

Master thesis

Title

Urban Management and Sustainable Development: The case of the squatting and street trading population of Kumasi

By

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The master thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as such. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

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Abstract

The single most important tool for dealing with the challenges that urbanisation presents, especially for cities in developing countries, is management or governance. Urbanisation presents towns and cities and the people who inhabit them with a lot of challenges not ever seen before in human history. Sad to note however, cities in developing countries do not seem to be able to take advantage of these opportunities. They have had to contend with so many challenges that it makes it very difficult for them to seize fully the opportunities that urbanisation presents. Such problems as filth, overcrowding, lack of employment, high rate of crime, inadequate housing facilities, and many others have become the lot of these cities. So the question has often been asked; what are the appropriate strategies for dealing with these urbanisation-induced challenges which appear to have dogged the experience of cities in the South for the greater part of their lives? It is apparent that whatever management strategies that have so far been employed, have not succeeded in dealing adequately with these challenges. Thus, instead of management serving as a tool for dealing with these challenges, it has in itself become a challenge in most cities in the developing world.

Surprisingly, street trading and squatting are two of the biggest challenges facing city authorities in Kumasi. This paper explores how these problems have been managed over the years by the authorities. From this the paper tries to draw lessons about how the problems can be sustainably managed for sustainable development. The Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) which is in charge of managing the city of Kumasi has oft-been accused of using a non-participatory and confrontational approach in dealing with these problems. The study found little evidence to show that the city authorities have in managing these problems adequately involved all major stakeholders. The irony is that, the KMA is itself an organ of local government and a decentralised administrative setup which has as its foundation, popular participation in the process of government.

In the meantime, the UN-HABITAT (2008) calls on governments “to act more proactively on shifts towards participatory management that help create ownership over decision-making and daily management practices” because apparently, it has observed that “state-only” and “market-only” approaches to urban management have failed. The study finds out that participatory management may be the ideal approach especially in the face of the many challenges that the confrontational approach used by the authorities pose to traders, squatters and their families and therefore recommends that the requisite systems are put in place for the realisation of same. Concurrently the study also finds that an integrative or inclusionist orientation with a participatory approach may, given the current prevailing circumstances in Kumasi, be more idealistic than realistic. This is because, such prerequisites as a united strong civil society group to participate in the process of negotiation and deliberation is almost nonexistent. There are also conflicting interests, whose reconciliation will not be easy at all, but which need, in order for a smooth and healthy collaboration among all parties, to be reconciled.

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Declaration

I, Moro Awudu, hereby declare that the thesis: “**Urban Management and Sustainable Development: The case of the squatting and street trading population of Kumasi**”, has not been submitted to any other university than the University of Agder for any type of academic degree.



Moro, Awudu

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List of Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CBD	Central Business District
DHPT	Department of Hawkers and Petty Traders
DFID	Department for International Development
GOV	Government of Ghana
GPRS I	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
GPRS II	Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Country
KMA	Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly
KMA	Ministry of Local Government
LLDC	Least Developed Countries
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UN – Habitat	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
WRI	World Resources Institute

Chapter One (1): Introduction

This chapter of the thesis takes us into the background of the study, states what the problem is and defines some operational concepts. It also seeks to state the objectives of the research, raise the relevant questions, and give an outline of the entire thesis

1. 1 Background

The city of Kumasi has, just like many other cities especially in developing countries, seen a remarkable increase in its population over the past few years. From a population of 218,172 in 1960, Kumasi is now estimated to have over a million and half population (Brinkhoff, 2007; KMA, 2006; Darko, 2003). Many reasons have been adduced as accounting for this remarkable increase. Most prominent among these reasons are: migration from various parts of the country and neighbouring countries to Kumasi due to it being a nodal town and also, natural growth among the population who already inhabit it. Regardless of whatever reasons there may be however, this remarkable growth in population poses some serious challenges, the management of which appears to have been, and continues to be, elusive to the authorities that are in charge of managing the city. Paradoxically, cities present great opportunities which could be harnessed through better management for economic growth (Gilbert, 1999).

Hawking and trading along pavements of major corridors resulting in traffic congestion, and springing up of illegal structures are only two of the challenges that city authorities have to grapple hard with. It is my considered opinion that if the authorities would be able to deal in an adequate and sustainable manner with these and other such challenges, then they stand a good chance of harnessing all the opportunities that the city presents for the development of its people. Sad to note however, the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) which is in charge of managing Kumasi has not been able to deal adequately with these peculiar challenges which the city faces, by reason of urbanisation (Darko 2003). This makes it very difficult to harness fully the opportunities that urbanisation presents, making the city more of a burden for its managers than a blessing.

The Assembly has been observed to be using a non-participatory and confrontational approach to the management of the city, and in dealing with these challenges (Darko 2003). Once in a while, the city authorities conduct swoops on hawkers and squatters, resulting, most of the time, in injury to property and person. Certainly, this is not the way to go as it does not contribute to sustainable development. Moreover, the approach has not worked as squatter settlements continue to spring up and traders continue to pour onto the streets in hordes.

It is important in my opinion that every management strategy, whatever it is, takes into consideration the concerns of the people it seeks to affect. This could be done by engaging the people in not only in the implementation but even right from the making of such strategy. Participation does not only legitimise the process and the concomitant piece of legislation or policy; it also ensures that almost all interests critical for the success of the strategy or policy, are well taken care of, and also that a

broad constituency is built to oversee the process through to its implementation (Brinkerhoff and Crosby, 2002). Consequently, the government or whichever authority that is in charge will feel adequately empowered to deliver the appropriate services; and also serve as an estoppel against the people, by forestalling them from reacting violently to, or opposing, it (Tadesse, et al. 2006). It is in this regard that a study that seeks to assess how the city is managed and whether such management is participatory enough is most relevant.

1. 2 Problem Statement

City authorities in Kumasi have whenever they have felt the need, attempted to rid the city of all nuisance (street stalls and squatter settlements). The Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly on 26th March 2007 embarked on what it termed as phase one of a citywide decongestion exercise. The exercise caused the Assembly 1.122 billion cedis (Metro TV, 2007). This exercise was intended to *remove* all illegal structures, whether they are for commercial purposes or simply for housing, from the city of Kumasi; and also *sack* hawkers and traders from the streets. Although the city authorities were scheduled to have carried on with the second phase of that exercise some months ago, there is no indication that the Assembly will carry on with the exercise anytime soon. Several factors of which politics is most prominent account for the arrest of the exercise. Moreover, if one returns to the decongested parts of the city today, a few months after the exercise which was supposed to have freed the streets and beautified the city, one would immediately realise that the situation is not very different from what it used to be, before the decongestion exercise. In fact, the KMA itself has admitted that the exercise has not been successful (Metro TV, 2007). The question therefore is; why has the decongestion exercise not been successful? It is also important to note that, the 26th March decongestion exercise is not the first of its kind to be carried out by the KMA. This means therefore that the decongestion exercise as has been carried out thus far has not been a sustainable approach to managing the situation. Perhaps something is wrong with the form (the manner in which the exercise was carried out) instead of the substance (the decongestion exercise). Perhaps there could also be a tinkering of both the form and the substance.

The situation is even more worrying when one considers the fact that, a chunk of the meagre resources of the Assembly goes down the drain in such unprofitable fashion. The irony of the situation also is that a significant proportion of the total revenue received by the Metropolitan Assembly comes from trader fees (King 2006, 117. In Skinner 2008, 19) Even more worrying is the fact that a lot of strain and trauma is suffered by the thousands of people who are affected by such exercises. In short, the cost of such exercises of swoops and in some cases, sustained evictions on street traders and squatters is, in the long run, very high for the Assembly as well as the 'victims'. Even where such exercises have succeeded, it is my view that the cost has been very burdensome for the victims considering the fact that many of them have had to lose their sources of income and houses, rendering them homeless and jobless in the aftermath of –sad to note- even the failed decongestion exercises. It also is a drain on the resources of the Assembly, more so when it does not succeed. Certainly, there is the need to understand the problem and deal with it in a holistic manner instead of what appears to be a knee jerk reaction.

It is also important to note that the population engaged in street trading and hawking especially are most likely to be dwelling in poor neighbourhoods, slums and squatter settlements also. This is because they, more often than not, make up the poor of society. In other words, it is important to appreciate that though street trading and squatting may appear to be separate problems and different from each other, they could nonetheless be considered as one; to the extent that it is the urban poor, who are more often than not, engaged in them both. This perhaps explains why the authorities seem to deal with both problems in like manner and most of the time, at the same time. A policy intended to rid the city of squatter settlements, hawkers and traders inherently has in the depths of its bosom a denial of shelter and job to those affected by it. Every such policy must therefore, in my opinion, have a strategy to give to the people what it may inadvertently take from them. This requires the cooperation of the people who in this case are the squatters and street traders. I therefore ask whether the management plan which have constantly failed, have been participatory. A research is without doubt necessary to fully understand what the problem really is.

1. 3 Definition of Concepts

“A theory, indeed, can be checked only if we know how to recognize the facts of which it is intended to give an account”, says Durkheim. According to him one of the principal rules for conducting research in the Social Sciences is that, the researcher ought “to define the things he treats, in order that his subject matter may be known” (1938: 35). In this light, I have attempted to bring some clarity to the topic under study by defining some words that I think are key.

Street Trading: Street trading in this paper refers to the act of buying and selling on the streets especially involving small scale enterprises. It is important to note that some shades of street trading (which surprisingly could be considered large scale) have been regularised and are therefore considered legitimate. For instance in Kumasi, licences have been given for stores and some businesses to operate along some streets. This category may not necessarily be our focus in this paper. In this paper, hawking is considered to be a type of street trading, and where appropriate it may be used in a synecdochical manner to refer to the generic term of street trading depending on the point being made. Hawking, according to the KMA, “means any person who sells or offers or exposes for sale, goods of any description in a place than a recognised market or in his dwelling house or shop and includes an assistant employed by such person” (1995).

Squatter Settlement: A squatter in this research refers to someone who without right settles on a land. Such person may have the intention of regularising his/her occupancy of such land or he/she may never think of acquiring the right of occupancy. A squatter settlement is therefore a settlement that is illegally set up and occupied. Such settlements may grow into slums but it is important to note that a squatter settlement is not necessarily a slum. Also worthy of note is the fact that, in terms of amenities and other basic requirements of inhabitancy, both a slum and a

squatter settlement may be commonly classified. To this extent, a squatter settlement is sometimes categorised as a type of slum (UN-HABITAT, 2008: 84). In this paper therefore, a squatter and a slum-dweller mean the same thing.

Sustainability: Sustainability in this research is concerned with ensuring that, outcomes of management decisions are successful and continue for a long time. In that case, management outcomes that are short-lived cannot meet the sustainability requirement. Here, it also involves less cost to both the authorities and those affected by such attempts to manage urbanisation. Sustainability also is concerned with ensuring that all interest groups are well catered for, without comprising in any injurious measure to the interest of one against the other.

Urbanisation: “Statistically, urbanisation reflects an increasing proportion of the population living in settlements defined as urban, primarily through net rural to urban migration. The level of urbanisation is the percentage of the total population living in towns and cities while the rate of urbanisation is the rate at which it grows” (UNFPA, 2007). Urbanisation thus involves a complete transformation in the cultural, social and economic spheres of the life of a people. In this paper, urbanisation is used interchangeably with urban growth as well as with the rate of urbanisation.

1. 4 Objective and Research Questions

The overall objective of the study is to assess to what extent city authorities are managing urbanisation issues - such as squatting and street trading – in a manner that is conducive to economic and social development (or managing urban challenges in a sustainable manner) in the Kumasi Metropolis? The research questions that the study seeks to probe and find specific answers to are:

- ❖ What is the perception of the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly on the challenges of squatting and street trading?
- ❖ What strategies and plans have been formulated to deal with these challenges? Does the city authority have a comprehensive plan to deal with the current and future challenges?
- ❖ How participatory are such plans?
- ❖ How sustainable are such plans and strategies?
- ❖ What has accounted for the failure of previous attempts, and how have these influenced the formulation of subsequent plans?
- ❖ What is the perception of those affected by such plans about the management plan by these authorities?
- ❖ To what extent have squatters, street traders and hawkers gone along with the city authorities in their attempt to rid the city of the emerging squatter settlements and trading in illegitimate places?
- ❖ What are the barriers to creating synergy and effective cooperation between traders and squatters on one hand and the KMA on the other hand?

1. 5 Personal Motivation

On more than a dozen occasions, I have been a witness of streets, especially around Kejetia, and squatter settlements in Kumasi, being thrown into spots of utter confusion, with traders and squatters running helter skelter, clinging on to their wares and property (and justifiably so) as if their entire lives depended on it. What it took on each instance to set off and set up these states of confusion, as funny as it may appear (particularly if one was observing it for the first time), was a simple sound of alarm that city authorities were approaching and ‘marauding’ the streets and the settlements. In the pandemonium that ensued thereof, a lot of, damages were caused to property and injuries to the targeted persons. On each of these occasions, I have always wondered and asked myself if there was a better way to deal with the problem of street trading (assuming that it is indeed a problem) and squatting.

I have noticed also that, despite the hostile attitude showed by city authorities to the act of street trading and those engaged in it, the number of traders keeps on increasing with each passing day; and so it is with the number of squatters. Upon doing some research, I found out that these were phenomena whose tide may be difficult to stem unless a more sustainable means of addressing them were fashioned out.

More than the anxiety that I have witnessed street traders and squatters suffer, and the increase in the number of squatters which I have observed, I felt motivated to do research on the subject matter because of concerns I have had (arising out of our approach so far in Ghana) regarding urban management especially where it directly affects people and the implications thereof, for sustainable development. I hope that this paper will help all of us to better manage our urban centres for a more sustainable development.

1. 6 Organisation of the Thesis

The remaining of the thesis is organised thus:

Chapter 2 deals with the research area. It presents and discusses characteristics and issues in the research area that are relevant to the topic.

Chapter 3 presents a review of literature on the subject matter and also, puts the whole treatise into proper perspective by discussing the theoretical framework underpinning the this paper.

Chapter 4 discusses the methodology used and the specific tools used in conducting the research.

Chapter 5 presents findings made. It also analyses and discusses these findings in the light of the theoretical framework. It also concludes the thesis with some recommendations

Chapter 6 concludes the paper by recapping the essence of the entire discussion.

Chapter Two (2): Research Area

This chapter of the thesis discusses the research area of Kumasi, Ghana. These discussions are meant to serve as background check which helps us to put the findings, analysis and conclusions into proper context. Issues of the Ghanaian economy and issues of land are of significant relevance to this study and I will therefore take some time to dilate more on them, in order for us to appreciate the milieu within which the urban poor operate.

2. 1 Country Profile – Ghana

2.1.1 Introduction



Fig 1: Ghana Flag

In his description of Africa, the founding father of Ghana aptly said that Africa was a paradox (Nkrumah, 1965). In Africa, there is “poverty in the midst of plenty, and scarcity in the midst of abundance”, he avers (Nkrumah 1961). He observed that despite her riches, the continent was still largely very poor. As a Ghanaian president (as Kwame Nkrumah then was), I reckon that he was largely informed in his description of Africa by the Ghanaian situation. The country Ghana is very rich in such natural resources as gold, bauxite, timber, diamond, cocoa, rubber and recently also oil; yet poverty is quite widespread and pervasive. The situation has not changed much since Kwame Nkrumah made those observations, regardless of the many policies and programmes (SAP, GPRS I and II, etc) that have subsequently been put in place to arrest and reverse the situation. Therefore, the government in 2002 was forced to declare the country as a Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) (CIA, 2002). To the extent that none of the programmes so far put in place has succeeded in ameliorating the situation, I will describe Ghana as not only a paradox but a mystery as well. Nonetheless, several reasons have been advanced to explain the mystery of why poverty still persists despite the many programmes intended to reduce it. Principal amongst them are corruption and mismanagement (BBC, 2009).

However, it is worth mentioning that poverty rates have been on the decline over the past few decades, dropping from 52% in 1991/1992 to 26% in 2005/2006. Even so, Weinstein (2003) posits that, “Ghana cannot grow out of poverty – at least not on its own”. He submits that though “Ghana represents sub-Saharan Africa’s best chance to grow out of poverty”; it will be difficult for it to free itself from the strings of poverty due to its dire economic situation manifested in its weak and poor state institutions, as well as a seriously poverty-stricken population. Nonetheless, Ghana is making great strides in attaining many of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). For instance, the total number of children in school at the primary level, irrespective of age, increased from 94% in 2006/2007 to 95% in 2007/2008 (DFID, 2008).

A very worrying feature of Ghana's development that is worth mentioning is its lopsided nature. There is a sharp gap between the northern parts of Ghana and the southern parts, with the southern parts being more developed than the northern parts. The north-south divide has been as legendary as it has been gaping. Various governments up to the present one have tried, by putting in place programmes and policies, to narrow the gap but sad to note, the gap seems to be widening instead. The northern parts have constantly been plagued with inter and intra ethnic conflicts, and it has been argued by many observers that such conflicts have contributed to the lack of development and poverty in those parts. It is, however, very difficult to say which causes which: whether lack of development begets conflicts or whether conflicts beget lack of development. But there is no doubt whatsoever in my mind that accelerated development is much needed in the northern parts of Ghana so as not only to narrow the north-south divide but also minimise the proclivity of people to engage in conflict at the least provocation. At least, it is not in doubt that either can lead to the other.

2.1.2 Geography and Topography

Geographically, Ghana is capped by Burkina Faso to the north and northwest, bordered by Togo to the East and Cote d'Ivoire to the west. The Gulf of Guinea washes its southern shores. The country lies between latitude 4° and 11° north of the Equator. It occupies a total land area of 238, 533 square kilometres (about the same size as the state of Oregon in the United States) (BBC 2008). As a country in the tropics, Ghana has a climate which is warm and dry along the south-eastern coast; hot and humid in the south-western parts; and in the north, it is hot and dry (CIA, 2009). It goes without saying that due to global warming and climate change, the rainfall pattern in the country has become somewhat unpredictable. Clearly, the vegetation and forest cover is also receding rather faster for a country that has an economy that is agro-based.



Fig 2: Map of Ghana

2.1.3 Historical Background

Originally known as the Gold Coast, the area that is currently called Ghana has been a colony more than it has been a republic. For over a century, the British and other European powers ruled it. The Portuguese were the first to anchor their vessel on its shores and set up a trading settlement in “da Mina” which means ‘the mine’ (now Elmina) in 1482. Thence came the Danes, the Dutch, the British and the Swedes. As has already been alluded to, Ghana is very rich in natural resources; so all the while, they were engaged in trading with the people until the English proclaimed the coastal areas as a British Colony in 1874. Formal colonialism and foreign rule then took off, sometimes meeting very fierce resistances from the people, resulting in such wars as the Sagrenti War of 1873/74 and the Yaa Asantewaa War of 1901 between the British and the Ashantis. Such resistances, which had such a massive appeal among the general population imbued in the people of the Gold Coast the spirit of nationalism, patriotism and such other values that made it possible for the British to be pushed into considering the option of giving up on their rule of the people. It must be said that these resistances were not only physical but also intellectual as well. In fact, it was the intelligentsia who led the struggle and I daresay that the struggle, was won (when it was won) on the intellectual level before it was won on the field. Notwithstanding the resistance and the struggle, it was not until only fifty two years ago, that the country gained its independence.

It was on 6th March 1957 that the Union Jack of England came down and in its stead, the red, gold, green flag of Ghana got hoisted, signifying independence. By this, Ghana became the first country south of the Sahara to gain independence. Nominally

and politically Ghana may be independent, but is it really independent? Such problems as hunger, disease, poverty, lack of shelter, lack of potable water and shelter to the majority of its citizens appear to belie the fact of Ghana's independence. What is political independence when economically and morally, the country is still heavily dependent on foreign powers. It is in the light of such problems that we must understand the 'ingenious' measures (squatting, street trading and such other ones that may not necessarily be harmless) that people have adopted in order that they may eke out a living.

Ghana is now considered a very peaceful country with a relatively maturing democracy. However, it has not been all smooth-sailing. In the not-too-distant past, Ghana was consorting and experimenting with coup d'états (albeit intermittently). There have been about five military interventions in the government of Ghana since independence. Hence, it is oft-described as having a chequered history. After independence, expectations, hopes and aspirations were very high especially because of the seven year development plan of the Nkrumah administration which had as its bedrock the need to rapidly industrialise and the vigorous attempt at its implementation; but they were soon to be dashed. Hopes were also very high because of the huge foreign reserves that the Nkrumah government inherited. The first military take-over occurred on February 24, 1966, badly interrupting the first post-independence development efforts. It was followed by other putsches, notable amongst them being the December 1981 revolution which lasted for eleven years. Now, Ghana is considered as a model of democracy and good governance in Africa. Since 1992 when the fourth republican constitution was launched, there have been two peaceful transfers of power from a governing party to an opposing party.

2.1.4. Political Structure

Ghana is a unitary state with Accra as its capital. It is divided into ten administrative regions; (Greater Accra Region, Central Region, Western Region, Eastern Region, Ashanti, Volta Region, Upper East Region, Upper West Region, Northern Region and Brong Ahafo Region) each headed by a Regional Minister who is appointed by the President and serves as the administrative and political head.

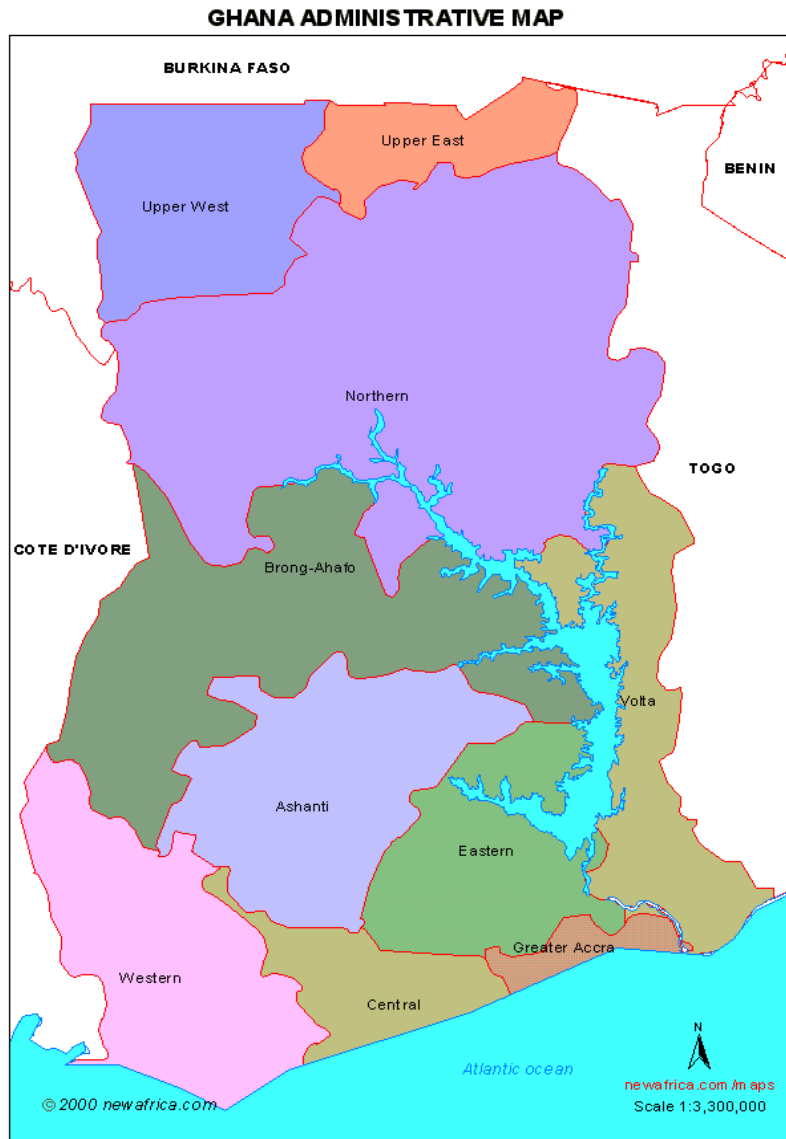


Fig 3: Map of Ghana

Ghana also practices a decentralised administration or local government system which is run by metropolitan/ municipal/ district assemblies. This system of administration was established by the local government law (PNDC Law 207 of 1988) with a view to effectively decentralise government functions. Currently, there are about 128 district assemblies; each headed by a Metropolitan/Municipal/District Chief Executive who is appointed by the President and approved by members of the Assembly. A metropolitan/ municipal/ district assembly is made up of seventy percent (70%) elected and thirty percent (30%) government-appointed members. Elected members are members who have been duly elected by the people of an electoral area, so demarcated by the Electoral Commission. For the purposes of a more effective decentralised administration, a metropolitan assembly is further divided into sub-metros. A sub-metro may be made up electoral areas which may be so determined by the Assembly. An electoral area is also divided into units that are manned by a committee whose members are also elected.

Ghana has a very elaborate local government system as I have sought to indicate above but I have observed that in practice decisions do not most of the times emanate from the bottom. Almost all unit committees are not functioning well and where they have tried to work, they have been faced with the problem of lack of commitment by both the authorities and the members. After almost two decades of practice therefore, there is the need for some modification in order to make it more effective. For instance, Assembly members as well as unit committee members are not salaried and it has been suggested that the unsalaried nature of such important positions makes it difficult for these officers to be committed; and for competent people to be attracted.

2.1.5 The People of Ghana

Ghana is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious religious society, thus making it very difficult to discuss in fine detail, its social structure as a country. In some instances in the past, this attribute has sparked some interethnic, intra-ethnic, interreligious and intra-religious conflicts. On the whole, Ghanaians have tried to peacefully coexist, more especially in urban areas due primarily to the cosmopolitan nature of such areas. The major religions of Christianity, Islam and traditional African beliefs have very ardent large followings. As per the 2000 population census, just over 5% of Ghanaians are considered not to belong to any religion at all. Christians make up 68.8%, (Pentecostal/Charismatic 24.1%, Protestant 18.6%, Catholic 15.1%, other 11%), Muslims make up 15.9%, traditional religion adherents constitute 8.5%, other smaller religions (such as Eckankar) 0.7%, and those who do not belong to any religion at all 6.1% (CIA 2008). However, Ghana is a declared secular state with no one religion given undue advantage. Also, the ethnic mix of Ghana is made up of Akan (45.3%), Mole-Dagbani (15.2%), Ewe (11.7%), Ga-Dangme (7.3%), Guan (4%), Gurma (3.6%), Grusi (2.6%), Mande-Busanga (1%), other ethnic groups (1.4%) and other people who speak languages that may not necessarily be considered Ghanaian (7.8%) (CIA 2008). English is however the official national language.

Ghana is currently estimated to have a population of about 23, 832, 495 people. A closer look shows that majority of the population is youthful: 37. 3% are between 0 – 14 years, 59.1% between 15 – 64 years while only 3.6% are 65 years and above. The life expectancy at birth is also 59.85 years (CIA 2008). Ghana's population could therefore be said to be quite active and alive with vitality and exuberance that must be harnessed for development, given the right conditions. But such conditions do not appear to exist for the majority of these people, especially those in the urban centres.

2.1.6 The economy of Ghana

Ghana's economy is mainly agro-based; with as many as 60% of the population engaged in it, either directly or indirectly. The services sector also employs quite a substantial number of people (26%) also (CIA 2008). Despite all the talk (especially by its founding father, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah) about the need to industrialise as quickly as possible, the industrial sector employs only 15% of the population. In recent times, there has been a lot of debate about the need to diversify the economy

into the services sector especially, considering that the whole world is said to be in the information age. It is important to point out also that a lot of Ghanaians are engaged in the informal sector for which relevant and adequate data and information has been a challenge. This paucity of data on the informal sector makes it very difficult to properly plan for them and integrate them into the main economy. Interestingly, the term ‘informal economy’ was first coined by Hart (1973 in Skinner 2006) after he conducted an anthropological study on employment in the urban centre of Ghana (Accra). The result of the dearth of information is that the government of Ghana is not able to maximise the full benefits of this sector by raking in the required taxes. It is worth noting that as many as about 60% of the population in Kumasi are estimated to be engaged in the informal sector. Such people are mostly engaged in buying and selling in sometimes rather obscure spaces and on the streets (ILO, 2002).

2. 2 Urbanisation in Ghana

Ghana has over the past few decades been experiencing a very rapid spate of urbanisation. This rapid spate of urbanisation is however not different from that of other sub-Saharan African countries. The number of Ghana’s urban population (i.e. the number living in towns and cities) has increased from 9% in 1931 to 31.3% in 1984 and 43.8% in 2000 (Yankson, 2006). Urbanisation in Ghana is mainly focused in Accra, Tema, Tamale, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi and Cape Coast. Accra is the foremost urban centre in Ghana, not because of its size but because it is the national capital. Sekondi-Takoradi and Cape Coast are also important urban centres because of the fishing industry that is associated with these coastal towns.

There are other smaller towns which also play very important roles in absorbing the many people who literally troop almost on a daily basis to urban centres. Yankson has, however, observed that since 1960, there has been a progressive decline in the role of small towns, in terms of numbers and their contribution to the urban population. He observes that the same applies to middle-sized towns also. A prominent feature of Ghana’s urbanisation is the fast growing suburban areas around the cities of Accra, Tema and Kumasi. In the case of Accra, areas such as Kasoa and Madina can easily be cited. In Kumasi also, such areas as Ejisu and other surrounding towns are experiencing a rapid increase in their populations. This in my view indicates that we may not only be confronted with a rapid spate of urbanisation but of suburbanisation also. (Yankson, 2006)

A cursory look at Ghana’s growing urban population reveals a bias in favour of cities and towns in the Southern parts. As I have already said somewhere in this chapter, development in Ghana is skewed towards the south; and so is urbanisation. Cities in the south, such as Accra, Kumasi, Tema and Sekondi-Takoradi are more urbanised (in terms of culture and other urban attributes) than other cities and towns in the north (Tamale, Bolgatanga, Wa, Navrongo and Bawku) that still have their rural markings. What I mean by this is that the difference between cities in the South of Ghana and cities in the North in terms of urbanisation – as it relates to culture, number of people who troop there etc – are quite glaring.

The prime urban centres in Ghana are mostly characterised by challenges like filth, hunger, sprawling slums, poverty, overcrowding etc. as were characterised by earlier European urban centres. This puts undue strain on authorities who are in charge of managing these urban centres. These challenges are compounded by the lack of employment especially in the formal sector, thereby making the urban population more vulnerable and with a higher propensity to being careless about their environment. This is because their prime instinct is that of survival, and so they concentrate first and foremost on such survival needs as food, clothing and shelter.

2. 3 The City of Kumasi

2.3.1 Profile

Named the “Garden city of West Africa” due to its greenery and beautiful trees, the city of Kumasi was founded in the seventeenth century by King Osei Tutu I to serve as the capital of the Asante State. Kumasi is even said to be a pre-colonial state (UN-Habitat, 2008: 81). As a matter of course, the city of Kumasi, given its strategic location and political importance, developed into a major commercial centre with almost all major trading routes converging on it. Kumasi was annexed as part of the Gold Coast in the late 19th century. Thence, the city began to grow making it second only to Accra in terms of population size, social life and economic activity. In the current administrative setup, it serves as the capital of the Ashanti Region (KMA, 2006).



Photo 1: The Central Business District of Kumasi and ‘18’ (by Awudu Moro)

2.3.2 Geography and Topography

Kumasi is located in the transitional forest zone and is about 270km north of the national capital, Accra. It is between latitude 6.35° – 6.40° and longitude 1.30° – 1.35°, an elevation which ranges between 250 – 300 metres above sea level with an area of about 254 sqkm. The unique centrality of the city as a traversing point from all parts of the country makes it a special place for many to migrate to (KMA, 2006).

This explains why the city has a higher rate of urbanization relative to the national annual growth rate of 3.11% (UN-Habitat, 2008: 76).

The Metropolis falls within the wet sub-equatorial type. The average minimum temperature is about 21.5°C and a maximum average temperature of 30.7°C. The average humidity is about 84.16 per cent at 0900 GMT and 60 per cent at 1500 GMT. The moderate temperature and humidity, and the double maxima rainfall pattern (214.3mm in June and 165.2mm in September) have a direct effect on population growth and the environment as it serves as an attraction for people from other parts of the country (especially the North) and beyond its frontiers to the city. This is chiefly because the climatic conditions are not that inclement making it possible for everybody else to easily settle there (KMA 2006).

The city falls within the moist semi-deciduous south-east ecological zone. Predominant species of trees found are Ceiba, Triplochlon, Celtis and other exotic species. The major soil type of the metropolis is the Forest Ochrosol. The detailed soil associations are the following: Kumasi - Offin Compound Association; Bomso – Offin Compound Association; Nhyanao - Tinkong Association; Bomso – Suko Simple Association; Bekwai – Oda Compound Association and Bekwai – Akumadan – Oda Compound Association. It is a very rich type of soil that has made it possible for a lot of foodstuff (vegetables, plantain, cassava etc) to be grown in the periphery. However, the rapid spate of urbanization the city continues to experience has caused the depletion of most nature reserves and agricultural lands because of their conversion into residential and industrial usage (KMA 2006).

The Kumasi Metropolis lies within the plateau of the south–west physical region which ranges from 250-300 meters above sea level. The topography is undulating. The city is traversed by major rivers and streams, which include the Subin, Wiwi, Sisai, Owabi, Aboabo and Nsuben among others. However, biotic activity in terms of estate development, encroachment and indiscriminate waste disposal practices have impacted negatively on the drainage system and have consequently brought these water bodies to the brink of extinction (KMA 2006)

The Kumasi Metropolis is dominated by the Middle Precambrian Rock. This geological structure has both positive and negative impacts on the local economy of the metropolis. The very existence of the Precambrian Rock has led to the development of the construction industry. There are a few small-scale mining activities and also a proliferation of stone quarrying and sand winning industries. Even though these have created employment opportunities, the uncontrolled extraction of these resources poses some environmental danger (KMA 2006).

As has already been pointed out, agriculture in the Metropolis has seen a dramatic change in the last two decades due to rapid urbanization. The demand for land for residential, industrial or commercial use has become much greater than its demand for agricultural use. It has been estimated that, as a consequence, about 80% of arable lands have been by the construction of residential houses and other physical infrastructure. (KMA, 2006).

2.3.3 The Natural Environment of Kumasi

As has already been noted above, the Kumasi Metropolis falls within the moist semi-deciduous section of the South East Ecological Zone; and is drained by a number of rivers and streams. But as a result of the effects of the urban sprawl and population growth, the natural environment has been altered. Estate developers have encroached upon the green reserves. In addition to this, the water bodies have been greatly polluted from human activity to the extent that some are near extinction. Even the few patches of greens along the waterways have been cleared for agricultural purposes leading to siltation. Some developers have also built along and across watercourses resulting in occasional flooding in some areas in Kumasi. Industrial and vehicular emissions have also affected the quality of air in the city (KMA 2006). Also, the urban poor have established informal settlements in these areas, thereby compounding the problem.

2.3.4 The Built Environment of Kumasi

The passage of the Town and Country Planning Ordinance, Cap 84, marked the genesis of organized development of Kumasi in 1945. The Plan designated Kumasi as the “Garden City of West Africa” and declared the city among other regional capitals as a statutory planning area. This and other Planning Schemes (the Kumasi Outline Planning Scheme implemented from 1963 to 1988) sought in broad terms to provide the framework for Social, Economic, Physical, Infrastructure and Environmental growth of the city (KMA 2006).

It is estimated that 48%, 46% and 6% of the Metropolis are urban, peri-urban and rural respectively, confirming the fast rate of urbanization. The Kumasi Metropolis has a growth rate of 3.69% and is expected to have a population of 2, 393, 000 by the year 2020 (UN-Habitat 2008, p. 176). In terms of housing types the city has been categorized into high-income area, government area, indigenous areas and tenement area, thereby creating urban fragmentation. It is also home to a number of lumber and saw milling firms and two giant breweries and a bottling company along the Anloga – Ahinsan – Kaase stretch. It has a total of 846km of road network but much of it remains unpaved (KMA 2006).

The high rate of population growth coupled with the high migrant numbers has outstripped the rate of infrastructure development and service provision. Most of the facilities have exceeded their carrying capacities. Lands in the newly developing suburbs have not been serviced, hence estate development precedes the provision of water, telephone facilities and electricity. It is estimated that about 24% of all residential structures are uncompleted (KMA 2006).

The Kumasi Metropolis has in recent times been experiencing both human and vehicular traffic congestion, particularly in the Central Business District (CBD). As a result of the dominance of the distributive trade in the city’s economy the CBD and all the principal streets have been taken over by hawkers. The erection of wooden structures including kiosks and metal containers along the streets and on any available

space is a common sight and these have greatly blighted the beauty of the city (KMA 2006).

The city's Authorities have therefore been groping for solutions to contain the waste management problems. Flooding is a common phenomenon in some parts of the city especially during the rainy season with occasional cholera outbreak (KMA 2006). And with the increasing numbers of the city population, these problems are compounded.

2.3.5 Impact of Human Activity on Kumasi

The outbreak of bushfires is a rare phenomenon in the metropolis. However, the environment of the city has been characterised with solid and liquid waste, land degradation, surface water and ground water pollution as a result of human activity for several years (KMA 2006).

I) Solid and Liquid Waste Management

The problem of waste management in the metropolis has also been a nagging problem for quite some time now. The city is estimated to generate about 500,000kg of solid waste daily based on the current projected population of 1,610,867 (2006). It is expected to go up by 15% by the year 2010. The Waste Management Department of KMA appears to be overwhelmed by the task of hauling all the solid waste produced in the city. The task is so daunting that KMA has become synonymous with Waste Management. The use of plastic bags as packages for drinking water and other wares and the proliferation of fast foods which package cooked food in Styrofoam, and the indiscriminate disposal of these materials in the environment is an eye sore in the metropolis. These waste materials are bio non – degradable (KMA 2006).

In terms of liquid waste management in the metropolis, some achievements have been made, but much still remains to be done.

- a. The Komfo Anokye Hospital waste water currently flows into a wetland behind the Volta River Authority Power Station at Nhyiaeso. Action needs to be taken to address this environmental and sanitation problem.
- b. The Asafo Sewerage Works. The sewage received at this point is treated prior to discharge into the Nsuben stream. The effluent looks good except that the indicator organisms exceed the EPA guideline values.
- c. The Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology liquid waste from the Halls of residence and septage collected from staff residences on and off campus is dumped on the University Compound near the treatment plant, which has broken down. Taro and sugarcane farms use the valley, which receives this sewage and septage. This water gradually seeps into the Wiwi stream and is used by vegetable farmers (KMA 2006).

II Land Degradation

The major land degradation issues are the encroachment of forest reserves, green belts, wetlands and open areas. Some of the people involved have legal documents covering these parcels of encroached lands thereby making it difficult to assess the

source of the problems. The areas of grave concerns are the Owabi and Offin watersheds, which are the source of water for the city and surrounding towns. Sacred groves continue to suffer from encroachment. Areas reserved as greenbelts have been taken over by shops of all sorts and small scale industries eg. garages, soap and palm kernel oil extraction (KMA 2006).

The Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, which used to be a virgin forest has been rapidly degraded into farmlands. Wetlands in the area have all been degraded for farming activities. Farmers operating on the vicinity have diverted the course of the Wiwi stream, which flows through the University.

The improper disposal of sawn dust and other pollutants by carpenters and other related woodworks at Anloga into the Sisai stream threaten its flow and life. Charcoal burning takes place extensively in this area thereby sending fumes of smoke and other pollutants into the air.

III Water Pollution

The extent of water pollution in the metropolis is worrying and the situation continues to exacerbate. This is as a result of the flouting of fundamental hygienic practices in the metropolis. Effluent is discharged into the Nsuben River from the Septage treatment plant at Kaase. At Anloga, toilets have been built on the Sisai stream. The extent of pollution suffered by the streams that traverse the metropolis is so devastating that they can only be used as sewer lines.

2.3.6 Land in Kumasi

In discussing the problems of squatting and street trading in Ghana and in Kumasi in particular, it is very important that we take a close look at what the landscape of the Metropolis is, how land is managed, who the owners of these lands are, and such other pertinent issues regarding land. This is because of the importance that land has in residential as well as commercial and industrial purposes. For instance, the issue of affordability and accessibility to land especially by the poor may contribute to the creation of such informal settlements as squatter settlements.

I) Aesthetic Features

The Kumasi Metropolis is limited in the area of urban beautification and landscaping. There are plans to beautify and landscape tourist sites and the city centre generally to enable her regain the accolade of a Garden City. It is envisaged that Planners and Highway Engineers will articulate this in any structure planning design (KMA, 2006).

II) Land Ownership

Ownership of land can be categorized into three. These three categories are dubbed as Part I, Part II and Part III.

The Part I lands are stool lands and have been vested in the President of the Republic of Ghana in trust for the Golden Stool. These lands are public and its status is

attributable to various laws culminating in the promulgation of the Administration of Lands Act, Act 123, 1962. The entire CBD falls under this category, as well as portions of Amakom, Asokwa, Asafo, Bantama, Manhyia and Dicheonso.

Part II Lands are pure stool lands held in trust by caretaker chiefs for the Golden Stool. These lands constitute about 60% of the entire landmass of the Kumasi Planning area.

A third category is those acquired in the public interest for various uses by law. Prominent government lands include 300 feet both directions from the centerline of Kumasi – Offinso, Kumasi – Mampong and Kumasi – Sunyani trunk roads. The Road Appropriation Ordinance of 1902 vests these lands in the Government. The vast area in the Ridge Residential area is state land. Another category of lands under public ownership includes right of ways, sanitary sites, railway reservations, open spaces and public school lands (KMA 2006).

III) The Land Market

There are no freehold grants of land in Kumasi. Customarily therefore, stool lands are not to be sold. The sale of stool or Government lands is statutorily barred. Leasehold rights are however acquired for the various categories of users: residential – 99 years, commercial/industrial/Civic – cultural – 50 years, petrol stations – 21 years.

The stock of state lands has been exhausted. Private land acquisition is through negotiation with caretaker chiefs. As a result of the surge in urban population, the demand for land for housing and other uses has soured up due to speculation. Prices of plots along the major roads are relatively high. This is because the servicing of lands does not precede development so people prefer those lands that are easily accessible thereby forcing up prices. The prices of land therefore tend to reduce as you move away from the roads. Incidentally, lands along the radial routes of Kumasi – Mampong, Kumasi – Ejisu, Kumasi – Offinso and Kumasi – Kuntanase have been developed almost to the statutory boundaries of the city (KMA 2006).

The increase in economic activity has led to an increase in the demand for all categories of land use ie residential, commercial, industrial, civic and culture. Residential plot of 100 x 100 feet is sold for between ₵70 – ₵100 million at Abrepo, Oduom, Ahwiaa and other areas of similar class. Undeveloped residential plots at Atasomanso with average size of 0.3 and 0.4 of an acre is sold between ₵300 - ₵400 million per plot. Residential plots in the first class residential areas such as Nhyiaeso, Danyame, Ahodwo and Asokwa where infrastructural facilities in terms of motorable roads, telephone, electricity, water are well developed and laid attract values of about \$150,000 - \$200,000. Less developed areas such as Atonsu, Buokrom etc command lower values. In view of the structure of the metropolitan economy as being distributive (wholesaling and retailing), residential accommodation along the roads and streets are being converted into commercial uses (shops). This is so because the latter engenders higher returns. Shops in the Central Business District of Adum and those at Roman Hill attract goodwill close to ₵400 million and ₵300 million respectively (equivalent of almost US\$ 27,000 and US\$ 20,000 respectively) (KMA, 2006).

There is a great demand for industrial and commercial warehousing facilities. Those that are in existence are on owner occupied basis. Prominent land delivery agencies in the metropolis include the State Housing Company, the Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT), Parakuo Estates and a host of others. The Kwadaso, Patase, Pankrono, Buokrom Estates were developed by the State Housing Company (KMA 2006).

IV) Land Management in the Metropolis

The Statutory Land Management agencies are the Lands Commission Secretariat, Town and Country Planning Department, Survey Department, Land Title Registry, Land Valuation Board, City Engineers Department and the Asantehene Lands Secretariat of the Kumasi Traditional Council. The Lands Commission Secretariat is the repository of records on stool and Government Land transactions. Representatives of the above mentioned agencies serve on the Kumasi Planning Committee. The procurement of land in the public interest and for public purposes as administered by the Land Commission is a centralized process. There is a Permanent Site Committee, which has the Regional Lands Officer as Secretary. The Regional Minister has to endorse the recommendations of the committee before they are submitted to the Minister of Lands and Forestry for publication and execution of instruments.

There is a complex procedure involved in the acquisition and leasing of stool lands. The prospective allottee has to first meet the caretaker chief for negotiation and this involves the payment of what is termed “drink money” to the latter by the former. A note of allocation containing the agreement required that annual rents are paid and a clause therein enjoins the allottee to develop the site within a specified timeframe. It behoves on the allottee to deposit the allocation note with the Lands Secretariat of the Kumasi Traditional Council (KMA 2006).

Thereafter, Liaison Officer writes to the Lands Commission Secretariat for confirmation before endorsement by the Asantehene and this is subject to the payment of one-third of the “drink money”. The Lands Commission Secretariat upon submission to it by the Liaison officer prepares a substantive lease with appropriate covenants. The caretaker chief and the Asantehene as the confirming party send the completed lease back to the Liaison Officer for execution. The executed lease is then sent to the Lands Commission for concurrence and registration. No alienation of stool or government land may be subjected to concurrence or grant of lease until it is satisfied that it is in harmony with the development drawn up for the area (KMA 2006).

Chapter Three (3): Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Chapter Three reviews relevant literature on such concepts as urbanisation and urban management with special reference to sustainable development, and how they, –not just as concepts but practically- affect especially cities in developing countries. It also puts the whole thesis into proper perspective by discussing the theoretical framework and themes underpinning this study.

3.10 Urbanisation Trends: Global and Local

The growth of cities has been observed to be the single largest influence on development in the 21st century (Yankson, 2006). This is because, it is expected that for the first time, half of the world's population (would have) will, by the year 2007, live (been living) in towns and cities. More than that, the world's urban population was expected in 2004 to double in about thirty-eight years' time (UN, 2004). Much of this growth will occur in cities of developing countries and it is expected that by the year 2030, 3.93 billion out of a total of 4.94 billion of the world's urban population will be living in towns and cities of the developing world. Considering that as recent as 1850 (bearing in mind that the human species has inhabited the earth for over two million years), only five percent of the world's population was living in urban centres, the growth of cities could be described as a recent phenomenon (Robertson, 1981).

Already, the city of Kumasi has started experiencing its fair share of urbanisation through the dramatic growth of its population. This growth is traceable partly to the strategic location of the city along major trading routes of the Western, Northern and Eastern corridors of the country. Attracted by this, a lot of people come from within and without the country, to settle there. Also, other factors such as the search for “greener pastures” push a lot of people from the rural hinterlands of the country to the city. Most of these people are usually not educated, and so feeling frustrated, they settle down to trading and hawking at unauthorised places, or engaging in (such) other informal economic activities, sometimes creating squatter settlements at illegal suburbs. Lastly, births caused by a high rate of fertility also engender a natural increase in the population.

This trend does not differ markedly from what pertains in other African and Least Developed Countries (LLDCs). In 1970, only 25 percent of the population of least developed countries lived in urban areas. By 1994 however, almost forty percent had become urban dwellers. In fact, while the current average growth rate of urban population in the least developed regions is 3.5 per cent per annum, the growth rate in the developed regions is 1 percent (WRI 1996). The implication of this is that the least developed regions are growing rapidly at a rate that is putting strain on their resources, resulting in very bad conditions that are sometimes dreadful even to imagine. What makes the situation in these regions more precarious is the lack of “opportunities” that the developed countries gave to their urban dwellers and those who trooped to them. Unfortunate as it may be, the fact is that urbanisation in developing countries has not been accompanied by a high level of economic

development (as was the case in Western Europe), thereby limiting such opportunities as jobs and shelter for the many people who travel to these cities.

3. 20 Urbanisation: Implications for cities in developing countries

“Cities embody the diversity and energy of human pursuits. They are in many ways remarkable engines of economic and social progress. Cities offer employment opportunities, entertainment and other amenities, and potential efficiencies not found elsewhere, as well as advantages in the delivery of education, health, and other social services. On average, urban dwellers have higher incomes and live healthier, easier lives than their rural counterparts, although these advantages are often not shared by all urban inhabitants”
(World Resource Institute 1996).

As has already been alluded to, cities present such great opportunities for both the individual and the state as a whole. Most cities in the developing world however do not present such opportunities and hope, making life a hell for a great number of people. In the case of Africa, Yankson (2006, 11) has observed that, they are characterised by “... many problems such as severe traffic problems, housing shortages, ineffective city management, poor sanitation, environmental pollution, and high unemployment levels”. Indeed these attributes that have characterised urbanisation in Africa and other parts of the world have created some fantastic perceptions and (mis)conceptions especially in the minds of some Western observers (Sommers, 2003). For instance, Shoumatoff is of the view that the emergence of large cities in Africa is the source of “societal madness” that is best seen in the behaviour of the “detrribalised young men” that inhabit them (1988 in Sommers 2003). These young men are detribalised due to the “corrosive effects of cities, where African culture is being redefined” (Kaplan, 1996 in Sommers, 2003). In the process, the youth lose their sense of identity (or at least, so it appears). Kaplan also writes that “... As people pour into coastal shanty-magnets... West Africa is left with high-density concentrations of human beings who have been divested of certain stabilizing cultural models, with no strong governmental institutions or communities to compensate for the loss (1996 in Sommers 2003, p. 4). Such views and conceptions offer little or no hope for cities in developing countries and the millions who populate them.

It is indeed a fact that cities in developing countries face peculiar challenges due to increasing urbanisation. Urbanisation in Europe, as I have already pointed out earlier in this treatise, had as its escort industrialisation; which provided the growing population in European cities with jobs (Robertson 1981). Unfortunately however, most cities in developing countries lack the industrial base to accommodate the ever-growing population. The UN-Habitat avers that, instead, “African urbanisation is a poverty-driven process and not the industrialisation-induced socio-economic transition it represented in the world’s other major regions” (2008, p. 19) Therefore, a lot of the residents of such cities, most of whom are uneducated and without formal skills, do not get the opportunity to be engaged in the formal sector. Hence, they engage in such activities as could help them survive, sometimes without even considering how discomfoting such activities could be to others and with little regard to the law. In Kumasi, about seventy percent of the population are engaged in the informal sector which basically is made up of petty trading, hawking, portering, etc (Darko 2003). The lot of most of them therefore is poverty and want. For instance,

Darko asserts that only thirty percent of residents of Kumasi have access to satisfactory sanitation arrangements in their homes.

A more worrying feature of such urban squalor is that, it is women who bear the brunt of the situation the most (UNFPA 2007). A cursory look around most cities in Africa will reveal that majority of the people engaged in some of the lowliest jobs are women; and most of the times with their babies strapped to their backs. This is because, most of them are the breadwinners of their families and so have not only their mouths to feed, but also that of a lot of other people. It is even estimated that the “number of women-headed households in African capital cities ranges between 10 and 25 percent” (Harsch 2001 in Sommers 2003, p. 2). In this vein, the need for a comprehensive gender policy to protect the vast numbers of women engaged in the informal sector has been recommended (UN-Habitat 2008, p. 12).

The growing population also puts a lot of strain on public facilities and space. Faced with such situation a lot of people engage in all kinds of activities and sleep in any available space. This obviously takes away from the beauty of the city and also distorts the city plan. Apart from that, this clutters public spaces, making it difficult for others who have title to the use of such public spaces to have access. To deal with this, authorities have normally responded by conducting swoops on squatters as well as on traders or hawkers at illegal or unauthorised public places. Such responses could only be described as reactionary to the extent that they are used to deal with problems that have already festered. This is understandable in the light of the fact that structures that have been put in place to monitor activities inimical to the beauty and plan of the city are usually overwhelmed. In the case of Kumasi as I have pointed above, developments take place sometimes many years before they are noticed by the authorities.

One factor that has accounted for such swoops and other confrontational management approaches that authorities have adopted in most cities across the developing world, has been the desire to keep people out of these cities and discourage other people from settling in them. As the UN-Habitat has observed,

“Given their vast numbers, poor urban dwellers are now the dominant market sector. They transform the city to meet their needs in manners that are often in conflict with urban laws and urban development plans. This creates friction between the city administration and the inhabitants of informal housing developments. In response, many central and local governments reverted to forced eviction and demolition of buildings, citing non-compliance with planning standards, development plans and lack of documentation as proof of illegal tenure status (2008, 25).

The UNFPA (2007) contends that such approaches do not work because conditions in these cities, albeit bad, are better than those that pertain in the rural areas. It has even been strongly suggested that such approaches as are employed by city authorities in dealing with these urbanisation-induced problems amount to nothing but punishment of the urban poor; and so the UN-Habitat avers that “the poor should not be punished for the systemic failure of urban governance. Instead, governance systems and approaches - not the informal housing solutions dictated by market forces - are in need of review and change” (2008: 25). There is the need therefore for a better more participatory and inclusive approach.

It is important at this point, given the foregoing discussions, to point out that the effect of urbanisation on cities in the development world is not all negative. It has been strongly suggested by many a writer, that the cosmopolitan individual that urbanisation creates of the urban dweller is very good for nation-building and for the peaceful coexistence of the many ethnic groups of these countries. For example, Ould-Abdallah attributes the conflict in Burundi to that country's low level of urbanisation. According to him, "the absence of big cities has had a significant effect on divisions within the country. Without the opportunity to mingle together in large numbers in cosmopolitan settings, most Burundians remain largely within their ethnic group, their clan, and their region", thereby making them more susceptible to giving in to ethnic sentimentalities and the manipulation of these sentiments (2000: in Sommers, 2003: 7). It must be born in mind that the urban population of Burundi just around the time it was engulfed by ethnic conflict was only 8.7% (UNDP, 2001 in Sommers, 2003: 7). Sommers (2003) thus concludes that cities hold a very special potential of breaking the ethnic yoke that is bedeviling many countries in the South, especially in Africa.

There is not gainsaying the fact that cities in the developing world hold a lot of promise for a lot of people. This perhaps explains why in spite of the many challenges confronting these cities, a lot of people still troop to these cities almost on a daily basis. This study has however piped down on these many promises that urbanisation holds for many of these cities, because it is concerning itself with the challenges of urbanisation (especially the phenomena of street trading and slum-dwelling) and how to better address these challenges.

3.2.10 Street Trading

One of the consequences of the rapid urbanisation that has taken place, as I have already made allusions to, has been the growth of informal activities in most cities of the developing world. Afrane (2007) aptly observes that this growth in informal activities especially in the economy is a "visible and unyielding phenomenon characterising the space economy of cities of the developing world". According to him, a lot of people in these cities seek their livelihood outside the official labour market by engaging in a variety of 'small scale labour intensive enterprises' especially on the streets, supplying 'goods and services to markets principally made up of low income households and individuals'. After home-working, it is estimated that street trading accounts for the largest share of jobs in the informal sector which contributes about 90 percent of all new urban jobs (Skinner 2008). In a study in Accra (Kwankye, Nyarko and Tagoe, 2008: 17), it was established that "hawking has become a source of daily livelihood for several people mostly as a stepping stone for preparation towards relatively better and more permanent jobs in the future". Regardless of fact that, these economic activities that go on in the informal sector, particularly on the streets, offer employment to a substantial number of people; the phenomenon of street trading is considered by authorities, especially in developing countries, as a nuisance. In this regard, there have been massive, sometimes sustained, evictions of street traders, confiscation and destruction of their wares whenever the need to purge the streets of this nuisance was felt. For instance, as part of preparations for the first visit

of Pope Benedict XIV to Africa, many stalls especially along streets in Yaoundé were destroyed in order to reclaim the beauty of the city (Lewis, 2009). In Ghana, also streets in the capital and the other host cities were decongested ahead of the CAN 2008 that was hosted by the country. Such is the pattern; that sporadic eviction of street traders has often preceded major public events as Setsabi (2006: in Skinner 2008) has observed and listed. In most instances, such exercises have been characterised by violence and mayhem which have on some occasions also been met in equal measure.



Photo2 : Street trading around the Central Market in Kumasi (by Awudu Moro)

More than a nuisance, many city authorities and residents actually consider the phenomenon of street trading as a challenge to the development, and an affront to the town and country planning, of these cities. This is because, street trading in many of these cities has, due to a lack of regulatory framework, contributed to environmental problems; to the extent that it causes the erection of structures that do not conform to building codes and zoning regulations, thereby making it difficult to deal with the already bad sanitary conditions. The Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly has for example recognised the phenomenon of street trading as a development challenge (KMA 2006). It may be interesting to find out what exactly has informed this perception, but there is no doubt in my mind that the above reasons may be contributing to this.

Notwithstanding the above, it is still not uncommon to see streets in the urban centres of Ghana taken over by traders who are eager to display and sell their wares, sometimes even at the risk of losing their lives. Duh (2004) for instance recounts

about three incidents that he has personally observed which nearly resulted in injury to the street traders involved. Indeed the phenomenon of street trading is common even in urban centres of developed countries. There is evidence of street trading in Johannesburg, Melbourne and other such cities in developed countries. However, there is a marked difference in how authorities have responded in each of these cases. In the latter, street trading is well regulated and well integrated into the urban economy. It will be interesting to find out why there is such a difference between the two responses. It will also be interesting to find out whether street trading and other such informal economic activities could be integrated into the economies of cities in developing countries.

3.2.20 Formation of Squatter Settlements

Two types of slum have been observed to exist, especially in Central and West Africa:

- a) “The traditional city centre slums of decayed and dilapidated structures built with semi-durable material (adobe) and lacking physical planning standards; and
- b) Spontaneous and often illegal informal settlement developments at the urban periphery on squatted land” (UN-HABITAT, 2008: 84).



Photo 3: An emerging slum behind the offices of the West African Exams Council, Kumasi (by Awudu Moro)

The formation of squatter settlements and slums has been a challenge to city managers in developing countries. Mention could be made of the Kibera slums in Kenya (UN-HABITAT, 2008). Such settlements are caused and sustained by:

- “The lack of urban land and planning policy;
- Unrealistic construction standards and regulations;

- Private sector housing mostly catering for high and middle income groups;
- Lack of strategic positioning by governments and local authorities;
- Lack of public infrastructure; and
- The politicisation of informal settlements and social housing along party lines” (UN-HABITAT, 2008: 14).

In May 2005, the Zimbabwean government in a bid to deal with the problem, caused what was described by Mr. Kofi Annan, the United Nations Secretary-General (as he then was) as a “catastrophic injustice” to Zimbabwe’s poorest. In that exercise, the government launched what it termed as Operation Murambatsvina (which it translated to mean “clean-up”). It is estimated that as many as about 700, 000 people lost their homes to police raid and violent evictions (BBC 2005). In Kumasi also, the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly raided and razed down the Sodom and Gomorrah slums displacing between 800-1000 people, without making any preparations whatsoever to resettle them (CHRI 2008). This method (eviction) of dealing with the problem has been extensively employed over the years. The problem, however, still persists and it is estimated that the problem has even intensified over the years, resulting in the emergence of what has been termed as mega-slums (UN-Habitat 2008). We may therefore conclude that the method of eviction of dwellers of such informal settlements through raid and destruction of these settlements by authorities, without adequately providing for such people, has not been successful in addressing the problem (not even in the places where such exercises have been conducted). In fact, sometimes, bigger and worse slums have re-emerged in the same spots where this method of dealing with the problem of slum-dwelling has been applied. Regrettably however, this is the method that continues to be used in most cities of the developing world.

Another method that is used is the upgrading of informal settlements or the resettling of residents (whichever is more appropriate). With this method, slums are, instead of being razed to the ground leaving their occupants homeless and without shelter, upgraded to standards that make them dignifying and fit for human habitation. Where there is the need however to raze them down, due to whatever tenable reasons that there may be, the occupants are resettled. However, this method has not been used in most of Africa due to factors such as the lack of resources (finance, land, etc.). Meanwhile, this method is better and helps to reduce the number of slums.

3. 3 Urban Management

The single most important tool for dealing with the challenges that urbanisation presents (some of which have been discussed above), especially for cities in developing countries, is management or governance. Given the many challenges that a lot of cities face, I ask the question: what are the most appropriate strategies for improving urban management especially in developing countries? The UN-HABITAT observes that, “state-only” and “market-only” approaches to urban management have failed, and it therefore calls on governments and all other stakeholders “to act more proactively on shifts towards participatory management that help create ownership over decision-making and daily management practices” (2008: 93). It is not surprising therefore that in almost all countries now, local governments are becoming increasingly the main actors in urban management. This is because local governments, by their setup, are supposed to encourage popular participation.

Participatory management, as has been suggested above, is now regarded as the most “fashionable” and most effective means of managing urban centres. It simply means “involving residents in a meaningful and inclusive way in the governance of their cities and the delivery of their services - fully utilizing their strengths, knowledge, and skills” (USAID, 2006). But it appears that although countries have developed elaborate systems that are supposed to ensure that residents of urban centres get involved in the governance of the cities of which they are residents, implementing these structures is rather becoming a problem. In Ghana, for instance, there is an extensive and elaborate local administration system which is supposed to ensure that citizens participate and affect the policy-formulation process right from the beginning. Darko has observed that in Kumasi, notwithstanding the elaborate local administration system that has been put in place,

“the system is highly centralized on KMA and highly personalized on the chief executive. Communication between between KMA and local communities, whether directly through assembly members, or through unit committees, appears to be minimal. This is typified by the process for preparing the city’s development plan, which was produced by consultants without consultation with local communities” (2003, 5).

3. 4 Theoretical Framework of Research

Reading the literature on urban management, one can differentiate between two types of management orientation and approach, especially as it relates to the problems of street trading and the formation of informal settlements. These are:

- *An exclusionary management orientation.* This orientation stems from the concept of ‘social exclusion’ which de Haan defines as “a process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partly excluded from full participation in the society in which they live” (1998 in Skinner 2006). Applying it to our study, the main preoccupation of this orientation will be to keep out the street traders and squatters and stop the phenomena without due regard to the views and concerns of the urban poor who, largely, make up

these two groups. In dealing with street traders and dwellers of informal settlements, this orientation will more likely evict them from their places of occupation. This approach is thus, more often than not, non-cooperative and non-participatory.

- *An inclusionary management orientation.* This orientation is appreciative of the peculiar challenges that the urban poor face, and thus seeks to find means of making the poor a part of the city. Applying this orientation to dealing with the two problems of street trading and squatting, the approach will be to either upgrade the status of the place of occupation to meet the required standards or to resettle the occupants where necessary. The approach used here is therefore participatory and collaborative.

The theoretical framework on which this study is based is: a management orientation that appreciates the peculiar challenges that the urban poor face; and recognises also that there are a lot of people who have stake in how the city is managed, because they are affected, sometimes directly, by the outcomes of any such management orientation. In this case therefore, it will recognise residents, hawkers, street traders and all other civil society groups. This framework as has been said already derives from the theory of synergy which results from collaboration between the authority and the residents, or as the case may be in this situation, street traders and squatters. According to such theorists as Putnam (1993), engaging the citizenry and harnessing their social capital strengthens state institutions. Applying this theory of synergy therefore to the management of Kumasi means that, the KMA will be stronger than it has been and will be in a better stead to manage the city because it will be acting not only with its powers but with the strength of all other stakeholders. I must however, point out that collaboration between the state and civil society does not always result in synergy. It results sometimes in what has been described as a zero-sum conflict (Evans 1996). In order not for the collaboration to result in a zero-sum conflict, there is the need for trust by all stakeholders participating in the process and a commitment to the process from all sides. There is the need also for motivation and common interest. Applying the theory of synergy to this study, I have developed the 'model of partnership governance' which is graphically represented below.

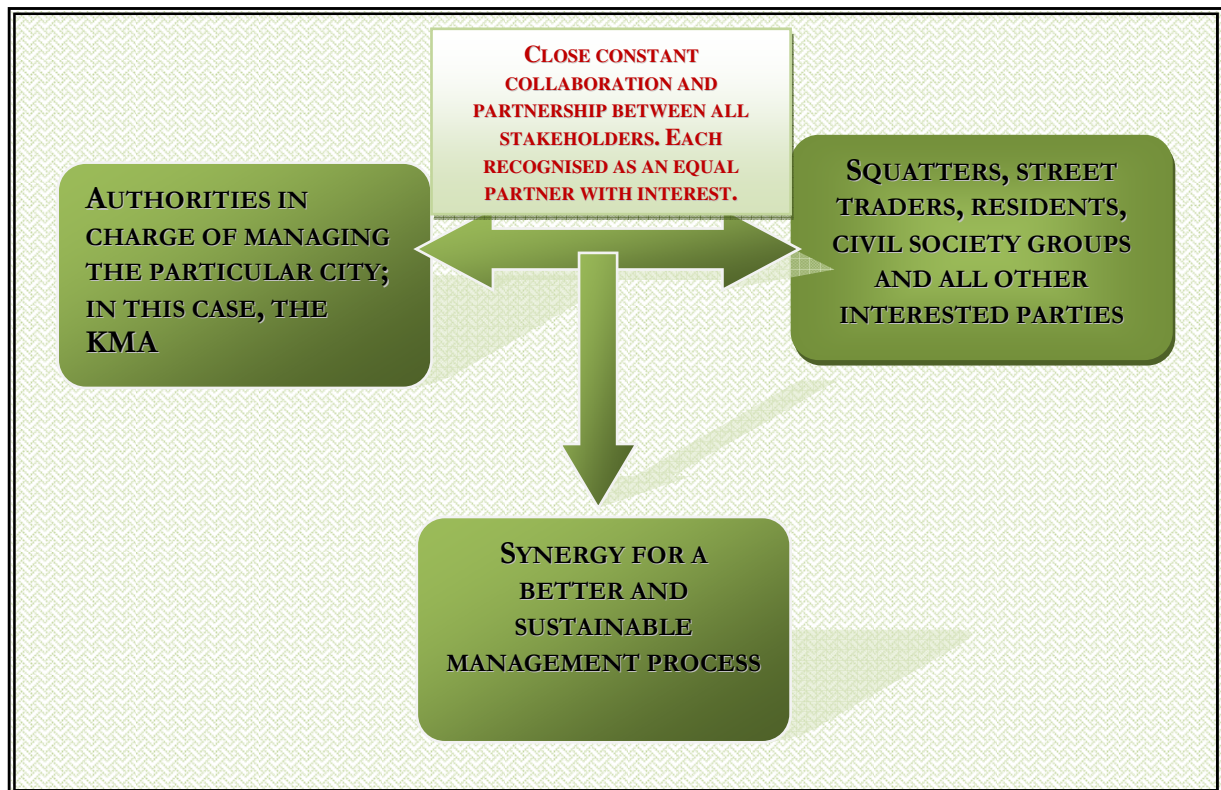


Fig 4: Theoretical Framework

The chart above represents the type of management which ensures that there is constant collaboration by all stakeholders resulting in a partnership. In this case, the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly should, in dealing with the challenges of street trading and squatting in informal settlements, engage and collaborate with all stakeholders. I envisage that this should create synergy and not conflict which characterises the exclusionist orientation. This does not however mean that it is always the case that synergy results. The chart therefore represents what I think should happen in the formulation and implementation of policies, especially those which have a direct effect on the lives of residents.

3.4.1 Theory on state-civil relationship and synergy

In an attempt to build a more comprehensive and broader approach to delivering development, two distinct theories (that is, the market as magic-bullet theory and the social capital theory) that may not after all, be necessarily antithetical or diametrically opposed to each other as I shall attempt to point out presently, have emerged. Hitherto, the theory of the “market” serving as the true development agent held sway. According to Evans (1996, 1033), previous development theory “has operated, de facto, on the premise that the only institutions that mattered were those directly facilitating market transactions”. It has been realised, with the passage of time however, that this conception of development theory is not only narrow because it “distracts attention from “soft technologies” of institutional change, which can produce results well out of proportion to the resources required to implement them”; but also, its application in industrial countries rather led to poor quality of life of people despite increasing in material wealth. Also, the role played by state

bureaucracies in creating what was to be referred to as the East Asian Miracle begged for answers which the “market as magic bullet” theory of development could not offer.

Social capital therefore was therefore considered quite enough to explain why the quality of people’s lives was getting poorer notwithstanding the fact that they had in some cases increased their material wealth. The happenings in such countries as Taiwan, Korea and Japan also made a very strong case for the fact that the state and its institutions have a role to play even in capitalist economies. Consequently, it has become important to ask whether these two theories could co-subsist. In other words, what is the relationship between the state and social capital accumulation, or civil society mobilisation and engagement? What is the role of state (in this case, the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly) in development? What is the role of civil society and the citizenry (in this case, street traders and squatters) in development?

Here, two schools of thought have emerged. One school of thought holds that the state as a development agent cannot coexist with civil society also acting as a development agent and both working together to deliver development. They argue that when this happens, one will lead to the demise of the other, thereby making the “great divide” inescapable. But while theorists of social capital such as Coleman (1990, p. 321 in Evans 1996) contend that the “expansion of formal bureaucratic organisation “crowds out” informal networks without providing the same range of value and functions, leaving communities worse off”; “theorists of the state as a development agent have little to say about social capital”. This means that there is the need for both agents to collaborate as either of them is inadequate, on its own.

On the other hand are theorists who argue against the assertion that the “great divide” is inescapable and therefore argue for synergy. This school of thought submits that the state and civil society working together to deliver development will lead to a situation where one strengthens the other, thereby creating synergy. Such theorists as Putnam (1993: 42 in Evans, 1996) contend that effective state institutions could create an environment in which civic engagement is more likely to thrive as happened in the matter of the East Asian countries of Taiwan, Japan and such others. In the same vein, engaging the citizenry and harnessing their social capital strengthens state institutions. In other words, such theorists argue that the “great divide” could be crossed; and synergy could be created for sustainable development. The question is: HOW? How could there be a healthy collaboration between state and civil society when the former is perceived as a “hegemony protected by the armour of coercion”, while the latter is perceived as the bearer of democracy and existing to put checks on state power? (Ndue, 2001: 2). How could collaboration take place when, certain civil society groups represent interests that may not necessarily be in the interest of the local people per se, or when the interest of one group may not be the interest of everybody else?

Evans (1996) posits that synergy could be created in two forms: “complementarity” and “embeddedness”. Complementarity simply advocates that each of the two complements the other with what it knows to do best. In other words, there is mutual support from both the state and civil society. This takes into account the assertion that there are certain activities which are traditionally considered better delivered by government and vice-versa. For instance, the maintenance of law and order, the

provision of such tangibles as irrigation facilities and electricity are some of the means by which the state could complement civil society activities. Therefore, the government and civil society should complement each other. On the other hand, embeddedness does not see any such divide of speciality between the two. In other words, “it questions the assumption of distinct public and private spheres and sees trust and productive informal networks not only as a property of civil society but as spanning the public-private divide” (1036).

Synergy as the discussion so far is probably alluding to, is not automatic at all and even very difficult to create. In fact, Evans (1996, p. 1034) submits that “there are numerous instances in which relations between state and society are characterised by zero-sum conflicts rather than synergy”. This means that state-civil society synergy could be created under certain conditions the lack of which result in conflict. A review of available literature on state-civil society collaboration (Ostrom 1996) throws up such factors as trust, commitment, motivation and common interest as very critical to the creation of a healthy collaboration. However, how the necessary trust is created, how the necessary commitment is siphoned out of each of the parties, how both parties are motivated to put in as much as is required of them depends on the particular development effort and context. Be that as it may, both parties must recognise that they have a common interest before such factors as motivation, trust and commitment could be cultivated. When such interest is recognised, then there should be a well defined role for each of the two parties. This means that the role of the state as well as that of society should clearly be defined in a collective spirit. This will ensure that there is no conflict or contradiction or worst still, duplication. However the roles are defined, the state (which in this case is represented by the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly) as well as society (represented in this case by the street traders and squatters) must see themselves as partners with equal stakes and pursuing the same agenda of sustainable development of the city of Kumasi. This could also be initiated by either of the parties as partners in development.

The deficiency of this theory, as I see it however, is the seeming latent presumption that, civil society is monolithic and exists as a unit. It can be discerned from the above discussion that civil society or the community is treated as a unit that has a common interest and always works in concert. But it is important to note that there may not exist one civil society group or community or interest. There may exist several civil society groupings with interests that may be antithetical to one another. To this end, it may be difficult to talk of a state-civil society relationship where there are civil society groupings with interests that may be irreconcilable. This study explores further this gap in the theory.

3.4.2 The theory of Sustainable Development

Sustainable development has become one of the most prominent concepts in development discourse. This concept began to be widely adopted following the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (UNCHE) in Stockholm in 1972 (Adams, 2001:1). It became a central concept in the World Conservation Strategy published in 1980, and the foundation of the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development seven years later (Brundtland 1987). The concept further entrenched itself in development discourse in the early 1990s when it became

the driving concept behind the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio in 1992 (UNCED, or the “Earth Summit”), and culminated finally in the establishment of the Commission on Sustainable Development (Adams 2001:2).

Sustainable development as a concept is not easy to define, but in this thesis we will be guided by the definition provided by the Brundtland Report, in *Our Common Future* where it is defined as the “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland, 1987:4). What this means is that our quest as human beings to develop must not injure society and the environment so much that it compromises the ability of generations yet unborn to meet their own development needs. As spelt out by the Brundtland Commission therefore, there is the need, if we are to develop sustainably, for the integration of economic, social and environmental policies (UNEP, 2002: 19).

The concept and the philosophy of sustainable development have penetrated global politics at a substantial scale. Because of this level of penetration, a series of high level international conferences (as shown above) bringing together most world leaders have so far been organised to discuss how development can be carried out in a sustainable manner. In all these meetings it should be pointed out that issues of conserving the environment while pursuing economic growth brought clear divisions between the developed world (the north) and the less developed countries (the south). While at the international level there is a general feeling that something (that is all binding) must be done to ensure that, meeting the needs of the present generation does not comprise the ability of future generations to meet their own needs, the disagreements that erupted at the international meetings point to the negligence that can be seen at the national levels.

It appears however that in all of our discourses on sustainable development, we have concentrated on the environmental leg of sustainable development so much that people have come to substitute sustainable development with environmental issues only. This could be seen (or at least that is what I see) in all the international fora on sustainable development. I contend however that the issues of street trading and squatting (which are social issues) and how they are managed are as important to the concept of sustainable development as are environmental issues. I am of the view that if we cannot cut down trees in our quest to develop without putting in place the necessary measures to arrest the possible repercussions, we cannot also evict people without providing adequately for them. It may sound simplistic, but I believe that it is logical.

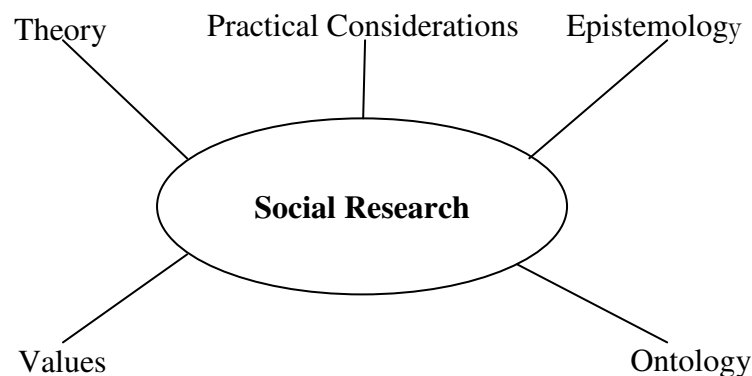
I have made an attempt in Chapter 1 to draw a distinction between the concept of sustainable development and the sustainability theory. The sustainability theory entails continuity into the long term. Barrow in pointing out the difference thus defines sustainability as “the ongoing function of an ecosystem or use of a resource, and implies steady demands” while he defines sustainable development as “improvement of well-being and lifestyles, and in the foreseeable future implies growing demands (2005, in Nilsen 2007, p. 5). However, the two concepts are as different as they are similar, upon a closer look.

Chapter Four (4): Research Approach

This chapter of the thesis is divided into three parts. The first part discusses the various considerations there are, in choosing a particular research strategy and what specific considerations informed my choice of the particular method that I have chosen for this research. The second part discusses the different strategies of conducting social research. In this vein, we shall have a look at quantitative and qualitative research strategies; and the divide that there is between them. We shall also take a look at the not-so-fancied strategy of action research. The last part shall take us through how this research was conducted and what challenges there were.

4. 1 Considerations for, and influences on, conducting a social research

In conducting a social research, a number of considerations affect the choice of the particular strategy, design or method that is used. There are also influences that may impinge on the conduct of the social research. It is important, to the extent that they may determine the outcome of the research, to have a look at these considerations and influences.



Source: Bryman, 2004

Fig 5: Considerations for conduction research

4.1.1 Epistemological Considerations

In conducting a social research, a researcher would have to consider how to obtain the information that he will need and which will be the basis for conducting the research. Epistemology is concerned with knowledge generation/construction from the “*relationship between knower and what can be known*”. It also explains theories on how to get knowledge about the world (Ryen, 2008). Epistemology raises such important questions as whether social problems can be handled by using the same rigorous procedures which are applied in the natural sciences and whether such

procedures may fit well into the study of a social phenomenon. Usually the epistemological consideration is looked at with two distinct perspectives; natural science epistemology-positivism and interpretivism (Bryman, 2004: 11). Proponents of the natural science epistemology hold that the canons that are utilised in the physical sciences can be applied to the study of society. On the other hand is the interpretivist stance which advocates the fashioning out of a set of procedures that are applicable in the study of social phenomena and not necessarily follow the natural science model. It is important for the social researcher therefore to consider carefully how he intends to generate the information required for his research.

4.1.2 Ontological Considerations

A researcher will also have to contend with issues of ontology. Ontology in particular addresses issues like “*what is reality out there, what reality consists of and how is, it perceived and what there is to know about that reality*” (Ryen, 2008). Objectivism and constructionism are the two ontological positions. Objectivism “implies that social phenomena confront us as external facts that are beyond our reach or influence”, while constructionism is based on realism and points out that social phenomena can be handled and accomplished by social actors, and that individuals create their own reality (Bryman, 2004, p. 16-18). To the extent that a researcher will need to understand what reality is before he pursues it by conducting a social research, ontological considerations are very important.

4.1.3 Axiological Considerations

Axiology deals with the nature of human values. It expresses the importance of value of being, and lays emphasis on respecting and valuing human states due to their nature. Axiological emphasizes to concentrate on the external validity of the research questions and their relevance to practice on one side while on the other side it argues that positivist paradigm should be used with emphasis to the internal validity with experimental and quantitative techniques being utilized fully (Fitzgerald & Howcroft, 1998).

4.1.4 Practical Considerations

Apart from the philosophical issues of epistemology, ontology and axiology, there are also practical issues that may have such significance and importance on the outcome of the research that they may be difficult to ignore. For instance, a researcher will have to take into account the research questions in order to determine the right research strategy, design or method to use. A researcher will also have to take cognisance of the topic and the people or social phenomena being investigated. The availability of data or information on a particular topic is also crucial in determining what type of method that may be relevant. These and such considerations are very crucial for the conduct of a social research and it is very important that a researcher takes all of them into consideration.

4.1.5 Value Consideration

Another issue that a researcher may have to be on the look out for, throughout the duration of the research, are the values, feelings and preconceptions that he may have. As Durkheim (1938) has observed, one of the corollaries for attaining a truly scientific research is that the researcher must eradicate all preconceived ideas and perceptions. Though completely eradicating preconceptions might be difficult as Bryman (2004) suggests, it is very important that a researcher puts his values and feelings in check.

4.1.6 Research-Theory Relationship Consideration

A researcher may also consider whether he wants to conduct a research derived from theory (regardless of whether it is grand or middle-range) or not. A researcher may set out to either confirm an already proven theory or to test a theory that he has formulated. The research, in this case, will be a deductive study and will therefore have to follow the deductive process of hypothesis formulation, data collection, findings, hypothesis confirmation or rejection and theory revision. A researcher may also want to conduct an inductive research. In this case a researcher will have to conduct his research not based on any particular theory or hypothesis because theory rather derives from the research. Put differently, “the process of induction involves drawing generalizable inferences out of observations” (Bryman 2004, p. 9).

It must be noted however that the distinction between a deductive research and an inductive research is not that simple. This is because one process may entail the other. For instance, one will find that the deductive process also entails an inductive streak (Bryman 2004, p. 11).

4. 2 Considerations that influenced my choice of research strategy.

For this study, I have been influenced in my choice of research strategy, design and method by such practical issues as which approach will be more appropriate for my research questions above. I have also taken into consideration the paucity or otherwise of research work on the topic. My review of literature reveals that there has not been much work on the topic. I have therefore chosen the qualitative research strategy. It follows without saying then that, on the philosophical issues of epistemology, ontology and research-theory relationship, I have chosen an interpretivist, constructionist and inductivist stance. I think that the qualitative strategy has given me a better insight into the problem I was trying to investigate more than the other approaches. Qualitative approach did not only give me the flexibility that I did require, it also gave me a better opportunity to have a glimpse into the mind of the actors involved. In other words, it afforded me the opportunity to see things from the point of view of the actors involved. It was important that I had this opportunity because I was trying to measure an effect of a management system; and who better to help me measure than the affected themselves. As I have said above, the system of local government that has been put in place has had as its foundation, participation and collaboration. But in practice, this did not appear to be the case. It was thus important that we tried to see from the point of view of the actors what the challenges

have been, what the anchor for the current management approach is and how it is affecting the lives of residents.

4. 3 Strategies of Conducting Social Research

Several strategies of conducting social research exist in the social sciences. However, the most utilised and widely explored are the quantitative and qualitative research strategies. The motive of these two strategies is more exploratory and explanatory than anything else. Nonetheless, they differ in; how they are approached, how they are applied, how they are presented, and in several other ways. On the other hand, there is also the action research strategy which is more oriented towards solutions than just exploring and explaining what a particular social phenomenon or problem is. I will try therefore to delineate each of these three strategies.

4.3.1 Qualitative and Quantitative Research Strategies

The qualitative research, according to Bryman, “can be construed as a research approach that usually emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data”. On the other hand, “a quantitative research can be construed as a research strategy that emphasizes quantification in the analysis and collection of data” (2004, p. 19). It must be noted that notwithstanding the traditional emphasis of each of these strategies, it is not unusual these days to come across a purely qualitative work with tables and figures; and vice versa. It is in this regard that Silverman has particularly been critical of accounts of research strategies (in particular, the qualitative research) that do not acknowledge their different forms (1993 in Bryman 2004, p. 267). Nonetheless, differences exist and Bryman has observed that there is ample evidence suggesting that such differences are growing and gaining more currency (p. 19).

Qualitative and Quantitative research strategies differ again in epistemology, ontology and in how they relate to theory as the table below shows.

	Qualitative Research	Quantitative Research
Epistemology	Interpretivist (Emphasis is on understanding the social world by examining how the human being as an active social actor interprets the social world	Positivist and natural science model. (Emphasis is on the use of the natural science model to understand the social world and the human beings therein

	around him).	because they are considered as objects who acted upon by objective natural laws).
Ontology	Constructionist (Implies that social properties are outcomes of the interactions between individuals)	Objectivism (Assumes that social properties exist independent and outside of the individuals therein).
Relationship with theory	Inductive (Maintains the view that theory is generated out of research)	Deductive (Maintains that, research should be carried out based on a theory)

4.3.2 Action Research

Action research on the other hand can involve both qualitative and quantitative data. “It can be defined as an approach in which the action researcher and a client collaborate in the diagnosis of a problem and in the development of a solution based on the diagnosis”. The orientation of an action research is therefore to find solutions to problems instead of exploring same, just to explain them. In this vein Rapport observes that an action research “aims to contribute both to the practical concerns of people in an immediate problematic situation to the goals of social science by joint collaboration within a mutually acceptable ethical framework” (1979. In Sussman and Evered 1978).

In conducting an action research, Sussman and Evered have identified the five cyclical phases:

- Diagnosing;
- Action Planning;
- Action Taking;
- Evaluating; and
- Specifying Learning.

It is worth mentioning that despite these five phases, “there is no single type of action research”. Whatever the type may be however, the motive is to solve a social problem through a collaborative effort.

4. 4 How the Research was conducted

I have attempted in this part of the chapter to give an encyclopaedic overview of how this study was conducted. I have done this by looking at the research strategy, the research design and the research method adopted in this study. In order to meet the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Bryman 2004, p. 273), I attempted to use more than one variety of method and design, as I have indicated below.

4.4.1 Research Strategy

Research Strategy simply means a “general orientation to the conduct of a social research” (Bryman 2004, p. 19). As already indicated above, the general orientation for the conduct of this research is the qualitative strategy. This choice is borne out of a number of considerations which I have sought to explain above. The qualitative strategy is very flexible and therefore allows the interviewee or a respondent to respond freely and in a manner that makes him comfortable.

4.4.2 Research Design

A research design “represents a structure that guides the execution of a research method and the analysis of the subsequent data” (Bryman 2004, p. 27). He identifies and examines five types of research designs: Cross-sectional or survey design, longitudinal design, experimental design, case study design and comparative design (p. 33). Each research design is different in its how it is applied. This research is essentially a comparative study of two management approaches and orientations. It assess the relevance of urban management of urban management for sustainable development by contrasting two different management approaches and orientations to the phenomena of street trading and squatting in Kumasi: a non-participatory/exclusionist approach and a participatory/integrative approach.

A comparative design according to Bryman “entails the study using more or less identical methods of two contrasting cases. It embodies the logic of comparison in that it implies that we can understand social phenomena better when they are compared in relation to two or more meaningfully contrasting cases or situations”. What I have tried to do therefore is to assess how the phenomena of street trading and squatting have thus far been managed in the city and what the relevance of this management is, to sustainability and sustainable development. Then I try to contrast it with how these phenomena have been managed in other places and what such management also means for sustainability and sustainable development. This I believe helps us to have a better understanding of the situation.

To some extent, this study also involves a multiple case study. This is because it attempts to study the case of urban management in different urban settings by studying the phenomena of street trading and squatting in Kumasi and how they are managed in relation to other cities. This somewhat complexity of research design enables us to understand the problem in nearly all its facets.

4.4.3 Research Method.

A research method simply denotes the means or tools by which relevant data is collected or gathered. In qualitative research, methods such as ethnographic or participant observation with all its varieties, qualitative interviewing (unstructured, semi-structured and group interviewing) and documentary analysis are used. In this study, I have employed unstructured and semi-structured interviewing as the primary tools for collecting data; and documentary analysis.

Unstructured and Semi-structured interviewing

In undertaking this research, I have entered into so many conversations (some of which I have taped) with street traders and squatters. These interviews have

sometimes been triggered by an observation I have made and were therefore not controlled (at least, most of the times). This style of interviewing helps me to really get the point of view of the interviewees and creates a very relaxed atmosphere especially for the respondents.

I have also interviewed people I consider as having knowledge and expertise on the topic. For such interviews, I have used semi-structured interviewing. In this regard, I have interviewed,

- The Development Control Officer of the City;
- 2 experts on urban planning and management; and
- An advocate.

In choosing my respondents, I adopted the convenience, snowball and purposive types of non-probability sampling.

Documentary Analysis

In conducting this research I have also relied on documents and publications for relevant data and information. These secondary sources of data have been particularly helpful for background information and analysis of the research. In this regard, I have analysed documents and publications on the subject matter by authorities in the field on urbanisation, urban management and sustainable development. I have also studied and analysed bye-laws and other documents by the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly.

4. 5 Research Challenges

One of the issues that always come up for discussion in the Social Sciences is the issue of bias and prejudice. The first challenge that I faced which is likely to have some influence on my analysis is my biases and prejudices. As someone who has been affected in one way or the other through the suffering occasioned by some of the policies and strategies of the authorities, it is reasonable to anticipate that I may be biased towards the squatters, the hawkers and traders. In actual fact, part of my motivation stems from what I have observed as a resident of Kumasi and perhaps an indirect victim. But being conscious of this challenge, I have tried not to allow my preconceptions to influence this work.

Apart from that, the issue of trust has always been a problem in research. Sometimes, interviewees and respondents are not really sure of what the real intentions of a researcher are and so may not give the researcher the right information. To this extent, this may have some influence on the quality of this work. So I have tried as much as possible to win the trust of all my interviewees. This I have done, by letting them understand and appreciate what my real intentions are and what relevance and benefit the study will have for everyone else.

Finance has also been quite a challenge. This study has been financed fully by my own limited resources and that could also have some influence on it.

Chapter Five (5): Presentation and analysis of Findings

This chapter of the thesis presents the findings and observations made. It attempts to put such findings and observations into proper perspective by interpreting and analysing them within the theoretical framework of the study. The findings and analysis are presented in accordance with the research questions and objectives. The fieldwork was conducted within a period of more than thirty weeks. The findings are borne out of interviews and observations, as well as from relevant documents.

5. 1 Street trading: A problem or a potential

Our starting point is the KMA and I must say that I found it quite interesting and intriguing that the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly did not have any reliable and official data on the phenomenon of street trading, in spite of the fact that, the Assembly has over the years been struggling to deal with it. In an interview with the Development Control Officer, he confirmed that the KMA had not conducted any research into street trading in the Kumasi Metropolis in a very long while and does not therefore have a good idea about the number of people engaged in the enterprise and what their demographic characteristics are (Asiamah 2009, personal communication, May 20).

Nonetheless, this study found out from the data gathered that street trading serves as the major source of livelihood for about 90% of the male who were interviewed and for their dependents as well. For the female, I found out that street trading serves as the major source of livelihood for about 65% of them and their dependents. Interestingly 52% of all interviewees said that they have at least two people depending on them for their livelihood. What this means is that, street trading plays a very important role not only in the lives of those who engage in it directly but also, in the lives of so many other people who may never be on the streets. In fact, I confirmed a few stories about people who, through their dependence on street traders, are now working in very formal bureaucratic institutions. A woman recounted to me how through being a petty trader at the place called 18 in Kumasi for over a decade, she has been able to see three of her children through senior secondary school and another one through to the university.

Interestingly also, I found a lot of people who had graduated from selling illegitimately on the streets of Kumasi to owning their own shops and even leaving the fringes of the economy to engage in the mainland. Some of these people had even got to the extent of being able to import from outside the country. The truth remains however that they started as hawkers on the streets. It can be said therefore that the street holds a lot of promise for a lot of people and for these people, they cannot have any other life from off the streets. This is because these people do not have formal education to make them employable in any formal establishment. According to those who were interviewed, they would not have any other means of engaging in the economy and would therefore not have any means of livelihood if they were sent off the streets. That notwithstanding, majority of them (almost 84%) held the belief that they will not sell on the streets forever. They had hopes that in the very near future they will be able to leave the streets. When quizzed about what made them so

confident they said that their inspiration was their colleagues who have been able to leave the streets and are now owners of their own shops. They also say that they do not feel secured selling on the streets because of the constant threats of seizure and arrest that made against them by authorities.

Without the benefit of any reliable data, I have observed that the hawkers in and around Kejetia especially, could be described as mostly youthful. Of the number interviewed for this research, 90% fell within the age brackets of 19 – 29 and 30 – 39. What is striking about all this is that, about 29% of the traders interviewed claimed to be resident outside the Kumasi Metropolis. These people are resident in the suburbs of the city, but they come to Kumasi every morning to conduct their business and go back. In his study of the town of Biharamulo and its four surrounding villages in Tanzania, Baker (1995) found out how through the interaction of the people of the villages with the town, some households are able to improve their lot by using the urban opportunities and assets available to them. He found out that the most successful households in the villages were those who were able, through their interaction with the town of Biharamulo, to diversify their sources of income. Relating Baker's study to this feature of street traders in Kumasi, it could be reasonably concluded that the city of Kumasi cushions, through street trading and other avenues of engagement in the informal sector, residents of such surrounding towns as Fumesua, Kwamo and many others.

For the street traders interviewed, there was no equivocation whatsoever, that street trading held a promise for them. The KMA on the other hand does not see the promise and does not consider street trading as a potential which if properly managed and tapped into, could rake in a lot of revenue for the Assembly, in spite of the fact that even as the situation currently is, the Assembly gets a lot of its revenue from the streets. This is also in spite of the fact that in several examples elsewhere in the world as we shall see presently, street trading has contributed in no small measure, to the economies of those countries. The KMA, interestingly, in its development plan of 2006- 2009 identifies hawking as an economic development challenge because it has led to a congestion of the Central Business District (CBD) and principal streets (2006: 94). It thus states that it has put in place plans to move some of the hawkers to some of the satellite markets to keep the traders off the CBD and the principal streets (2006: 45). In line with this, the KMA embarked on the 26th March 2007 decongestion exercise (referred to above). Two years on, the KMA conducted another one on the 10th of September, 2009. With the latest, the KMA has managed to keep the traders off the streets for quite a longer time with the stationing of military men on the streets to ward off the traders. Due to the heavy cost involved in maintaining the military on the streets, the military have started leaving their positions and already the traders have started coming back to take up their old positions. This makes one wonder if the KMA has learnt anything at all from the many failed decongestion exercises that it has embarked on for the past many years. Indeed, it is my view that the KMA has not really learnt from its mistakes and so continues to perpetuate them by adopting the same strategies over and over again. In fact, I submit that the 'decongestion exercise' that the KMA has employed over and over again to deal with street trading in the Kumasi Metropolis is no strategy at all as it is often not well thought through. This is corroborated by the fact in an interview with the Development Control Officer of the KMA on May 20, 2009 he denied that the KMA was thinking of carrying out another decongestion exercise (Asiamah, 2009, personal communication, May, 20). However

in less than a month, the Assembly started issuing out warnings to street traders to clear off the streets because a decongestion exercise was in the pipeline. This makes one wonder if the Assembly actually does extensive planning before embarking on these exercises. I must point out here that the Assembly has tried according to officers of the Assembly, to be innovative in dealing with this issue by introducing the Sunday market concept and also encouraging traders to go and get stalls in the various satellite markets in the city to conduct their businesses there. But according to the traders, it makes more economic sense for them to sell on the streets instead.

There is however a consensus among all those who were interviewed on the need to decongest the streets especially areas around the Central Business District. How this will be done remains the challenge. But given the importance of this activity on the many people who engage and depend on it, this paper advocates an inclusionary orientation. This will help us to see issues affecting street traders with the due consideration that it deserves.



Picture 4: On the left street trading in Stavanger, Norway; On the right street trading in Kumasi (by Moro Awudu)

Meanwhile, in some countries in South-East Asia, the right environment is created for street trading. In fact street trading is encouraged. Bhowmik (2005) in a review of street trading in Asia found out that in Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia for instance, the enabling environment has been created for street trading. He observes that this makes traders to go about their business without any let or hindrance from the authorities. According to him, the National Policy on Hawkers was formulated in 1990 by the government to tackle the social and economic problems associated with street trading. Earlier in 1986, the Department of Hawkers and Petty Traders (DHPT) was formed with the objectives of, inter alia, developing, modernising and managing street hawkers in line with the objective of making Kuala Lumpur a clean, healthy and beautiful city for residents and visitors. To develop this sector of the economy, the DHPT issues licences to traders and ensures that the activities of the traders does not

interfere with the business of other people who have right of use to these streets. With the licences, traders are able to access credit facilities and develop their businesses. The DHPT also organises with the help of other NGOs training programmes for the licensed traders and ensures also that they have places to conduct their activities. In other cities like Singapore, Manila and Hanoi also, attempts have been made to develop street trading and also in all these cities, there are departments solely responsible for this sector of the economy. This is in stark contrast to what pertains in Kumasi and other cities in the country.

5. 1.1 The legal Regulatory Framework on Street Trading in Kumasi

As can be found in appendix one, the legal regulatory framework guarding the conduct of street trading in Kumasi is the bye-laws that were enacted in 1995 and called the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly Control of Hawker (Bye – laws) 1995. The Bye-laws in section 1 require that anybody who wishes to trade on the streets of the Metropolis must apply to the Assembly for a licence before such person can operate. The Bye-laws also prohibit the conduct of hawking in the following places:

- (1) Pavements of Principal streets in the Metropolis.
- (2) Spaces in front of Sat. PZ, Kejetia, K.O. Methodist, Adehymean Gardens, Banks
- (3) Frontage of Stores
- (4) The area popularly called “18”
- (5) Pedestrian–Walks
- (6) Such areas as the KMA may from time to time determine.

Interestingly, none of the interviewees had a licence of operation from the KMA. According to all the interviewees, they got leave to operate at where they currently operate, from the hawkers who were already settled there. All they had to do, was go to these places and ask those who were already in occupation if they could also come and settle there. This could be attributed to the lack of a special agency responsible for exclusively street traders as is the case in the South East Asian cities referred to, above.

Also, I observed that hawkers in flagrant disregard to the Bye-laws actually trade in these places where they are prohibited from selling, as per the bye-law. But these places according to the hawkers are where buyers of their wares mostly are. In the meantime, such bye-laws that appear to have a disposition to limit the growth of street trading and thereby keep out street traders, can be said to have an exclusionist orientation and the KMA’s bye-laws could be so classified. A good reading of the bye-law will reveal clearly what the actual intention is; which is to ban street trading. This is because the bye-law prohibits hawking on almost all places possible for it to take place. Mitullah has observed that most of these bye–laws are a colonial heritage and therefore represent nothing but how colonialists dealt with the phenomenon. The object of these by laws was simply “to ensure that the towns and cities remain safe

and clean” (2004: 18). Such bye-laws do not therefore care about ensuring that street trading grows.

5. 2 The Emerging Informal Settlements

It was found out during the conduct of this research that there are very worrying emerging slums in the city of Kumasi. Almost all of the dwellers of these slums claim that they have nowhere else to live as they cannot afford to pay for the rent advances needed to rent a room. It has almost become a norm, I have observed, that to rent a room in Kumasi, one needs to pay an advance of not less than two years. This, the dwellers of these places claim is too much for them to pay. Understandably, I found out that, majority of the people who are living in these places are mostly people who have come to the city from mostly the northern parts of the country to engage in such menial jobs as portage; and they do not according to them intend to stay up to the two years for which advance payment is demanded. But there are others also, who have living in these places who have always been resident in the city. Meanwhile, The Rent Act of 1963, Act 220, Section 25 (5) states that

“Any person who as a condition of the grant, renewal or continuance of a tenancy demands in the case of a monthly or shorter tenancy, the payment in advance of more than a month’s rent or in the case of a tenancy exceeding six months, the payment in advance of more than six months rent shall be guilty of an offence and shall upon conviction by the appropriate Rent Magistrate be liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds.”

The object of this law is to criminalise the taking of more than six months’ advance payment of rent. In spite of this, landlords continue to charge advance payments of at least two years in most cases. I contend that if the authorities will enforce this rent law, then the we can as a society minimise substantially the number of people who continue to take residence in these informal settlements because they cannot afford to pay the huge rent advances.

There is also quite a substantial number of the residents who have been living in these slums for quite a long time (sometimes up to about a decade and more) and have created their own families in these slums. In spite of all of them hoping for a better life, in relatively better places, they claim that they are happy where they are and appeal to authorities to make these places better and help them regularise their stay in these places. I found out that some of the people were actually affected by previous decongestion exercises conducted by the Assembly, yet they continue to live in the slums. What is interesting however is that a lot of the people living in these places have no intention of moving out, at least not in the foreseeable future.

What is more interesting is the attitude of the KMA towards these emerging slums. The attitude of the KMA is that these informal structures are just temporary structures. To the extent that they can be easily raised to the ground when the need arises, then they can be classified as temporary. But for the people who have put them up, they are not temporary at all. As already said, most of the inhabitants have actually lived in some of these structures for almost a decade.

It is not at all in doubt however, that the emerging slums are worrying. In fact, the inhabitants of these slums are agreed that there is the need for conditions in these slums to be improved. What is suspect however is how it has thus far been dealt with by the Assembly and the indifferent attitude that it appears to have adopted towards the growth of the emerging informal settlements.

5. 3 Street Trading and Squatting, Planning and Policy

One question that has been agitating my mind is whether, street trading as it is currently being conducted and squatting considering the fact that it is growing, reflect the failure of planning and of policy. This is more so, especially if one considers the fact that the phenomenon of street trading does not cause so much discomfort in other cities in other parts of the world. Indeed, there is no doubt from the data gathered that street trading and the emerging squatter settlements constitute some amount of discomfort to other residents of the Metropolis. Indeed a lot of residents do not care what strategy is used; all they want is that the discomfort that the traders and the squatters constitute is reduced to the barest minimum. There is no denying the fact that planning has a lot to do in ensuring that there is sanity in the city. However, due to the rate of urbanisation as was pointed out in Chapter 2, and several other factors, such as the lack of adequate funds to carry out comprehensive town and country planning and implementation, the influence of politics and political figures – whose first inclination is to consider their political interest – on the planning process, etc., planning is very difficult to do and implement.

What is of interest to us in this paper however is not really the difficulties that encumber the planning process. What is really of interest to us here is what the theoretical underpinning of a particular planning is and what policy the particular planning process is borne out of. For instance, if the policy in dealing with the phenomena of street trading and squatting is to keep out those who are engaged in these two activities, then the consequent planning that will take place will reflect this policy. In this vein, this paper advocates not only the strengthening of the town and country planning of the city, but also a rethinking of what town and country planning is meant to achieve, especially as it relates to the urban poor.

After gathering data and looking at the results of the data quite closely, I have synthesised into maxims, some of the impressions left on me and I am quite hopeful that in formulating a policy to manage the two phenomena of street trading and squatting and all other issues relating to the poor, they will serve as a guiding thread.

1. The urban poor cannot be wished away; they always find a way. Let them rather be shown the way
2. The urban poor are challenged, they should not be crippled more
3. The urban poor will, unless structures are put in place for them to engage in the 'formal', put in place their own structures; regardless of how they injure the body of the 'formal'.

4. Street trading is a universal phenomenon; its conduct in a particular setting merely reflects the level of development of the particular entity.

The first maxim simply captures the fact that there are a lot of people who live on the fringes and who regardless of their living on the fringes must live and so, will do all in their power, unless opportunities are created for them, to create their own opportunities. It is better however, to create opportunities for them to engage. The second and third maxims flow from the first. The second simply means that in creating opportunities for the urban poor to engage, we must be mindful of their peculiar circumstances and not make things difficult for them, thereby worsening their already bad situations. The third maxim capsulates the fact that in planning for the mainland economy, society must not fail to plan for those on the fringes; else they scuttle the plans. The last maxim is on street trading and it simply refers to the universality of the phenomenon. I have not failed, in gathering data for this work, to notice that street trading is conducted almost everywhere. However, there is a difference in how it is conducted from one country to the other. These differences however do not merely reflect the situation of the individual people engaged in it but also the level of development of the particular country.

5. 4 Making theory practical: Participatory Management in Kumasi

Applying our theoretical framework to the management of Kumasi – especially as it relates to hawking and squatting –, we realise almost immediately that there are likely to be some challenges. The first challenge is the facade of trader organisations that currently exist. For effective and collaborative urban management to take place, it goes without saying that there is the need for an effective civil society. In our situation, this will mean that, there is the need, for strong hawker and slum-dweller associations, to represent the interest of all their members in the process of deliberating with the KMA on issues affecting them. King (2006: in Skinner, 2008: 24) in her study of Kumasi found out that trader associations were well established and widely respected. She notes that the Market Traders Association – an umbrella group of various product associations, has a representative on the Kumasi Municipal Authority’s General Assembly”, and was even able to successfully challenge the KMA in court over some issues affecting their members. However, data gathered for this paper found this to be a mere facade especially as it related to hawkers. I found out that street trader associations were not strong as strong. Although I found out that, there are some hawker associations in Kumasi; these Associations are not very effective. This is corroborated by the fact that none of the interviewees belongs to any of these hawker associations. It is also corroborated by Lawyer Ernest Owusu Dapaah who led hawkers to file a case in court against the KMA after the latter conducted a decongestion exercise in 2007. According to him, though he wanted to help the traders because he thought that the KMA did not have any moral justification to embark on that exercise, he had to abandon the case in court because the traders did not have a strong united front which could back him up. Instead, there exist small-small associations formed along the type of wares that members are engaged in. He observes also that apart from when traders felt seriously threatened, they did not really seek the solidarity of their fellows and their associations (Owusu Dapaah 2008, Personal Communication, 14th May). This is indeed very worrying as it does not help

the participatory urban management process upon which this paper is hinged. As for the squatters I found out that they do not even have any association of their own, to cater for their interests. There is the need therefore for civil society to be empowered to be aware of their interests and rights and be able to protect them. This will help them to take active part in participatory urban management to ensure sustainability and sustainable management.

This is more so especially as time has borne out the decongestion exercise as not a sustainable management approach to managing the phenomena of street trading and squatting. Mr Asiamah of the KMA is of the opinion that the 'decongestion exercise' has not been successful because of its economic, social and political implications. According to him, the exercise is politically inexpedient, socially it is difficult and finally it is economically unwise. (Asiamah 2008, Personal Communication, 20th of May). It does not also lead to sustainable development to the extent that it injures the social and economic means of growth for a great number of people.

Chapter Six (6): Conclusion

It is important at this point to recapitulate what the main essence of this paper is. This is necessary to the extent that it refreshes our minds, thereby allowing us to be able to benchmark what has been discussed, thus far, against what the paper set out to achieve. The main essence of this paper is to explore how urban centres especially in the South can be sustainably managed in order to achieve sustainable development. What this paper attempts to do is to foreground the link between urban management and sustainable development. It is the submission of this paper that one of the most effective ways to achieving sustainable social development for most people is to improve urban management by exploring strategies that are necessary for achieving same. This is because the world is moving at quite a pace, towards an urbanised world. To achieve sustainability in management and sustainable development, one of the means is to engage civil society in urban management. As I have extensively discussed in Chapter 3 of this paper, such theorists as Putnam (1993) have argued that effective state institutions could be created and their hands strengthened, in an environment where civic engagement is encouraged and the social capital of the people is tapped into, thereby resulting in synergy. According to them, when state institutions collaborate with civil society groups – regardless of what the collaboration is for –, there is better outcome due to the fact each, in a sense, makes the other more whole. Also, the UN – HABITAT (2008) submits that participatory urban management is the best approach to managing cities in especially Africa, because the ‘state only’ and ‘market only’ approaches have, in most cases, failed. It is with this background that, this paper set out to explore how the theories of synergy and participatory management can be applied in managing a city in the South – Kumasi.

This paper attempts to explore how the theories of social capital/synergy and participatory management can be applied to dealing with the challenges that the city of Kumasi faces. Over the past many years, authorities in Kumasi have been struggling to deal with the phenomena of street trading or street hawking and slum-dwelling which seem to be plaguing it. Using the theory above, the paper is able to, first and foremost question the theoretical orientation underpinning the strategy that has thus far been employed by the authorities in dealing with these challenges. The authorities in Kumasi have over the past years used what they call the ‘decongestion exercise’ which does nothing (no contempt intended) but to evict street traders and slum-dwellers from their places of occupation whenever they felt the need to keep the city ‘trendy’ and ‘sleek’. The paper ascribes the ‘exclusionist orientation’ to the decongestion exercise that is used by the KMA and other District Assemblies.

Reading through the literature on managing issues especially as they relate to the urban poor, this paper has formulated maxims that should guide the formulation of any strategy to deal with the two challenges of street trading and slum-dwelling.

1. The urban poor cannot be wished away; they always find a way.
2. The urban poor are challenged, they should not be crippled more
3. The urban poor will, unless structures are put in place for them to engage in the ‘formal’, put in place their own structures; regardless of how they injure the body of the ‘formal’.
4. Street trading, per se, is not wrong, what makes it wrong is how it is looked at.

5. Street trading is a universal phenomenon

These maxims are quite useful in putting into proper perspective issues relating to the urban poor especially as attempts are made to deal with those issues. The main thrust of these maxims is that, the urban poor, rather than being persecuted, should be collaborated with. This is essentially what an 'inclusionary management orientation entails. But in order for them to take active and effective part in the collaborative process, they must be empowered by creating the conditions necessary for them to engage. I will advocate here that separate department be created to deal specifically with the issues that affect the urban poor, especially as these issues relate to their food, clothing and shelter.

There is clearly a contrast between what this paper advocates and what currently pertains. The paper submits that the approach that has so far been used by the KMA in dealing with the phenomena of street trading and squatting has proven not to be sustainable. In fact it argues that it is harmful to the concept of sustainable development to the extent that it limits the ability of a great number of people to engage in the economy and enjoy life as made possible by the circumstances of their conditions. Importantly the paper does not just advocate for a change in practical strategy but also of policy. Instead of the KMA for instance seeing the phenomenon of street trading as a development challenge for the city of Kumasi, it should rather see it as a potential to be seized as has clearly been done by many other cities.

It is perhaps important to say here that putting together the phenomena of street trading and squatting, and treating them both in this single paper has occasionally, in the life of this research, befuddled me. I will admit that it would have been better if I had taken and concentrated on just one of the two. But there is no doubt in my mind, the link between the two phenomena.

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APPENDIX 1

Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (Control of Hawker) Bye-laws, 1995

In exercise of the powers conferred on the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly by section 79 of the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462) these bye-laws are hereby made:

1. (1) No person shall be operate as a hawker unless he obtains upon application a licence from the KMA.
(2) The licence shall be in such form as the KMA determine and shall be issued subject to such conditions as the KMA may deem fit including the following:
(a) A hawker shall not sell, offer or exhibit goods other than those in respect of which licence has been granted and which are specified in writing therein.
(b) A hawker shall not erect and stall or any other structure in any public place for the purpose of his trade or any business without the written consent of the KMA.
(c) A hawker shall not obstruct or impede the free movement of vehicular or pedestrian traffic
2. Every application for a licence shall be made in writing and shall contain particulars of the goods which the applicant wishes to sell.
3. (1) A licence issued under these Bye-laws shall expire on the 31st December, of the year in which it is issued.
(2) A licence shall be issued on the payment of such fee as may be fixed by resolution of the KMA.
4. No hawker shall sell or offer for sale anything in the places specified in the schedule to these Bye-laws
5. (1) Every Hawker shall produce for inspection a licence granted under these Bye-laws upon demand being made to him by a person authorised in written by the KMA.
(2) Any person who fails or refuse to produce the licence commits an offence.
6. An occupier of a space or selling site shall be responsible for maintaining the cleanliness of the space of selling site, and he shall at the close of each day thoroughly clean his place or selling site and sweep all rubbish form the space of selling and its surroundings and place the rubbish in the dustbins provided for the purpose and thoroughly wash away all stains and marks whether of fat, oil, grease or any other kind.
7. No occupier of any space or selling site shall offer for sale any bread, prepared grain food or any other articles of food, unless the articles are placed on the table or support raised at least one metre from the ground.
8. No article which is likely to be used for human consumption, shall be exposed either to dust or flies and shall be disposed of in such a manner as will satisfy the sanitation rules imposed by KMA's Medical Officers.

Hawkers to obtain licence

Application to contain particulars

Duration and Fees for Licences

Hawkers not to sell in Public Places

Hawkers to produce Licence on demand

Responsibility for maintaining the place clean

Food for sale to be raised from the ground

Food for sale to be protected from dust and flies

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 9. (1) A person of unsound mind and any leper or person suffering from vermin or from any contagious or infectious diseases shall be prohibited entry into a street market.
(2) No occupier of any space or selling site shall bring to any street, any box, basket or other containers and he shall desist at all times from placing them in the pathways or avenues of the market. | Prohibitions |
| 10. Any person who contravenes any provision of these Bye-laws commits an offence and shall on conviction by a court or a Community Tribunal be fined not exceeding ₵50,000.00 or in default to a term of imprisonment not exceeding three months or in the alternative a spot fine approved by a Resolution of the Assembly. | Offence |
| 11. In these Bye-laws unless the context otherwise requires - “a hawker” means any person who sells or offers or exposes for sale, goods of any description in a place than a recognised market or in his dwelling house or shop and includes an assistant employed by such person. | Interpretation |
| 12. These Bye-laws shall apply within the areas of authority of the KMA. | Application |
| 13. Any Bye-law on Control of Hawkers in existence within the area of authority of the Assembly before the coming into force of these Bye-laws are hereby revoked. | Revocation |

Schedule

- (7) Pavements of Principal streets in the Metropolis.
- (8) Spaces in front of Sat. PZ, Kejetia, K.O. Methodis, Adehymeian Gardens, Banks
- (9) Frontage of Stores
- (10) The area popularly called “18”
- (11) Pedestrian-Walks
- (12) Such areas as the KMA may from time to time determine.

Made at a meeting of the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly held on the 28th December, 1995

SIGNED
*Presiding Member
 Kumasi Metropolitan
 Assembly*

SIGNED
*Metropolitan Coordinating Director and
 Secretary to KMA*

Approved by the Regional Co-ordinating Council, Ashanti on behalf of the Ministry of Local Government

SIGNED
Regional Co-ordinating Director and Secretary to R.C.C.

APPENDIX 2

Interview/Questions Guide: KMA

1. How does the KMA assess the phenomena of street trading and squatting? In other words, what is the view of the KMA regarding street trading and squatting in informal settlements? For instance, do they constitute a challenge that needs to be overcome, or are they a potential that need to be tapped into.
2. What is the basis of this assessment? Or what accounts for this view of the KMA?
3. Regardless of the view of the KMA, how is the KMA dealing with these phenomena of street trading and squatting in informal settlements, in the light of the fact that the phenomena as they currently are, are posing some challenges to, a good number of people and, the city?
4. Is it true that the “decongestion exercise” which has been so far adopted in dealing with these phenomena is expensive? For instance, did the decongestion exercise of 26th March cost as much as 1.122 billion cedis (equivalent of about US\$ 130,000)?
5. In the light of what currently pertains, can it be said that the authorities have been wasteful? What pertains is that the traders are back onto the streets and squatter settlements are springing up by the day.
6. What challenges have so far been encountered in the usage of the approach?
7. Were street traders and squatters involved in the usage of this approach?
8. What lessons has the KMA learnt from its usage of this approach?
9. Has the KMA thought of dealing with the phenomena differently from how it has handled the phenomena so far?
10. If so, how have lessons learnt from usage of previous failed approaches influenced this new thinking?

What are these lessons?

How was this new approach formulated? For instance, was it formulated by solely experts, or is it a product of broad consultations with other interested parties?

If it is a product of wide consultations, who are the stakeholders?

If no, why not?

11. Does the KMA have reliable data on street traders and slum dwellers, and their demographic characteristics?

APPENDIX 3

Interview/Questions Guide: Street Traders

Demographic Profile

1. Age of respondent: (a) 19 – 29 (b) 30 – 39
(c) 40 – 49 (d) 50 – 59
(d) 60+
2. Sex of respondents: (a) Male (b) Female
3. Marital status:
(a) Married (b) Single (c) Widowed (d) Divorced/Separated
4. Place of Residence: (a) Within Kumasi (b) Outside Kumasi
5. Educational status (a) Primary (b) Secondary (c) No schooling
6. Number of dependents

For how many years have you been selling here?

Do you have plans of leaving street trading any time in the future?

How did you come to be seated here?

Do you have licence from the KMA?

Have you been paying your tolls and taxes?

Do you know that it is against the law to sell here?

Why have you chosen to sell on the street when it is against the law?

Why do you not sell in any of the many satellite markets as suggested by the KMA?

What alternatives are available if you are evicted from here?

What is your view about the ‘decongestion exercise’, as is being carried out by the KMA?

Have you ever been affected by a ‘decongesting exercise’?

If yes, how did it affect you and why did you decide to come back?

Do you think that there is the need to decongest the city of Kumasi?

Why don't you indulge the KMA in decongesting the city and making it more beautiful?

Do you think that you have a role to play in decongesting the city?

What role do you think that you can play in decongesting Kumasi?

Do you think that the KMA will be more successful by engaging you?

Do you belong to any trader union? If yes, what is the name of the union? If no, why not?

What benefits do you think will accrue to you by belonging to a union?

Is this your main source of income?

APPENDIX 4

Interview/Questions Guide: Dwellers of Informal Settlements

Demographic Profile

1. Age of respondent: (a) 19 – 29 (b) 30 – 39
(c) 40 – 49 (d) 50 – 59
(d) 60+
2. Sex of respondents: (a) Male (b) Female
3. Marital status:
(a) Married (b) Single (c) Widowed (d) Divorced/Separated
4. Place of Birth: (a) Within Kumasi (b) Outside Kumasi
5. Educational status (a) Primary (b) Secondary (c) No schooling
6. Number of dependents

For how many years have you been living here?

How did you come to be living here?

Who granted you leave to live here?

What right do you have to live here?

Do you pay any rent or some other bills?

How much does it cost to live here?

Do you have any plans of leaving here and settling in a better place in future?

What will it take for you to leave here and settle permanently in a better place?

Do you enjoy living here? Yes..... or No.....

Do you think the authorities should do anything about the conditions here? Yes or No.....

What do you think the authorities should do to improve the conditions here?

Do you know that it is illegal to live here? Yes..... or No.....

Do you know that the KMA has in the past pulled down such structures in this same spot?

If yes, were you affected by it?

If yes, how did you and where did you live after the exercise?

Why did you then decide to come back and live here?

Don't you have fears that the KMA could come back and pull down the structures again? Yes.... or No....

Why are you adamant to leave here, knowing the attitude of the KMA towards residents of this place?

Do you think that there is the need for a 'decongestion exercise' to be carried out here?

What contribution do you have to make to ensure that this side of town is successfully decongested?

Do you belong to any union? Is there a union of the residents here?

Do you think you have any input to make in arriving at any decision regarding this place?

In other words, do you think that you have a stake in this place?