FEASIBILITY OF SLUM REDEVELOPMENT IN GHANA – A CASE STUDY OF ANLOGA SOBOLO

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CERTIFICATION
I hereby declare that this submission is my own work towards the MPhil in land Management and that, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published by another person nor material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree of the university, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

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ABSTRACT

Slums – tagged as home for the urban poor have been described as one of the world’s most life threatening environments because of their extremely poor environmental and housing conditions. Slums are usually characterised by overcrowding (with families of about 6 sharing no bigger than a one small room), very poor sanitation leading to frequent disease outbreaks, poor drainage leading to frequent floods, juvenile delinquencies and high crime rate to mention a few. Their existence has often caught the attention of political leaders because of their obvious drag on their development agenda. Their attack as problems has often led to the political unpopularity of governments leading to their existence being frequently ignored by governments of the developing world. However, despite the superficial contentment shown by inhabitants of slums, they do recognize the insufficiency of their environments. They are, however, crippled by the hopelessness of poverty and inadequacy to cause any such dramatic change in their environments.

On the part of the concerned outsiders, apart from the fact that their existence has repercussions on the urban region as a whole, at the centre of the disdain for their existence is the fact of the compromised sanctity of human lives that have the slum as home – thus the need to do something about them. The United Nations millennium development goal 7-target 11 gives the task of achieving significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020. This emphasizes the world’s recognition for the need to actively intervene in the lives of slum dwellers for their betterment. This thesis presents issues relating to slums resulting from the haphazard
development of originally planned towns due to rapid urbanization and the socio-economic importance and possibility of its redevelopment.
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Plate 4.2 - Poor access routes in Anloga - Sobolo

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ESTHER DUAH
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to Study

“With over one billion poor people living… in slums… the challenge of the urban millennium, is… the task of ensuring that, one day, we will *live in a world of cities without slums*,” - Mrs Anna Tibaijuka, Executive Director of UNCHS (Habitat) (gdrc.org/uem/index.html, 15 March, 2009). The foregoing quote could be considered as apt statement of the global aspiration, to do away with undesirable urban settlements known as ‘slums’.

Slum creation is directly associated with urbanization which seems to be a barometer of human’s “progress” through the 21st century. The following tables clearly depict this trend:

Table 1.1 Percentage of Urban Growth in the World and Major World Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WORLD</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUROPE</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATIN</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFRICA</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The annual urban growth rate in Sub-Saharan Africa including Ghana is recorded as almost 5 percent, twice as high as in Latin America and Asia. The region also has the world’s largest proportion of urban residents living in slums, which today is home to 72 percent of urban Africa’s citizens representing a total of some 187 million people. As more and more people seek a better life in towns and cities, the urban slum population in Africa is projected to double every 15 years in a process known as the urbanization of poverty (Tibaijuka, 2009).

Table 1.2 Urban Population Growths in Ghana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>URBAN POPULATION (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2025</td>
<td>57.7(Projected)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Courier, April 1994

The rapid growth of the population in urban regions (much due to in-migration and new births) without an accompanying increase in the supply of planned urban housing and infrastructure has led to creation of slums. This is because as population increases far beyond planned limits, residential facilities and other urban infrastructure are developed
rapidly (using limited private resource) without planning or adherence to standards in an attempt to let supply meet demand. Justifying the creators and dwellers of slums, their existence has been blamed on the lopsided and vested land policies covering land ownership, infrastructure provision and maintenance, and other socio-economic issues (Srinivas, 2009). Thus for the urban poor, slums are a solution representation a trade off between – poor living quality and close proximity to jobs and markets; poor quality of houses and low affordable investment in housing; no housing and tenurial insecurity; no access to infrastructure and informal and intermittent supply of urban services. (UEMRI Research Output, 1998).

The sociological reality of slums has also been portrayed as being ‘a complicated world that is both vibrant and treacherous, a landscape of physical squalor but also of family, joy, and a battered but enduring sense of hope (Theriault, 2009). A visit to Anloga – Sobolo (the case study area) very well proves this foregoing statement as inhabitants go about their activities seemingly oblivious of their environment. Picture 1.1 below shows this.

Picture 1.1 some children of Anloga-Sobolo (Case study Area) happy and playing oblivious of the poor condition of their environment.
However, the continual existence of slums cannot be pardoned, as apart from their internal precarious conditions; their existence has repercussions on the whole urban region in which they exist. Such repercussion, which could be summed up as social, economic, environment and political challenges, draws back the socio-economic development of the nation as a whole. However at the centre of the disdain for their existence is fact of the compromised sanctity and dignity of the human lives that have the slum as home (Ezeigbo et al, 2008).

Even though the issue of slums could be considered a global crisis, the eminence of the problem has been found stronger in countries, and especially in sub-Saharan Africa countries. It has been estimated that 72% of the urban population in sub-Saharan Africa live in slums. This compares to 32% for the whole world. Sub-Saharan Africa also has the fastest annual slum growth rate of 4.5% (Sietchiping, 2008). Ghana as a developing country lying in the sub-Saharan region is thus one of the countries that has been worst affected by the issue of slums. The country has its urban dwellers forming about 51.5% of its close to 25million populations (UN-Habitat, 2011). The Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy Report (2003) captured that, in 2001 about 4,993,000 people were living in slums in Ghanaian cities. (Agyei-Mensah et al, 2007). It is estimated that about 70% of Ghana’s urban population live in slums (Homeless International, 2009). As a rapidly urbanizing nation, the urban population has almost doubled what it was in 2000 (8,856,000 urban dwellers) as at 2010 (12,811urban dwellers) (UN-Habitat, 2011); and the majority of new urban dwellers will find themselves living in slum conditions and poorer settlements.
1.2 Problem Statement

The continual existence and expansion of slums characterised by very poor standard of living in Ghanaian cities is a dire situation, which directly drags on the development agenda of the nation. Given that the conditions of slums are undesirable in the urban region for obvious health, aesthetic and moral reasons, governments, non-governmental institutions as well as international organizations have all shown keen interest in dealing with the problem of slums in the country. The seventh millennium development goal of the United Nations, which deals with environmental sustainability, has as its 11th target the achievement of a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020. To attain this there is an obvious need for the redevelopment of slum areas. The question now is to what extent can a socio-economically realistic redevelopment be carried out in typical Ghanaian slum? This study therefore sought to investigate how slums could be successfully dealt with in Ghana given their socio-economic realities.

Many who cannot imagine their eradication, given the historic record of attempts at dealing with them, have often met the discussion of how best slums could be dealt with scepticism. Varied efforts have been made by governments over the years to deal with slums. In the sixties, governments acknowledged the existence of slums but did little about them. However, between the seventies and nineties, the attitude of governments changed, as there was a show of aggression and taking of direction in dealing with slums. Demolitions and evictions with and sometimes without replacement, resettlement or relocation were carried out. Sites-and-services with aided self-help (tenant provides labour) were launched by governments; slum upgrading programmes were also embarked on; enabling approaches (to promote good housing developing) as well as the granting of
security of tenure were also tried by governments. (World Bank Prospective Slum Policies Report, 2005). Despite all outlined efforts, slums still do exits with projections of its growth and seemingly no hope of its eradication (as aspired by the African Ministerial Conference on Housing and Urban Development – AMCHUD).

As pointed out by Geoffrey K. Payne in his book Urban Housing In The Third World (1977), such failure could be blamed on the fact that the inherited or imported concepts evolved in western world continue to be widely regarded as valid frameworks for pursuit of development strategies even though their effect when translated into policies is often counter-productive. This is because the socio-economic realities of the country (as in other developing countries) are very different from that of the industrialized west. Particularly in dealing with existing slums, slum clearances in pursuit of westernized development plans, has been proved a futile exercise that only uses up scarce resources to actually increase the number of people needing shelter, thereby intensifying the problems such policies were intended to relieve. In addition, the active intervention of NGOs and International organisations has led to increased knowledge and affinity with the lives of slum dwellers making demolitions politically not feasible. The way forward (as pointed by much research) in dealing with existing slums is the redevelopment of such settlements, based on strategies which judiciously apply the elements deducted from settlements which are the product of indigenous social and economic systems. These even though they may be described as ‘archaic’, offered climatically appropriate and technically sophisticated solutions to the urban planning problems. (Payne, 1977). These elements, which may be contrary to certain western principles of development planning, are outlined by Geoffrey K. Payne as follows: high density, mixed land use, variety of plot sizes and local control over housing provision. The economy and flexibility of
planning frameworks that exploit these elements could ensure the use of urban lands to its full potential within economic constraints. The central problem addressed by this research proves the extent to which such suggestion of Payne could be realistically rolled out in developing countries.

In addressing the central problem of this study, a case study of Anloga-Sobolo, a township in the metropolis of Kumasi, which has much of its neighbourhood having the characteristics of a slum, is adopted. Pictures 1.2 and 1.3 following depict the precarious and very poor conditions within which the people of Anloga-Sobolo live and work.

Pictures 1.2 Very poor drainage system precariously fronting residences which are mostly dilapidated in Anloga-Sobolo

![Picture 1.2 Very poor drainage system precariously fronting residences which are mostly dilapidated in Anloga-Sobolo](image)

Picture 1.3 The very poor environment of a local gari production facility in Anloga-Sobolo

![Picture 1.3 The very poor environment of a local gari production facility in Anloga-Sobolo](image)
1.3 Aim and Objectives

The major aim of this study was to assess the extent to which a socio-economically realistic redevelopment could be carried out in typical Ghanaian slum.

The objectives that were pursued to achieve the aim of the research are as follows:

- To examine the demography of the typical slum and their implied importance to the urban region within which they exist

- To examine the residential aspiration of slum dwellers in comparison to their socio-economic status.

- To examine the legal title\interest of the residents of slums in the landed properties they hold or use and the effect of a redevelopment on such title or interest.

- To gain an over view of the financial implications of such redevelopments and how it could be dealt with.

- To examine in totality the feasibility of redeveloping slums in Ghana given the nation’s socio-economic realities.

1.5 Scope of the Study

This study sought to make general conclusions as to how slums in Ghana could best be dealt with. As a case study, primary data collected and analysed to reach the conclusions of this research focused on the case study area, Anloga –Sobolo located in the hub of the Kumasi metropolis, the capital of the Ashanti region-Ghana. Specifically, data was collected from the inhabitants as well as institutions, which are stakeholders in the development of the township. This was to enable the attainment of grounded results. The
area gave a typical example of a Ghanaian slum resulting from the blighting of a settler settlement. However, secondary data collected and analysed to support the conclusions of this research had a wider geographical scope. It spanned slum redevelopment issues in both the now developed and developing world, as well as Ghanaian urban redevelopment experience in the nation as a whole. Thus, the combination of the primary and secondary data allowed the drawing of generalised conclusions applicable to the nation at large.

Content wise, primary data analysed covered issues of history of settlement, status of physical development and environment, the role of institutional stakeholders, socio-cultural characteristic of township, economic importance of township, general opportunities and problems of the township and the residential aspirations that could be tapped for redevelopment. Secondary data reviewed for the purposes of this study on the other hand spanned issues of the regenerative approach to redevelopment and its complexity, the importance of law to settlement management, experiences of Britain and India in dealing with slums and Ghana’s own experiences in dealing with slums. Important lessons from slum redevelopment efforts discussed by literature are also reviewed. In concluding the research, both the primary data and secondary data gathered are analysed together to draw conclusions on how best the problem of slums could be realistically dealt with in Ghana.

1.6 Organization of the Study

This study is organised into six (6) chapters. The first chapter is the introduction to study, giving a summary of what the study entails. The second chapter sets out the conceptual framework for the study. Basic concepts that the study deals with are defined and streamlined to meet the perspective of this research. The third chapter deals with the
methodology employed by the study. The fourth chapter deals with the review of the literature that discusses the issue of slum redevelopment. The chapter starts with the discussion of concepts based on best practice from other countries’ experience in dealing with slums, before it comes to Ghana’s own experience with slums. The fifth chapter presents and discusses the findings from the research in the case study area. The sixth chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations of the research.

1.7 Justification of Research

Given the precarious conditions in slums inhabited by a substantial percentage of the urban population, there has been lots of agitation in recent years about slums and how they should be ‘eradicated’ from our societies. Even though the magnitude of the problem of slum makes the aspirations of ‘eradication’ seemingly unrealistic, it has still been treated as a worthwhile cause by governments and world leaders. Apart from the prevention of the creation and growth of slums, a major aspect in dealing with them in order to reach the tall aspiration reiterated by the Executive Director of the United Nation Centre for Human Settlement (UNCHS), is the issue of existing slums. Additionally, Ghana as a member of the United Nation has been tasked as part of its millennium development goals to ensure ‘a significant improvement in the lives .... Slum dwellers by 2020’-MDG7(11). This study seeks to relate the socio-economic realities of a typical Ghanaian slum resulting from the haphazard development of an originally planned town to various forms of redevelopment from best practice of the developed and developing world. It also seeks to throw more light on the importance and the achievability of the aspirations of the eleventh target of the seventh millennium development goal of the United Nations in the Ghanaian context.
1.8 Limitations of the Study

The use of the case study methodology, although useful as it allows the attainment of detailed information given the resource constraints of the research, has limiting disadvantages. The predominant ethnic identity, land rights, tenure differences, and basic locational differences of slums in Ghana could give a unique twist to the story of each slum. Thus, the responses and attitude of the inhabitants of the slum studied could vary from that of some others in another slum in the country. Thus, the making of generalized conclusions for the nation from the study of a single slum could be defective. However, this limitation is helped by the fact the secondary data (from literature) used for this study has a wider scope covering experiences and lessons in dealing with the issue of slums on both the national and international level. Thus, conclusions drawn from this study from the analysis of both the primary and secondary data gathered is good for addressing the central aim of the study and thus for national application.
CHAPTER TWO
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives the definition and distinction of the concepts relating to the central theme of this study. This is to establish the fundamental facts referenced in analysing the findings of this research to come to its conclusion. The major concepts discussed include land use planning, slum, urban renewal and feasibility.

In the face of rapid urbanisation Ghana, as many other developing countries, is ‘confronted in the new Millennium with the problem of accommodating the rapidly growing urban populations in inclusive cities, providing them with adequate shelter and basic urban services, while ensuring environmental sustainability, as well as enhancing economic growth and development’ (Tibaijuka, 2009). Thus with population increases, a major fundamental need that comes up is the need for shelter. Shelter considered as a basic or fundamental necessity for human livelihood (Maslow, 1943) calls for various forms of development on land. Such developments are mostly individually planned by owners in ways as to achieve maximum economy and convenience. However, with human propensity to live close to each other to form settlements because of the advantages it offers, there arises the need to plan each development with a consideration of other developments to avoid the situation of conflicting land uses. With the increase in the population of settlements, the need for a general planning of developments is heightened, as there is a need to ensure all land use needs of the population are catered for within the limits of each settlement’s land resources. This leads to the general acceptance of the concept of Land Use Planning, also known as spatial or physical planning or Town and Country Planning.
2.2 The Concept of Land Use Planning

Land use planning involves the organising of building and land use in pursuance of an express scheme of urban or rural evolution. It has been defined by the American Institute of town planners as “the unified development of urban communities their environs and of states, regions, and the nation as expressed through determination of the comprehensive arrangement of land uses and land occupancy and their regulation.” (Keeble, 1962). It has also been described as ‘the art and science of ordering the use of land and the character and sitting of buildings and communication routes so as to secure the maximum practicable degree of economy, convenience and beauty’ (Keeble, 1962). In consonance with the neighborhood principle espoused by Keeble, Land use planning is considered as a complete process requiring all aspects and implications of physical development to be taken into account and to be fitted into a pattern devised with the objective of making a region or community as a whole into an effective, within limits, self-contained organism. The general objectives sought in land use planning are summarized by Keeble as follows:

- The allocation of sufficient space for all uses of land for efficient operation, for the comfort of those who use the land and for whatever degree of growth.

- Compactness of town form and design of road and pedestrian routes to promote ease of communication from one part to another and to minimize the loss of open land generally and agricultural land particularly.
• Avoidance of juxtaposition of incongruous uses and the bringing together of especially harmonious uses, or those whose combination can produce special benefits.

• Preservation and enhancement of existing good features.

• Removal of existing unsatisfactory features.

• Creation of specific town character by different uses of topography and other natural features and by specific groupings of uses and densities

• Economy – the design of a plan which shall, overall, produce a desired level of spaciousness, accessibility, and visual pleasantness for the minimum possible expenditure.

In pursuance of outlined objectives, principles applied in land use planning include the following:

  o The Principle of nearness and proximity – This principle deals with the location of activities as close to their target group as possible. This is to promote convenience in accessing various services within a community.

  o The Principle of segregation and integration – This principle deals with the separation and close situation of incompatible and compatible (or complementing) land uses. This principle is to ensure that conflicting land uses are not sited closely which could detract from the productivity of such activity. It
promotes the productivity of others by locating other uses that would complement their activities close to them.

- The Principle of Land use control - This last but key principle deals with the laws, regulations, and decrees that backs the process of planning to ensure plans designed are complied with and enforced. Such control mechanism ensures advantageous resource development within a community, guides the use and re-development of resources, and prevents the misuse and injurious use of resources.

All above principles are aimed at attaining health, safety, convenience, economy and general amenities of urban living (Chapin, 1972).

Land use planning has been described as having both social and economic benefits. Socially, successful planning tends to make people’s lives happier. This is because it results in a physical environment which conduces to health; which allows convenient and safe passage from place to place, which facilitates social intercourse; and which has visual attractiveness. The economic results of good planning also add to such happiness. A proper spatial relationship between the communities in a region and the constitute parts of a town, compactness of development and efficient arrangement of communication routes all results in human activities being carried out more efficiently and less wastefully, and thus increase wealth. In addition, planning provision designed to conserve valuable woodland, to prevent the exploitation of valuable minerals, or to ensure where agricultural land is put to some other use, the less fertile is taken rather than the more fertile, and all increases individual welfare even if less directly. (Keeble, 1962).
From above exposition, a land use plan has been described as basically embodying a proposal as to how expansion and renewal should proceed in the future, recognizing local objectives and generally accepted principles. Rapid development in urban areas without proper planning that gives cognisance to the aspired settlement development principles has been blamed for the creation and existence of slums.

2.3 Definitions of Slum

From a causative point of view, ‘slum’ has been viewed as “the products of failed policies, bad governance, corruption, inappropriate regulation, dysfunctional land markets, unresponsive financial systems and a fundamental lack of political will” (Cristine, 1997).

The term ‘slum’, however seems to have both objective and subjective connotations. Its subjective connotation has led to the embedding of the element of relativity in its definitions: thus the statement – “slum is only a slum in the eyes of some” (Hardoy et al, 1989). In a similar vein, Solzbacher (1970) contended UN’s general definition of the slums as “areas of authorized usually older housing, which are deteriorating in the sense of being under-serviced, overcrowded and dilapidated” (Achina et al, 2002). He asserts that areas considered as slums may not be in another due to different planning regimes or attitude towards low income earners. Consequently, the term slum has been defined by the American Institute of Real Estate Appraisers ‘as a squalid dilapidated overcrowded area inhabited by an inferior social and economic class. Usually it has overcrowding in old obsolete, dilapidated buildings which lack light, air and sanitary facilities’ (Thorncraft, 1970). This definition has however been found ambiguous as the term ‘inferior’ is relative and difficult to determine. The question
raised in an unpublished thesis (Achina et al, 2002) is whether people inhabiting slums become inferior or inferior people prefer living in slums. However in a similar vain, the term has been defined in US Housing Act of 1937 as ‘any area where dwellings predominate which by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement or design, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities or any combination of these factors are detrimental to safety, health or moral’(Nevitt, 1937).

India – with its popular struggle with ‘slums’ has defined the term in its Slum Area Improvement and Clearance Act, 1956, as follows:

“i) Any area which is or likely to be a source of danger to health, safety or convenience of the public of the area or its neighbourhood by reason of the area being low lying, unsanitary, squalid, overcrowded or otherwise or

ii) The buildings in any area used or intended to be used for human habitation are

(a) In any respect, unfit for habitation.

(b) By reason of dilapidation, overcrowded, faulty arrangement and design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation, facilities or any combination of these factors detriment to the safety, health and moral”. (Hall, 1980).

The key word ‘dilapidation’ in the second part of the definition has been criticised by Rotenberg (1961) as ambiguous for measurement purpose. However, the US census bureau seems to have defined and used it successfully in the 1980 census as follows:
“A dwelling unit should be reported as dilapidated if because of their deterioration or inadequate original construction, it is below the generally accepted minimum standard of housing and should be torn down, extensively repaired or rebuilt”. (Achina et al, 2002).

Much in agreement with the foregoing legal definition of slum, LUMANTI – an NGO in India has defined the term slum as describing communities that are defined by poverty, low income, inadequate living conditions and sub-standard facilities, which are usually inhabited by socially disadvantaged people. (LUMANTI - India, 2004). According to LUMANTI’s definition, residents of these slum areas could be owners of their land and houses, which are very small and have formal title papers to prove ownership. Where residence cannot prove such owner, they are also considered as squatters.

In addition to the element of subjectivity seems to run through the definition of the term in the context of various disciplines. From the sociologist point of view, slum is a spontaneous development of an area due to the influx of migrant workers. The economist and the planner also see a slum as a spontaneous development of housing unit, which falls out of statutory planning regulations (Achina et al, 2002).

The element of subjectivity coupled with ambiguities about the definition of slum though bothersome, is not decisive. This is because slums do exist, and most observers would agree on the classification of areas into slums and well planned settlements. With its varied definitions, slums also go by different names in different countries. Slums are known as ghettos in the United State of America, ‘east ends’ in British Cities and ‘Travellos’ in Brazil. (Owusu, 1977) However, appraising the conditions in different
slums around the world, a major characteristic that runs through them is the issue of extremely poor housing and environmental conditions.

The characteristics of a settlement that could be termed as a slum as set out by the UN HABITAT is therefore as follows:

- Poor structural quality of housing
- Overcrowding
- Inadequate access to safe water
- Inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure
- Insecure residential status
- Low incomes and socially deprived inhabitants.

With these characteristics, slums, described as one of the world’s most life-threatening environments (Agyei-Mensah et al., 2007), are plagued with problems including the following: land insecurity, poor living conditions (due to environmental pollution), frequent flooding, frequent disease outbreaks (e.g. cholera, tuberculosis etc.) unemployment, juvenile delinquencies, high crime rate, and accelerated population growth exacerbating existing problem over time.(GTBacchus, 2002).

All the foregoing precarious conditions pertaining in slums are what has provoked much discussion about their existence and how to deal with them the world over.
2.3.1 Distinction of Slum from Other Related Concepts

The term slum is often erroneously used interchangeably with some other related concepts. Two of such popular concepts are blight and squatter settlements.

The term ‘blight’ is often not sharply differentiated from the term ‘slum’. Blight often refers to the process, stage or state that characterises a slum but is more general in that it can apply to single structures as well as to clusters. Blight is also sometimes used to indicate the process by which property becomes sub-standard. Thus, a property may exhibit different degrees of blight, whereas the cluster of properties in a slum exhibits well-advanced stages of blight. Thus, the element of blight is always present in the definition of the term slum but the two are necessarily synonymous.

Squatter settlements are settlements that are developed by illegal occupants of (usually) urban lands that may be government or private property. The distinction between slum and squatter settlement is most aptly brought out by the U.N. definition of slum. The definition of slum by U.N. as “areas of authorized usually older housing, which are deteriorating in the sense of being under-serviced, overcrowded and dilapidated” brings out the distinction that slum dwellers unlike squatters are mostly legal occupants of the land they have developed. However it is worth noting the opinion that not all illegal settlements are squatter settlements. Hardoy and Satterwaite aptly express this position as follows: “Many illegal settlements are not squatter settlements and do conform to the law in some ways. For instance, in the case of illegal subdivision the occupation of land is legal at least in the eyes of the person or company who owns it” (Hardoy et al, 1989)
2.4 The Concept of Urban Renewal

Urban renewal has assumed great importance in the current century, being identified as the solution to the looming problem of slums and urban decay (Anno, 1982). It has been perceived as a physical strategy to effect changes in the land use pattern of a section of the urban structure, invariably to take advantage of the locational advantage of the target area. It has been defined as ‘replacing and renovating old, obsolete and worn-out structures, and rebuilding whole areas in a city with building that fit the demands of the present’ (Hosken, 1973).

Thorncraft (1970) summarily describes the term urban renewal as the process whereby the obsolete parts of towns are revitalised. He writes that ideally the unit of redevelopment must be significantly large to maintain its character amid a blighted landscape i.e. large enough to be distinct from the surrounding undeveloped lands.

Urban renewal has similarly been described as ‘a deliberate effort to change the urban environment through planned large scale adjustment of existing city areas to present and future requirements for living and working’ Grebler (1962). From this perspective, the process extends to residential and non-residential land use. It involves the replanning and comprehensive redevelopment of land, or the conservation and rehabilitation of areas, which are threatened by blight or are to be preserved because of their historical setting and their cultural values, all in a framework of an overall plan for a city’s development.

Several approaches has been adopted in the process of urban renewal, determined by the varied and interacting problems that give rise to the need for it. These approaches include
Redevelopment, rehabilitation, face lifting, a preventive policy, and a site and service scheme (Anno, 1982).

Redevelopment has been defined as the revision or replacement of an existing land use and population distribution pattern through the acquisition of a predominantly built-up area and the clearance and rebuilding of this area according to comprehensive plan that reflects positive long-range land use and population policies (Chapin, 1965). It may thus involve the demolition or total clearance and reconstruction of an area into a middle-income residential housing, of the relocation of the affected residents on a new site and the reconstruction of the cleared area to fit the overall long-range comprehensive plan of the city. The process ensures a slum or obsolete sector of an urban area is upgraded to fit both physically and functionally into a comprehensive urban structure. This approach is documented as used extensively in the United States and Latin America. This approach to urban planning has been noted as having far-reaching physical, social, economic, and sometimes political implications. Physically, it involves the acquisition and clearance of the site to make room for new developments. Socially, it involves the dislocation of the original occupants, mostly in the low-income bracket. Where redevelopment is pursued without consideration of such social implications, public sympathy for its aims is quickly lost and its progress is eventually halted. Thus as expressed by Rarebit (1949) in his book, it is hard to visualise a redevelopment program which does not at the same time contemplate a re-housing scheme, either on the redeveloped site or elsewhere, which can provide decent housing within the financial reach of the displaced families. Economic implication of redevelopment relates to its financial demands. Redevelopment is impossible unless aid can be given from public funds.
acquiring obsolete property, rehousing the occupiers and rebuilding to new improved standards of design, layout and amenity is far more expensive than the value that can be derived from a residential scheme in most blighted areas” (Thorncroft, 1970).

Redevelopment may also be done through a gradual razing of the slum in phases over a long period. This method has been found effective in reducing the density in overcrowded slum areas. The cleared site at each stage is sold or leased to interested developers or the old slum dwellers are resettled on it in a more satisfactory housing. In this way, no precipitous population shifts occur and the economic and social cost of the scheme is ameliorated. This is because the whole process is gradual – not requiring huge funds and the piece meal changes has subtle impact on the affected people. The risk associated with this method is however that, if planning is not properly phased and efficient administrative machinery devised, contingencies often arise to upset the planned sequence and the whole scheme may be frustrated. This method is noted to have been used in Lagos slum clearance (Anno, 1982).

Rehabilitation on the other hand has been defined as ‘the improvement or restoration of a predominantly built-up area which, though consistent with a comprehensive plan in terms of intensity of development and land use, is in a stage of incipient blight.’ (Chapin, 1965). It involves the reconditioning of an area by improvements, which need not necessarily amount to rebuilding or to the gradual replacement of obsolete properties. It may where necessary involve the provision of public amenities, sanitary facilities, public open spaces, streets and recreational spots that may be lacking or inadequate. It leads to the attainment of a much-improved housing environment without the dislocation of
people and property, or the disruption of the existing social structure and economic continuum. This method is recorded as been used successfully in Britain (Anno, 1982).

Face lifting is purely a superficial method adopted in critical situations. By this method, the slumming areas are screened off from the non-slumming sectors of the city. This approach does not deal with slums but only conceals them as a temporary solution. This method is recorded as adopted by Ghana in 1965 during an O.A.U Summit Conference in Accra (Anno, 1982).

The preventive policy approach foresees slum formation and thus makes provision against such formation by laying down physical plans for the would-be settlers, providing basic facilities and continuing on site guidance. This way the would-be slum dwellers can reasonably fit into an environment, which will encourage them to maintain a community devoid of problems and pathologies. This policy is cited as successfully applied in Peru.

The site and service scheme (which became popular in the country in the 80’s) covers a variety of projects by which increased amenities, utilities and other urban infrastructure are supplied to slum settlements to mitigate their inadequacies. This method involves less expenditure, and it obviates the numerous problems involved in total slum clearance and resettlement.

Given the legal definition of development as ‘the carrying out of building, engineering, mining or other operations in, on, over or under land, or the making of any material change in the use of any buildings or other land’ (Section 12 - Town and Country Planning Act, 1962), all the explained approaches of urban renewal could be reasonably
captured as forms of ‘redevelopment’ for the purposes of this research. Thus redevelopment in the context of this research may involve total clearance; the better use of land afore occupied by slum to realise its economic potential; introduction of amenity into the area; and better living conditions created for the urban poor. The foregoing definitions and explanations also show that slum redevelopment has generally been central to the concept of urban renewal, as it offers a great potential for accomplishing planning objectives, for securing modern standards of building, making adequate provision for modern traffic needs and providing better living conditions for low-income families. The feasibility of carrying these various forms of redevelopment in a typical Ghanaian slum is thus central to this study.

2.5 The Concept of Feasibility

The research seeks to find the extent to which a socio-economically realistic redevelopment cold be carried out in a typical Ghanaian slum. This has been captured as the ‘feasibility of slum redevelopment in Ghana’. Feasibility in the context of this research is synonymous to the phrases – ‘a logical possibility’ or ‘achievability’ (Wikipedia, 2010). ‘Achievability’ in the context of this research is considered objectively and rationally in the light of the strength and weakness of the various forms of redevelopment given the opportunities and threats presented by the environment, the resources required to carry through, and ultimately the prospect for success. All aspects of the various forms of redevelopment are thus considered in the light of the following factors:

- The availability of / accessibility to the needed resources for the redevelopment
- The socio-cultural acceptability of the redevelopment project.
• The existence of political will for the redevelopment.

• The possibility of accruing economic returns from the redevelopment, to at least replenish resources used.

Thus, redevelopment could be considered as feasible in the light of this research if such redevelopment could provide for the housing needs of existing (and even future) inhabitants of the township within the socio-economic constraints of the township and nation as a whole. The settlement system resulting from such redevelopment should at least provide better health than what existed. The methodology followed in coming to the conclusions of this research is expanded on in the following chapter.
CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This research was borne out of the observation and discussion of the unchanged and worsening conditions of slums in the face of political chiming of national efforts at reaching the millennium development goals of the United Nations. The study started with the review of literature on experiences and lessons from dealing with slums on both the international and national fronts. A preliminary survey of the case study area was next conducted to obtain some basic data that confirms the description and choice of settlement as a slum. Tools for the collection of primary data was designed and developed for administration. Primary data collected was analyzed alongside secondary data from literature reviewed to give results and conclusions of this research. This chapter deals with methods employed in going through the foregoing steps summarily outlined.

3.2 The Case Study Research Approach

To allow the attainment of grounded results from a detailed enquiry into a singular slum to meet the aim and objectives of this study, the case study approach to research was adopted. Yin (1984) defines the case study research method “as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used. The case study approach has been championed as having many advantages including the fact that the examination of the data is most often conducted within the context of its use (Yin, 1984), that is, within the situation in
which the activity takes place and variations in terms of intrinsic, instrumental and collective approaches to case studies allow for both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data (Hosenfeld, 1984). However the major advantage that led to its choice for this study is the fact that it allows a detailed qualitative account which helps both to explore and describe the data in real-life environment and also to explain its complexities (Zaidah, 2003). The case study approach has often been criticized for a number of reasons. First is the criticism of the possible of lack of rigor as the researcher may allow equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the direction of the findings and conclusions (Yin, 1984). However in the case of this study, questionnaires for the collection of data was designed and structured such that it allowed the collection of objective data with many close ended questions to avoid biased views. Deductions from primary data were also analyzed alongside other secondary information to reach the conclusions of the study, thus eliminating possible bias. A second criticism of case studies is its provision of very little basis for scientific generalization since they use a small number of subjects, some conducted with only one subject. The question commonly raised is “How can you generalize from a single case?” (Yin, 1984). Closely associated to this criticism is also its dependency on a single case exploration making it difficult to reach a generalizing conclusion (Tellis, 1997). Yin (1993) considered case methodology ‘microscopic’ because of the limited sampling cases. To Hamel et al. (1993) and Yin (1994), however, parameter establishment and objective setting of the research are far more important in case study method than a big sample size. Thus the approach could still yield very important results that could be applied with necessary variations in different settings. Thus the deductions from this study could well be applied
to the central problem of slums nationwide, with its necessary variations as literature
used with its wider scope proves.

The case study area as mentioned in the problem statement is the Anloga-Sobolo
township in Kumasi - the capital city of the Ashanti Region, Ghana. The choice of the
case study area was influenced by its very poor environmental conditions and
development status (which has often made local news), its history, its location and
economic importance. Location wise, the township has an obvious locational advantage
as it lies along the major highway leading to the central business district of the
metropolis which also links the city to the national capital – Accra. Thus, the land
occupied by the township could be well considered as prime with great development
potential. Historically, a group of ewe migrants acquired the land as a grant from the
traditional authority (who holds the allodial title). Thus, the town is a typical “settler
settlement” with its landowners having legal interest in the land they are occupying.
Thus the usual approach of clearance in dealing with slums would not work, with the
only opportunity to attain better environment and health being redevelopment capturing
the existing interest of landowners. Economically, the area is noted as being the hub of
some local industries supplying popular processed foods such as gari and palm oil for the
metropolis. Development wise, the area is noted as deprived with overcrowding, poor
housing facilities and poor siting of developments giving rise to poor environmental
conditions that compromises health. The area is particularly noted for its perennial
flooding with the onset of the rainy season. A visit to the township actually proves its
very poor environmental conditions, thus qualifying it to be noted as a slum. These
characteristics are well described in the chapter five of this report.
3.3 Primary Data Sources and Collection

Primary data was basically collected from the inhabitants of the case study area and institutions within the metropolis with a stake in their development. Primary data gathered from the case study area was done in two stages – a preliminary field survey and the main field survey. The preliminary field survey was a recognisance one aimed at establishing the current development and environment status of the case study area. Data gathered during the survey was by observation and recorded with photography and short notes. Information gathered includes various kinds of land uses, the general architecture of houses, sanitation and drainage situation and general development pattern and plan of the neighborhood. Using convenience sampling (Baxter et al, 1998), some inhabitants were interacted with to find information about the leadership in the area and to test their openness for further discussion during the main survey. The assembly member (local government representative) for the area was met during this survey to discuss the study’s intent and to court his interest and permission.

The collection of data during the main field survey was mainly done by interviews using structured questionnaires. The major group of people interviewed during the survey was the inhabitants of the township. These were sampled using purposive and snowball sampling methods. Data was also gathered from government institutions with a stake in the physical development of the township. The institutions dealt with include the Town and Country Planning Department, the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly and the building inspectorate division of the sub metro.
3.4 Data Collection Methods and Justification

Primary data for the study was collected by observation and interviews aided by structured questionnaires.

Observation as a method of data collection for research purposes is more than just looking or listening as literally translated. As research is a systematic enquiry made public (Stenhouse, 1975), research observation must somehow be selective in order to be systematic. Systematic observation entails careful selection of what a researcher wants to observe. In other make observation public, what a researcher sees or hear must be recorded in some way to allow the information to be analyzed and interpreted. In qualitative research, observation can provide rich qualitative data sometimes described as thick description (Geertz, 1973), especially in cases where the relevant phenomena has been carefully observed and detailed field notes have been recorded. Typically, the researcher would not approach the observation with predetermined categories or questions in mind. Thus, observation in qualitative research is often referred to as unstructured. In the case of this research, observation was basically used to pick data bothering on the state of development and environmental conditions. This gave first-hand knowledge of the status of the settlement and thus qualifying it to be described as a slum. It also enabled the picking of the developmental needs of the neighborhood, first hand. The method also gave the chance to observe the various uses of land in the community. Lastly, how the township’s populace lived in their environment seemingly oblivious of the wanting state of their environment was also observed. The information observed was recorded via photography and short notes.
Interview, which in basic parlance means an interaction with a person aimed at gaining information, was a major method for collecting primary data. In qualitative research, interviews are thought to cover both factual and a meaning level (Klave, 1996). There are different kinds of interviews namely: informal or conversational interview, general interview guide approach, standardized open-ended interviews, and closed fixed-response interviews. For the purposes of this research, the closed fixed-response interviews known for its simplicity in gathering organized data with little analytical complexity was applied. Interview was chosen as the best method for gathering primary data for this study for a number of reasons. First, the inhabitants of the slum from whom much data had to be gathered were expected to be mostly illiterate. Thus, the majority of the sample frame would be in no position to read, comprehend and answer questionnaires by themselves. Secondly, some of the data sort had some technical form, which needs to be explained to respondents, and the answer derived put in a similar form to facilitate analysis. The use of interviews also dealt with the issue of non-response often faced when questions are distributed. The interview also gave a chance for the researcher to gain further insight into issues relating to the case study area. It thus aided the snowball sampling method as interviewees ended up suggesting other people and institution from whom useful information could be found. A major challenge of the use of interviews in this study is the fact it is time consuming as many interviewees had the tendency of deviating into personal areas of interest, thereby dragging the process of collecting data. The researcher also needed to give personal time to each member of the sample frame thereby limiting the size given the time constraints of the research work.
3.5 Questionnaire Development and Administration

The development of questionnaires for gathering primary data was closely guided by the objectives of the study. Five different kinds of questionnaires were developed to gather information from resident tenants and landlords of the case study area, the local government representative of the study area, the town and country planning department, and the development control office of the sub-metropolitan assembly. In the developments of all these questionnaires, the information sorts from the respondents were listed and questions were developed to obtain such. The questionnaires had mostly closed-ended questions (as afore mentioned in proceeding section) but also allowed some open ended questions with its inductive advantages.

The questionnaire designed for the resident tenants of the case study area sort to collect data relating to the demographics of the area, the economic status of inhabitants, migration direction of inhabitants, security of tenure and affinity to neighborhood, occupancy ratios, residential facilities availability and sufficiency, opportunities and problems associated with residence in the neighborhood, recognition of insufficiency of environment and openness to the possibility of relocation. The questionnaire for landlords also sort to collate data on demographics, economic status and dependency on rent income, interest/rights held in their properties as well as development permits, advantages/disadvantages of interest held in the property, recognition of insufficiency of their facility and willingness for improvements at cost with aid, their maintenance culture, affinity to the neighborhood and openness relocation.

The questionnaire administered to the Town and Country-planning sort to establish their zoning and development plan for the case study area. It sorts to establish the possible
short falls of the area’s development plan leading to the environmental problems of the neighborhood. The problems and opportunities of the department were also captured. The questionnaire for the local government representative of the area delved into more details as the person directly responsible for the township’s welfare. It sought to capture the known mandate of his office for environmental management, developmental control and housing. It sought to establish his key aspirations for his term of office and projects being planned/ carried out to achieve such aspirations. It sought to establish the known problems and opportunities of the township from the representative’s point view. The sources of funds and its allocation for the management of the township were also captured. The questionnaire to the development control office responsible for the area was also key in establishing the operations of the office and reason for the status of development in the area in spite of their existence. Aspired possible way forward was also sought from the office.

### 3.5.1 Sampling Techniques and Justification

Sampling techniques employed in the collection of data for this study includes the following: conveniences sampling, quota sampling, snowball sampling and purposive sampling methods.

A total of 180 inhabitants of the Anloga – Sobolo Township were interviewed. One hundred and twenty (120) of the numbers were tenants and the remaining sixty (60) were landlords. The choice of this sample frame was based on the principle of (non-proportional) quota sampling. This sampling method involves the selection of samples no randomly according to some fixed quota. Non-proportional quota sampling is a bit less restrictive. In this method, one specifies the minimum number of sample units one
wants in each category (Trochim, 2006). The use of this method was necessitated by the fact that the number of tenants far exceeds the number of landlord residents as each household with a singular Landlord had many more tenants. However, in considering any form of development, the interests of Landlords are paramount, necessitating their sufficient representation in the sample frame. In choosing the tenants to interview per household, convenience-sampling method was employed. A convenience sample is simply one where the units that are selected for inclusion in the sample are the easiest to access. (Lund Research Ltd, 2012). In selecting the households to enter for samples, the purposive sampling method was employed. Purposive sampling, also known as judgmental, selective or subjective sampling, reflects a group of sampling techniques that rely on the judgment of the researcher when it comes to selecting the units (e.g., people, cases/organizations, events, pieces of data) that are to be studied (Lund Research Ltd, 2012). In doing this, households from which samples were taken were selected from different parts and lanes of the township to give a good level of representation. In selecting the government agencies and offices to contact for information relating to the status of development of the case study area, the snowball method was employed.

Snowball sampling has often been described as particularly appropriate when the population you are interested in is hidden and/or hard-to-reach. The method simply involves identifying someone who meets the criteria for inclusion in a study who then recommends others who they may know who also meet the criteria. (Trochim, 2006) In the case of this study, the local government representative of the area was first interviewed; who then recommended other offices from which useful information for the
study could be gotten. These offices also gave some recommendations, which led to other offices.

In summary, non-probability sampling methods were used in collating primary data for this study. Practically, non-probability sampling is often used because the procedures used to select units for inclusion in a sample are much easier, quicker and more flexible when compared with probability sampling. Rather than using probabilistic methods (i.e., random selection) to generate a sample, non-probability sampling requires researchers to use their subjective judgments, drawing on theory (i.e., the academic literature) and practice (i.e., the experience of the researcher and the evolutionary nature of the research process). The method allowed the attainment of a good representative sample frame and collation as the needed detailed data to meet the objectives of this study.

3.6 Secondary Data Sources

Secondary data has also been well used in arriving at the study’s deductions and conclusion. Books, articles, unpublished works, documents, as well as electronic sources were resorted to. Secondary data sources gave information on slum redevelopment experiences of the now developed and developing world and Ghana in particular. Best approaches in dealing with the slum problem –i.e. the regenerative approach and its stakeholder roles were also sort from secondary data sources. The success achieved, as well as the failures and losses and their possible causes were of particular interest in the collection of secondary data.
3.7 Data Analysis Tools and Techniques

Data gathered were both quantitatively and qualitatively analyzed. The quantitative analysis of primary data gathered was done with the aid of the SPSS computer program. This statistical package was used to analyze data gathered from the inhabitants of the case study area. In using it, each question was represented by a variable with possible answer definitions. Thus the use of close-ended questions was very important. Answers derived from respondents were keyed in as statistical data. Relative percentages and frequency tables were generated from the data. The qualitative analysis of data gathered by observation, open-ended questions and from literature was done with logical deductions and inductions in explanatory and descriptive forms supported by images where available.
CHAPTER FOUR
LITERATURE REVIEW

4.1 Redevelopment of Slums – The Regenerative Approach

The need for the ‘regeneration’ of settlements in urban centers of Ghana has become a popular theme of many forums for major key players in the housing and physical development sector of the nation in recent times. The concept of ‘regeneration’ has been viewed and aspired for by various stakeholders from different but related perspective: From the economic perspective of the real estate developer, it is a way of maximizing the use of urban lands given their huge economic value. To the physical planner, it’s a way of curtailing undesirable urban prowl. However to governments, it most importantly ensures the betterment of the living conditions of the populace they seek to serve. The regeneration idea experimented in the currently developed world during their developmental phase gives much evidence that similar ideas could be successfully carried out in our nation.

Efforts to solve the problem of deteriorating segments of cities the world over have had a long and continuous history. (The University of Chicago Law Review, 1954). Beatty (1946) recounts that about a century ago, today’s developed world began to deal with their slum problems through sanitation and safety codes. Zoning ordinances, appearing around 1913, coupled with building codes, became widespread in the 1920's, and the following decade saw legislative development of criteria and procedure or closing down substandard dwellings. But years of experience have demonstrated that efforts to overcome the problem of slums through legislation based only upon the state police power are largely ineffectual in terms of the over-all problem, and offer, at best, a partial answer which is soon dissipated when left standing alone. Beginning in 1937, state
legislatures, responding to federal offer of funds for low-cost housing in return for slum clearance, adopted enabling legislation (Beatty, 1946).

A series of court decisions have upheld the constitutionality of slum clearance and low-cost housing as public purposes under the eminent domain power. These decisions involve many of the same issues that later arose under "genuine" redevelopment legislation. Such legislation rests ultimately on the police power of the state (Beatty, 1946). However "The police power, unaided by the power of eminent domain, appears to be inadequate..." in meeting the slum problem. In a more lengthy review of such measures, one authority concluded that none has been successful and few enforced (Beatty, 1946).

In recent years however, there has been an increasing realisation of the need to pursue urban redevelopments with emphasis on partnership working, community involvement and sustainability. Such process termed as regenerative redevelopment is directly contrary to the fundamentally modernist, state-led tendency towards site assembly and comprehensive redevelopment, earlier on promoted and pursued by governments the world over especially in dealing with the decaying parts of urban regions. Such earlier pursuits of governments which involved slum clearances, even though seem successful in radically changing a great many urban areas in a relatively short period of time, has been criticized for destroying valuable streetscapes and communities in the pursuit of a single unified vision. (Jones, 2008).

Payne has also extensively discussed the failure of slum clearances pursued as part of urban renewal programs in his book Urban Housing in the Third World. Quoting Abrams
(1965), he notes that in the mist of urban housing famine, ‘there is nothing that slum clearances can accomplish that cannot be done more efficiently by an earthquake….Demolition without replacement intensifies overcrowding and increases shelter cost. It may also increase squatting and thereby create slums that are more stubbornly enduring than those removed’. In discussing the failure of such slum clearance policy in Singapore, Abram again notes that ‘If this type of policy cannot be executed successfully in the context of relative prosperity and low population growth prevailing in Singapore, it is hardly likely to be valid in situations of low per capita incomes, scarce resources and rapid urban growth’. The latter description aptly fits the case of Ghana, which is why slum clearances should not be choice for Ghana.

On the other hand, a discourse of social, economic and environmental sustainability cuts across regeneration, making regeneration a nominally holistic concept. As expressed by the Urban White Paper (DETR, 2000) for the United Kingdom, the aim of regeneration is to: ‘…bring together economic, social and environmental measures in a coherent approach to enable people and places to achieve their economic potential; bring social justice and equality of opportunity; and create places where people want to live and work. These issues are interdependent and cannot be looked at in isolation. For instance, there are close links between housing, health and education. That is why moving towards more mixed and sustainable communities are important …. for improving the quality of urban life’ (ODPM, 2005). The effectiveness of such regeneration lies in the idea of much greater public consultation and participation which means seeking to redevelop areas in a more organic, bottom-up manner. Payne (1977) supports such same idea in many words in his book. Quoting Turner in his book, he reiterates that ‘if housing is
treated as a verbal activity, as a means to human ends, as an activity rather than a manufactured and packaged product; decision-making power must of necessity, remain in the hands of the users themselves….the ideal to strive for is a model in which the users, as a matter of economic, social and psychological common sense- are the principal actors’. Payne stretches these ideas of urban housing to settlements and urban planning, and is thus his suggested basis for slum redevelopment.

According to a paper by Jones (2008), this idea of regenerative redevelopment has been found expedient even in the developed countries from whom the top-bottom system of settlement planning was learnt. According the paper, the reshaped planning policy for England aimed at delivering sustainable development has the idea of much greater public consultation and participation in replanning of cities deeply embedded in the policy rhetoric. Birmingham’s city council’s competitive bids for central government grants to refurbish properties, attempting to at least make the environment more amenable in the late 1980’s is cited as a prove of the adoption of the contemporary ideology which promotes redevelopment of blighted urban areas without total clearance of locally developed structures (Birmingham City Council, 1988). However the paper by Jones (2008) shows that the developed countries with their strong state bureaucratic systems and developed ideologies of comprehensive redevelopment have been unable to fully implement such recognized ideal regenerative redevelopment. He summarily puts it as ‘in spite of these new ‘sustainability’ discourses, the institutional structures which support regeneration does so in a very inflexible way which reinforces older models of redevelopment practice’.
4.2 Regenerative Approach and the Law in the First World

The realization of the need and effectiveness of community participation in the process of redevelopment has also come in law. According to a University of Chicago Law Review publication (1954), Private redevelopment corporations were authorized by the Illinois Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation Law of 1941. The law authorizes groups of citizens to incorporate in order to exercise the power of eminent domain for redevelopment of areas already deteriorated to the "slum" or "blight" stages. The group to be incorporated for such purpose according to the law should consist of at least three citizens, presumably including, in most cases, residents of the neighborhood. The premise of Redevelopment Corporation Laws is slum clearance by self-help, as is made clear by the legislatures themselves. e.g., "The accomplishment of these ends by private initiative . . . should be fostered, encouraged and aided". The major flaw of this legislation pointed out by the review (op cit) has been the dangers inherent in a decision to allow private parties the use of eminent domain for urban redevelopment. Presumably the power may not be used to take property from one and give it to another solely for private gain or because the latter could make better use of the premises. Similar legislation is however found today in a number of states, including Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Virginia, and Wisconsin. These states authorized urban redevelopment of slums and blighted areas by private corporations through the acquisition, replanning, clearance, rehabilitation or rebuilding of an area for residential, recreational, commercial, industrial or other purposes.
The provision of these laws and procedures set up for the redevelopment of areas already deteriorated to the "slum" or "blight" has further been extended to the rehabilitation of "conservation areas". The concept of “conservation areas” refers to city neighborhoods which are not yet deteriorated to slum or blight conditions, but which by reason of "dilapidation, obsolescence, or deterioration, or illegal use of individual structures, overcrowding of structures and community facilities, conversion of residential units into non-residential use, deleterious land use or layout, or any combination of these factors. .." may become "such a Slum and Blighted Area". This new legislation is to arm groups most interested in preventing further neighborhood deterioration with a substantial weapon. Its premise is that such groups, by acquiring and rebuilding isolated dilapidated structures, may be best able to restore a declining neighborhood and prevent its becoming a slum. This is because as pointed out, the problem of conserving neighbourhoods is so large that it can't be solved by the city government alone or by any number of city-wide planning associations. It must be attacked by the property owners in each community acting in self-defence as well as in the public interest. (University of Chicago Law Review publication, 1954). Subsequently, two other types of urban re-development statutes have been enacted in a number of states:

- Housing Redevelopment Enabling Acts which expand the functions and duties of existing local housing authorities by delegating to them the initial task of land assembly and clearance;

- Housing Redevelopment Land Agency Acts which create new local public instrumentalities as a part of the municipal government, but under which actual redevelopment of the area remains basically the job of private enterprise.
All these seem to buttress governments’ realization of the ineffectiveness of the strict top to bottom system of settlement planning and development; and their opening up for more local input especially in the process of redevelopment.

Most of the statutes specifically point to the elimination of evils inherent in slum areas as ostensible objectives of urban redevelopment. However, older technical and legislative tools of urban redevelopment, although numerous and multiform, seem not to have proved fully equal to the task. Part of the explanation is that redevelopment of slum and blighted areas lowers the population density within a redeveloped district and thereby exerts a heavy pressure on the periphery with the result that the blight, instead of being eliminated, mushrooms out into adjoining land areas. The chief draftsman of the new conservation amendment argues that under these circumstances, the place to attack slums is on the edges of the slum area. "The only difference between slum and conservation areas is that in a slum area, the cancerous growth has metastasized and nothing can cure the problem. The area must be cleared and built anew. On the other hand, in a conservation area, the blight is localized, and though spreading, may still be cured." It is to this fringe area on the outskirts of spreading slum and blighted areas that the new preventive legislation is addressed.

4.3. Complexity of the State’s Role in Slum Redevelopment

With the realisation of the need to pursue urban redevelopments with more emphasis on partnership working, community involvement and sustainability, governments has been deemed as particularly responsible for the role of ‘enabling’ the process of redevelopment. A paper by Professor Vinit Mukhija (2001) discusses the paradox involved in enabling the redevelopment of slums in developing countries. Given the
promotion of the term ‘enabling’ as consisting of primarily, decentralization, privatization, deregulation and demand-driven development, the paper points out that enabling slum redevelopment through market mechanisms may require four levels of seeming policy contradictions: - both decentralization and centralization; both privatization and public investment; both deregulation and new regulations, and both demand-driven and supply-driven development. Despite the realized priority accorded community participation to ensure successful slum redevelopment, the paper points out that ‘enabling’ is likely to require a different type of State involvement, and not necessarily less State involvement.

Mukhija recounts that slum upgrading programs and provision of serviced plots for the urban poor pursued by governments in developing countries were a response to the advice of housing advocates who encouraged governments to focus on enabling communities to choose and develop their housing. However, evaluation studies concluded that such government-administered projects were heavily subsidized and badly managed, and thereby, financially unsustainable and non-replicable (Keare et al, 1992). He also recounts that since the eighties and through the nineties, international agencies led by the World Bank advised governments to refrain from any direct role in housing provision. Instead, they recommended that governments abandon previous policy, rely on market-actors and enable housing provision through policies of decentralization, privatization, deregulation and demand-driven development (World Bank, 1993). Towards the end of the century, however, the World Bank suggested that governments have a role to play in institutional development (World Bank, 2000). Nonetheless, the underlying assumption of the conventional advice is that the
involvement of the State in the provision of housing (and thus in redevelopment) must be minimal.

Tracing the history of the policy recommendation that governments should limit direct involvement in redevelopment processes, Mukhija discusses the neo-liberal belief of the 80’s and 90’s which called for a reduction in the role of the government and more room for the markets to do their “magic.” He also picks on John Turner’s (1967; 1972; 1977) works and discusses their chief progressive outcome as the gradual realization that housing conditions can considerably improve in squatter settlements over a period of time. As a consequence, many governments restricted their programs of slum clearance and introduced programs of slum improvement and upgrading. Turner recommended deregulation to support the decentralization of development processes as in his opinion one of the biggest obstacles in achieving user control over the development process was the problem of unrealistic building standards. However critiques of his work pointed out that in the absence of State intervention, “freedom to build” was unlikely because for the vast majority of the poor, choices were constrained (Gilbert et al, 1982).

Secondly, Turner’s work barely elaborated on how to implement and institutionally support people-oriented development policies. However, by the late eighties, international development agencies, bilateral and multilateral donors, western governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) had concluded that in order to achieve progress in most fields of development, it was necessary to work more closely with market-actors and further reduce the involvement of the State. This, according to Mukhija’s paper was to be the “enabling” strategy (UNCHS, 1990; World Bank, 1993).
Much of the advice as pointed out by Tendler (1997) “... is directed at limiting the ‘damage’ the public sector can do in developing countries,”

With decentralization being the key policy element in the school of thought, its supporters argued that central agencies were ineffective, inefficient, produced dissatisfying results and weakened local capacity in the long run (Rondinelli, et al., 1989). Like the Turner school, they argued for the transferring of responsibility to the people (Korten, 1990) and to communities (Ostrom, 1990), with calls for local control and “people-centered development” (Gran, 1983; Korten&Klauss, 1984). Others claimed that development could only occur through local control and local organizations had to be protected from centers of power (Wunsch et al, 1990). The pursuance of such suggested “people-centered development” implies the use of demand-driven development strategies (Glaessner et al., 1995). A perceived economic advantage of demand-driven strategies was that they were more efficient and resulted in a better chance of cost recovery, because they led to a stronger willingness to pay from beneficiaries (World Bank, 1993). With privatization and deregulation being argued as the organizational form of decentralization (Rondinelli et al., 1989), there has been a further rationale for working with the markets. The World Bank strongly supporting such working with the market makes a couple of recommendations in an extremely influential policy document in 1993. To support market-delivery of housing, the policy document advised governments to develop property rights (specifically private property rights), develop mortgage finance instruments, and mutual credit associations for housing consumers.
From the foregoing discussion a simplistic model of ‘enabling’ (development), consisting of decentralization, demand-driven development, privatization and deregulation emerges. However, Mukhija points out that such conceptualization could have major shortcomings as it is merely based on doing the opposite of what is believed to have failed. There is limited empirical evidence to substantiate that the opposite will work, or that it is the best and only alternative. In similar vain, the World Bank’s World Development Report of 1999-2000, *Entering the 21st Century*, acknowledged the complexities involved in decentralization, demand driven development, privatization and deregulation (2000). It stated that governments have a vital role to play in development. In a similar vain, contrary to any simplistic conception of policy advice, the cases of slum redevelopment carried out in developing countries (such as the case of Mumbai slum redevelopment) reveal an intricate story. Similar observation by Mukhija in discussing the Mumbai’s slum redevelopment experience led his conclusion that ‘enabling’ slum redevelopment is a more complicated task with paradoxical policy demands on governments. Such paradoxes in public policy are (as afore outlined) - decentralization and centralization; privatization and public investment; deregulation and new regulations, and demand-driven as well as supply-driven. He also asserts that slum redevelopment as a strategy, has limited potential and its implementation (especially with housing delivery) involves remarkable institutional complexities. According to him, it is important for policy makers to recognize the complexities involved in slum redevelopment as it is unlikely that there are easy, workable solutions. Where slum redevelopment has been considered workable, there has been suggestions that it should be done to accommodate more than the area’s original inhabitants (Tach, 2009).
4.4 Redevelopment for Low Income or Mixed Income Residents

Even though slums are originally inhabited by the urban poor who are low income earners; sociologists have suggested their redevelopment for mixed income residents. This means redeveloped slums catering for both its original residents and new-entrants belonging to the higher income groups. Such suggestion is aimed at reducing the social delinquencies associated with slums (Tach, 2009). The manifestation of such delinquencies (as discussed in the introduction of this paper) takes the form of criminal activity, gang membership, unemployment and employment in the informal economy, school underachievement, teenage child bearing and general juvenile delinquencies. (Gunn et al 1997; Turner et al, 1997; Sampson et al, 2002).

Tracing the source of such suggestion, Tach (2009) picks on William Julius Wilson’s influential research on the social isolation and social disorganization of high-poverty neighborhoods (Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing, 1992). Since then, researchers have continued to document the social mechanisms that lead to worse outcomes for residents of high-poverty neighborhoods, arguing that they are socially isolated from mainstream cultural and social institutions (Wilson, 1987, 1996; Anderson, 1990), have less access to social networks that provide employment opportunities and other resources (Campbell et al, 1992; Elliott et al., 1996; Rankin et al, 2000), are less willing and able to intervene in neighborhood affairs to maintain social control (Sampson et al 1997), and wield less influence in extra-local organizations and city politics (Bursik et al, 1993; Logan et al, 1987) than residents of more advantaged neighborhoods. Using this evidence, some policymakers and academics have argued that increasing the presence of higher-income neighbors within high-poverty neighborhoods has the
potential to reduce the social isolation of low-income residents and improve social organization (Naparstek et al., 1997; Briggs, 1998; Naparstek et al, 2000; Joseph, 2006; Joseph et al, 2007).

However research by Tach (2009) gave findings which were contrary to the predictions derived from the literature on ‘concentrated poverty’ and the social benefits of higher-income neighbors. It was that the long-term residents of the public housing project, not the newcomers, were primarily involved in community organizations, fostered ties with neighbors, and intervened in neighborhood affairs to maintain social control. In fact, newcomers often inhibited community-building efforts by failing to report criminal activity, deliberately resisting contact with their neighbors, and developing family routines that minimized their exposure to the neighborhood. According to her paper, residents’ different perceptions and interpretations of their surroundings help explain why newcomers did not provide the key social benefits predicted by theories of mixed-income redevelopment. Long-term residents of such neighborhoods tend to have a positive neighborhood interpretive frame, and when asked to describe their current neighborhood conditions compared them with what it was like in the past. In contrast, newcomers to such redeveloped neighborhoods tend to have a negative neighborhood interpretive frame, based both on the stigma they associated with the developments troubled past and how they compared the lingering struggles with crime and other vices to other places they had lived. This causes the newcomers to live with a protective attitude with ‘no connection’ to their neighborhood. More generally, Tach (2009) concluded that residents’ socially constructed perceptions of place may influence
whether changes in neighborhood structural characteristics translate into changes in social dynamics.

4.5 Britain’s Experience with Slums

A paper titled ‘Homes Unfit for Heroes’ by Richmond et al (1919) explores the slum problem within the wider housing situation as it was seen in London just after the First World War. It also discusses the proceedings and recommendations of the departmental committee of the Ministry of Health (Unhealthy Areas Committee), which had been formed in 1919 to examine the problems of slum areas. According to the paper, it was estimated that some 549,000 people in London lived under ‘unsatisfactory conditions’ and that 184,000 lived under ‘definitely unhealthy conditions’ at that time. Slums achieved national prominence for the first time in Britain on 23rd February 1919 when Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis in his campaign for action described an area as a ‘plague spot’ with both the highest death rate of any part of London and the largest percentage of men who had joined the colours in the war. With the return of these men from war to conditions described as scarcely fit for human beings, and he urged that the condemned areas be cleared entirely – thus a recommendation of a slum clearance policy. The area of concern had sanitary arrangements, which ‘were so inadequate as to be almost non-existent’. Major issues of the area were rent levels and poverty. Rents elsewhere were much higher, and so ‘bad as the conditions are, many poor people who have to submit to them prefer the discomfort to the inevitable raising of expenditure which is already too much for their slender incomes’ (Richmond et al (1919)).
4.5.1 Britain’s Struggle with Slum Redevelopment

With start of post-war slum clearance operations, it soon became clear, however, that argument at a local level in slum constituencies was much about the density and type of re-housing adopted as the urgent need for action itself. Bethnal Green’s council for example made it clear that cottages with gardens were wanted on their cleared slum site, and objected vigorously both to the LCC’s proposed tenements and plans to re-house as many as 30% of the displaced residents outside the borough (insisting a high proportion of the residents should be re-housed on site). Two public inquiries of the redevelopment schemes were found largely in favour of the Borough. However, roles were reversed when Bethnal Green’s proposal for the redevelopment of the borough’s Insane Asylum site by two-storey cottages was opposed by the LCC – now acting in its role of approving authority – and, after yet another protracted dispute, a compromise four-storey scheme (again with maisonettes on the two top floors) was agreed for the site. Since November 1919, control of Bethnal Green had passed to Labour, and a Conservative-controlled LCC found itself increasingly under pressure for action against the slums, but opposed on the details by a Borough Council.

In Bermondsey, Labour won control in 1922 and promoted a garden suburb solution for the renewal of their slum areas which, if it had been fully implemented, would have seen nearly half of the borough’s population displaced to estates well beyond their boundaries (Brockway, 1949; Yelling, 1992). Bermondsey Borough Council, south of the river, took what was probably the strongest pro-cottage and anti-tenement position of all the inner London boroughs, but – unlike Bethnal Green – actively promoted dispersal. Bermondsey’s opposition to flats of any kind brought this Borough too into
conflict with the LCC, when in 1923 they opposed the County Council’s plans for a 5-storey tenement re-housing scheme on the Hickman’s Folly site. In 1925 the Ministry of Health finally refused to approve Bermondsey’s Salisbury Street Improvement Scheme, which had been planned three years before on low-density cottage lines. The Borough would not accept the decision and after energetic lobbying eventually managed to get it reversed.

These schemes – and their associated conflicts – were not unrepresentative of the very small number of inner-London projects successfully carried out by the boroughs in the years immediately following the 1st world war. Part of the problem facing local authorities with large areas of slums was the narrow choice of options perceived to be available. Lloyd George himself had dismissed half measures in his Wolver Hampton speech when he had ruled out ‘patching’ and, in the brief period of optimism following the Armistice, others joined the Prime Minister in calling for wholesale demolition and rebuilding on modern lines. However for slum clearance schemes in Britain the problem was to find sites close enough to potential clearance areas to provide replacement housing for the tenants first displaced by the demolitions, but priced at a level which would not make the replacement housing too expensive for working class rents (or, in the context of the 1919 Act subsidy system, impose an unreasonable burden on the Treasury). Such a calculation was of course sensitive to the density of replacement housing. *(The Builder, 1928,)* With the perceived narrow options in dealing with slums there was widespread frustration among the London Boroughs (most of them, whatever their politics, willing to build), the Ministry of Health (desperate to see progress) and the
many pressure groups active in 1919–1920 demanding action in the new building drive and the promised campaign against the slums.

4.5.2 Britain’s Lessons from Its Struggle with Slums

The truth about the existence of slums and how it could be realistically dealt with contrary to the aspirations heralded by Lloyd George was accurately expressed by Neville Chamberlain in his speech at the Guildhall housing conference of the Royal Institute of Public Health in June 1919. He pointed out that the housing shortage would take many years to overcome, and that ‘until they had got over that difficulty it would be useless to talk of sweeping away the slums.’ (Chamberlain, 1919).

Chamberlain argued that slum dwellers would not be able to afford the rents of Tudor Walters’s standard cottages and often did not wish to leave their localities. ‘They were not satisfied with their slums,’ he told the conference, ‘but what they wanted was improvements on the spot, and not to be forced into the country away from their work.’ This has been proved a brilliant exposition over the years, giving the bases for planning of hopefully more effective ways of dealing with slums. He was convinced that enormous improvements could be made in slum areas at a cost which – compared with the cost of new houses – would be trivial. Repairs and partial reconstruction, with demolitions here and there in order to give more air space, would make a world of difference. Chamberlain had come to the conclusion that government would have to substitute the local authority for the private owner in this kind of work, and he suggested that the 1890 Act and the new 1919 Act could be amended to give councils powers to purchase property or leasehold interests in unhealthy areas, either compulsorily or by agreement, and begin the task of improvement. With his interests in the alternatives to
conventional slum clearance, Neville became the chairmanship of a committee (set up in August 1919) whose mandate was ‘consider and advise on the principles to be followed in dealing with unhealthy areas, including the circumstances in which schemes of reconstruction, as distinct from clearance may be adopted, and, as regards cleared areas, the extent to which re-housing on the site should be required, the kind of housing which should be permitted, and the use of the sites for factory or other purposes than housing’. (British National Archive, 1919). This committee was earlier known as known initially as the Slums Committee and only later as the Unhealthy Areas Committee.

On the start of work of the Unhealthy Areas Committee, there was also early agreement that no ‘real’ action could be contemplated until replacement housing was built. It was both likely and desirable that many of these re-housed people would be relocated in peripheral ‘garden suburb’ estates (if not proper Garden Cities); but, if this dispersal was implemented without a matching relocation of factory and workshop-based employment, an enormous strain would be placed on the capital’s creaking transport infrastructure as the suburban workers commuted in and out of the city. Mr. George Colvin, Director of Planning in the Ministry of Transport, argued that if resources were presently too limited for radical slum clearance, it would be more realistic to begin by removing some of the central industry and to bring out the workers to it, initially by a process of reverse-commuting. During this period it was apparent that slum clearances were unpopular, with its only advocate being representatives from Liverpool. The city’s Chief Engineer, John Alexander Brodie, explaining the Liverpool redevelopment system stressed the importance of a systematic, almost industrial approach to the demolition of insanitary houses, site preparation, the rapid erection of replacement housing, and the
smooth transfer of tenants from the houses about to be demolished to the newly finished buildings only a short distance further down the street. However, the paper being reviewed noted the fact that modern scholars, however, are more skeptical of such a high degree of former resident re-housing (Pooley et al, 1984).

The weight of expert opinion also took Chamberlain’s committee in other directions. George Duckworth, director of housing in the Ministry of Munitions, based on his experience from Octavia Hill and his study of the effects of the LCC’s Boundary Estate replacing the Old Nichol slum in Bethnal Green, was convinced that much could be done to improve slum conditions by good management, and in his opinion ‘it was most important at the present time to hesitate very much before pulling down anything … however slummy’ (Jennings, 1920). The truth of this point as explain by the committees report had its roots in the desire to concentrate efforts and resources on the new house building campaign, and the recognition that at a time of acute housing shortage and exceptionally high construction costs it made little sense to pull down slum houses, however bad they might seem. The opinion of this expert was much in line with Chamberlain’s Guildhall speech with its advocacy of a gradualist and managerial approach to the improvement of slums. This approach was supported by later evidence from Dr. Robertson and Mr. H. H. Humphries, medical officer and chief engineer of Birmingham, respectively, who together conducted the party around areas of their city, which had been upgraded by methods only occasionally involving demolition. The committee’s visit to Newport in South Wales also provide another example of a combination of very basic physical improvements – safe water supply and sanitation (not necessarily indoors), and the repairs needed to render a house weather-tight – plus tenant
management to reduce the worst cases of overcrowding. Chamberlain thus believed that what would later be known variously as ‘amelioration’, ‘reconstruction’, ‘improvement’ or ‘renovation’ was the best answer to the improvement of slums, but it would be reconditioning by the local authority after acquisition of the area by agreement. Chamberlain, like other Conservatives, had limited faith at this stage in the role of local authorities as house builders (preferring to subsidize the private sector), but brought from Birmingham a profound belief in the role of local authorities as enablers or facilitators in the complex business of urban development and renewal.

The committee’s interim report published in 1920 heralded the view that ‘a system of multi-storey buildings is quite unsuitable for a working-class population’. The Committee’s support was for self-contained garden cities ‘suitable for communities not exceeding from 30,000 to 50,000 people’ and this was noted, together with the recommendation for either a London Parliament or for ‘some new authority … embracing the home counties, as well as the Metropolitan and City Police Districts, to prepare a general plan … to control its transport system, and to make financial adjustments between local authorities’. Bethnal Green and Bermondsey Borough opposition to high-rise structures was thus proved right by the committee’s report. As recorded from Parliamentary Debates (1921), ‘the cost of building these high erections increases rapidly as you go up and it is not long before you find the cost per tenement in one of these large [blocks of] flats is actually greater than a self-contained house with similar accommodation. If you go up high, you have to provide lifts, which take room and cost money, and you cannot allow children to go up and down without having someone to attend to the lift, and that again increases the running expenses. Therefore on
all of these grounds … someone who has given attention to the subject will agree that these places are unsuitable for working people.’ However Herbert Jennings’ statistical appendix on London’s residential density gives theses expressed idealistic opinions a reality check. The paper reports that Areas like Bethnal Green and Stepney contained so many overcrowded slums that it was difficult not to sympathize with the LCC argument for dispersal or re-housing in tenements. Without dispersal, it was difficult to house more than 70 per cent of site residents in five-storey tenements, and impossible to approach such a figure if development was to be restricted to the three-storey blocks favored by the Ministry of Health, still less the cottages demanded by Bethnal Green’s Borough Council.

On publication, the Interim Report main lines received ‘hearty support’, but issues were with the recommendation to use s.13 of the Housing Act 1919 and suggestion of nationalization of lands. However, the final report generously recognized that their committee colleague Maxwell’s earlier reservations about the powers proposed for local authority acquisitions were justified. Maxwell, an expert on compensation, was concerned that local authorities would be acting *ultra vires* by taking possession of property and managing it for what could be many years (instead of simply closing it or pulling it down). In place of local authority purchase, it was now suggested that ‘a kind of trust’ might be formed to take over property, remodel it and then redistribute it equitably between the former owners – thus avoiding the pitfalls of compensation in any scheme involving local authority acquisition and management. Failing this ‘voluntary’ system, they argued, powers already existed for the compulsory purchase of unfit houses at what would then be only site value.
4.6 Pointers from Mumbai Transformation Project

A report on a study conducted by Shelter Associates teamed up with the All India Institute for Local Self-Government to inform slum redevelopment and tenure reform for settlements in Mumbai in Thane brings out some essential issues to be considered where slum redevelopment is concerned.

First of all, work of Shelter Associates (2007) in Sant Dynaneshwar Nagar Slum revealed that changes in the Development Control Regulations were pivotal to success in the project. The report points that in undertaking slum redevelopment projects; there was a need for an assessment of the existing land use and infrastructure capacities for future redevelopment in the slum areas. There is also the need for the assessment of the socio-economic conditions for the residents of the slum. According to the paper, development models that are arrived at for implementation needs to be evaluated from a variety of perspectives; including environmental and neighbourhood level impacts, infrastructure service impact, market and financial feasibility, and economic impacts on tenants, subtenants, and property owners. The impacts of such development model alternatives on key stakeholders- tenants, landlords, developers, and government bodies also needs to be evaluated to enable the formulation of development priorities toward realistic and mutually beneficial solutions.

4.7 History of Urban Renewal in Ghana

As recounted by Anno in her unpublished thesis (1982), urban renewal programs (championed as a solution to the problem of slums) started in Ghana in the early fifties, with several programs being planned and few implemented. One of the first is the Nima-Mamobi clearance scheme in 1973. The scheme had the following objectives:
The creation of an economically viable community with all the necessary social amenities which goes with a modern neighborhood.

To change drastically the existing physical environment and socio-economic structure of the area as to provide for the needs of all classes of people (especially those in the medium and upper middle class).

As in the classical case of London, the government of Ghana’s efforts at helping displaced families to relocate in other communities (such as Madina, Ashiaman and Dansoman) was faulted. As recounted by Anno (1982), even though the living conditions of the families resettled were improved, socio-economically, they were made worse of due to the location disadvantages of their new homes. Mainly as a result of the difficulties of resettling the displaced dwellers, attempts were made to merge the original proposal with an alternative which envisages the possibility of rehabilitating without resettlement. (Ahene, 1975).

There were also the Kumasi Bompata Zongo and Bolgatanga Soe Residential Area redevelopment schemes. With cash compensations in addition to free plots at the resettlement sites were given to the Landlords affected by the exercise. These schemes were still not very successful as the cash compensation was not enough to put up decent accommodation at the going prices. This was because the amount of cash compensation received by the Landlords was on the basis of the value of their demolished houses that were in poor conditions. The living conditions of the slum dwellers were therefore not improved.
In the case of Ussher Town in Accra, the site and service scheme approach to urban renewal was adopted. Increased amenities and utility services like water, public toilets, electricity etc. were supplied to the area. This seemed to have started on a good note but it did not reach a successful end because there was a sudden change of government and the program was abandoned.

On the whole urban renewal has not been very successful in Ghana much because the problem it is meant to address is not well identified to enable the adoption of more practical solutions. Often, it has not been possible to implement any of the laid-down objectives as effectively as planned due to conflicting goals, limited funds; and strong political, administrative and social constraints. Urban renewal programs carried out have often shifted the slums from their original location and created more stubbornly enduring ones than those removed elsewhere; adding their own tincture. However the concept of urban renewal still demands careful consideration by policy makers and implementers in view of the rapid urbanization and worsening conditions of slums in the country.

4.7.1 Urban Renewal Constraints and Explored Lines of Action

As recounted by Anno (1982), urban renewal in Ghana has been seen as a complex activity which involves the fusion of several elements, with numerous (seemingly) conflicting goals set for schemes, making them mostly unsuccessful. Problems that have plagued urban renewal programs stem from lack of funds, complexities in phasing development, disturbance of original occupants and strong political, administrative and social constraints. As a way of dealing with these among others, urban renewal agencies tends to emphasis certain aspects of their scheme more
than others depending on the peculiarities and major aims of the scheme they are concerned with.

Where there is a bias towards more social goals and objectives, there is a popular provision of more social activities like schools, hospitals, recreational facilities; the creation of infrastructure. Even though there is less direct return to the invested capital with this approach, the urban economy as a whole is improved as the standard of living and productivity of the people is bettered.

A commercially oriented approach could also be taken. This usually involves the conversion of the renewal area into a focus for economic activity with the development of high intensity use as commercial houses, hotels, offices etc., with little attention being paid to the provision of social facilities. This involves a high rate of investment and often leads to meeting the needs of only the high income group.

There is also the speculative approach which relies on the response of private investors and public institutions to undertake the necessary development. With this the main job of the renewal agency is that of assembling, clearing and selling of the land to the highest bidder, leaving the private developer to decide on how best to develop the site (subject to the basic land use plan and zoning controls of the area). This approach reduces the quantum of work agency, although its success is not guaranteed due to the difficulties that may arise in co-ordination and control of development activities.
4.7.2 Lessons from Ghanaian Urban Renewal Experiences

The frequent failure of urban renewal programs started in the country to deal with slums should be no surprise in the light of the assertion by Turner (1967) in relation to developing countries. He asserts that in developing countries (such as Ghana) ‘where most personal incomes barely support life at a tolerable level, are generally those whose total populations are doubling and city populations quadrupling with every generation. Under these conditions, no government can possibly eradicate slums with the expensive and therefore scarce means generally employed’. Given the seeming impracticability of total slum clearance and likelihood of their continued expansion in numbers and areas as urban population inevitably increases, it has been suggested that the search for policy alternatives must begin from a fresh examination of the social and economic conditions in these settlement (Owusu, 1977).

As identified by Roser (1973), it seems fundamentally, “the real problem of uncontrolled settlements is not the individual housing unit, no matter how bad, but the environmental context in which this occurs”. Public attention must therefore in practice be directed at improving the quality of the environment so as to render tolerable, types and standards of housing which otherwise would be intolerable (Owusu, 1977). In the light of the foregoing assertion, Owusu (1977) in his unpublished thesis suggests that efforts at upgrading slums to provide more decent settlements should have its initial emphasis placed on environmental improvement. In the short run, he recommends that the city council should improve on its management of existing facilities; and educate the residents on the proper use of such facilities. For the long-run he recommends the provision of more public amenities (to reduce pressure on few existing ones); an
improvement in infrastructural facilities such as public drainage systems; the appropriate development of sanitation sites such as the construction of walls to delimit the boundaries of refuse dumps; and the provision of access roads within the settlement. He notes that these suggested improvements could mean the demolition of some houses. However he suggests that such demolition should be planned in such a way as to affect only really substandard dwellings. In upgrading slum dwellings, he recommends the need for major repairs and reconditioning of buildings not affected by demolition. He further suggests the City Council’s vigilant supervision of future regular maintenance of buildings by owners. He also suggest the regulation of the materials used for future developments as that is a major contributor to the poor state of the dwellings. He also recommends the critical review of all unauthorized structures after which their owners could be instructed to make necessary improvements in them, failing which such structures should be demolished. However future unauthorized development should not be tolerated in his opinion.

To implement all above recommendations, the setting up of a slum rehabilitation committee comprising members from the ministry of works and housing, the Kumasi City Council, Town and Country Planning Department, Lands Department, Ministry of Economic Planning and representatives of the slum residents is suggested. Such committee is to be charged with the drawing up and supervision of a program for implementation. The committee is also to liaise with the information service department, Department of Social Welfare and other voluntary organizations to educate residence and organize them for self-help projects. The committee is also to necessarily set up a landlords’ cooperative which would be a medium for giving education and aid (in the
form of technical advice and building materials) for rehabilitation projects. About financing the recommended program, the setting up of a slum rehabilitation fund is suggested. The contributors to such funds are to include the central government, the city council as well as voluntary contributions from the public at large. Accessing of aid from international organizations such as the World Bank and U.S.A.I.D is also suggested. In conclusion, all above recommendation is to be viewed as part of a whole program for general improvement of slum and housing situation, as there is the need for follow up projects and policies aimed at making the supply of dwellings more adequate so as to counter the possible offsetting factors. (Owusu, op cit).

A major lesson pointed out by Anno (1982) in discussing the failure of urban renewal programs in Ghana is that resettlement aspect of any renewal program should precede the clearing and renewal of the old slum so it is not considered residual. Also that effective education of the populace affected by the renewal program could reduce their resistance to the scheme. Also the provision of all necessary infrastructure, public utility services and other amenities and facilities should be ensured before such relocation.

Anno however also comes back to the popular realization emphasized by Payne (1977) in his book - Urban Housing in the Third World. That is the task of slum elimination is a herculean one as slums seem to operate as vicious cycles which cannot be easily broken by clearance and resettlement. Anno points out that a true elimination of slum would call for dealing with poverty which is the root cause of slum development. However discussing the positive social elements that may exist in slums, the cost involved in total clearance, the general problem of housing shortage and unemployment, as well as the country’s present economic problems, Anno concludes that slums should
not be destroyed except where absolutely necessary. Following Chamberlain’s (1919) position on how slums could be more successfully dealt with, Anno picks on what she terms as the site and service scheme which involves the improvement of slums from within at a minimum cost. This usually involves the provision of needed amenities, infrastructure and utility services and the maintenance of such through self-help schemes.

Touching on dealing with the root phenomena responsible for the formation of slums, which are rapid urbanisation in the face of inadequate infrastructure, unemployment and poverty, Anno (1982) makes a number of recommendations. A first recommendation is the discouragement of urban population influx by the provision of infrastructural facilities and employment opportunities in the rural areas to keep its inhabitants and attract even some of the urban population. Another recommendation is the provision of support for small-scale industries that employs the majority of urban poor, to boost their productivity and incomes, thereby raising their standard of living. There is also the need to plan low—income housing and the provision of on-site guidance for settlers to ensure the development of a healthy environment that will fit into the urban structure. This recommendation has been successfully adopted in Peru.

4.8 Tema/Ashiaman Metropolitan Slum Upgrading Facility Project (Mdg 7-Target 11)

The latest initiative successfully piloted in the country under the UN- Habitat slum upgrading facility (SUF) is the TAMSUF project, well discussed in the presentation
paper by Dr. Alex Tweneboah (the Chairman for TAMSUF) and presented at the 3rd Annual Affordable Housing Projects at Kuala Lumpur - Malaysia (July 2012). This was to be implemented by the Tema Municipal Assembly and the Shama Ahanta East Metropolitan Assembly for the benefit of the residents of the Ashiaman Tulaku area in the Ashiaman Municipality. To execute the project however, a Fourteen Member Board is made up of Representatives from the following was instituted: - Ghana Real Estate Developers Association, Tema Traditional Council, Ashaiman Municipal Assembly, Peoples Dialogue On Human Settlements, Ghana Institute of Architects, Ghana Federation for the Urban Poor, Ashaiman Housing Co-Operative, Ghana Institute of Engineers, Ghana Association of Bankers, Tema Development Corporation, Ministry of Water Resources works and Housing and the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development. The design and planning stage through its execution, completion and evaluation span the period from 2004 to 2011. (Ljung et al, 2011). TAMSUF and Its Partners have successfully completed its first Housing Project. The Amui Djet Housing project is located in the Tulaku Electoral Area and in the Amui Djet unit of Ashaiman. The project partner, People’s Dialogue on Human Settlements provided a transit quarters for the squatters on the land to pave way for construction of a permanent building. The entire project is located on a 90ft x 80ft plot size and has 31 dwelling units and 15 commercial shops with a commercial toilet and bath facility for use by residents in the area. Each unit consisted of The Hall and Chamber measuring 2.55 x 6.00 and 0.90 meters wide separate kitchen facility. Each unit is approximately 18sqm in floor area.

Key to the success of this project is its economic feasibility as the Slum/ urban Upgrading Facility (SUF) whose program necessitated this project is a technical
cooperation and seed capital facility has a central objective to mobilize domestic capital for slum upgrading projects and its activities. Thus the project’s primary objective was to develop, test and apply new and innovative means of financing pro-poor urban development with a strong emphasis on the mobilization of domestic capital. The access to grants from the Un-habitat to start the investment into the project has been an important foundation as it does away with the risk and cost associated with commercial loans. The units were however to be sold to the slum dwellers who were to enjoy their use. To ensure affordability (given the relatively very low income levels among slum dwellers) various techniques were employed. First of all, the technique of cross-subsidy by the committing of a portion of the development to commercial use with its higher yield was employed. This brought down the cost of units down by as much as 40%. They were also organized into cooperatives to enable them access a bank facility to finance highly subsidized cost of their units. What is yet to be realized is the ability of such cooperatives to keep up such payments to the bank. This could mean a need to closely monitor the financials of the cooperative and the possible giving of technical assistance and advice to come up with innovative models that would make them up to their task. This could even mean assisting their members with the viability of their business.

4.8 1 Lessons And Conclusions from the Project

A number of important lessons were learnt from the TAMSUF project. The first lesson enumerated by the chairman for the Board for the project (Tweneboah, 2012) is the fact that slum upgrading and urban renewal efforts are workable. However this can only be achieved with a serious blend of Subsidies. Subsidies can take many different forms apart from the construction of commercial enclaves. Blending sources of finance i.e.
grants, low interest loans and a cross subsidy with higher income groups could also be considered. Secondly, the demand for land in slum communities is heavily competed for by commercial entities. Coming to the financials, he enumerated that project costs and cash flows should be discussed and agreed with cooperatives and get written commitment before commencement. Pre-financing a project before loan takeout negotiations have been finalized should not be done. There should be an agreement beforehand who bears the cost of the technical feasibility studies to determine project components and to determine whether or not project will be bankable. It is preferable for the Facilitators to keep and manage a commercial component than hand over to the cooperative to operate and pay. This is particularly true where bridge financing has been provided by facilitators. It was also learnt that even with guarantees and cash collaterals, commercial banks are still wary of financing slum upgrading and worse at affordable interest rates. There was therefore a wait-and-see attitude by banks, other cooperatives and local government institutions to see if pilot projects can actually be constructed and delivered before increased commitment and interest is shown. It is thus important that the Facilitators maintain a stake in the project to provide comfort to banks. However, generally, TAMSUF has proved that with a small amount of funding it has been able to successfully provide decent accommodation for the Pro-Poor. TAMSUF has also shown that its funds are revolving and that one of its main aims is not only to provide Housing for the poor but to also maintain the value of the fund in order to assist many more people to acquire affordable decent housing.
In handling communication with the slum dwellers, it should not be assumed that what are discussed and agreed with leaders of cooperatives have been communicated to the other slum cooperative members. Staffs used for such interaction should stay long enough to ensure consistency in communication on the project. Negotiating land release, relocating slum dwellers and construction often span over a year. Uncertainty over commitment by a stake holder can and will delay others interest in project.

It was however realized that it can be rather difficult and cumbersome in attempting to provide housing solely for the pro-poor using this method. - A more equitable method needs to be devised. In Ghana there is a huge housing deficit caused by many factors. These factors include our generally low income levels as compared to our high building standards; our land tenure system highly controlled by the private sector; and rapid urban population growth, far exceeding our rate of infrastructure and housing provision. Bodies such as TAMSUF with the assistance of its partners could look at providing housing for a group of people in Ghana who are slightly above the slum dwellers. People who are in regular employment but whose salary may not qualify them for loans from regular financial institutions could be assisted. An area that could be look at is the growing need of salaried and Government workers who are all desperately in need of affordable housing. With Government support and input, TAMSUF and Ghana could benefit tremendously from the current interest being expressed by international donor agencies in assisting developing countries with their housing agenda (Tweneboah, 2012).

However in dealing with the improvement of the lives of slum dwellers via housing, the experience of TAMSUF is one which gives hope despite the socio-economic realities of slums.
CHAPTER FIVE
RESULTS PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

5.1 The Geography of Anloga Sobolo

Anloga – Sobolo, the case study area for this research lies within the Oforikrom sub-metro of the Ashanti Region. The Anloga Township is formally known as Oforikrom Extension. The major residential neighbourhood of the township has been locally named as Sobolo. Thus, this research is concentrating on the residential neighbourhood of the Oforikrom Extension. The major Accra Kumasi highway bounds the Anloga area to the east, the Asokwa Township to the north, the Susan River and the Susanakyi Township to the south and Old Ahinsan Estate to the west. The commercial hub of the township lies more closely to the major Accra- Kumasi Highway. The residential neighbourhood follows and spans to points where the Susan River delimits it. Attached as appendix 8 is
a map (extracted from a Town and Country Planning Map) showing the Anloga Township and its environs. The location of Anloga Sobolo in the Kumasi metropolis gives the land area covered by the township tremendous latent value that could be well harnessed with a redevelopment of the area. In its present state, the total land area of the township is covered with developments with no space for the provision of any of the social amenities so much needed by the community. However, a redevelopment that would seek to organise land uses and make use of vertical space could help free much of the prime land covered by the township for other compatible and lucrative developments, allowing the realisation of the latent value of the township’s land. As in the case of TAMSUF where the vertical redevelopment of the residential space occupied by families allowed the provision of prime commercial space to help defray the cost of regeneration sought and thereby making it sustainable, Anloga Sobolo could be redeveloped in a similar vein. In fact, the case study area has a greater potential as the serenity of the townships bounding it could allow the redevelopment of the freed space for institutional use as well which would have its positive ripple effect on the state of the community.

The land area of the township is undulating, with some flood plains in areas bounding the Susan River. The flood prone area has been expanding over time according to records (Town and Country Planning Department). This has been mainly attributed to the clogging of the waterway of the Susan River with refuse and silt over time. The vegetation cover of the area is almost non-existent, as the whole area of the township has been affected by (much uncontrolled) human development activities. Thus, the evidence of land erosion (mitigated by the tarring of roads in the vicinity) is obvious in most parts of the township. The absence of vegetation cover also rids the area of temperature
moderations. The generally high temperatures of the area could be explained by the theory of greenhouse effects due to the activities of local industries in addition to the burning of domestic fuels in the area. The area therefore has particularly hot afternoons.

The rainfall pattern in the area has been similar to that pertaining in the most developed areas of the Kumasi metropolis – heavy rains during the wet season and dryness marked with dusty roads during the dry season. Heavy downpours during the raining season have been mostly devastating as it leads to the flooding of homes due to the siltation and choking of drainage systems and the waterway of the Susan River. The perennial flooding is a major predicament of the township of that has drawn attention to the poor state of development of the township. A redevelopment of the township which will harness the latent value of the land area of the township (as afore discussed) would warrant substantial investment into infrastructure which take care of drainage to avert such flooding. Also following the garden city concept of the metropolis, provision for vegetation cover within the township’s redevelopment plan would very well improve the comfort, health and economic value of its neighbour. Again, this provision for vegetation cover would be possible if only the vertical space of the township is made use of to curb its vertical sprawl.

5.2 Brief History

The land area of the Anloga Township was given as a grant by the Amakom stool (of the Kumasi) to the early Ewe migrants. The area was demarcated and named Oforikrom Extension by the then town planners. As an extension of Oforikrom (an existing town), Anloga was expected to share the Oforikrom’s community resources. This planning decision however seemed not have taken into account of the future expansion of the
township with population increases. The settling of other migrant tribes and nationalities in addition to natural population growth by births in the area over time highlighted the problem of lack of public amenities in the community (Oforikrom Sub-metro, 2011). This history of the acquisition of the land occupied by the township clearly makes known that the settlement is not a squatter settlement (as defined in the chapter 2 of this study). The settlers were given title to the land they occupied as per our native customs. The consideration of the land rights of the homeowners is thus key in any form of redevelopment agenda. The development of systems that would preserve the land rights of homeowners in the phase of redevelopment would be key in attaining their support for any form of redevelopment agenda. This also cancels out the unpopularity of slum clearances warranted mostly by the fact that squatter settlements do not fit into the comprehensive development plan of the area in which they find themselves. Thus, the regenerative approach in correcting the ills of an originally planned settlement would be the best.

The early settlers started development of housing units typically in rows, building mud (red clay) houses in the compound house styles. Thus at present most houses in the township has a core shell of red clay with recent cement screed plastering to give it a modern look. However, the rapid expansion of household sizes due to in-migration and births led to the unauthorized extension of houses and the popular development of attachments (which could pass for shacks given the poor materials used in their construction) to houses. This in addition to the lack of sufficient infrastructure to meet the growing needs of the population has led to the settlement’s present state of slum. This bit of history also tells housing provision in the neighbourhood has been solely
dependent on private effort. Given the generally low income of its inhabitants, the resulting development (considered poor) is obviously their best response to their fundamental need for shelter. A consideration of the housing needs of these urban ‘poor’ and provision of technical and monetary subsidy for its development would have gone a long way to avert this present status of slum.

Efforts at developing the amenities in the area took a more serious turn in 1998 under the Urban 4 project of the reigning government then. Developments done in the area included the construction of feeders roads, the provision of street lights along main roads, the extension of portable water mains into the area, the provision of toilet facilities and the constructions of bridges that linked the area into its adjoining towns. However, the lack of sufficient maintenance of most these facilities provided has led to their deterioration of over time. In addition, continual population increases without any augmentation in certain basic amenities such toilet facilities has led to excessive pressure on existing facilities and indiscriminate behaviours detrimental to health. The area had its market and lorry park earmarked for development in 1993 developed later in 1998. These outlined efforts of the central government even though went a long way to opened up the neighbourhood, lifting it from its very deplorable state and bringing it closer to its urban environment, was again a piece meal attack at the issue of sustainable housing for the urban poor. The weakness of these effort of the government (despite its immediate good response) is seen in the fact that these facilities are going down the drain with no maintenance system and the relevance of their provision is coming to zero with continual population increases.
In recent time, a major metropolitan development that has been having an impact on the development trend of the area is the ring road development. This is ease off traffic on the major highway of the metropolis leading to its central business district. This has led to the evacuation of the wood workers who were the major economic sustenance of the township to a new wood village. This movement has sparked up speculations of reduction in the economic vibrancy and wellbeing of the township. There have also been speculations of possible reduction in the population of the township with time with the movement of the wood workers from the vicinity. However, from a planner and environmentalist point of view, the movement of these wood workers is very good for the preservation of the sanctity of the residential neighbour of the town, thereby improving its redevelopment potential. This is because the movement of these wood workers has ridded the township of both air and sound pollution, and has eliminated the need to provide for conflicting industrial activities in any planned redevelopment scheme. More lands that are valuable have thus been freed and the neighbourhood has been brought further closer to its urban region. Picking up an internal regeneration agenda would therefore be very congenial to this background.

5.3 General State of Physical Development and Implication

Anloga- Sobolo has closely developed residential units, permeated by access routes. The buildings have a form of linear arrangement, closely delineated by main access routes that are in quite good motorable state. This linear arrangement confirms the fact that the township is an originally planned township. The development of feeder roads to service the neighbourhood as from 1998 has contributed to the maintenance of this linear plan. The buildings within each row are however haphazardly placed with the main entry into
many buildings hidden in corners between buildings. The spacing between adjacent buildings is very poor and almost non-existent in cases where building extensions and local economic ventures have taken it up the space. Picture 4.0 on the next page shows the state of the area’s physical development.

Plate 4.0: A typical access route between residential units of Anloga –Sobolo, crowded by wooden structures and activity.

Access routes between buildings within rows area also mostly badly affected by erosion and crowded. This is depicted by plates 4.1 and 4.2 below:
This state of physical development is very precarious as it undermines the fire safety of the neighbourhood and ventilation in the homes. Thus in the event of a fire outbreak, fire tenders would find it difficult to access affected units and the fire will also easily spread from one home to the other. This is also more so as the extensions are usually constructed with wood, which has poor fire resistances. The homes also suffer poor ventilation, as there is the lack of needed space for air circulation. Most window spaces of houses are also blocked with extensions.

In addition, building extensions have been stretched to the edges of main roads leaving no reasonable space between people’s homes and the main road. One could typically find the home activities of certain inhabitants stretching onto the main road early in the morning and late in the evening. Picture 4.3 shows this state of development of Anloga-
Plate 4.3. *A row of residential units extended onto the edge of main concrete drain of main access route. Right-hand corner of picture showing the drying of a family’s corn flour on the main access road.*

This situation particular affects pedestrian safety and impedes the movement of vehicular traffic in the neighbourhood. This state of physical development demonstrates the obvious lack of development control in the neighbour. It clearly demonstrate the poor attitude of state institutions towards low-income communities leading to their abandonment and plunge into a liaise faire fashion. It is also worth noting that what can be perceived as unauthorised extensions to houses, are the response of the people to their increasing shelter and employment needs within the limits of their income and technology available to them. Thus, a redevelopment agenda by an external body that only seeks to do away with these extensions without consideration of needs of the populace that has been neglected is likely to be opposed. Any form of redevelopment would therefore have to identify the needs these extensions provide for and seek within its remit to provide for it in a better way.
The residential units mostly have the compound house architecture (84.2% of households surveyed). Table 4.0 below indicates this:

**Table 4.0 Architecture of Buildings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Compound house</strong></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>84.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Apartment style</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These compound houses have an average of 15 rooms. Some houses however have as much as 38 rooms all rented out to families. The compound house architecture obviously allows high occupancy rate, thus allowing the community to accommodate its relatively large population at minimum cost. Thus, occupancy per house realized during the survey is as high as 77 persons in some houses, and averagely 30 persons in most houses. Thus, the stress on the town’s environment could be well explained by its high population density. These compound houses are mostly built with a combination of local and modern building materials. These usually have core structure built with mud, plastered with cement screed (83.8% of households surveyed). Table 4.1 below indicates this:

**Table 4.1 Building Materials**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>modern</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mixture</strong></td>
<td>57</td>
<td>96.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The foregoing description of the typical architecture of the houses in the community needs to be noted in providing for the housing needs of the populace in any redevelopment scheme. It gives a good indicator of the kind of housing that could be afforded by the populace of that community as against what the formal building standards demand. A similar architecture fashion in the Ashiaman area informed the kind of rehousing that was successfully provided by TAMSUF (reference chapter 4.8). It could be well noted that the sharing of utility areas (i.e. Bathroom, toilet and kitchen) by families is socially acceptable and goes a long way to reduce the cost of housing. This is because the provision of utility areas is associated with higher cost due to its necessary fittings and fixtures. In addition, the use of local building material also ought to be noted as it further reduces cost. As to its quality, recent research has proven local material such as red earths have special qualities, which is worth harnessing. Thus, the provision of re-housing in a redevelopment agenda should follow this ideology as advised by Payne (1977) to keep to plans that are realistic to the socio-economic realities of townships.

Some recent building extensions do have sandcrete block core. However, these are mostly unfinished. This again confirms the fact that generally, income levels in the community cannot readily support what has become the conventional sandcrete block construction system. Roofing is popularly aluminium-roofing sheets. Building extensions mostly consist of wood and aluminium roofing sheets. Some homes are however not finished with some having earth at centre of homes. Plate 4.4 and 4.5 depicts these:
Most rooms within the popular compound house units in the area have poor lighting and ventilation due to the extensions and orientation and poor architecture in some cases. Most rooms have single window openings, which are sometimes covered with plastics due to lack of proper window systems. Picture 4.6 depicts this:

Commercial activities of various kinds fronts and intersperse most residential units bounded by main access routes. This again supports Payne’s (1977) theory of developing mixed-use neighbourhoods as against the conventional segregation of uses. This is key
for any redevelopment agenda as proximity to place of employment is very important to
the urban poor, as their incomes cannot cater for additional transportation cost.

Sixty-eight percent (68%) of Landlords interviewed responded yes to the question of
whether property maintenance projects are regularly undertaken while the remaining
32% had no memory of any such project in recent times. Table 4.2 on the next page
indicates this.

**Table 4.2 Property maintenance regularity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>68.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the Landlords who responded yes mainly listed activities that had little
potential to add to the quality of their properties. This mostly included the repair of
cracks, repair of roof and floors, repair of doors and window, repair of plastering and in
rare cases, painting. Most residential units are also in very poor state of repair with some
showing obvious effect of erosion Picture 4.7 and 4.8 below shows this dilapidated state
of repair residential units.
This is an indicator of either the general insufficiency of the rent income received by property owners, their overdependence on such income for personal upkeep or the lack of prioritising of necessary maintenance work in the use of rent incomes. The family ownership of most of the properties was also cited as accounting for the poor state of maintenance. Just like the popular attitude towards communally owned assets, there is a lack of commitment towards their maintenance, with each more concerned about what they gain from it than what they give to it, as it is not a personal asset. From this perspective, any redevelopment agenda should have within its remit a provision for a management body that would be responsible for the maintenance of properties and infrastructure provided. Their operations could be supported by a services tax system. Any form of re-housing left to the mercy of their low-income beneficiaries with no external management body would only degenerate leading to a waste of the initial capital invested.
Drainage in the township has been helped by the major concrete drains constructed during the construction of feeder roads in the area. However, drainage systems within rows of houses and other open areas is very poor leading to the creation of very unhygienic condition. Pictures 4.9 and 4.10 below depict this state of the community.

Areas closer to the water body bounding the township (and thus liable to flood) is invariably abandoned to indiscriminate disposal of waste and local industrial activities. However, the waste created and unhygienic environment created in the area has a direct reflection on the state of health of the inhabitants of the township and the metropolis at large. Apart from the fact that homes are located close to the area, children tend to choose the area for their play times due to the open space it provides. The workers of the local industries located there are also mostly inhabitants of the township. Lastly, the food products (Gari and palm oil) from the area are sold to the inhabitants of the township and metropolis at large. Pictures 4.11 and 4.12 following depict this described environment.
These very poor environmental conditions are what often trigger the simplistic call for clearances without consideration of the needs that have given rise to these environments. The provision for drainage as other necessary infrastructure should have been developed hand in hand with the granting of development permits for the constructions of homes. During survey conducted for this research, 82% of households surveyed responded in the affirmative when questioned whether they had building permits for their development. Thus, the local government that grants these permits without the provision of these necessary infrastructures are largely to be blamed for the state of the environment. Secondly, the lack of provision of space and infrastructure for local industry in the initial plan for the area was obviously short-sighted and should have been amended with the high rate of local industry activities by the town’s populace. The environment of these industries should have been well checked by the health and sanitation department of the local government. From this perspective, any redevelopment agenda should be very
friendly to the town’s populace who have suffered from the lapses of the local government. Still in consonance with the idea of mixed land use, provision would have to be made to cater for local industries, which are a major stay of the local community in any redevelopment agenda. Any attempt at relocating these industries would be defeating as their products have ready in the locality and small profit margins would be affected greatly by increased transportation cost. A redevelopment agenda could particular seek to enhance the operations of these local industries by helping not only their environment, but their production technology to boost their productivity, which would positively effect on the standard of living of the populace who own the industry and government revenue from the locality.

The neighbourhood is supplied with electricity and water from the public mains. However, households are mostly poorly serviced. A majority of households surveyed (64%) had access to only electricity but not water within their households. The access of water from commercial standpipes within the community is thus popular. The reason mostly given for this by property owners and caretakers is inability to afford the plumbing cost of bringing in of water into their properties and difficulty of handling the bill such services come with. With the case of service areas in the within households, A majority of households (62.7% of surveyed households) has only bathrooms. All other necessary service areas such as toilet and kitchen are not existent. A majority of the town’s inhabitants thus has to make do with the singular public toilet facility (KVIP) located at the main lorry station of the town. Cooking is also done in front of the rooms within compounds and sometimes outside in the open (as some foregoing pictures show). Table 4.0.3 following indicates these data gathered from the community:
Table 4.3 Facilities available

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SERVICES/SERVICE AREAS</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bathroom</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathroom, Electricity</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathroom, Electricity, Water</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity, Water, Toilet, Bathroom</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathroom, Electricity, Toilet</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathroom, Kitchen, Electricity</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interacting with the populace of the township, they recognise the insufficiency of the facilities available in their households. They are particular concerned about the case of toilet facilities and portable water. They mostly desired their homes had these facilities that could be shared within the household. They did have concerns about the cost of accessing portable water given their income levels. A redevelopment agenda would have to consider the provision of water from sources that involve little cost to do away bills, which scare them into compromising their standard of living. The provision of shared toilet facility as done in the case of TAMSUF should also be held on to as afore discussed.

The foregoing description of Anloga-Sobolo gives a good picture of a typical type of Ghanaian slum, which unquestionably needs to be helped. The implied form of acceptable and socioeconomically feasible help discussed alongside the description is very worth noting as confirmed by literature earlier reviewed.
5.4 Stake Holders in the Physical Development of Anloga

Anloga Sobolo could be described as a township that has resulted from private and government decisions, actions and inactions. First, the role of private individuals in the development and present status of the township is very outstanding. Stemming from the town’s history as coming into existence via a private treaty between a chief and a group of people, all structural developments in private ownership were done by private individuals. Thus, the architecture of buildings and their possible errors are all due to private decisions, capabilities and incapacities. So are the situations of local industries and commercial activities interspersing residential developments in the township. The degeneration of the town into its present slum state could also be partly blamed on private hands. The construction of building extensions to meet the growing demand for accommodation, the poor disposal of waste, the poor maintenance of property, and the poor architecture of buildings are all a results of private decisions and actions. Despite the foregoing case, the role of private individuals in the development and maintenance of the sanctity of townships is key. Stifling individual choices in a bid to develop or maintain a perceived comprehensive plan would not be appropriate as townships exists for the benefit of its inhabitants and thus Payne’s (1977) suggestion of the local control over housing provision. Given that housing is both a social and economic good, its users would necessarily have to give their input in determining the form in which it is provided. However, where the urban poor are concerned, their housing delivery ability is constrained by their economic status. They would therefore need to be aided technically and financially (as was done in the case of TAMSUF), to enable them to adequately provide for their housing needs.
The role of the central government in the development of the township has been through the office of town and country planning and its local government system, which is the metropolitan assembly in the case of Kumasi. Starting with the role of the town and country planning, the office has a land use map covering the area wherein lies Anloga-Sobolo. Thus, plots bought for development in the area were to be confirmed with the office before permit was given for their development. However, the office has no power to ensure adherence to its plans as such enforcement is in the hands of the metropolitan assembly. The office justified its demarcation of presently flood prone areas in Anloga – Sobolo for residential development by the fact that at the time the plans were being drawn, it was presumed the water body would not overflow its boundaries to points where development was to start. As to the possible causes of the area’s popular flooding during the raining season, the offices sighted issues such as climatic changes leading to excessive rains, siltation of the river and possible upstream blockage of the river. As to the possible absence and insufficiency of certain community needs such as hospital and school, the office alluded to the fact that the population limits considered while planning the township was such that it could share such resources with adjoining Oforikrom Township. The office accepted their planning of townships has been on a piecemeal basis (mostly after development has started) limiting the comprehensiveness of their plans. Thus, most of their plans have to be wrapped around existing developments. The office attributed the shortfall to the problems that hampers their operation. This has to do with their lack of sufficient logistics and human resources to handle the daunting task of comprehensively planning all lands within their jurisdiction before reached by development. The office also stated difficulties in relating to agencies they are to
cooperate with in going about their duties. The traditional secretariats, which they are to liaise with in going about their duty sometimes, have difficulty understanding the technicalities of their plans. However, the Land Administration Project of the country has recently helped the logistics and human resource problem of the office. The office also recommended the enforcement of laws relating to land use, the acceleration of public education on land use, and setting up and promotion of the efficiency of land courts in the nation.

Generally, the operation of this government body is very important for the development of townships. However, their plans have often been flawed by the lack of adequate provision for future population increases. Thus in any redevelopment agenda, the possible future needs of the township would have be adequately provided for. As the source of development plans, the office could also do well playing supervisory role over the development of townships. The granting of such supervisory powers to the office in any development agenda could be key. Also the principles guiding the office in coming out with their plans would also have to checked to make it sustainable especially where the development is to cater for the needs of the urban poor. The elements that can be deducted from indigenous settlements as espoused by Payne (1977) ought to guide them in other to make their plans sustainable, especially in the phase of local control over housing provision. In the case of Anloga Sobolo, the lack of provision for space for local industry and commercial activities within the residential neighbourhood has contributed greatly to the blighting of the township. The elements of mixed land use and variety of plot sizes therefore need to be incorporated in the development planning townships for urban low-income earners.
The metropolitan assembly mandated by legislation to oversee the state of physical development in the metropolis has had a substantial role to play in the state of Anloga – Sobolo’s physical development. Firstly, the assembly is responsible for the giving of building permits to land developers in the metro. Such a permit is to be given when the development in question satisfies standard requirements and is in line with the land use plan for the area. During survey conducted for this research, 82% of households surveyed responded in the affirmative when questioned whether they had building permits for their development. Table 4.4 following indicates this.

Table 4.4 Permission

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>82.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, it could be well concluded that a majority of residential developments in Anloga – Sobolo has the consent of the metropolitan assembly. In granting permits, the assembly follow the land use plans submitted to it by the office of the Town and Country Planning and in accordance with the building regulations of the country. The standards stipulated as per our building regulations has often been criticised as difficult to reach by the majority of the populace given their income levels and especially the urban poor who usually have the slums as home. In revising these standards, building technologist and material engineers would have to be tasked to investigate into the use of local materials readily accessed by the urban poor for building. The inclusion of these in our standards
would make it amenable to the capacity of the urban poor in providing their shelter needs. This comes to the paradoxical principle of deregulation and new regulation as part of the enabling approach the state (government) would have to take to successfully see through slum redevelopments (Mukhija, 2001).

A pertinent responsibility of the assembly that has contributed much to the state of development of the township is their role of development control. To ensure adherence to land use plans for townships, the assembly has the office of Development Control / Building Inspectorate. This office located in the Oforikrom Sub metro is directly responsible for the Anloga Sobolo Township. An interview with the officer in charge revealed that the office is mandated (by LI 1630 and National Building Regulation, 1996) to inspect and supervise all construction work in the township as part of the sub metro. In carrying out their duties, the office is expected to compare layout submitted for permit to work done on the ground. The office also checks material used and possible structural defects. The office admitted the recognition of poorly serviced households in Anloga Sobolo. The launch of a project to help with the situation was indicated by the office. This two year community based project (from enquirers made at the Engineer’s department of the assembly) started in 2006 to provide for toilet facilities in homes that lacked it in the sub metro. Homeowners were expected to put up a percentage of amount needed for the toilet facility and the government supported by World Bank provided the rest. The office indicated that funds run out very fast as many homeowners were eager to accept it. However, none of the homeowners interviewed in Anloga Sobolo indicated that they had benefited from such a project. This obviously meant property owners in
other communities within the sub metro rather benefited from the project as they could readily satisfy the conditions for the grant.

The Development Control / Building Inspectorate office also indicated they have noticed the development of unauthorized extensions to buildings. The office claimed at the time of interview that the commencement of legal action for the demolition of such illegal structures had begun. The office took a position similar to that of the town and country planning when asked about the course of flooding in the area. As to projects being undertaken to help with the flooding, the office mentioned the dredging of the stream (undertaken by urban roads), the stopping of the dumping of refuse into the stream (with the prosecution of culprits) and the demolition of unauthorized structures, which are themselves affected by such floods. The office indicated at least seventy structures were demolished in August 2009 in support of this course. The office in going about their activities has had to relate to the Town and Country Planning (whose plans guide their inspections), the Environmental Health Office (in charge of sanitation management), and the Survey Department (which helps with measurements for the delimiting of developments).

The office itemized a number of constraints faced by the office in carrying out their duties. The first is the issue of human resource constraints. The whole Oforikrom sub metro had a singular officer in charge of development control and building inspectorate. The lack of office vehicle to aid in movements around the sub metro is another. The issue of unplanned areas within the sub metro makes the control of development in those areas difficult. The use of quack surveyors for the demarcation of plots and poor contractors for the construction of building has also affected the effectiveness of the
work of the office. As to what could be done to improve the present state of the Anloga – Sobolo Township, the office suggested the need to take care of the sanitation needs of the community and the demolition of illegal structures. The construction of the Susan stream and its periodic de-silting was also suggested. Lastly, the education of the town’s populace to conscientise them about the need to prioritize shelter was also suggested.

From the discourse with the development control and building inspectorate unit, it was noted that the inability of the unit to effectively carry out their mandate is what has led to the laisez faire form of development suffered by the township. They particularly blamed the lack of logistics and personnel on their ineffectiveness. However, apart from the necessary provision of these, development control could best be achieved when the residents of the township are involved in this policing activity. This is where residents associations and their leadership are best used to check development within neighbourhoods. This would call for the education of the residence about the importance of keeping to certain minimum standards and making available necessary support to enable them keep to such standards. Where this policing function is entrusted to outsiders without the residents’ appreciation of their work, their activities are very likely to be frustrated and tainted with political chants, as has been the case in most slum communities in the country. This therefore comes back to the principle of community’s involvement in the development of a township as successfully tried in Britain and aspired in the extensive literature discussed in chapter four of this report.

The community’s representative at the metropolitan assembly has also contributed to the townships development. The assembly member of the township at the time of this research’s survey was Mr. Gariba. The assembly member first entered into office in June
1998, and has since been re-voted into office several times. His key aspirations for his present tenure of office were the provision of streetlights, the improvement of the township’s sanitation through the provision of toilet facilities, and the building of a basic school to boost education within the township. The assembly member expressed the opinion that housing conditions in the township is very poor, as most does not follow approved layout, with many unauthorized attachments and no facilities except bathroom(s). He has however, not picked on any project to help with the immense housing problem perceived yet. The assembly member accepted that the sanitation condition of the township is poor and mentioned a planned project of getting refuse containers and dumping sites. The source of funds for these projects has been from foreign donors and the metropolitan assembly. In the allocation of funds received for the area’s development, priority areas have been sanitation, education and health. The assembly member indicated percentage wise, 60% of funds received for the area’s development is committed to environmental management. Sanitation works in the area is supposedly handled as private contract. Its ineffectiveness is blamed on the assembly’s inability to settle the cost involved in good time. The assembly member confirmed development control in the area has been good in recent times. Major problems faced in the community itemized by the assembly member are unemployment and poverty, absence of government health facility in the area, absence of security patrols leading to growing social vices, and poor sanitation conditions. As to the urgent infrastructural needs of the community, the assembly member itemized toilet facilities, boreholes, standpipes and improvement in drainage systems. The assembly member mentioned the
existence of NGO’s and social clubs that have helped in revenue mobilization and social integration in the community.

From the discourse with the assembly member, it was obvious he was very much aware of the problems of the township and its present state as a slum that needs to be changed. However as many other residents of the township, the obvious lack of adequate funds makes the thought of the transformation of the township seem afar of. However, he as many other leaders of the community could be trained to perceive the needed redevelopment as not dependent on ‘money’ per say, but could be well driven by its human resource, good social systems and locational advantage of the township. Such education could help open them up to the possibility of the transformation of their township by themselves with minimal external aid. This would conscientize them into the community ownership of the redevelopment agenda of the township as they would realise the great amount of redevelopment resource within them. Such community ownership would make possible the State’s enabling approach and would ensure a sustainable and successful redevelopment process. Such is the classical success case of the TAMSUF pilot project in Tulaku (Tweneboah, 2012) discussed in the chapter four of this report.

5.5 Socio-Cultural Characteristics of the Township

The township of Anloga though started by early Ewe settlers, now has cultural diversity as many other parts of the metropolis. From the research’s survey, Ewes comprise 34.8% of the township’s inhabitants; Fantes have a considerable percentage of 29.5%, and other Akan tribes comprise 20.5% of the township’s inhabitants. Northerners comprise 8.9%
of the township’s inhabitants, foreigners are 3.6% and Gas are 2.7%. Table 4.5 shows this.

Table 4.5 Ethnicity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akan</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewe</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fante</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northerner</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigner</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, it could be well said that the township has assumed the metropolitan characteristics of the city. The architectural and infrastructural provision well appreciated in other parts of the city could therefore be well accepted by the township.

Majority of tenants (59.8%) in the community are within the ages of 31 and 60 years, 33% are between the ages of 18 and 30, and 7.2% are above 60 years old. Table 4.6 following indicate this:

Table 4.6 – Tenant Respondent’s Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-30</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-60</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 60</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus most tenant inhabitants of Anloga-Sobolo are within the highly productive age bracket. Also in the case of Landlords/caretaker, a majority (61.4%) fall within the ages of 21 to 60. Table 4.7 following indicate this:

**Table 4.7: Age of Landlord**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21 – 60</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>61.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 &amp; above</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is also worth noting that they are male dominated (66.7%). Table 4.8 below indicates this:

**Table 4.8: Gender of Landlord**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus, the human resource base of the township could be considered as having a good potential to contribute to the metropolis’ productivity. Defective to this is however the relatively high dependency ratio of the community. Tenants surveyed had an average of three (3) dependants with some having as much as eight (8) dependants. Property owners surveyed had an average of four dependants with some having as much as 19 dependants. Table 4.9 and 4.10 following indicate these.

**Table 4.9: Landlords’ Dependency ratio**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of dependants</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4.10 Tenants’ Dependency Ratio**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of dependants</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The foregoing demographic characteristics of the township described (typical of most urban slums) tells the significance of the township to the productivity levels of the metropolis and thus the nation. With a majority of its tenant and landlord population within the productive age bracket, the township could contribute significantly to the
work force of the metropolis, thereby increasing its productivity. The wellbeing (health and skills) of the township’s populace could have a significant impact on the productivity of the metropolis. The high dependency ratio (also typical of most urban slums) should be an added incentive for governments to take step to equip the working class of the urban poor to boost their productivity so they can keep up their responsibilities and still maintain an acceptable standard of living. A neglect of the productive potential of the working class in slum is a compromise of the standard of living of their many dependants who are part of the human resource base of the nation. Thus, the demographics of the case study area as other urban slums alone should be a good economic and political incentive for governments to look at their redevelopment.

Majority of tenants surveyed (59.8%) are married. 25.9% area single, 13.4% are separated and less than 1% has been through divorce. In the case of landlords, 78.9% are married, 10.5% are single, and 7% are separated and 3.5% are divorced. Tables 4.11 and 4.12 below indicate these:

**Table 4.11 Marital status of Landlords**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>78.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.12 Marital Status for Tenants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The popularity of marriage and the relatively low rate of divorce in the community is a good prove of the existence of a strong social system in the community. A majority of property owners indicated their establishment of strong social tides in the community with the existence of family and friends in the community. Many tenants greatest incentive for staying in the township is their establishment of good social tides in the community. This fact is supported by the relatively good security of tenure enjoyed by tenants, with some living in the same property for 29 years. Table 4.13 below indicates this:

Table 4.13 Security of Tenancy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Security of Tenancy</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In line with such strong social tides characteristic of such urban deprived communities, communal living could be considered a general part of the inhabitants of the township. With the large population per household (average of 30 persons and as high as 77 person’s in some cases), it could be well said that persons trained in the community would have little or no problems with human relations. Table 4.14 below indicates these facts.

### Tables 4.14 Number of persons per household

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>number of rooms</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>38.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total number of occupants in the house</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rent charged per room</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>18.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such great social cohesion and communal living could be well harnessed for the redevelopment of the township and its maintenance in such good order after such redevelopment. Generally, the urban poor when considered individually do not have the capacity to cause the change they need in their environment: - a reason for the clear hopelessness in their tone in discussing the obvious deficiencies of their environment. However, when put into cooperatives, as was the case of the TAMSUF project (discussed in section 4.8 of this report), they could pull together their resources and offer their organised labour and support to aid any redevelopment process. In the provision of new housing for the township, much saving could also be made in providing communally shared utility areas as they socially acclimatized to sharing such spaces. The ample provision of these in more modern and easy to manage form would present great
advantages that would be welcome by them. Again, the architectural design of rehousing units could be space saving as inhabitants of slum areas (such as the case study area) are socio-culturally used to have small room spaces and sharing compounds. Such space saving design would save cost and release the much needed land space for the development of high income generating facilities and needed infrastructure given the high land values of the space occupied by slums.

5.6 Economic Importance of the Township

The Anloga –Sobolo Township, located in a relatively central part of the Kumasi metropolis has a relatively great economic potential by virtue of its location alone. The township has been very popular in the metropolis by virtue of its wood industry. The movement of this industry to another location quite recently to pave way for the construction of a major ring has sent quite a scare of economic downturn through the trading populace of the township.

As afore mentioned, a majority of the human resource base of the township is within the very productive age range (i.e. 31-60years). However, the possible economic advantage of this age structure of the township is downplayed by the relatively high dependency ratio prevalent in the township. This situation coupled with generally low income levels due to majority involvement in subsistent economic ventures accounts for the poverty prevalent in the township. From survey, it was realized 84.7% of tenants are gainfully employed while 60.3 % of landlords are employed. Table 4.15 and 4.16 below indicates these.
Table 4.15 Landlords’ Employment status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>60.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.16 Employment Status for tenants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>84.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The higher prevalence of unemployment among landlords tells their over reliance on rent income for their personal upkeep and thereby leaving very little or nothing for property maintenance and improvement works. Among employed tenants surveyed, 88.6% are self-employed, 3.1% are government employees, and 8.3% are employed by private enterprises. Tables 4.17 and 4.18 blow indicate these.

Table 4.17 Type of Employment of Tenants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-Employed</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>87.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government-Employed</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private-Employed</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.18 Nature of Employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-Employed</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>75.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government-Employed</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private-Employed</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the popular self-employed, 52.6% are into trading (mostly on a subsistent scale). The rest are mostly into local industries (operating on subsistent scales) such as carpentry, dressmaking, hairdressing, shoemaking, Baking, Gari Making, Masonry and photography. Others into private enterprise and government employments are into secretarial jobs, teaching, security services and savings collection.

This described employment characteristic of the township would need to be seriously considered in any redevelopment agenda. Given that poverty is the underlying factor for the existences of slums, any redevelopment addenda should seek to deal with it holistically. In dealing with poverty, reference has often been made to issues of employment, education, health and shelter/housing. To ensure any new neighbourhood developed is sustainable, interventions would have to be made in the employment status of the township’s populace. In the case of Anloga Sobolo, the close to 90% of the township’s populace who are self-employed operate on subsistent basis due to the lack of the needed capital. A redevelopment body would have to consider the creation of a facility that would provide the local populace with the needed capital, technology and
training that would enable them expand their operations to enjoy economies of scale and earn higher income. An improvement of the income levels of the populace in the phase of physical redevelopment would enable them to embrace their new surrounding and meet well their responsibility of keeping up their households and environment.

Generally, population concentration in the Anloga Sobolo and its environs makes trading activities seemingly vibrant in the township. The easy access to transportation to the centre of the metropolis and its other parts also promotes economic activities in the township. A good number of inhabitants find living in the township very convenient because of their proximity to their places of work given the integration of economic ventures into the residential area of the township. Accessibility to electricity and water from the metropolitan mains has also promoted economic ventures in the township. Inhabitants also seem to find it easy to start economic venture within the neighbourhood as the open communal living allows petty set ups and attraction of customers. These locational and demographic advantages of the township could be well harnessed in a redevelopment scheme to make it economically viable. For instance its central location and proximity to major highways of the metropolis would shoot up the economic value of modern commercial facilities (for offices and shops especially) when developed in the neighbourhood with its improved environmental conditions. The location of these in the neighbourhood would again increase the employment opportunities of the township and could have the ripple effect of improved standards of living if well guided.

A good number of inhabitants who were unemployed at the time of this research’s survey were saddled with the lack of capital necessary to go into any form of business. A number who were into trading had their businesses brought low by bad debts because of
the popularity of purchasing on credit and hire purchase in the community. Some traders also find business slow in the area. This could be explained by the fact that most inhabitants can afford petty purchases given their low-income levels. These economic setbacks could however be well dealt with by the interventions in the employment situation of the populace afore described to improve their income levels, and thus their purchasing power. In summary, Anloga-Sobolo has good economic potential that could be harnessed for the advantage of the whole metropolis at large. Tackling the poverty cycle that has given birth to the very state of the township could go a long way to enable the attainment of the aforementioned end.

5.7 Major Advantages and Problems of the Township

Given all the problems of the Anloga –Sobolo, which has necessitated this research, the township still, has its advantages. These could account for the willingness of a majority of inhabitants to continue staying in the township should the rent be increased by 20% of current rents. These advantages as enumerated by inhabitants of the township during survey are as follows:

- Good social relationship, marked by mutual respect allowing peaceful living and hospitality allowing one to easily obtain help from neighbour when in need.
- Ease of transportation
- Proximity to the city centre
- Popularity of trading activities and the presence of a market that serve adjoining towns.
- Possibility of starting trading with debit capital because of good social trust.
• Possibility of purchasing items on credit for personal use because of social trust.
• Presence of active fun clubs that promotes social cohesion and revenue mobilization.
• Proximity to work place with the mixed land use development pattern.
• Presence of private health centres with relatively low charges.
• Easy identification of houses with the linear like arrangement.
• Relatively safe neighbourhood with almost non-existent crime records because of social cohesion.

All foregoing advantages could be well harnessed by a redevelopment body to make the redevelopment of the township economically, socially and politically viable. It is worth noting that any slum considered would have its own advantages accounting for its continual habitation in spite of its problems.

Anloga Sobolo also clearly has a good number of problems that ought to be addressed (in most cases, to enable the inhabitants attain a humane standard of living). These problems enumerated by inhabitants during the survey include the following:

• Frequent disease outbreaks. Popular diseases in the township include malaria, rashes, coughs, hypertension, cholera and STD’s.
• Polluted air due to stench from public toilets and unkempt gutters and smoke from local industrial activities.
• Poor sanitation.
• Lack of essential public amenities such as dumping site, public toilets, government help centres, educational facilities and community centre for social gatherings.
• Unemployment affecting a good number of inhabitants.
• Poor business due to bad debt.
• Slow business due to petty purchasing.
• Poor economy due to low incomes.
• Lack of capital to go into business as a form of employment.
• Noisy environment due to mixture of land uses.
• Frequent quarrels and fights within households due to large tenant numbers.
• Incidences of violence among delinquent youth in the community.
• Frequent petty theft resulting from the struggle for survival due to poverty.
• Lack of security patrols.

All outlined problems apart from compromising the livelihood and standard of living of the town’s inhabitants; it has repercussions on the metropolis and the nation as a whole with its ripple effects. Given that, the populace of the township (as many other slums nationwide) are part of the human resource base of the nation that needs to harnessed for the country’s development, these problems directly affecting them are a good enough basis to drive a redevelopment agenda, aimed at improving the physical and economic situation of the township. The frequent discussion of these problems (as has been the case in recent years) is likely to court public affinity for the situation in slums and thereby draw political will necessary to drive a redevelopment agenda.

5.8 Residential Aspirations of Residents

Despite of the contentment expressed by many inhabitants of Anloga Sobolo owing to the amiable social conditions prevalent in the township, prevalent rent raging from as
low as 5.00 Ghana Cedis to 18.00 Ghana Cedis, and the good security of tenure, many inhabitants aspire to move out of the township in some time to come. During survey, 73.2% of tenants interviewed responded yes to the question of whether they have plans of moving out of the township. Table 4.15 below shows this:

Table 4.19 Out-Migration Possibility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>73.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus in spite of the many advantages the township offer, many of its inhabitants still saw the town as a place to live till economically sound to move to a more comfortable environment. Such lack of commitment to the township could account for the poor treatment of its environment, as there is no sense of ownership. This could be well changed with the education of the town’s populace as part of a redevelopment agenda, to instil in them sense of community ownership. This could dramatically affect development control and sanitation situation in the township for the better.

Both tenants and property owners interviewed wished their homes had a good number of facilities, which are currently absent. These mentioned during interview include the following: toilet, bathroom, water, concrete floor, ceiling, kitchen, fence wall, electricity, aesthetic finishes, manhole, borehole, tiled floor, painting, and more rooms. Thus it could be well concluded the township’s inhabitant recognise the insufficiency of their
housing facilities and would appreciate well a facility which provides utility areas and is kept in a good state of repair. Such recognition is key in gaining the townships support for a redevelopment agenda, which provides for re-housing.

In spite of the economic challenges of the populace, they showed a remarkable commitment to meeting their present rent obligation. Table 4.20 indicates that the rate of rent default is low as 6.8% with as much as 91.5% being religious to the payment of rent

Table 4.20 Security of Rent Payment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High default</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low default</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>91.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

70.5% of tenants interviewed are ready to pay a higher rent if they are given homes endowed with these facilities. Table 4.21 below indicates this:

Table 4.21 Rent Increase Acceptance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>70.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The attitude of the populace towards the payment of rent is a good indicator of the fact that they give priority to their shelter needs. Thus, where their financial contribution is needed in rehousing them (as was the case in the TAMSUF pilot project) they are very likely to live up to it to ensure its success.

On issue of the acceptance of government assistance for the provision facilities lacked by landlords in households, 69.5% of landlords interviewed were open to the idea. Table 4.22 indicates this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.22 Readiness for Government Assistance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those not open to the idea of government assistance basically had the scare of an inability to pay back monies accessed if given on loan. This is because of claims of rent payment default and meagreness of monies received as rent.

Most inhabitants interviewed chanted the community’s need for facilities such as additional public toilet facilities, hospital, additional schools, water facilities, refuse containers, community centre, streetlight, improved road network and well constructed bridges that would link them to adjoining towns across the Susan River that bounds the township. 81% of landlords and 88.4% of tenants interviewed gave proven readiness to
contribute their quota if the government initiated projects to provide for these facilities in their community. Tables 4.23 and 4.24 below indicate this.

Table 4.23 Participation in Communal Labour by Land Landlords

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.24 Participation in Self-help Project by Tenants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They however raised concern about the lack of land for the development of these facilities, as the land area of the township seems to be fully developed. With foregoing recognition by the inhabitants, it would be logical for a redevelopment body to point out the fact that all the needed community infrastructure and facility could well be provided for if the township is redeveloped with the use of vertical space to free more land area. Such redevelopment would only call for temporal relocation and re-housing of most inhabitants on completion of re-housing units with better facilities. As to the acceptance of relocation by a redevelopment body, 73.2% of tenants interviewed were open to the
idea of being relocated by government if same rent with better accommodation facilities could be accessed through. Table 4.19 indicates this:

**Table 4.25 Relocation Acceptance**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>73.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 26.8% closed to the idea had transportation concerns. On the other hand, 69.5% of Landlords interviewed were open to the idea of being relocated by government with the compulsory acquisition of their properties. Table 4.26 indicates this:

**Table 4.26 Relocation acceptance**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>63.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The openness of some property owners seems to have been fuelled by some hopelessness of inability to resist government relocations given the recent movement of the town’s wood industry against all odds. Others could not give open answers to this question as they are acting as caretakers, the properties belonging to the family. However, the tenants are obviously more open to the idea of relocation than the Landlords given their relative interest in the properties they occupy. Thus in any redevelopment agenda, the major
stakeholders to consider are the Landlords. They would have to be assured of the preservation (if not the improvement) of their interest in properties demolished to make way for the redevelopment agenda. The offer extended to them should go beyond a mere valuation of their existing properties, which are a very poor state of repair. However the latent value of their land should be well considered to grant them replacement units which could yield them as much income (if not higher) as they received holding on to their densely populated compound houses.

In summary, a majority of the inhabitants of Anloga – Sobolo could be considered as having positive aspirations for better living conditions. The seeming contentment of some seems to be fuelled by the hopelessness of poverty and individual inadequacy to cause any substantial change in their environment. However given the many discussed opportunities and advantages the township presents, a redevelopment agenda through the regenerative approach could be well planned and executed with the support of the township’s populace. In the same vein, each unique slum in the nation could be well studied for its opportunities and advantages, which would warrant and promote a successful redevelopment agenda.
CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
6.1 Feasibility of Redeveloping Slums in Ghana

From the foregoing chapter’s results presentation and discussions, it is apparent that the best chance the nation has in dealing with slums is by the adoption of the regenerative approach to slum redevelopment, which also captures the ideas of Payne (1977) central to this research. This with its complexity is obviously a more effective way of dealing with slums as against the simplistic model of slum clearance and rebuilding based on traditional ideals spelt out by regulations. From the discussion of the data gathered from the case study area, it is obvious that the regenerative model for redevelopment is feasible. Given that slums and blighted settlements in the nation have similar socio-economic and environmental threats and opportunities, it could be well deducted that the regenerative approach to redevelopment could be successfully rolled out in them. Some examples of popular slums in the country are Amui Djor, Ashiaman, Old Fadama, Jamestown, Kojokrom, New Takoradi and Suame Magazine (Wikimedia, 2010).

A major difference between the case of Anloga-Sobolo and some other popular slums in the nation is the fact of those others being squatter settlements. However these squatter settlements such as the case of Old Fadama in the Greater Accra region has grown into a township with population of about 80,000 (Helena Selby, 2011). Given the great number of legal citizens of the nation living in such settlements, it would be prudent to look beyond their illegal occupation (based on the spirit of the law of adverse possession of land) and to treat them to the best of regenerative redevelopment possible. This may call for the varying of some comprehensive town and city plans. As far as such varying would not affect the health of the city or town involved, it could be well done as the
situation of the city as a whole would get worse if such appropriate measures are not taken.

The cost and effort needed in dealing with slum in a regenerative manner could be well justified by the fact that their existence draws back the development of the nation as a whole. As explicitly explained in a critical appraisal of slums (Ghanaweb, 2011), if slums are allowed to flourish, we might never achieve the development we crave. Rather, we stand to create a tired society where sections are going to feel disaffected, alienated, and bitter. If we allow this to fester without tackling and eradicating it, we would be nurturing a breeding ground for all sorts of crime, diseases, and lawlessness. However, most important of all, slum dwellers are also human beings and should be treated as such. They also contribute significantly to the cities and to the country. The poor people of the slums do all the odd jobs in the cities. It is obviously inhumane to allow fellow human beings to live in such squalid conditions. Slums hinder development because the nature of the settlements hinders the establishment of an effective and efficient administrative system. We need a system, which will identify almost every citizen in the country. This is the path to equality, accountability and responsibility. This would enable the government to properly allocate resources and track their progress or the lack of it. Similarly, we can establish an effective and efficient tax system to deal with the problem of black economy. Further, many of the utilities used in the slums are used illegally. People are tapping electricity and water illegally and we have no effective ways of making them pay for the services. The meter reader is encouraged by this haphazard system, so he can go to a house and demand money in return to ignoring any illegal tapping. Surely, if the situation should continue, we cannot even hope to scratch at the
feet of development, let alone become developed. The foregoing line of thought could well explain why world leaders from rich and poor countries alike committed themselves - at the highest political level to a set of goals known as the Millennium Development Goals.

### 6.2 The Millennium Development Goal 7 (Target 11)

At the 2000 UN Millennium Summit, world leaders from rich and poor countries alike committed themselves - at the highest political level - to a set of eight time-bound targets that, when achieved, will end extreme poverty worldwide by 2015. This set of eight time-bound targets captured as the millennium development goals are as follows: End Hunger, Universal Education, Gender Equity, Child Health, Maternal Health, Combat HIV/AIDS, Environmental Sustainability and Global Partnership. These are based on the rights of every person on the planet to health, education, shelter, and security as pledged in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Millennium Declaration. For the international political system, the goals have been described as the platform on which development policy is based. For the billion-plus people still living in extreme poverty, the Millennium Development goals are a life-and-death issue. These goals are considered as the means to a healthy, productive life (Beyai, 2011). Given that the poverty is the root cause of the slum phenomenon, the millennium development goals if achieved would also deal with the problem of ‘slums’.

The seventh goal of environmental sustainability set in recognition of the fact that reducing poverty and achieving sustained development must be done in conjunction with a healthy planet, particularly touches on the issue of slums. A major target of this goal is to achieve significant improvement in the lives of at least hundred million slum dwellers.
by 2020. This target has been described as ambiguous and insignificant by some critics given that a flat number is given for the world with no set proportion for countries to enable them to work at it, given that the goals are being pursued at the country level. Secondly, the figure 100million represents only 10% of the total world slum dwellers population of 1billion. Thus even if met, the significant 90% of slum dwellers would not be affected, thus doing woefully little in the bid to reduce poverty.

However, tracing Ghana’s progress in achieving its millennium development goals, it is reported that Ghana has had significant considerable experience in dealing with the MDGs as it has been anchored and mainstreamed into a series of medium term projects. These projects include the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy I and II, which spanned the periods of 2003-2005 and 2006-2009 respectively and the Ghana Shared Growth Development that spans the period of 2010-2013. The strides made by the country have led to its choice as one of the eight countries worldwide to pilot an MDG acceleration framework program. Detailing on the country’s progress in dealing with MDG 7, which touches on the central theme of this research, the UNDP’s report on the nation’s progress states that Ghana is on track in achieving the target on halving the proportion without access to safe water. However, critical challenges exist in achieving the targets of reversing the loss of environmental resources, reducing the proportion of people without access to improved sanitation, and achieving significant improvement in the lives of people living in slum areas. Coming down to the issue of people living in slums, the report puts forward that in terms of its share of the total population, the proportion of people living in slums in Ghana has declined consistently from 27.2% in 1990 to about 19.6% in 2008. On the other hand, population with access to secure housing has
stagnated at about 12% over the past five years. By 2020, only 6% would have access to secure housing. The situation therefore leaves much to be desired. Practically, the nation’s drive in dealing with slums after the launch of the MDGs has taken the form of clearance of slums, which are squatter settlements in the major cities. This actually works to prevent the nation’s attainment of its MDGs as such clearances without the provision of alternative convenient accommodation only worsens the lives of the slum dwellers. The withholding of essential services from these slum dwellers in a bid to discourage them from continuing their habitation in their illegal settlements also works in same vain, heavily drawing back the millennium development agenda of the nation.

For instance even though urban slum upgrading programs have often been identified by politicians as a priority intervention area to improve the lives of the urban poor, the Accra Metropolitan assembly issued a statement in 2009 that Sodom and Gomorrah (home to over 55,000 slum dwellers) would be demolished soon after a visit to the township. Old Fadama (a slum with a population of over 80,000) considered illegal and the settlers threatened with forced eviction (in 2002), and have been denied developmental projects, in terms of health and creation of jobs since their refusal to relocate.

The situation of slum dwellers in Ghana has been helped by the activities of NGOs whose activities work in support of the concept of regenerative development. Two popular NGOs working the country in this light have been the Ghana Federation of Urban Poor (GHFUP) and the People’s Dialogue on Human Settlement. Their activities have been basically been aimed at building and organizing poor communities, facilitating the savings / federation process, strengthening the poor communities negotiation power,
establishing and providing a support base, and bringing together organized communities of the poor and local and/or Government authorities into a dialogue. Slums they have worked in include old Fadama, Ashiaman, Avenor and Agbogbloshie.

6.2.1 The Hope of TAMSUF’s Success Story
TAMSUF’s work in the Ashiaman Tulaku area is a proof of the socio-economic feasibility of slum regeneration in Ghana. The ability of the nation to take up the lessons learnt from the project and support such initiatives country wide seem to be more the subject matter of political will. The quick social acceptance of the project in the Ashiaman Tulaku area could have been much helped by the vulnerability of the inhabitants given threats of forcible eviction from the area as squatters. However such sensitivity that could yield such quick social openness to regeneration could be created with an intensified awareness creation of the insufficiency and precarious nature of the present environment of slums. This could be well placed in juxtaposition to the healthier life they could have within their economic means.

A major concern yet to be seen to its end is the ability of cooperative beneficiaries of the regeneration project to honor their financial obligation to the bank. This could be helped with the monitoring and close technical guidance of the cooperative to have innovative revenue mobilization plans that could enable them to faithfully honor their obligation to the banks. Such cooperatives could also be tasked to have programs that would equip its members to do better in their respective business. This would further lead to an improvement in the standard of living of their members, culminating in the increase in the capital base of the nation. Such systems when implemented could have enormous benefit for the individuals whose lives are directly improved and the nation as a whole.
These individuals would feel more of a part of the society and their patriotic instincts would be whipped up to contribute meaningfully to the development of the nation. The great potentials being suppressed by the insufficiency of the slum environment would be released to the great benefit of the society as a whole.

6.3 Recommendations

From the preceding discussion, it is apparent that slum redevelopment could be successfully contemplated if such redevelopment takes the regenerative approach. Regenerative development, which implies urban redevelopments with emphasis on partnership working, community involvement and sustainability, would champion Payne’s ideals of high density, mixed land use, variety of plot sizes and local control over housing provision in dealing with the urban poor. In undertaking regenerative development, the following recommendations should be considered:

First, before any form of redevelopment is started there is the need for the setting up of a specialized committee comprising of people with expert knowledge in the field of land management and stakeholders with personal knowledge of the situation in slums. There would also necessarily be the need for the setting up of a redevelopment fund by the government, which could be opened to voluntary contributions from NGOs, international organizations such as the World Bank and U.S.A.I.D, and the public at large. The major concern of the redevelopment committee would be to decipher from research what transformation could be feasibly carried out in the slum concerned, plan such redevelopment and see to its rolling out. Their plans should at least provide for better health than what is existing in the community. To achieve this, the premiere concern of the committee should be to address the environmental problem of the township. This is
in recognition of the fact that the real problem of slums (which attracts disdain for their existence) is not the individual housing unit, no matter how bad, but the environmental context in which this occurs. Dealing with the community’s waste management and drainage systems, as well as the provision and improvement of the sanitary areas are practical ways the environmental problems in slums could be dealt with.

When it comes to dealing with the state of structures (in terms of poor architecture and dilapidation) and issues in structures (such as overcrowding and lack of utilities) the gradualist managerial approach would be the best to adopt. There will be the need to start with the reconditioning and repair of authorized structures that have fallen into dilapidation or are substandard due to construction inadequacies. There will especially be the need to provide service areas in houses. Landlords could be assisted financially in this regard as tried before in the Asokwa sub metro. Unauthorized structures should not be just demolished but should be critically reviewed to assess whether each could be reasonably accommodated in the settlement plan of the redeveloped township. Where it can be accommodated, it is necessary improvement needs to be insisted on; failing which demolishing could be carried out. Before any demolishing is done, a substitute accommodation ought to be provided in the vicinity for displaced residents. Subsequent unauthorized development need to be stopped from its beginning with an increase in the development surveillance of the area. The strengthened development control system also ought to check future authorized developments in terms of adherence to architecture approved during development and frequent maintenance of property to help keep it in very good state. In approving developments, emphasis should be placed on the provision of sufficient service areas and utilities (such as W/C area, bathroom, kitchen and portable
water) within properties. Building extensions and shacks that are in poor order and thus cannot be tolerated (though serving as homes for some residents) ought to be demolished, only when alternative accommodation has been provided. In addition, overcrowding in properties ought to be dealt with. There would be the need for regulations that strictly define the number of residence per household given the accommodation provided by such households. This would also imply the displacement of some tenants who ought to be provided with alternative accommodation. Where alternative accommodation ought to be provided, the major concern of the redevelopment committee would be to establish which form of good housing would enable the displaced populace to access accommodation at the current passing average rent. This consideration may call for some deregulation on the part of development policy makers as certain building standard which can be reasonably varied without affecting the health of the accommodation provided may have to be amended. The individual cost of relocation would also have to be absorbed by the redevelopment fund to reduce any form of hardships such relocation could cause.

In developing new structures for townships being redeveloped, there will be the need to consider the needs of possible future entrance into the township. This is because with the improvement in the sanitation condition of the township, more people (even within the middle-income bracket) would be attracted to settle within the township in the bid to cut back on their accommodation expenditure. Providing for people within slightly higher income brackets would be a step in the right direction, as it would better the socioeconomic characteristics of the township.
To reduce the pressure on the government and the redevelopment fund as ensure economic viability, new developments to absorb the displaced inhabitants of townships could be given to private corporations which should have in its key employment some residents of the township. The inclusion of residents in Private Corporation to take up the redevelopment of the township would boost the acceptability of the work of the corporation and would help ensure the interest of the community is upheld as against private gain. Private corporations could be attracted to take up the task of undertaking the needed new developments if given serviced parcels of land at no cost and the cost of building materials subsidized, in addition to other feasible tax incentives. This way their need to adhere to government directives in undertaking their developments and renting out such developments to recoup investment could be well tolerated. There will however be the need for strict regulations to ensure displaced inhabitants are given the first option to rent new developments before new entrants are given the opportunity. It is worth noting that, as a major cause of the blight in poor townships is the erection of unauthorized structure in precarious areas for economic activities. Thus apart from the provision of housing facilities, there will the need for the development of facilities to cater for economic ventures.

Preceding the start of any form of actual work, there will be the need for the intensive education of the residents of the township and the general populace at large. The organization of public forums through which the fears of the residents could be allayed and the commitment of the residents to the redevelopment course could be gained would be very necessary. Through open forums, the ideas and ideals of the residents could be harnessed to promote the feasibility of the redevelopment to be carried out. Residents of
the slum would also feel more of a part of the whole redevelopment process thereby increasing their acceptance of the whole redevelopment. The education of the residents could be planned to coerce them into starting self-help projects that could deal with the environmental problems of the town. Property owner cooperatives could also be formed through the education process. Such cooperatives could support individual landlords to carry through necessary rehabilitation/maintenance work on their properties. This cooperative could also serve as a watchdog over private redevelopment corporations that work in its settlement. The education of the general populace would increase public empathy for the course of the government to encourage public contributions to the redevelopment fund. With good publicity, philanthropist individuals and international organizations could come in to contribute to the whole redevelopment process.

With the start of the redevelopment in any poor settlement, there will be the need for the enforcement of very strict preventive policy in adjoining township so the problem being dealt with does not move into them. The building inspectorate and development control unit of the local assembly necessarily ought to be strengthened to enable them intensify their work within and around the township being developed. New entrants into the area being redeveloped ought to be closely monitored to ensure there would be no influx of people into the area due to the provision being made by the government.

The government would necessarily have to add to its development agenda the planning and development of housing facilities and work opportunities for the urban poor. This is necessarily because as proven by research and statistics, the number of the urban poor would continue to increase with time and with natural population increases. Their needs would thus have to be met to ensure their presence does not upset the whole urban
system. The provision of gainful employment opportunities for the urban poor would also help to deal with the root cause of the phenomenon of slums, which is urban poverty. To help in the dispersal of the nation’s populace, the government could take up the development of the rural areas in the nation and stir up the springing of business opportunities there to attract the population to stay there. Rural economic venture such as farming could also be well supported by the government to make them attractive.

Summarily, the phenomena of slums come up because of a population’s struggle for survival in a developing world. Where such survival can be attained in better living conditions, the standard of living of the population is considered as good. With every government’s aim as improving the living standards of its population, dealing with the phenomena of slums would have to be a priority.

6.4 The Way Forward

‘Impossibility’ could be almost considered as non-existent in the parlance of humanity given the great technological advancement our era has seen. Slum redevelopment could be well considered as possible if the considerable resources (internally generated and from international aid) available and assessed by the nation are focused on dealing with the issue as a priority area. The country would only have to be conscious of its complexity and be willing to carry it through despite its difficulties. Thus crucial to the issue of slum redevelopment is the fact of ‘political will’. This can however be grown with more attention drawn to the hazards of ‘the slum phenomena’ through the media and other public forums. It is however worth noting that slum eradication by a single government is impossible given the scarcity of resources available to the nation at any given point in time and necessary procedure that needs to be followed through. However,
its eradication in the end could be well contemplated with a well-drawn program seeking to address it from the gradualist and managerial perspective, the root cause -poverty being simultaneously dealt with.
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Appendix 1

**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESIDENTS (TENANTS)**

1. Name or House ID No: ……………………………..Gender: Male  Female

2. Age: 1-17  18-30  31-60  60 and above

3. Marital Status: Single  Divorced  Separated  Married

4. Employment status: Employed  Unemployed

5. Nature of employment: self-employed  Government employed  Privately employed

6. Occupation description: …………………………………………………………….


8. Family size: ……………….Position in family: Father  Mother  Child

9. Number of dependants and their ages: ……………………………………………….

10. Financial commitments: Rent  Daily Meals:  School fees  Utility Bills:

    Clothing and general upkeep:  Others: ………………………………

11. Nationality: ………………….Tribe: …………………….Hometown:………………

12. Places resided before present residence: ……………………………………………

13. Period of residence in the area: ……………………………………………………

14. Presence of associate in the township: Family  Ethnic relations  Friends
15. Membership of association(s) in the area: Yes  No:

16. Change in residential facility occupied: Yes  No  Number of times: ………….

17. Number of rooms occupied: ………………… Rent Paid: ………………………

18. Frequency of rent review: High  low  Review period: ……………

19. Security of tenure of present residence: Poor  Average  Good

20. Facilities available: Bathroom  Toilet  Kitchen  Water  Electricity

21. Number of service areas available: Toilet:………. Kitchen:……….Bathroom:…….

22. Facilities accessed from the community: ……………………………………………

23. Number of residents in the house: Children: ……………..Adults: …………………

24. Plans of moving out of the area: Yes  No  Planned destination: ……………

25. Problems in the area:

   Health: ……………………………………………………………………………

   Amenities/facilities: ………………………………………………………………………

   Environment: ………………………………………………………………………

   Economic: ………………………………………………………………………

   Social: ……………………………………………………………………………

   Security: ………………………………………………………………………
26. Advantages of living in the area:

Social: ........................................................................................................

Economic: ..................................................................................................

Others: ........................................................................................................

27. What is your opinion of the sanitation condition in the area? Good Acceptable

Poor Reason for answer: .................................................................

28. What facilities/amenities is desired for the

i. home: ........................................................................................................

ii. community: ................................................................................................

30. Are you ready to participate in self-help projects to provide for these facilities and amenities? Yes No

31. Have taken part in communal labour before? Yes No

32. Are you willing to pay a little higher rent for better accommodation facility?

Yes No

33. Would you continue living in the area if the rent is increased by 10%? Yes No

20% Yes No 30% Yes No 50% Yes No Above 50% Yes No

34. What are your reasons for answer above? ..............................................................
35. Are you willing to move to another area further from your present place of residence given the same rent and better accommodation facilities? Yes    No

36. What are you reasons for the answer above? ..................................................
Appendix 2

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESIDENT LANDLORD/CARETAKERS

1. Name: .....................................................  Hse ID No.: ........................................

2. Description of property: Building materials - Roof:

..........................................................

Walls: ...................................................  Doors: ..................................................

..........................................................

Window: .............................................  Floor: ..................................................

..........................................................

Average size of rooms: ..................  No. of rooms: ..........................................

Arrangement of rooms: ..........................................................

3. Gender: Male [ ] Female [ ] Age: 1 - 17 [ ] 18 - 30 [ ] 31 - 60 [ ] 60 and above [ ]

4. Marital status: Single [ ]  Divorced [ ] Separated [ ] Married [ ]

5. Family size: ..........  Position in family: Father [ ]  Mother [ ]  Child [ ]

6. Number of dependents and their ages: ..........................................................

..........................................................

7. Financial Commitments: Daily Meals [ ]  School fees [ ]  Utility Bills [ ]

   Clothing & General Up-keep [ ]

   Others: ..........................................................

..........................................................

8. Employment Status:  Employed [ ]  Unemployed [ ]
9. Nature of employment: Self-employed[ ] Government Employed[ ] Private employed[ ]

10. Occupation Description: ........................................................................................................

11. Amount of Income Received (apart from rent): Daily: .......................Weekly:

                                  Monthly: ..................................

12. How many tenants are in your property? Number of children:

                                      Number of adults (Above 18 years):

                                      ..........................................

13. Amount of rent charged per tenant? ...........................................................

14. Date of last rent review: .............. Date for any planned rent review: ..............

15. Determinant of rent review: ........................................................................

16. Number of vacant rooms in the property: ........................................................

17. Frequency of tenant vacation of property: High [ ] Average [ ] Low [ ]

18. Period of occupation by the longest staying tenant? ........................................

19. Frequency of rent payment default:   High [ ] Average [ ] Low [ ]

20. Present Amount of Rent Income Received: Monthly: ......................Annually:

                                  ..............

21. Places resided before present residence ...........................................................

22. When was the property developed on the land? .....................................................
23. How did you acquire interest in property? .................................................................
........................................................................................................... Date of acquisition: .................................................................

24. What interest do you hold in the property? .................................................................

25. Do you have building permit? Yes [ ] No [ ]

26. Period (time) of residence in the area: .................................................................

27. Presence of associates in the area: Family [ ] Ethnic relations [ ] Friends [ ]

28. Membership of association(s) in the area: Yes [ ] No [ ] Name(s):
................................................................................

29. Facilities in residence: Bathroom [ ] Toilet [ ] Kitchen [ ] Water [ ] Electricity [ ]

30. No. of facilities available: Bathroom ......................... Toilet

............................................................. Kitchen ......................... Water ......................... Electricity

.............................................................

31. Facilities accessed from community: .................................................................
..............................................................................................................

32. What facilities do you wish you could provide in the house? .................................
..............................................................................................................

33. Do you undertake maintenance projects frequently? Yes [ ] No [ ]

34. If no, why?
..............................................................................................................
..............................................................................................................

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35. What is the nature of such maintenance works? ...............................................................  

36. When was the last time you undertook such maintenance? .............................................  

37. When is the next time you hope to undertake such maintenance? .................................  

38. Do you hope to undertake any property improvement project soon? Yes [ ] No [ ]  

39. What is the nature of the project? ....................................................................................  

40. What are the advantages of owning a property in the area:  
   Economic: ............................................................................................................................  
   Social: ................................................................................................................................. Other: ..................................................................................................................................  

41. Problem in the area:  
   Health: ................................................................................................................................  
   Amenities/facilities: .............................................................................................................  
   Environmental: ...................................................................................................................  
   Economic: ............................................................................................................................  
   Social: .................................................................................................................................  
   Security: .............................................................................................................................  

42. What is your opinion of the sanitation situation in the area? Goog [ ] Acceptable [ ] Poor [ ] Reason(s) for answer:  

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43. What facilities and amenities does the community lack? ..............................................................

44. Are you already to participate in self-help projects to provide for these facilities and
amenities? Yes [ ] No [ ]

45. Have you taken part in comunal labour before? Yes [ ] No [ ]

46. Are you willing to accept government assistance to make improvements in your property
in exchange for periodic payment of a percentage of rent income? Yes [ ] No [ ]

47. What percentage of your rent income could you commit to such improvements? ..........

48. Are you willing to move from the area to another area provided by government if your
property is affected by government's developments? Yes [ ] No [ ]

49. Which other parts of the metropolis would you not mind settling? ........................................

..................................................................................................................................................
Appendix 3

QUETIONNAIRE TO TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING DIVISION

1. Name:..................................................... Office held: ..........................................

2. What is the major function() of the division?
..............................................................................................................................................

..............................................................................................................................................

3. Is the division having a land use plan covering the whole of the Kumasi metropolis?
   Yes [ ]   No [ ]

4. How does the division ensure that such plans are followed in the development of lands in
   the metropolis?
..............................................................................................................................................

..............................................................................................................................................

5. What difficulties does the division face in ensuring the effectiveness of their work?
..............................................................................................................................................

..............................................................................................................................................

6. Has the Anloga-Sobolotownship been captured in the land use plans of the division?
   Yes [ ]   No [ ]

7. What use was the area demarcated for? .................................................................

8. Has the area ever undergone rezoning before? Yes [ ]   No [ ]

9. Does the land use plans capture development pattern of areas zoned for various uses?
   Yes [ ]   No [ ]
10. What divisions and agencies do you relate with in carrying out your mandate?

...............................................................................................................................................
...............................................................................................................................................

11. What difficulties do you face in dealing with these other agencies?
...............................................................................................................................................
...............................................................................................................................................
...............................................................................................................................................

12. How helpful has the LAP project been? Very helpful [ ] Averagely helpful [ ]
Not helpful [ ] Reason for answer:
...............................................................................................................................................
...............................................................................................................................................

13. What do you recommend could be done to make land use planning and compliance effective in the Kumasi metropolis?
...............................................................................................................................................
...............................................................................................................................................
...............................................................................................................................................

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Appendix 4

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVE

1. Office Held: ......................... Name: ..............................................

2. Date of Assuming office: ...................... Date of end of term of office:......................

3. Employment status: Employed [ ] Unemployment [ ]

4. Occupation: ......................... Sector: Private [ ] Public [ ]

5. What is the general mandate of the metropolitan assembly when it comes to the following:

   Environment management: ..............................................................

   Development Control: ..............................................................

   Housing: ..............................................................

1. What are your key aspirations/goals for the period of service:

   ........................................................................

   ........................................................................

   ........................................................................

2. What is your opinion of the housing conditions in the area? Good [ ] Acceptable [ ] Poor [ ] Reason for answer: ..........................................................

   ........................................................................

3. Has there been any project to help the housing conditions in the area? Yes [ ] No [ ]

4. Are there any plans of projects to help housing condition? Yes [ ] No [ ]
5. What is the nature of such projects? ..............................................................................
............................................................................................................................................

6. What is your opinion of environmental conditions in the area? Good [ ] Acceptable [ ]
   Poor [ ] Reason for answer: ...............................................................
............................................................................................................................................

7. Has there been any project to help the environmental condition in the area? Yes [ ] No [ ]

8. Are there any plans of projects to help housing condition? Yes [ ] No [ ]

9. What is the nature of such project? ......................................................................................
............................................................................................................................................

10. What have been the sources of funds for such projects in the area? ..............................
............................................................................................................................................

11. How sufficient is funds received for area's development? Good [ ] Manageable [ ]
    Poor [ ]

12. What is the priority areas in the allocation of funds received for development of the
    area? ......................................................................................................................................
............................................................................................................................................

13. What percentage of funds received by the office is usually allocated to environmental
    management in the area? ....................................................................................................
............................................................................................................................................

14. How effective is development control in the area? Good [ ] Average [ ] Poor [ ]
    ]Reason for answer: ............................................................................................................
15. What organisation(s) has been responsible for sanitation works in the area?.................
...........................................................................................................................................

16. What are the major problems in the area?

Economic: ....................................................................................................................................

Health: ....................................................................................................................................

Social: .......................................................................................................................................

Environmental: ..........................................................................................................................

17. What infrastructural facilities are most needed in the area? ..............................................
...................................................................................................................................................
...................................................................................................................................................

18. What NGOs work in the area to contribute to its socio-economic development? ............
.....................................................................................................................................................

19. What projects have been undertaken by such NGOs in the area? .................................
.....................................................................................................................................................

20. What associations and groups exist in the area? .................................................................
.....................................................................................................................................................
.....................................................................................................................................................

21. What is the scope of influence of these associations? Only Members [ ]

Whole Community [ ] Across other communities [ ]
22. What has been the contribution of these associations to the area in the following?

Environmental management: 

Housing development: 

Social development: 

Economic development: 

Human Resource Development: 

23. If resources were available, what projects could be easily undertaken to better the environmental and housing conditions of the area?

Appendix 5

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DEVELOPMENT CONTROL OFFICE

1. Name of respondent: Office held: 

2. What is the mandate of your office?

3. What legislation backs the activities of your office?

4. What is the geographical scope of your operation?
5. How long has your office being in existence? ..................................................

..........................................................................................................................................

6. What does your office look out for in supervising developments in your area? ...........

..........................................................................................................................................

..........................................................................................................................................

7. Has the office noted the existence of houses in Anloga area that are poorly serviced?

Yes       No

8. Is there any planned or on-going project to remedy the situation? Yes     No

9. What is the nature of such project? .................................................................

..........................................................................................................................................

..........................................................................................................................................

10. Has your office noted the development of attachments to existing buildings in the
    Anloga area? Yes           No

11. Do such developments have the consent of your office? Yes           No

12. If no, is there any planned or on-going project to remedy the situation? Yes      No

13. What is the nature of such project? .................................................................
14. Could the nature of developments in Anloga be blame for the recent floods in the area? Yes  No

15. What other reasons could account for such floods? ...........................................

16. Does the office have any planned or on-going project to remedy the situation?

   Yes  No

17. If yes, what is the nature of such of such project? ...........................................

18. What offices to relate to in carrying out your duties? ...........................................

19. What are the relative duties of the above listed office? ...........................................
20. What constraints does your office face in carrying out your duties? ………………..

........................................................................................................................................

........................................................................................................................................

........................................................................................................................................

21. In your opinion, what could be done to improve the present state of development in the Anloga–Sobolotownship? ….............................................................................

........................................................................................................................................

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........................................................................................................................................
Appendix 6

A TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING MAP OF ANLOGA – SOBOLO AND ITS ENVIRON