

Planning Regimes in Accra, Ghana

by

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A thesis

presented to the University of Waterloo

in fulfilment of the

thesis requirement for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Planning

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2017

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is an exact copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to identify why different planning regimes exist in Accra, Ghana. While addressing this question, many other issues are addressed such as: 1. What is the process of planning in various communities in Accra? 2. What is the cause of the absence of planning in many low-income settlements? 3. How has colonisation shaped current planning processes in Accra? A qualitative approach grounded in a literature review and key informant interviews reveal why different planning regimes exist.

The study shows that three distinct planning regimes exist in the city of Accra, because of the complexities associated with planning. The multiple players and actors involved in planning, such as international funders, local and international NGOs, customary landowners, and individuals all impact planning which causes different residential planning regimes across Accra. The lack of adequate funding, indigenous communities, class structures, overstepping of planning laws, are all among the many factors affecting neighbourhoods in Accra. Recommendations focused on good planning practices and better implementation laws. Most importantly, the central theme and overall advice focused on developing planning practices in Accra, that fit the unique nature of the African landscape, values, and culture.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A big thank you to my supervisor, Dr Pierre Filion for your guidance, coaching, and most importantly encouraging me to go back to Accra for this research. Without you, this research would have never happened. Thank you to Dr Zhu Qian and Dr. Luna Khirfan for sharing your expertise and time. Your advice, directions, and inputs are greatly appreciated. Thank you to all the people in Accra who took time out to participate. I appreciate your perspectives on Planning in Accra, Ghana.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 African Context and Implications

With the rapid urbanisation of African cities, it is appropriate to say that without proper planning, these cities will be in complete turmoil. Planners in Africa are faced with a daunting task as populations live without access to adequate shelter and necessities. Although there has been immense growth on the continent over the last couple of decades, proper city planning, and profitable industrialisation did not follow (Watson and Agbola, 2013). Adequate planning tailored to the specific needs of many African cities is necessary more than ever.

Many African cities rely on planning legislation dating back to the Colonial Era and laws ill-equipped to handle the urban problems facing many cities on the continent today. Problems such as escalating environmental risks, compounded by the build-up of waste, pollution and climate change, are all new challenges that many African cities must tackle (Adarkwa, 2012). Planning practices used in many African cities today are from the past; changes must be made to counter the current threats that face the continent today (Odendaal, et. al, 2014).

Colonisation remains a significant part of African history, and it is highly relevant in understanding planning practices today. It has been used to explain how the government treats slum dwellers in many African cities. For example, planning laws in Zimbabwe were instituted by British colonial governments. The plan for Harare was one anticipated for a law-abiding citizen willing to conform to zoning laws designed for a middle-class European family (Watson and Agbola, 2013). In most African cities, the history of colonisation along with the events which occurred after independence has been the greatest influence on urban outcomes. The

legacy of colonialism and its impact on the narrative of urban planning in Africa is an important theme that appears in the literature repeatedly. According to Odendaal (2013), colonisation produced in most parts of Africa, societies trapped between their traditional and a capitalist-oriented colonial economy (Odendaal, 2013). Colonisation can explain why neighbourhoods are the way they are today, and must remain an important aspect in uncovering many of Africa's problems today.

The percentage of people living in informal settlements in urban areas is higher in Africa than in any other parts of the world. Essential services, utilities, and secure tenures, are a scarcity in these settlements. The increase in investments in the extraction of natural resources such as minerals and oil motivates urbanisation in Africa. Growth in agriculture and other sectors, coupled with urban migration and the growth of the native population has resulted in the expansion of existing settlements and the construction of new towns and the changing character of rural areas and secondary cities. Economic and physical growth brings opportunities for employment, education, health, and improving the well-being of citizens. However, migrants arriving into urban settlements are poor and have to negotiate for access to land, housing, and other needs (UN-Habitat, 2013). These are some reasons why informal settlements are very common in many African cities

Planners in many African cities are realizing that old planning paradigms and practices are unable to meet the new challenges of urbanisation, climate change, slum proliferation, and informal settlements amongst other issues. Numerous attempts have been made to revitalise urban planning practices to make them more successful in dealing with the current challenges (UN-Habitat, 2014). More than half of population will be living in crowded cities by 2020. This growing urban population has a larger proportion of youth, high unemployment rates, and

dependence on the informal economy (UN-Habitat, 2013). Colonial, post-independence and current development patterns have caused some serious challenges for urban planners in many African cities. Redevelopment efforts must be made to accommodate the growing cities (UN-Habitat, 2014).

Urban planning issues are urgent across all parts of Africa, and many of the problems transcend across the continent. In North Africa, the construction of gated communities and malls are modelled after those in western countries. These developments created mostly for the affluent have led to the fragmentation and displacement of neighbourhoods, entrenching different living standards and available opportunities (Madbouly, 2009). Western African cities characteristically entail middle-class neighbourhoods surrounding the central hubs which contain commercial and administrative functions. Land values in these centres prohibit low-income citizens who are forced to live in slums in the peripheries. These low-income residents are exposed to health risks and faced with environmental disasters such as flooding (Freire et. al., 2014). Eastern, central, and southern African cities are filled with slums where a majority of growth is informal. Internal conflicts have disabled governments in Somalia for example. The multifaceted dynamics of movement of people all across Africa also add to planning difficulties. Given the present and anticipated health threats in the urban areas, inadequate access to water, sewerage, and sanitation services, urban planning should be an urgent priority (UN-Habitat, 2014). Although this research will focus on Accra, an overall look at the continent is important. In this thesis the planning in Accra will be explored and the multiple factors that have led to uneven spatial development across different neighbourhoods in Accra.

1.2 Problem Formulation

The planning outcomes in Accra raise many questions. Some of the questions are 1. What is the process of planning and urban development in various communities in Accra? 2. What is the cause of the absence of planning in many low-income settlements? 3. What are the paradigmatic changes in Ghana's urban planning processes over the years and how has this affected planning in Accra? 4. How has colonisation shaped current planning processes in Accra? Including the main question: 5. Why do different planning regimes exist in Accra?

There is a shortage of studies that explore planning on the continent. A majority of the current research has only focused on the charm of the new gated communities and high-class neighbourhoods. On the other hand, the typical African development studies in the past have only to focus on slum upgrading, poor rural areas, and the problems associated with them. There is not sufficient research combining both sides of the spectrum and finding the pieces that have created extremes in development in many cities such as Accra. Many variables that affect these extremes such as traditional values, colonisation, class, politics, and many others must be explored.

Many groups play a role in the development of the communities in Accra. However, because of the random planning events across Accra, it is questionable whether all community members in the city have the same opportunity in contributing in planning decisions. Planning authorities such as district assemblies and government officials also play a prominent role in planning in Accra. These government stakeholders in the planning process come under question as to whether they possess power in the grand scheme of things. Traditional or customary landowners also play a fundamental role in providing land. Often, they work with private developers and individuals to provide land for housing stock, as well as other privately owned

developments. What role do these stakeholders play in the creation of the various planning regimes in Accra? Research of this kind is imperative because it will stimulate a much-needed conversation surrounding residential planning in Africa as a whole.

1.3 Structure

This thesis entails six major sections, with a literature review, and a background introducing the issues. The literature review recounts the history of urban planning in Accra from colonisation to the present day. It also serves as a backdrop for the history of Ghana and how it shaped planning in Accra today. It speaks on Ghana during the colonial times, the Independence Era under its first president after colonisation Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, and the Post-Independence Era, followed by a section highlighting current practices. After discussing issues relating to current planning practices, the study begins to break down the different planning regimes in Accra. The term "planning regime" in this context refers to planning and governance systems in residential areas in Accra. The term "regime" also encompasses the management in these neighbourhoods since different these areas follow different management laws. Planning regimes in various neighbourhoods will relate to the differences in quality of services provisions, housing, streets and roads, sanitation, and other components needed in a well-planned neighbourhood.

The methodology section provides a justification of why the qualitative method is best, as it relates to the end goals and objectives raised by this research study. Limitations of the study and factors that affected the quality of the interviews follow. Next, the interview section explores the responses of the planners and the community workers, while also serving as an analysis of the replies provided by the participants. A summary of the research findings follows, and lastly

conclusions and recommendations developed from the research.

1.4 Context

Ghana is in West Africa boarded with Gulf of Guinea, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire and Togo.

Figure 1: Map of Ghana



(Facts.co, 2016)

Ghana is about 238, 500 square km with a population of about 26 million. It has a tropical climate characterised by a dry season from November through March and raining season from April through October. It attained independence from the British in 1957. Accra, the capital of

Ghana, became the location of activity for British colonial administration in 1877 due to its key location and easy access to surrounding areas of interest (Adanu, 2004). The Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) administers the capital Accra. The city of Accra is facing a move from highly dense cores and slums to the less dense planned residential area on the outskirts. Although these low dense single storey areas aim at decongesting the core, these areas bring a new set of issues which do not ensure sustainable use of land and reduction of automobile use and dependence (World Bank, 2010).

Questions addressing the extent to which planning legislation and policies are reflective of current urban conditions are important. With research taking place in Accra, data collection began with the AMA. The AMA website provided some insight into some of the responsibilities of the AMA needed to tackle this research. Their website states: The AMA has a planning department responsible for:

- Collection and analysis of data for planning purposes.
- Rationalization and coordination of development policies.
- Implementation of strategies.
- Preparation of projects documentation.
- Evaluation of the feasibility of planning projects and providing direction for their implementation.
- Direction and management development of the planning process.
- Harmonisation and the implementation of planning policies, programs, and projects.

According to the AMA's mission:

To improve the quality of life of the people of the city of Accra especially poor vulnerable and excluded by providing and maintaining essential services and facilities in the areas of education, health, sanitation and other social amenities, in the context of discipline, a sense of urgency and commitment to excellence. (AMA, 2015)

One must ask if AMA lives up to their mission and if planning policies and legislation work in improving city planning. Examining the available information and interviewing the correct people will help provide answers to some of the questions raised.

Different eras along Accra's history have impacted the planning trajectory over the years. The course of time has also created different planning outcomes and processes in various parts of Accra. Difficulties along the way and inadequacy for proper urban management and rapid urbanisation have resulted in slums in several areas of Accra. The history of Accra is important in understanding urban planning in Accra.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW & HISTORY

2.1 Colonial Era

Colonialism is when one country's power is in the hands of a foreign power. The first objective of colonialism was to dominate politically and exploit the colonised country.

Colonisation was necessitated by several factors, with one of them being the emergence of the industrial revolution. The industrial revolution brought about changes in the socio-economic transformation and the advancement in technology in European countries. The industrial revolution led to an increase in production, which resulted in the shortage of agriculture and other raw materials. The manufacturing industry grew faster than agricultural production and it became difficult for cities to satisfy their populations. Hence, there was a need for European powers to look outside their boundaries for additional raw materials to sustain the rising population. This requirement served as a primary reason for Europeans to colonise African countries (Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012).

The legacy of colonisation and its impact is important in Ghanaian history. Knowledge about this crucial component of Ghanaian history is essential in addressing the issues in the planning trajectory over the years and how the narrative has developed (Owusu, 2005). Colonial education did not have roots in African culture; hence it was not able to foster significant development in African societies because there were no organic linkages. Colonial education was based on literacy and therefore opposing to the development of industry (Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012). The schools trained training office clerks, translators, and raw food inspectors. The focus of colonial education was not about industrialisation and stimulating technological development. It mostly made Africans abandon their indigenous skills to one that emphasised

reading and writing. The influences of colonial practices on the current conditions in Accra are evident and must be acknowledged (Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012).

The lack of national development led to colonial governments creating areas with necessary infrastructure solely meant for production of raw materials (Owusu, 2005). These areas known as "colonial cities" eventually developed and became the centre of commerce and administration, while other sectors served production (Songsore, 2010). A colonial governor by the name of Governor Guggisberg created the Infrastructure Development Plan between 1919 and 1926. This development plan provided for the railway lines, schools, hospitals, and research centres among others (Dickson, 1968). Cities around the forest belts and coastal regions developed for production, import and export, while other parts in the North remained underdeveloped (Songsore, 2010). Colonial infrastructure laid the foundation for Ghana's current spatial jaggedness and uneven development.

Grant and Yankson (2002) state that the building codes in Accra at that time were enforced to adopt European characteristics. The Town and Country Planning Ordinance was created in 1945 and used to strictly enforce planning during this period (Ahmed and Dinye, 2011). There were deliberate policies to separate native settlements from colonial residences. This form of segregation was evident in most major towns where the colonial administration was situated (Grant and Yankson, 2002). The colonial powers living in Accra at the time developed areas that were beneficial to their needs while other areas were left unattended because it was not of benefit to their mission (Grant and Yankson, 2002). Colonial administrators built their offices and residential areas on elevated sites in the city overseeing the colonised areas. These areas promoted common European standards of design, which discouraged traditional construction practices (Njoh, 2009). This concept of fragmented communities or the existence of unplanned

and planned neighbourhoods existing near each other appears to have been passed down from the Colonial Era.

A big aspect of these areas is the construction of borders which separated spaces by socio-economic status and other attributes to create access and keep some people out. These practices have left imprints on the built environment which is still present in planning today. European activities in Ghana predated the Colonial Era because as far as the late nineteenth century, Europeans had already set up outposts in Elmina since 1492 (Gocking, 2005). The Elmina Castle was by the coast and was used to transport slaves. When the Colonial Era began, the outposts served as stations for and centres for administration. Important features of colonial towns were their location. They were typically on highest elevations, with considerable distance from the areas of the indigenous population. Today, in Accra many estates and high-income neighbourhoods are built among hills and areas overlooking low-income communities (Grant and Yankson, 2002). Today many high-income neighbourhoods remained separated from low-income areas.

Colonisation is a big component of African history, and it is highly significant in the planning of Accra. Acknowledgement of this impact is important and needed in the narrative of present-day Accra. The idea of recreating western style neighbourhoods in Accra held by governments today have strong ties to its colonial past. The development of different planning regimes that have formed today in Accra can connect to colonialism. As this chapter mentions, colonial administration constructed borders which separated spaces along socio-economic lines to create access and keep some people out. Colonial powers also developed and planned parts where they lived. On the other end, some areas were left unplanned, often the places locals stayed. It is important to highlight colonial past since it has left imprints on the built environment

which is still present in planning today. Ghana's colonial past partially answers the central research question: "Why do different planning regimes exist in Accra?" Also, the events that occurred after colonisation are important because they shaped Ghana's planning laws today. It marks the first time the country began to create planning legislation and regulations more suited to the needs of the people in the cities, especially in Accra.

2.2 Independence Era

After Ghana's independence on March 1957, the first president Kwame Nkrumah began to advance Ghana into a semi-industrialized state. Kwame Nkrumah established the 7-year development plan after independence. It was a social and economic based development program meant to modernise agriculture with science and technology (Office of the Planning Commission, 1964). According to the document:

Our aim is to establish in Ghana a strong and progressive society in which no one will have any anxiety about the basic means of life, about work, food, and shelter; where poverty and illiteracy no longer exist, and disease is brought under control; and where our educational facilities provide all the children of Ghana with the best possible opportunities for the development of their potentialities. (Office of the Planning Commission, 1964, p v)

The state was commonly responsible for building infrastructure and providing services in the country. Nkrumah industrialised roads and railroads are linking them to the main parts of the country which contributed to the growth and development of these towns (Buah, 1998). Kwame Nkrumah first spoke on overcrowding of slums when he introduced the Seven-Year

Development Plan (1964-1970). He recognised this issue by commenting on the rapid migration of people from rural regions into cities after the Second World War. It was during this time that Kwame Nkrumah began to develop suburbs for migrant workers in the major cities (Adarkwa, 2011). Accra during the Independence Era had well-planned infrastructure. This foundation cemented the way for the growth and many developments in the country.

Table 1: Kwame Nkrumah’s Developments

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Accra International Airport | 17. Ghana Airways Corporation |
| 2. Adomi Bridge | 18. Ghana Atomic Energy Commission |
| 3. Afiencya Gliding School | 19. Ghana Cement Factory, Takoradi |
| 4. Agricultural Development Bank | 20. Ghana Commercial Bank |
| 5. Akosombo Dam | 21. Ghana Distilleries |
| 6. Akasanoma Radio Factory | 22. Ghana Glass Factory, Abose |
| 7. Asutuare Sugar Factory | 23. Ghana Household Utilities
Manufacturers (GHUMCO), |
| 8. Bank of Ghana | 24. Ghana Housing Corporation |
| 9. Bona Tyre Manufacturing | 25. Ghana Jute Factory |
| 10. Cape Coast University | 26. Ghana Law School |
| 11. Cocoa Marketing Board | 27. Ghana Medical School |
| 12. Cocoa Research Institute, Tafo | 28. Ghana National Trading Corporation |
| 13. Compulsory Free Education for All | 29. GIHOC (Nsawam Cannery) |
| 14. Dairy Farms at Amrahia and Avatime | 30. Gold Processing Factory, Prestea |
| 15. Farmer’s Council | 31. Job 600 |
| 16. Free Medical Care for All | |

32. Komenda Sugar Factory
 33. Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Training Institute
 34. Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology
 35. Match Factory, Kade, Pwalugu
 36. Meat Processing Factory, Bolgatanga
 37. National Investment Bank
 38. National Research Council/Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
 39. New Army Headquarters in Volta Region, Sunyani, Bolgatanga, Tema, and Takoradi
 40. Nsawam Prison
 41. Okomfo Anokye Hospital
 42. Paper Processing Factory
 43. Polytechnics and Technical Schools in all Regions
 44. Silos for Food and Cocoa Storage
 45. Takoradi Harbour
 50. Tema – Accra Motorway
 51. Tema Food Complex, GIHOC
 52. Tema Harbour
 53. Tema Housing Complex
 54. Tema Oil Refinery
 55. Trade Fair Centre
 56. Trade Union Congress
 57. University of Ghana - Legon
 58. University Scholarships for Study Abroad
 59. Valco Aluminum Smelter
 60. Valco Tema Steel Factory
 61. Worker's Brigade
 62. Young Pioneer Institute
- (The Pan-Africanist, 2008)

Seeing the rapid growth throughout the Nkrumah Era, there was not enough time allocated to plan for growth and an increasing population (Adarkwa, 2011). Throughout the independence, era planning was effective, because there was a considerable amount of control. It was challenging to build without permits especially in well-planned neighbourhoods. The enforcement of planning and zoning was reasonable in many areas at the time. In short, development patterns were manageable during this period because of reduced sprawl (Songsore, 2010). This time in Ghana's history is significant because it marks a period where the foundation of planning in Ghana was set. It was the first time Ghana began to plan on its own without colonial governments. However, it is important to note that colonial governments set the blueprint for planning. It was not difficult for the newly independent Ghanaian government to plan cities at this time. However, the tremendous growth in population that occurred after this period posed new challenges. The advancements in planning that had taken place during this period were no longer manageable.

2.3 Post-Independence Era

In the Post-Independence period, planning especially in a big city like Accra was weakened from many external factors that had developed over time. After a series of coups in 1966, Kwame Nkrumah was no longer president. It was around this period that the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was prominent for the financial overhaul of Ghana. However, as Yeboah (2003) shows, the influence of the SAP to cities in Ghana was essentially the beginning of deteriorating infrastructure of cities. The government delivered housing throughout this time. For example, the Low-Cost Housing Programme (LCHP) in 1972 provided well-planned suburban housing next to Accra called the Tema Development Corporation (TDC) (Adarkwa,

2012). Following 1972 through to 2000, government institutions such as Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT) built over 7,000 housing units throughout the country. Civil servants received these homes as rental units (Sam-Awortwi, 2010). These developments were in the southern parts of the country, and many northern parts were left out of the evolution while low-income neighbourhoods were left to deteriorate. These events weakened the progress in planning over the years because they were not well structured.

Liberalisation policies radically affected Ghana in countless ways. It initially made it easy for individuals to build houses and run businesses especially in Accra. Although planning developments have occurred throughout the country after independence, the biggest city in Ghana is currently shaped by overcrowding and poor sanitation management (Grant, 2005). Liberalisation policies made it easier for individuals with money to have access to building products and materials. This freedom led to many developments across Accra and its overall physical expansion this sets the tone for planning presently (Grant, 2002).

2.4 Present Era (1989 to Present)

Accra transformed significantly after the independence, as a result of many factors. These factors include rapid urbanisation, employment opportunities, and an increase in vehicle ownership. Consequently, the unparalleled growth of suburbs and the rise of slums in the major cities such as Accra and Kumasi ushered in new challenges (Angel, et al., 2005). The layout and size of streets built by Kwame Nkrumah have remained the same since the Independence Era. This lack of expansion has led to crowded roads as car possession has increased. Apart from the congestion of cities, sanitation management also weakened because of the exponential growth and the inability of local governments to control urban issues (Awortwi, 2004). Although there

were numerous government reforms since the 1980s, the creation of many districts and state institutions has had little effect on the planning of Accra as it continued to transform (Adarkwa, 2012).

In 2010 the mayor of Accra at the time created planning policy initiatives in the Accra metropolitan region to counter the challenges that have been posed by the tremendous transformation over time. The mayor recognised some goals to include in a plan for the development of Accra. These goals included: improving traffic congestion, drainage systems, tax revenue collection, improving social facilities among other targets (Thurman, 2010). Policies on planning had shifted from the government being the provider to the government being the facilitator or enabler of development.

The history of Ghana from the Colonial Era to the present day is important as it laid the foundation for the planning today. Looking back into the history allows for correlations between planning in the Colonial Era and today. As this thesis unfolds, the importance of history in providing some answers to the research questions will shine. Paying close attention at the different neighbourhoods that have formed over the years shows the significance of history.

CHAPTER 3: PLANNING REGIMES

3.1 Introduction

There are three main planning regimes in Ghana. They are the slum areas, the well-planned areas, and the traditional unplanned areas, which falls between the two. These traditional areas are not slums, yet they are also not well planned. The slums are often overpopulated lacking basic services and shelter, the well-planned neighbourhoods whether gated or not, have designated boundaries with single family houses with controlled entrances to exclude outsiders. Traditional or customary neighbourhoods make up the majority of lands in Ghana. The properties that make up these neighbourhoods are often owned by traditional chiefs, families, and in many instances individuals. These three types of neighbourhoods in Accra create perplexing scenery as one drives from one end of the city to the other.

3.2 Slum Neighbourhoods

Long before the new millennium, the realities of the cities imagined during the colonial and Independence Era share no likeness to the slums that have developed today. For most Africa's slums, planning laws are irrelevant. As a 2011 statistics state, 1,652,374 people live in slums in Accra. There are 78 slums settlements and pockets located in Accra (UN-Habitat for a Better Future, 2011). Out of all the slums, whether formal or informal, Old Fadama is the largest with an enumerated of almost 80,000 people (Housing the Masses, 2010). Many slums have developed in Accra as a result of the lack of control over the accommodation of population growth and unhealthy sanitation concerns. It is important for research to examine the extent to which governments and people in power are addressing the unhealthy conditions of slums and

poor neighbourhoods in Africa (Owusu, et. al. 2008).

Most of the houses in slums in Accra come with dwindling housing and social circumstances as their populations grow. Nima, for example, is a community located in Accra where thousands of people reside in densely populated, overcrowded, and unsanitary living conditions with the lack of access to essential services. The houses in these areas are built without proper authorization and have resulted in conditions of immense congestion. This community along with other slums in Accra have attracted many poor migrants due to the cheap rents and living standards. It became fully occupied in the 1960s, and it has since kept growing (Rain, et al. 2011). This slum along with many others in Accra are difficult to manage or plan because of the politics involved.

Figure 2: Passageways in Nima



(Jesse Frimpong, 2016)

3.2.1 Politics of Slums

Slums in Accra differ in regards to whether their legally recognised by the state or not. State legal recognition of a slum is the acknowledgement by the government formally that a community has a right to exist and is willing to provide public services (Paller, 2012). Slums that are not legally recognised by the government are informal settlements and squatter. Residents in informal settlements often face the threat of eviction. For example, residents and groups in Old Fadama, an informal settlement in Accra find it difficult to request public services from the government. People from these slums are rather likely to demand help from NGOs than to negotiate with authorities. It empowers NGOs but creates resentment for those who do not benefit from the organisations. Residents also require services from political parties in return for their vote (Paller, 2012). Slums deserve the provision of public utilities, whether they regarded by the states or not.

Slums in Accra, such as Ga Mashie and Chorkor, face a different experience with the government than other slums in Accra. These slum communities are indigenous, unlike the new slums that have sprung up in recent years due to migration. Some of these communities have been chosen by the AMA to benefit from "Slum Upgrading and Prevention" programs (Obeng-Odoom, 2010). The slum neighbourhoods that face the most threat are the ones unrecognised by the city. Old Fadama remains one of the slums in Accra not recognised by the Accra Metropolitan Assembly. According to city policy, this community is informal and unwanted. Old Fadama is located north of Accra's business district and currently the largest slum housing about 80,000 people. The slum also holds one of the largest e-waste dumping grounds for unwanted electronics from Europe and America. It did not start as a slum but has worsened over

the years due to urban poverty (Onuoha, 2014). The people in this slum, unlike the indigenous ones, have to be concerned about the government destroying their homes.

The government views people in Old Fadama as infectious to the city which they must remove. In 2012 the AMA attempted to destroy this slum neighbourhood; however, it was unclear what measures were in place to accommodate the thousands of residents who had no place to relocate (Paller, 2012). These decongesting measures often involve the police, military, and fire personnel, who break down and burn kiosks, shacks, and structures that are out of place. Decongestion, as presented in the media, is the removal of structures in slums and many cases the streets of central business areas. The informality of this process extends from the home to street. Hence during this clean-up exercise, street vendors are also a target as they are considered to clog the streets and cause congestion. Often the media, journalist, planners, and city-dwellers refer the overcrowding problems in the city as obstructions and the solution needed to fix it as decongestion (Onuoha, 2014).

This problematic ideology creates the belief that these areas are clear, to solve all problems in the city. Decongestion is a destructive process that places emphasis on destruction rather than improving undesirable places or people. The authorities, rather than encourage the transformation of these communities, make a conscious decision to destroy. The incompatibility is evident in Old Fadama, also labelled as Sodom and Gomorrah. The name Sodom and Gomorrah in the Bible was a city notorious for sinfulness (Onuoha, 2014). In the media, the area Old Fadama is painted as a hazard to Accra and its citizens. It is rampant with drug abuse, prostitution, crime, and filth, which threaten to spill over the rest of society infecting the upper class of Accra (Olotunji, 2014). Rather than authorities establishing ways to organise and manage these neighbourhoods and illegal street vendors, officials view slum expulsion as the

best solution.

Table 4: Breakdown of Slums in Accra

Slum	Legal Recognition	Public Services Provision
Old Fadama	Illegal (Eviction Threat)	Low
King Shona	Illegal	Low
Agbogbloshie	Legal	Low
Abuja	Illegal	Low
Ashaiman	Legal and Secure	Medium Provision
Ga Mashie	Legal and Secure(Indigenous)	High Provision
Nima	Legal and Secure	Medium Provision
Chorkor	Legal and Secure(Indigenous)	Medium
Ashaiman-Taboo	Legal	Medium
Ashaiman-Valco Flat	Legal and Secure	Medium

(Paller, 2012)

A detailed look at slums is important as it provides a better understanding of the complexities associated with these areas. The colonial and independence planning policies did not prepare authorities for slums of today. As Table 4 explain, the complexities of slums further answer the central research question of why different planning regimes exist today in Accra. Legal and illegal slums, residents of informal settlements facing threats of eviction, and community leaders and NGOs benefiting from these slums are all amongst the complexities that create irregular planning in communities across Accra. On the other end of the spectrum, from slums are well planned gated communities and estate neighbourhoods in Accra which have their unique problems.

3.3 Planned Neighbourhoods

Planned communities often have designated perimeters with most of the houses walled with controlled entrances to prevent outsiders. The key goal of these neighbourhoods is to ensure exclusivity and privacy. However, studies identify security as the primary motivation for these neighbourhoods. Other factors include the desire for status, global lifestyle, and a potential for investment (Aseidu & Arku, 2009). Profit-seeking companies use the fear of crime to draw wealthy people to promote these gated communities and estates as safe havens. The promise of better services, close proximity to the airport, and other main attractions remains bait for people to opt for these upscale communities. Some of the amenities for these communities include 24-hour security, electric fencing, parks, and playgrounds just to mention a few. The market for these neighbourhoods is dependent on the affluent especially those who live and work abroad. A lot of these gated neighbourhoods have high mortgages which fail at attracting diverse residents since much low income or even middle-income citizens cannot afford to live in them (Aseidu & Arku, 2009).

Some facilities and services are common to gated communities, estates, and other high-income neighbourhoods in Accra but are not in low-income communities. The facilities include playgrounds, health centres, security posts, and shopping areas. However, these communities are missing schools, libraries, and other standard services needed in a functioning neighbourhood. Most of these communities have backup power generators to counter the deteriorating electricity complications. They do not solely own water storage reservoirs. The residents often attained individual water reservoirs in tanks elevated on top of their houses or tall structures in their yards. Most of the people do not have problems with water provisions because of access to water on an average of five days out of the week. They receive door to door garbage collection on a

weekly basis. Interestingly, these door to door waste services were often paid for by residents through private companies (Agyemang, et. al. 2013). On the other hand, many lower income communities in Accra, do not have garbage collection services, which explains the visible debris in these low-income neighbourhoods. These exclusive services and facilities create large differences in communities in Accra.

Figure 3: Garbage Collection in a High-Income Area



(Jesse Frimpong, 2016)

An interesting point made by Agyeman (2013) is that there is no collaboration between these communities and the governmental institutions, which further separate these communities from the rest in Accra. Sometimes the AMA is unaware of the services and the management of some of these gated communities. Real estate developers are often the main push behind the constructions of the infrastructure and the facilities during the early stages of the development of

these communities (Agyemang, et. al. 2013). This phenomenon raises some concerns such as the extent to which planners, governments, and developers ensure these new developments do not promote segregation amongst different income earners. These high-class neighbourhoods mostly based on western standards and nuclear family ideals are a far cry from the traditional neighbourhoods that have existed in Ghana for many years.

Figure 4: House in a Planned Neighbourhood



(Jesse Frimpong, 2016)

3.4 Traditional/Customary Unplanned Neighbourhoods

Land ownership in the pre-Colonial Era in Africa was different than in western countries. The concept of a nuclear family living alone on a piece of land did not exist. Instead, the land was owned communally and shared with extended family (Agbosu, 2003). There are three key systems of land ownerships and systems in Accra. There are public lands, customary lands, and

vested lands, the latter being a fusion of the first two. Citizens own public land as whole, which include properties owned by colonial authorities but returned to Ghana after independence. They include airport grounds, police and military land, roads, hospitals, and all other common spaces (Yeboah & Shaw, 2013). Customary lands belong to empires, societies, families, and in many instances individuals. These lands are almost in all cases regulated by customary practices. Although sometimes customary lands can be owned collectively by a group of people, a chief or a designated leader manages these lands. Customary lands are a primary source of land for development. (Kasanga and Kotey, 2001). The traditional views of land were often associated with ancestral heritage and as something to be shared.

Accra's unique land systems make it difficult to implement land use policies. Most policies are based on the English common law system which does not take traditional land systems into consideration. The commonness of informal land transactions is among the many reasons why public planning initiatives have failed. There are many informal buildings in Accra built and managed based on traditional land values and rules. These informal residential units are in areas which are under serviced and lack zoning laws, building standards, and codes. These informal land markets make up a significant portion of public disputes in Accra, where thousands of property law cases have resulted (Agbosu, 2003). The chief or the head of a family manages the traditional and communal land system in Ghana. Therefore for land use policies put forward by the government to work, they require some cooperation from a chief or a family head, as well as other beneficiaries of existing customary land tenure system (Thurman, 2010). Local governments now mostly assume planning responsibilities and property management, whereas formally, planning responsibilities lay with traditional chiefs (Grant, 2013). While the nature of land use controls is typically conducted under the English common law system, the

traditional communal land system still has a place in conversations surrounding urban planning in Accra (Yeboah & Shaw, 2013). This slow transition from traditional customary systems to the current model has not been simple.

A tenure group or housing types common to many West African cities are owners and tenants who live or own traditional properties. This housing consumer is too large to be ignored in planning research and policy. This category comprises of rent-free consumers and landowners who have inherited properties from family members. These type of housing systems are in rural areas; however many full functioning adults live in rent-free homes in the cities as well. Despite the fact that a significant portion of West Africans lives in this type of accommodation studies of traditional family housing is lacking regarding planning research (Korboe, 1992).

The land ownership systems in Ghana and the many tenure practices explain the state of planning affairs in Accra. For example, Barratt (1976) and Asiana (2008) have attributed the failures of planning in Accra to the dominance of customary land tenure systems. These authors suggested that planning is a state-led activity. Hence, when ownership of the majority of land belongs to chiefs and individuals, it makes the mandate to plan for an area difficult. To an extent, this argument is valid because some of the well-planned communities such as Tema and Cantonments in Accra are state owned (LAP, 2008). The causes of weaknesses in planning are not solely because of the domination of customary land tenure system in Accra since there are more variables at play (Yeboah & Shaw, 2013).

Theoretically, customary landholders are obligated to follow and work with official planning rules, but things do not always go as planned. For example, one of the conditions built into the lease of customary land development agreements is that landholders must complete developments on proposed land projects in two years after purchase and failure to comply can

result in punishment (Abdulai and Ndekugri, 2007). Such agreements undoubtedly have effects on the behaviour of potential developers. It is also questionable whether these laws are followed and properly enforced since many customary land properties do not follow strict plans.

Chiefs and customary landholders can alter land use plans prepared by planning institutions for the most part. Through this arrangement, a large tract of land is leased or sold for commercial development. These lands are usually on the outskirts of the biggest urban centres, and most of the gated communities located at the periphery are examples of such settlements. Such collaborations have intended outcomes because as farmland is depleted in this process. Since these plans are solely for the allocation of land for potential developers, these private planners do not necessarily follow the basic principles of proper planning (Yeboah & Shaw, 2013).

The method of management of customary land hinders the planning process. It has become common for chiefs and other customary land elites to contract the help of private planners to modify existing plans for leasing out large parcels of land and pocketing the profits (Ubink and Quan, 2008). Due to the size of these plots of land, it is almost impossible to conduct meaningful land use plans. Individually sold parcels of land are inadequate in meeting the dynamic demands of spatial change. Hence these 'plans' infringe on the Local Government Act (Ghana, 1993) and are illegal. Despite the criminality of such practices, offenders go free due to institutional weakness, lack of resources, funding, and out-dated planning laws (Boamah et al., 2012; Yeboah, 2012). The reason why customary land management overstep planning legislation is because the institutional procedures for land use planning are weak. Even though customary land systems play a prominent role in the current planning regimes in Accra, it is important to explore the planning outcomes in Accra.

These three types of neighbourhoods with planning regimes in Accra slow down the overall advancement of the city. From the detailed exploration of the different types of neighbourhoods in Accra, one can see the complexities associated with them. To achieve a better understanding of these areas, a detailed look at Accra and some of its policies are necessary.

Table 3: List of Accra's Neighbourhoods

Planned	Unplanned	Slum
Victoriaborg	Agbogbloshie	Jamestown
East Ridge	Kpehe	Usshertown
West Ridge	Awoshie	Sabon Zongo
North Ridge	Alajo	Old Fadama
Adabraka	Avenor	Lavender Hill
Asylum Down	Kotobabi	Chorkor
Airport Residential Area	Bawaleshie	Abuja
Roman Ridge	Christian Village	Chemuna
Kanda	Pig Farm	Gbegbeyis
Dzorwulu	La	
East Legon	Lartebikorshie	Nima
Kaneshie	Accra New Town	Maamobi
Kokomlemle	Abeka	
Tesano	Lapaz	
West Legon/Westlands	Darkuman	

Abelemkpe	Kpehe	
Cantonments		

(Ghana district, 2015)

Table 3 confirms that Accra's residential neighbourhoods make three different types of planning regimes. The planned areas include gated communities, estates that are well planned, with access to services. A lot of the unplanned neighbourhoods are sectors that fit under customary lands. Families and traditional chief own the properties in their neighbourhoods. These neighbourhoods are often unplanned, but they are not unsanitary and clustered. However, they face the chance of becoming slums as the population in the city increased.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

To explore the different residential planning regimes that exist in Accra, including the stakeholders and actors involved; an efficient and detailed research design must be carried out. The literature review has drawn out that there are three types of neighbourhoods with planning regimes in Accra; the slums areas, the well-planned areas, and the unplanned traditional or customary areas.

A good knowledge of the actors involved will allow for a better examination of the urban planning process in the city of Accra. The goal is to see how the players fit in the process of urban planning in Accra. Understanding the process of planning in Accra, including how the process of urban planning has evolved over the years, will explain how factors such as colonisation and tradition influence the different planning outcomes in Accra. This chapter will present the methodology including a discussion of strategies used for inquiry and a justification for each method used in the research design.

4.2 Strategies of Inquiry

4.2.1 Qualitative Methods

Some social phenomena are not always measurable by numbers and statistics. In the case of this study, the quantitative approach will limit all aspects of the phenomena (Silverman 2006). Qualitative research is one that produces results not arrived through statistical means (Strauss and Corbin 1990:17). It emphasises in-depth opinions, experiences, and more on the individual. The research questions of this study which are explorative were better suited for the

qualitative method (Strauss and Corbin 1990).

This project explores the problems of urban planning in Accra and the different perspectives that urban planners and community workers have to share. It is inductive and attempts to understand some issues of city planning in Accra, through the observation of statements made in interviews.

4.3 Research Objectives

4.3.1 Research Design

The insight gained from exploring the literature revealed the existence of multiple planning regimes in Accra, and this holds truth to many sub-Saharan African cities. The differences in the neighbourhoods in the city are noticeable, yet questions surrounding these community types and why they exist are not explored enough. In essence, the aim of this research is to develop explanations as to why planning differences in the neighbourhoods exist. Through the analysis of interviews with urban planners and community organisers recommendations will be provided.

4.3.2 Case Study

Accra is an excellent case study due to the substantial similarities it shares with many other African cities. It is comparable to many African cities because of its rapid rate of urbanisation (United Nations Center for Human Settlements, 1999). Mutual comparisons between these cities are that, there exist weak institutional situations in which private developers, planning agencies, and the traditional landowners, work together under different objectives where development is uncoordinated (Grant, 2003). The various planning regimes

that exist in Accra are also in other sub-Saharan African cities. In sum, many African cities relate through colonisation, urbanisation, and other elements shared amongst them. Africans are different regarding culture and language, amongst many things but their physical environments and their circumstances can be argued to be similar. Choosing Accra as a case study is appropriate because policy recommendation derived may be applied to many other African cities.

4.3.3 Research Strategy

To gain entry into the research context, prior reviews and investigations were conducted using websites and other available online sources of information on Accra. The preliminary online research of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) and the Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD) provides fundamental insight into planning in Accra. Navigating online websites for planning documents and policies served as a starting point for this research. After the initial research, a literature review of books, articles, and all possible materials providing information on urban planning in Accra is useful. The literature review provided insight into planning in Accra, which revealed a few answers to some of the initial research questions. Interview questions are created based on the literature review.

The snowball sampling technique was crucial for this research. This sampling method, used for finding research subjects, where one participant provides the researcher the name of another participant who in turn gives the name of a third, and so on (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). A snowball sampling method was used to recruit urban planners from the private and public sector as well as few community organisers. This strategy was beneficial for this research because it was useful in finding populations that might have been hard to reach or isolated. Since the aim

of a study is qualitative and descriptive, the snowball sampling method offered the most practical advantage.

The time constraints of the school year limited the ideal time needed for what appears to be an ethnographic study. A perfect time for a study such as this will be a full year, which will allow for more accurate conclusions. The interviews took place within a time period of 20 minutes to 2 hours. After conducting many interviews, the themes and answers for the research questions became apparent as the members provided their responses.

4.4 Content Analysis

4.4.1 The Local Government Act, 1993

As the first phase of this research design, the content analysis looked at published documents and books by the Ghanaian government or the City of Accra. It was an initial attempt to answer some of the research questions. A book titled "Local Government Acts, 1993 (Act 462) acquired from the local government office in Accra provided details on planning policies presently in place and still in use today. Although this book is from 1993, it remains one of the few if not the only planning document detailing planning policies for today.

A lot has changed since 1993 regarding urbanisation, globalisation, and development. A planning document dating that far back can be argued to be out-dated because it may not be equipped to tackle planning matters in Accra today. Regardless, the Act is necessary to take into consideration because it is one of the few government documents with policies relating the questions that this thesis hopes to answer and matters relating to planning and development. This Local Government Act is described as "an act to establish and regulate the local

government system by the Constitution and to provide for other connected purposes" (Local Government Act, 1993, pg. 7). This book offers the fundamentals on Accra's governing bodies and explains regulations in local government. According to the Local Government Act, Ghana's geographical areas are divided into districts. A district must have a minimum of 75 thousand people, and a metropolis must have a minimum of 250 thousand people. Members within a district are elected or selected to a district assembly, a body in each district responsible for planning decisions.

According to the Local Government Act (1993), a District Assembly is:

- Responsible for the development of the district.
- Responsible for taking the district's development plans to the commission for approval.
- Responsible for initiating programs that sow the seeds for the development of necessary infrastructure and services.
- Responsible for the management of human settlements.
- Responsible for the monitoring the developments of projects under approved plans and assess their impact on the environment, citizens and the economy, etc.

4.4.2 Planning Functions of District Assemblies

The Act lays down instructions for planning functions of the District Assemblies. As it states in section 46: "For the purpose of national development planning, each District Assembly is by the Act established as the Planning Authority for its area of authority." Listed below are some of the policies about planning and development.

Permit to carry out development

Section 49 (1): "No physical development shall be carried out in a district without prior approval in the form of written permission granted by the District Planning Authority" (Act 426, pg. 29).

Enforcement in respect of execution of district plans

Section 53 (1): "A District Planning Authority may, for the purpose of enforcing an approved development plan-

- Prohibit, abate, remove, pull down or alter so as to bring into conformity with the provisions of the approved plan, any physical development which does not conform to those requirements, or the abatement, removal, demolition or alteration of which is necessary for the implementation of an approved plan.
- Prohibit the use of any land or building for a purpose or in a manner contrary to any provisions of an approved plan" (Act 426, pg. 29).

Building permits and unauthorised building

Section 64. (1): "Every person shall, before constructing a building or other structure or undertaking any work, obtain a permit from the District Planning Authority which shall contain such conditions as the District Planning Authority may reconsider necessary" (Act 426, pg. 33).

(4) "If the owner, occupier or developer, fails to show sufficient cause why the building, structure or other work should not be removed altered or pulled down, the district planning

authority shall by notice order the owner, occupier or developer within a specified time to remove, alter or destroy the building, structure or other work at his expense" (Act 426, pg. 33).

(5) "If the owner, occupier or developer fails to comply with the order of the District Planning Authority within the specified time, the District Planning Authority may carry out the removal, alteration or pulling down and recover the expense from the owner, occupier or developer, as if it were a debt due from the District Assembly" (Act 426, pg. 33).

Based on the contents of the Act, it displays that there are governing bodies recognised to handle planning responsibilities in Accra. The city has multiple districts, with district assemblies who oversee development projects, human settlement and all issues related to planning. It is important to ask why these rules do not function in many communities across the city as building and structures are without any guidelines. The extent to which these planning policies, governing bodies enforce policies within these districts will be explored further in the interview questions.

4.4.3 National Urban Policy: Framework and Action

The *National Urban Policy Framework & Action Plan* from the Ministry of local Government and Rural Development is another book which provides details about policies regarding planning in Accra. It was published in 2012 and attempts to make sense and explain some of the urban planning issues in Accra. This project was spearheaded by Samuel Ofose Ampofo the Minister for Local Government and Rural Development. According to Ampofo (2012) in the foreword of the book, this was the first time Ghana had formulated a

comprehensive urban policy to promote sustainable, integrated, and the orderly development of urban settlements, with the proper housing, services, and an environment that supports rapid socio-economic development. The biggest change in Accra over the last couple decades has been an enormous demographic shift from rural areas to the city. As cities and towns have confirmed this demographic explosion, urban management has become challenging in the current urban situation. With little experience in the management of urban growth, local governments are unable to mobilise resources needed to deal with urban growth in cities which in has contributed to some of the current urban problems (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012).

The *National Urban Policy Framework and Action Plan* explore the urban challenges and problems which have contributed to the lack of uniformity of urban planning across Accra. The main issues listed in the *National Urban Policy Framework & Action Plan* were overconcentration, sprawl, environmental deterioration, inadequate infrastructure, slums, weak government coordination, poor education and information amongst many other issues (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012).

Overconcentration of development in a few cities

The system fails to develop or provide affordable housing for migrants to settle in. The constant migration of people to low-income neighbourhoods in Accra leads to fast growth and overcrowding in many low income and slum areas (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012).

Land use disorder and uncontrolled sprawl

Due to the lack of sufficient budget, coupled with weak guiding principles for urban management, land use control has resulted in disorganised development, squatter and informal settlement. This lack of support for planning in the country according to the National Urban Policy is what has led to the congestion of many low-income areas across Accra. (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012)

Increasing environment deterioration

The increase in environmental degradation results from poor waste management and garbage collection services, choked drains, and frequent flooding. While some areas are clean with proper garbage collection services, many low-income areas and slum are left to overflow with garbage and waste with little concern (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012).

Inadequate urban infrastructure and services

Due to uncontrollable population growth, and an increase in unplanned development and a limited funding available, most government agencies, municipal and district assemblies are unable to cope with demands needed to expand infrastructure and services. The challenges combined with the limited capacities of municipal government makes it even harder for low-income neighbourhoods to receive the services needed (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012).

Urban and poverty, slums and squatter settlement

Due to poor wages and lack of employment, many urban dwellers in Accra fall below the poverty line. They are unable to afford formal housing; hence many have confided in slums and squatter settlements for shelter. These areas are overcrowded, with poor sanitation, without basic services and infrastructure (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012).

Weak governance and institutional coordination

A lot of Accra's urban planning problems can be attributed the fact that the managing of urban development has multiple stakeholders. The stakeholders can include NGOs, customary landowners, the private sector and individuals. The abundance of actors and the lack of coordination make it difficult for urban planning to functions efficiently (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012).

Weak information, education and communication strategy

Districts and local bodies have programs about education, information, and communication. However, it fails to create awareness and participation in the development process. There are no community involvement programs in recognising and addressing the issue of unauthorised development throughout the city (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012).

Inadequate urban investment finances

The urban sector has been granted a fair number of funds over the decades. However, most of the funding for projects which are sporadic and not based on conducting strict urban assessment and developments which are strategic. The lack of persistent interventions in planning matters combined with limited funding has resulted delayed urban development and growth (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012).

Delimitation of urban areas of jurisdiction and lack of integrated planning across jurisdictional boundaries.

There are three problems: (i) City planning officials are unable to address the needs of the peripheral population of Accra and their planning needs. (ii) Boundary demarcation in Accra has not taken into consideration the over-spilling of the people in border cities and the impacts on Accra. (iii) Planners and city officials from neighbouring districts fail to collaborate with each other on planning initiatives (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012).

Limitation data and information of urban centres

The fact that detailed disaggregated and statistical data on Ghanaian cities like Accra are difficult to find, mean that it is up to planning officials to study trends and problems to create planning solutions. Although census data offers some material on Ghanaian cities, they are insufficient. (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012).

The National Urban Policy could intensively list many of the glaring problems associated with urban planning in Accra. As the list of difficulties shows, it is a situation that is multifaceted. The interviews also seem to confirm these issues and their multifaceted nature as the respondents list many reasons that shape urban planning in Accra. An early review of the literature proves that urban planning in Accra is complex and defined by many factors and processes.

CHAPTER 5: INTERVIEWS

5.1 Introduction

The next phase of the data collection was after exploring the literature and examining a few government documents. It allowed for the generation of interview questions for the participants. Interviews are data gathering techniques that involve verbal communication between an interviewer and a participant. They are used commonly in surveys, descriptive and collaborative studies. They range from structured, semi-structured, to unstructured. The structure of the interview questions will determine how in depth the responses of the participant can go (Kvale, 1996).

Structured interviews allow the interviewer to probe the same type of questions in the same way with each participant. The questions are prepared and organised in advance, sometimes with a pilot study to help refine the questions. Structured interviews very much resemble a questionnaire in interview form. The questions may be phrased in a way which produces a limited range of responses, sometimes a "yes", "no" or the participant select answers from a choice of responses (Kvale, 1996).

Semi-structured interviews tend to involve open-ended questions based on the topic a researcher may want to cover. The open questions are based on the themes of interest the researcher wants to explore. Open-ended questions lay down the issue under investigation but provide an opportunity for both people to explore the question in more detail. If the participant has trouble answering the questions or delivers only short or brief responses, cues or prompts can be used by the interviewer to elaborate (Kvale, 1996). Semi-structured interviews were selected for this project because it allows participants to provide full responses while following the questions. The interviews for this study were not structured because direct answers were not

compulsory for this research, at the same time; it was not completely unstructured because the participants were required to stay within the confines of the discussions. It was semi-structured in the sense that the questions are open-ended and while welcoming full answers. Amongst the people interviewed were public and private sector planners and NGO community leaders and workers. Most of the questions for the two groups overlapped, however each individual participants were expected to yield different responses.

5.2 Interview Questions

Questions were for three types of participants. The first and second type included public and private planners, and the third group included community workers with experience in different neighbourhoods across Accra. These people are all interviewed individually throughout my time in Accra in no particular order. The participants provided different responses that all contributed in answering the questions on planning in Accra.

Questions for planners, government officials and developers

- What is the process of planning and urban development in various communities in Accra?
- What do you think has been some paradigmatic changes in Ghana's urban planning processes over the years?
- How has colonisation shaped current planning processes?
- To what extent is the planning process in Accra democratic?
- What is the cause of the absence of planning in many low-income settlements?
- Are planning problems out of government control?
- Do you think Accra's neighbourhood are segregated?
- To what extent are planners, the government; developers are ensuring new developments do not promote segregation amongst different income earners?

- How are new developments ensured to be accessible and affordable for low-income citizens?
- What are the governments/developers doing to ensure that existing and new neighbourhoods have adequate service provision and recreational facilities?
- How do new establishments incorporate mixed uses?
- Is there transparency planning between public-private partnerships?
- What diagnostics tools are available to assess and improve urban planning and governance for inclusive and sustainable urban development?
- What are some of your recommendations?

Questions for community organisers and NGO officials

- What is your definition of urban planning?
- What neighbourhood are you from?
- Have you been able to contact planners, developers or government officials?
- To what extent is the planning process in Accra democratic?
- Why are many neighbourhoods overcrowded?
- Do you think the concept of "urban planning" is valid in Accra?
- Do you think Accra neighbourhoods are segregated? If Yes why?
- Are you in touch with the other neighbourhoods that are different from yours?
- What do you think your neighbourhood is missing?
- How is your neighbourhood different from other well-off neighbourhoods?
- What are services currently available?
- What are some examples of bad planning in your neighbourhood?
- Do you have any support from the government to advocate for citizens that live in this neighbourhood?
- What do you expect from planning?
- What are some of your recommendations?

The order of the questions prepared for the planners allowed the interviews to flow freely and tell the story of planning in Ghana from the past to present. All the interviews did not follow the same path, but there was a move from general historical questions to specific planning issues of today. General questions asked at the beginning such as:

- What is the process of planning and urban development in various communities in Accra?
- What do you think has been some paradigmatic changes in Ghana's urban planning processes over the years?

These questions allowed the planners to open up or "break the ice". Through these initial questions, the planners can provide a general answer which allows them to reveal some major players in the planning process. The interview can be swayed towards a new that direction if an interesting topic is arises.

One central question raised after the initial questions: How has colonisation shaped current planning processes? This question although still introductory allows the interview to draw from Ghanaian history. The next set of questions allows the discussion to focus more on pressing issues about planning in Accra. In these questions, I ask directly about the problems of planning in Accra. Questions such as:

- What is the cause of the absence of planning in many low-income settlements?
- To what extent is the planning process in Accra democratic?
- Are planning problems out of government control?
- Do you think Accra neighbourhoods are segregated?

In the last question "Do you think Accra neighbourhoods are segregated? I meant to ask if Accra was spatially divided or segregated according to economic lines. This question is in no way connected to race.

In the next set of questions, I focus on solutions. These set of questions will allow the

interviews to emphasis on some of the practices that will ensure that planning is fair across the different neighbourhoods.

- To what extent are planners, the government, developers are ensuring new developments do not promote segregation amongst different income earners?
- How are new developments ensured to be accessible and affordable for low-income citizens?
- What are the governments/developers doing to ensure that existing and new neighbourhoods have adequate service provision and recreational facilities?
- How do new establishments incorporate mixed uses?
- Is there transparency planning between public-private partnerships?
- What diagnostics tools are available to assess and improve urban planning and governance for inclusive and sustainable urban development?

These questions prepared the participants for the last round of questions where they are allowed to offer their recommendations on planning in Accra such as: What are some of your recommendations?

The next set of questions developed for the community organisers and NGO officials. I begin with the general question: "What is your definition of urban planning?" It allows the community organisers to provide their unique answers on what they believe urban planning entails. From there I ask: "What neighbourhood are you from?", "Have you been able to been to contact planners, developers or government officials?" Through these questions, I can inquire more about their neighbourhoods, where they are from, and whether they can contact leaders in their community.

Through these set of questions, I can ask more planning type questions. Questions such as:

- To what extent is the planning process in Accra democratic?
- Why are many neighbourhoods overcrowded?
- Do you think the concept of "urban planning" is valid in Accra?
- Do you think Accra neighbourhoods are segregated? If Yes why?

These questions allow the community workers and NGO officials to provide responses that can

take the interview in different directions based on the replies. In the next set of questions, the conversations begin to focus more on solutions.

- Are you in touch with the other neighbourhoods that are different from yours?
- What do you think your neighbourhood is missing?
- How is your neighbourhood different from other well-off neighbourhoods?
- What services currently available?
- What are some examples of bad planning in your neighbourhood?
- Do you have any support from the government to advocate for citizens that live in this neighbourhood?

The next set of question allows the community organisers and NGOs officials to provide their personalised solutions and what they want to change in Accra. Questions such as: "What do you expect from planning?", "What are some of your recommendations?" allows the participant to provide their recommendations. Overall, the questions were detailed to the point that it allowed the participant to provide very detailed responses and generate real conversations about planning in Accra.

5.3 Interview Participants

There were 11 people interviewed in total, 5 planners from the private sector, 3 public planners from the government sector, and 2 community organisers and NGO leaders with extensive knowledge about neighbourhoods in Accra. The planners and community workers have experiences about the history of Ghana and how planning has evolved over the years in the country. They are diverse in age, sex, and education level, and place of work across the city. Some of these planners have worked on housing, water, and transportation planning projects. Many also have a direct connection to districts assemblies, the AMA, and key government officials. The community workers chosen for the interviews also have great experiences

working different communities across Accra. These people I believe were the best people to provide details about the ins and outs of planning in Accra. The responses are organised according to themes discovered in the interviews. These themes surround the process of planning and urban development, the cause of the absence of planning in some areas, colonisation, democracy, government control, public, private partnerships, sanitation, and other similar subjects about planning in Accra.

5.4 Limitations

Although this project was a successful one, many barriers impacted the outcome. The interview process was difficult because it took place in a city which I have not visited for over ten years. Although I spent my early childhood years in Accra, there are many new developments in the city that make it entirely new. The lack of experience in the city created uncontrollable difficulties which impacted the data collection.

Being originally from Accra creates personal insight bias, however having this personal insight allows me to evaluate and verify if any piece of information provided by the participants were accurate based on my prior experience in Accra. The fact that I have lived in Accra in the past, mean that I know a lot about the culture and the history. It allows me to quickly articulate some of the concepts explained in the interviews which are crucial to this thesis.

The participants may guard their responses, due to fear that the information provided will be made public. Conducting interviews in Accra has become the dangerous task, and many government workers may be unwilling to participate. An internationally famous Ghanaian undercover investigative journalist Anas Aremeyaw has used his work to expose corruption in government employees and executives while shaming them on television. This journalist has

used secret audio and video to capture people's words and actions during interviews and later released them on television specials. This journalist has created a lack of trust in journalists amongst government and NGO workers and has made many wary of recorded interviews (Mark, 2015). This was a significant limitation because many organisations and government employees declined phone calls, emails, and often time face to face request for interviews.

Identifying organisations and community groups in Accra is difficult simply because many organisations do not have websites or offices that are easily identifiable. Organisations and community leaders for this study were recruited mostly through the snowball sampling method. I was forced to use the snowball sampling method due to the lack of resources in searching for organisations online. As a result, the in choices of organisations were limited. Government websites do not have a directory listing all public servants and directors as one might find for example on <http://www.infogo.gov.on.ca> which is the Ontario public service website containing all the Government of Ontario employees and organisations. The limitations in gaining access to planners also meant that the snowball sampling method had to be utilised to find most of the planners both public and private.

In Accra, more people are likely to respond to phone calls and texts. Due to connectivity issues and access to reliable internet emails are more likely to be disregarded. It was a limitation since community organisations and planning offices ignore most emails. I reached through phone calls and visiting their offices in person. While visiting offices, many secretaries were hesitant to grant me interviews with the planners due to distrust of interviewers and reporters. The best way to achieve success while contacting people was through phone numbers received through the snowball sampling method.

Transportation is a major problem in Accra due to the lack of adequate government

transportation services combined with an overcrowded city. Traffic congestion is extreme in Accra for all forms of travel during peak hours. It results in long uncomfortable commuting times which can ruin productivity of the day. This transportation problem means that in a day, I am only able to conduct one interview since it can take almost 5 hours for a round trip commute to the city to conduct a single interview. These limitations along with the others have significantly impacted this study and it is important that they are acknowledged.

5.5 Interview Questions and Answers

5.5.1 Planning Process

5.5.1.2 Multiple Actors

The first question posed to all participants was about the process of urban planning in Accra. This question relates to the players involved, and the roles they play in the process in hopes of sparking a deeper conversation. The process is fundamental to outcomes in the different neighbourhoods that have developed over time. Different planners provide different and varied responses, yet there are underlying themes. Private Planner 1, who works for a private planning firm, answered to the planning process question by explaining some of the players in the process by saying:

"Administratively in Ghana we have regions, and then from regions, we have districts, for some areas you can have cities or metropolitan areas. Accra is being planned and managed by Accra Metropolitan. The whole of Accra use to be under AMA for better administration. Some areas are separated and municipal districts have created their planning areas, with different zones for industrial, residential and commercial

purposes." (Private Planner 1)

As described in the Local Government Act, this planner also explains that Ghana is divided into regions, districts, and metropolitan areas. The Act mentions Accra being previously exclusively managed by the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) but has now been separated into districts and municipalities with its zoning laws. Private Planner 2 explains that in private firms, the players and problems involved in the planning process are also complex. In most cases, the initial steps are similar to other planning processes. According to this planner, "...firms are assigned projects that come with their problem identification. There is usually a specified issue that the problem has to address, such as healthcare, water, or maybe road infrastructure" (Private Planner 2). As the process gets to the private sector the objectives are set, data is collected and analysed. Sometimes citizens are consulted based on the proposal (Private Planner 2). Private Planner 5 mentions that initially planners first take a survey to know the current status of the community, where the plan is intended to serve. There is a survey conducted, and the survey information serves as data which is used to design and implement planning laws. From this planner's comments, it seems that the decision-making process often takes a top-down approach. Private Planner 2 further explains:

If there is a new site that needs to be built from scratch, there will be engineers at the forefront, there will be planners at the forefront, and there will be architects at the forefront. It goes through the planning process of what to use the land for. What proportion of the land goes to residential and health? So we are in touch with landowners. (Private Planner 2)

As this quote reveals, firms can work on multiple projects at the same time. There are also many people involved. Hence, it is clear that there are a sharing and transfer of power as the multiple players attempt to increase their control over resources. Private Planner 2 clarifies that the planning process in the private sector also depends on funding because some funding agencies often bring their own agenda. Therefore when planning firms are working with the World Bank for example on sanitation, the bank dictates to the planners where to spend funds. (Private Planner 2). As the National Urban Policy Framework & Action Plan (2012) mention, a lot of Accra's planning difficulties can be attributed to multiple stakeholders involved in the process. Stakeholders such as international funders, local and international NGOs, customary landowners, and individuals from the private sector all influence the planning process, further obscuring the issues. The abundance of players and the difficulty in coordinating the players involved make the planning process challenging (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012). To outline the responses thus far, one can state that planning processes in private and public firms involve multiple actors and sometimes encompasses public participation. Relevant funders and the players shape planning outcomes in different communities in Accra, contributing to the inconsistencies in residential planning and development in various parts of Accra.

Although funding is an obstacle in the planning process, participation was considered to be positive according to Public Planner 1. The government planner confirms the participatory nature of the planning process in Accra by saying:

In development planning here, there are always guidelines that people need to follow.

There is always a committee set up to look at the details before it goes out to the public. There is a meeting that is organised for people to provide input. In some places, they are open to the general public, and in others, they have specific stakeholders. (Public Planner 1)

Public Planner 1 discusses that there are multiple actors involved in the planning process and decision making. Some projects require public input while other projects have specific stakeholders who are invited to make critical contributions in the planning. However, before planning discussions are open, there is a steering committee in place which sets guidelines. The committee draft and review the general guidelines before they are released to the public at large. The beginning stages of the process revolve around desk work, going to the field to gather data, and public stakeholder meetings and consultations. According to Public Planner 1: “it is very slow but democratic” (Public Planner 1). Although participant collectively agrees that the planning process is participatory, it is hard to explain whether this participation involves people from lower income neighbourhoods such as slums. With limited funding, it is plausible to say that people from lower income communities are left out of participations since projects and funding are limited to certain areas.

This discussion is reminiscent of Arnstein’s (1969) proposed ladder of participation. Although the ways in which citizens can participate in urban planning can vary from countries, each community has a planning process to fit its conditions. The ladder of participation has eight steps organised into three levels: nonparticipation (manipulation and therapy), tokenism (informing, consultation, placation), and citizen power (partnership, delegated power, citizen control). The participation level in Accra based on the responses so far fits under

nonparticipation. This lack of meaningful involvement in the urban poor communities fit more under "Citizen Control" as the proper definition of citizen participation. Based on Arnstein's model, it discards any efforts to give "citizens" full authority (Arnstein, 1969). Hence, it is safe to assume that not all citizens are included in planning decisions in Accra.

5.5.1.3 Planning Precedes development

A recurring theme in the interviews is the notion that development in Accra precedes the planning process. It is a frustration raised by many planners as one of the main factors explaining the inconsistencies of urban planning in Accra. The fact that lands develop and communities grow before planning schemes come into play, is a significant element in why the different planning regimes. Private Planner 2 explains:

Unlike advanced countries where planning is ahead of development in Ghana, it is rather the opposite. Development is always ahead of planning, so all we are trying to do is correct the wrongs. We have to spend money and minimise the negative impacts and whatever problems have been caused because of the absence of planning. (Private Planner 2)

As mentioned by Private Planner 2, many areas in Accra develop before planning initiatives are implemented. It is partly due to constant migration of people from rural and bordering African countries. New migrants constantly build houses, shops, and develop untouched land throughout the city. Most people migrating from the northern parts of Ghana choose to settle in many low-income communities in Accra due to housing and affordability issues (Private

Planner 2). Private Planner 4 further explains:

Accra in itself is not a planned city. It wasn't a planned city from the beginning. Rome didn't start as planned because at a certain point; they put structure to it. Although there are few plans around Accra, the growth has been so fast that they typically outrun the development plans. By the time people come back to do planning proposals, many things have changed. (Private Planner 4)

Private Planner 4 similarly explains: Accra was not formally planned from the very beginning. Therefore, many neighbourhoods developed before formal planning was initiated in many parts of Accra. This planner also mentions that in Accra, land is owned by traditional chiefs and individuals who have inherited it from their family. These large pieces of un-zoned land in Accra sit untouched for a long time. As Private Planner, 4 mentions, "...by the time an area is zoned for schools, hospitals, and other functions, the chiefs and family landowners have already sold pieces of their land without consulting with planners" (Private Planner 4). Private Planner 4 believes that Accra lost the opportunity to establish urban planning principles in the city 30 years ago when Accra's booming area hasn't grown beyond the city centre. Private Planner 4 mentions that "...there were a few areas that were not developed and the system had the opportunity to develop and incorporate proper structures for everyone to follow" (Private Planner 4). This private planner believes that because of rapid development, many areas in Accra did not have the opportunity to be planned.

Another aspect of development in Accra is the ability of the average citizen to build their houses. The fact that citizens can build houses without restrictions means that many

houses are constructed without much input from planners. Private Planner 3 further explains this by stating:

In Ghana if someone owns a piece of land, because he owns that land, he thinks he can build a house. He doesn't wait for the planning of the area to approve where certain services should be sited. So people build before the planning schemes are out. It's not that the people are ignorant; I think the planning authorities should be going around and checking. If they see a new building coming up and it is in an area not planned, they should have the mandate to stop that development. (Private Planner 3)

According to Private Planner 3, development precedes planning because, in most parts of Accra, individuals and developers can build on any piece of land they own without adequate consultation with governing bodies. As cited in the literature, liberalisation policies make it simple to build houses in Accra. Shortly after independence, the planning machine was efficient because there was a considerable amount of control and it was difficult to build houses without permits. However, during that time, there were little problems with the sprawling and fast population growth like it is happening currently. Liberalisation policies have made it easier for people to have access to building products and materials (Grant, 2002). As a result, it has led to many developments across Accra making it difficult for planning schemes to work in low-income communities and slum areas. The weak governing structures unable to uphold coordination as required under the Local Government Act which undermines and disrupt urban development in all neighbourhoods (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development).

5.5.1.4 Lack of funding

The lack of funding also plays a role in the planning process of Accra. Public Planner 3 makes some interesting comments when asked about the planning process in Accra. They explain: "There is only one planning process; it either works or it doesn't work. The budgets of the planning departments are just funds for paying salaries and buying pencils sharpeners and pencils." (Public Planner 3) According to this public planner, there is no such thing as a budget set aside for conducting planning surveys, research, or studies. He claims sufficient funding is never part of Accra's planning departments.

He references the father of modern planning Patrick Geddes and states that the planning process involves survey, analysis, and planning. He explains: "the process doesn't exist here like that because you need money to do surveys. When you see that happen, it is a project funded by some donors" (Public Planner 3). This planner confirms that there is a lack of funding directed to city-wide planning projects. He mentions funders such as the United Nations, and the World Bank being some of the donors for planning projects often determine what projects funding given. Therefore this planner believes that the lack of funding hinders the planning process, which in turn hurts vulnerable neighbourhoods.

5.5.1.5 Customary Landowners and Power

Another theme common in the conversations is one surrounding traditional chiefs, customary landowners, and the power they possess in the planning process. Many planners in the interviews expressed their concerns about the impact traditional customary land practices have on current urban planning process in Accra. As mentioned in the literature review, traditional land ownership systems still operate today and tend to collide with modern planning

practices. The government does not own most of the land in Accra, since the systems of traditional land ownership have existed long before the concept of modern governance. Due to ownership problems, it has been difficult to follow planning policies constituted under English common law systems (Yeboah & Shaw, 2013).

According to Private Planner 1, the government does not buy land. Instead, they help plan the layouts for an area and designate these areas for hospitals, schools and other community needs. Private Planner 1 states: "It is up to the chief to find someone to buy it and build a hospital. The government will not buy it; they tend to leave it and let nature take its course until they feel like they have money develop it" (Private Planner 1). Cited by Yeboah and Shaw (2013) in the literature review, the only public lands available in Accra at the moment are the public lands which were owned by colonial governments but returned after independence. It includes airports, roads, hospitals, and shared spaces (Yeboah & Shaw, 2013). Apart from old public lands, it is almost impossible that new and upcoming developing sites are owned by the government which makes it difficult to plan new public spaces. These new lands in most cases are owned by customary landowners and regulated by customary practices. The interviews confirm that customary land owners selling and developing land before planning schemes are set, is a major problem in Accra. According to Public Planner 1, "...before a chief sells land, there should be a planning scheme for the area where the chief hopes to sell. There should be demarcations showing where all the open spaces are located and where certain activities should be conducted" (Public Planner 1). The issue is before the area is zoned some of the chiefs have already sold their land. According to Public Planner 1, a person should not be able to build on a land that is not properly zoned. If a developer takes an unplanned to the district assembly for a permit, they normally should not be issued a permit, but the problem is

there is no enforcer who is going to prevent development.

Sometimes the buying and selling of land can become dangerous in Accra, as Community Worker 1 mentions: "once a person buys land from a chief or a family head, it becomes a very dangerous enterprise because the same person will also sell the same property to another person" (Community Worker 1). Community Worker 1 mentions that because of corruption, even if a person is the rightful owner of a piece of land, they can lose the land to someone else who has paid a bribe to steal it. Community Planner 1 states: "The Lands Commission is the body that ensures the proper registration and documentation of properties and all that. The official of the land commission and the family member can conspire and do something at the back of the others even though they are in the same family." There are many (Community Planner 1). Often times

Customary landowners and chief own more land than the government and this is a clear fact. However there are many questions regarding the extent to which these people follow planning laws. Public Planner 1 was asked about how customary landowners and chiefs allocate spaces, street sizes, and deal with other planning matters? They explain:

The chiefs are very knowledgeable and they know what is right. On a more serious note, they have their surveyors and planner. All the chiefs have engineers that work for them and help them demarcate the place for them to sell. (Public Planner 1)

According to this planner, chiefs are well connected and can pay planners and surveyors to plan their lands. Government Planner 1 explains, "...these chiefs and customary landowners always have so many people working with them. Therefore there is somebody there to tell them if they

are doing something wrong (Public Planner 1)". Public Planner 1 mentions that customary landowners work with private planners and surveyor who ensure that planning principles are followed.

As the literature mention, about 80 percent of all new developments in the country and Accra especially proceed without authorization from planning authorities, although they are aware of all new developments (Boamah et al., 2012). The lack of control over developments in customary lands is the reason why many communities turn into slum settlements. It is hard to ignore the power and dominance of customary land tenure systems in planning in Accra (Yeboah & Shaw, 2013). This question was asked: who has more power, the private developer or the government planner? Private Planner 1 state: "every developer has a planner, they cannot just start. The planner is part of the process; he might not be the one with a voice, but he advises on how to do things" (Private Planner 1). To sum up what the responses prove, Private Planner 3 explains that city planning used to be top down, but things have changed, where power is now more spread out and not easily measured. It is important to note that although it is easy to link failure in the planning system to traditional and customary landowners, it is important to know that there are other factors at play such as governing bodies who all contribute to the outcomes. Different factors such as the multiplicity of actors and a horizontal power structure allow the planning process to take different directions. Private Planner 2 states that planning approaches depend on whether a place is already developed or not. A previously developed site will produce different results from a non-developed site. As well, the process will depend on what actors are involved and what funds and budgets are available.

5.5.2 Planning Regimes

5.5.2.1 *Introduction of formal planning*

The central question why different residential planning regimes exist in Accra is complicated, and the participants revealed interesting responses, as the question is not a straightforward one. The factors revealed to influence the existence of multiple planning regimes to include class, colonisation, and traditional cultural values, amongst many others. For the question, why are some areas well planned while others are not? Private Planner 1 answers this question by explaining that: "slum neighbourhoods started out as naturally calm spaces but they did not go by their plan" (Private Planner 1).

According to this planner, the fact that some indigenous communities existed before the introduction of formal planning makes it tough to implant planning schemes and formal planning principles. Many indigenous communities have existed for hundreds of years and have now turned into slums. Many of these communities were calm and less populated in the past. However, because of migration of people from different parts of Ghana into these slums areas, it has become impossible to reverse some of the adverse conditions that have developed over the years. Private Planner 2 explains:

In Accra some parts are indigenous. Those parts are probably not developed and planned because at the time when they neighbourhoods existed planning was either absent or minimal. They developed areas, like Cantonment and Labour...those places, had their development late compared to the indigenous areas. Hence you can't compare Nima (slum) to cantonment (high-income area). (Private Planner 2)

Private Planner 2 explains that the areas that are currently planned are that way because they were developed after the introduction of formal planning. As a result, these neighbourhoods were easier to design and properly zone because of their late development. Unless slum areas are completely torn down and built from the start, it will be difficult to plan these communities formally.

There are two types of slum communities: indigenous slums and non-indigenous slums. These two categories of slums communities face different experiences from the government. As revealed, the indigenous communities which have existed for many years but have turned into slums are difficult to rebuild and plan because of their overcrowding. As a result, the government deals with these communities differently. Indigenous communities are recognised by the AMA and are often selected to benefit from "Slum Upgrading and Prevention" programs. Unrecognised slums that are not indigenous are often faced with eviction threats from the AMA (Paller, 2012). Due the frustration and trouble surrounding slums regarding upgrading and removal has led many of these communities astray as they continue to grow with deteriorating conditions.

5.5.2.2 Class

Social classes are evident in Accra and can be correlated to neighbourhood types throughout the city. Class plays a big role in whether an area will receive better planning from the government or not. Public Planner 2's explains:

In the case of Accra, it is poorly planned especially when we look at the populated areas, there are certain areas that are well planned, and those areas are considered the rich man

zone. The rich man zones are for those who can afford mansions and those areas are very well planned. (Public Planner 2)

This planner differentiates between the planned areas which they label as the "rich man's zone" from the unplanned areas. They mention that some well-planned areas in Accra such as Airport East and West, Legon, Trassaco, Cantonment and Labone have proper drainage systems. The planner compares these areas to some unplanned areas such as Nima, Mamprobi, Korle-bu, which have inadequate drainage systems and suffered flooding problems in the past. The reason why these neighbourhoods have inadequate drainage systems is that, houses are often built in waterways can cause flooding after heavy rain. Public Planner 2 believes that if governing systems are functioning properly in Accra, it should be able to block people from settling in waterways (Public Planner 2). When Public Planner 2 was asked whether they believe there have been changes in the different neighbourhoods over the years, they mention that changes have occurred only in high-income areas. They add: "mansions and skyscrapers are being built, but these buildings are not in poor areas" (Public Planner 2).

The next question: Do you think communities in Accra are segregated? This question meant to inquire whether there is some sort of spatial segregation in Accra's neighbourhoods and whether socio-economic marginalisation exists between income groups. Public Planner 3 corrected the wording of this question explaining that the word segregation has a negative connotation and usually associated with racism. This planner believes that racism does not exist in Accra. He explains:

Do not use term segregation because it has a connotation. It has a connotation in

Political Science; it has a connotation in Planning. The moment you say "segregated" it means only one thing, which is racism. In South Africa, the settlements are segregated. When you hit the roads and reach certain places, you only see white people. Where the black people live, the roads are not tarred; the structures will even tell you before you get there that if you go to public toilets, it is written, "whites", "nannies" and "blacks". Those are not appropriate terms to use in Ghana, and our communities are not segregated. (Public Planner 3)

Public Planner 3 mentions that segregation does not exist in Accra since people are not separated according to race. Separation amongst citizens in Accra is tied to class; hence in Accra different neighbourhoods are often based on income levels. People can choose to live in any neighbourhood they prefer, as long as they can afford to live in them.

To elaborate on the question of class, Private Planner 1 believes that a person's budget determines where they can live. Private Planner 2 mentions that although differences in neighbourhoods exist regarding housing, roads, and sanitation, this was not the case in the past. Private Planner 2 further explains: "...in the past even in the low-income areas, you can see that the streets are well laid. The only difference is that the plot sizes are smaller and the houses seem to be smaller, compared to high-income neighbourhoods where the houses are bigger. Things started out the same, but over time it changed" (Private Planner 2). This planner recounts how much the differences amongst neighbourhoods have grown over the years. As they mention, many high-income neighbourhoods have perfectly paved roads, while roads low-income neighbourhood streets are ridden with potholes. These significant differences clearly depict what class of neighbourhood one is in (Private Planner 2).

According to Community Worker 2 who works with members of one of the low-income communities Nima:

I don't think you can compare a poor neighbourhood such as Nima to East Legon or Cantonment. When you look around Cantonment, everybody is in their houses, and they have gates and security people. I think Nima is overcrowded and not well planned like most other communities in Accra. We have problems with sanitation and housing. Especially around midnight, when you walk on the street you see a lot of people sleeping outside in front of the stores. (Community Worker 2)

As this community organiser explains, there are clear differences between a low-income neighbourhood such as Nima and high-income areas such as East Legon and Cantonment. The community organiser notes the unwelcoming nature of these high-income areas and their high walls and security gates restricting outsiders. Most of these neighbourhoods compared to low-income neighbourhoods are not overcrowded. As much as Accra's neighbourhoods are separated by class, some of the planners mention that these neighbourhoods are open to new residents as long as they have the means to live in them.

Private Planner 4 explains that Accra was not purposively planned according to class; instead, Accra's development pattern happened in concentric rings. He explains: "When the people who built the expensive neighbourhoods like Cantonments were finished with construction, there were no proper places for them to live so they formed their shanty towns around these wealthy neighbourhoods and served as garden boys and gatemen" (Private Planner 4). This planner provides an example of how slums and well-planned neighbourhoods can

develop within proximity to each other. In this case, these communities formed out of circumstances due to the lack of affordable government-run housing for low-income citizens. Construction workers, who had no place to stay, built shanty towns around these well-planned neighbourhoods. Many slum communities have formed around wealthy neighbourhoods because of the lack of affordable well-planned government housing (Private Planner 4).

So far, the interviews have explained that communities which developed and grew before the introduction of formal planning were never able to adopt formal planning principles, while the newer neighbourhoods had the opportunity to be planned. The concept of class and the notion of "rich man's area and poor man's area" play a big part in the city planning in Accra. Rich people can afford to physically plan their neighbourhoods without the help of the government while poor people cannot.

5.3.3 Government Control

5.3.3.1 Implementation

The government plays an important part in planning in Accra and questions surrounding the government revealed insightful answers. The planners were asked: Do you think planning is out of government control? This question more so revealed the problems associated with the lack of strict zoning laws. When Private Planner 1 was asked if they think planning is out of government control, they state: "yes that it is out of government control". They recount the changes in his neighbourhood and the lack of strict zoning laws by saying:

When I was young, I knew that Spintex road was designed for industrial purposes.

Today, they have boutiques and supermarkets. From what I know, those were supposed

to be industrial areas. They have commercialised the area, and now we have a lot of banks in that area, almost every bank. (Private Planner 1)

According to this planner zoning laws are not adequately followed because land designed for particular uses are often not followed, which makes one question the level of control the government holds in planning. Private Planner 4 also speaks of the lack of implementation laws and explains:

I think every neighbourhood is planned, but implementation is a major problem. So perhaps you have a neighbourhood that was supposed to be a school, but the land has been sold to a residential facility, or for a commercial facility. Or there was supposed to be a waterway there, but for whatever reason, they sold that portion of land for residential purpose. The zoning is there, but it's not always followed. (Private Planner 4)

Private Planner 5 mentions that planners have power until they present their plans and hand it over to the developer or the landowner. Planning ideas don't always go as planned and they are not followed in the long run (Private Planner 5). The problems with implementation of zoning laws are that they further put planning out of government control.

On that note, a few of the planners were asked whether they believe planning is valid in Accra since the government does not have a lot of control over it. Community Worker 1 does not find the concept of urban planning to be valid in Accra. This community worker looks around the surrounding area points to a building and explains:

For instance, the enclave that we are in now, The Airport City, this is a classic example of planning. The government gave out this space of land and brought the developers here, gave them a time frame that within the next 10 or 15 years, properties in the area must be developed to a certain level. This is the Airport City Project, and you can see a certain change. If you can stand here and take a picture, it will look like you are in UK or Canada or something. This is an example of what we can do. Trasacco Valley for example which is a gated community, all these are individual projects, but when it comes to proper urban planning where for instance we say that the AMA and their agents have to ensure that proper demarcations are done consciously, it becomes a problem. People are not doing their jobs and are sleeping on the job. (Community Worker 1)

Community Worker 1 is speaking about the Airport City and explaining how planning in Accra only revolves around big projects. About 30 years ago, the 43-acres of land surrounding the Kotoka International Airport which is now called the Airport City, was a bushy, undeveloped land used for farming. The land has now undergone an extensive makeover transforming into a city of grand high-rise glass buildings. The Airport City Project which is currently at 70 percent completion stage will consist of condos, retail outlets and restaurants, cinema halls, financial buildings, and offices. According to the developers behind the project, the vision behind the Airport City was to expand the commercialisation of the airport business and make travelling

more pleasant experience (Modern Ghana, 2013). According to Community Worker 1, Accra is good at planning big individual projects such as the Airport City. However, when it comes to city planning, they fail. Projects such as the Airport City and gated communities such as Trasacco Valley are catered to only high-income citizens in Accra. These luxury communities reduce the permeability of the city and lead to further social divisions, which in turn increases negative impacts on poorer neighbourhoods (Xavier 2008). Planners should work on managing and implementing planning policies that foster urban sustainability; social interactions which will reduce the divide between the wealthy and poor.

5.5.3.2 Politics

The way in which slums are handled is often very political. Public Planner 2 firmly believes that a lot of planning decisions in Accra are influenced by politics. They state:

Anybody that speaks out on any issue is considered a politician. Let's say for instance if the government does something right now, and as a concerned Ghanaian, I decide to comment on that issue, I will be tagged as affiliated with a political party. (Public Planner 2)

This planner believes the partisan politics has affected the way planning is conducted in Accra. In relations to slums they mention: "if the government decides to go and relocate people, the people start to threaten the government and convince the whole community not to vote for

them" (Public Planner 2). Since relocating people from slums destroys livelihood and make slum dwellers lives more miserable. It always becomes a big political game when the government tries to relocate people. Slum dwellers threaten the politicians and the politicians also play along with threats to slum dwellers by claims to relocated them from illegal slums as means to get votes. This planner also mentions that many actors also come into the picture which further complicates the issues. They state:

At the end of the day the moment the politician decide to do that kind of act, you see people like the human right activists, coming in and putting pressure on the government to stop what he intends to do. In Ghana, if you criticise the government wrongly you might find yourself somewhere else, even though you might be genuine (Public Planner 2)

Overall planning can be considered to be sometimes beyond government control due to the politics associated with it. The government or a politician cannot freely create drastic changes in the city such as remove people from a slum without worrying about votes and backlash from opposition governments. According to Community Worker 1, planners and politicians do not tell the truth when dealing with planning issues due to fear of loss of political positions and seats. This community worker further explains this complex by saying:

Sometimes we are very economical with the truth. People don't want to say certain things because we are giving up on our country. We are creating a bad picture, but I mean the truth is the truth. We need to do the right things as a people, but we are not

doing it. So even though an urban planner knows that this building is not supposed to be here because of political association, they don't say anything. (Community Planner 1)

This community worker explains that buildings constructed in the wrong zones often go unaddressed due to political reasons. This community worker believes that because of politics, people are unable to speak out against planning issues especially when it comes to buildings placed in the wrong zones. Community Worker 1 further explains this form of corruption in land transactions by further stating:

When people are in certain positions, they believe they are above the law. There is a whole of lot things going on that makes planning difficult because somebody will say I am the MP for the area and I need this particular piece of land. If you challenge his authority the next moment, you are out of office, or they transfer you somewhere else. So the political structure and systems will not allow even competent officers who will tend to do what is right, the opportunity to do what is right because of most of the time, they stampede into taking decisions. (Community Worker 1)

According to this community worker, government officials who believe to be above the law can often steal land and punish people for speaking up against them. A person within government can lose their position if they speak against a higher authority. Public Planner 2 further discusses: "In Ghana, everything is about politics. Before a politician will act or do something, he will have to check with the people" (Public Planner 2). This planner also mentions that at the

end of the day, the government is concerned more with votes than anything else.

The literature strongly confirms the power that traditional chiefs and customary land owners possess in land ownership, however, Public Planner 2 states otherwise. They were asked the question: Can the government take land away from people? The Public Planner 2 states:

You see in Ghana; we have the traditional rulers who are also in charge of the land.

Traditional leaders in Accra sell land, lease land, or do whatever but if the government shows interest, you cannot challenge the government. If the government sees potential in an area and there is a project already going on, there are two things the government can do. It's either they give you a place with equal size and take over the one you have or take it with force. At the end of the day if you go to court, the government is in charge of the court. The bottom line is you might win the case or lose the case, but they will still give you compensation and take over your land. (Public Planner 2)

According to Public Planner 2, the politics surrounding land ownership has a significant impact on planning. They also mention that government bodies such as the AMA will sometimes even "...give land away that belongs to the government without publishing it, without asking any questions about what Institute of Engineers think, or the Institute of Planners and Architects think" (Public Planner 2). There is a recurring narrative in Accra of the reselling of land either from the government or a customary organisation without collective agreement from all parties involved. Responses from the interviews reveal a sense of distrust from the government and customary landowners due to the politics involved. This has ultimately affected city planning and the way neighbourhoods have turned out in Accra.

5.5.3.3 Politics and Slums

Politics are also tied into the way neighbourhoods are managed and controlled especially in slum areas. Public Planner 1 mentions that slums are highly complicated for the government. They state: "slum are densely populated places that are not planned and so most of the political parties find it suicidal to tackle slum issues because in solving the problems, the government might find themselves in a voting issue" (Public Planner 1). According to this planner and the others, the politics surrounding slums are multifaceted and always becomes a big political issue when the government decides to take action on slums and the people who live in them. Public Planner 2 recollects:

Last year there was this incident that happened, the AMA boss had to force and move people from an area called Sodom and Gomorrah. It is a place where people from the north settle. There are illegal connections over electricity, so if one house catches fire the whole place will burn down. Over the years, every government that comes in power tries to relocate the people. They were able to move people last year, and I think it was a good cause. Regarding changes, they can do more. It will be better for the government to get a good place for them to move and develop that area, (Public Planner 2)

This planner is speaking of the political battles surrounding Old Fadama also known as Sodom and Gomorrah. This slum community reportedly barred a population of about 80000 in 2014. It gained attention in the news for outwitting the eviction attempts of all governments in power

since 2002 (Amoah, 2009). The AMA on numerous times has tried to evict residents of the slum however because of the negative impact of eviction, and the lack of better policies, and housing for the relocation of slum dwellers it has not been successful. The AMA has sometimes offered compensation to relocate the people. Often the AMA has taken a firm stand to evict more than 40,000 slum dwellers without any form of compensation due to crime and violent acts in the area (Braumah, 2011). Due to backlash and political reasons, slums continue to grow year after year, without any solid solutions raised.

As discussed in the literature, slum communities in Accra differ in regards to many factors including state recognition, and the provision of public services. State and legal recognition are the acknowledgement by the government formally that a community has a right to exist and is willing to provide public services (Paller, 2012). Slums that are not legally recognised by the government are often labelled as informal settlements and squatter. It has implications where residents are labelled as trespassers and criminals and often face the threat of eviction. The complicated politics surrounding forced evictions, human rights violations and the lack understanding amongst all parties involved are some the reasons why many slums are difficult to rebuild and plan.

5.5.4 Colonisation

5.5.4.1 Colonisation and Neighbourhoods

Discussions surrounding the legacy of colonisation in the city of Accra are prominent in the interviews. The questions on colonisation seek to explore the community workers perspectives on the impact of colonisation on planning. Private Planner 4 was asked about some of the effects of colonisation on planning, and they respond:

When it comes to planning, we have to realise things that were done in the colonial times might not have been good for us. We have to remove a lot of those barriers and let our systems function, but we still hold on to that kind of stuff. We have our unique architecture but it not developed. The problem I am talking about is how communities are developed; our system didn't take the time to develop on our terms. (Private Planner 4)

This planner speaks on the some of the things that Accra has held onto dating back to colonial times. For example, the planner believes that Accra adopted British architecture through colonisation and had not focused on improving its own architecture ever since. They mention something that has become part of buildings in Accra. Most homes incorporate tall walls erected around them. Sometimes these walls have electric fencing in the name of safety and crime prevention. Private Planner 4 mentions: "In colonial times the government will develop land and put a fence around it. Why did they put fences around their houses here, while in Europe they don't have fence walls completely covering the front of their houses?" (Private Planner 4). As Private Planner 4 mentions, colonial leaders built massive walls around their houses while in Africa because they wanted to ward of the locals.

Figure 5: Walled House with Spikes



(Jesse Frimpong, 2016)

Decades of colonisation, tall walls and fences are still a significant component of all buildings in Accra. Private Planner 4 clarifies: "we copied them because we want to be like the British" (Private Planner 4). This planner describes some of the impacts colonisation has had on planning. The concept of building massive walls around houses is not customary to Ghanaian culture. As Private Planner four states, the houses in the villages are different because they are not heavily influenced by western culture and have had less contact with colonial governments. The houses in the villages are built in open spaces and surrounded by greenery.

Public Planner 3 further explains that the walls and the neighbourhoods that were built during colonial times were meant to serve as buffer zones between the natives and themselves. A lot of the high-income neighbourhoods in Accra today are what used to be the colonial areas or are not far from those areas. Public Planner 3 explains: "Adabraka and all those places are

not far from the expensive colonial Ridge area. There was a street called the boundary road, and that was a barrier separating the natives from where the colonial officers and the merchant classes build their residential areas" (Public Planner 3). Based on the remarks by this planner, one can see that the separations of neighbourhoods can be traced back to the colonial days.

According to this Private Planner 4, the neighbourhoods in which the colonial administration stayed during the Colonial Era till date happens to be the areas that have maintained necessities such as drainage systems and good roads. Private Planner 4 believes:

The old parts of Accra even functions better than the new parts, the pre-independence part of Accra where the colonial government developed. In those kinds of areas, the roads are good, and drainage is good. There is no flooding in those areas. But if you look at the post-independence areas, there are more problems in those areas. Those are the areas that flood, because of improper planning because of improper changes.

(Private Planner 4)

According to this Private Planner 4, the communities that were developed after colonisation are among the areas with inadequate roads and bad drainage systems today. To some extent, this planner raises an interesting point on how the neighbourhoods which colonial administration stayed are now amongst some of the well-planned areas. They draw a direct connection between current conditions of these neighbourhoods to their colonial pasts. This planner believes that the neighbourhoods that were not planned and equipped with proper planning tools from the colonial days are still struggling today to catch up to residential planning needs.

The comments made by Private Planner 4 acknowledge the legacy of colonisation on current urban planning practices. The theme of colonisation remains one of the main factors working into the complications of urban planning in Accra today.

5.5.4.2 Sanitation

In 2010 the WHO AND UNICEF reported that at least 50 percent of Accra's population resided in urban areas of which only 18 percent have access to improved sanitation (WHO/UNICEF, 2010). The whole city is now faced with poor sanitation conditions which have only worsened due to the growth in the urban population. Public Planner 2 also believes that colonisation influences sanitation in the city. They explain:

When we were growing up we had these people called Tankas. What they do is they walk through all the neighbourhoods to see who is littering around. If they come to your house and they see that there is rubbish all around, they will arrest you. You dare not to be arrested, so every weekend you see people clearing their buildings, weeding, picking up trash, clearing, and burning what they have to burn to make sure their place is all tidied up. That was in the olden days so why is it bad now. (Public Planner 2)

This planner explains that there was a system in place in Ghana's past colonial history that made sure that people cleaned their compounds and surroundings. The problems with current sanitation issues can easily be attributed to population growth and poor government policies.

A major factor differentiating neighbourhoods in Accra is the level of cleanliness. High-income neighbourhoods are well managed with proper garbage collection, while low-income

neighbourhoods are left to handle garbage collection on their own. The planners and the community workers were asked why these differences exist and they gave responses to with similar themes. To tackle this question, the participants were asked about Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) to know if the government had a garbage collection system in place and why garbage collection existed in some neighbourhoods but not in others. Private Planner 1 was asked about what PPPs existed and whether sanitation was handled solely by the government. This planner responded that the first time Accra participated in PPP was with a garbage collection company called Zoom Lion. According to this planner, they performed well until there was a change in government. This company was the reason why many high-income neighbourhoods were clean compared to the slum areas.

Zoom Lion Ghana Limited is a solid waste management company established in 2006; they quickly expanded into recycling, composting and landscaping. They partnered with the Ghanaian government in providing sanitation services in public areas and during major national events. Due to their success in sanitation services in Accra during the early 2000s, they were able to expand into other West African countries. As Private Planner 1 mentions, their presence and their work has declined in the city as garbage fill the streets. Public Planner 2 also recounts that the success of Zoom Lion by saying:

Back in 2008 there was an African Cup of Nations soccer match, and we had this company called Zoom Lion. During the football games, the moment you finish drinking and drop plastic, one of their staff will pick it up. So at the end of the match, you will not even see any garbage at the stadium. That was what they were doing so they will come to the stadium and in each row and column wherever you are you will

see their staff. (Public Planner 2)

This planner narrates how well this sanitation company performed in Accra. He applauded the founder for being invited to other African countries to help establish sanitation systems. He adds that at the moment extensive garbage collection does not exist in Accra. A garbage collection program runs in the upper-class neighbourhoods however many low-income neighbourhoods are left to burn garbage outside their houses (Public Planner 2). As this planner mentions, there is currently no stable sanitation system organised by the government in place. Many low-income neighbourhoods are forced to burn their waste in their compounds. High-income often have to pay for monthly garbage collection services from companies such as Zoom Lion.

Figure 6: Zoom Lion Dumpster



(Jesse Frimpong, 2016)

To get a deeper understanding of sanitation, the participants were asked about sanitation issues in Accra. Private Planner 1 compared the current problems of sanitation in the lifestyle of the rural villages. They elaborate:

Villages still perform earlier sanitation practices. Which is you still take care of sanitation around your home, you sweep, burn, and keep the place tidy. When you come to the cities, it's a different ball game because in the cities we have a fast life. In Accra when you wake up you have to work and the village is more relaxed. In Accra, the place is choked, so where do you send your garbage? Until recently that we have waste management companies coming in to take garbage to dump sites; people did not know where to send their garbage. As we speak, there are areas with no vehicles coming around. (Private Planner 1)

This planner describes the glaring waste problems prominent in many parts of Accra. He mentions that in the rural villages of Ghana, households usually sweep and burn garbage in their compounds. The mention that, this has been the approach that households in rural areas have used for many years.

Private Planner gets more detailed and explains the difficulty with sanitation as a whole. He mentions that waste collection does in fact work well in certain neighbourhoods since companies such as Zoom Lion frequently visit only high-income neighbourhoods. The planner suggests that part of the current problems in Accra is the issue of finding disposal sites around city. Sanitation companies have a problem with determining final dump sites in the city. Public Planner 1 explains:

In Accra, everywhere is built up so where are you going to dump this waste? We use to have a place called the lavender area but the people protested and they closed it down. So the waste disposal companies themselves are finding it tough to operate. They need to take it very far away, dump it and come back to the city. This has increased the fees they collect from people. Others are not able to pay the fees, and so they do their own thing. Hence, you will find some people burning their garbage because they are not able to afford garbage pickup. For instances in my house sometimes they don't come much more frequent to take waste, so our bins get full. Sometimes a whole month they don't come. Meanwhile, they have taken money.

(Public Planner 1)

Public Planner 1 mentions, the lack of available land for dumping is a big problem in the city. This only makes garbage collection possible in high-income neighbourhoods because only those neighbourhoods can afford it. For this reason, many low-incomes neighbourhoods are left with cluttered gutters and piled garbage due to the lack of proper sanitation services by the government. Also, many households are left to burn their garbage in their compounds. The availability of sanitation services in some neighbourhoods but absent in others is a distinguishing factor separating neighbourhoods in Accra. Public Planner 1 was asked, the extent to which the government is involved in providing sanitation since many neighbourhoods have no garbage collection systems in place. Public Planner 1 explains:

The government wants to get out of doing business directly with the people, and we

have some companies who have also stepped in to assist in this direction. Sometimes the district assemblies are also overwhelmed, even if they want to manage it, the ministry will have to support. There have been instances where the ministry has had to pay for waste collection. Now we are in the era of decentralisation everything depends on them, they are autonomous. (Public Planner 1)

This planner's statement confirms the hardship district assemblies face in providing sanitation services. Private companies almost exclusively handle garbage collection in Accra for many reasons. Often low-income neighbourhood cannot even receive garbage collection if they wish because roads leading to these neighbourhoods are filled with potholes or are non-existent. Most importantly, many low-income neighbourhoods cannot afford to pay for monthly garbage collection services; hence they are left to fend for themselves.

Figure 7: Garbage in Low-Income Neighbourhood



(Jesse Frimpong, 2016)

To dive deeper into the reasons why sanitation function in some areas and not in others, Private Planner 1 revealed that attitudes towards people from low-income neighbourhoods by saying:

In the middle and upper-class areas, they know the importance of sanitation. They appreciate that they need to keep the place tidy. Therefore, they pay companies to come and take the sanitation. Most people pay for it themselves; the government does not do it. They can afford it, and so they appreciate. In the slums, they cannot afford it, and the trucks cannot reach them. They do not see the need for a waste management company to take care of their garbage when they can quickly burn it or they can take it to a community dump site. In some communities, you have no option, you need to pay. I remember living in Sakamoto. You don't have a choice; you have to pay. (Private Planner 1)

This planner assumes that some areas are untidy because the people who live in them do not understand the importance of sanitation and it is partly their fault. There is a common belief that people in slums are responsible for their sanitary conditions, without considering that it is the government's responsibility to enforce and provide tools to ensure clean and sanitary practices. In this case, the people in upper-class neighbourhoods are considered to care more about their sanitary conditions, which is the reason why their neighbourhoods are clean. Quite often, the government is not held accountable for sanitation issues; rather the people are blamed for not maintaining their neighbourhoods. As raised in the literature, waste management was a responsibility of the government during the Nkrumah's Era. Since that period, government

managed sanitation service has still not been achieved. In the end, low-income neighbourhoods are forced to live amongst filth, while high-income neighbourhoods can organise sanitation services in their neighbourhoods simply because they can afford it (Adanu, 2004).

5.5.5 Recommendations

5.5.5.1 Uphold Standards

As a concluding question, the participants were asked about recommendations for better urban planning in Accra's neighbourhoods. Upholding standards in Accra is hard since most new buildings do not follow the same practices. Planner 1 believes that setting and following standards are necessary for urban planning in Accra. Private Planner 1 explains:

We should just let the system work. Town and Country Planning should have certain tools and plans in place. We should not try and change existing designs or plans. People can change it, people can have an area rezoned, and they can go to the planning office and have it changed. I think we should do away with that. We should have standards, height, size of a windows, and streets. (Private Planner 1)

As discussed, many zoned areas do not follow their intended purpose, which affects the outcome of neighbourhoods in the long run. This planner believes that the system should be allowed to function. Often actors involved with land manipulate paperwork for zoned areas in planning offices. Since standards do not exist, zoned areas that are altered are often unnoticed. One important suggestion made by this planner is the enforcement of standards around the city, such as building heights, street sizes, and window sizes. When buildings and plans in the city

are standardised, it won't be difficult to notice when an area's design has changed. Hence, enforcing standards will ensure that planning in the city is uniform (Private Planner 1).

5.5.5.2 Politics

Politics in Ghana affects all development aspects of the country. It affects how planning projects are managed over long periods. Private Planner 3 believes that politics often interferes with planning in the country as a whole. This planner explains:

There is a problem with our government and political system. Let's say there is a development plan for an area for which a long term plan or short-term plans for 5 years. If in between that time there is a government change, whoever comes in power does not follow the plan. When they come in power, they all have their own agenda instead of following the development plan for an area. (Private Planner 3)

As this planner describes often planning projects from the previous governments are abandoned due to conflicting views of opposing political parties. As a result, no real long term progress is made in planning. As Private Planner 3 states, most planning ideas remain at the proposal stages since most planning ideas are theoretical and often remain on paper. It is very easy for new governments to ignore them. Therefore this planner believes that separating planning from politics will be beneficial to the advancement of planning in the city (Private Planner 3)

5.5.5.3 Establish Planning Organization and Authority

The lack of a parent planning organisation in Accra significantly affects the way planning is conducted in Accra. Private Planner 3 believes planning is vulnerable in Accra and thinks that there should be in organisation or authority that protects planning in Accra. They state:

If the National Development Planning Commission or the Town and Country Planning has a plan for an area, no matter what government is in power, planning is never affected. If planning has an authority it has more power, a change of government is not going to affect it in any way. (Private Planner 3)

This planner believes that if planning in Accra has an official body supporting it, this will help the implementation problem. This is because residential planning in the city is weak and requires more backing and resources. An authoritative body ensuring that long-term planning goals are executed will allow the planning ideas to flourish (Private Planner 3).

5.5.5.4 Implementation and Coordination

Implementing and coordinating planning laws and policies can be difficult in a growing city such as Accra. Hence, Private Planner 4 believes that professional institutes in Ghana should be more forceful in implementing and coordinating planning laws since the government is often not successful in enforcing planning laws. They state:

They have to keep pushing and forcing the government to implement some of these

policies of physical development and amend the land ownership system. The person can own the land, but the physical planning system should be able to tell you what you can do with the land and what you can't do. If that place has been zoned for a school, you can't say that the land belongs to you. (Private Planner 4)

This planner believes that planning institutions should be more forceful with implementation since land policies are not respectfully executed. There should be more land ownership policies that are carefully advised and controlled. As Private Planner 5 asserts: 'implementation is key, there should be more stringent laws and policies so if you don't go by them, and you are charged" (Private Planner 5). This planner believes that the government should be more involved in the coordination of customary lands, especially between two families. The planner explains:

Even if the government wants to leave the land in the hands of the individual, the government should insist on coordinated landscape between two families that are selling land that is not too far from each other. They should coordinate and make sure that they do a planning scheme that covers the whole area. There are other places that are not developed, yet owners of the land have the intention of selling. If there are several families involved with such extensive farmlands with an intention to sell, there should be a way of putting them together and making sure that land is planned before any of the lands go on sale. (Public Planner 1)

Based on the views of Public Planner 1, there should be tools in place to ensure that large pieces

of customary lands that are owned by multiple individuals and families can be coordinated. Often there are pieces of land positioned next to each other and these lands are developed without consideration for public or common spaces. Customary landowners are only focused on their individual properties without consideration for their neighbourhoods as a whole. Therefore, Public Planner 1 believes if the government and planning organisations are more involved in coordinating customary lands, it will ensure that new planning principles can be put in place.

5.5.5.5 Plan with Africa in Mind

During the interviews, it was raised that urban planning in Accra is flawed because it was not beneficial to the unique circumstance of the city. The theme and the underlining message of this project, is primarily about planning Accra in an African context. Community Worker 1 believes that planning in Accra should ensure that the basics needed in a community such as hospitals, schools, and market centres are available. This community worker mentions that planning on the continent should uniquely fit the character of the continent. This community worker further explains:

We have a problem as a people in defining what development means, and I have always said that if we want to continue looking at the West as an example of what development is in terms of structure, we are not going to develop because they will continually determine what development is called, so we should be able to develop within our culture, our own setting our own tradition. (Community Worker 1)

The point being made is that in Accra and other cities in Africa, development is often informed by the western world. Development is not defined in their own terms. As this community worker states, there are glass skyscrapers built across the city that does not necessarily fit the tropical climate of Accra. Glass buildings pose challenges to electricity supply over the years, as these buildings automatically require full air condition to be liveable in Accra's hot temperature. As community worker 1 explains: "to stay in those rooms because it's hot. It doesn't work for the climate, and yet that's the fashion, we need to as a country let our culture and traditions inform our designs and our planning to ensure we feel comfortable" (Community Worker 1). The argument is that planning in Africa needs to reflect the social, cultural, and physical aspect of the city. It has to make sense to the people and their living conditions.

As Community Worker 1 states, there is currently construction of indoor malls and other westernised development not obligatory in Accra's values. In a tropical city without a winter season, the concept of extravagant indoor malls and tall glass buildings are not needed. These structures consume a lot of electricity to maintain since they require endless air-conditioning. In many African cities, food and groceries are sold in an open market concept. This tradition needs to be reflected in new and upcoming retail structures. Open market style shopping areas are sustainable and do not require constant air conditioning. However, these traditional markets are often overlooked. Community Worker 1 further explains: "they have to accept markets as our way of life. The concept of the market still needs to go on. It should be developed and made attractive for anyone to feel comfortable without necessarily having to worry about filth" (Community Worker 1).

The community worker further states, "Our traditions should inform our thinking as in the plans we have. In Canada, most of the planning is a result of the environment taken into

consideration" (Community Worker 1). This community worker believes Africa is a unique continent with its influencing factors. Planning on the continent should be reflective of these factors.

5.5.5.6 Improved Sanitation

Sanitation is critical and plays an enormous part in the maintenance of communities. All the participants believe that sanitation must be improved significantly in Accra. Public Planner 2 believes that recycling is important and very much needed in the city. They explain: "we need a serious recycling plant, anything that will solve this rubbish issue" (Public Planner 2). This planner further explains that the current recycling programs and clean-up exercises that exist in the city are counterproductive and states:

They have a program they do every Saturday of the month. It's the nationwide clean-up exercise. You know it's good, but the annoying thing is that they go to communities distil gutters and afterwards they leave the garbage on the sidewalk. They clear the gutters and leave the rubbish and the sand on the sides, and when it rains and it goes back and clogs the gutters again. They shouldn't do it if they are going to waste people time. They should clear the gutters, put them in trucks and deposit them somewhere (Public Planner 2).

This planner explains some of the problems with clean-up programs held in the city. He mentions that after city official clean-up and unclog gutters in the city, they are often forced to leave the contents of their clean up behind simply because it is difficult to find dump sites.

Therefore, Public Planner 2 believes that creating more dump sites in the city will make a big difference in the communities especially in the areas where the people cannot pay for sanitation.

Public Planner 2 also recommends the city adopting better recycling programs. This planner believes that the waste can be used to develop electricity and other reusable products. They trust that using some of the recyclable waste to create products that can be brought back to the market will be best for the city. This planner states that there are no proper recycling programs in Accra. A system should be created where people can make money for their recyclable goods. Private Planer 2 explains:

Why don't we set up systems where everybody brings their rubbish, and we will pay them. You will see people going around picking all sort of stuff to get money because at the end of the day, if the filth is becoming so much and you don't have dumpsite, create an avenue where people can get it by bringing rubbish (Public Planner 2).

Private Planner 2 brings forth a good idea by recommending a paid recycling program in Accra which is not common at the moment. There is a lot of recyclable plastic that are left to pollute the streets because there are not enough dumpsites and recycling plants in the city.

This planner raises an interesting argument and mentions that the reason why dumpsites in Accra are not common is mostly due to the lack of respect for zoning laws. Public Planner, 2 explains: "We don't have a dumpsite because they were once available but they have collapsed" (Public Planner 2). He states that some sites and areas can have designated dump sites, however, after two years some of these designated dump sites have turned into buildings. As this Planner states, often the customary landowners sell so much land they overlook the fact that

some space must be reserved for landfill. As Public Planner 2 mentions, this problem won't occur if the government had more control over land. This recommendation along with the others can help in closing the planning gap between neighbourhoods in Accra and allow all neighbourhoods to have basic needs.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Analysis

The participants for this study all provide different responses to the questions posed. In a small way, all planners and community workers interviewed provided responses that contributed in answering the central question of why different planning regimes exist in Accra. Below is a synthetic table highlighting and summarising the main points and themes raised during the interviews:

Table 4: Synthetic Table

	Planning Process (Multiple Actors/Planning Precedes Development/Funding/Customary Lands)	Planning Regimes (Introduction of formal planning/Class)	Government Control (Implementation/Politics/ Slums)	Colonisation (connection to sanitation)
Private Planner 1	The whole of Accra was under AMA for, but it is now made up of separate municipalities with distinct planning laws.	A person's budget determines where they can live.	There is a lack of respect for zoning laws.	
Private Planner 2	Multiple players and issues involved in the planning process are complex. Development is always ahead of Planning. The planning process in the private sector depends on funding because some funding agencies often bring	Differences amongst neighbourhoods have grown over time. Many high-income neighbourhoods have perfectly paved roads while roads low-income areas streets are ridden with potholes. These significant differences clearly depict what class of		

	its agenda.	neighbourhood one is in.		
Private Planner 3	<p>The city develops before formal planning is incorporated.</p> <p>There is a lack of funding to do big planning projects.</p>			
Private Planner 4	<p>Although there are few plans around Accra, the growth has been so fast that they outrun the development plans.</p>			<p>The colonial government will develop land and put a fence around it.</p> <p>Colonial governments built massive walls around their houses because they wanted to ward off the locals.</p> <p>Houses in the villages are not heavily influenced by western culture and colonial governments.</p> <p>Communities that were developed after colonisation are among the areas that have poor roads and bad drainage systems today.</p> <p>Neighbourhoods which were colonial administration areas are now among the well-planned areas.</p>

Private Planner 5	Decision making is a top down approach.		Planners have power until they present their plans and hand it over to the developer or the landowner. Plans don't always go as planned and it is not followed in the long run.	
Public Planner 1	<p>The process is slow, but a lot of people are allowed in the process.</p> <p>However, the issue is before the placed is zoned, some of the chiefs have already sold their land.</p> <p>Chiefs can pay planners and surveyors to plan their lands.</p>		Slums are highly complicated for the government. Issues because government might find themselves in a voting issue.	<p>The lack of available land for dumping makes garbage collection possible only in high-income neighbourhoods.</p> <p>Only upper-class neighbourhoods can afford garbage collection fees.</p>
Public Planner 2		Changes have occurred only in high-income neighbourhoods.	<p>Planning decisions in Ghana are influenced by politics.</p> <p>Partisan politics has affected the way planning is conducted in Accra.</p> <p>the government is concerned more with votes than anything else</p> <p>Government bodies such as the AMA will sometimes even give land away that belongs to the government</p>	There is no real sanitation system organised by the government in place. Many low-income neighbourhoods are forced to burn their waste in their compounds.

			without publishing it.	
Public Planner 3		People can live in any community as long as they can afford to live in the,		
Comm. Worker 1	Once a person buys land from a chief or a family head, it becomes a very dangerous enterprise because one can be sure that the same person will also sell the same property to another person.		Ghana is good at planning big individual projects such as the Airport City, however when it comes to city planning they fail. Planners and politicians do not tell the truth when dealing with planning issues due to fear of loss of political positions and seats.	
Comm. Worker 2		There are clear differences between a low-income neighbourhood such as Nima and high-income neighbourhood such as East Legon. High-income areas are restricting low-income outsiders. Most of these neighbourhoods compared to low-income neighbourhoods are not overcrowded.		

		These neighbourhoods are open to new residents as long as they have the means to live in them.		
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The first column of the table describes the responses surrounding the planning process. The process which involves multiple actors, the pace of planning and development, funding, and customary lands spew many interesting responses from the participants. The first column confirms that the various players involved in the planning process make it very complex. There was a common theme throughout the discussion that development moves ahead of planning which also complicates the planning process in Accra. The lack of funding to conduct well-rounded residential planning in the city of Accra is the reason why some neighbourhoods have better planning than others. Overall the whole planning process is viewed as flawed by the respondent because decision making adopts a top-down approach.

The second column focuses on the most important points raised by the participants about planning regimes in the city. It concentrates on the introduction of formal planning and the details surrounding class structure in the city. According to the respondents, a person's budget determines where they can live. It is not based on race or any other attribute such as religion or sex. Due to income differences in the city, disparities amongst neighbourhoods have grown over time. High income neighbourhoods often restrict outsiders which often contribute to the economic and spatial segregation of communities in Accra.

The third column is a summary of the discussions about government control and the

politics surrounding the implementation of planning laws and slums. People do not obey zoning laws because land designed for specific uses are often not followed. Planners often have power until they hand over their plans to the developer or the landowner. Plans do not always go as planned and they are often mismanaged by landowners and developers.

The last column addresses colonisation which remains one of the primary factors behind why neighbourhoods in Accra are the way they are. The discussion by the participants in this column also ties the conversation of colonisation with sanitation also being a big problem in the city of Accra. According to some planners and also confirmed in the literature, colonial governments were the first to build walls around their houses to ward off the locals. This practice has become a significant component of all building in Accra today, further creating divisions amongst residents and neighbourhoods. Many buildings in rural parts of Ghana, not influenced by western culture and colonisation often have open concept housing not separated with walls and fences.

Neighbourhoods that were occupied by colonial governments in the past are amongst the areas that are well planned today. These neighbourhoods received formal planning principles from the colonial government. Hence fit the European planning model that is pushed on Accra today. The neighbourhoods who did not have proper planning from the principles from the colonial days are the neighbourhoods, who are currently faced with inadequate drainage systems and other infrastructure issues.

According to the participants, these unplanned neighbourhoods have poor sanitation issues. The lack of available land for dumping makes garbage collection possible only in high-income neighbourhoods. Hence, only upper-class areas can afford garbage collection fees. With no stable sanitation system organised by the government, many low-income areas are forced to

burn their waste in their compounds. The planning difficulties were all revealed clearly in the interviews. It is not difficult to draw themes from the discussions, as the participants all revealed similar problems. The problems are very clear; solutions however are needed in discussions surrounding residential planning in Accra.

6.2 Theory and Reflection

In sum, there were many factors discovered as to why there are inconsistencies in planning in Accra. These factors all contribute to explaining the broader narrative. As the interviews reveal, the complex planning process, the multiple planning regimes, government control or the lack of it, and historical elements such as colonisation have all contributed to the reasons why different planning regimes exist in Accra's neighbourhoods.

Theories that challenge the universalization of the European experience in Africa must be present in African planning (Beauregard, 1998). Many aspects of Feinstein's "Just City" approach are useful in theorising urban planning in the city of Accra. In Accra the different planning regimes and access to resources and services are reflected in the growing divisions among neighbourhoods spatially. As mentioned in the literature, most African cities developed a formal central core where most colonial authorities lived. Subsequently, over the years local elites and political figures were housed in such neighbourhoods. The declining capacity of the state to provide services and maintain cities and the rapid growth of the poor result in the case of poor planning in many areas (Watson, 2002). The acknowledgement that 'different voices' exist within the world and the fact that these voices also represent valid viewpoints is needed in Africa, where cities are anything but homogeneous (Huxley and Yiftachel, 2000).

Based on Feinstein's (2002) theory, urban planning policy should focus on justice for all

citizens especially those from low-income neighbourhoods. This theory is relevant for Accra since planning decisions leaves out many low-income areas. According to Fainstein (2010), there needs to be a shift in conversation regarding the character of urban areas away from policy process and economic development more towards social equity. Based on her arguments, when equity, diversity, and democracy receive priority in urban policies, they result in cities that are more just (Fainstein, 2010). In the Accra context, there should be more attention paid to the character of slums and how it can be properly planned and managed like the high-income communities. If the city of Accra is "Just" all neighbourhoods will be well designed and serviced.

The first element of the Just City framework equity is "a distribution of both material and nonmaterial benefits and resources derived from public policy that does not favour those who are already better off at the beginning...[I]t does not require that each person is treated the same but rather that treatment is appropriate" (Fainstein 2010: 36). An equitable distribution is achieved not just economically, but also socially, spatially, and politically (Fainstein, 2010). In Accra's case, only a few neighbourhoods benefit from Accra's resources such as garbage collection. The lack of adequate funding needed to conduct proper planning leads to the government only focusing on sporadic planning projects and not concentrating on planning in Accra as a whole. Funding often goes to "important" neighbourhoods and big flashy private projects. This practice has resulted in some low-income communities paying the price. Although it is easy to blame complexities of urban planning processes in Accra on the multiplicity of actors in the planning process, funding is a big reason behind many of the problems. Funding is not distributed fairly and only benefits those who are already better off.

The second aspect of the Just City Framework is diversity and it draws on

cosmopolitanism. Fainstein's diversity focuses on safeguarding people from being excluded according to their gender, ethnicity, or homelessness. Diversity operates as a standard against which planning policies are measured to ensure that zoning is inclusive. Borders between neighbourhoods should be permeable in a ways that it allows for free movement. There should be open spaces where different types of people can interact (Steil & James, 2017). Although Accra was not purposively planned the way it is, it has become apparent that only people from certain income groups can live and have access to certain services. The lack of proper planning has led to the development of high-income areas and gated communities that do not accommodate lower income groups. Although in Accra people are not segregated according to race, people are segregated along class lines. Diversity in Accra's context will mean neighbourhoods that welcome people from diverse income groups (Steil & James, 2017).

Democracy is the third element and possibly the most multifaceted of the three aspects of The Just City Framework. In ensuring democratic representation, this theory necessitates involving the groups who are not already well-represented. Participation should engage residents in neighbourhoods, and their preferences should balance against citywide needs (Steil & James, 2017). With many players such as international funders, local and international NGOs, customary landowners, and individuals from the private sector and the government impacting and complicating the planning decisions across Accra, it is possible for citizens from low-income areas to slip in the process. As the synthetic table demonstrates, planning laws in Accra are complicated because of the many actors involved in the process. This complication results in neighbourhoods excluded from planning decisions. This leaves the final question: What are some solutions?

6.3 Recommendations

With all the different factors affecting city planning in Accra, one must ask if planning is valid in Accra. What are some recommendations? How can city planning be improved to stimulate well-planned neighbourhoods across Accra? The National Urban Policy (2012) discusses a few recommendations that can benefit urban planning in Accra.

The first solution is for the government to find ways to slow down the rate of growth in different neighbourhoods especially in the low-income ones and combat the problems associated with increasing population growth. One way to slow population growth in many low-income communities is the creation of new growth point to serve as counter magnets to fast growing communities. Currently, Accra and Kumasi are the most populated cities in Ghana. If the government created new cities in other parts of Ghana, it would reduce the pressure on overflowing neighbourhoods, especially in Accra. If the government creates new growth points in other regional capitals and districts of Ghana, these areas can be planned in advance and equipped with planning schemes before they develop. It will relieve pressure from overcrowded neighbourhoods in Accra over time. When the population of crowded areas in Accra decrease, it will allow the opportunity for planners to re-plan low income neighbourhoods (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012)

Physical characteristics are amongst the main factors distinguishing many neighbourhoods across Accra. The National Urban Policy (2012) also recommends the development and proper management of appropriate technology and infrastructure required to provide basic sanitary conditions in all communities. It also endorses the grounding and execution of plans for all neighbourhoods, including regulations for ensuring efficient collection and disposal of solid waste. It is important that the government create environmental

awareness by using mass media public campaigns in schools and all places (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012)

One important observation in Accra is the lack of access to affordable and adequate housing for low-income citizens. It remains one of the primary reasons why low-income communities stay in shambles and are forced to live in proximity to each other. The planning in Accra does not support mixed communities with different income groups. As a recommendation, the National Urban Policy also suggests the improvement of access to affordable houses. Affordable units should be built and managed all across the city and also in new growth points in the city. This idea will encourage mixed-income neighbourhoods that are inclusive. Through public, private partnership arrangements, the government can deliver low-income rental housing so that low-income families are not forced to live in slums (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012).

Governance over urban planning should be significantly improved. For planning laws to be adhered to, the government must ensure there are structures in place. There must be the involvement of more state and non-state agencies as well as institutions of urban governance. If urban development legislation and standards are enforced and improved, it will lead to better uniformity of neighbourhoods across the city. (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2012).

I believe there should be more collaboration between the government and customary landowners in developing prime urban areas for the enhancement of industrial and residential development. The fact that customary lands are imperative in Accra, it is crucial that planners collaborate with customary landowners to ensure that new sites are all properly planned. Planners need to make sure that the delivery and management of urban services and

infrastructure are arranged for customary lands before they are developed so that they do not turn into slums in the future. The power of customary landowners must be recognized as they own a majority of the lands in the country.

Although there are many factors which can assist in improving urban planning across Accra, without funding nothing is possible. There must be more focus on the expansion of the sources of funding for residential planning in the city. It includes finding new ways of mobilising finances for planning projects. Also recommended by the National Urban Policy (2012), there should be more promotion of public-private partnerships as alternatives to the funding of planning projects. Lots of funding is particularly needed to upgrade slums and bring planning to an acceptable level in the city. Ideally, if slums in Accra are designed and updated appropriately, the city's landscape will improve significantly.

Slum upgrading or redevelopment should not only revolve around the housing. It should also include employment opportunities, affordable transportation, and providing essential services. Local businesses and community organisations are also key elements for the survival of a sustainable community. However, the most important factor in slum upgrading should be participation. The participatory approach in slum upgrading allows locals to be active participants in all aspect of development. They are allowed to share their needs, opinions, and utilise their knowledge in the development process. Community problems and concerns are often identified mostly through surveys or any other participatory data collection methods. The survey allows community members to share their needs (MacPherson, 2012). This participatory approach has been utilised in many slum upgrading projects worldwide.

What examples of slum upgrading ideas in other parts of the world can be applied to slums in Accra? Participation and the involvement of slum dwellers in slum upgrading are

essential. However, the biggest problem facing the improvement slums in Accra is funding. Financial resources are critical for slum redevelopment and it is apparent that large sums of money will be need for bringing living standards to an acceptable level. Slums are not the number one priority on the municipal budget of Accra, since the government does not have millions to use on slum upgrading. Brilliant ways to fund slum upgrading are vital and some cities around the world have discovered ways fund slum upgrading projects.

Local authorities in Casablanca, Morocco have adopted a third-party partner model to help families finance new homes. According to this model, two families from the slum can share the same plot of land in a contractual agreement with the third party developer. The third party through this contract guarantees the development of a four-storey building. Two storeys are supplied to each family while covering the cost. The third party in return takes the remaining two stories for business. It allows them to benefit massively from subsidising the cost of the land. This third party partnership system has been successful and a lot of slum households have benefitted. It has provided many families with new homes with essential amenities free of charge (Toutain, 2014). Bringing a third party company in Accra to develop slums using the Casablanca model will significantly relieve the government from the financial burden of slum redevelopment.

In Dhaka, Bangladesh urban agriculture and was recommended as an idea to provide opportunities for slum members (UNHABITAT, 2014). This approach will greatly benefit the slums in Accra, because if the economic opportunities it offers. After expanding vertically with high rise building and managing slum populations, there will be plenty of lands remaining for the cultivation of small crops such and vegetables. This idea will be profitable for slums as they will provide much needed employment for people in the slums of Accra. Many individuals in

slum communities in Accra are often migrants from rural farm areas, therefore have a lot of experience in agriculture. The agricultural experience that slum people possess makes the concept of urban agriculture in Accra's slums very conceivable.

Creating employment opportunities in slums is a form of slum upgrading, because if people are able to build wealth, they can move into a high-income neighbourhood. Apart from the excess land remaining from vertical expansion, rooftops can also serve as farmland if constructed from concrete. These roofs can provide space for large-scale farming. As recommended to UNHABIT, this concept provides opportunities for about 100 farmers to cultivate within their neighbourhoods. Apart from urban agriculture, fishing is also a great option for slums close to lakes and oceans. Accra is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean, which makes slums such as James Town very close to the sea. The Ministry of Fisheries can create training programs for the young people in the slums of James Town. Besides farming and fishing, solid waste management can also be another option for the unemployed. Waste collected from the households in the area can be recycled and used for new local made products (UNHABITAT, 2014). Making space for plastic recycling plants in slums can employ many people. Building vertically and freeing space in slums will provide land for new opportunities for employment. Employment opportunities must be a crucial part of slum upgrading.

Urban planning in Accra is significantly modelled after European ideals that do not fit the unique conditions of Accra's landscape. This blueprint approach does not accommodate the diversity in any typical African city. For example, suburban ideals are often promoted in Accra which only encourages single family housing. It goes against traditional African housing standards which revolve around multifamily households where family members from different generations can live together. Traditional multi-family neighbourhoods found in rural parts of

Ghana performs better at incorporating low-income citizens and promoting interaction amongst community members. The fact that many high-income neighbourhoods in Accra show good planning characteristics, it does not necessarily mean that they are good for the city. The style of planning for these gated communities do not necessary fit the communal nature of traditional African communities.

Basing neighbourhoods on single family houses separated with tall walls is a practice stemming from colonial times and has become a standard. This practice is not safe in the sense that it attracts intruders. Often times, when an intruder has gained access to a property in a gated community, they are often undetected. As much as high-income neighbourhoods are advertised as safe havens away from the dangerous and dirty slums, these areas are still at risk because of their isolated nature. Until all the planning issues in Accra are addressed in all neighbourhoods, everyone is at risk. When planning in Accra is reversed back to traditional methods where the emphasis is shifted more towards community and less about exclusivity and western individualistic ideals, the city will become more "Just".

Colonisation was for the most part invasive on African culture which introduced foreign values such as individualism. The African aesthetic value and what the sense of beauty means is different from what western society considers beautiful. However, because of colonisation, African aesthetic has been eroded. As Megesa (1997) states: "Every society is obliged to search deep in its history, culture, religion and morality to discover the values upon which its development and liberation, its civilisation and its identity should be based to do otherwise is nothing less than communal suicide" (Magesa, 1997: 9).

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