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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Regeneration of Sub-Saharan Africa's open marketplaces: a case for Guileless stakeholder participation

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Abstract

Sub-Saharan Africa's urban culture makes open marketplaces an essential part of life in their cities. What goes on in these markets undoubtedly opens them up to threats of adversity, tragedy, and other significant sources of stress. How can these open marketplaces be regenerated into resiliently sustainable places? From a case study of the regeneration redevelopment of the largest open-air market in West Africa i.e. Kumasi Central Market, the need for stakeholder participation in the entire regeneration process is emphasised. The determination of the most important stakeholders during the regeneration of the market is followed by a comparison of the regeneration process regeneration with the literature on urban regeneration, sustainable development, participation, and project management. Lessons learned, and the concerns raised by major stakeholders in the process creates certain project management approaches essential for achieving resilient urban regeneration. Identification of all, important stakeholders by the consideration of their attributes of power, legitimacy and urgency and distrustfully engaging all stakeholders is vital to the success of any urban regeneration project.

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Keywords:

Stakeholders, participation, open marketplace, sustainable development, urban regeneration.

Introduction

Urban Regeneration is defined as producing economically, physically, socially and environmentally permanent solutions in areas that have lost their functionalities; implementing comprehensive sets of actions with a legal basis undertaken in order to regenerate lost or abandoned social relations (Tanrikul and Hoşkara, 2019; Polat and Davutoglu, 2007; Thomas, 2003; Roberts, 2000). 'Regeneration' or renewal has taken place in certain cities around the world, where industrial uses have been regenerated to housing, or from port areas to commercial centres after these areas have become outdated, dysfunctional and partially collapsed (Usta, Ulger and Iban, 2015). Ulger (2010) also defined urban regeneration as the arrangement of properties which land has crooked and dilapidated constructions, sensitive to natural hazards and urban risks with insufficient and poor infrastructure, that is dense, illegal, and unsettled. The Kumasi Central Market fits into the latter definition because of its susceptibility to widespread risks due to the poorly constructed and slummy nature of the market. In addition to this known problem of widespread disaster, water supply, sewage and drainage, paved roads, lighting and electricity supply, public transport and garbage disposal are often not available which creates immense hazards (Vestbro, 2000). Furthermore, there is the issue of spontaneous and immoderate structuring of stores and stalls in the marketplace which creates difficult passage areas for emergency services to reach affected areas. Fire outbreaks at Kumasi Central Market has always been very devastating (Oteng et al., 2015). The lack of proper roads, problem of inaccessibility and perhaps the dense nature of the area (overcrowded conditions), makes it easy for fire to spread between buildings (Agyekum, Ayarkwa and Opoku, 2017). According to Usta, Ulger and Iban (2015), urban regeneration projects are implemented not only in slum areas, but also in areas that are sensitive to natural manmade hazards. Since the Kumasi Central Market has and is still experiencing several disasters that have caused loss of lives and properties (Oteng et al., 2015) after several attempts to demolish all illegal stores and stalls in the market, the government of Ghana finally took a bold decision to regenerate the entire Kumasi Central Market.

Overview of Kumasi central market

Kumasi, the second city of Ghana has the largest open-air market in West Africa i.e. Kumasi Central Market. This market has over 10,000 stores and stalls and has four times as many people working there. Virtually everything that one wants to purchase from a marketplace can be found in the Kumasi Central Market (Adarkwa, 2011). Thanks to the 'Kejetia' Lorry Park, the largest lorry park in Ghana, the market is accessible from all points of the city. Management and law enforcement in the market is a very difficult task due to the huge daily human and vehicle traffic around the market.

The government of Ghana in an attempt to deal with the myriad of problems facing the market decided to create a new central market with almost 40,000 shops. The Kumasi Central Market is being re-developed through a special government initiative to deal with among other things, regular fire outbreaks, flooding and civil disorders. The project is intended to make Kumasi a modern city, with rapid economic growth and improvement in the living

conditions of the residents. It is expected that the project will cost the Government of Ghana about \$298,000,000 (nearly 275 million Euro) (Asare and Dapatem, 2015). The design is to ensure a sustainable marketplace that is safe against fire outbreaks, is energy efficient and one that respects the culture of the people allowing traders and users of the market to feel at home. When complete, there will be parking spaces for vehicles, a modern bus station, a fire station, a hospital, a police station, childcare facilities, shared facilities with modern security, modern sewerage, and sanitation facilities for users of the market. However, implementation of this major re-development project has not been smooth sailing.

Immediately after the announcement for the traders and drivers to move to a different place to allow for the re-development of the market was made in 2013, thousands of traders from the 'Kejetia' market demonstrated for months about their relocation to make way for the ultra-modern market (Owusu-Akyaw, 2015). The traders claimed they do not protest development, but rather against the likelihood that they will not be offered places in the new market when ready (Okyere, 2015). According to the traders, information has been held back in relation to the project and therefore they did not trust the local government i.e. Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA). The traders claimed that in the past the KMA had promised re-developments of other markets where the traders moved out only to realise no re-development of the marketplace but rather a completely new use of the land.

This situation is a common tail in most Sub-Saharan African cities where urban culture makes market places an essential part of life. How can Africa ensure its marketplaces are re-developed into modern safe places of business activities? What processes can lead to a sustainable re-development of such important public places? Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The aim of sustainable development is simply to balance economic, environmental and social needs, allowing prosperity for now and future generations (Adinyira, Oteng-Saifah and Adjei-Kumi, 2007). Achieving this with re-developing socially and historically very important spaces such as open markets is truly a very complex task that will no doubt require comprehensive approaches to managing the involvement of all stakeholders.

This paper, therefore, reports on a study that investigated the challenges the local government (Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly) faced regarding participation of other stakeholders during the regeneration of the Kumasi Central Market. The aim is to put forward recommendations on approaches for improved stakeholder cooperation in urban regeneration projects in Sub-Saharan African cities.

Theoretical framework and literature study

To understand the planning and execution of the open market regeneration project and the multifaceted issues of sustainable development, there was the need to review literature to establish the theoretical framework for the study reported in this paper. Literature on issues of governance in Ghana were reviewed to better understand how development planning was organized in Ghana and at what level the market regeneration project is located. To begin with, literature on urban market regeneration was reviewed to provide an overview of what urban market regeneration is about. Furthermore, literature on project management was reviewed to understand the kind of project management approach adopted for the project. Also, issues of stakeholder participation were covered in the literature review to see what form of participation was used during the project and the importance of stakeholders'

involvement during the project. Finally, the principles of sustainable development were reviewed to better understand the imperatives and importance of sustainability considerations in the development of such socially and historically important projects.

URBAN MARKET REGENERATION

Urban regeneration also called urban revitalization, urban renewal and urban renaissance is the field of public policy that addresses such urban issues as economic decline, environmental decay, community dereliction, growing unemployment and some social problems caused by these urban issues (Liu et al., 2019). Regeneration is concerned with the re-growth of economic activity where it has been lost; the restoration of social functions where there has been dysfunction, or social inclusion where there has been exclusion; and the restoration of environmental quality or ecological balance where it has been lost. Thus, urban regeneration is an aspect of the management and planning of existing urban areas rather than the planning and development of completely new urbanisation (Natividade-Jesus et al., 2019). Omar, Sakip and Akhir (2016) defined regeneration as the renewal, revival, revitalisation or transformation of a place or community. The issue of urban regeneration cannot be completed without the inclusion of market regenerations. This is because markets play key role in the economic life of urban cities. The overall aim of any market regeneration is to provide a new and better designed market having a clean environment (Deloitte, 2012). Key among the objectives of urban market regeneration are to ensure that the character of a public market is preserved; ensure improved parking and traffic management; and to promote the survival and predominance of small shops, marginal businesses, thrift shops, arts and crafts and other enterprises, activities, and services which are essential to the functioning of the Market.

PROJECT MANAGEMENT

To run a project as smoothly as possible, it is convenient to divide the project into phases. This gives an overview of the project and creates clarity (Project Management Institute, PMI, 2013). The phases can be further divided into sub-phases. The number and labels of the phases are deeply dependent on the field of the project (Kerzner, 1994). Obviously, the breakdown into phases of a small project is different from the ones used for large-scale projects. The phasing of engineering and construction projects are also different from those used for the development and industrialization of commercial goods (Andersson and Lessing, 2017). Despite such differences, projects in a broad sense, are broken down into six distinct project management phases (Ghanbaripour, Sher and Yousefi, 2020).

The initiation phase is the start of the project and the phase where the feasibility of the idea of a project is considered. In this phase, persons to carry out the project would be selected, the parties involved and the support for the project will all be determined. This information is written in a project document during this phase. The sponsors who finance the project will accept this document and the project can be started. The second phase is the definition phase. Here the demands and wishes are completely made for the result. It is very important that stakeholders on the project are consulted at this stage. The third phase of project management is the design phase. In this phase, the designs are made about how the end results will look like. The fourth phase is the preparation phase. It is literally everything settled on or what is needed to realize the project. The fifth phase of project management is the implementation phase. In this phase, the project is visible. This phase is when the first pile is driven into the

ground of a spatial project. Outsiders see for the first time the project. Also, at this phase, the requirements and wishes list is checked to see if all items are achieved. The sixth and final stage is the follow-up phase. This should give an aftercare to the outcome of the project. When it is necessary, maintenance should be conducted. This phase is not in the hands of the project team but the owner of the project who is responsible for the aftercare. The market project under study was at the implementation phase as at the time of the study.

STAKEHOLDERS IN URBAN MARKET REGENERATION

Several authors recognize that stakeholder analysis is an important part of stakeholder management (Amoatey and Hayibor, 2017). In a market re-development, there are many stakeholders who are affected or are partially responsible for the project (Wojewnik-Filipkowska et al., 2019). According to Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997), the identification, characterization and categorising of stakeholders is the basis of any stakeholder analysis. To identifying the stakeholders, the three attributes of Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997) is used i.e. Power, Legitimacy and Urgency. The power of a stakeholder allows him to influence the results by means and/or knowledge. Power and legitimacy have different characteristics but are linked to each other. Together they form authority. An example of legitimacy is support. If the result of the project is interesting for the stakeholder, then there is urgency.

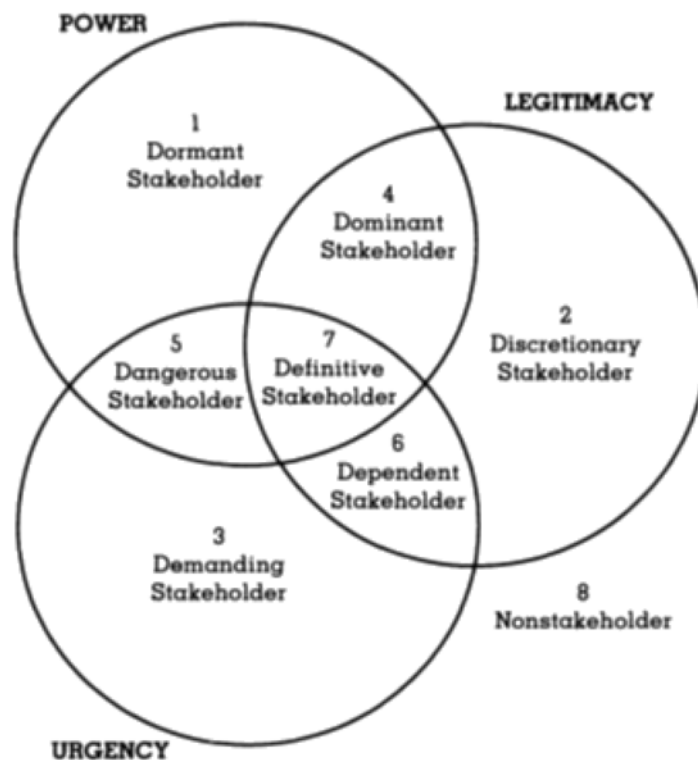


Figure 1 Stakeholder typology; one, two, or three attributes present.
Source: (Mitchell, Agle and Wood, 1997)

Using a stakeholder analysis, a plan can be developed for the handling of stakeholders. This means that there can be a decision on which stakeholder ought to be given much attention. By placing the attributes of power, priority and urgency in a matrix, a prioritisation of the stakeholders can be made. A dormant stakeholder is a stakeholder with just power. But the

power remains unused because the other features are not applicable. When another feature comes into the picture the stakeholder in question can change the stakeholder type. A discretionary stakeholder has only the core brand legitimacy and no characteristics of power or urgency. For a project, it is not necessary to involve these stakeholders. The demanding stakeholder has only the character of urgency. This group has a lot of questions or desire, but not the power or legitimacy to edit this set. The dominant stakeholder has the power and legitimacy. This means that the stakeholder has an impact on the project. A dependent stakeholder has the characteristics legitimacy and urgency, but no power. They depend on the stakeholder who has the power. It is sensible to involve these stakeholders during the project. They are the executive force. A dangerous stakeholder has the power and urgency, but they are not legitimate. This makes them dangerous for the project. It is important that this stakeholder be recognized, but his claims do not have to be realized. A definitive stakeholder possesses all three attributes. Such a stakeholder should all the time be in the picture. A non-stakeholder is not involved in or has knowledge of the project.

It is important to note that the role of the stakeholder can change during the project since a stakeholder can acquire another attribute. For example, a non-stakeholder has no knowledge or interest before the project starts, but that may change during the implementation of the project, in which case the non-stakeholder can become a dependent stakeholder. Using stakeholder analysis, a plan can be developed for the handling of stakeholders. The stakeholders that could have interests in the Kumasi Central Market regeneration project are Traders, Transporters, Users and KMA (government). These stakeholders have varying interests in the regeneration project. The traders who can be identified as ‘local residents’ by virtue of their connection to the marketplace, are such an important group in the market regeneration project. Their active participation in the planning and in the successful implementation of urban renewal projects is crucial (Hong, 2018).

STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION IN URBAN MARKET REGENERATION

Resident participation is defined as any act of engaging in project proposal, establishment of project plans, and implementation processes by residents as persons who have direct or indirect interest on whether a certain project is carried out or not (Hong, 2018). Public participation is seen as the process by which public concerns, needs, and values are incorporated into governmental and corporate decision making. It is a two-way communication and interaction, with the overall goal of better decisions that are supported by the public (Creighton, 2005). Arnstein (1969) described one of the first theoretical frameworks regarding participation. Since then, it has been a discussion topic. Arnstein indicated that participation consists of different levels. The first step is manipulation of citizens, through consultation and on the highest step citizen control. “Non-participation” means that people are not involved in planning and carrying out plans. The creator/principal just want people to be informed, nothing more. Since Arnstein, much has been added to the terminology and increasingly complex theories. It is expected that people are responsible for themselves and they should therefore operate in public service decision-making. Burns et al. (1983) cited in Burns and Taylor, (2000) elaborated on the Arnstein’s ladder. Instead of 8 steps they create 12 steps. As an example, a distinction is made between ‘cynical’ and ‘genuine’ consultation. “Tokenism” means that the people have a voice in the planning and the rebound of the plans, as opposed to the “non-participation”. But there is no certainty that their position will be followed up. With “Citizen Power”, the citizens have the power to develop and therefore the ones who make the decisions.

A reason to participate is that stakeholders go through a shared learning process therefore work together for solutions to problems on the project. In addition, a mentality of a stakeholder can be adjusted during the project (Burns and Taylor, 2000). Participation in a (re) development project can be of great importance, it can ensure that all parties have confidence in the project and work together to solve problem if they arise. In 1994, Wilcox developed a guide for effective participation. In this guide, he establishes a framework with 3 dimensions. The level of participation, the phase or stage of participation and the different stakeholders at different levels or stages of participation.

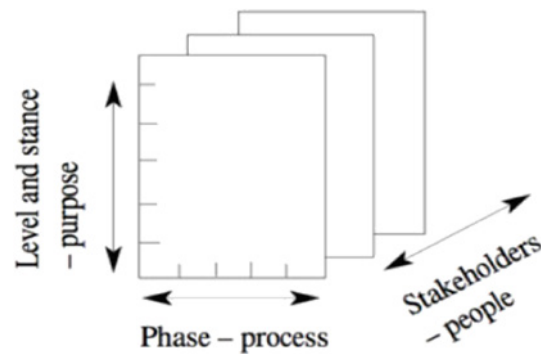


Figure 2 Three dimensions of the framework
 Source: (Wilcox, 1997)

Wilcox mentions four stages with initiative as the first phase of the participation process. At this stage, the plans of the project are developed and looks at the financing of the project. Preparation is the second phase in the participation process. The project manager makes at this stage clear who promotes the process, making contacts with stakeholders and developing a strategy for the project. Participation, the third phase in the participation process is the methods in the guide are used to involve stakeholders throughout the project. The final phase termed continuation is the stage where different activities can take place. For example, giving feedback to the stakeholders of the project.

It is important to know that participation takes time and is not easy to implement. Several groups are approached and involved in the process. Stakeholders sit together regularly to discuss the progress and share ideas. Because the group consist of various stakeholders with different interests, discussions will appear. It therefore takes time to get to a conclusion and everybody agrees with the project, as good as possible. Participation creates support for the project and because of the insertion of various backgrounds of the stakeholders, the project will look different than when one developer carries out the project.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Sustainable development as a concept has been gaining increasing popularity across various sectors since the Brundtland Commission Report in 1987 (Adinyira, Oteng-Saifah and Adjei-Kumi, 2007). Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It is based on the three pillars of sustainability: economic, environmental, and social sustainability and only achieved when there is balance or a trade-off between these three aspects. Sustainability itself has emerged as a planning concept from its beginnings in economics and ecological thinking and has widely been applied to urban development (Adinyira, Oteng-Saifah and Adjei-Kumi,

2007). It is often characterised by issues such as inter-generational equity, intra-generational equity, protection of the natural environment, minimal use of non-renewable resources, economic vitality and diversity, community self-reliance, individual wellbeing, and satisfaction of basic human needs.

One of the most widely stated benefits of sustainable development is making all stakeholders happy. This is very important in the success of social projects like open market re-developments. Such markets are deeply woven into the social fabric of Africa cities and presents a difficult challenge in successful delivery. Sustainable development requires an effort from all sectors. Developing sustainable open marketplaces can also be a major effort to reduce the risks from disasters and economic losses users of such placing in African cities are plagued with. Sustainable development consists of a long-term, integrated approach to developing and achieving a healthy community by jointly addressing economic, environmental, and social issues, whilst avoiding the over consumption of key natural resources. This must certainly be the object of any major social project in developing countries.

Research methods

The methods adopted in the study reported in this paper were largely qualitative and can be summarised to include literature study on the theories described in the theoretical framework; desk research where secondary data from the local government (KMA) was used; semi-structured interviews with project participants; and expert meetings. The use of different sources of data helped to increase the reliability of the study.

Reliability and validity are very important principles of research. Qualitative research is interpretive and subjective (Baarda, 2020) thereby making it difficult to achieve reliability and validity. In this study, the reliability of data from the desk study was enhanced by using different sources and conducting interviews to confirm the information obtained through the desk study. Following a critical review of literature, the stakeholders who formed the population of the study, and were interviewed in this study involved KMA, Traders, Transporters and End users (local residents) of the market. The sample size for this study was eight (8), made up of two (2) elected people from each stakeholder group. The sample size of eight (8) was considered to be adequate because research has shown that for a qualitative study where researchers seek to obtain rich data through interviews, 2-10 participants are recommended (Agyekum et al., 2019; Parse, 1990). The purposive sampling approach was recommended to each stakeholder group to enable them to select their representatives for the study. This approach was deemed to be important because of the intention to select participants who were on top of the issue under investigation. Therefore, the criteria for selecting interviewees recommended to each stakeholder group included selecting well-known and respected members of the stakeholder group as well as members who have been involved in over 50% of meetings with other stakeholder groups on the project. Prior to all interviews, the interview questions were drawn up and reviewed before the interview.

A two-step procedure was followed to determine the appropriateness and the rationality of the questions posed to the respondents to ensure validity of results. First, a content validity test of the interview guide was conducted among two stakeholders with in-depth knowledge on the subject under investigation. The second step ensured that the comments obtained from them enabled obscured and unclear questions to be reworded. Following the revisions, the interview guides were sent out three weeks ahead of the planned interview schedule to provide the stakeholders with enough time to select the potential respondents.

Qualitative data analysis is a challenging process and requires creativity and systematic searching. The analysis of qualitative data took place in four stages i.e. data reduction, data display, conclusion drawing and verification. As recommended by Seale (2005), the analysis was done manually, as the volume of data available was manageable. The data was displayed by way of a matrix with interviewees on the rows and the information required to answer the research questions under investigation (themes) as columns. Conclusions were therefore drawn looking down and across columns (themes). Table 1 shows the methods employed in addressing the research questions posed in the study.

Table 1 Summary sub-questions and methods

Research Questions	Methods Employed	Information Required
What is the nature of stakeholder participation in the Kumasi Central Market regeneration project?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Literature study on project stakeholders - Literature study on participation - Interview of staff from KMA, Traders/ local residents, Transporters and End users (local residents) of the market 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The importance of stakeholders during a project. - The different kinds of stakeholders and how to involve them during a project. - The importance of participation during a project. - The different forms of participation and in which stage the participation can be used. - The form of participation used during the project. - The reason for the choice of form of participation. - The expectation of participants during the project.
Which phases of project management have complications with stakeholder participation occurred during the regeneration of the Kumasi Central Market?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Literature study on Project management - Interview of staff from KMA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The importance of project management in a project as big as the Kumasi Central Market regeneration. - The different kind of stages of a project. This will create the start of a timeline. - The regeneration phase in which complications arose. - The reasons and sources for the complications.

Table 1 continued

Research Questions	Methods Employed	Information Required
What are the major concerns for the continued regeneration of the Kumasi Central Market?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interview with the KMA, Traders/ local residents, Transporters and End users (local residents) of the market 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The major concerns of the various stakeholders
How can lessons learned be combined with the major concerns raised by stakeholders to propose appropriate approaches to stakeholder involvement in open market regeneration projects?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Merging of the collected information. - Making a comparison with the literature and selected data. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recommendations on appropriate approaches to stakeholder involvement in open market regeneration projects

Results and discussion

PROJECT OVERVIEW

With the information obtained from KMA and interviews with other stakeholders, the timeline for the project shown in figure 3 is put forward.

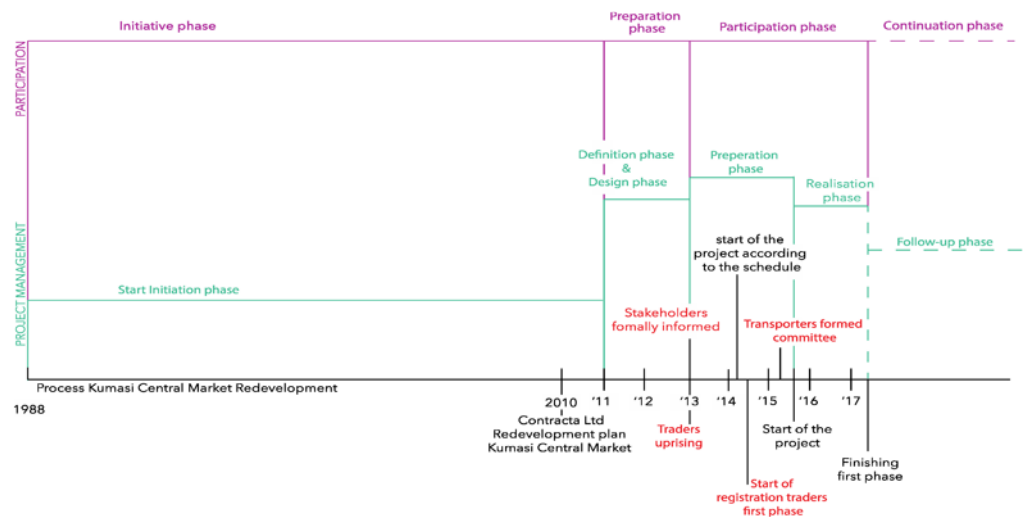


Figure 3 Project Timelines

The initiation phase of the project began in 1988. However, due to non-availability of funding to realise the project, it was not until 2010 that the Brazilian building company, Contracta Limited came to Ghana and submitted a plan to redevelop the Kumasi Central Market. The Ghana government approved this plan and helped to secure a \$298 million loan facility from

the Brazilian government to finance the project. The project definition and design phase took place between 2010 and 2012. The preparation phase was between 2013 and 2014. In 2013, other stakeholders such as the traders and the transporters were formally informed about the redevelopment of the Kumasi Central Market. Representatives of these stakeholders were invited to make a trip to Brazil to see the development of a similar market.

Despite the visit to Brazil, the larger body of traders and transporters rebelled against the project. The start of the project was attempted in 2014, however due to the standoff with the traders especially, work could not start. The realization phase started in early June 2015. The transporters left their location upon hearing the announcement of the physical start of the redevelopment. With the help of a large group of employees at Contracta (the Contractor) and the police, the space for the market was closed and all traders were forced to leave the area. The first pile was then driven into the ground in August 2015. The long delay in the start of the project was largely blamed on the traders. According to the traders interviewed, they opposed the project firstly because of issue of rent. Not only the amount to be paid, but especially in what time frame the payment is possible as they believe not all traders can pay the rent in one time. They questioned if it was possible to pay in instalments. Their second fear was whether they were going to get a place in the new market. They had issues with how their members were going to be identified and given places in the market once the project was completed.

NATURE OF STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION

To understand stakeholder participation on the Kumasi Central Market regeneration project, there was the need to map out who the stakeholders are and their interests in the project. To visualize which stakeholders, have interests in the regeneration of the Kumasi Central Market (KMA), a stakeholder analysis was performed. This made use of the interests and influence of stakeholders.

Table 2 Stakeholders of the Kumasi Central Market Redevelopment

Stakeholders	Type of stakeholder	P	L	U	Dealing
Traders	Dependent		X	X	Kept informed
Transporters	Dependent		X	X	Kept informed
Users of the market	Demanding			X	Kept informed
KMA	Definitive	X	X	X	Managed Closely

P- Power, L- Legitimacy and U-Urgency

At the beginning of the research, it was estimated that the stakeholders that could have interests in the project were namely, Traders, Transporters, Users and KMA (government). These stakeholders all have their own interests in the project. The traders and transporters are in the same category i.e. dependent stakeholders. They have legitimacy because this is a large group of more than 40,000 people. Because of the size of the group, they can exert influence on the project and against the government. This also means that if a big part of the group approves of the development, there is a great support for the project. As the largest (in size) stakeholder group, they will experience the impact of the development. The impact is felt through temporarily moving of the group to another location till the new market is developed.

The other group is the market users. This group provides income to traders. There will be an impact on the traders and ultimately the government if this group stays away from the market. The government cannot generate revenue from the rental of shops and stalls. They are therefore a demanding stakeholder. The last group of stakeholders is the KMA. The KMA has all three of the attributes of power, legitimacy, and urgency. They can exercise power through legal powers of the government. Likewise, they influence the rent the traders must pay after the redevelopment and the power to decide which traders gets the first choice for a location in the new market rest with them.

PROJECT PHASES WITH STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION COMPLICATIONS

As earlier indicated, the stakeholders (traders and transporters) were formally informed for the first time about the regeneration of the Kejetia terminal and the Central Market in 2003. Regular meetings were held with KMA and the contractors for the project but in these meetings, the traders and the transporters were only informed about the project with no room for their contributions. According to the theory of Arnstein (1969), if the stakeholders are only informed, it falls under 'non-participation'. The Users of the market who are also legitimate stakeholders were however not involved at all in meetings to discuss the project. It is logical that this group is mentioned. They are the ones who do the shopping at the market, which keeps the market active. There is no-participation on the part of this group as the press only informs them through radio, television and articles in newspapers and websites.

Governments the world over are beginning to realize that during projects, the public plays an important role (The report of Rural Communities Impacting Policy Project, 2002). This does not mean that there are no challenges to engaging the public. Common barriers to public participation in developmental projects include the lack of understanding of the policy process, lack of community resources, lack of access to information, and time and policy time-line restrictions. These are all very evident from the case study project presented.

It is evident in the literature on participation, stakeholders, and project management that it is important to involve stakeholders in an early stage of a project. According to Ghanbaripour, Sher and Yousefi (2020), stakeholders should be involved from the definition phase. Normally during this phase, there is a drawn-up list of needs and requirements. This list will include the demands and wishes of the stakeholders of the project. The project will be guided by this list because the information is needed for the design of the project. However, this did not happen in the first phase of the regeneration project of the Kumasi Central Market. At the start (initiation phase) of the project the stakeholders were not informed at all. The first time they were formally informed was in 2013 during the preparation phase. They therefore missed out on the definition and the design phases. This situation accounted for most of the project management complications that arose later in the implementation of the project.

MAJOR CONCERNS AND LESSONS LEARNT

In the literature of Wilcox (1994), it is seen that each form of participation is good. However, the kind of participation should fit the shape of development and the type of stakeholders. For example, when the government talks about a new playground in a neighbourhood, it may be important to involve residents of the district early, so that the play area is positioned at the right place. Data from the interviews showed major differences between the traders and transporters. It is indicated by the KMA that traders did not have faith in the project and did not want to work on the regeneration from the start of the project. Their biggest fear was

getting no place in the new market. They feared they will not be identified as original traders of the market. To ensure the project progressed, this problem had to be innovatively solved. An independent agency was engaged to register all the traders in the marketplace. During registration, a photograph is taken of the owner of the shop/stall, a photograph of the shop/stall and the coordinates of the location of shop/stall obtained. The registration is online, and the traders have no hard copy to prevent the registration forms being copied and sold to other traders outside the market. The traders can login with their details on the website. This website provides all the personal information, the coordinates of the location and photos of the shop/stall and the owner of the shop/stall. When the market is ready, these data will be used for the reinstatement of the market. KMA had to go through these lengths to ensure they won the trust of the traders.

The transporters had a different attitude to the project. As early as March 2015, the transporters created a commission. Although not all the background information was available to them, the transporters were very positive about the market regeneration project. This commission came together weekly to discuss issues about the project. They were supportive from the beginning. It should however be noted that the transporters and the traders are two entirely different stakeholders with different needs. The transporters do not need permanent places in the new market to do their business. They can come with their vehicles and go as they please. The traders on the other hand must be sure of a place in the new market to make a living. Therefore, it is easier to approach the transporters, and to participate with this group in the project because they have fewer and less complex uncertainties. Traders have far more complex uncertainties such as the security of a place in the market and the rent they have to pay. It is therefore essential that each stakeholder is approached differently with very context based innovative approaches.

Conclusion

To understand the dynamics of stakeholder participation in a public project in Africa, the regeneration of the Kumasi Central Market in Ghana, was studied. The major stakeholder groups of this project consisted of the government (KMA), the traders, the transporters, and the users of the market. In terms of the nature of stakeholder participation adopted, the traders and the transporters were informed as required given that they did not possess the attribute of power. However, these groups were able to delay the project by rebelling against the project and denying other stakeholder groups with all stakeholder attributes such as the government the right to enjoy the objectives of the project. This situation obviously presents a case for advancing knowledge on stakeholder participation in public project delivery.

To sustainably regenerate an open market place in Sub-Saharan Africa, one cannot rule out the influence of the traders and transporters who even though may not possess the power required to drive the project, certainly possess enough legitimacy and urgency to hurt the project. Their involvement through the entire phases of the project should be essential for the project success. Their differences should also not be lost out on the project implementers so as to furnish out a suitable route and plan of engagement with the differing group of stakeholders. Project implementers should determine in advance which stakeholders are involved in the project and what approaches are needed to fittingly engage the various stakeholders. They must be very transparent with other stakeholders especially, the traders. This research revealed that the traders had the most difficulty with the regeneration of the Kumasi Central Market. They were sceptical about the true intentions of the government

because of previous experiences. They were also apprehensive about the cost of renting a place in the new market and felt that because they were not engaged in the determination of the rent and the payment modalities, the true intention of the government was to redevelop the place for other groups of people. Being transparent with all stakeholders from the onset can reduce such fears. Timely involvement of the stakeholders in the project is very important. In addition, it is important that the (background) information for the project is completed in good time and shared with all stakeholders. This is a necessary input for stakeholder participation. All stakeholder participation at the early stage of public projects have the tendency to delay such projects and makes them less stable because it takes more time to engage and satisfy all stakeholders. However, given the lessons learnt from the Kumasi Central Market regeneration project, in the long run the early participation of stakeholders such as traders will prevent future hold-ups during implementation. Genuine participation should be sought as cynically inviting stakeholders to participate will only lead to prolonged future agitations.

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