



Greater Accra's new urban extension at Ningo-Prampram: urban promise or urban peril?

Richard Grant, Martin Oteng-Ababio & Jessy Sivilien

To cite this article: Richard Grant, Martin Oteng-Ababio & Jessy Sivilien (2019) Greater Accra's new urban extension at Ningo-Prampram: urban promise or urban peril?, *International Planning Studies*, 24:3-4, 325-340, DOI: [10.1080/13563475.2019.1664896](https://doi.org/10.1080/13563475.2019.1664896)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563475.2019.1664896>



Published online: 18 Sep 2019.



[Submit your article to this journal](#)



Article views: 173



[View related articles](#)




[View Crossmark data](#)



Citing articles: 1 [View citing articles](#)



Greater Accra's new urban extension at Ningo-Prampram: urban promise or urban peril?

Richard Grant ^{a,b}, Martin Oteng-Ababio^c and Jessy Sivilien^d

^aDepartment of Geography, University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL, USA; ^bCollege of Business and Economics, School of Tourism and Hospitality Management, University of Johannesburg, Johannesburg, South Africa; ^cDepartment of Geography and Resource Development, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana; ^dCommunity and Program Development, School of Education and Human Development, University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL, USA

ABSTRACT

New private property investments in Africa's cities are on the rise, often manifested as comprehensively planned urban extensions. Greater Accra has several competing city projects under development, potentially launching new city-making trajectories and competitive struggles among rival projects. This article assesses the rationale and early evolution of Ghana's largest, most ambitious project the Ningo-Prampram Urban Extension, aiming to accommodate 1.5 million people. Supported by UN-Habitat, international consultants, government, and local Chiefs, the constellation of actors supports a public-private partnership to engage in urban entrepreneurialism, underpinned by sustainable development features and promising increased global connectivity. However, this project raises socio-spatial contradictions with regard to how affordable housing, an airport city and other developments can augment Accra's development. Global economy articulation as well as intra-city connectivity is promised but at its peril it amplifies sprawl so that the Accra City Region evolves into a string of beads along the Trans-West African Highway.

KEYWORDS

Urban extension; Greater Accra; affordable housing; urban planning

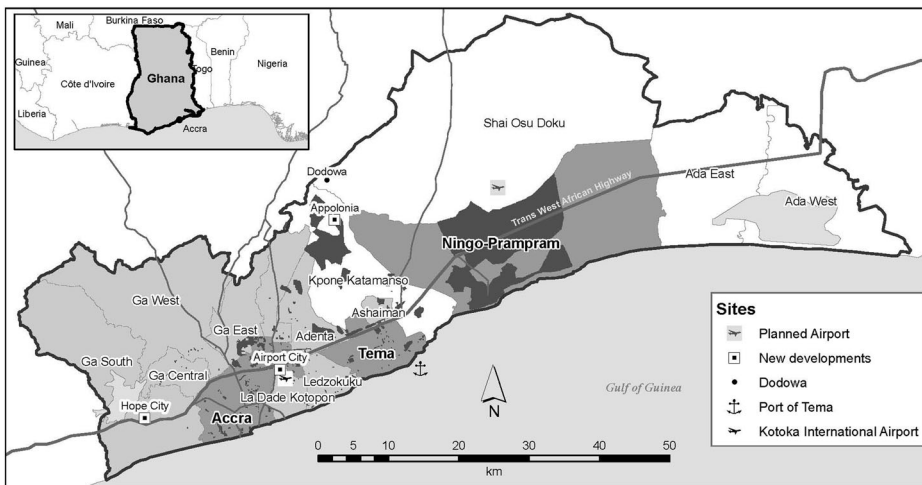
Introduction

New cities and new city plans are at various stages of development across Africa (Grant 2015a; Van Noorloos and Kloosterboer 2018; Watson 2008). The International New Town Institute tallies 200 new towns in Africa, with that 20% of projects underway (International New Towns 2017). As Bontje and vanLeynseele (2019, 3; this issue) surmise emergent satellite cities in various guises are growing in popularity in Africa and Southeast Asia but have fallen out of grace in the advanced capitalist world. The capital city of Ghana, Accra, already has several distinct and arguably competing new city projects in different phases of development in an effort to re-imagine Accra with new branding that aim to attract foreign investors to compete with other such cities elsewhere (Bontje and vanLeynseele 2019; Oteng-Ababio and Grant 2019).

Greater Accra's projects can be categorized as falling within two broad efforts: private-sector led projects, and public-private partnerships for planned city extensions. Accra's 'City of Light' ('Appolonia'), and 'Hope City' are examples of the former and promise high-density, liveable, and smarter new satellite cities on planned sites away from the built-upon sprawling city. These initiatives entangle different constellations of actors and backers with various municipal and national government giving their support to foster future engines of growth in a scattergun approach (Bontje and

vanLeynseele 2019), awaiting the winner(s) to emerge, gain traction and solve some of major urban-economic challenges. But ambition can quickly collide with reality (Bontje and vanLeynseele 2019). Hope City has already stalled, while Appolonia is in a slow phase of development. Public-private partnerships opportunities for six possible urban extensions for Greater Accra have been outlined by the Government of Ghana (GOG); five extensions are adjacent to the existing built-up areas (Legon, Kotoka International Airport, an area near the military academy and two sites in Tema) (UN-Habitat 2016b) and the largest and most ambitious project of all is an almost greenfield site at Ningo-Prampram, 50 km outside of the centre of the city (UN-Habitat 2016a). This project aims to accommodate 1.5 million people and has received backing from UN-Habitat, GOG, several municipalities and tacit support from the local chiefs. This initiative represents a ‘development frontier’ and the building of this largely vacant site has a plan, but specific building codes and other land use regulations will be developed as needed in an organic way. The main planning document of the Ningo-Prampram Urban Extension asserts boldly that this ‘Planned City Extension would represent an international example of sustainable urban development in West Africa, positioning Ghana as the national champion in addressing urbanization challenges’ (UN-Habitat 2016a, 1) (Map 1).

Greater Accra’s panoply of new city planned projects is a response to spontaneous urbanization and its informality that holds a large sway over urban space outside of planned gated developments, corporate enclaves and other government controlled spaces (e.g. educational and health institutions, airports/ports and other facilities). National and local governments are aiming to leverage their political and personal mandates with exciting new city projects that have backing from high-profile organizations such as UN-Habitat. Government is responding to an ‘urban explosion’ and various related ‘urban crises’ (e.g. infrastructural and housing deficits, traffic congestion, deterioration of living environments) by backing speculative entrepreneurial plans that emphasize raising investment for world-class projects (Carmody and Owusu 2016; Grant 2015b; Van Noorloos and Kloosterboer 2018) that enhance the regional and international competitiveness of the wider city-region. It also taps into projected rises of new middle classes with new purchasing power and economic growth potential in Africa and other emerging economies (Kanai, Grant, and Jianu 2017). Domestically, the government is responding to urbanites’ desire for high-quality urban space and the willingness of some to pay a premium for it (Grant 2009) as well as addressing the housing shortage by incorporating low-income and subsidized housing into the projects (UN-Habitat 2016b). As such the Ningo-Prampram urban extension project aims to generate wide-based support and early traction.



Map 1. Map of the Greater Accra city-region and the location of new towns (Source: Authors).

Ghana's Ningo-Prampram emerged under the umbrella of UN-Habitat's Urban Design and Planning Lab, which engages an array of Dutch firms (e.g. FABRIC MLA, MIXT URBANISME, More Architecture and OKRA) and Ghanaian national and local agencies in collaborative planning to design and implement a new urban extension. This joint effort is underpinned by an ideal that Accra City Region (ACR) can be 'modernized' (again) and is informed by discourses on urban form such as smart growth, 'new urbanism,' sustainable cities and regional planning to enhance the articulation with the international economy.

Faith is placed in new city building projects and the ability of new constellations of actors of property developers, engineers, architects and private sector planners with support from national and local governments (Herbert and Murray 2015; Watson 2014), and local chiefs in the Accra context. This entrepreneurialism prioritizes fast-tracking national laws and local regulations and enables coalitions among the state, private sector and land interests for the sake of time to animate local boosterism. These efforts exclude the urban citizenry from planning and indeed may even be beyond the technical capacity of urban planning agencies (Cobbinah and Darkwah 2016), and they are counter to strong arguments for alternative modes of thinking about urban planning towards inclusion, equity, and working with informality (Myers 2011; Pieterse 2008; Roy 2005). Such projects also have local opponents and objectors (Sebbie 2017).

Our research analyses the Ningo-Prampram spatial concept plan, its purpose and early evolution, and excavates constellations of disparate actors imbricated in particular parts of the urban project. We undertook interviews with key national and municipal policymakers, urban planners involved in the project, local chiefs and international construction companies to document the advancement of the project, its ongoing refinement so as to make an initial assessment of its future prospects. Our paper is organized as follows. In the second section, we review spatial and strategic planning efforts in Accra. Then we introduce the theoretical framing that integrates insights from the Foucauldian concept of 'heterotopia,' works on entrepreneurial urbanism, and the tilt toward the informalisation of planning in city projects aiming for world-class appeal. In the fourth section, we outline the Ningo-Prampram Urban Extension, and we review its recent evolution in the fifth section. Then we assess its wider policy implications in the sixth section. In section seven, we look back in order to look forward, reflecting on the original new town – Tema – seen in its time as a paradigmatic African post-independence dual-city – reflecting on the lessons learned from Tema and their applicability to present-day new city experimentation. Finally, we conclude with some reflections on the likelihood of realizing Ningo-Prampram as a fully developed urban extension and consider its possible effects on the spatial development of the city-region.

Spatial and strategic planning in the Greater Accra region

Accra's evolution and development has been punctuated with eras of focused planning endeavours in the colonial and early nationalist periods but strategic planning efforts in the liberalization era (post-1985) faltered early on at the implementation stage as the spontaneous and rapid urbanization outpaced and overwhelmed existent plans (Owusu 2013; Owusu and Oteng-Ababio 2015). Renewed efforts at planning commenced with the development of Ghana's first National Urban Plan (NUP) in 2013, a step towards a national-level interests in its urban transition (Turok 2016). The NUP advocates for substantial spending on urban infrastructure funded by the national government and controlled by municipalities to alleviate congestion, improve living environments and accelerate the country's progress (Turok 2016). A new planning vision and urban strategy for the Greater Accra Region was developed in 2016 by collaborations among UN-Habitat and various government entities (the President, Ministry for Local Government and Rural Development, Town and Country Planning Departments, and various government ministries) (UN-Habitat 2016b). The vision announces 'a new sustainable model of urbanisation' ... 'that would not only tackle the most critical problems of rapid urbanization but also prevent its future creation' (UN-Habitat 2016b, 1).

Efforts at master planning in Accra have a long history, dating back to the relocation of the colonial headquarters of the Gold Coast to Accra in 1877. However, rapid migration to the settlement, increasing entrepôt activities, and lack of planning control outside of the European core districts meant the city that emerged had co-existing planned and unplanned spaces. Colonial spatial planning created residential, commercial, industrial, and civic planned enclaves within a tight street grid as well as preserved broad open spaces for the design and establishment of several squares, fountains, statues and ornamental pools, crafting a 'European Town'; but indigenous areas were left unplanned, leading to their progression into haphazard, shantytowns (Songsore 2009). Planning for the minority foreign elite created unbalanced spatial development, with most infrastructural development pivoting around European enclaves to the detriment of excluded indigenous communities left to fend for themselves (Adarkwa 2012; Fuseini and Kemp 2015). Some indigenous communities were proficient at internal planning, but, in general, spontaneous self-help building was more common due to migration and population pressures.

Kwame Nkrumah's post-independence government renewed spatial planning with successive efforts at centralized planning in 1958 and 1961. These plans shifted the focus from serving the elite to creating spaces to inspire nationalistic pride. The creation and development of a new satellite town at Tema (discussed in detail in the section 'Looking back to look forward') aimed to spur Accra as a transforming urban economy coupled with an upgraded larger port, an analogous industrial exclave, and ample accommodation options for different socio-economic groups in planned developments. Dual-city experimentation intended for two commercial cores to emerge, but Tema's central business district (CBD) failed to take off and ambitions faded when Nkrumah was ousted from power. As a result, this CBD remained underdeveloped and barren. Failure to realize this aspect of the Tema plan had unintended consequences of further adding to pressures of congestion in the Accra CBD. An economic downturn following a series of military interventions in the governance of the country from the late 1960s to early 1980s effectively stalled the spatial development and planning of the entire metropolitan area. By the early 1990s, Accra, which by then comprised three local authorities, exhibited characteristics of rapid physical expansion as the urban development boundary was pushed further and further into rural space.

It was not until the early 1990s when another major concerted planning effort took place that devised the Strategic Plan for the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA). Owusu (2013, 9) summarizes the GAMA strategic plan as resting on three spatial pillars: urban consolidation, twin-cities (Accra and Tema would grow towards each other in a coordinated way), and satellite towns. The latter spatial concept was put forward to restrict the growth of Accra by directing future urban development consciously to potential growth centres within easy commuting distance to Accra.

The GAMA Strategic Plan was well received, but it failed in implementation (Grant 2009; Obeng-Odoom 2013). In essence, limited coordination among various ministries and local governments (e.g. the Ministry for Roads and Transportation, the Department of Town and Country Planning, and Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) and Tema) meant that planning and development became focused around sectoral projects to the detriment of spatial and strategic concerns. Road infrastructure, for example, has attracted significant investment for road corridors and bypasses but without adequate consideration of their spatial ramifications (Owusu 2013). Poorly contextualized transport infrastructure development can have the effect of accentuating ribbon along the main arteries so that roads become a physical conduit for sprawl (Owusu and Oteng-Ababio 2015). The urban growth of Accra was also propelled by private real estate investments concentrating on the capital city where speculative urban projects (e.g. gated communities, malls, and commercial offices) sought land in suburban locations.

Assessments of post-independence spatial development in Accra reveal that planning suffers from inconsistency in practice as well as from the absence of a long-held, consistent vision (Grant 2009; Yeboah and Obeng-Odoom 2010). The planning process is characterized by large formal planning initiatives being interspaced with periods of benign neglect and 'quiet and bold encroachments' (Gillespie 2016), followed by episodes of unplanning (demolitions and removals) (Obeng-Odoom 2011)

and the unveiling of new plans by new governments. Cobbinah and Darkwah (2016, 3) surmise that Ghanaian planners ‘lurch from opinion to opinion and policy to policy with no optimistic, realistic and sustainable approach to cling to.’ An extensive literature (Grant 2009; Oteng-Ababio and Grant 2019; Yeboah and Obeng-Odoom 2010) also underscores that planning efforts have to contend with complex and multiple landholding systems (e.g. public land, stool and family lands, and private lands), and legal issues surrounding land ownership and transfers can stall planning and, in the interim, instigate individuals to develop land informally. The absence of forward-moving planning results in Accra becoming increasingly chaotic, inefficient, and unsustainable. But in the context of global consensus around sustainable development goals, the Ghanaian government is now shifting its position to be highly proactive in new project planning that also incorporate sustainable features, and they are enlivening local boosterism to attract badly needed investments into these new projects. AMA erected new signage in the city proclaiming ‘A New Accra for a Better Ghana,’ to support the new government of President Akufo-Addo promise to invigorate the city and to continue the former administration’s perspective that cities drive national prosperity (Turok 2016).

Entrepreneurialism urbanism and planning in Greater Accra

New urban extensions require an economic hub or centre in addition to residential areas and well planned and serviced layout to invigorate the project and unleash its potential (Van Noorloos and Kloosterboer 2018). New projects need to be anchored by sites of production, whether they be financial services; logistics centres; tourism gateways; innovation/knowledge centres; transportation hubs or various combinations (Murray 2017). Some of the most ambitious projects in Africa build upon airport cities and/or special economic zones, highly speculative ventures in their own right (Van Noorloos and Kloosterboer 2018). All of these elements are basically additive developments which work from a *tabula rasa* and on that basis forge new connections with the international economy (Carmody and Owusu 2016, 67).

Carmody and Owusu (2016) draw on the work of Foucault (2008, 3) to describe these planning utopias as neoliberal heterotopias – ‘a kind of effectively enacted utopia’ whereby their constituent parts and functions have some level of integration with an explicit international articulation that is distinctive from their ‘host city’ (Carmody and Owusu 2016, 70). In doing so new developments attempt to erase their negative associations with their host cities and augment positive associations to advance their new connections outwards (Carmody and Owusu 2016).

Ghana’s Ningo-Prampram project relies on urban entrepreneurialism that is centred on the notion of a public-private partnership, a venture in which local boosterism is integrated with the backing of local government to attract external sources of funding, new investments and new employment sources (Harvey 1989). Obeng-Odoom (2017) surmises that urban entrepreneurialism is about marketing the city to marketise itself i.e. marketing is about the international brand of the city while marketising involves solving urban challenges and driving local economic development through the use of the market. Therefore, the private sector takes over or substantially performs functions previously carried out by local governments (Obeng-Odoom 2017). In this context, local government adopts a facilitative role (bearing the risks and engaging in time-consuming coalition support and deflecting criticisms) while the private sector enjoys the ensuing benefits. In doing so, the focus is directed at spectacular sites (new enclaves/hubs) as opposed to considering the overall development of the metropolitan area. This approach entrusts the speculative element of projects to deliver growth, entice capital and tourists, and provide jobs. In particular, inserting rural space into urban real estate creates highly remunerative opportunities, when the project takes off.

New city development requires a largely expedient process that accords real-estate developers more flexibility in the construction of the components of these mega-projects. These circumstances require what Roy (2009, 79) describes as the informalisation of the planning process, a process she notes stems from the capabilities of modes of urban governance to shape spaces according to ever-

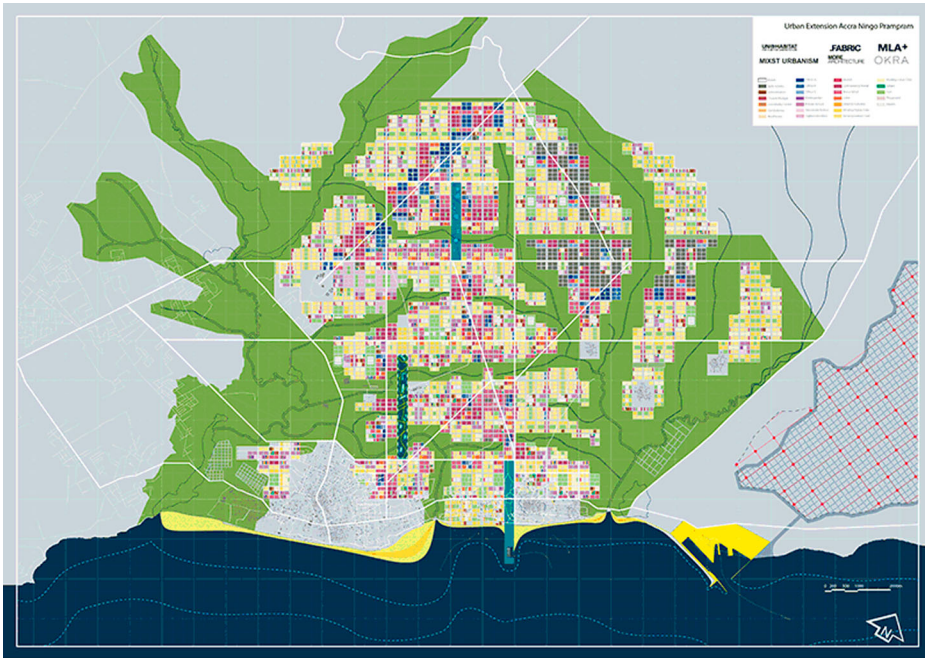
changing logistics. For example, this occurs by allowing the state considerable territorial flexibility to alter land use, deploy eminent domain and to acquire land, even to convert rural land into urban use, often in violation of national land laws that recognize indigenous landholding rights. Such circumstances also create opportunities for tribal chiefs to engage real-estate transactions. Paradoxically both mechanisms further weaken the public institutions that secure customary land rights.

Murray (2017, 313) emphasizes in aspiring world-class projects, such informalisation is appealing because of the pliant elasticity it provides elite decision-makers in allowing particular exemptions or circumventions of existing regulations – but not others. Thus, the adoption of ad hoc decision-making does not represent a failure in planning but on the contrary informality is a deliberate planning strategy the best fits the interests of elites who find flexibility provides the leeway needed to organize the development of the city according to their own interests (Murray 2017). Goldman (2011) notes this large-scale place-altering city project require the malleability of speculative governance. It is not just the enticing of large capital infusions but the restructuring of governance institutions for improved access to public goods and services for international capital but they also trigger new political rationalities that emerge in situ as bureaucrats and political officials broker jackpot deals for external clients and generate their own rent-seeking mechanism in the process. This speculative entrepreneurialism deeply entangles planners with government and the latter with real estate brokers/land dealers, and political party leaders who actively auction public lands for the good of the nation-style development with the promise of vigorous type of planning that is supposedly future proof. Not surprisingly, Harvey (1989, 7) reminds us that coalition and alliance formation is delicate and it also depends on a person of vision, tenacity and skill (such as clever city administrator, charismatic mayor/minister or a wealthy business leader) to put a stamp on the nature and direction of urban entrepreneurialism and they may be bolstered by support from international policy experts.

The Ningo-Prampram urban extension concept plan

Ningo-Prampram is large district covering of 622.2 km², lying 15 km to the east of Tema and 50 km from Central Accra. Its name is derived from two old towns with European colonial histories: Prampram centred around a British trading post and fort from 1742, whereas Ningo sprung up around a Danish fort dating circa 1735. Both settlements had longstanding local fishing communities that predated the building of forts. The district's population was 85,406 people in 2019 (Agyekum 2019). By far the largest employment sector is agriculture (crop and fruit farming) and forestry, followed by fishing, retail, and real estate (Ministry of Finance 2016, 6–7), but large swathes of the proposed urban extension area are sparsely populated. The 2010 Housing and Population Census counted 9236 dwelling units (Ghana Statistical Service 2010), most of low standard: 56% of households occupy a single room and over 40% of houses are without electricity and a toilet (Ghana Statistical Service 2010, 67) (Map 2).

The new urban extension would occupy 136 km² of the entire space, and it could accommodate up to 1.5 million residents. A major goal is to channel urban development into a new city as a smart growth strategy (See Arku (2009) for a discussion of smart growth strategies in African cities). This location is described as 'a unique opportunity area ... confluence of high urbanization potential in the context of the Trans-African highway, the prospective international airport, and the Atlantic coastline' (UN-Habitat 2016a, 6). The concept map shows the siting of the international airport in the west; the existing university (Central University) in the northeast section will be upgraded and named University City; and the irrigated lands to the north of the campus will serve as a living laboratory for the university community to advance agriculture and forestry practice (presently the main livelihoods of the district). The southern coastal portion is planned as a tourist site with public beach access, and restaurants/retail will be intertwined with housing and commercial offices in a mixed-use development. The main street (Ghana Avenue) runs north to south and is connected to the airport as well as to the coastline. A conference centre, with high-end business facilities, is



Map 2. Map of layouts and districts of Ningo-Prampam Urban Extension (Source: UN-Habitat 2016a).

to be developed at a prime location overlooking the sea. Laying out the basic infrastructure for the project is budgeted in 2016 at US\$320 million (UN-Habitat 2016b, 16).

The proposed urban extension area comprises different land systems: state, district-owned, privately owned, and stool lands (two large blocks are Ningo Stool land and one large tract is Prampam Stool land). See Map 3.

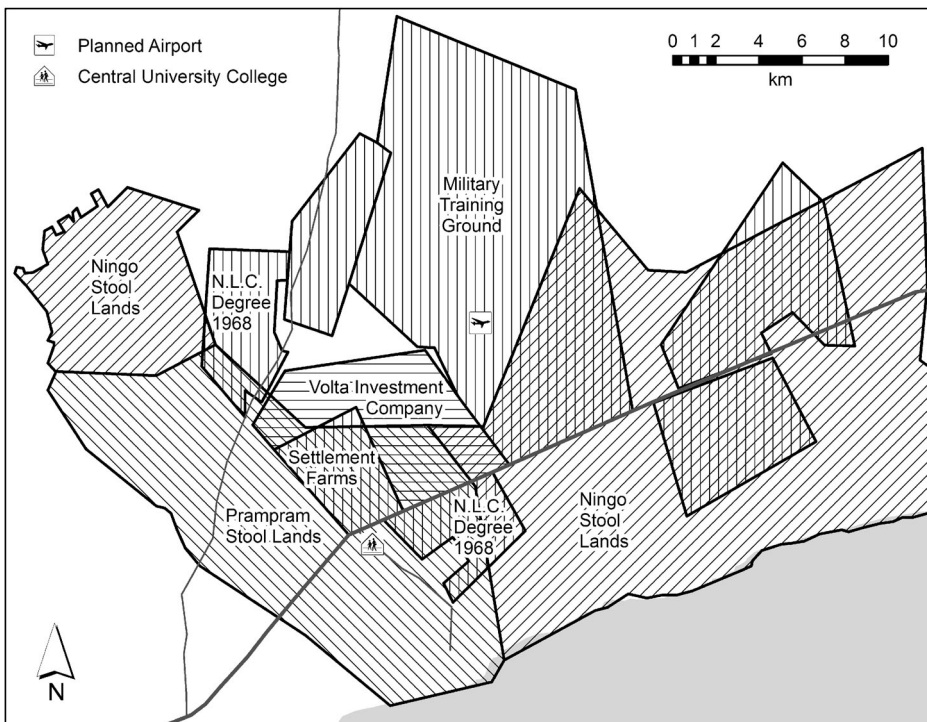
The project aims to help ameliorate the housing deficit in Accra with a smart growth shelter strategy that incorporates of a large array of housing types with optimal layouts to cater for



Map 3. Photo of public housing at Ningo-Prampam (Source: Authors).

middle-income residents as well as low-income residents with 5000 subsidized housing units (e.g. the Saglemi Housing Estate), and also to thwart the development of informal settlements anticipated to spring up around the project accommodating informal workers. The government acquired this land at very reasonable prices to make the affordable housing initiative viable and the market rate for land prices (based on local fieldwork in March 2017) shows average real estate prices at US\$18/ m² in Ningo-Prampram, compared to US\$111/ m² in Accra. Small apartment buildings at Ningo-Prampram ensure that population density will be maximized, and the overall project will aim for 15,000 people per km² and 80 street crossings per km² (Map 4).

Sustainable development features are incorporated into the project. A first in planning outside of Accra's gated community developments is to organize specific streets for pedestrians and cyclists to promote walkable neighbourhoods that will offer an alternative to vehicular traffic and informal activity encroachment that is ubiquitous on the streets of Accra. Another effort at sustainable development informed is to enable strategically the phasing in of projects in particular zones so that the residential communities can 'coevolve' with transport networks and green and public spaces (UN-Habitat 2016a). The plan and grid are laid out with reference to the river and watershed in the area, and it will utilize human-made canals to channel water to curb flooding. This is intended as a sustainable solution to Accra's flood-proneness that is projected to worsen with global climate change. Zoning ordinances will not be applied and instead mixed-use space is emphasized wherever possible to enliven residential communities (UN-Habitat 2016a). As it was originally outlined, the Ningo-Prampram Urban Extension concept plan emphasizes the attributes of physical design (layouts, green spaces, density, roads, airport, university), but these should be considered not as ends in themselves but rather as guideposts for desired economic, social, and environmental outcomes in a spatial frame that is imbricated to a city-region. The economic basis of the planned extension is barely touched upon in the concept plan. How the urban extension will serve as an engine for



Map 4. Map of land ownership in Ningo-Prampram (Source: UN-Habitat 2016a).

economic growth is unclear and without a sound economic basis there is a danger of never advancing to a more productive stage.

Ningo-Prampram urban extension: early evolution

Already, 1500 of the 5000 affordable housing units are complete (Citifmonline 2016) (see photo). Built with a government backed US\$200 million loan, these units were built by a Brazilian company, Construtora OSA, that is partnering with the government to deliver 11,000 affordable housing units in various projects throughout the country. Interviews revealed that these new residents are mainly workers in Tema and Accra, and given that the existent current population of the area is mainly employed in primary sector activities (GSS 2010), there is a concern that the area could develop into a dormitory community and decant some of Accra's and Tema's population into upgraded housing units rather than develop its independent identity. However, the Ghanaian parliament has recently worried that the developer is quick in spending the state funds awarded (90 per cent has been spent) but much slower in keeping pace with housing construction (one third of housing units are only partially complete) (GhanaWeb 2019, 1). However, to jumpstart the housing effort, the GOG and UN-Habitat announced a new US\$4.8 billion commitment to build 500,000 middle-class houses in and around Ningo-Prampram over 20 years via a new rent-to-own scheme (Modern Ghana 2019, 1). Housing and land selling have been the initial components to make headway. Research on Ningo-Prampram's youth, excluded 'from big men' land deals details the shifting local political terrain and the breaking down of existing local alliances whereby some newly disposed youths use various tactics to extract a share of the spoils e.g. protest, sabotage and intimidation, which gets countered by return intimidation (Agyekum 2019). Agyekum (2019) terms this *takashie*. When everybody deploys *takashie* (i.e. usurps the law for their own ends) to build a better future for themselves, an alternative urban order undergirds the urban development project. Such an undercurrent represents a major challenge to western planning thinking and ideals.

The concept plan fails to elaborate on the extension's relationship with both Tema and Accra. This is a serious omission as this project will affect the lives, economies and environments of people who live both inside as well as outside. The development of the project thus far raises the spectre of the project adding another element to 'rurban spaces' or peri-urban development (Van Noorloos and Kloosterboer 2018), further exacerbating socio-spatial segregation and fragmentation. The early evidence shows the urban extension accommodating 'overspill,' and 'overflows' of poor workers as opposed to solving the broader urban and spatial challenges of Accra.

Importantly, the Ministry for Aviation with support of some members of the Ningo Traditional Council announced in July 2017 that Ningo-Prampram's new airport would serve as an aerotropolis (Agyeman and Hackman 2017). Kasarda (2015) defines an aerotropolis as a multifunctional business agglomeration of property and projects at airports whose urban functions are analogous to a metropolitan central business district, creating a city-like environment immediately around the airport that links to international clients, suppliers and partners. This aerotropolis is expected to provide economic benefits not only to the people of the area but also to the entire nation (Agyeman and Hackman 2017). According to a senior planner in the project, 'the goal is to fulfil Ghana's gateway aspiration and create a state of the art air hub that complements nearby Tema port and positions Ghana as a central point for international business and aviation services.' The government is in the process of reviewing proposals for the proposed multi-nodal airport from international investors from Europe, China, Turkey, the Middle East and Africa (Agyeman and Hackman 2017, 1). China Airport Construction has already conducted a feasibility study, and Beijing has announced an interest in investing in the aero-complex (Ghanaian Times 2017). The airport commercial development has the potential for earning high investment returns and it can serve as a catalyst to add considerable real estate value to the lands within the airport's vicinity and its realization will be important to high-technology firms and advanced business sectors that depend on international connectivity. Given the potential upside in land and real estate, the Ningo Traditional Council has warned the

government not to deal with individual landowners or sole representatives in developing adjacent lands but only to act via the Council, since all families are represented on the Council and therefore will make any issue that arises easier to settle (Gogo 2017).

However, given that 'Airport City' is well under development at Accra's Kotoka International Airport it is unclear how the two airport cities can be sustained or indeed the degree to which they can evolve with complementarity. Those involved in the Ningo-Prampram aerotropolis contend that the built from scratch airport complex is much less constrained by aging infrastructure, patchwork additions, internal space, and limited maintenance facilities. The extent to which place-marketing of a 60,000-acre tract acquired several decades earlier is overreaching in multiple and interlocking speculative ventures or the degree to which key players within the Government are really behind the aerotropolis is unclear. However, the Minister for Aviation has embarked on air route development and services, and a new national airline as part of a public-private partnership with an established international carrier will be launched by 2019 (Myjoyonline 2017). Kenya Airways, Qatar Airlines, Ethiopia Airways have made bids and a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with Air Mauritius has been signed (Ch-Aviation 2017) but the final decision on the chosen strategic partner has not been made. Several senior aviation officials interviewed evoke UAE's Dubai Airport and Singapore's Changi Airport in imagining Accra's possibility as a West African aerotropolis and strategic driver for optimizing future development. Also, citing evidence such as South African Airways using Ghana as a secondary hub, Turkish Airlines opening up more routes to Accra, and budget airlines flying out of Accra (e.g. Ghana's new domestic airline Africa World Airlines is backed by China's fourth largest carrier Hainan Airlines), they contend that it is only a matter of time before a West African aerotropolis is a reality. However, Lagos Murtala Muhammed International Airport and Cape Verde are emerging as viable aerotropolis regional competitors.

Despite the government acquiring large tracts of land in Ningo-Prampram by earlier decrees to procure land for public purposes (via the National Liberation Council 1968 decree, Act 123), large tracts remain in the control of the Ningo Stool and the Prampram Stool, particularly the western portion and the south-eastern area. A private entity, Volta Investments Company (VIC), administers 15,000 acres of land in the central area. Tracts within the respective stool lands and the entire VIC acquisition are contested. The details of VIC's acquisition are murky. Different threads claim the acquisition evolved from a national divestiture scheme in 1998 with land passing from the Bank of Ghana to a cattle ranching company before ending up in the hands of VIC but others contend that the sale of lands to VIC is imbricated in behind the scenes political land gabbing, and its shadow owner is former Attorney General, Dr. Obed Assamoah, an appointee under the former government of President Rawlings (Agbenyega 2015). The stool contends that on the basis of the government's compulsory decree, this land is not being used for intended public purposes, so the ensuing transaction to VIC is illegal, and furthermore this entity is usurping its land foothold in the area by engaging in further encroachments, some 3.5 miles square of adjacent land (Agbenyega 2015).

On several occasions Prampram Stool lands have been contested by different families within the Prampram Stool, especially land in the vicinity of Central University (e.g. Numo Awuley Kwao Family v Nene Kwaku Derpoh) with the court successively ruling that the Numno Awuley Kwao Family is the legitimate title holder of the land so that this land can only be sold by family approval (Myjoyonline 2016). The court also warned a real estate developer, Real Assets Company, and senior police officers of Tema Municipality to cease 'illegal and fraudulent' transactions of land in the private sector, unless they have the approval of the Numno Awuley Kwao Family (Myjoyonline 2016, 1).

Another set of disputes have arisen on lands acquired by private developer, KNET Limited. Indigenous youth claimed that the private developer, the New Ningo Chief and members of the Ghanaian arms forces are muscling indigenes off the land to make way for private development on traditional lands (GhanaWeb 2017). Local farmers claim that are being prevented from practicing livelihoods and entering their land by members of Ghana's armed forces and they warn of a

'bloodbath unless the private developer quits the area' (Sebbie 2017, 1). Given the multiple landholders that are present in Ningo-Prampam, if the project is to proceed and develop to its full potential, land arrangements need to be transparent and a consensus needs to be developed among the key stakeholders so that development can proceed in a coordinated, managed manner and hopefully in a socially sustainable way by protecting the rights of poor indigenes.

Policy reflections on the Ningo-Prampam urban extension

A central question concerning the Ningo-Prampam Urban Extension, and one informed by past experiences (Shaw 1995; Vasudevan 2013), is whether in 10–15 years the new city contributes to reducing sprawl, urban dysfunction, and the negative externalities of urbanization (e.g. long commuting times, traffic, pollution, out-migration to work), which disproportionately affect the lives of the city's poor residents. As the project evolves it appears to be combining a smart growth strategy with an aerotropolis anchor to facilitate urban and regional development and intensify international connectivity.

The aerotropolis is a highly speculative, large-investment within the urban extension, and it remains to be determined whether it evolves and extends beyond the airport's fence.

Presently, the economic and residential components of the project are evolving on separate planes. As the project evolves, extensive and some overlapping linkages among the various spatial units of the project will be essential. For example, aviation-enabled advantages require extensive integration with the airport/business site, residential, business districts as well as to other gateway arteries (e.g. roads, airports, railroads and ports). In addition, an aerotropolis relies on an improving Ghanaian economy and the emergence of a sizeable middle-class, growth of intentional passenger and cargo traffic to and from Ghana, international economic factors beyond its borders and whether Accra can be branded as the West African aerotropolis.

Besides the hard infrastructure, the soft infrastructure and collaborations of various constellations of actors is vital. Good governance involving collaboration of all the districts in the region are essential. To accomplish this, it is paramount that urban regional governance be enhanced and that the planning apparatus be reformed with the objective of improving coordination among the regional- and district-level administrations. The 2016 Land Use and Spatial Planning Bill is a promising initiative to move planning onto a longer-term sustainable track, creating a more powerful and better resourced planning authority. This authority, however, will need to be supported by a legally binding mechanism to institutionalize and enforce a culture of coordination among local governments in cross-cutting matters (Acheampong and Ibrahim 2016).

Besides a shared urban regional vision and mechanisms to coordinate and operate within a properly functioning bureaucratic system, professional competencies will need to be built-up in Ningo-Prampam. For instance, Accra and Ningo-Prampam have separate Town and Country Planning Departments and District Assemblies, and the latter will have to be a quicker learner as the extension undergoes a foundational shift from rural/peri-urban to urban. The concept plan barely touches on governance questions such as which entities will have administrative responsibilities for what aspects of the projects; what is the mechanism to transition from the delivery to the handover phase; how is tax to be collected and redistributed; how are the various rural and urban municipalities involved in coordination and strategic spatial planning and most importantly at what scale does governance of the new entity take place and what are the relationships among various levels of governance (Van Noorloss and Kloosterboer 2017).

Forward governance planning is in motion. The Ningo-Prampam Assembly passed a resolution to establish a Technical Service Center (TSC), a quasi-governmental organization, that will include membership from local government, the Assembly, Central University and other partners to assist in public-sector led management to help guide technical solutions (drawing on relevant university expertise) (Interview with metropolitan planner of the Ningo-Prampam Assembly, September 2017). This is an effort to learn from the mistakes that befell aspects of large public-sector projects

such as the deterioration and poor maintenance of Volta River Authority housing estates, developed as a component of the massive dam projects at Akuse and Akosombo.

Looking back to look forward: planning projects around Tema and their legacies

Tema was planned as a satellite city and catalytic engine (Arku 2009) articulated with an economic base that included a port, industrial estates, and an aluminium plant. Coincidentally the Tema site offered a deep harbour for large-cargo handling. This dual-city was planned for 90,000–200,000 residents to showcase national progress and to generate a pathway of upward mobility (d'Auria 2010; Elleh 2002). At that time, this was a very ambitious project, considering it was a small fishing village with 2000 people in 1948 (Kirchherr 1968, 208). Planners envisaged the project as 'a gigantic piece of social engineering for uniting people of different social and cultural backgrounds into an integrated social, commercial and industrial community' (Amarteifo 1966, 7). Tema grew into the industrial hub of Ghana, with a carefully constructed road layout featuring green space, landscaping, street-lights, and boasted modern recreational centres and social amenities – rare among African cities of that time.

The development of Tema, however, required the displacement of people already occupying the area, contrary to the colonial policy of the early 1990s 'of noninterference in the native and older established areas' (Tipple 1987, 4). A resettlement plan was developed to rehouse indigenous occupants at a separate site named Tema Manhean (Tema New Town) to maintain traditional identity whilst residing in an improved environment. A 15.6 km² plot at the eastern edge of the new township incorporated traditional compound houses with flexible layouts so that families could add on rooms based on need, and schools, shops, a market, a chief's palace, and a fish-smoking area were also laid out. Tema Manhean was designed by the London office of Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew. Working with the Colonial Public Works Department, they adopted a participatory planning approach engaging tribal chiefs and their members to a degree unknown at this time (Jackson and Holland 2014). Tema Manhean was groundbreaking in terms of its inclusion effort because in prior (and subsequent) urban planning, indigenous occupants were not involved. Such an innovative component is missing from the Ningo-Prampram concept plan.

Tema was planned via a tight series of successive colonial and post-colonial master plans. Eventually the planning of the entire city was entrusted to Doxiadis Associates (DA), an Athens-based firm (previously commissioned to plan Islamabad, a new city of 2 million people), and Tema Manhean was left as an appendage to the master plan. Doxiadis endowed Tema with a range of housing for various income groups: the lowest-income group was located close to the industrial area, and low- and middle-income groups were assigned space along the central zone. Experimentation in Tema with low-income housing was innovative as prior to this Ghana had virtually no experience with low-cost, low-income housing as self-built housing prevailed.

An unintended consequence of the success of Tema was the accelerated growth of the neighbouring Ashaiman area – due to more affordable accommodation, ease of building informally, and proximity. Eventually Ashaiman evolved into a very large informal settlement of approximately 300,000 people. Given the scale and scope of urban poverty in Ghana, these same dynamics might produce a similar outcome outside of Ningo-Prampram. Notwithstanding this unintended consequence, there are valuable lessons from Tema experimentation: planning can be integrated into a wider economic strategy; urban planning needs to anticipate rapid urbanization; flexibility needs to be incorporated into plans as development occurs in stages rather than in its entirety; and all key economic anchors should be completed so that there are not gaping holes in the economic base (e.g. Tema's missing CBD). Although the original Tema communities experienced urban downgrading (Melera et al. 2013), the spatial grid of Tema endured as a visible layering. In its time, Tema was internationally lauded for its innovative design, the work of visionary master planner Doxiadis, and Manhean marked a formative moment in participatory planning. Although Manhean emerged as an appendix of the newly created Tema industrial and harbor city, it did show that not all new projects have to be

on a gridiron pattern, that planning can respond to site, housing can serve as a bridge between rural living and the increasingly dominant urban life (Jackson and Oppong 2014). Manhean showed that compound typologies can be integrated into new towns, but continued political and financial commitments are essential. GOG's failure to support the Tema Development Cooperation, the public housing authority overseeing the town, meant that upgrading and infilling projects in this area are recently being awarded to a private Chinese developer who, in turn, built high-rise apartments at the site.

Even though Tema was developed in the 1950s, the project incorporated notions of urban sustainability. Combining an indigenous community, different socio-economic residential areas surrounded by trees, parks, open spaces, and lagoons (most of which have unfortunately become polluted), the Tema example is an important lesson in socio-environmental sustainability. Ningo-Prampram's planned green spaces (10% of total area), therefore, builds upon Tema's precedent.

Conclusions

Throughout the African region attention is shifting away from fixing cities (the traditional concentration of urban planners) towards national urban plans and new city projects (Carmody and Owusu 2016; Turok 2016). Ningo-Prampram is an evolving public-private project, actively striving for greater private participation. Couched within a utopian vision, much less original and innovative than is implied (Bontje and vanLeynseele 2019), it is continuously evolving: Ningo-Prampram's recent renditions incorporate an aerotropolis, affordable middle-classes houses and a number of sustainable development initiatives. Such positive developmental framing seems to carry more weight than to couch Accra's urbanization in negative terms involving chaos, disorder, and disaster. But speculative urban African projects have little precedence in realizing newer spatial imaginaries and planned projects tend to take root in fits and starts of construction and disappointments in raising necessary funding and within the lived realities of the West African region where informal settlement practices are ready to fill voids. As Bhan underscores (2013, 234) 'masterplans that seek to abstract away from lived realities, suffer from their own ambition of never being realizable because the "chaos" that they seek to evade is precisely the context in which they have to operate.'

New political tensions are evident that complicate Ningo-Prampram's planning and could jeopardize foreign investment. There are tensions between those already living in the area and newcomers, and especially between the disposed youth (whose traditional claims to land and socially coded entitlements are being erased) and traditional leaders and land speculators. However, the GOG 2019 proposal to deliver up with a half a million affordable houses for the Ghanaian middle-classes in Ningo-Prampram and surrounding areas may build a broad-based collation of support for continuing the development of the urban extension.

Whether the project can attract enough investment support is unknown. If this urban extension takes root, it will be a big juggernaut altering the spatial organization of the ACR forever. While the development of the project requires large up-front infrastructural investments, the lessons from Tema (Provoost 2015) are that continual investment is required so that the city can be renewed and become a sustainable community, beyond the typical life span of an entrepreneurial real estate project. Ghana's relative economic and political stability within the African region bodes well for attracting international development partners and private sector investors. Snapshot analyses of Accra's investment potential are presently highly positive. For example, MasterCard's African Cities Growth Index (MasterCard 2015) consistently ranks Accra among the top cities in Africa for investment potential (based on criteria such as political stability, urban well-being, and openness to foreign direct investment). Nonetheless flagship Ningo-Prampram remains a work in progress with grand its ambitions yet to be fulfilled. There is a strong possibility it may be reframed as an 'ordinary city' in terms of its eventual mix of formal developments and informality that is bound to emerge within or adjacent to the project or in the worst case scenario a 'ghost town' (Bontje and vanLeynseele 2019).

The economic basis of the urban extension exists only in investment proposals, MOUs and in the dreams of entrepreneurs, planners, private developers, architects land speculators, and some members of stools who have forged novel partnerships to place-promote and develop projects. The completion of the first phase of affordable housing units at Ningo-Prampram is playing a small part in developing a new urban imaginary about this hitherto rural space and an aerotropolis could dramatically alter it forever. Presently, however, there is little other than an arc of urban shelter, a university and an airport fence.

The development of Ningo-Prampram as an idea has been around for decades but it was given fresh impetus with leadership from external actors, UN-Habitat, and international consultants. While the concept document is careful to portray the project as led by a Ghanaian-Dutch team, it is evident that the inspiration for urban entrepreneurialism its showcase aerotropolis and sustainable features has travelled to Accra from elsewhere. Willing local partners such as the District's Assembly, the local municipality, Central University, stools and private companies embraced the forward momentum of the project eager to position themselves at the forefront of the development of the area, and hoping for windfall that might arise from the forward momentum that could be generated by major international investment. Still these are little more than disparate constellations of actors engaged in particular land, airport and property development projects but who share national and urban policymakers' desire bring the new city project to fruition.

An inherent weakness with this new planned urban development is an emphasis on deigning the present as a platform for the future city but scarcity of national funds and investment partners requires ad hoc planning to such a degree that the pace and the contour of future planning are malleable as details get worked out. Carmody and Owusu (2016, 71) characterize a number of new urban projects (e.g. Eko Atlantic (Nigeria), Modderfontein (South Africa) and Konza Techno City (Kenya)) 'as utopian dystopia or heterotopias' and we add Ningo-Prampram to the list, not only because it is unknown if it will be highly generative in terms of catalytic effects and in terms of job creation, linkages, and multiplier effects but its attempts to place such neoliberal faith in intensifying ties to the international economy to reverse marginalization and the deep contradictions of their host urban city raise profound concerns about whether this project will disarticulate further the urban economy, create further exclusions, and/or result in an enclave of development.

There exists a real possibility that Ningo-Prampram (fully or partially developed) could expand ACR into an amorphous linear axis, possibly at its peril. Its addition to the ACR expands the coastal city-region to 70 kms: from Kokrobite in the west through the centre of Accra and to Ningo-Prampram in the east. This sprawling axis has the potential to unlock ever more rural and peri-urban space within its vicinity. ACR could be developing as a string of beads of well-planned, serviced districts comprising Accra's CBD, Airport City, Tema, Ningo-Prampram's aerotropolis, and possibly Appolonia, and it is unknown what kind of urban development will proceed outside of these areas.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

ORCID

Richard Grant  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5409-8117>

References

- Acheampong, R., and A. Ibrahim. 2016. "One Nation, Two Planning Systems? Spatial Planning and Multi-Level Integration in Ghana, Mechanisms, Challenges and the Way Forward." *Urban Forum* 27 (1): 1–18.
- Adarkwa, K. 2012. "The Changing Face of Ghanaian Towns." *African Review of Economics and Finance* 4 (1): 1–27.

- Agbenyega, P. 2015. "JJ Rawlings Exposes Obed Asamoah Over Ownership of Ningo Family Lands." *Modern Ghana*, September 27. <https://www.modernghana.com/news/645371/1/jj-rawlings-exposes-obed-asamoah-over-ownership-of.html>.
- Agyekum, H. 2019. "Takashie: Translating Transnational Policy Circulations in the Ningo-Prampram City Extension Agenda." *Urban Forum*. <https://doi-org.access.library.miami.edu/10.1007/s12132-019-09376-2>.
- Agyeman, N., and I. Hackman. 2017. "Investors Submit Proposals for Construction of New Airport." *Graphic Online*. <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/investors-submit-proposals-for-construction-of-new-airport.html>.
- Amarteifo, G. 1966. *Tema Manhean—A Study of Resettlement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Arku, G. 2009. "Rapidly Growing African Cities Need to Adopt Smart Growth Strategies to Solve Urban Development Concerns." *Urban Forum* 20 (3): 253–270.
- Bhan, G. 2013. "The Real Lives of Urban Fantasies." *Environment and Urbanization* 26 (1): 232–235.
- Bontje, M., and Y. vanLeynseele. 2019. "Introduction to Special Issue of Planning Studies. Visionary Cities or Spaces of Uncertainty?" *International Planning Studies*.
- Carmody, P., and F. Owusu. 2016. "Neoliberalism, Urbanization and Change in Africa: The Political Economy of Heterotopias." *Journal of African Development* 18 (18): 61–73.
- CH-Aviation. 2017. "Ghana to Partner Air Mauritius for New National Carrier." <https://www.ch-aviation.com/portal/news/59157-ghana-to-partner-air-mauritius-for-new-national-carrier>.
- Citifmonline. 2016. "Mahama Inaugurates 1,500 Housing Units at Ningo." <http://citifmonline.com/2016/06/15/mahama-inaugurates-1500-housing-units-at-saglemi-photos/>.
- Cobbinah, P., and R. Darkwah. 2016. "Urban Planning and Politics in Ghana." *Geojournal* 81: 1–17.
- d'Auria, V. 2010. "From Tropical Transitions to Ekistics Experimentation: Doxiadis Associates in Tema, Ghana." *Positions, Grand Plans* 1: 40–63.
- Elleh, N. 2002. *Architecture and Power in Africa*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Foucault, M. 2008. "Of Other Spaces." In *Heterotopia and the City*, edited by M. Dehaene, and M. L. De Caeter, 13–30. New York: Routledge.
- Fuseini, I., and J. Kemp. 2015. "A Review of Spatial Planning in Ghana's Socio-Economic Development Trajectory: A Sustainable Development Perspective." *Land Use Policy* 47: 309–320.
- Ghanaian Times. 2017. "China Ready to Boost Ghana's Aviation." <http://www.ghanaiantimes.com.gh/china-ready-to-boost-ghanas-aviation/>.
- Ghana Statistical Service. 2010. *District Analytical Report: Ningo Prampram District*. http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/2010_District_Report/Greater%20Accra/Ningo%20Prampram.pdf.
- GhanaWeb. 2017. "New Ningo Residents Warn Soldier to Stay off their Lands to Avoid Bloodbath." <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/New-Ningo-Residents-warn-soldiers-to-stay-off-their-lands-to-avoid-bloodbath-557391>.
- GhanaWeb. 2019. "1412 Saglemi Houses Left to Rot; Govt to Terminate Deal." <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/1-412-Saglemi-houses-left-to-rot-gov-t-to-terminate-deal-739178#>.
- Gillespie, T. 2016. "From Quiet to Bold Encroachment: Contesting Dispassion in Accra's Informal Sector." *Urban Geography* 37 (4): 1–19.
- Gogo, G. 2017. "New Aerotropolis to Make Ghana a Major Hub." *Goldstreet Business*, July 13. <http://goldstreetbusiness.com/index.php/news/item/1435-new-aerotropolis-to-make-ghana-a-major-hub>.
- Goldman, M. 2011. "Speculative Urbanism and the Making of the Next World City." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35 (3): 555–581.
- Grant, R. 2009. *Globalizing City: The Urban and Economic Transformation of Accra, Ghana*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Grant, R. 2015a. "Sustainable African Urban Futures. Stocktaking and Critical Reflection on Proposed Urban Projects." *American Behavioural Scientist* 59 (3): 1–12.
- Grant, R. 2015b. *Africa: Geographies of Change*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, D. 1989. "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism." *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 71 (1): 3–17.
- Herbert, C., and M. Murray. 2015. "Building from Scratch: New Cities, Privatized Urbanism and the Spatial Restructuring of Johannesburg After Apartheid." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 39 (3): 471–494.
- International New Town Institute. 2017. "200+ New Towns in Africa." <http://www.newtowninstitute.org/spip.php?article1176>.
- Jackson, I., and J. Holland. 2014. *The Architecture of Edwin Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew. Twentieth Century Architecture, Pioneer Modernism and the Tropics*. Burlington: Ashgate.
- Jackson, I., and R. Oppong. 2014. "The Planning of Late Colonial Village Housing in the Tropics: Tema Manhean, Ghana." *Planning Perspectives* 29 (4): 475–499.
- Kanai, M., R. Grant, and R. Jianu. 2017. "Cities On and Off the Map: A Bibliographic Assessment of Urban Globalisation Research." *Urban Studies* 55 (12): 2569–2585.

- Kasarda, J. 2015. "Welcome to Aerotropolis, the City of the Future." *New Perspectives Quarterly* 32 (3): 43–45.
- Kirchherr, E. 1968. "Tema 1951–1962: The Evolution of a Planned City in West Africa." *Urban Studies* 5 (2): 207–217.
- MasterCard 2015. 2015. "MasterCard African Cities Growth Index: Crosscurrents of Growth." https://newsroom.mastercard.com/mea/files/2015/12/MasterCard-African-Cities-Growth-Index-2015_ONLINE1.pdf.
- Melera, J., R. Grant, M. Oteng-Ababio, and B. Ayele. 2013. "Downgrading—An Overlooked Reality in African Cities. Reflections on an Indigenous Neighbourhood in Accra, Ghana." *Applied Geography* 36 (1): 23–30.
- Ministry of Finance. 2016. *The Composite Budget of the Ningo-Prampram District Assembly for the 2016 Fiscal Year*. Accra: Ministry of Finance, Government of Ghana.
- Modern Ghana. 2019. "US\$4.8 Billion Ningo-Prampram Planned City in the Often." <https://www.modernghana.com/news/941961/us48bn-ningo-prampram-planned-city-extension-project-in-th.htm>.
- Murray, M. 2017. *The Urbanism of Exception: The Dynamics of Global City Building in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Myers, G. 2011. *African Cities. Alternative Visions of Urban Theory and Practice*. New York: Zed.
- Myjoyonline. 2016. "Miotso Chief Seeks Mahama's Intervention to End Encroachment on Land." <http://www.myjoyonline.com/news/2016/october-24th/miotso-chief-seeks-mahamas-intervention-to-end-encroachment-on-lands.php>.
- Myjoyonline. 2017. "Investors Flock Aviation Ministry Over New National Airlines." <http://www.myjoyonline.com/business/2017/March-9th/investors-flock-aviation-ministry-over-new-airline.php>.
- Obeng-Odoom, F. 2011. "The Informal Sector in Ghana Under Siege." *Journal of Developing Societies* 27 (3-4): 355–392.
- Obeng-Odoom, F. 2013. *Governance for Pro-Poor Urban Development: Lessons from Ghana*. London: Routledge.
- Obeng-Odoom, F. 2017. "Urban Governance in Africa Today: Reframing, Experiences and Lessons." *Growth and Change* 48 (1): 4–21.
- Oteng-Ababio, M., and R. Grant. 2019. "Ideological Traces in Ghana's Urban Plans: How do Traces Get Worked Out in Agbogbloshie, Accra." *Habitat International* 83: 1–10.
- Owusu, G. 2013. "Coping with Urban Sprawl: A Critical Discussion of the Urban Containment Strategy in a Developing Country City, Accra." *Planum: The Journal of Urbanism* 26 (1): 1–17.
- Owusu, G., and M. Oteng-Ababio. 2015. "Moving Unruly Urbanization Toward Sustainable Development in Ghana by 2030." *American Behavioral Scientist* 59 (3): 311–327.
- Pieterse, E. 2008. *City Futures: Confronting the Crisis of Urban Development*. London: Zed Books.
- Provoost, M. 2015. "Exporting New Towns: The Welfare City in Africa." In *Architecture and the Welfare State*, edited by M. Swenterson, T. Avermaste, and D. van de Heuval, 277–298. New York: Routledge.
- Roy, A. 2005. "Urban Informality. Towards and Epistemology of Planning." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71 (2): 147–158.
- Roy, A. 2009. "Why India Cannot Plan its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization." *Planning Theory* 8 (1): 76–87.
- Sebbie, E. 2017. "New Ningo Residents Warn Soldiers to Stay off the Lands to Avoid a Bloodbath." *Atinkalonline*, July. <https://www.atinkalonline.com/fm/new-ningo-residents-warn-soldiers-to-stay-of-their-lands-to-avoid-bloodbath/>.
- Shaw, A. 1995. "Satellite Town Development in Asia: The Case of New Bombay, India." *Urban Geography* 16 (3): 254–271.
- Songsore, J. 2009. "The Urban Transition in Ghana. Urbanization, National Development and Poverty Reduction." Unpublished Study Prepared for the IIED as Part of its Eight Country Case Studies on Urbanization. <http://pubs.iied.org/pdfs/G02540.pdf>
- Tipple, G. 1987. "Housing Policy and Culture in Kumasi, Ghana: A Study of Constraints and Resources." *Environment and Behavior* 19 (3): 331–352.
- Turok, I. 2016. "South Africa's New Urban Agenda: Transformation or Compensation?" *Local Economy: The Journal of the Local Economy Policy Unit* 31 (1–2): 9–27.
- UN-Habitat. 2016a. "Draft Project Document: Ningo-Prampram Planned City Extension." Unpublished document. Accra: UN-Habitat.
- UN-Habitat. 2016b. "Unleashing the Potential of the Greater Accra Region: An Urban Strategy." Unpublished document. Accra: UN-Habitat.
- Van Noorloos, F., and M. Kloosterboer. 2018. "Africa's New Cities: The Contested Future of Urbanisation." *Urban Studies* 55 (6): 1223–1241.
- Vasudevan, V. 2013. *Urban Village: Life in an Indian Satellite Town*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Watson, V. 2008. "Seeing from the South: Refocusing Urban Planning on the Globe's Central Urban Issues." *Urban Studies* 46 (11): 2259–2275.
- Watson, V. 2014. "African Urban Fantasies: Dreams or Nightmares?" *Environment and Urbanization* 26 (1): 215–231.
- Yeboah, E., and F. Obeng-Odoom. 2010. "'We Are Not the Only Ones to Blame': District Assemblies Perspective on the State of Planning in Ghana." *Commonwealth Journal of Local Governance* 7: 1–12.