennium Development Goals, initiated a process to assist 1000 families in the Old Fadama community

secure micro credit loans for businesses and home improvement (UN-HABITAT, 2008). Peoples Dialogue on Human Settlement, acted as clients to UN-HABITAT in the disbursement of the money to identifiable groups and individuals in the community.

Traditional Authorities (Gbese and Korle Dudor Clans)

Generally, the custodians of land in Accra are chiefs (*Mantsemei*), Fetish priests (*Wulomei*), quarter heads (*Akutseiatsemei*) and Family heads (Tipple et al., 1999). In this case, the lands around the Korle lagoon were originally owned by the Gbese and Korle Dudor Clans or families. However, the Government during the 1960s took over the allocation of the lands in the area in order to establish the Korle Lagoon Recreational Facility; which never materialized when the Government was overthrown in 1966.

APPENDIX 4: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES AND INTERVIEWS

INTERVIEW OF ACCRA METROPOLITAN ASSEMBLY OFFICIALS

Dear Sir,

This interview is being carried out as part of a research work about stakeholder participation in the **Korle Lagoon Ecological Restoration Project (KLERP)**. We will appreciate it very much if you spare us a few minutes of your precious time to answer these questions Thank You Very Much.

Is the AMA involved in the Korle Lagoon Ecological Restoration Project (KLERP)? In what way is the AMA involved.

Is the construction of the KLERP on schedule? What is/are the reason/s for the delay in project completion?

Can you please elaborate on how the Old Fadama Community came to exist at its present location?

Is the AMA officially responsible for the Old Fadama Community?

What short term plans does the AMA have for the community?

What long term plans does the AMA have for the community?

Does the Old Fadama Community have representation on the AMA Assembly?

Does the AMA interact and communicate with the Old Fadama Community? What is the frequency of such communication?

By what means is the communication effected?

Do you think the current level of communication between the AMA and the community is acceptable?

If not, how do you propose to increase the level of communication?

Does the AMA plan to evict residents of the community? Have you communicated this decision to them? How long did it take for the information to diffuse throughout the resident population?

What feedback did you receive from the community? Are the contents of feedback from the community legitimate and relevant?

Have you made adequate alternative arrangement for them at a new location? Please cite a few examples of such arrangement.

From hindsight do you suppose that non involvement of the community may have contributed to the delay in project completion?

To what extent has the AMA encouraged the community to develop their own capacity to solve the problem?

Do you think that a more comprehensive participation of stakeholders could enhance project completion?

Is the AMA aware of the activities of Non-Governmental Organizations in the community?

Could you please name a few of such NGOs?

What is the level of cooperation between the AMA and these NGOs?

Does the AMA and the NGOs have a forum within they meet and exchange ideas on a regular basis?

How often does the forum take place?

Is there an existing institution to streamline the functions of the AMA and the activities of these NGOs in the community in order to prevent duplication and institutional conflicts?

Do you consider that setting up such an institution is necessary to enhance communication and understanding among all the stakeholders?

Is there any further information you would like to share with me?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME

Questionnaire for Residents of Old Fadama Community, Accra-Ghana.

Dear respondent, this survey is being carried out as part of a research work about stakeholder participation in the **Korle Lagoon Ecological Restoration Project (KLERP)**. We will appreciate it very much if you spare us a few minutes of your precious time to answer these questions. Thank You Very Much. Afehyiapa, Afe oo Afe, Best wishes for the Yuletide.

1. Age: a)18-25 years b) 26-33 years c) 34-40 years d) above 40years

2. Sex: F..... M.....

3. Marital status: Married..... Single..... Divorced.....

4. Do you have any children? No..... Yes..... If yes, how many.....?

5. Do you live in the Old Fadama community? No..... Yes.....

6. If yes to question 5 above, how long have you lived here?

a) Less than 1 year..... b)1-2 years..... c) 2-5 years.... d)Over 5 years.....

7. What is your occupation.....?

8. Is your place of work located in the Old Fadama community?

No..... Yes.....

9. If No to question 8 above, how far is it from here?

17. If you answered c or d in question 16 above, do you think the Assemblyman or woman has been efficient in representing you at the AMA assembly?

- a) I strongly disagree.....
- b) I disagree.....
- c) I agree.....
- d) I strongly agree.....

18. Have you ever participated in a discussion to express your opinion about the KLERP?
Yes..... No.....

19. If yes to question 18 above, how did this take place?

- a) Friends.....
- b) AMA forum.....
- c) Community meeting.....
- d) Other.....

20. If no to question 18 above, do you feel left out of the KLERP decision making process?

- a) I strongly disagree.....
- b) I disagree.....
- c) I agree.....
- d) I strongly agree.....

21. Have you had the opportunity to express the way you feel about being left out of the KLERP? Yes..... No.....

22. If yes to question 21 above, in what way did you express it?

- a) Written communication.....
- b) Demonstration.....
- c) Other.....

23. If yes to question 22 above, how often did you express it?

- a) Weekly.....
- b) Fortnight.....
- c) Monthly.....
- d) Other.....

24. Do you think it is necessary for the AMA to involve you in the implementation process of the KLERP?

- a) I strongly disagree.....
- b) I disagree.....
- c) I agree.....
- d) I strongly agree.....

25. In your opinion what is the current level of communication between the AMA and the community?

- a) Very low
- b) low
- c) satisfactory
- d) high
- e) very high

26. If you answered a-c in question 25 above, what do you think is the problem?.....

27. If you answered a-c in question 25 above, what do you think can be done to improve the situation?.....

28. Do you think living close to the Lagoon has caused a delay in completion of the KLERP?

- a) I strongly disagree.....
- b) I disagree.....
- c) I agree.....
- d) I strongly agree.....

29. Have you heard about any proposed evictions of residents by the AMA?

Yes..... No.....

30. What is your opinion on the matter of proposed evictions?

- a) I strongly disagree.....
- b) I disagree.....
- c) I agree.....
- d) I strongly agree.....

31. If you answered yes to question 29 above, what is the name of the new location?

- a) Agyin Kotoku b) Ashaiman c) Oyibi d) other

32. Through which medium did you get this information?

- a) Friends..... b) AMA forum..... c) Community meeting..... d) Other.....

33. Do you think that it is still necessary for AMA to involve and consult residents on the planned evictions?

- a) I strongly disagree..... b) I disagree.....
c) I agree..... d) I strongly agree.....

34. In the event that the planned evictions become a reality how much time do you think you will need to adequately prepare for the transition to the new site?

- a) less than one month b) 1-3months c) 4-6 months d) beyond 6months?

Is there any further information in relation our discussions that you would like to share with me?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME

INTERVIEW OF CEPIL OFFICIAL AND COHRE OFFICIALS

Dear Sir,

This interview is being carried out as part of research work on stakeholder participation in the **Korle Lagoon Ecological Restoration Project (KLERP)**. We will appreciate it very much if you spare us a few minutes of your precious time to answer these questions Thank You Very Much.

Is CEPIL involved in community level programmes at the Agbogbloshie or Old Fadama (Old Fadama) Community? For how long has CEPIL been involved in such programmes?

Can you please cite some examples of these programmes?

Does CEPIL interact and communicate with the Old Fadama Community on a regular basis? What is the frequency of such communication?

By what means is the communication effected?

What is the official CEPIL position on the proposed evictions of residents of old Fadama? What alternative does CEPIL consider to be more feasible?

From hindsight do you suppose that the non-involvement of the community may have contributed to the delay in the completion of KLERP?

Do you think that a more comprehensive participation of stakeholders could enhance the completion of the project?

Is CEPIL aware of the activities of other Non-Governmental Organizations or International Organizations in the community?

Could you please name a few of such NGOs?

What is the level of cooperation between CEPIL and these other NGOs?

Is there a platform on which CEPIL, the other NGOs and the AMA meet and exchange ideas on a regular basis?

How often does the meeting take place?

Is there an existing institution to streamline the functions of CEPIL and the activities of other NGOs in the community in order to prevent duplication and institutional conflicts?

Do you consider that setting up such an institution is necessary to enhance communication and understanding among all the stakeholders?

Is there any further information you would like to share with me?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

INTERVIEW OF UN-HABITAT OFFICIAL

Dear Madam,

This interview is being carried out as part of a research work about stakeholder participation in the **Korle Lagoon Ecological Restoration Project (KLERP)**. We will appreciate it very much if you spare us a few minutes of your precious time to answer these questions Thank You Very Much. Afehyiapa.

Is UN-HABITAT involved in community level programmes at the Old Fadama (Old Fadama) Community? For how long has UN-HABITAT been involved in such programmes?

Can you please cite some examples of these programmes?

Does UN-HABITAT interact and communicate with the Old Fadama Community on a regular basis? What is the frequency of such communication?

By what means is the communication effected?

What is the official UN-HABITAT position on the proposed evictions of residents of old Fadama? What alternative does UN-HABITAT consider to be more feasible?

From hindsight do you suppose that the non-involvement of the community may have contributed to the delay in the completion of KLERP?

Do you think that a more comprehensive participation of stakeholders could enhance project completion?

Is UN-HABITAT aware of the activities of other Non-Governmental Organizations in the community? Could you please name a few of such NGOs?

What is the level of cooperation between UN-HABITAT and the other NGOs?

Is there a platform on which UN-HABITAT, the other NGOs and the AMA meet and exchange ideas on a regular basis?

How often does the meeting take place?

Is there an existing institution to streamline the functions of UN-HABITAT and the activities of other NGOs in the community in order to prevent duplication and institutional conflicts?

Do you consider that setting up such an institution is necessary to enhance communication and understanding among all the stakeholders?

Is there any further information you would like to share with me?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

9. If you answered a) and b) in question 8 above, why is it so?.....
.....

10. Has the stay of the community in the vicinity of the KLERP site contributed to impede the progress of work?

- a) I strongly disagree..... b) I disagree.....
- c) I agree..... d) I strongly agree.....

11. If you answered c) and d) in question 10 above, how many years does the project lag behind schedule?

- a) Less than 1 year..... b) 1-2 years..... c) 2-5 years.... d) Over 5 years.....

12. Which of the following has been the main hindrance to the construction of KLERP? Please tick only **ONE** option

- a) Lack of Financial resources.....
- b) Technical know-how.....
- c) Stay of the community at KLERP site.....
- d) Other Factor.....

13. Are you satisfied with your working conditions?

- a) I strongly disagree..... b) I disagree.....
- c) I agree..... d) I strongly agree.....

14. What is the level of communication between you and the community?

- a) Very low b) low c) satisfactory d) high e) very high

15. If you answered a-c in question 14 above, what do you think is the problem?.....

16. If you answered a-c in question 14 above, what do you think can be done to improve the situation?.....

17. In your opinion, will involvement of the community enhance the construction of the KLERP?

- a) I strongly disagree.....
- b) I disagree.....
- c) I agree.....
- d) I strongly agree.....

18. If you answered c-d in question 17 above, in what way can the community be involved in the implementation of the project?.....

.....

19. In your opinion do you think the lack of progress in the construction of KLERP has caused you to spend more on the project?

- a) I strongly disagree.....
- b) I disagree.....
- c) I agree.....
- d) I strongly agree.....

20. Do you think eviction of Old Fadama settlers is necessary in order to facilitate completion of the KLERP?

- a) I strongly disagree.....
- b) I disagree.....
- c) I agree.....
- d) I strongly agree.....

21. When do you anticipate to finally completing the project in case the settlers are evicted in January?

a) Less than 1 year..... b) 1-2 years..... c) 2-5 years.... d) Over 5 years.....

22. When do you anticipate to finally completing the project in case the settlers remain at present location?

a) Less than 1 year..... b) 1-2 years..... c) 2-5 years.... d) Over 5 years.....

Is there any further information in relation our discussions that you would like to share with me?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME