Urban land use planning and the quest for integrating the small-scale informal business sector

The case of Kumasi, Ghana

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ABSTRACT

Recently, urban informality has become a buzz word in the urban land use planning discourse. Various writers postulate its emergence especially in the city to the failure of the market economy to adequately provide the needs of the increasing urban populace, inappropriate laws governing urban areas, incapable urban management organisational frameworks, the result of abuse of power by governance organisations and actors, among others which have developed into various theories. However, very few of these interactions have translated to finding the synergies between the urban small-scale informal business and urban land use planning to integrate them for sustainable urban development especially in developing countries. Under this dilemma, incorporation of urban dwellers in the small-scale informal business in contemporary cities is an important challenge for urban land use planning in developing countries. A first step to this - the focus of this research - is to understand the small-scale informal business in terms of, among others, its characteristics and its relations with regulatory settings and, as well as, the statutory planning practices and the institutional provisions in place in reference to the smallscale informal business. Mapping our understanding of the small-scale informal business on the contemporary planning practices and institutional setting helps us identify planning challenges and potential areas for intervention – the normative objective of this research.

The analysis of this research is based on empirical evidences collected from two submetropolitan district councils of Kumasi in Ghana. The choice of the city is informed by its relatively high population density, unique land tenure system and high concentration of the small-scale informal business, while the study settlements with different regulatory setups offers options to related small-scale informal business with regulatory setting. Following a case study research approach, both quantitative and qualitative research methods including questionnaire survey, interviews and group discussions have been administered to gather empirical evidences. Again, a PGIS approach was employed in a neighbourhood each of the two study settlements to gather evidences on its appropriateness to effectively integrate the small-scale informal business into urban land use planning.

The research identifies that the small-scale informal business contributes to urban growth through employment of majority of the active labour force, as a revenue generation base for the city government through the payment of fees/rates/licences, the provision of essential goods and services to the majority of urban dwellers, and the preservation of cultural heritage through the continues production and sale of indigenous goods and services. With regards to the land use, their land uses were mostly fine-grained and mixed-use of interrelated activities which led to cluster formation in certain areas. Again, those engaged in trading and services tended to locate in feet-passing areas in the CBD and major roads in mostly ephemeral structures requiring little land size as compared to artisans, craftsmen and other manufacturing workers who were located mostly outside the CBD in relatively permanent structures requiring relatively bigger land sizes. Moreover, the institutional set-ups regulating urban land use planning were many and antiquated with their organisational set-ups incapable to adequately manage the city. Additionally, even though the small-scale informal business was largely the same in character, there were some peculiarities among them which are very important for any integration process.

The research suggests the adoption and implementation of innovative approaches in order to be able to integrate the small-scale informal business into urban land use planning for sustainable urban development especially in cities of developing countries. Accordingly, it suggests the establishment of a spatial observation system (SOS) for urban land use planning. Furthermore, it also suggests building the capacity of the local governments and their sub-structures.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AESL Architectural and Engineering Services Limited

CBD Central Business District

CIDA Canadian International Development Agency

CiGIS Community-integrated Geographic Information System

CLS Customary Lands Secretariat

DACF District Assemblies Common Fund

DDF District Development Fund

DFID Department for International Development

DPCU District Planning Coordinating Unit

DUR Department of Urban Roads
ECG Electricity Company of Ghana
EPA Environmental; Protection Agency
EPI Environmental Policy Integration

GDP Gross Domestic Product

GNSS Global Navigation Satellite System
GPS Geographical Positioning System

GRA Ghana Revenue Authority

GRATIS Ghana Regional Appropriate Technology Industrial Service

GSS Ghana Statistical Service

GTUC Ghana Trades Union Congress
GTZ German Technical Cooperation
GWCL Ghana Water Company Limited

ICT Information and Communication Technologies

IGF Internally Generated FundsIGR Internally Generated RevenueILO International Labour Organisation

ISIC International Standard Industrial Classification

ITTU Intermediate Technology Transfer Unit
KATH Komfo Anokye Teaching Hospital
KMA Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly

KNUST Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology

KPC Kumasi Planning Committee KTC Kumasi Traditional Council

KTL Kumasi Town Lands

LAP Land Administration Project

LC Lands Commission
LI Legislative Instrument
LPG Liquefied Petroleum Gas

LUPMIS Land Use Planning and Management Information System

LUPMP Land Use Planning and Management Project

MDA Ministries, Departments and Agencies

MENA Middle East and North Africa

MIGIS Mobile Interactive Geographic Information system
MLGRD Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development

MMDA Metropolitan Municipal and District Assemblies

MMDCE Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executive

MoFEP Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning

MP Member of Parliament

MTDP Medium-Term Development Plan

NBSSI National Board for Small Scale Industries
NDPC National Development Planning Commission

NHIL National Health Insurance Levy

OASL Office of the Administrator of Stool Lands

OECD Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

PGIS Participatory Geographic Information System
PNDCL Provisional National Defence Council Decree

PPGIS Public Participatory Geographic Information System
PPMED Policy Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation Division

RCC Regional Coordinating Council
RGD Registrar General's Department
RPCU Regional Planning Coordinating Unit

SIK Spatial Indigenous Knowledge SMDC Sub-Metropolitan District Council SPC Statutory Planning Committee

SPSS Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SSNIT Social Security and National Insurance Trust

STD Sexually Transmitted Diseases

TCDP Town and Country Planning Department

TIN Tax Identification Number

UC Unit Committee

UDHR Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN United Nations

UTM Universal Traverse Mercator

VAT Value Added Tax

WGS84 World Geodetic System

1. Introduction

This introductory chapter sets the tone for the entire report of the research. Its primary aim is to put the entire research into perspective. It provides a general background to the research which gives a global insight on the phenomenon under investigation. It also succinctly defines the research problem. Furthermore, it defines the scope of the research and also explains how the entire research has been structured in the report.

1.1 Background

The world has been witnessing the inability of the private sector and the market to solve urban problems as a result of the global economic crisis (World Bank Institute, 2010). The crisis has exposed the ability, resilience and future growth of the market in protecting and solving the problems of urban residents. As a result, many companies in the developed countries have had to outsource and in some cases relocate production units to developing countries where labour costs are cheaper in order to reduce production costs.

Additionally, limited domestic demand for the goods and services, international competition, shortages of capital for investment, and difficult operating conditions, including obstacles to accessing suitably located land, poorly developed infrastructure and unreliable services in most developing countries restrict the future growth and development of formal enterprises in most of these countries (UN-Habitat, 2009). The few formal enterprises that are located in these countries end up employing a small number of the ever increasing labour force in the growing populations of these countries. The rest will have to find means of income and employment in the small-scale informal business sector¹ in order to survive.

Moreover, as being currently witnessed, the continuing world economic crisis is reducing investments in capital projects and urban development across the world. As a result, there are increasing rates of unemployment, inflation, food prices among others in urban areas. Consequently, this is expected to increase levels of poverty and income inequality especially among urban residents. Undoubtedly, the rapid growth of the small-scale informal business sector in all urban centres, particularly in developing countries can be attributed to challenges the world economy is facing. In addition, the production of certain goods and services is peculiar to microenterprises which fall under the small-scale informal business sector in mostly developing countries. These are goods and services for which there is little or inadequate demand and

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¹ A small-scale informal business sector includes all sedentary small-business enterprises, employing a maximum of nine people including those that are generally own-account or self-employed, involved in the manufacturing or sale of legal or socially acceptable goods or services who trade from the street, informal market or other publicly accessible space (whether publicly or privately owned), but whose operation takes place at least in part or outside the prevailing regulatory environment and thus flouts either business regulation, planning codes or other legal requirements. See chapter two for detailed explanation of this concept.

therefore not profitable to the formal sector. Accordingly, the small-scale informal business and its related land uses, are very important in developing cities, especially low income ones. In reality, in almost all Sub-Saharan Africa cities the vast majority of employment is in the small-scale informal business. Between the period 2005 and 2010, the share of employment absorbed by the informal economy which is largely made up of small-scale informal businesses on the average was 58.4 per cent in Northern Africa, 65.9 per cent in Sub-Saharan Africa, 57.7 per cent in Latin America, 69.7 in Southern and south-eastern Asia (without Mongolia) and 22.6 per cent in Transition Countries (without Slovakia) (Charmes, 2012). In Charmes' estimation, the business's contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of developing countries in the 2000s was on the average, 63.6 per cent in Sub-Saharan Africa, 36.2 per cent in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), 42.1 in Asia and 29.2 per cent in Latin America. The sector comprises all types of economic activity from manufacturing, for instance, household based production, through retailing, and prepared food sales (street vendors). Unfortunately, the growth of the enterprises that fall under this category is bedevilled with many challenges.

Contrarily, many writers have highlighted many negative contributions of the small-scale informal business sector that affect urban development and management. Urban land use problems such as encroachments, conflict of land uses, incompatible land uses with their attendant urban environmental problems of congestion, various forms of pollution, haphazard development, traffic congestion among others are mostly cited as its inherent features due to their raw materials and methods of production. These negative contributions are sometimes deemed to have eroded and even outweigh any positive contributions of the small-scale informal business sector to the overall urban economy and also higher than those of industries in the formal sector (Prey, 1992, p. 12). As identified by Sethuraman and Ahmed (1992, p. 127), the chemical emissions and other toxic substances resulting from the activities of some of the enterprises in the small-scale informal business sector indeed severely affect the urban environment and are even injurious to the health of those involved. For instance, the uncontrolled preparation and marketing of herbal preparations by traditional healers in the small-scale informal business sector in Ghana could have serious consequences for public health. The blaring of music and advertisements from loud speakers by CD and DVD sellers including various sales vans for example could be blamed for noise pollution in the cities of many African countries.

Nonetheless, it is worthy of note that these urban management challenges especially those pertaining to the environment are not inherent features of the small-scale informal business sector as a whole but rather that of some enterprises in the sector. For instance, a small-scale commercial venture such as a neighbourhood vegetable vendor, fruit vendor, convenience shop among others will not generate negative effects as those being described above. It can be easily observed that, at the heart of the critic's narrative are the processes and procedures employed in the small-scale informal businesses rather than the businesses themselves. Hence, the fact that the small-scale informal business activities contribute positively to the urban economy is not

doubted. Not even by the critics. It is therefore argued that the problems with the activities of the small-scale informal business sector in the urban environment, is not mainly as a result of the sector but rather the way the activities are carried out and the way the sector is managed by city authorities.

As aptly captured by Sethuraman (1981, p. 172), the fundamental reason for the causing of urban land use and urban environmental problems by activities of the small-scale informal business sector is their total lack of access to urban land and supporting infrastructural facilities. Majority of the literature on land tenure and administration portray the cumbersome and expensive processes and procedures regulating access to land in urban areas of many developing countries. The various processes through which the small-scale informal businesses access urban land do not guarantee security of tenure. Consequently, this affects the level of investments on the structures accommodating the small-scale informal businesses. The structures are constructed with cheap and sub-standard materials which lead to the unpleasant physical structures. Obviously, there seems to be a connection between security of tenure and the level of investment in the structures of small-scale informal business activities. In a similar vein, Omuta (1986) and Sethuraman and Ahmed (1992) explain that urban land use problems and urban environmental nuisance attributed to the small-scale informal business sector are mainly the results of unresponsive physical planning and improper urban management systems rather than a characteristic of the sector. Ironically, even though there is growing level of awareness on the positive contributions of the sector to urban economies particularly those of the global south, the sector still faces various levels of harassment particularly in these same areas.

1.2 Statement of the research problem

In the estimation of the World Bank Institute (2010), a hindrance to agglomeration, industrial competitiveness and innovation in urban land use planning for economic development is the traditional single-use zoning approach in urban land use planning being practiced in most developing countries especially Africa. The approach has ignored and even provided disincentives for small-scale informal economic activities that are often disrupted by relocation that increases their costs of production and makes them less competitive. As Freund (2007) argues, the land use planning ordinances and decrees of post-colonial African cities often show little real variation from colonial patterns and are the underlining causes (Potts, 2007) of many of the evictions of small-scale informal businesses in Africa. The continued limitation of current urban design solutions such as the width of pavements and streets are the result of continued dependence on inherited urban designs from colonial times (Skinner, 2008). At the heart of the 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' of small-scale informal business sector debate is the extent of the accommodation of the sector in areas of high congestion, like transport nodes and places where there are middle class consumers.

Available literature reveals that there is a continuum from large scale, continuous, to occasioned eviction of small-scale informal businesses. In the accounts of Skinner (2008), probably, the

most violent and largest scale of eviction of small-scale informal business operators in the African continent is Zimbabwe's 'Operation *Murambatsvina*' in May, 2005. The literal Shona translation of '*Murambatsvina*' is 'getting rid of the filth' but which the Government translated to mean 'clean-up'. The targets of the operation were people living in informal housing and traders in the small-scale informal business sector. In the estimates of the UN-Habitat mission to Zimbabwe, some 700,000 people in cities across the country lost their homes and/or their source of livelihood (Tibaijuka, 2005). From the later part of May, 2005, an estimated 75,000 vendors in the capital, Harare were prevented from working (Potts, 2007).

Similarly, there are accounts of wide spread evictions of economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector especially in urban areas even though not to the extent of Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe. As stated by Transberg Hansen in her study of street traders in Zambia, in April, 1999 'council workers, police and paramilitary in riot gear razed the temporary market structures of Lusaka's city centre, extending the demolition the following night and weeks all across the city, into townships and residential areas... In June, similar operations took place on the Copperbelt and in the towns along the line-of rail'. Additionally, King (2006) gives accounts of similar findings. It is argued that the evictions are mostly the result of new urban managers demonstrating their competence to urban residents and their superiors to solve urban problems (Hansen, 2004; King, 2006).

Furthermore, there are historical instances of national government established systems to inhibit small-scale informal business operators. This is evidenced by the various studies which suggest measures, laws and conventions by national governments and local authorities to effectively ban small-scale informal businesses and also just before major public events (Rogerson and Hart, 1989; Nnkya, 2006; Lonrenço-Lindell, 2004; Potts, 2007; Setsabi, 2006). As cited by Skinner (2008), Bromley (2000) confirms the establishment of a framework of rules and guidelines to stop the operations of small-scale informal businesses as an international trend, drawing on over two and a half decades of related research and international policy. Bromley (2000, p. 12) opines that 'Aggressive policing [of street traders] is particularly notable just before major public and tourist events, on the assumption that orderly streets improve the image of the city to visitors'.

One of the main tools for 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' of the small-scale informal business sector in urban areas is licensing, as this gives them the right to operate or otherwise (Skinner, 2008). In order for the small-scale informal business operators to have a securer livelihood and invest both in their economic activities and their trading areas, security of tenure is critical. Licensing and site allocation are key components in better management of public spaces. However, at the heart of the issue of licensing is the proper calculation of the carrying capacity of small-scale informal business operators. As suggested by Lyons and Snoxell (2005a, p. 1078) that even though it was estimated that there were 500,000 small-scale informal business operators operating in Nairobi, Kenya, there were only 7,000 licences and formal sites.

It is suggested in the literature that one of the incentives of operating in the small-scale informal business sector is tax evasion but the question is whether the sector is guaranteed any services in return (or at least have the right to demand them). This can be an important factor in establishing more cooperative relations between small-scale informal business firms, formal businesses and local authorities.

Similar to the discussions above, the contribution of the small-scale informal business sector to the urban economy in Ghana is well documented. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) (2013), the sector employs more than 85 percent of the working population with more than 50 percent of the country's total population living in urban areas. In addition, the small-scale informal business sector is also an important source of revenue for local governments through the payment of rates, fees and licences (Tawiah, 2009; King, 2006). Small-scale informal businesses cover every sector of the urban economy in Ghana including commerce, urban agriculture, manufacturing, construction, service among others. As a result, the sector accesses urban public space and infrastructure in the urban areas of the country for their activities which is negotiated through various means which are outside the regulatory settings governing the urban areas in the country.

As a result, small-scale informal businesses are carried out on undeveloped land, right of ways (ROW), public open spaces, road reservations, sidewalks, nature reserves, foot bridges and pavements. This phenomenon according to the city authorities in the Ghana is illegal; as they are not in conformity with the laws governing the urban areas and the urban land use plans. Again, the various ways through which their access to urban public spaces and infrastructure are negotiated are also deemed illegal since they are contrary to the various legislations and regulations controlling access to these urban infrastructural facilities. According to the city authorities, these are the main causes of the haphazard development in the urban areas in the country which are seriously affecting the physical development of urban areas.

Moreover, it is generally argued by the city authorities that environmental pollution, health hazards, safety risks, localised traffic congestion and poor visual intrusions in the urban areas which are undoubtedly caused by some economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector are as a result of the existence of the sector in the urban area. As a result, small-scale informal businesses are frequently forcefully evicted² from the urban areas in the country by the city authorities in the name of public cleanliness and orderliness. Sometimes, these businesses are evicted merely to create an environment conducive to national or foreign investments in urban development projects (Gadugah, 2013). In certain situations, evictions are carried out by the city authorities in order to beautify the city by getting rid of the 'filth' (small-scale informal businesses) in the city in an activity usually christened 'decongestion exercises'.

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² Forceful evictions refer to the permanent or temporary removal through the seizure of goods and/or demolition of structures of small-scale informal businesses against their will from the land and/or location which they occupy (United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESR), 1997).

Consequently, these forceful evictions have led to the loss of livelihoods of small-scale informal business operators, who form majority of the urban poor. Moreover, the local governments also spend huge resources which hitherto would have been channelled into various urban development projects on operations of forceful evictions of the small-scale informal businesses in urban areas which have always proved unsuccessful. For instance, some forceful evictions carried out in Kumasi is estimated to have cost the local government about $GH \not\in 209,850.02$ (equivalent of about $\not\in 139,900$ with an exchange rate of $GH \not\in 1.50$ to $\not\in 1$) in 2007 (The Ghanaian Chronicle, 2009) and $GH \not\in 150,000$ (equivalent of about $\not\in 93,750$ with an exchange rate of $GH \not\in 1.60$ to $\not\in 1$) in 2008 (Tawiah, 2009). Similarly, the cost of forceful evictions excluding "the demolition of structures on waterways" in Accra is estimated to have cost the local government $GH \not\in 140,000$ (equivalent of $\not\in 87,500$ with an exchange rate of $GH \not\in 1.60$ to $\not\in 1$) in 2009 (Ghanaian Times, 2009). Sometimes these forceful evictions have led to the tragic loss of human lives when small-scale informal business operators resist the demolition of their shops (Forson, 2014). Obviously, these forceful evictions amount to a violation of the fundamental human 'rights to earn a living' and even their 'right to human life'.

Furthermore, the burgeoning literature has made various contributions towards the support of various forms of urban informality³ but very little has targeted the integration of the small-scale informal business sector into urban land use planning as a strategy to physically accommodate them in the urban area. Moreover, the growing literature on the small-scale informal business sector in Ghana is yet to shed light on the fact that integrating⁴ the small-scale informal business sector into urban land use planning will lead to better urban development and management in urban areas in Ghana. The discussions in the burgeoning literature in urban land use planning on the small-scale informal business sector and urban informality in general with respect to urban growth in the global south reveal some research gaps. It is these identified lacunae in the urban land use planning discourse that this research attempts to make a contribution. These discussions include:

- the immense body of literature on the contributions to the social, economic, political, cultural and spatial growth of urban areas by the urban informal sector especially in the urban areas of countries of the global south which it mostly undertakes outside formal structures or assistance drawing many criticisms from city authorities and governments;
- the burgeoning dialogue on the urban informal sector as a major avenue for the majority of urban dwellers especially those in the low income bracket to meet their livelihood

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³ Urban informality as used in this research refers to the general process through which urban populations and even the state through its various public organisations consume urban resources or participate in politics outside laid down regulations in governing urban development. See chapter three for a detailed understanding of the concept.

⁴ Integration is defined in terms of the acceptance, recognition, provision of physical attributes of location, space, shelter, and infrastructure and support services together with security of tenure to the small-scale informal business sector. See chapter four for a detailed explanation of the concept.

requirements through the urban areas of especially countries in the global south as a result of inadequate urban land use planning regimes;

- the ongoing debate on the contextualisation of urban informality and for that matter the urban informal sector as it defies clichés such as 'illegal', 'inferior', 'marginal', 'poor' among others and can only be contextualised or defined in relation to its origin, and its character in different regulatory settings; and
- the seeming limited investigation on the possible means of integrating the urban small-scale
 informal business sector into urban land use planning as a meaningful contribution to
 sustainable urban development, and urban dwellers living in the informal sector as well as
 contribute to the production of knowledge and evidences of empirical nature to facilitate
 research and teaching approaches on urban informality as a whole.

Accordingly, they inform the general objective of this research: to identify, understand and analyse the characteristics and settings of the informal sector in relation to regulatory settings, the statutory planning practices and institutional provisions as well as the processes through which they access urban resources outside the formal framework. The pursuance of this objective is undertaken by selecting two sub-metropolitan district councils of the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA), Ghana, as case study areas. The land spaces of the many micro and small scale economic activities in these settlements were not planned for by the existing urban land use planning regime. But these land spaces have profusely emerged with the control and direction of local actors and norms, values and customs and sometimes even with the complicity of city authorities and public organisations. Furthermore, the additional aim of the research is to explore various means for the integration of the urban small-scale informal business sector into urban land use planning. This is highly anticipated to facilitate the creation of spatial justice⁵ for all urban dwellers.

1.3 Research questions

The research seeks to address the following research questions:

- What are the characteristics and land use needs of the small-scale informal business enterprises including how they access urban resources outside the formal frameworks in Kumasi?
- How does the urban land use planning legislations including planning standards, and development guidelines and zoning regulations affect the small-scale informal business enterprises in Kumasi?
- Why is the existing urban land use planning system not making provision for the small-scale informal business sector in Kumasi and how can it be resolved?

⁵ Spatial justice refers to the concept of producing spaces that meets and promotes the present and future needs of all segments of society without any discrimination. See chapter three for a more detailed understanding of the concept.

• Which new urban land use planning approaches would best respond to the requirements of the small-scale informal business sector and anticipate their future requirements whilst promoting sustainable urban development?

Embedded in the above broad questions are several sub-questions which were detailed out in the various field instruments that were employed during the field investigation. The specific tools which were selected and used for each type of question as well as for analysing them have been profoundly explained in the chapter on methodology (chapter five) that elucidates on the research methodology. Responding to these questions provides a better appreciation of the nexus between the urban environment and the small-scale informal business sector, and thus aid in designing appropriate means for integration.

1.4 Research propositions and hypotheses

Propositions and hypotheses refer to the formulation of a possible answer to a research question. Consequently, they guide data collection for answering research questions. Whilst propositions are usually employed in qualitative research, hypotheses on the other hand are common in quantitative research. The main difference between the two is that hypotheses must be testable, measurable and falsifiable, while a proposition deals with statements about pure concepts that are being investigated and may be verified to be true or false. However, propositions can be formulated for testing, measuring and falsifying in which case they become hypotheses. The research employs both the propositions and hypotheses since it employs the mixed methods approach. Obviously, the propositions guide the qualitative aspect of the research whilst the hypotheses determines the relationship between the research variables – urban regulatory settings for urban land use planning and small-scale informal business sector – guides the quantitative aspect.

Propositions

As is well elaborated in section 1.2, the research proposes that the small-scale informal business sector is a major avenue for the majority of urban dwellers especially those in the low income bracket to meet their livelihood requirements albeit the use of processes outside regulatory settings in urban areas of especially countries in the global south as a result of inadequate urban land use planning regimes.

Hypothesis

According to the literature, the character of small-scale informal businesses in urban areas is usually largely influenced by the regulatory settings of the area. The various media through which they access land, infrastructure among others in the city is as a consequence of the regulations controlling access to these facilities in the city. They negotiate access to land and various public infrastructural facilities in relation to the regulations controlling access to them.

They relate to actors based on the power bestowed on them by the regulations controlling activities in the urban area. Consequently, the research hypothesises that:

The small-scale informal business sector of different regulatory settings in Kumasi has similar characteristics.

1.5 Scope of the research

The main aim of the research is to examine the land use dynamics of the small-scale informal business sector in terms of their struggle for space, operational problems, issues of expansion, access to infrastructure and also to suggest various means of physically incorporating them into the urban space through their integration into the urban land use planning to ensure sustainable urban development. Even though there are various forms of urban informality, the research focusses on small-scale informal businesses. Economic activities that have no firm legal status including business operating licence, planning permission, building permission, prove of land ownership even though the actual goods and services being produced are ethical and legally sound. For the purposes of this research, urban economic activities with a maximum of five employees including those that are operated by the owners themselves, and are without firm legal status were considered as belonging to the small-scale informal business sector.

This research is a case study that follows a mixed methodology approach of combined qualitative and quantitative approaches. A participatory geographical information system (PGIS) approach was also employed to elicit spatial indigenous knowledge (SIK) as a catalyst for integrating the small-scale informal business sector. The empirical research focussed on two sub-metropolitan district councils of Kumasi in Ghana. The choice of the city is informed by its relatively high population density, unique land tenure system and high concentration of the small-scale informal businesses, while the two sub-metropolitan district councils with different regulatory setups controlling land offers options related to small-scale informal business examination.

1.6 Rationale for the research

The small-scale informal business sector constitutes an important aspect of the urban area in Ghana and that of many developing countries. The sector offers employment to many urban dwellers of which majority are the urban poor. As a result, small-scale informal businesses are the livelihoods of many urban dwellers and the urban poor. In addition, the sector also is the producer and supplier of certain peculiar goods and services to the general urban population. Generally, small-scale informal businesses supply goods and services in smaller units to the urban population which is not profitable to formal businesses. Again, various studies have enumerated the contribution of the sector to the internally generated funds of many local governments in the urban areas of many developing countries through the payment of various levies, rates, fees and licences (Tawiah, 2009; King, 2006). Despite the above stated contributions that the sector makes to the urban area, it is not recognised and its requirements are not planned for by the urban land use planning process. A study to understand the dichotomy

between urban land use planning and the small-scale informal business sector as a basis for recommending appropriate strategies for integrating the two is worthwhile.

Conversely, the business activities of the small-scale informal sector are undertaken outside the regulatory settings governing the urban areas. Apart from the fact that the small-scale informal businesses are not registered with the appropriate state organisation, they settle on land and areas that have not been zoned for them by the urban land use planning process on the urban land use plans. For instance, small-scale informal business occupy urban public spaces such as road reservations, public parks, pavements, alleys, nature reserves, streets and other land use zones such as residential, educational, civic and cultural among others. According to city authorities the locations of small-scale informal businesses are the main cause of various land use conflicts, encroachments, incompatibles land uses, congestion among others in the urban areas. Furthermore, the sector's access to the already inadequate public infrastructure such as roads, markets, electricity, water, parking spaces among others mostly outside the regulatory settings governing is usually blamed as the cause of the inability of the infrastructure to adequately serve the urban population. Coupled with these are the various harmful emissions and toxic substances that emanate from some of the activities of the small-scale informal businesses which are injurious to the urban population and even to the health of the operators. As a solution to the above enumerated challenges in the urban area, city authorities carry out forceful evictions of the small-scale informal businesses. These forceful evictions destroy the livelihoods of those engaged in the sector and sometimes also lead to the loss of human lives when some small-scale informal business sector operators resist being evicted as already stated in section 1.2 above. Besides, the forceful evictions are also an infringement on the right of the small-scale informal business operators to work and also to their human life.

This research argues that, the urban land use problems and urban environmental nuisance attributed to the small-scale informal business sector are mainly the results of unresponsive urban land use planning and improper urban management systems rather than a characteristic of the sector. The precarious existence of the small-scale informal business sector deserves a careful study for integration into urban land use planning because it is importance to the urban population of developing countries and also has implications for urban development in Ghana as well as especially most developing countries.

Opportunely, various studies have examined the activities of small-scale informal businesses in the urban areas in Ghana (see Mensah, 2006; Yeboah, 1998; Hart, 1973). However, most of these studies tend to limit their analyses to the characteristics of the small-scale informal businesses and the evictions they suffer from city authorities but not their requirements of access to urban land, urban infrastructure and support services and integration into urban land use planning. Although these studies have been carried out to examine the small-scale informal business sector and the evictions they suffer in urban areas in Ghana, there is an urgent need to investigate the requirements of the sector as impetus for integration into urban land use planning in Ghana. This research will also serve us an important resource tool to urban land use planners, city managers

and other urban management actors in ensuring sustainable urban development in Ghana. In addition, a study into the characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector will immensely contribute to related studies carried out in Africa (for instance, Potts, 2005, 2006, 2007), South America (for instance, Crossa, 2009), as well as other areas (for instance, Peters, 2009).

1.7 Structure of the research

This dissertation has been organised into four parts of twelve chapters. In each chapter, a distinct outlook that relates to each stage of analysing the main research focus and answering the research questions is presented. The twelve chapters address a variety of issues at various levels. The structure of the entire report has been diagrammatically presented in figure 1.1 below.

Part I of the thesis constitutes chapters 1, 2, 3, and 4, which describes the research problem and the reviewed literature underpinning the entire research. Chapter 1 introduces the research and states the research problem, the research questions, the scope of the research, the rationale for the research and the structure of the entire report. Chapter 2 sets out to present an overview of the current debate on small-scale informal business sector in the literature. It discusses the general characteristics of the sector in relation to developing countries and narrows down to the Ghana. The contributions of the sector to the urban economy and the challenges it presents are also discussed to arrive at a definition of the phenomenon. The emerging issues on urban informality and urban land use planning are discussed in Chapter 3.

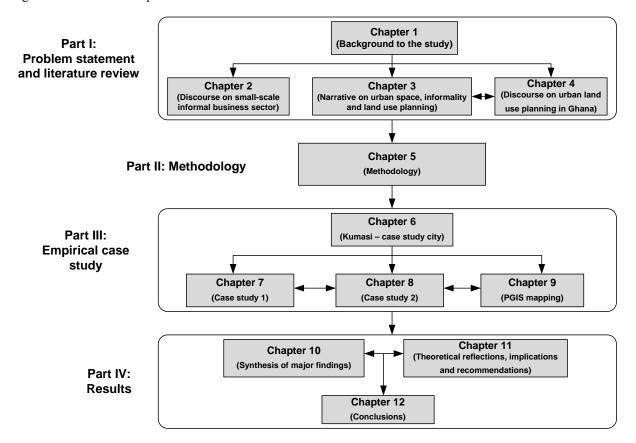
Chapter 3 provides the theoretical basis of the research and the current discourse on urban informality, urban space and their associations with urban land use planning. Moreover, chapter highlights the global outlook on planning urban spaces as well as the practice urban planning in Sub-Saharan Africa. It also discusses the issue of spatial justice and how urban land use planning can contribute to produce it in urban spaces. The lessons learnt from these discussions guided the analysis on the legislations, organisations and the various actors involved in urban land use planning in Ghana and its relation to the small-scale informal business sector in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4 therefore discusses the legal and organisation framework as well as the system for planning urban land uses in Ghana. It highlights the historical developments in the legal and organisation framework for urban land use planning. In addition, the functioning of state institutions, local governments and current institutional reform activities undertaken in the LUPMP of LAP are also analysed. These descriptions aim to highlight the extent to which the institutional framework affects the small-scale informal business in the urban area. This helped to focus on the issues to be investigated and the relationship among them which is presented in a conceptual framework. This made it possible to adopt a suitable research methodology which has been well explained in chapter 5.

Part II is made of chapter 5 which gives detailed discussions on the methodological approach, the various specific methods that were employed for which type of data set, how they were carried

out on the field and the kind of result they yielded. The chapter also elucidates on the various analytical techniques for analysing the various data sets and their presentation.

Figure 1.1: Structure of report



Part III opens with chapter 6 which discusses the national and local context of the research by considering the peculiar conditions in Ghana and Kumasi with regards to the research topic, and also introduces the two sub-metropolitan district councils. The rationale for choosing the cases is also highlighted. Chapters 7 and 8 present the results of the field studies, and describe the various issues that were researched. Chapter 7 discusses the characteristics of the small-scale informal business, the various land tenure systems and their practices, and development and livelihood conditions in the Subin sub-metropolitan district council. Similarly, chapter 8 presents the investigation of these issues in the Oforikrom sub-metropolitan district council. The chapters elaborate on nature of activities and the people in the small-scale informal business; their perceptions on economic growth, the local municipality and access to infrastructure and support services; formalisation of the economic activities; access to municipal services; environmental hazards of the economic activities; fees/rates/licences paid; issues affecting the economic activities among others. Chapter 9 concludes the empirical research and the institutional capacity assessment by examining the potential of PGIS and SIK for urban land use planning. The chapter presents a case study of a community in each of the two sub-metropolitan district councils, in which a PGIS technique was employed to assess the usability of the tool to elicit SIK and empower the small-scale informal business as well as the local community to ensure effective participation.

Based on the requirements from the literature and the conclusions drawn from the empirical research, Part IV of the thesis (Chapters 10, 11 and 12) looks towards how solutions might be found to the research problems outlined in the research. Chapter 10 discusses the major findings and the cross cutting issues emerging from the findings of the cases. Chapter 11 relates the major findings back to the theory and finally chapter 12 concludes by discussing the general conclusions of the entire research, and also reflecting on the methodology. In the light of the findings, innovative approaches are also offered for integrating the small-scale informal business sector into urban land use planning as well as suggestions on possible areas of further research.

1.8 Concluding remarks

Small-scale informal businesses are conspicuous features of most urban areas of many countries especially those of the global south. They form every aspect of the urban economy of the cities. Their contribution to the urban economy and the urban population at large of many cities in developing countries cannot be underestimated. The sector offers employment opportunities to majority of the urban working force in developing countries. It produces and/or supplies goods and/or services to urban population at smaller units which otherwise is not profitable to formal businesses. However, the sector faces evictions and harassments from city authorities largely as result of unauthorised business locations, unappealing businesses structures, unsightly working environments, emissions of harmful chemicals and other toxic substances from the activities of the sector. These negatives of the sector are mostly due to unresponsive urban land use planning and urban management systems. The chapter presents the study background, research problem, research question and the rationale for the study. The immediate chapter following provides a contextual discussions on small-scale informal sector in Ghana.

2 The discourse on the informal business sector

This examines the literature on the burgeoning discourse on the informal business sector in general and particularly in Ghana. It begins with the meaning of the informal business sector, the characteristics on the informal business sector and narrows down to the definition of the small-scale informal business sector in the context of this research. Further, it discusses the setting of the small-scale informal business sector in Ghana; the characteristics of the sector; the contributions of the sector to the operators, urban population and the state as well as strategies that have been adopted by the state to deal with the sector over the years. The chapter ends with concluding remarks to summarise the discussions and links it to the next chapter.

2.1 Meaning of the informal business sector

According to the literature, the concept of the 'informal' business activities emerged in Africa in the early 1970s and ever since has attracted the attention of a number of researchers around the globe. The concept was largely used as a description of how labour moved in and out of cities in the 1950s and 60s. In order to understand the immigrants and their nature of work, a two sector model was proposed by W. Arthur Lewis, who was one of the first scholars to discover the phenomenon (Lewis, 1954). These immigrants were to be later referred to as state sector and a "trade-service" sector by Lloyd George Reynolds. He described the latter as "the multitude of people whom one sees thronging the city streets, sidewalks and back alleys in the developing countries: the petty traders, street vendors, coolies and porters, small artisans, messengers, barbers, shoe-shine boys and personal servants" (Reynolds, 1969).

The term informal sector as now being widely used to describe the concept is however traced to the work of Keith Hart (1973). He first made a difference between formal and 'informal' sectors, basing his differentiation on types of employment — whether wage-earning or self-employment — with the degree of rationalisation serving as the key variable. Specifically, Hart noted that the 'informal' (or traditional or underemployed) urban poor often engaged in petty capitalism as a substitute for the wage employment to which they were denied access.

According to Sethuraman (1981), the term further dominated the position of the International Labour Organization (ILO) reports on Ghana and Kenya at the beginning of the 1970s. According to these studies, the key problem in these two countries was not unemployment, but rather the vast number of working poor 'struggling to produce goods and services without their activities being recognised. In 1972, the ILO in its Kenya Mission Report, defined informality as a "way of doing things characterised by (a) ease of entry; (b) reliance on indigenous resources; (c) family ownership; (d) small-scale operations; (e) labour intensive and adaptive technology; (f) skills acquired outside of the formal sector; (g) unregulated and competitive markets". The concept of the informal sector, therefore, has its origin specifically from the works of Hart and the ILO in Ghana and Kenya. Based on the characteristics of the concept from the ILO, many countries where activities manifest these characteristics coin alternative labels to best describe

the phenomenon (see Table 2.1). As a result, these various labels further provide a comprehensive understanding of the informal sector.

Although the concept of the informal sector was found in Africa, which is made up largely of developing countries, the phenomenon is not found exclusively in transitional or developing economies, but is also present in developed countries as well. Tanzi (1982) and Portes et al (1989) state that, 'in fact, informal sectors in many industrial countries increased during the economic recession and reorganisation of the 1970s and 1980s and continue to exist today – such as the notorious sweatshops that flourish in New York'.

2.1.1 Cross cutting issues on the characteristics of the informal sector

Even though the informal sector has not lent itself to easy definition as a result of the various forms and nature of activities, they all share about similar characteristics or features. According to the World Trade Organization (WTO) and ILO (2009), the characteristics of the informal sector includes; (very) small size, short life, use of (very) little capital, have (very) low productivity levels and often do not operate in an office or plant but within households or on the street. The following are a presentation of four (4) key cross cutting issues on the characteristics of activities in the informal sector.

i. Legal and Illegal

As stated by the United States Department of Labour (1992):

- Legal income refers to income that is generated from activities that are legal. In other words, these activities produce goods and services whose exchange is not prohibited but the appropriate reporting requirement to a taxing or regulatory authority (i.e. tax, immigration, licensing) may not be fulfilled. For instance, unrecorded and unreported cash payments made off-the-books or under-the-table work or income from moonlighting (second job) is not reported to tax and social security authorities.
- Illegal income on the other hand refers to income generated from activities that are illegal
 and prohibited in themselves. These may include among others winnings from illegal
 gambling, earnings from illegal prostitution, smuggling, illegal trade in drugs, tobacco,
 firearms and alcohol, skimming of receipts, theft and other activities specifically banned by
 law.

Activities that constitute the informal sector can therefore be legal or illegal and these can be distinguished by the manner in which the goods or services are produced and/or exchanged. For example, as stated by Raijman (2001), food, clothing and childcare services are legal commodities but may originate in both legally regulate and unregulated production arrangements. These activities are intrinsically unlawful but violate some non-criminal rules or laws such as not filing taxes or adhering to labour laws (Castells and Portes, 1989; Porte and Sassen-Koob, 1987; Sassen-Koob, 1989; Stepick, 1989).

Similarly, income generated by economic activities may be differentiated by the legality of the production or provision of goods and services and the legal status of the goods and services themselves. For instance, a food vendor by the street is selling a perfectly legal product – food (e.g. meat, bread, vegetables, bread, sausages among others) that has been bought from the supermarket and being offered with value added (prepared, at a convenient location) to a customer. It may be, however, that the vendor does not have the right permit from health authority or evades paying sales tax. The food is still legal, however. If the police stop the vendor, they may seize the food as evidence and the vendor may be fined for violating health or tax codes. The same however cannot be said of a street crack dealer. Even if the crack dealer has any number of permits to sell on the street, the product itself is still illegal. Even though technically both individuals have violated a law, their situations when arrested or stopped are distinctly different. The crack dealer routinely violates the law by the very business he or she is engaged in. For the food vendor, the violation occurs only due to failure to follow laid down regulations (Cross and Johnson, 2000).

There is therefore a distinction between activities in the informal sector that derive their illegality from the noncompliance of regulations and non-payment of taxes from activities that are criminal in nature such as money laundering, prostitution, trafficking in stolen goods and human beings, gambling and illegal drug distribution. But it must also be stated that due to the fluid nature of the informal sector activities, it is difficult to categorise the activities into legal (which can be said only of a formal category) or illegal.

ii. Cash as the most common medium of exchange

Another important feature of the informal sector is the use of cash as the commonly used medium of exchange as rather than other mediums such as payroll statements, credit cards, debit cards or cheques. According to McCrohan, Smith and Adam (1991), this is to avoid a record of the activities. This kind of arrangement is usually referred to as off-the-books or under-the-table which portrays the situation of a person receiving payment in a manner that is not traceable (Losby et al., 2003). Again, other transactions in the informal sector may be based on exchange of services of those engaged in the sector, which is usually called barter system. For instance, a tailor may not charge a fee for services provided but may expect a customer who is a carpenter to repair the leaking roof of his workshop. It can therefore be realised that in this kind of exchange, it will be difficult to officially record the transaction.

iii. Unreported income or wages

As already mentioned above, since the nature of the exchange is cash or bartering, it is not easy to have a proper documentation of the transaction, hence the income in order to charge the appropriate tax. This is the arrangement which is followed by both the individuals who work informally and the enterprises engaged in informal activities. As a result the individual workers do not file their tax returns to the state neither do the enterprises file the income tax returns of their employees nor the enterprise.

iv. Conditions of labour

A final key feature of the informal sector activities is the condition under which workers are employed. This is in reference to the labour laws, health conditions, safety hazards or the location of activities that disregard zoning laws (Castells and Portes, 1989). The informal sector is widely viewed as being an inferior alternative to formal sector employment with regards to salaries, security, and protection from exploitation regarding labour standards. For instance, employees are usually offered wages lower than minimum wage which are also without benefits such as social security, worker's compensation, or unemployment insurance which are usually legally-required since there is no official record of employment to file with state authorities. In addition, most informal employments disregard standards of age, wage, and hours of work. The physical structure in which employees work may also be environmentally harmful and the equipment may be out-of-code and unsafe (Losby et al, 2003).

2.1.2 Arriving at a definition of the small-scale informal business sector

From the above discussions, it can be realised that the concept of the informal sector is referred to differently by different countries and writers as depicted in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: The small-scale informal business by other terminologies

Term	Author
Trade-Service Sector	Reynolds (1969)
Informal Income Opportunities	Hart (1971)
Unenumerated Sector	Weeks (1971)
Small-scale informal business	Hart (1973)
Irregular Economy	Ferman and Ferman (1973)
Intermediate Sector	Child (1973), Steel (1976)
Community of the Poor	Rempel (1974), Gutkind (1976)
Unstructured Sector	Emmerij (1974)
Family-Enterprise Sector	Peattie (1974), Mazumdar (1976)
Irregular Sector	Standing (1977)
Unorganized Sector	Joshi and Joshi (1976), Harriss (1978), CSO India (1980)
Petty Commodity Production	Moser (1978)
Lower-Circuit of Urban Economy	Santos (1979)
Casual Work	Bromley and Gerry (1979)
Non-Plan Activities	Sarin (1979)
Non-Westernized Sector	Hackenberg (1980)
Urban Subsistence Sector	Cole and Sanders (1985)
The Informal Economy	McCrohan and Smith (1986), Portes et al. (1986)
Informals	De Soto (1989)
People's Economy	Sasono and Rofi'ie (1987)
Non-formal Sector	ILO-SAAT and UNDP (1998)
The Urban Informals	Bayat (2000)
System D	Neuwirth (2012)

Source: Modified from Amin (2002).

Nonetheless, all the different terminologies of the concept overwhelmingly point to similar activities as those described by the ILO's characteristics discussed in section 2.1 above.

Similarly, as there are many terminologies, so are there definitions of the concept of the informal sector as shown in Table 2.2. Initially defined by the ILO (1972), as characterised by ease of entry, reliance on indigenous resources and small size of operations, during the 1970s and 1980s the definition expanded to cover size of firm and type of employment. An agreed statistical definition was proposed in 1993 (UN-HABITAT, 2006; ILO, 2002a). More recently, the term 'informal economy' has been adopted as a better description of the diversity of workers operating informally. One of the simplest definitions of the informal economy, given by Portes et al. (1989), defined the informal sector as any 'economic activity that uses illegal means to produce legal products and services', an understanding shared by de Soto in his allusion to 'extra-legal' activities (for example, ILD, 2005b), but as Cross argues, the distinction between the formal and informal may never be clear (Cross, 2000, p. 33).

Table 1.2: Definitions of small-scale informal business sector by various writers

Table 1.2: Definitions of small-scale informal business sector by various writers			
Definition	Author		
Unregulated economic enterprises or activities	Hart,1973		
All economic activities that contribute to the officially calculated gross national	Feige, 1989		
product but currently unregistered			
Small-scale informal business is defined to include the (a) unprotected regular and	ILO, 1992b		
casual employment (i.e., workers in the establishments who do not participate in the			
social security system or what is known as the Employees Provident Fund) and (b)			
self-employed including unpaid family labour.			
The Small-scale informal business is comprised of economic activity that uses illegal	Portes et al, 1989a		
means to produced legal products			
Market-based production of goods and services, whether legal or illegal, that escapes	Smith , 1994		
detection in the official estimates of the gross domestic product			
Small-scale informal business includes economic activities as self-employed with or	Joshi, 1997		
without unpaid family workers, and those employed in enterprises with less than 10			
persons.			
Small-scale informal business is economic activity unrecorded in the official	Farrell et al, 2000		
statistics such as the gross domestic product and /or the national income accounts			
According to the Central Statistical Organization, all unincorporated enterprises and	Chandra and Pratap, 2001		
household industries (other than organized ones) which are not regulated by law and			
which do not maintain annual accounts or balance sheet constitute the unorganized			
sector.			
The categories of workers which can be considered to comprise the small-scale	Horiuchi, 2001		
informal business are: the self-employed with employees, self-employment without			
employees, family workers, and persons doing home handicraft.			
An informal enterprise, like any other enterprise, is an organisation that uses inputs	Moreno-Monroy, 2012		
to produce goods and/or services			

Source: Modified from Amin (2002).

Form the foregoing, it can realised that despite the existence of substantial literature about the informal sector, there is still no concise and universally agreed definition of the sector. However, all the definitions of the informal economic activities denote an entity that is small-scale, elusive of governmental requirements such as registration, tax, social security obligations, health and

safety regulations, and is generally unprotected or unregulated by state organisations. As definitions are derived for specific purposes, an adopted definition of the sector is informed by the particular aspect of interest of the sector that is being studied. According to Amin (2002), the sector is sometimes defined based on two categories – size of enterprise and type of labour engaged in activity - underlie the definitions:

- the enterprise approach to defining the informal sector draws on the informal/formal distinction according to the size of the enterprise (e.g., enterprises which employs less than a certain number of employees that are not registered under specific forms of national legislation). This demarcation is not arbitrary, but is conceptually based on some enterprises having neither official status nor state coverage. Most countries' institutional coverage is limited, and drawing a line in terms of size reflects that inadequacy; and
- the labour status approach focuses on the work status of the labour force on the assumption that labour protection laws do not cover certain categories of the labour force. These labour categories are the "self-employed", "own-account workers", and "self-employed assisted by family members" and "family workers". As a result, these three groups comprise the informal sector from a labour status standpoint.

In his opinion, the criticism of the latter approach is that it does not include wage labour, whilst the enterprise approach leads to inclusion of all wage labour, including those employed in the informal enterprises as defined by the enterprise approach. This gives rise to an anomaly in measuring the size of the informal sector. The labour status approach often yields an underestimate of the size of the sector for non-inclusion of wage labour.

Moreover, another common theme across most of the definitions is the location of the informal activity. Bhowmik (2005, p. 2256) includes both stationary and mobile traders, defining a street vendor as a person trading from the street "who offers goods for sale to the public without having a permanent built-up structure from which to sell". Bromley (2000), identifies the location of trade as streets and other related public axes such as alleyways, avenues and boulevards; and Mitullah (2004, p. 5) describes street trade as activity which takes place "outside enclosed premises or covered workspace" on street pavements, sidewalks, but also at bus stops and in other public places.

A second approach, more akin to definitions of the informal economy, uses a broad range of legal infringements as the defining criterion. For example, Cross defines street vending as "the production and exchange of legal goods and services that involved the lack of appropriate business permits, violation of zoning codes, failure to report tax liability, non-compliance with labour regulations governing contracts and work conditions, and/or legal guarantees in relations with suppliers and clients" (Cross, 1999, p. 580).

Similarly, even though there is no common officially accepted definition of the small-scale informal business sector, small-scale businesses are defined based on the number of people

employed and the value of fixed assets of the business. For instance, whilst the GSS considers firms with less than 10 employees as small-scale enterprises the National Board for Small-scale Industries defines a Small Scale Enterprise as one with not more than 9 workers, has plant and machinery (excluding land, buildings and vehicles) not exceeding 10 million old Ghana Cedis (US\$ 9506, using 1994 exchange rate). Consequently, the approach adopted in this research emphasises location, legality and number of people engaged by the business which conforms to the definitions used in Ghana. The small-scale informal business sector as used in this study:

include all sedentary small-scale business entrepreneurs, employing a maximum of five people including those that are generally own-account or self-employed, involved in the manufacturing or sale of legal or socially acceptable goods or services who trade from the street, informal market or other publicly accessible space (whether publicly or privately owned), but whose operation takes place at least in part outside the prevailing regulatory environment and thus flouts either business regulation, planning codes or other legal requirements.

Thus, they are distinguished from market traders, who work from established premises in formal municipal or private markets. It however, excludes illegal or harmful practices such as the sale of drugs.

2.2 The setting of the small-scale informal business sector in Ghana

Much of Ghana was engaged in a 'self-sufficient village system' for majority of the periods preceding colonisation. Land was mainly used for agricultural purposes to produce food for the household and the surplus reserved for exchange. With the arrival of the Europeans and the onset colonisation, the demand for cash crops such as cocoa, coffee, timber and other raw materials led to the commercialisation of land. Overtime urban areas became important areas in the process. For instance, Kumasi emerged as a major destination for marketing the raw materials by the surrounding towns and villages due to its location, Accra and Takoradi were the major transit points for exporting the raw materials to especially Europe due to their sea ports. The main features of the colonial economy were largely primary commodity production for export, investments in mining, transportation and related services, infrastructure and public works, and social development (The Statesman, 2007). As explained by Ninsin (1991), informal sector was an integral part of the economy providing varieties peasant proprietors and agricultural labourers, distribution agents, buyers, transport owners and employees, porters, repairers underscoring its diverse character even at such an early stage of the country's economy.

The rise of the sector the in the 1980s and early 90s is largely blamed on the Economic Reform Programme (ERP) – structural adjustment - in Ghana. The introduction of the ERP led to the downsizing in the public sector through retrenchments and the management of the public service along private sector lines for efficiency and cost recovery (The Statesman, 2007). According to Baah-Boateng (2004), on the average, there was an annual reduction on formal sector employment at the rate of 3.7 percent between the period 1985 and 1991. In addition, between

1987 and 2000, more than 300 state enterprises were sold, resulting in a reduction in formal sector employment from 18 percent in 1989 to 13 percent in 1999. Some 70,000 people lost their jobs in the formal economy (Adu-Amankwa, 2007). Others were also redeployed to other sectors of the public service and lost, as a result, about 27–48 percent of their initial income, depending on whether they were entitled to the payment of severance package (Alderman, Canagarajah, & Younger, 1995). Women employees were strongly affected: in 1987, for example, they constituted 31.7 percent of those who lost their jobs (The Statesman, 2007). A few of those people who lost their jobs found work in the private formal economy; most of them did not, so they had to work in the informal economy. As a result, many people who hitherto were decently employed were forced into the burgeoning informal sector where they made a living (Baah-Boateng, 2004; Obeng-Odoom, 2009a).

Subsequently, the growth of the sector in Ghana has been rapid in the last two decades (Arthur, 1991; Kendie, 1998; Otiso & Owusu, 2008; Owusu et al., 2008; UN-HABITAT, 2009). The reasons for this rapid growth are not far from those already explained above. According to the GSS (2013), the public sector employs 6.4 percent of the economically active labour force; similarly, the formal private sector employs 6.9 percent; both local and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs), civil society organisations (CSOs) and diplomatic missions employ 0.5 per cent and the private informal sector employs 82 per cent of the working population in Ghana. With an urban population of about 51 percent (GSS, 2013), the distribution of employment in the national economy in Ghana is similar to what pertains in the urban economy of the country.

The urban informal sector in Ghana is heterogeneous in character. As explained by Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah (2008), some operators in the informal sector make as much income as those in the formal sector and could eventually move into the formal sector with the accumulation of more capital. However, there some who have to work under poor conditions, like long hours and severe weather conditions, to obtain about US\$ 2 a day. Although Ghana has been experiencing positive economic growth over the last decade, the informal economy has continued to expand at a rate of about 5.6 per annum, compared to less than 1 percent in the formal sector (Barwa, 1995, p. 4).

Categories of the small-scale informal business sector in Ghana

The small-scale informal business sector permeates every aspect of the economy in Ghana. The small-scale businesses in the sector are varied and diverse in character. They are engaged in the production and/or supply of varied and diverse goods and/or services. The sector can be found every stage – primary, secondary and tertiary - of production of the economy in Ghana. The sector employs majority of the urban poor including the aged, the young and women. Based on analysis of a survey of the leadership of the Ghana Trades Union Congress (GTUC), Adu-Amankwah (1999) categorised the urban small-scale informal business sector to include:

i. Services

- urban food traders and processors include food sellers in the market, itinerant wholesalers and retailers, bakers, caterers and cooked-food sellers. These workers are mostly women, predominantly illiterate or semi-illiterate. They acquire their knowledge and skills largely from family. They are also low-income earners and have no social security protection;
- health and sanitation workers chemical sellers, drugstore operators, funeral undertakers, night soil carriers, refuse collectors, traditional/herbal healers, attendants in private maternity homes, and traditional birth attendants;
- domestic workers, who are also predominantly women;
- repairers of watches, refrigeration equipment, radios, mechanical or electrical/electronic
 equipment, mostly young male workers under 45 and have either received some basic
 education or are drop-outs, but among whom are to be found skilled workers whose skills are
 largely acquired through years of apprenticeship;
- garages auto mechanics, sprayers, welders, vulcanisers, auto electricians, many of whom
 received some basic formal education alongside many drop-outs, and acquired their skills
 through years of apprenticeship;
- graphic designers, mostly males between 25 and 50, about two to six workers in each unit who acquired their skills through limited vocational training and apprenticeship;
- audio-visual workers photographers, cinema/video operators, performers, musicians, film-makers are skilled workers who have received basic formal education but limited formal vocational training and apprenticeship who are mostly male but among whom the number of females is increasing;
- hairdressers and barbers/private security men who are aged workers with very low educational standards, ill-equipped, lack job security and opportunities for career advancement, and without any social security protection.
- ii. Construction: Construction workers masons, carpenters, steel benders, small-scale plumbers, house-wiring electricians, and carpenters who are mostly male, aged between 20 and 40 and are mostly school drop-outs. Electricians often have some basic training, while all the other groups go through years of apprenticeship.
- iii. Manufacturing: In this sub-sector of the informal sector, the predominant activities cover food processing, textile and garments, wood processing and metal works. Women dominate food processing while men constitute a clear majority in metal works and wood processing. Apprenticeship is the most common form of skill acquisition and employment in urban informal manufacturing units.

Even though most studies on small-scale informal business sector have paid much attention to the phenomenon in the urban areas of Ghana, the phenomenon also forms a major component of the rural economy in the country. The work of the General Agriculture Worker's Union (GAWU) of the GTUC also revealed the following groups of rural small-scale informal businesses in the sector:

- i. Agricultural activities these are predominantly farming units dependent on family labour and are made up of a large number of small farmers in the rural and semi-urban areas. The farmers are mostly illiterate or semi-illiterate and have no formal training. Farming skills are acquired through apprenticeship.
- ii. Fishing and fish processing activities these are found mostly along Ghana's coastline and are mainly composed of married males aged between 18 and 40 years. These predominantly illiterate workers acquired their swimming skills through experience from their early childhood. The value added and processing activities that include smoking and marketing the fish is basically undertaken by women.
- iii. Rural agro-based processing activities these include processing cassava into *gari*, 6 cassava dough, of palm kernel, groundnut and copra oils, palm wine tapping, local *pito* 7 brewery, local gin distillery, and traditional soap-making. These activities are dominated by married female workers, mostly over 30, and predominantly illiterate. Their skills are acquired from within the family. Their experience of seasonal underemployment is pronounced. Mostly married, with children, they lack social security protection.
- iv. Forest product workers mostly male, namely, carpenters, rattan and bamboo craftsmen, wood carvers and woodworking machine operators.

2.3 Characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector in Ghana

The characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector in Ghana is analogous to the generally discussed characteristics of the sector in the burgeoning literature especially those relating to the sector in cities of the global south. The general characteristics have been grouped under three main categories – conditions of labour force engaged in the enterprises, conditions of the enterprises and the location and physical structures of the enterprises.

2.3.1 Conditions of labour force

The work environment and conditions of service of informal labour in Ghana is not different from what is reported in the literature (see section 2.1.1). Informal labour is characterised with absence of official protection and recognition; non-coverage by minimum wage and social security legislation; predominance of self-employment; absence of trade unionisation; low incomes and wages; and little or no job security.

i. Absence of official protection and recognition

The informal sector entrepreneurs do not enjoy protection from the state machinery in the form of legislations against any unscrupulous fraudsters who may defraud such entrepreneurs in the

⁶ Gari (cassava flakes) is popular West African food made from cassava tubers.

⁷ Pito is a type of locally brewed beer made from fermented millet or sorghum.

course of business dealings. Similarly, the labour force that the entrepreneurs employ are also not recognised and protected by the state and the labour laws in the country.

ii. Non coverage by minimum wage legislation and social security

Most, if not all, employed in the small-scale informal business sector often get paid far below the national minimum wage and most employers in the sector also fail to contribute to a pension scheme on behalf of their employees. These employers escape appropriate sanctions as their illegal activities are hidden from the law enforcement agencies. The employees also fail to report their employers either for fear of being dismissed or out of gross ignorance of the law.

iii. Predominance of self-employment work

Generally, as is to be expected, majority of operators in the small-scale informal business sector are self-employed operating from their homes most often, with others using any available urban public space. With a table and a chair one could easily start-up his/her own business, sometimes with family assistance.

iv. Absence of trade unionisation

Generally, the small-scale informal business sector operators are individualistic in nature with a wide range of activities which make it extremely difficult for the formation of trade unions for the protection of the interest of the members. One of the reasons for the lack of trade unionisation in the sector could be that the formation of such trade unions may 'expose' the informal operators and as a result risk being formalised (registering with an appropriate body) and subsequently pay tax. On the other hand, the heterogeneous character of the sector and the variety of the goods and/or services the sector produces and/or supplies could also be a barrier to easy unionisation in the sector.

v. Low income and wages

The people employed in the informal sector are generally paid low salaries and wages due largely to the fact that there is excess labour supply and lack of skills that may attract higher wages. The entrepreneurs also get low return on their investment as a result of keen competition in the sector.

vi. Little or no job security

The employees in the informal sector could lose their jobs at any time at the whims and caprices of their employers. The employees cannot take any legal actions for any unfair dismal as there is usually no binding contract of employment. No compensation is usually paid for such dismissal.

2.3.2 Conditions of the enterprises

The economic activities of the small-scale informal business sector in Ghana exhibit certain unique characteristics. These characteristics are mostly related to ownership status of the businesses, their sizes, their working environment, their raw materials for production, the type of labour they engage, the technology they use and how they are generally set up.

i. Unregulated and competitive markets

Similar to small-scale informal business sector of other countries especially those of the global south the fluid nature of the small-scale informal business sector in Ghana do not lent itself to easy regulation. According to Farrell et al., (2000), the cost of such an enterprise (i.e. regulation of the small-scale informal business sector) will far exceed the benefits and may even not be realised. Perhaps, this explains the strategy adopted by the state and the various local governments to leave the sector unregulated in order to make it vulnerable for force eviction any time it suits them. Again, because of the many operators in the sector the market arena is highly competitive as competitors attempt to outdo one another for customers.

ii. Small scale operation with individual or family ownership

According to Yankson (1992) "the typical informal sector enterprise is individually-owned and operated, generally for less than five (5) years duration". Often, the size is determined in terms of the number of employees including apprentices and family members engaged or capital invested. The average size of employment is four (4) though the number may vary with the nature and type of activity – from sole-ownership to partnership and family ventures and cooperatives.

iii. Ease of entry

The capital requirement for operating in the sector is rather very low and so anybody at all at any time may decide to set up a business in the small-scale informal business sector. There are also no regulatory requirements for entering into the sector.

iv. Reliance on locally available resources

Obviously, the businesses in small-scale informal business sector are quite small in size and lack capacity to do off-shore acquisition of resources- material, human and financial – for the running of the business. Hence the informal sector businesses tend to rely more, if not solely, on the local resources. The resources are acquired from various sources, sometimes new or second-hand or self-constructed but very rarely imported. As explained by Barwa (1995), small-scale informal business sector entrepreneurs depend largely on local resources, primarily from the formal sector units in the cities for their raw material needs.

v. Labour intensive and adopted technology

The level of technology, employed by the business units in the small-scale informal business sector in Ghana are low and in poor conditions (Yankson, 1992). The equipment used by the small-scale informal business sector entrepreneurs are usually self-crafted or at best bought locally with subsequent improvements made by the entrepreneurs. The sector displays 'technological ingenuity' by using locally made equipment. The operators lack adequate financial resources to import more advanced technology. Consequently, the production activities of the sector is labour-intensive.

2.3.3 Location and physical structure of enterprises

These characteristics relate to the use of location and physical structures of the small-scale informal business sector operators. It includes the type of land that is commonly used by the small-scale informal business sector for siting their businesses, the ownership types, and the specific locations; as well as the structures accommodating the business units in the sector and the materials mostly used for constructing the structures.

i. Unauthorized use of vacant public or private land

Some small-scale informal business sector operators in Ghana function from clusters, closer to cities, especially those engaged in auto repairs, metal works, wood works but may also be strategically located at specific points to reach the maximum number of clients. Generally, small-scale informal business units litter every conceivable nook and cranny of the cities and towns in the country, accommodated in kiosks and small containers (Barwa, 1995).

ii. Unauthorized construction of structure and buildings

Small-scale informal business sector operators tend to put up houses on the land from where they operate their businesses. They have no legal title to the land on which they construct such structures. This in some cases has resulted in environmental disaster such as 'Sodom and Gomorrah' in Accra (Barwa, 1995).

iii. Reliance on low cost and locally available scrap construction materials

The operators in the small-scale informal business sector cannot afford to purchase quality building materials due to the high cost involved. They tend to put up structures that are of poor standards resulting from the poor quality of the materials used. The end result of these structures is the slums springing up in the urban centres as explained by city authorities. This situation poses environmental and health challenges to the local governments and the state.

These characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector in Ghana discussed above is generally similar to the general characteristics of the sector various countries especially those of the global south discussed in the literature (ILO, 1972; Yankson, 1992; Barwa, 1995; Ferrell et al., 2000; Amin, 2002)

2.4 The contribution of the small-scale informal business sector in Ghana

The burgeoning literature on the contributions of the small-scale informal business sector is generally of the view that the sector adapts technology on the basis of factor availability, generates more employment than the formal sector, contributes to a more equitable distribution of income and accomplishes all of this without sacrificing present and future levels of output. Further, the small-scale informal business sector also relies on local resources, utilises scarcity efficiently, operates competitively, meets the basic needs of a majority of the urban population at

⁸ The single largest slum settlement in Ghana made up of about 30,000 low-income inhabitants (GSS, 2013).

affordable prices and quality, facilitates the development of basic skills, and provides a suitable environment for innovation.

Most small-scale enterprises in Ghana operate in the small-scale informal business sector, making contributions to national development. The informal sector is rapidly growing and expected to expand its productive capacity so as to make more contribution to the overall national Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The contribution of the informal sector to the growth and development of economy includes the production of goods and services, job creation and skills acquisition (Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER), 2003).

Since the discovery of the small-scale informal business sector, it has made significant contribution to socio-economic growth in Ghana. According to ISSER (2003) "a critical look at the operations of the small-scale informal business sector visa-a-vie the economy's growth pattern demonstrates the significant contribution that it makes to national development". Some contributions of the small-scale informal business sector worthy of specific mention are as follows:

• Contribution to national output

Collectively, the operators in the informal sector produce diverse goods and services that added up to the national output. Certain goods and services are better provided by the informal sector as against the formal sector. According to ISSER (2003) "the role of the informal sector in the domestic economy is demonstrated in the wide variety of goods and services produced by the sector. Based on the value-added estimates from Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa (JASPA) (1989) survey, it was established that the sector accounts for about 22 percent of real GDP, with the contribution of rural informal activity outstripping that of the urban sector. In the non-agricultural sector, contribution of trade and commerce is the largest accounting for 52 percent, followed by industry with 28 percent, services 12 percent, and transport 8 percent (ISSER, 2003). The rural informal sector plays a critical role in the agriculture sector to feed the nation. Without the informal sector there would have been gross under provision of the raw foodstuffs.

• Job creation and income distribution

As stated earlier, one of the main causes of the informal sector is the paucity of job opportunities in the formal sector. Informal sector in Ghana provides avenue for unlimited job opportunities. Hence, those people who are unable to secure formal jobs tend to seek solace in the informal sector. In the ISSER's (2003) report, it is stated that "the main source of employment is the informal sector. The sector provides employment opportunities for at least 80 percent of the labour. The sector as of 2000 provided jobs for about 6.7 million people..."

The importance of the informal sector as a source of employment was very clear between 1988/89 and 1991/92 when, in the wake of public sector retrenchment and privatization, the proportion of informal sector workers in the total workforce rose sharply from 79 percent to 88 percent. Small enterprises (considered mostly informal) tend to be relatively labour-intensive,

utilizing low levels of technology and relying heavily upon the physical and mental skills of owners and employees; a strategy which is conducive to the expansion of the small enterprise sector and consistent with employment and income generation objectives (Stanley and Morse, 1965).

By providing employment, the informal sector participants receive some level of income for their labour. The small-scale informal business sector provides a major source of income for the poor and illiterates who may never get the chance to work in the formal sector. It is generally acknowledge that the significance of the small-scale informal business sector in providing income-earning opportunities outside formal wage employment cannot be underestimated. "It is generally believed that during the period of the economic decline especially from 1970 to 1983 when income per head declined substantially in the urban centres, the role of the small-scale informal business sector was significant in alleviating large-scale poverty in the urban centres. It is usually argued that the bulk of the urban labour force engages in one form of informal sector activity or the other, either on a full time or part time basis-a phenomenon which partially helps to explain the absence of any marked poverty in the urban areas especially in the situation of the declining real wages and employment growth in the formal sector" (ILO/JASPA, 1989).

• Skills acquisition in training

Another area in which the informal sector contributes immensely is in the area of the training of the labour force in the acquisition of artisanal skills. This is achieved through the traditional apprenticeship system. Though this is not a perfect system for training manpower for industrial employment because of inadequacy of the methods used in training, through this function, the informal sector plays an important role in the development of the indigenous entrepreneurship particularly in artisan activities in both the urban and rural areas in Ghana (Yankson, 1989). Successful industrialization must have an indigenous base. The expansion of the small enterprise sector will help develop the experienced managerial and entrepreneurial class that is needed as a basis for more efficient indigenous instrument and management of large-scale industries (Bruton, 1990). Although some informal sector enterprises noted to fold up in the first five years of operation, some do survive and grow from being informal to formal and becoming big time businesses employing hundreds and thousands of workers.

• The important role in increasing the pace of innovation

Small and very large firms make disproportionate contribution to innovation, while the number and importance of innovations vary by industry (Rothwell, 1989). Rothwell observed that failure rates among small firms are often higher because, in incurring extra risk, they play an important role in establishing promising ideas which can be nurtured into competitive products and processes. Sometimes many of these innovative companies also disappear, not because they succeed and are purchased by large companies which can market the products more effectively. There is thus a useful interaction between small and large companies as the small firms provide

the means of increasing the motivation for the innovation and hence the pace of change which all firms can build on.

2.5 Strategies towards small-scale informal business sector by the state in Ghana

Small-scale informal business operators in Ghana operate on the streets, vacant plots, public opens spaces, road reservations, alleys, pavements and any available open space in the urban area that can physically accommodate their businesses. As result of their huge numbers, the pressure of small-scale informal business sector on urban space is a serious problem for city authorities in maintaining cleanliness and order. According to the state and local governments, the small-scale informal businesses occupy urban space in a disorderly fashion, to cause traffic congestion, urban land use problems, environmental hazards and as well as to compete 'unfairly' with more formal retail shops. This has always been the justification for their harassment and eviction by city authorities especially in most developing countries.

Generally, the strategy adopted by the state over the years similar to that adopted by various governments in Africa and other developing countries is that of hostility and repression which is usually enforced through numerous seizure of the goods of the operators, demolitions and forceful evictions. As explained by Mensah (2009), a Member of Ghanaian Parliament described the state's strategy of dealing with the small-scale informal business sector as "machoistic" approach. Even though, city authorities are against the siting of small-scale informal businesses, the brutal actions of demolitions and forceful evictions that are meted out to the operators are triggered by motivations of cleaning the city for dignitaries during visits and special events. For instance, in order to beautify the city to welcome President Obama, stalls at Spintex road in Accra were set ablaze by officials at Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) (Joy FM, 2009a). Further, during the Golden Jubilee celebrations in 2007 to mark Ghana's 50 years of independence from British colonial rule, small-scale informal businesses were evicted in a massive decongestion exercise in advance of visits by invited international dignitaries.

Additionally, evictions of small-scale informal businesses have been carried out by city authorities to make way for urban development projects and other capital investments. City authorities with the support of armed police officers demolished small-scale informal business in kiosks, stalls, shops and metal containers with bulldozers on a 640 acre land in Adentan at the Adentan Municipal Assembly to make way for the construction of a 'business district' for the surrounding areas by a private developer (Forson, 2014). Similarly, to make way for the construction of the Circle Interchange in Accra, more than 30 small-scale informal businesses located in shops, metal containers and stalls were demolished by city authorities at the AMA (Gadugah, 2013).

Moreover, some evictions have been carried out by city majors as evidence of their competence and effectiveness to those who appointed them. This was mostly evident during the 23-year reign (or, rather, ruin) of Mayor Akwasi Agyemang as the Mayor of Kumasi. The major was popularly

known as "Butcher of Kumasi" or "Terror of Kumasi" or "Okumkom," due to the harsh treatment he meted out to workers in the informal economy, such as cobblers, market women, and taxi drivers (Daily Guide, 2002; Ellison, 2002). The Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) had to eventually petition the then president to remove him as mayor of Kumasi due to the tyrannical nature of his reign (Joy FM, 1999). Over the years, the reign of subsequent mayors have not been such oppressive however, the small-scale informal business sector has always faced forced eviction.

However, in few instances where the state has attempted to make alternate arrangements to accommodate evicted small-scale informal businesses, this has not been adequate. In the provision of alternate stalls to relocate about 852 small-scale informal businesses that have been evicted in Ashaiman, only 282 stalls were provided by the city authorities which were woefully inadequate (*The Ghanaian Chronicle*, 2010). This inadequacy makes it "rational" for the traders to try to hawk their wares in "unauthorised places." There is, of course, the more structural reason that it is the most congested area where business is most brisk. The land use pattern in the cities which attracts traffic to particular routes and localities is at the root of this problem. Consequently, Boadi-Danquah (2009) rightly asserts that decongesting urban areas of Ghana through the current strategies being used by the state can never be realised.

2.6 Concluding remarks

The small-scale informal business sector has not lent itself to easy definition. Ever since the concept was discovered various countries and writers have given it terminologies and defined it based on characteristics exhibited by the sector in their context and the aspect of the concept that is useful to their purpose. However, it is generally acknowledged that, the sector consists of largely small-scale economic activities mostly managed by the owners themselves with family support in some cases and operates outside laid down regulations. Most of the enterprises in the sector use are located in unauthorised areas causing various land use challenges to the city authorities; some of their operations emit harmful and toxic substances which are harmful to their health and the environment; and are mostly accommodated in inappropriate structures. Despite these, the sector offers employment to a majority of the urban poor; supply goods and/or services to the urban population at affordable prices at the right quality; and also contributes to the economy. Consequently, it can be realised that informal sector as a concept is usually practised by private individuals to solve their livelihood problems. Even though the sector contributes to local economic development, the benefits - employment, income - directly accrue to the individual. The next chapter explores the various theories in the literature explaining the concept of the urban informal sector and urban informality – which is practised by the public, organised group of people, state organisations - in general and their effects on the production of space and urban land use planning.

3 The narrative on urban space, urban informality and urban land use planning

The chapter discusses space in the urban context and attempts to frame its understanding both as a product and a social construct. This understanding gives an indication of the various purposes that it serves; making it a contested space to all the various purposes. It also attempts to produce an understanding of urban informality as a way of producing urban space within the contestations. Further, the chapter also explores the influence of institutions administering access to urban space as well as those regulating and managing it. In concluding, the chapter attempts to explore the concept of the 'right to urban space' and the creation of a 'just' urban area and the contribution of urban land use planning towards their effectively realisation.

3.1 Framing an understanding of urban public space

To be able to come to an appropriate understanding of public space in this research, reference is made to the current discourse on space in urban theory. The impacts of the 'spatial turn' on urban theory radically changed the widely held perception of space as a merely geographical or physical location or a commodity to the rediscovery of the classic work of Lefebvre, 'The Production of Space'. In the view of Lefebvre (1991, p. 90) space is produced by processes of social relations. His dialectical understanding views space as simultaneously a flow or process and a temporarily fixed 'thing'. For Merrifield (1993, pp. 520 - 527), this means that social space must be 'posited as a material process' and as representing the mobile material flows of commodities, money, capital and information. Social space must therefore be considered as a force of production in the capitalist system and places as the emergent and practised spaces created by human activities (Merrifield, 1993, p. 520). The physical characteristics of a place are then the outcome of interactions among social processes that materialise at a variety of spatial scales.

Lefebvre's spatiology envisages a conceptual triad of interdependent 'moments' of space that come together to produce space as a generative process. The established conceptual triad expresses the complex interaction and dialectical unity of spatial relations, consisting of the following elements:

- a) *Spatial practices:* these are the physical practices, daily activities, connections, disconnections and channels through which the reproduction of a society's entire social life ensues. They involve both the social rhythms and collective patterns of movement which symbolises the individual within cities and regions. They are the spatial forms that represent the reproduction of a particular society's social practices and interactions (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 38).
- b) Representations of space: these are forms of spaces conceptualised through the abstract knowledge of planners, bureaucrats, social engineers, cartographers and the variety of scientific disciplines that have the socially accepted know-how in the management and control of spatial

form. They represent the formal and institutional machines of power involved in the organisation of space. These are the common spatial forms in any society (Lefebvre, 1991b, pp. 38-39).

c) Representational spaces: these are closely associated with the social and bodily functions of lived experience, these form part of the social imaginary of 'inhabitants and users' of space through which complex symbols are linked to non-hegemonic forms of creative practice and social resistance (Lefebvre, 1991b, pp. 33-38).

The components of these three dialectically interrelated aspects of space - the physical, the mental and the lived - is vital to Lefebvre's account of the way space is produced and also used by society. Accordingly, this understanding of the way space is produced was suggested as an alternative in contrast to prevailing dispositions that use social space as a mere object or container and by so doing supress its physical and social dimensions into abstract mental constructions. Every one of the dimensions of this conceptual triad works concurrently, and provides the foundation for Lefebvre's explanation of the multi-dimensionality of social space. As we would expect from his rejection of the absolute conception of space, Lefebvre is not content to see space as a mere object or a receptacle. Instead he describes it as a social matrix that operates as a 'presupposition, medium and product of the social relations of capitalism' (Brenner, 1997, p. 140). *Social space* is concurrently:

- a) a part of the *forces of production* which progressively dislodges and usurps the role of (first) nature;
- b) a *product* that is consumed as a commodity and as a productive resource in the social reproduction of labour power;
- c) a political instrument that facilitates forms of social control;
- d) the basis for the *reproduction* of property relations through legal and planning regimes which order space hierarchically;
- e) a set of ideological and symbolic superstructures; and
- f) a means of human *reappropriation* through the development of *counter-spaces* forged through artistic expression and social resistance (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 349).

Through this understanding Lefebvre explains space as the collection of social connections and interactions that aids the desires of society. As a result, the first two definitions identify space as forming part of the processes of production and social reproduction, whilst the next two recognise it as an apparatus for state regulation and the site of political struggle as well as human creativity. The last two descriptions obviously state that social conflicts have spatial aspects in addition to the political and economic aspects which is generally appreciated. Even though the total notion of space encourages a separation of formal space and material content, Lefebvre's relational depiction of space presupposes an immediate relationship between the whole body and its space. In conceiving this occupation of space, Lefebvre is led to understand production as the means through which the living body as a deployment of energies, produces space and reproduces itself within the limits and laws of that space.

Basically influenced by his reading of the early Marx, Lefebvre re-crafts and expands Marx's model of commodity production to explain how space is *produced* and contributes to the reproduction of the social relations of capitalism. Production extends beyond the manufacture of commodities and the confines of the labour process and also encompasses artistic creations and the built environment alongside the social relations of production. This provides him with the tools to understand space in a way that is unique in social theory. Not only does he identify space as an outcome of the productive process, it is also part of the means of production as a 'network of exchanges and flow(s) of raw materials and energy', (Lefebvre, 1979, p. 287) and as one of the forces of production alongside labour and technology.

Lefebvre's definition of space extends beyond the various ways in which it is inscribed within processes of production and reproduction. The multi-dimensionality of space includes its political status as a means of social regulation and as the site of political struggle. The provision of relatively stable forms of territorial organisation for the circulation and accumulation of capital necessarily requires state planning, regulation and the administration of urban space. This facilitates the fulfilment of capital's drive for (in Marx's words) the 'annihilation of space by time' (Marx, 1973, p. 539). Extended capital accumulation can only be secured through the 'spatial fix' (Harvey, 1982, pp. 414 - 44) offered by state construction of 'fixed and immobile transport, communications and regulatory-institutional infra-structures' (Brenner, 1999, p. 433). These intensive and extensive interventions of the state in economic and social life must be 'conceived spatially as attempts to organise, instrumentalise and regulate social space' (Brenner, 1997, p. 146). They provide the means for the political production of a social world organised to eliminate the spatial constraints to accumulation.

As previously acknowledged, the final two points in Lefebvre's definition of social space are a recognition that the political dimensions of space extend beyond its management and use as a political tool by the state. Space is itself a site of political conflict in which the class struggle has increasingly been transformed into forms of conflict which are spatial as well as political and economic. Class relations cannot be understood as mechanically 'projected onto space', rather social conflicts are driven by the dynamic of a spatial dialectic that cuts across traditional class distinctions. Accordingly, counter-hegemonic struggles must confront existing forms of organisation and control of space through alternative uses of space – effectively the production of counter-spaces. Lefebvre specifically cites the example of the informal, popular types of spatial restructuring by excluded urban communities in Latin America (favelas). These communities have developed forms of social ordering, architecture and urban land use planning which demonstrate the possibility of reappropriating space and decentring institutionalised forms of spatial organisation (Lefebvre, 1991b, pp. 373 - 374). Understanding the political nature of space can assist in this reappropriation of space - reasserting use values and creativity over exchange and domination, and restoring lived time outside the sphere of work. In Lefebvre's words: '(s)pace remains a model, a perpetual prototype of use value resisting the generalisations

of exchange and exchange value in a capitalist economy under the authority of a homogenising state' (Lefebvre, 1979, p. 291).

From the foregoing, it can therefore be recognised that space should be understood as neither simply a physical container of objects, nor an infinite, discursive field. It is both socially produced and an essential precondition for the reproduction of social relations. Space forms part of the state's productive machinery of social regulation, while also operating as a site of political struggle and creative appropriation.

3.1.1 Demarcating urban public space

From the discussion above, (social) space is understood to be a social construct or a product of human agency that shapes social, economic, cultural and political relations. However, urban public space has to be appropriately defined in the context of this research. And in order to determine an urban space as 'public', it is imperative to understand publicness as a concept. As stated by Németh (2012), even though the concept has been difficult to measure, most writers examine public space freedom with reference to access and behaviour. In his opinion, public space should be 'legally open and accessible to all'. Also, the actions exhibited should conform to the rules of the locality of the space with the objective application of regulations (Németh, 2012, p. 3).

In the view of Varna and Tiesdell (2010), attempts to conceptualise 'publicness' can be categorised into inductive/external and deductive/internal approaches. Inductive approaches seek to understand "what is out there," external to the person. Studies in this camp might base assessments on ownership regimes alone, assuming privately owned spaces are more controlling of behaviour than their publicly owned counterparts, a claim disproven in recent work (see Day 1999; Schmidt, Németh, and Botsford, 2011). Along these lines, Madanipour (1999) interprets a framework by Benn and Gauss (1983) that examines publicness across three dimensions: access, agency, and interest. Access includes the ability to occupy a place and the activities contained within. Agency refers to the locus of control and decision-making present (see also Carr et al., 1992), and interest refers to the targeted beneficiaries of decisions impacting use of, and behaviour within, a space (Madanipour, 1999). Similarly, Kohn (2004) defines publicness with regard to three core criteria: ownership, accessibility, and intersubjectivity, or the encounters and interactions facilitated by a space and its features. Ownership includes the ability to claim a place as part of a group of beneficiaries. Accessibility refers to the capacity to reach and enter a place and use the facilities it contains. Also, intersubjectivity relates to the ability to exercise the right of ownership and access of a place in relation to others with similar rights.

Deductive approaches seek to investigate the socially constructed meanings of public space, acknowledging that publicness is in the eye of the beholder (Varna and Tiesdell, 2010, p. 578). In this vein, Staeheli and Mitchell (2008) theorise publicness as a set of relationships between property and the people who inhabit, use, and create it. To them, the key determinant of publicness is access, a feeling conditioned by receptivity, welcome, and comfort (p. 116).

Concerned more with how citizens struggle for different forms of publicness, Iveson (2007) points to three ways in which a space might be 'made public': by becoming a venue for public address, an object of public debate itself, or a means to understanding 'who belongs' in any definition of the public. On their own, inductive and deductive approaches are useful starting points for conceptualising publicness, but 'the production of spaces owes as much to the conceptual realm as to material activities' (Elden, 1998, n.p.). It is in the light of this that the definition of urban public space by Brown (2006b, p. 10) is adopted in the context of this research:

"urban public spaces refer to all the physical and social relations that determine the use of that space within the non-private realm of cities. It includes formal squares, roads, and streets, but also vacant land, verges and other edge-space. It also includes all space that has accepted communal access or use rights, whether in public, private, communal or unknown ownership; a common property resource, but one whose boundaries may change over time. Thus, land that is privately owned but has been left vacant and is being used by traders would be considered as urban public space" (Brown, 2006b, p. 10).

It is however worthy to note that not all space can or should be public, such as private homes in which marginalised 'counter-publics' can meet without threat of further oppression (Fraser, 1991). In Ghana, for instance, many houses in cities accommodate more than three households (GSS, 2013) who share a common compound or courtyard and therefore set the rules regarding its use and access. Such a space cannot and should not fall under the category of urban public space.

3.1.2 Urban public space and everyday activities

Urban public spaces are at the centre of everyday activities of urban dwellers. Much of social relations is produced and reproduced through these every day activities. Urban public spaces are the domain of social, cultural, economic and political activities. There are also expressions of gender relations in an urban public space from the presence of males and females at various times besides their behaviour when in public. As a space for all sorts of creative and unintended uses, Németh (2012) gives accounts of how Philadelphia's LOVE Park, a drab Modernist plaza was appropriated by street skateboarders in the early 1990s as they discovered that its marble pavers, steel rails, and drained fountain provided a world-class skateboarding experience far superior to any officially sanctioned purpose-built skate park. LOVE Park is now featured in video games, on magazine covers, and in hundreds of skateboarding videos. It was also the site of the 2001-2002 X-Games, netting the city \$80 million in profit.

Additionally, urban public spaces are hosts to many events and cultural activities. These range from mega global events like the Olympic Games to funeral ceremonies in an urban neighbourhood especially in Africa. Urban spaces of many cities in the world are accessed for carnivals, fashion shows (Weller, 2013), music shows among others. In most African cities, urban public spaces are used for many open-air, high-visibility activities. These include durbars,

cultural and religious festivals, outdooring ceremonies, wedding ceremonies, funeral ceremonies among others. As stated by Ghafur (2005, p. 36), urban public space therefore has a compensatory function for inadequate indoor spaces.

Moreover, urban open spaces all over the world are places for political demonstrations, strikes, protest marches, political rallies among others. This was very much witnessed during the Arab Spring when urban public spaces became the arena for mass protests by citizens against their governments on what they perceived to be dictatorship, oppression, corruption, mismanagement and injustices on the part of their governments which in most cases were long regimes. Simailarly, the Taksim Square in Istanbul has played host to mass protests against the Turkish government on its urban development projects. "Outdoor spaces [...] serve as indispensable assets in the economic livelihood and social/cultural reproduction of a vast segment of the urban population, and, consequently, as a fertile ground for the expression of street politics" (Bayat, 2010, p. 12). Urban public spaces are also accessed for housing purposes. It is mostly accessed by urban migrants and most of the poor urban dwellers to satisfy their accommodation needs as a result of inadequate 'formal' housing.

Urban livelihoods and their manifestations are very much dependent on urban public space. This is what is referred to as the 'spatiality of livelihoods' (Hackenbroch, 2012, p. 32). "A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets [...] and activities required for a means of living, (Chambers and Conway, 1992). For a livelihood to be sustainable, it should be able to cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future without undermining the natural resource base". There has been a growing amount of research on livelihood in urban areas over the past decade (see Rakodi and Llyod-Jones, 2002; Sheuya, 2004; Brown, 2006b among others). There is a marked difference between livelihoods in urban areas as compared to those in rural areas in terms of the availability, accessibility and requirement range of assets, that is, human, social, physical, financial and natural capital. For instance a natural capital such as land for agricultural production is of great importance for rural livelihoods. But in the case of urban livelihoods, access to infrastructure as well as large concentrations of people and services is most important (Brown and Lloyd-Jones, 2002, p. 191).

Of utmost importance to this research is accessing urban public space for economic activities. This is very pertinent for the survival of low income urban dwellers especially in developing countries. Urban public spaces are accessed for street vending in open squares, along roads, in road reservations, pavements, vacant lands and in open markets. Quite an appreciable amount of literature concerning these activities and the underlying conditions for accessing such opportunities exist (see Hansen, 2004 on Lusaka; Anjaria, 2006b on Mumbai; Etzold et al., 2009 on Dhaka; Brown et al., 2010 on Senegal, Ghana, Tanzania and Losotho or Ha, 2009 on Berlin among others). As private space of mostly poor urban dwellers is often characterised by high densities and crowded living conditions and therefore 'more restricted and fragmented than that of high income groups' (Brown and Lloyd-Jones, 2002, p. 192), there is the need for them to use public space. As stated earlier, urban public space is framed and shaped by access. Urban public

space is a 'common' resource over which poor urban dwellers can rarely exercise control because it is in the private ownership of influential individuals or affluent households or organisations. This means that access to this 'common' resource may be denied through regulation, cost and 'social exclusion' (Brown and Lloyd-Jones, 2002, p. 188). A commons is any collectively owned resource held in joint use or possession to which anyone has access without obtaining permission from anyone else. This suggests that in the material context, a commons refers both to physical site and the property rights governing it. A commons of this sort implies both "open access and shared participation without the shadow of the state . . . [as well as] a space for community assembly apart from the hard sell of the market" (Blackmar, 2006, pp. 49-50).

Accordingly, the governance of urban public spaces by institutions and organisations and the notion of a social order beyond the scene lead to the notion of contested space (Hackenbroch, 2012, p. 33). This contestation of urban public space entails the 'exclusion' of poor urban dwellers. Consequently, their use and property rights of urban public space are classified to be contrary to the 'ordering' of the urban area and are informal.

3.2 Contested urban spaces

Informality as a 'mode of production' of urban space by poor urban dwellers is always contested. Unsuitable responses to informal urbanism include forms of urban land use planning that characterise it simply as an expression of difference that merits respect and accommodation in the interests of cultural diversity. Devlin (2011, p. 147) profoundly explains this in stating that:

"the multiculturalist planning approach tends to forefront the politics of individual and group identity at the expense of rigorous structural analysis of economic conditions and class conflict. . . . No matter how laudable a social goal, respect for diversity and fostering of multicultural understanding alone cannot resolve conflicts which arise primarily from structural factors endemic to the contemporary neoliberal city."

While the politics of identity and diversity can be consonant with deregulated post-Fordist markets, greater income equality is not such an easy companion with neoliberal urbanism. Yet the disaffection and insecurity that attend this intensifying social disparity among low-income communities can provide a kernel for the divisive politics of prejudice and race (Orr, 2009).

In this regard, a more inclusive politics of resistance can arise from those who either defy "exceptional" status and the role of the state in marginalising or 'delegitimating' their lives, or produce an identity out of such exceptionality within which resides rights to the city and its services (Lefebvre, 1996; Chatterjee, 2002) - rights based on their ethnicity, race, class, slum status, economic practice, and most importantly, their very presence in the city as urbanites. Dumper (1997) argues that when the state engages in the differentiated production of services for those who, by dint of their legal status or identity, are living in an urban state of exception, this is prone to create the "central paradox" of government. In essence, this means that public policy

inadvertently exacerbates rather than ameliorates the problem it is designed to remedy. Applying this concept, he demonstrated the role of the modern practices of the Israeli state, whose macro agenda to maintain Jewish demographic "security" has left Palestinians living in the country effectively demoted into "a state of exception." So even when the state formally set out to redress some adversities experienced by Israeli Arabs, its nationalist priorities compromised this intervention. Thus, conditions for those in this state of exception actually deteriorated, even as certain economic and housing conditions were materially altered. This partisan role of the state in using legal and planning instruments to subjugate its political opponents is what is termed as "ethnocracy" (Yiftachel, 2006).

With regards to the accessing of urban public space by poor urban dwellers for the micro and small-scale economic enterprises (small-scale informal business sector), their major and express objective is to make a living rather than political transformation as explained by Bayat in his 'quiet encroachment of the ordinary' (a concept further explored in section 3.2.2). It is therefore an attempt to claim an opportunity for survival. In the view of Yiftachel (2009), this transaction between resilient insurgency and state adaptation creates "grey spaces" between the "whiteness" of legal and ordered urbanism and the "blackness" of precarious belonging and eviction, in a power play that still accords the state and its planning instruments scope for ultimate arbitration. Thus, as Lake (2011) has argued, the "right" to the just city is not something to be petitioned and granted exclusively within conventional politics. Rather, it is something to be "lived out" in the democratic use of the city by the citizen. 'There are potentially powerful allies for such a mission' (Gaffikin and Perry, 2012). Because amid its volatilities of the informal and contested and its fragmented and sprawled geographies, the contemporary city also contains sources of permanence and common jurisdictional reach, by way of anchor institutions.

3.2.1 Understanding urban informality

The concept of urban informality refers to the general process through which urban populations and even the state through its various public organisations consume urban resources or participate in urban politics outside laid down regulations and acceptable norms. According to Wirth (1938, p. 2), the most impressive facts of modern times is the urbanisation of the world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with its accompanying intense changes to the economic and social life of the cities and countries. Wirth was of the view that even though the city was the locus of urbanism, the urban mode of life was no longer confined to it. The mode of urban life rather included the overall acceptance of social factors such as density, which often emphasised friction and spatial separation; heterogeneity, that usually produced social uncertain, insecure and instable social relations and anonymity, which most times leads to the development of tools for individualistic survival among urban dwellers who are supposed to have come from rural areas where life is much simpler.

In Wirth's opinion, if we continue to associate urbanism with the physical entity of the urban area and keep on as if urban characteristics and qualities abruptly come to an end and cannot show beyond an arbitrary boundary line, it will be difficult to decipher the concept of urbanism

as a mode of life (Wirth, 1938, p. 4). To him, urbanisation does not just refer to the process of people's attachment to a place but the development of a bigger system of social relationships to address the urban conditions stated above. From the foregoing, it can be realised that Wirth, was not referring to the unique local culture which shapes cities or spatial/physical processes of urbanisation and therefore should not be mistaken for it. But his main argument was that the discovery of the forms of social action and organisation that surface from persons under the conditions of density, heterogeneity and anonymity resulted to the emergence of a certain idea of urban dwellers that have extremely fragmented roles.

In discussing the nature and concept of urban informality, it is of essence to make an effort to understand and reveal the social actors and forms of social organisations. As emphasised by Wirth (1938), urbanism as a way of life may be understood from three interconnected viewpoints. "These are the physical structure which is made up of the population base; a system of social organisation involving a typical social construction and associated patterns of social connections and a set of attitudes, values, norms and ideas of persons of groups involved in or living under forms of collective actions and/or social control" (AlSayyad, 2004, p. 8). Hence, urban informality can be understood as a "mode of the production of space" and as an "organising logic" (Roy and AlSayyad, 2004a, p. 5) rather than a characteristic of space or an agent. From the foregoing, it can be realised that whilst urban informal sector activities are carried out by individuals (mostly poor urban dwellers) with the key purpose of solving earning income to survive in the city, urban informality refers to the activities of groups of people and state organisations to access urban resources outside the laid down rules and regulations.

3.2.2 From the quiet encroachment of the ordinary to elite informality and informalisation of the state

The notion of 'quiet encroachment of the ordinary' as postulated by Bayat (2010), refers to the unorganised but noiseless, enduring but persistent advancement of the average individuals and families on the property-owning, prominent, or the public, in order to live and advance their lives. This is used to explain the illegal fashion of the poor urban dwellers access to land, shelter, urban municipal services, work and business opportunities. It is therefore generally used to refer to the approach of poor urban dwellers to lay claim to urban resources for their continued existence.

In addition to informality being used primarily by poor urban dwellers to lay claim to urban resources described above, it is also used by the urban middle-class and upper-class to make a claim for urban resources widely referred to in the literature as 'elite informality'. As stated by the UN Habitat (2009), in many cities there is much informality in the development of middle-and upper-income residential neighbourhoods. Landowners often manage to obtain detailed layout and building permission for developments in areas not zoned for immediate development, either because the development permission process is ineffective or through influence or corruption. Such areas are often gated communities, built to high standards and self-sufficient in terms of services, but may not comply with broad strategic planning or environmental policies

designed to compressively develop and manage the entire area. Alternatively, development may occur in designated areas, but at a higher density or lower building standard than specified because development and building-control officers are powerless to enforce regulations or can be prevailed upon through influence or under-the-counter payments. In recent times, reports of buildings constructed in this way as collapsing are all too frequent. According to Bayat, access to urban facilities is not done through visible confrontation or direct challenging of the state authority, but through informal negotiations with single authorities. 'Deep democracy' (Appadurai, 2001) as a mechanism or claim-making in 'political society' (Chatterjee, 2004) can also be assumed as informal practices of the urban elite.

Furthermore, growing informality in urban areas is mostly as a result of conditions of extreme inequality rather than imported by immigrants. This is central to accounts of low income settlements in Nairobi, Mumbai, Istanbul and Rio de Janeiro studied by Robert Neuwirth (Neuwirth, 2006). Similar accounts are also made by Kombe and Kreibich on the emergence of process of social regulations in response to state frailty in Tanzania (Kombe and Kreibich, 2012). It is also sometimes as a result of state intervention. In the view of Popkin and Cunningham (2005), Chicago became notorious as the home of segregated and racialized poverty due to the massive high-rise projects such as Cabrini Green and the Robert Taylor Homes that was badly built in compressed urban space. It was a socio-spatial containment of populations vulnerable to a distinctive political economy that could "submit them to the dictates of the deregulated labour market, render them invisible, or drive them out of coveted space" (Wacquant, 2008, p. 204). Such territorial ignominies are not simply meant to be an "object of state regulation, but rather are produced by the state itself' (Roy, 2005, p. 149). As such, the city, along with the ghetto dweller, contributes to the production of informal spaces, and the state accentuates the process by casting such places and their people as spaces or states of exception. As aptly stated by Meagher (1995, p. 279), the expansion of informality is not a process occurring "outside the state" but the result of an environment of "state complicity".

3.2.3 Informality as a mode of the production of space

From the discussions above, it is evident that urban complexity mapping is largely influenced by social relations, spatial dimensions of social life, and sites of power (Harvey, 1989; Jameson, 1991; Keith and Pile, 1993; Massey, 1994; Soja, 1996). It is worthy to note that a higher quantity and variety of lived spaces are produced through the daily activities and cultural practices of the urban majority than through the official plan making process (Pererra, 2009), and that urban land use planning is thus more a "contested field of interacting activities by multiple actors [.] than a prerogative of professionals who act in isolation from other spheres of action" (Miraftab, 2009, p. 41). This 'informal' mode of the production of space is what is also referred to as urban informality (Roy and AlSayyad, 2004b), 'quiet encroachment of the ordinary' (Bayat, 2004), 'deep democracy' (Appadurai, 2001), alternative forms of economic participation (Altvater and Mahnkopf, 2003, p. 28) and 'political society' (Chatterjee, 2004). This can also be related to the counter spaces as identified by Lefebvre as existing in 'heterotopias'.

In addition, informality is characterised by the spatial dynamics of counter-hegemonic struggles that confront existing forms of organisation and at the same time introduce alternative uses of space for control, thus producing counter-space (Butler, 2009). The precise cause of the production of the counter-space, according to Roy (2009, p. 9), lies in the "relationship between legality and illegality, the recognised and the criminalised, the included and the marginalised". This production process, according to Holston (2009, p. 15), is insurgent, in that "it destabilises the dominant regime of citizenship, renders it vulnerable, and defamiliarises the coherence with which it usually presents itself to us". It "demonstrate(s) the possibility of reappropriating space and decentring institutionalised forms of spatial organisation" (representation of space) through the exercise of a new form of social ordering and regulatory mechanisms (Holston, 2009, p. 322).

Even though informality has been a mode of the production of urban space, the drawback has been its inability to secure its urban status. Small-scale informal businesses are one of the largest sub-groups in the informal economy after home-based and domestic workers, who operate in a visible but contested domain in a wide range of African settings (Mitullah, 2003; Charmes, 2001; Simone and Abouhani, 2005; Cross and Morales, 2007). The increase in their numbers has not been accompanied by an increase in political influence and operators are often vilified and excluded from debates over urban governance (Skinner, 2007; Lyons, 2005; Horn, 2004).

3.2.4 From a formal – informal conundrum to a hybrid understanding

Even though the phenomenon of labour movement in and out of cities in the 1950s and 60s who mostly engaged in small-scale and microenterprises had been discovered by researchers (see Lewis, 1954; Reynolds, 1969), the literature reveals that, the concept of the small-scale informal business sector emerged in Africa in the early 1970s and ever since has attracted the attention of a number of researchers around the globe. This is credited to the works of Hart and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) who based on the structuralist idea to distinguish between formal and informal economies ((ILO), 1972; Hart, 1973). The approach defined small-scale informal business largely as a set of household and marginal activities that are distinct from formal units in terms of earnings, safety nets and (the absence of) rules and regulations. And their existence was attributed to the either the slow rate of growth and/or inability of the modern sector to generate sufficient job opportunities for the ever increasing urban population. In their view, the only solution to the problem was to lift the units in the small-scale informal business sector up to the formal sector, and allow them to grow over time. This however, runs contrary to the assertion by Roy (2012, pp. 691 – 693) that many urban processes are dynamic and the possibility that the marginalised groups possess agency with which to change their situation.

Contrary to the structuralist approach was the legalist approach. They mainly argued that the rigid rules and regulations, terms and conditions for operating an economic unit in the formal sector are such that it creates an additional burden for them and hence force them to bypass formal rules and regulations by operating in the small-scale informal business sector (De Soto,

1989). Agenor (1996) further popularised this idea identifying these costs in Latin American countries. Unlike the structuralist, this approach held the view that the issue of informality is no longer an exclusive problem of development (a characteristic of underdeveloped and developing countries), because the costs relating to regulation and enforcement are relevant issues for any country, whether developed or developing (Schneider and Enste [2000] estimate the size of small-scale informal business [or the shadow economy] to be around 10 per cent even in well-developed countries in United States and Japan). Led by de Soto (2000) in 'The Mystery of Capital', they assumed that the only way the small-scale informal business sector could participate effectively in the urban economy was if the poor urban dwellers could capitalise their assets through a process of formalisation. This was to be heavily criticised by Bromley (2004). To Bromley, real urban processes and issues of formality and informality were too complex to be simplified in that way.

In the last decade, the discourse on the conceptualisation of informality views informality beyond those portrayed above. As aptly captured by Roy (2005, p. 148), the concept can no longer be assumed as being distinct from formality, but rather as "a series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another". It is therefore difficult to draw a fixed boundary between 'formal' and 'informal'. The apparent boundary between the two spheres is fluid in nature, transforms continuously and is contested in response to the changing patterns of economic potentials, social norms, power structures, cultural customs and political arrangements (Hackenbroch, 2012, p. 49). The concept is therefore understood as "a process of structuration that constitutes the rules of the game, determining the nature of transactions between individuals and institutions and within institutions" (Roy and AlSayyad, 2004b, p. 5).

3.3 Land tenure and access to urban space

Land means different things to different people. But it is widely recognised that land has both physical and cognitive dimensions. These concepts and ideas about land influence the way it is controlled and managed by various communities (Williamson et al., 2010). Again, the concepts and ideas also determine the various uses to which it is put. For instance, whilst land is largely viewed as economic terms as a resource and a factor of production, to others it is a deity. Subsequently, the control and management style adopted and used by any community for the administration of their land is largely influenced by that community's concepts and ideas of land and how they use it.

As a result, land tenure is usually defined to include the routine and/or legitimate rights that individuals or groups have to it, and the resulting social relationships between the members of the group (GTZ, 1998; Kuhnen, 1982). The definition refers to the rules invented by societies to regulate behaviour and outline how property rights to land are to be allocated within societies. They define how access is granted to rights to use, control, and transfer land, as well as associated responsibilities and restraints. Thus, land tenure is deeply rooted in property right regimes.

As stated by Swallow (1997), property rights systems, define the conditions of access to, and control over land. They may proscribe private, common or state property rights to the whole land in a given society, but in most cases proscribes private, common and state property rights to different components or products of land. The characteristics of the various property rights in land include:

- state property: these are lands with ownership and control over use resting in the hands of the state mostly through conquest, nationalisation, expropriation with or without compensation. Individuals/groups can make use of the resources, but only at the forbearance of the state leasehold of groups and individuals; sometimes direct management through government agencies (state farms); national forests, national parks, pastures, military reservations are examples; often unproductive due to state failure to manage the land in a sustainable way; shifts from state property to other types are possible (e.g. state divestiture);
- private property: these are lands owned by individuals or corporate bodies. It guarantees the owner the yields of his/her investment. And owners have pervasive rights, but as well duties (encumbrances, servitude, rights of way); no pure form, always 'attenuated' through land taxes or 'social responsibility of land' (constitution). The ability to exclude others is legally and socially sanctioned. Document of title gives comprehensive rights within limits of the law (land use plans), allows to take land as credit collateral;
- common property: these are lands owned and controlled by a group (all others are excluded from use and decision making). Individual members of the group have rights of utilisation (and duties). Property owning groups are mostly social units with some interaction, common interests, definite membership and boundaries, common cultural norms, endogenous authority systems (as land priests) such as ethnic groups, neighbourhoods, farmland, grazing land, water sources/wells, common forests. This type of property ownership secures the livelihood of poor farmers, livestock keepers, hunters and fishermen. It allows for the use of spatially isolated resources and those with high natural risks (pastures). It also guarantees the old and the sick their entitlement to benefits and social security. There are endogenous systems of authority to allocate land and to enforce rules. Management authority is often vested in (traditional) leaders. It was strongly criticised by economists and politicians in the past. Common property includes use rights, exchange rights and distribution entitlements;
- open access: this generally describes a situation in which there is no property. Thus,
 "everybody's access is nobody's property", for instance, a grazing forage, fish, fuel wood
 among others belong to the party to first exercise control over it. It results from the absence
 or the breakdown (policy failure) of a management and authority system, often as a result of
 'tragedy of state failure'.

These rights are enforced by various organisations established by a community for that purpose. Where they are established through written laws by a 'modern democratic state', they are termed as formal but 'informal' if they are developed through the traditional political system or other social network system of a group. The formal organisations largely engaged in the recording,

determination and dissemination processes of information about the ownership, value and use of the land through modern procedures such as the cadastral system now largely aided by the GPS. The enforcement of these rights in land in any society leads to the 'exclusion' and 'inclusion' of various individuals and groups. In recent times, the formal organisations have concentrated more on the creation and enforcement of private property rights to the detriment of other property rights especially the spatial commons (Davy, 2009). Those that cannot afford the private property rights in land especially the poor urbanites in the small-scale informal business sector are 'excluded' from accessing urban land. For land tenure system to be 'inclusive' as much as possible should embrace the local definition of land as well as the 'informal' institutions and organisations in order to increase the opportunities of the poor to also profit from the use of urban land.

3.3.1 The right to urban space

All human beings have the right not to be discriminated against especially on issues that are at the heart and affect their rights to life. These rights are profoundly enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations (UN), 1948). These rights are fundamentally based on the principle of respect and dignity for the human being. Thus, for the simple fact of being born and having human life, one has some *de facto* rights that he/she should enjoy. For instance, the declaration states a variety of general human rights such as 'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights' (Art. 1) and 'Everybody has the right to life, liberty and security of person' (Art. 3).

Moreover, the UDHR clearly states that "Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment" (Article 23). Consequently, three issues on human rights flow from this declaration which deserve attention and of particular interest to this research. They include the right to work; the right to use 'urban public space'; and the application of human rights to the small-scale informal business sector. It can also be realised from Article 23 above that included in this right is and inherent opportunity for the individual to freely exercise these rights in the choice of work and where to work.

In addition to the UDHR, various international and regional conventions also fully recognise the various human rights including the individual's 'right to work' (Enemark et al., 2014; Meneses-Reyes and Caballero-Juárez, 2013). For instance, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and ILO emphasise the right of the individual to work and provide a comprehensive approach to the right to work. Specifically, Article 6 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights secure for each person the chance to achieve a living by earning it through work. As suggested by Meneses-Reyes and Caballero-Juárez (2013), even though specific mention was not made of the right to work on the street, the general explanation of this right may comprise people who choose to make a living there as the right excludes imposition of type and place of work. Although the ILO defines those that work on the street as 'informality', it expresses the need for rights to be extended to such workers as well

(Art. 7). In other words, those who work on the street (informality) also have the right to be treated equally as those engaged in 'formal' work.

Furthermore, in accordance with the international and regional conventions and declarations, many governments of 'democratic' countries including those of the global south have incorporated the universal human rights in their national constitutions. Again, in the statement and definitions of these fundamental human rights, specific emphasis is laid on the 'right to work'. For instance, the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana clearly states in Article 24(1) that "Every person has the right to work under satisfactory, safe and healthy conditions, and shall receive equal pay for equal work without distinction of any kind". However, the interpretation of these rights has been explained to subject to the interpretation of other laws by the various judicial processes of various countries. As explained by Meneses-Reyes and Caballero-Juárez (2013), the courts in India and Mexico have explained that "it is within the domain of the state to make any law imposing reasonable restrictions [to the right to work] in the interest of the general public". In their explanation the "reasonable legal restrictions" that the individual's right to work is subjected to is justified by the legal system, as a way of guaranteeing "the wise and proper distribution of humans and things, and their relations and movement, within the territorial confines" of the city (Dean, 2010, p. 89). Accordingly, the people's right to work on the street has been juxtaposed against the rights of others to use the same space and the responsibility of the state to control and regulate that space.

In regarding the various international and regional conventions and declarations on universal human rights as a Universal Code of Ethics, various countries are expected to respect, defend, and satisfy them (Economic and Social Council, 2006, p. 7). Respecting the small-scale informal business sector means that city authorities should not intrude in the economic activities of especially the poor urban dwellers without reasonable cause to do so. Defending the small-scale informal business sector implies that city authorities protect the economic activities of workers in the small-scale informal business sector against destruction by others. In satisfying their rights as enshrined in the conventions and declarations, city authorities are expected to support small-scale informal businesses with security of tenure, urban infrastructure and support services. Essentially, this is a function of urban land use planning.

3.3.2 Urban land use planning and urban spaces

The term planning means different things to different people. It involves a number of stages and a set of activities at every stage with the judicious use of resources in order to achieve a certain objective. It can be undertaken by an individual to achieve personal goals. It is mostly practised to improve the welfare of society. Consequently, the general environment – spatial, institutional, social, and economic – is planned to improve the welfare of society. The Oxford English Dictionary defines planning generally as a verb and as a noun. As a verb, it defines 'to plan' as 'intend to do something'. Again, the nouns that are derived from the verb 'to plan' such as 'planning' and 'planner' are defined as 'to realise the achievement of' or 'to arrange the parts of'. However, the noun, a plan, is referred to as 'a physical representation of something' as for

instance a drawing or a map or 'a method for doing something' or 'an orderly arrangement of parts of an objective' which has a different meaning from those expressed earlier. For instance, an individual's plan to go to the library can at best refer to either an intention to go to the library or set of activities that will be undertaken to finally be in the library which is different from the later which might be a map or drawing of the library. As stated by Hall (2002, p. 1), the most common meaning ascribed to planning which is a combination of the above meanings is that, "it is concerned with the deliberate achievement of some objective, and it proceeds by assembling actions into some orderly sequence".

In addition, one traditional sense of planning is the fact that it is a blueprint (UN Habitat, 2009). It is usually associated or imagined as a design or physical representation. As stated by Hall (2002), since planning is often used in the production of physical objects such as roads or bridges or buildings, it is desirable to have blueprints of the intended objects. However, in his opinion, not all types of planning should end in the form of a blueprint. Even though these plans may be made up of words detailing activities, processes and procedures, diagrams for illustrations and explanations among others, they may not include the production of one precise and complete drawing or physical representation which is being achieved. For instance a family planning programme by a state or organisation for a country or a community will not necessarily involve the end in the form of a blueprint. In this case, there is the need for an overall objective. This may be to improve the reproductive health of women or reduce the population growth through natural increase in the next ten to twenty years or reduce the prevalence rate of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) among others. To achieve this objective, the initial step will be to make a current assessment of the situation and set future projections year by year. It will show the percentage of population who are sexually active and the number of women of childbearing age and couples and the various programmes that are required for the achievement of the set goal. This implies family planning clinics, family planning friendly hospitals, peer educators, counsellors, nurses, midwives, gynaecologists, contraceptives, all of which have to be carefully planned and executed over a period in order to achieve the desired results. At certain stages in the process there will be the need to make alternate decisions. That is whether to build more family planning clinics or designate existing hospitals as family planning friendly or use a lot of peer educators or use TV and radio for family planning education and also which of them would more economical and efficient. These choices will have to be evaluated in order to make the appropriate decision. Also at various stages and throughout the lifetime of the programme, progress needs to be monitored closely to take note of unexpected discrepancies from the initial design of the programme which must be addressed to enable the successful achievement of the set objective. From the forgoing, it can be realised that the general activity of planning "is the making of an orderly sequence of action that will lead to the achievement of a stated goal or goals. Its main techniques will be written statements, supplemented as appropriate by statistical projections, mathematical representations, quantified evaluations and diagrams illustrating relationships between different parts of the plan. It may, but need not necessarily, include exact physical blueprints of objects" (Hall, 2002, p. 3).

However, the planning under discussion 'urban land use planning' is a special type of general planning. It is sometimes referred to as 'physical' planning; 'urban' planning; 'town' planning or to be more unbiased and specific, 'spatial' planning since it has space as its prime concern. It is therefore quite understandable that this type of planning culminates in a spatial representation. As opined by Hall (2002, p. 3), this type of general planning "refers to planning with a spatial, or geographical component, in which the general objective is to provide for a spatial structure of activities (or of land uses) which in some way is better than the pattern that would exist without planning". Since in most cases the final output of the process of this type of planning is the act of physical development, it tends to proceed from very general or indicative maps (spatial development frameworks) to very specific ones, or blueprints (local plans). It can therefore be realised that irrespective of the scale and the sequence, this type of planning is fundamentally spatial. It plights itself with the spatial impact of many different kinds of problem, and with the spatial coordination of many different policies.

Furthermore, it has a process or method through which it is carried out. This is usually referred to as the planning method. According to Hall (2002), the planning method was pioneered by a British Pioneer in planning, Patrick Geddes, in the classic sequence of survey-analysis-plan in the late nineteenth century. As is depicted in the terms, it involved the collection of all the relevant information about the development of the city or region. Then the data was analysed, seeking to project them as far as possible into the future to discover how the area was changing and developing. Having done this, the area was planned; that is, a plan was made which took into account the facts and interpretations revealed in the survey and analysis, and which sought to harness and control the trends according to principles of sound urban land use planning. This was later replaced by a new process which is a continuous cycle in nature. This new process might be described as goals-continuous information-projection and simulation of alternative futuresevaluation-choice-continuous monitoring (Hall, 2002). It starts with the formulation of goals and objectives for the development of the area concerned. The goals are continuously refined and redefined during the cycles of the urban land use planning process. Against this background, an information system is developed which is continuously updated as the region develops and changes. The information is then used to generate various alternative projections, or simulations, of the area at various future dates, assuming the application of various policies. Then the alternatives are compared or evaluated against standards or benchmarks derived from the goals and objectives, to produce a recommended system of policy controls which in turn will be modified as the objectives are re-examined and as the information system produces evidence of new developments. This makes the process more flexible, adaptable, and wide-ranging as possible in order to exploit all the options for proper growth and development of the area.

From the foregoing, it can be realised that urban land use planning is multidimensional as well as multi-objective (Hall, 2002). For instance, to weigh up the advantages of preserving a long-established inner-city society against the advantages of building better housing on an estate some distance away, or the problem of reconciling higher car ownership with the preservation of

public transport for those who have no access to cars and the preservation of a decent urban environment, or the merits of segregating factory zones versus the merit of having local factories nearer to people's homes – all of these, and many more, being considered as part of the same planning process, and having finally each to be considered vis-à-vis all the others (*ibid*). Apart from the fact that these many objectives are not easy to be achieved by a single activity, it is also imperative to be knowledgeable in many disciplines (e.g. economics, sociology, social psychology, geography, statistics and civil engineering among others).

In brief, this type of general planning is spatial or physical: it uses the general methods of planning to produce a physical design. Because of the increasing influence of these general methods, it is oriented towards process rather than towards the production of one-shot (or end-state) plans. Its subject matter is really concerned with urban and regional systems; but the planning itself is a type of management for very complex systems of the method, the stakeholders and the outcomes. And further, it is necessarily multidimensional and multi-objective in its scope; this is what distinguishes it from the work of many other professionals whose work can fairly be described as planning with a spatial component (*ibid*).

3.3.3 Framing a global outlook on planning urban spaces

As suggested by the UN Habitat (2009), even though not an exercise of governments and following tenets of present day urban land use planning, human settlements had been planned from its inception. This is evidenced by various archaeological reports of houses, city streets, towers, protection walls against threats and other structures of ancient cities and towns which could only be constructed from materials produced from a considerable degree of urban land use planning competence.

Globally, present day urban land use planning can be historically traced to Western Europe before it was spread to other regions including Africa. This was largely in response to the chaos and the pollution in the urban areas as a result of the Industrial Revolution (*ibid*). On the introduction of urban land use planning in Africa especially sub-Saharan Africa, theory and models for urban development were largely transferred from Europe and overlaid on African traditional systems that were arguably unprepared for the new systems of housing, standards, public services and development control procedures that were characterised by top down approaches (Smyth, 2004, Shalaby, 2003, Ndura, 2006). These ideas ensued largely through British, German, French and Portuguese colonial influence, using their home-grown instruments of master planning, zoning, building regulations and the urban models of the time – garden cities, neighbourhood units and Radburn layouts, and later urban modernism. A process of the commodification of land within the liberal tradition of private property rights, with the state maintaining control over the full exercise of these rights, including aspects falling under planning and zoning ordinances were also initiated by most colonial and later post-colonial governments (*ibid*).

Urban planning in most parts of Africa including Ghana still follow approaches and practices that were introduced by their colonial masters even though these have evolved in response to the needs of the urban areas in their respective circumstances. On the other hand are the Global South theories, models and practices with a couple documented while many remain undocumented or systematically described (Ndura, 2006). Based on the theories outlined, planning practice in Africa has largely been influenced by paradigms of Master Planning, Structure Planning and currently under test in some countries of the region is innovative planning (Valk, 2002, Simpson and Chapman, 1999). These paradigms have pursued urban land use planning in different ways; functional versus territorial planning; geographical and administrative area planning and time horizon planning (Bennett, 2003).

3.3.4 Urban land use planning in sub-Saharan Africa

As stated earlier above, existing documents recognise the existence of urbanisation and human settlements in Africa before colonisation even though most current literature attribute this phenomenon largely to European colonisation especially in sub-Saharan Africa (Lwasa and Kinuthia-Njenga, 2012, UN Habitat, 2009). Also, inextricably linked to European town planning practices are urban land use planning processes. In particular, it should be noted that British colonial rule profoundly influenced the nature of urban development in all of its colonies in sub-Saharan Africa especially from the late nineteenth century until independence. It is believed that, the African region provided ideal experimental grounds for new colonial centres with urban land use planning processes literally exported as part of the cultural baggage of imperialism (Akatch, 1995, p. 42). Indeed, as appropriately stated in the UN-Habitat Global Human Settlements Report, (2009, p. 60), "often times, these imported ideas were used for reasons of political, ethnic or racial domination and 'exclusion' rather than in the interests of good urban land use planning systems". Thus the current urban land use planning systems and urban footprints are largely a legacy of colonial planning practice manifested in a physical sense through the segregated residential quarters (Jenkins et al., 2007).

Moreover, there are also strong connections in terms of planning legislation, institutional structures and administrative processes. In this regard, town planning legislation for many countries in the region, for example, Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Zambia has its roots directly in British town planning laws and was transported without modification to the new situation, irrespective of the different circumstances prevailing in the recipient country. As Kanyeihamba (1973, p. 243) argues, the adoption of transported legislation was a recipe for failure for a variety of reasons related to different political, cultural, social and economic conditions prevailing in the recipient countries. This situation was further compounded by the dire shortage of specialised manpower experienced during the colonial period, which still prevails to date in the region.

Subsequently, after the attainment of political independence, very little attempt was made by the new African governments to change the urban functions of the towns and cities, which were inherited from colonial governments (Akatch, 1995). This notwithstanding, rapid urbanisation

was perhaps the most dramatic social phenomena that marked the end of the colonial era in Africa. From a situation in 1950 in which the total population was not more than 28 million, the figure had by 1984 jumped to well over 125 million (Mabogunje, 1990). According as explained by Jenkins et al. (2007, pp. 115-117), urban land use planning activities in colonial Africa undertaken under the influence of western planning institutions left a mixed legacy comprising often contradicting processes and policies. These include a new 'tidal wave' of urban growth, exclusive land policies, a public sector expected to offer solutions to the pressures of urban growth, financial and technical capital inadequacies, segregation and social differentiation.

Hence, the influence of received planning concepts lingers on in sub-Saharan Africa and is continuously reinforced by the substantial influence of International Development Agencies, the 'donor community' and the urban land use planning doctrines of the global north (Watson, 2002). Surprisingly, post-colonial governments have tended to reinforce and entrench colonial land use plans and land management tools, sometimes in even more rigid form than colonial governments (Njoh, 2003). The net effect has been that these urban land use plans remain relatively unchanged and unresponsive (UN-Habitat, 2009). Consequently, as Okpala (1990) argues "there is substantial external influence on the urban land use planning and development of the African urban systems". The performance and service delivery capacities in the African region have also been hampered as a result of inadequacy in the quality and quantity of personnel.

Furthermore, most African governments which are neo-liberal in nature consider most urban settlements and economic activities as 'insurgency'. Indeed, a number of writers link 'informality' that is prevalent in the South with 'insurgent' practices (Miraftab, 2009; Purcell, 2009; Roy, 2009a, 2009b). As stated by Miraftab (2009, p. 45) 'perhaps' the deep informality of the Third World cities is not their failure ... but a triumphant sign of their success in resisting Western models of planning and urban development'.

3.3.5 The contributory role of urban land use planning in producing spatial justice

Spatial justice refers to the concept of producing urban spaces that meets and promotes the present and future needs of all segments of urban society without any discrimination. The urban land use planning system described in section 3.3.2 above was established to achieve a particular goal especially in less developed countries – providing and sustaining sanity in the city to improve the welfare of inhabitants. The achievement of this objective by the state through the enforcement of the various urban land use planning arrangements and regulations has been related to a means of control rather the promotion of human rights. The process imposes limitations to the use of urban spaces by ascribing various values to it. In the understanding of Soja (2010), the commercialisation and privatisation of urban spaces and the dominance of property rights can be defined as expressions of power and the 'creation of divisions' that produce unjust geographies. Thus, the urban land use planning system places a great deal of power in the hands of professionals and city authorities (UN Habitat, 2009, p. 58). As explained by Foucault (1991), essence of power is the way it is exercised (reality) rather than its statutory basis (legitimacy). As a result, it is important to constantly engage the outcomes of urban land

use planning procedures and regulations that shape urban spaces. As stated by Flyvbjerg and Richardson (2002), there is the need for a reorientation from 'what should be done' towards 'what is actually done'; or, states more clearly '... normative rationality may provide an ideal to strive for, but it is a poor guide to the strategies and tactics needed for moving towards the ideal'. Urban land use plaining guidelines are normally susceptible to both foundational and procedural limitations that might hinder their progressive formulation and implementation. Such limitations consequently hold back the process of securing spatial justice.

Urban public spaces are symbols of common goods that promote social equity and social cohesion. They are instrumental in promoting a collective consciousness by which different social groups make use of them. However, differences in accessibility, quality, safety and usability of urban public space also expose social inequities in the urban society by holding the character of being both 'inclusive' and 'exclusive'. This condition highlights the relationship of human rights to common land and the role of urban land use planning and management in promoting spatial justice. Urban public space and common property in general represent a major opportunity for nurturing collective solidarity and the accumulation of social capital for the benefit especially of the less affluent (Davy, 2009). Access to land is not only about security of tenure for housing, farmland and so on but also about free access to urban commons with adequate facilities and spaces of social and economic exchange. Such public spaces are often the only access to land for the urban poor. However, to prevent the 'tragedy of the commons' due to the lack of urban land use planning and precautionary management, common property needs the full attention of urban planners (Davy, 2009; Hardin, 1968). As urban public space is a collectively consumed good, a key issue of attention is of course the spatial design as well as the restrictions needed to control congestion and degradation (Webster, 2007). In addition, the crucial role of urban land use planning in ensuring spatial justice is to produce an environment that facilitates the production of an urban space for 'urban differentials'. As profoundly explained by Harvey (2003, p. 941) and Soja (2010, p. 83), the right to the city must transcend the creation of opportunities to accommodate 'urban differentials' in an already made city but the right to positively influence the power and actively participate in the processes that shape the habitations of everyone living in it.

3.4 Concluding remarks

The above discussions have shared insight into the concept of urban informality; the various theories in the literature that attempts to explain the concept; the meaning of urban public spaces; the rights of urban dwellers including the small-scale informal business sector to the use of urban public spaces; explanations on urban land use planning and its genesis and practices in especially sub-Saharan Africa and its contributory role in the quest to produce just urban spaces. The next chapter discusses the urban land use planning system in Ghana and Kumasi for that matter and the concept of integration in order to conceptualise a framework for integrating the small-scale informal business sector.

4 The discourse on urban land use planning in Ghana, the concept of integration and conceptual framework.

The previous chapter widely discussed the underlying theories of urban space, their production and everyday activities which in themselves are largely influence their production and understanding in different communities. It also described how the various uses of urban space and their production compete against each other resulting in various contestations. Moreover, the chapter further explains the notion of urban informality, the right of small-scale informal business sector to urban public space and the means through they access urban public space. It finally, discusses the right to urban space as concept and how urban land use planning can contribute it through spatial justice. With this understanding, this chapter discusses the entire urban land use planning system in Ghana by the understanding the history, institutional set-ups, organisational set-ups, and its capacity to produce spatial justice. This will help in the identification and understanding of the challenges that need to be overcome in integrating the small-scale informal business sector. It further highlights integration both as a concept and a practice and its various dimensions for a sustainable urban development and management for city authorities and urban dwellers. Finally, the previous concepts on the urban informality, urban space, urban land use planning and integration are linked together to construct a conceptual framework to guide the research.

4.1 General overview

Ghana is located in the western part of Africa. It is bordered in east by Togo, La Cote d'Ivoire to the west, Burkina Faso to the north and the Gulf of Guinea (Atlantic Ocean) to the south. It has a total of 238,539 square kilometres of administrative territory of land and inland water area coverage. The country is rich in land and natural resources, upon which its political and material strength and sustainable development are built (National Land Policy, 1999). Its foreign exports earnings are primarily driven by gold and cocoa. In addition, its foreign exchange revenues have been boosted by the discovery and production of crude oil (since 2010) as well as increases in revenue from tourism. The domestic economy has witnessed some major changes in recent years with the service sector overtaking agriculture, as the largest contributor of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) with a share of 50 percent in 2012 starting from 2006 (Citi F.M., 2013). The rebased GDP of the economy put the country in the lower middle income status.

The country is a unitary republic that has ten administrative regions, subdivided into 216 districts (as of 2014). There are over 60 ethnic groups, 52 major languages and hundreds of spoken dialects. The Constitution of Ghana (1992) is the supreme law of the country. The constitution recognises the roles played by socio-cultural institutions (e.g. chieftaincy), customary law and customary land management in reaching sustainable development goals. Customary land management is the main source of access to land (80%).

Map 3.1: Locational map of Ghana



According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census, the country has an estimated population of about 24.6 million, (GSS, 2013). It is estimated that there are 5.4 million households in Ghana (GSS, 2013) 55.8 percent in urban areas. Consequently more than 50 percent of the total population of the country live in urban areas. Available data also indicate that the 74 percent of the population aged 11 years and older are literate. The unemployment rate for the economically active population aged 15 years or older is also estimated at 5.3 percent.

The majority of the working population are employed in the small-scale informal business sector. About an estimated 85 percent of the total employed economically

active population aged 15 years and above are employed in the small-scale informal business sector. Moreover as indicated by the GSS (2013), 51.2 percent of the economically active population of the country are located in urban areas. From the foregoing, it can be realised that the urban small-scale informal business sector plays a major role in the country's economy. Urban development through an integrated urban land use planning which actively includes the small-scale informal business sector in the planning and management of urban areas is essential. Urban areas in Ghana exist within a decentralised framework that establishes local governments according to population thresholds. The subsequent parts of the chapter analyse the urban land management and administration, the urban land use planning system and links the emerging concepts arising from them into a conceptual framework to guide the empirical research.

4.2 Decentralisation and planning in Ghana

The decentralisation programme was primarily aimed at addressing the problems in the hitherto centralised administration system where power and authority were concentrated at the top which was highly criticised. The 'bottom up' planning system introduced in 1994 was actually in response to the introduction of the decentralisation concept in 1988. The concept, through various laws such as the 1992 constitution, acts of parliament, legislative instruments, by-laws established metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies with their sub-structures with the purpose of providing a forum at the local level where a team of development agents, the representatives of the people and other agencies agree on development issues of the locality, their underlying causative factors and decide on combined actions necessary to deal with them.

Accordingly, the concept created a four-level structure of government, comprising; national government, including ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) at the national level; ten regional coordinating councils (RCCs) for the ten administrative regions of the country; 216 metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies (MMDAs); and sub-district structures: urban, zonal and town councils, and unit committees which has been aptly illustrated in figure 4.1. The laws prescribed MMDAs with executive, deliberative and administrative responsibilities and specifically tasked them to perform 86 specific functions ranging from provision of basic services in education, health, water supply, sanitation, to public safety and revenue collection. As suggested by Ayee (2012), the functions of the MMDAs could be summarised as political and administrative authorities; planning authorities; development authorities; budgeting authorities; and rating authorities.

The membership of the assemblies of the MMDAs is done through both election and appointment. Seventy percent of members are elected by universal adult suffrage to represent the members of their electoral areas and the rest 30 percent appointed by the president in consultation with the traditional authority and interest groups in the district. This is to enable the inclusion of people with technical knowledgeable, expertise and professionals residing in the district to be appointed to the assembly in order for them to put such expertise at the disposal of the assembly. It also includes the Members of Parliament (MPs) of constituencies in the respective MMDA. The MMDAs are headed by a political head, initially nominated by the president and must be approved by the votes of a two-thirds majority of the total votes cast by assembly members present. As the political head, the Chief Executive chairs an Executive Committee comprised of one-third of the MMDA members. The General Assembly which is the highest decision making body is presided over by a Presiding Member, elected among members of the assembly and approved by two-thirds majority of members present and voting. The members of MMDAs are supposedly non-partisan according to the law, as candidates are not sponsored by political parties. This is to guarantee consensus-building and promote development, but as rightly observed by Ayee and Dickovick (2010), government appointees often turn out to be members of the ruling party.

Additionally, the laws setting up the MMDAs also set out a fiscal decentralisation regime to ensure that the MMDAs had adequate finances and control over the finances for their activities. Subsequently, three (3) revenue sources were made available – District Assemblies Common Fund (DACF) (a share of 7.5% of total government revenue which is constitutionally-guaranteed), Ceded Revenue and Internally Generated Funds (IGF) raised largely through local taxation were made available to them. In the area of budgeting, the composite budgeting regime which was recommended by government as part of the process of deepening fiscal decentralisation as the decentralised departments of the different sectors were still aligned to their parent Ministries' Sector plans is still yet to come to fruition.

The MMDAs are the main urban land use planning authorities in their areas of jurisdictions as part of their functions. Consequently, they implement development plans and programmes

resulting from the planning process (see section 4.4.4 of this chapter on discussions on the urban land use planning process). Even though the law officially assigns these roles to the MMDAs, many of the decentralised departments under them still implement projects and programmes from that of their parent regional and national departments as their activities are funded by their parent departments, depicting a lack of coordination in their operations. Again, staffs of the decentralised departments at the MMDAs are still being employed and paid from the payrolls of the line ministries and departments under the civil service at the national level of government making their control by MMDAs problematic (Ayee, 2004).

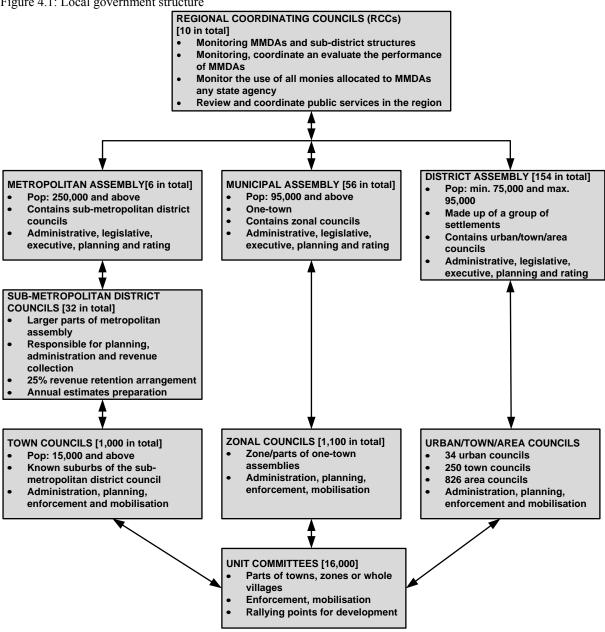
Regional Ministers, appointed by the president, chair the RCCs and led administratively by regional coordinating directors with support from their planning units. The RCCs are composed of chief executives of the MMDAs; representatives of traditional authorities; and the regional heads of various deconcentrated line ministries, departments and agencies. The role of RCCs in the entire decentralisation process has always been debated since it is seen to inconsistent with the general aim of the decentralisation concept. For instance, many functions to be delegated to the RCCs are still being performed by the regional offices of deconcentrated line ministries, departments and agencies which are still being funded by the central government in their respective sectors (Ayee and Dickovick, 2010).

Sub-district structures below the MMDAs, constitute the last tier of Ghana's local government system as shown in figure 4.1. They operate at three levels constituted by the Sub-metropolitan District Councils (SMDCs), Urban or Town or Zonal or Area Councils, and Unit Committees. Immediately below the Metropolitan Assemblies are the SMDCs. The Urban Councils are created for populations greater than 15,000 and Town Councils for populations between 5,000 and 15,000 with the Zonal Councils established for settlements with population of 3,000. Apart from the Unit Committees, the sub-structures are not composed of elected members. The SMDCs consist of not less than 25 and not more than 30 members, made up of all elected members of the Assembly in that Sub-metropolitan District and as such, government appointees resident in the Sub-metropolitan District. The Urban or Town or Zonal or Area Councils compose of representatives from the District Assemblies and Unit Committees (UCs) as well as representatives of the Metropolitan/Municipal/District Chief Executives (MMDCEs). Their main role among others is to promote citizens' participation in planning, implementation and monitoring of local services.

The lowest level and the basic unit of the local government structure are Unit Committees. A unit is usually used to refer to a settlement or a group of settlements with a population of between 500 –1,000 in the rural areas, and a higher population (1,500) for the urban areas. The committees are composed of partly elected (10 elected members) and partly appointed (5 appointed members by the MMDCE). Their roles include street naming, registration of births and deaths, revenue raising, public education campaign, organisation of communal labour, promoting public health, and responsibility for day-to-day administration. As the basic unit at the lowest level and thus closer to the people, they offer structured mechanisms of representation,

participation and accountability from village or community levels upwards. However, it has been largely observed that the sub-district structures are not functioning. This has been attributed to their number and sizes, large membership composition, and legitimacy of non-elected members. Again, their expected roles are ambiguous and they also lack adequate capacity – the personnel and logistical support to adequately carry out their duties.

Figure 4.1: Local government structure



Source: Adapted from Aryee (2012).

4.3 Urban land tenure and administration in Ghana

The term urban is difficult to define since there is no universally accepted single definition of an urban area. Countries therefore generally defined towns based on several approaches taking into consideration their geographical size, population and level of socio-economic development. Ghana uses the statistical or population approach. By this approach, an urban area (town) in Ghana is officially defined as any settlement with a population of 5,000 or more (GSS, 2013). Nonetheless, in the establishment of the sub-structures under MMDAs, the local government law (Act 462), stipulated Urban Councils to be created for areas with minimum populations of 15,000. However, no official definitions exist for various urban categories such as 'small', 'medium' and 'large' towns.

In addition to the criterion of minimum population size, is the use of other diagnostic criteria such as the majority of the workforce being engaged in non-farm activities; the functions performed by the settlement which are usually combined with minimum population size by some countries in the definition of settlements as urban areas. Furthermore, the majority of towns and cities in the world are defined according to legal or administrative criteria and this may have little correspondence with the actual physical extent of the settlement in question. The fourth is functional classification, which reflects the real extent of the sphere of influence of the settlement. From the foregoing it can be realised that an urban area is therefore characterised by higher population density, higher order functions and vast human features in comparison to areas surrounding it. In this research, an urban area is used to refer to an area with a minimum population of 5,000 in accordance with the general definition in Ghana.

Land tenure in urban areas in Ghana is regulated by the statutory and the customary land management systems which work side-by-side. This dual management system has its antecedents from the customs of the people and the country's colonial history. Traditionally, land is owned by traditional societies in the form of tribes, clans, families or chiefdoms. Customary lands are managed by the head of the corporate bodies – chiefs and family heads, who have the authority to enforce rights and obligations related to the land. These arrangements are supported by the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, (Article 267). Contrary to other African countries, notably Malawi and Nigeria where customary tenure land system is experienced only in rural settlements, in Ghana, the practice can be experienced in rural, peri-urban as well as urban areas. Land under the ownership and administration of the state in Ghana is land acquired by lawful proclamation, ordinances, statutory procedures or international treaties by the state for the public good (Kuntu-Mensah, 2006). The religious notions of land ownership by the traditional land owners have had considerable influence on the way and manner land is used and even administered even though quite admittedly such notions are increasingly being marginalised or even ignored in the urban economy as a result of urbanisation and its related effects of economic growth, education and adulteration by different cultures as well as other religious beliefs (notably Christianity and Islamic religions). The two broad categories of land ownership in Ghana consist of the public and customary land ownership regimes.

4.3.1 Public land ownership

Public land refers to all land owned by the state on behalf of the people of Ghana based on the provisions of the Administration of Lands Act, 1962, (Act 123). They include any other land acquired by the state in the public interest through the State Lands Act, 1962, (Act 125) or through any other statutes. Lands Commission Act (Act 483) of 1994 establishes the Lands Commission and its secretariats to administer public lands on behalf of the state. Public lands include state lands and public vested lands.

State land - are lands compulsorily acquired by the state for a stated public purpose or in the general public interest through the lawful exercise of its constitutional or statutory power of eminent domain. According to the various legislations (1992 Constitution [Article 20], Administration of Lands Act 1962, (Act 123,) the State Lands Act 1962, (Act 125 and the Land Statutory Wayleaves Act 1963, (Act 186)) regulating such acquisition of land by the state, all previous interests are extinguished by such a declaration by the state and persons who previously held any recognisable interests in such lands are entitled to compensation which is either monetary or replacement with land of equivalent value. They also include any land such as roads, reservations, public open spaces, cemeteries, parks, sanitary areas, public school sites, public health sites among others that are demarcated in urban land use planning schemes of settlements.

Public vested lands - is a form of unique ownership system where the legal title in customary land is entrusted to the state. This is where the state under the Administration of Stool Lands Act, 1962 (Act 123) and the Lands Commission Act, 2008 (Act 767) statutorily takes over the administration of customary land in trust for the land owners (usually traditional authorities) without necessarily having the beneficial interest in the land as this is still retained by the indigenous land owners. The responsibilities of the state include legal (e.g. prosecution), financial (e.g. rent assessment, collection, disbursement) and estate management (e.g. physical planning and its enforcement and administration of the property) which is carried out by the Office of Administrator of Stool Lands (OASL) according to the guidelines enshrined in the laws.

4.3.2 Customary lands

Lands are that owned by stools, skins, families and clans usually held in trust by the chief, head of family and clan or fetish priests for the benefit of their members are referred to as customary land. As already mentioned in section 4.2 of this chapter, the practice is recognised by the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana (Article 36 [8]). Individuals can acquire private ownership of customary land through a grant, sale, lease, gift or marriage. However, the Constitution of Ghana, 1992 (Article 267 clause (3)) requires that the disposition of stool lands must receive the approval (concurrence) of the Lands Commission, and must be consistent with the approved

development plan for the area concerned. As customary land form the majority of lands in the country, it supports the livelihoods of the majority of the population in the country and therefore sustainable management of such lands is critical to the overall socio-economic development of the country.

The urban land tenure and administration regime of the country faces various constraints which include the various legislations and organisational frameworks regulating the system. According to the Ministry of Lands and Forestry (2003), the legal framework for land administration has evolved from colonial administrations in a piecemeal and an ad hoc manner, in response to specific issues or according to the interest of political leaders. Presently, there are over 86 legal instruments operating together with customary laws in regulating land with many overlapping and others conflicting.

The epicentre of the inconsistencies in the institutional frameworks of the land tenure largely relates to those concerning the state administration of customary land. For instance, Article 267 (1) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana states that "all stool lands shall vest in the appropriate stool on behalf of and in trust for the subjects of the stool in accordance with customary law and usage". This clearly means that owners of customary lands possess both the legal title as well as the beneficial interest and entitled to take decisions to that effect. They are entitled to own, sell, receive payment, manage, and decide on who is allocated a plot, terms, conditions and price for a particular grant among others. However, Article 267 (2) of the same Constitution establishes the OASL and charges it with the collection and disbursements of all stool land revenues, defined to include all rents, dues, royalties, revenues or other payments whether in the nature of income or capital from stool lands clearly disregarding and disinheriting customary land owners who were bestowed the same rights and interest in land by the same constitution. All the functions related to management of customary land were rather transferred to the Administrator of Stool Lands.

Moreover, with regards to the benefits, Article 267(6) additionally sets the formula for the distribution of the revenues accruing from the management of such lands as follows: "10 percent of the revenue accruing from stool lands shall be paid to the OASL to cover administrative expenses and the remaining revenue shall be disbursed in the following proportions: 25 percent to the stool through the traditional authority for the maintenance of the stool in keeping with its status; 20 percent to the traditional authority; and 55 percent to the District Assembly, within the area of authority of which stool lands are situated".

It can be realised that, only 25 percent (out of 90 percent of the total revenue accruing from the land) is to be benefitted by the customary landowners whilst as much as 55 percent (out of 90 percent of the total revenue) is to go to the local government. The remaining 20 percent (out of 90 percent of the total revenue) is paid to the chiefdom through the traditional council (an association of heads of traditional groups) in accordance with statues of the chiefdom (for instance paramount chief) where the land is situated. It is difficult to reconcile the idea of traditional rulers owning land and managing it from day-to-day including its defence in court and

sometimes in battle and war whilst all management functions are controlled by state organisations (Kasanga, 2002).

Additionally, Article 267(3) also stipulates that there shall be no disposition or development of any stool land unless the Regional Lands Commission of the region in which the land is situated has certified that the disposition or development is consistent with the urban land use plan drawn up or approved by the planning authority (local government) for the area concerned. It can be realised that this subsection of the law clearly combines planning approval and land administration under the Regional Lands Commission which is set-up for the latter. Again, it renders every customary land disposition without such approval from the regional lands commission illegal.

Furthermore, Article 267(5) prohibits the granting of freehold interest or rights in any stool land however so described. This implies that community members or individuals of a land owning community can never have absolute rights or interest over any piece of land in their communities. Also the chiefs can never give or grant freehold interest or rights to their subjects or foreigners which has various implications for development. It is however envisaged that the Land Administration Project (LAP) which was aimed primarily at streamlining the problems in land administration and management currently on-going in Ghana will help address these challenges.

4.4 The urban land use planning system in Ghana

Before the introduction of decentralisation concept in Ghana in 1988/89, planning was a highly centralised activity since it was mostly influenced by the planning system of the colonial era. The approach to planning for development in the country had been national in scope and sectoral in nature. The planning system mainly sought to define national goals and objectives. The formulation of national development plans was therefore from the perspectives of a few staff of the ministries and other central government agencies, without consultation with or participation of the citizens who were the ultimate beneficiaries of the plan. As a result, the planning system was highly criticized. According to the new local government system, the following were some of the limitations of the system:

- insensitivity to community aspirations and opportunities for local level development initiatives;
- difficult to integrate analysis, synthesis and action and represents a limited and partial approach to solve development problems;
- difficulties in exploring interactive nature of development; and
- lack of participation of the local people in the planning process.

As a result, a new planning system was designed as part of the decentralisation programme that was introduced into the country in 1988/89.

4.4.1 The basic principles of the planning system

The main principle underpinning the new planning system is to address the inherent drawbacks in the previous system. It is therefore designed to restructure the political and public administrative machinery for development decision-making at both national and local levels, and to organise spatial development to attain functional efficiency and harmony environmentally. As part of the restructuring and reforms of the public administration system, it is meant to integrate central and local government at the regional and district levels; decentralise but integrate the development planning process and its supporting budgetary system; and also provide adequate transfers of financial, human and other resources from central government to local authorities for effective and efficient planning, administration and management of the areas under their jurisdiction. A number of legislations were designed to set-up the organisational and administrational framework of the planning system.

4.4.2 Institutional set-up of the planning system

Institutions are usually used interchangeably with organisations. However, in the strict sense of the word, the two are not the same. In this research, 'institutions' is used to refer to humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction in accordance with North's explanation of the word (North, 1991). As he explains, institutions structure incentives in human exchange, whether political, social or economic. They also reduce uncertainty by providing a structure to everyday life. They could be either informal (customary) constraints such as sanctions, taboos, customs, traditional codes of conduct and formal rules such as conventions, laws, property rights among others.

The institutional set-up of the planning system outlines the objectives, the organisational set-up and the administrational framework of the system. They include:

- the Town and Country Planning, Act 1945 (CAP 84)
- the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, 1992;
- the Civil Service Law, 1993 (PNDCL 327);
- the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462);
- the National Development Planning Commission Act, 1994 (Act 479);
- the National Development Planning (Systems) Act, 1994 (Act 480); and
- the National Building Regulations, 1996 (L.I. 1630).

These laws (especially, the National Development Planning (Systems) Act, the National Development Planning Commission Act, sections 1, 2 and 9 to 15, the Local Government Act, Part II and the Civil Service Law, sections 11 to 14) provide the core elements or structure of the new planning system. These elements comprise district planning authorities, regional coordinating councils, sector agencies, departments, ministries and a National Development Planning Commission. In addition to the objectives, the institutions also define the scope and functions of the planning system.

In addition to the above laws are many other laws right from the colonial days to date which have not been repealed and still affect urban land use planning in the country. These laws number about 470. They consist of those that have direct impact; indirect but relevant; general application; relevant but with standard provisions; land laws and legislative instruments; legislative instruments for MMDAs; and policies and documents with relevance to urban land use planning. As a result, a lot of inconsistencies, overlapping and confusions are generated through the institutional set-up leading to inefficiencies and lack of effectiveness.

Furthermore, while the National Development Planning (Systems) Act, 1994 (Act 479) elaborates the framework for decentralised planning in Ghana including urban land use planning, its provisions and plan preparation processes are at variance with the provisions in the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1945 (CAP 84). In addition, while Act 462 recognises MMDAs as urban land use planning authorities within their respective areas of jurisdiction, there is no subsidiary legislation spelling out urban land use planning functions and standards. In the performance of urban land use planning functions, MMDAs have had to rely on CAP 84 which is outmoded and at variance with processes under Act 462.

4.4.3 Objectives, scope and the functions of the planning system

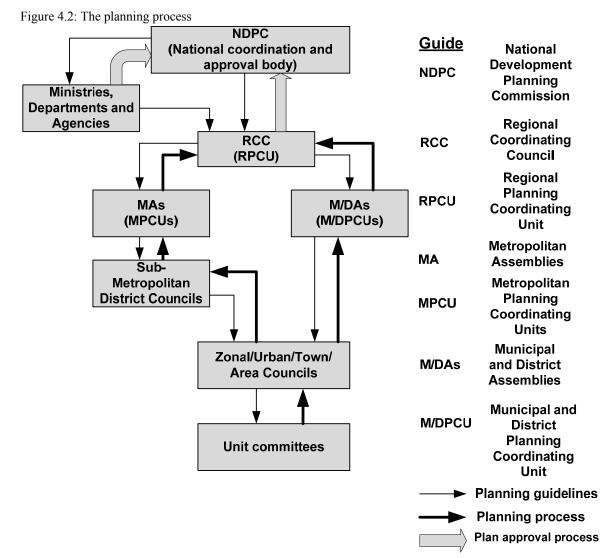
Development planning is expected to be undertaken in three different levels. These include the national, regional and district levels. At the national level is a comprehensive (overall) plan that addresses and seeks to integrate central government and local government at the regional and district levels. According to Botchie (2000), the new decentralised development planning system was significantly different from before in that, the system is among other things devoted to the welfare of the citizens, integrates the social, economic, environmental and spatial aspects of development and is also expected to coordinate the efforts of sub-districts, districts, government agencies, NGOs, donors and the private sector. The following are the main objectives of the system:

- to create an institutional framework for public and community participation in national development to ensure optimal resource mobilisation, allocation and utilisation for development;
- to provide opportunities for greater participation of local people in development planning and efficient management of local resources; and
- to establish effective channels of communication between the national government and local communities and increase administrative effectiveness at both levels.

The new planning system evidently sought to vest authority for implementation of national development with decentralised institutions. The focal points of these institutional arrangements are the MMDAs. The new planning system is now expected be a politico-technical dialogue and process. Community participation, inter-sectorial and interdisciplinary collaboration are now expected to be integral parts of the process, and it should involve continuous monitoring and evaluation of implementation to provide effective feedback.

4.4.4 Overview of the planning process

The NDPC is responsible for coordinating and managing the national development planning system that includes Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs), Regional Coordinating Councils (RCCs) and District Assemblies (DAs). In principle, it is a decentralised 'bottom-up' process, starting from the district level being the lowest, up through the regional level to the national level as illustrated in figure 4.2.



Source: Adapted from NDPC (2012).

The NDPC is expected to develop the development framework and guidelines that facilitate the development of plans for sectors, agencies and districts. At the district level, the authorities prepare plans based on consultations with community entities such as urban/zonal/town/area councils and unit committees. The MMDAs also work closely with and through other government agencies such as the Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD) for the preparation of the urban land use plans and the other policy plans. These plans are then

harmonised at the regional level and presented to NDPC for approval. At the sector level, ministries prepare their plans and submit them to NDPC for harmonisation and approval. The approved sector plans and district plans are amalgamated to form the national development plan.

It can be realised from figure 4.2 above that whilst the development planning for all local governments emanates from the communities (unit committee level), it is guided both in content and format by guidelines from the NDPC as confirmed by Act 480, which directs the NDPC to prescribe guidelines to local governments for their preparation of mandatory five-year Medium-Term Development Plans (MTDPs). It can therefore be argued that this runs contrary to the objectives of the planning system which is to promote bottom-up development planning. Planning is still being stimulated, initiated and driven from the top rather than the local level as MMDAs are constrained from carrying out planning until the guidelines are issued by the NDPC. Moreover, the NDPC is also required by the law to review the output of these processes of local planning which have culminated in the respective MTDPs to ensure that they conform to the overarching national development aspirations.

Consequently, the thematic thrusts of the local plans are determined by the national priorities identified by actors (mostly elected politicians assisted by public servants) at the central government level. This process of local planning is traditionally top-down with local governments dependent on the NDPC for identification of priority areas. Local planning is thus limited in its contextualisation and prioritisation, and is further diminished in its ambitions by the unwillingness of actors in the local governments to go beyond the remit of the NDPC guidelines.

4.4.5 Organisational set-up

The institutions establishing the planning system among other things also defined the organisational set-up through which planning should be carried out. The organisational set-up is the human associations or structures established by the institutions in the planning system. The institutions established organisations with various functions at the various levels of planning in the country – national, regional, district and sub-district levels. The organisations include:

National Development Planning Commission (NDPC)

The NDPC is mandated by the Constitution to advise the President on development planning policy and strategy under Article 86(1) and is also enjoined to carry out national development planning as per Article 87(2) and (3) of the Constitution. These articles of the Constitution charge the Commission to, "at the request of the President, or Parliament, or on its own initiative" carry out a number of planning functions including:

- study and analyse macroeconomic and structural reform options;
- make proposals for the development of multi-year rolling plans, protection of the environment, and the even development of the districts;
- monitor, evaluate and coordinate development policies, programmes and projects;
- perform any other functions related to development planning as the President may direct.

The functions and roles granted the NDPC by the Constitution are reinforced by the National Development Planning Commission Act, 1994 (Act 479) and the National Development Planning (System) Act, 1994 (Act 480). Act 479 expands the Commission's functions by charging it with:

- formulating comprehensive development planning strategies and ensuring that they "are effectively carried out";
- preparing broad national development plans; and
- constantly review national development plans and make recommendations for their revisions where necessary.

According to the NDPC, its mission is to advise the President and Parliament, which has the discretion to request such advice, on national development policy and strategy for accelerated and sustainable development of the country and to promote continuous improvements in the living standards of all Ghanaians. The Commission recognises that it is positioned in the Constitution as the planning authority at the apex (see figure 4.2) of the national development planning process. The NDPC constitutes the Commission and the staff of the Commission. According to Act 479 (3), the Commission is constituted of the following: a Chairman; a Vice Chairman (elected by members from among their number); the Minister responsible for finance and other such ministers of state as the president may appoint; the Director General; the Governor of Bank of Ghana; the Government Statistician; one representative from each region; and other individuals appointed by the President. The current Commission consists of the ministers responsible for Education; Environment, Science and Technology; Employment and Social Welfare; Health, Food and Agriculture; Local Government and Rural Development and Trade and Industries. It also includes other individuals appointed by the President. The current commission consists of 37 members. In its current structure, the Commission conducts work under seven key priorities: economic policy; infrastructure and human settlements; energy, oil and gas; private sector development; human development, productivity and employment; agriculture; and governance. There are no full-time members of the Commission and all Commissioners participate in the deliberations of the Commission and its subgroups when such meetings are called.

Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs)

The laws also establish the ministries, departments and agencies at the national level as the main government machinery. These line ministries, departments and agencies at the national level also prepare sector plans following guidelines provided by NDPC. The laws establish Policy Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation Divisions in the various MDAs at the national level to purposely carry out policy planning functions for their respective sectors. Moreover, ministries such as the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MoFEP) have a special relationship with NDPC with regard to the preparation of the guidelines for the Medium Term Development Framework (Medium Term Expenditure Framework), fiscal and financial strategies.

Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD)

The Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD) was created by the colonial administration in 1945 and mandated to plan and manage the growth and development of cities, towns and villages in Ghana, the then Gold Coast. The department therefore had the expressed objective of promoting human settlements development in a sustainable manner based on the principles of safety, efficiency, economy, orderliness and healthy growth of communities. After Ghana's independence in 1957, the department still existed and performed the same functions for which it was established. The Town and Country Planning Act of 1958 (Act 30), established the Town and Country Planning Board with the responsibility of ensuring progressive and orderly development of human settlements and the preservation and improvement of their amenities with its powers vested in the Minister responsible for Town and Country Planning. However, in 1960, an amendment to the Town and Country Planning Act of 1958 (Act 30), Act 33, abolished the Town and Country Planning Board. The Town and Country Department was then created and vested with the powers of the Town and Country Planning Board through the powers given to the Minister.

The department operated purely as a Civil Service Department with the head office in Accra and branch offices in the regions and the districts until the administrative reforms and the introduction of decentralization in 1988/89. Even though it still performs the functions of spatial or physical planning in the new system of planning, it is no longer a huge central government agency with line branches in the regions and districts. It is now decentralised with a national department under a ministry and independent departments belonging to regional co-ordinating councils and metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies.

In addition, the spatial and physical planning functions were adopted and affirmed by the various legislations which gave birth to the new decentralised planning system. For instance, the National Development Planning Systems Act, 1994 (Act 480), requires that settlement structure plans be prepared in addition to district development plans. Again, most of the second part (Part II) of the Local Government Act, 1993, (Act 462) deals with the physical development and the management of settlement growth. As already stated above, some specific functions of the metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies is to ensure the improvement, management and development of human settlements and the environment of the areas under their jurisdiction. As a result, district offices of the TCPD are to be decentralised departments under the metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies to provide technical support to them to plan and manage changes in the physical environment and to direct the growth, development and improvement of human settlements.

At the national level, the TCPD is located in the Ministry of Environment, Science and Technology (MEST). Its main function is to support the ministry to collaborate with the NDPC in the formulation and review of national policy for the development, improvement and management of human settlements. At the Regional and District levels, it is located at the RCC

and MMDAs respectively. The TCPD performs the following key functions as spelt out in its establishment mandate:

- planning and management of physical development and growth of human settlements in the country, including road network planning and construction;
- preparation of spatial and land use plans and administration of controls to ensure that human settlements function as healthy places for residence, work, and recreation; and
- provision of various forms of planning services to public institutions as well as private individuals and organisations.

Regional Coordinating Councils

The organisation in charge of planning at the regional level is the RCC. As already mentioned in section 4.1 of this chapter, the country is divided into ten administrative regions and each of them has an RCC which is a coordinating rather than political and policy making body. Its function is to monitor, coordinate and evaluate the performance of the MMDAs in the region. They were established by Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) Law 207 with the objective of strengthening the regional administration to better play its existing roles as well as capture and secure direction over the formulation and execution of development programmes and projects in the regions. Specifically, they are expected to integrate, coordinate, monitor and evaluate the development decisions and actions of MMDAs and corporate development administration of the region. The National Development Planning (Systems) Act (Act 480), reaffirmed the roles of the RCC, as defined by the Local Government Act, (Act 462). The regional offices of the TCPD are responsible to the RCCs. They are expected to support and assist those MMDAs that have no Town and Country Planning establishments or capacity as well as to coordinate the plans of the MMDAs under their respective regions.

Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs)

The laws especially the constitution (Act 245), NDPC (Systems) Act (Act 480) and the local government act (Act 462) establish and designate the MMDAs as the planning authorities with power to ensure participation, coordination and integration in the preparation of district plans. They have executive, deliberative and legislative powers, designed with administrative and technical support services, to articulate the views of the people at the local level. They are expected to provide guidance, give direction, and supervise the other administrative authorities in the districts in addition to being the political and administrative heads. They are therefore expected to perform deliberative, legislative and executive functions. Additionally, they are also responsible for the overall development of the areas under their jurisdiction and ensure the preparation and submission through the regional co-ordinating council, development plans of the metropolitan/municipal/district to the NDPC for approval, and also of the budget of the metropolitan/municipal/district related to the approved plans to the Minister responsible for Finance for approval. Under this mandate as enshrined in the law (especially Act 462), the MMDAs:

- formulate and execute plans, programmes and strategies for the effective mobilisation of the resources necessary for the overall development of the district;
- promote and support productive activity and social development in the district and remove any obstacles to initiative and development;
- initiate programmes for the development of basic infrastructure and provide municipal works and services in the district;
- be responsible for the development, improvement and management of human settlements and the environment in the district;
- be responsible in co-operation with the appropriate national and local security agencies, for the maintenance of security and public safety in the district;
- ensure ready access to Courts in the district for the promotion of justice;
- initiate, sponsor or carry out studies that are necessary for the performance of a function conferred by the Act (Act 462) or by any other enactment; and
- perform any other functions provided for under any other enactments.

Furthermore, district offices of the TCPD were to be established under the MMDAs to provide technical support to the assemblies to plan and manage changes in the physical environment and to direct growth, development and improvement of human settlements in the districts. They are expected to be involved in the preparation of structure plans and planning schemes to direct the physical growth of settlements in the districts. Thus, the Department is responsible for designing plans and the administration of controls to guide settlements as centres of human activities, culture and services, and provide various forms of planning services to public authorities and private developers.

Sub-district structures

The laws also establish sub-district structures under the MMDAs with some planning responsibilities. The local government act (Act 462) prescribes sub-metropolitan district councils to establish under metropolitan assemblies and Zonal/Urban/Town and Area Councils, and Unit Committees in all the municipal and district assemblies including the metropolitan assemblies. At the base of the planning system are the unit committees who are expected to be closely in touch with the local communities, and to articulate their needs and aspirations. With the full participation of the local communities, the identification of the community problems and determination of the goals and objectives are expected to be undertaken at the unit committee level prior to forwarding them to the Zonal/Urban/Town and Area Councils which are to form the basis for the preparation of short, medium and long term development plans which are to be subjected to the approval of the Assembly. Similarly, the sub-metropolitan district councils under the metropolitan assemblies are also expected to carry out functions delegated to them by the assembly including ensuring the proper planning and management of the areas under their jurisdiction as stated in the Legislative Instruments establishing them.

4.4.6 Planning administration

The laws that established the decentralised planning system also provided for the creation of regional planning co-ordinating (RPCUs) units for RCCs, metropolitan/municipal/district planning co-ordinating units (MMDPCUs) for MMDAs, and the policy planning, monitoring and evaluation division (PPMED) for sector ministries. These planning units for the RCCs and MMDAs, and the MDAs served as the secretariats of the respective planning organisations and were responsible for performing the day-to-day planning functions of the respective planning authorities at the regional, district and sectoral levels.

Additionally, the Town and Country Planning Ordinance CAP 84 established a Planning Committee, a statutory body usually referred to as the Statutory Planning Committee (SPC) is responsible for the vetting and approval of urban land use plans, development permits and building permits at the respective MMDAs. Membership of the SPC is appointed by the Planning Authority in each MMDA from the elected members of the Assembly who are the representatives of the local people as well as some heads/directors of the various decentralised departments under the Assembly. According to the law, the membership must necessarily include the medical officer of health and the town or city engineer. In majority of the MMDAs, membership of the committee has been extended to include various stakeholders such as technical departments of the Assembly, utility service providers, land owners, business owners, other decentralised departments (e.g. Environmental Protection Agency), other land sector agencies (e.g. Lands Commission) to take care of present needs. As a result, the composition of the membership varies among the MMDAs. The committee is chaired by the Chief Executive of the respective MMDA with the District Town Planner as the secretary.

Planning administration is bedevilled with various challenges. Notably among them has to do with the legal contradiction that exists with respect to the control of physical development. Even though the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462) grants MMDAs the power to demolish unauthorised physical development, Section 9 of the National Building Regulations (LI 1630) gives a developer the power to proceed with development where approval for development is not given within three (3) months of the date of application for a building permit. This provision creates some practical difficulties with the exercise of development control functions by MMDAs.

On-going interventions in land use planning

The Land Use Planning and Management Project (LUPMP), a sub-component of the Land Administration Project (LAP) seeks broadly to revitalise the spatial and land use planning system in Ghana. LUPMP is designed to improve the legal, institutional, technological and human capacity base of the Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD). The Project, which started in April, 2007, completed the first phase in February, 2011, had the following objectives:

- to formulate a new land use planning law with implementing regulations;
- to formulate a human settlements policy;

- to formulate institutional reform proposals;
- to undertake a training needs assessment and capacity building and training component;
- to piloting new planning system at local, town and district levels; and
- to develop a land use planning and management information system (LUPMIS).

Human settlements policy

The human settlements policy was prepared in 2007, after an extensive field work undertaken by the project consultants. The study was based on the latest research and the field work and with policy recommendations for the system of spatial planning and the form of spatial and land use development. The draft Report was submitted in July, 2008, and subjected to three Zonal Consultations, in Tamale, Ejisu and Accra in September and October, 2008. Formal comments on the Draft were received in April, 2009, and the revised final version was sent to TCPD in July, 2010 for approval and implementation.

Institutional Study

The Institutional study was undertaken by the consultants and the first draft submitted in February, 2008, and comments received in March, 2008. A pre-final version was submitted in June, 2009, which took account of the changing attitudes to decentralisation. Further work on the use of internally generated funds and the sustainable funding of the activities of the organisations responsible for land use planning resulted in a final version of the proposals being submitted to TCPD in August, 2010. In addition to the formal study, the consultants reviewed the conditions of service for members of the TCPD of the MMDAs and submitted the recommendations to the Public Services Commission for approval and implementation.

Land Use and Planning Law

The work on preparing a new law for land use and planning involved a number of steps. The preliminary work included a review of all the current legislation with direct relevance to land use planning and the definition of terms. Reports were prepared for both with the draft paper on definitions submitted in December, 2007, and the draft on the legal review in September, 2008. This was presented at the Zonal Workshops in Tamale, Ejisu and Accra in September and October, 2008. Based on the review and the Human Settlement Policy Study, the Legal Framework was submitted to the key stakeholders (LAP, TCPD and LUPMP staff) in a meeting in September, 2009. The comments received in the Zonal workshops have been incorporated into the final version of the draft law which will be submitted to the Attorney General for consideration before being submitted to the Cabinet for consideration. The timetable was for the Law to be ready for submission to the Attorney General by the end of July, 2010, and the bill to go to Parliament by September, 2010. However, the law is still yet to complete all the processes and to become operational.

Training and Capacity Building

The contract identified the need to provide intensive training for 30 key persons the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) and Geographic Information System (GIS),

and the provision of some basic ICT training for at least 100 persons from the MMDA level and some introductory course to be provided for at least 500 people from local level and various stakeholders. Various trainings were carried out during the project period.

There were also various communication strategies developed by a communications specialist to educate stakeholders about the project. Even though a number of deliverables were delivered by the first phase of the project, a lot still needs to be done in order to revitalise the urban land use planning of the country. It is hope that the second phase of the project which is currently ongoing will complete the tasks that were to be completed in the first phase and also continue with those of the second phase especially the completion of the work on the new land use and planning law and pass it, to make it operational. The entire LAP project is being funded by the Government of Ghana, Nordic Development Fund, World Bank, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and Department for International Development (DFID) of the United Kingdom.

4.5 Understanding the concept of integration in urban land use planning

The Oxford Advanced Learner's dictionary defines integration as the "act or process of combining two or more things so that they work together". In its conceptual and functional understanding as an activity, it is generally, considered as the process or act of bringing together various components such that the ensuing outcome has some value other than what existed previously (Holden, 2012). This is quite well known to advocates of systems theory who practice integration in pursuit of synergies (win-win solutions). And the adherents of rationalism, the concept is practiced and used instead of the "zero-sum game." In practice, the act of integration is central to the human practice of deciphering experience, restoring quality to troubled, ambiguous, disturbed parts (Dewey 1981, pp. 227-228). Urban land use planning in most developing cities face serious challenges. The various urban transportations systems, urban municipal infrastructural services, governance institutions, utility services lag behind the relative fast urbanisation processes. As stated by Allmendinger and Haughton (2009), from Patrick Geddes' "valley sections" to the comprehensive and master plans of Olmstead and Howard as well as the spatial planning introduced in Europe in the last decade, the assurance of integration has long permeated planning theory. In the opinion of Holden (2012) recent attempts at emphasising integration in urban land use planning have been expressed in the proposed form of cities with corresponding titles such as Future Melbourne, Chicago Metropolis 2020, and Imagine Calgary. Others are growth management plans, long-term spatial plans, and regional plans which often articulate aims that are dissimilar to the notion of integration in community life such as health, well-being, vitality, happiness, liveability among others.

As shown in Table 4.1, many new planning approaches with promises of integration have emerged in recent times in response to the challenges of the twenty-first century such as climate change, oil depletion, food security, informality and the need to acknowledge and include all stakeholders in the planning and management of urban areas (UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 58).

Table 4.1: New approaches to urban land use planning

Category	Type	Characteristics
Strategic spatial planning	Strategic spatial planning in developed countries Strategic spatial planning in developing regions The Barcelona model of strategic spatial planning	Implications for planning processes and the nature of the directive plan; Barcelona model has implications for urban form; large; well-designed urban projects.
Spatial planning as institutional integration	The new British planning system Integrated development planning	Implications for planning processes and the nature of the directive plan. Planning's role in government is important.
Land regularization and management	Alternatives to eviction Influencing development actors Managing public space and services	New approaches to regulatory aspects of planning; focus on accommodating informality
Participatory and partnership processes	Participatory planning Partnerships	Focus on planning processes and state- community relations
International agency approaches and sectoral concerns	The Urban Management Programme Sector programmes	Implication for planning processes and institutional locations. Sector programmes are issue specific.
New master planning		New processes and regulatory approaches; implications for land market processes
New spatial forms	The 'compact city' New urbanism	Focus on urban form; less on process. Reaction to modernist and unsustainable cities.

Source: UN-Habitat (2009, p. 60).

4.5.1 Various aspects of integration

Integration can be practiced at various levels and in scope. Two common dimensions of integration that is usually distinguished in the literature are horizontal and vertical dimensions of sectoral policy integration. Whilst the horizontal dimension concerns integration between local agencies (for example departments of agriculture and/or education and/or health at the MMDA level) or between departments within the same local agency (for example departments of transport and/or waste and/or estate in that same metropolitan, municipal or district assembly), the vertical dimension concerns integration across different tiers of government (for example national, regional and MMDA levels as the case may be in Ghana). However, these are by no means the only dimensions of sectoral policy integration: intra-organisational and interorganisational dimensions can also be distinguished (Cowell & Martin, 2003; Stead, 2003; Stead et al., 2004).

Since it is becoming increasingly common for various agencies to be involved in the formulation, implementation or regulation of policy among several policy sectors, the interorganisational aspect to sectoral policy integration is becoming progressively significant. Associated to this (and also to the horizontal dimension), is also an intra-jurisdictional (or extraterritorial) dimension of sectoral policy integration (Stead, 2003), which refers to integration between the same sector in geographically adjacent agencies (e.g. the integration of policy between the agencies responsible for transport policy in neighbouring public authorities).

Additionally, the territories of dissimilar policy sectors (e.g. education, agriculture, water, health, police, transport authorities) in most cases do not have the identical administrative boundaries, which further makes realising intersectoral policy integration more difficult (Hooghe and Marks, 2003). According to Underdal (1980) four dimensions of integration can be identified. These include time (short and long term considerations); space (related to the intra-jurisdictional dimension identified above), actors (related to the intraorganisational dimension); and issues (i.e. the breadth of matters considered). Furthermore, Cowell and Martin (2003) present more sensitive dissimilarities between sectoral policy integration corresponding to various stages of policy making: sectoral integration within policy formulation at a strategic level may differ from sectoral integration through collaborative working at an operational level. In the opinion of some writers on the subject, recent policy dialogues usually incline to conflate several or all of these dimensions of sectoral policy integration, and as a result not able to recognise the likely tensions that can be present between them (e.g. Cowell and Martin, 2003) or neglect the fact that each dimension involves quite different actors, processes and/or institutions (Shannon, 2003).

Integration as an organisational and normative concept

Generally, integration concerns the act of dealing with issues that concerns several sectors but do not fall directly within the remits of any individual organisation. They deal with issues which cross-cut the prescribed policy fields of many organisations. This notion coerces institutional reorganisation and willingness among formal policy actors, in particular, to facilitate, support, and reward "processes that cross, expand, or otherwise link policy sector boundaries" (Shannon and Schmidt, 2002, p. 17). The understanding of the concept in this manner is linked to the efficiency-based idea of "holistic government," established on the understanding that multiple, concurrent problems in place cannot be solved in isolation and that a coordinated response from a variety of organisations is necessary for incremental progress (OECD, 1996, p. 29; Persson, 2007).

Continuing from the work of Peters (1998), figure 4.3 from Stead and Meijers (2009) unites ideas of horizontal and vertical integration into a hierarchy of integration. At the lowest level is simple cooperation, a kind of functional relationship among organisations in which cognisance of other actors' activities facilitates efforts to avoid duplicating policy work. At the middle level, coordination, organisations are additionally taking steps to adjust their policies in order not to overlap with the work of other organisations nor leave gaps in service provision. At the top of the pyramid, integrated policy making, organisations are joining efforts to create policy that is formally owned together by multiple units, which must interact in order to implement and maintain the policy. This is shown on the right of figure 4.3 in terms of the outcomes achieved at the different levels, from sectoral policies at the bottom that are efficiently aligned to avoid duplication, to sectoral policies whose content is adjusted to reflect better understanding of the work of other sectors, to true joint policy at the top. Achieving the pinnacle in this conception involves at least three basic criteria, according to Underdal (1980) and reinforced by Lafferty (2004): comprehensiveness (recognising a broader scope of policy consequences in terms of

time, space, actors, and issues); aggregation (evaluating policy alternatives from an "overall" perspective); and consistency (penetrating all policy levels and government agencies in policy execution). Key words describing the quality of the relationship between sectors at the different levels appear on the left of the pyramid.

Interaction Interdependence Joint new policy **Formality** Integrated policy making Resources needed Loss of autonomy Adjusted + more efficient sectoral Comprehensiveness Coordination policies Accessibility Compatibility More efficient Cooperation (between sectors) sectoral policies

Figure 4.3: Integrated policy making, policy coordination, and cooperation

Source: Stead and Meijers (2009, p. 323).

Even though this diagram offers the means to organise the policy craft in order to achieve progressive levels of integration, it fails to reveal the value offered by such attempts in terms of overall success in policy implementation (Peters, 1998). What is missing for this to happen is a normative component to policy integration. As a key axis of the normative agenda of governance, integration can be considered to undergird comprehensive governance ideals, according to which "governance is basically understood as the regulation of and decision making on publicly relevant affairs at the interface between the state, the private sector, and civil society" (Nuissl and Heinrichs, 2011, p. 52).

4.5.2 Integration as a practice

Clarification and definition of the concept of integration in the area of policy and environmental policy integration (EPI) have engaged the current discourse of the concept (Cowell and Martin, 2003; Shannon, 2003; Lenschow, 2002; Lafferty and Hovden, 2003). In order to be acquainted with the triumph or failure of EPI efforts to solving certain policy limitations, it is necessary to methodologically interrogate the series of practical assertions of integration. As stated by Persson (2007, p. 34), even though there is not enough confirmation of normative impacts of integration efforts in place, little efforts have been devoted to interrogating integration within either policy or urban land use planning literature.

As already stated above, integration can be split and distinguished in several measures and functional types. According to Underdal (1980), four categories of integration: time (short and long-term considerations); space (related to jurisdictional issues); actors (related to the intra-organisational dimension); and issues (the breadth of matters considered) exists. In the view of Cowell and Martin (2003) policy integration efforts are undertaken according to whether they

occur at a strategic or operational level of the policy-making process. Healey (2006), in reviewing the discourse surrounding policy integration in the United Kingdom formal policy settings, provides four dimensions, which are recognised to be often overlapping: the (co)aligning of strategies and policy (which is similar to that made by Cowell and Martin, 2003), cooperation among actors, connecting policy and action, and policy (re)framing. Each of these frameworks relies on conceptual distinctions, although Healey's final category, policy (re)framing, has a normative aspect as well.

In its 2002 report, "Improving Policy Coherence and Integration for Sustainable Development", the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) endorses a series of themes to be integrated, including a common understanding of sustainable development, clear commitment and leadership, specific institutional mechanisms to steer integration, effective stakeholder involvement, and efficient knowledge management (summarised in Jordan, 2008, p. 26). Intrinsic in this set of themes is a set of normative rather than conceptual principles; they are oriented toward a constellation of knowledge, skills, and relationships considered best suited to the attainment of a better society. This particular framework likely prematurely closes off consideration and testing the validity and importance of each of these values to the larger goal of sustainable development. Holden (2012) identifies five viewpoints in the examination of integration. In each of these perspectives is a practical aspect with the aim of addressing policy pitfalls as shown in Table 4.2.

Integrating visions and agendas

According to Cullingworth and Nadin, (2006, p. 91) urban land use planning is concerned with "the problem of coordination or integration of the spatial dimension of sectoral policies through a territorially-based strategy". The continual increase in the integration of urban land use planning and policy to address urban challenges and also promote cities has given impetus to the realisation of a common practical vision of an appropriate city. Breda-Vázquez, Conceição, and Móia (2010, p. 213), for example, in their study of policy integration initiatives in a Portuguese city, identify the vital role of a context specific vision for effective policy integration, or "the importance of identifying and assessing spatial visions and the necessity of comprehending the relationship between that vision and the context in which an initiative is operating." The expected desired form of a city is generally regarded a goal statement with a longer time perspective, usually from twenty (20) to a 100 years. These desires usually emerge from multistakeholder or participatory processes and usually involve specific spatial articulations of land use, infrastructure, and other building blocks of place.

The end result that integration seeks to achieve seems to have a strong starting point in the sustainable development frame. As a result of this, integration is pursued in visions and principles expressed at the apex of urban land use plans and organisations, rather than to a broad awareness of sustainable development concepts among rank and file staff.

Table 4.2: Normative dimensions of policy integration for sustainable development

Integration of	Policy failure targeted	Normative stance
Visions and agendas	Postecological condition, managing unwillingness to change toward sustainability	Place-based visions help capture local specificity and support, promote competitiveness
Governance institutions	Fragmented governance; jurisdiction and capacity limitations	Integration proceeds through partnership
Communities and voices	Failures of legitimacy; structural social exclusion	Diversity in interaction around policy builds governance capacity
Policy sectors	Implementation gap; diversity in urban policy	Working across policy sectors creates efficiencies
Knowledge types and learning processes	Hegemony of scientific rationality; scientific uncertainty; failure to learn	Valuing knowledge types builds capacity for continuous learning and use of best knowledge

Source: Holden (2012).

However, as noted by Portney in Saha and Paterson (2008) urban land use plans with the clearest and strongest sustainability vision are not always those that do the most to promote sustainability practices. The process of engaging multiple actors with divergent views during policy formulation is well recognised in the policy integration literature: "One would expect an inverse relationship between comprehensiveness on the one hand, and aggregation and consistency on the other; other things being equal, the more comprehensive a certain policy, the more centrifugal forces will be at work" (Underdal, 1980, p. 161). More often than not, these processes end up just mapping the core political, social, and cultural differences about the visions and agendas of the various sectors. The successful achievement of integrated visions and agendas across various sectors that is expected to produce urban development in a sustained manner must be constructed with mutual consensus by all sectors and deeply embedded within local governance institutions. However, it is generally, acknowledged that the local vision and agenda should be designed taking cognisance of those of the joining areas.

Integrating governance institutions

An essential aspect of integration in the literature is the view of integration as a cure to the negative consequences of fragmentation within governance institutions. In this manner, vertical integration hard works distinguish between the role of governance "to steer and guide" rather than "to command and use its authority" (Stoker, 1998, p. 18). As stated by Breda-Vázquez, Conceição, and Móia (2010, p. 211), it aims at developing habits of interaction and coordination within government to further hypothesise to bring about lasting institutional change as well as greater agency among individuals working in government, or "transformative institutional dynamics and collective actor capacity". As a result, in this way, integration works with the object of regulating interaction between agencies, or, using a softer approach, encourage collaborative networks, and/or build capacity among diverse actors. These may take the form of legislative requirements, local sustainability forums, interagency working groups, and strategic partnerships, with aims to coordinate and synchronize efforts but also to bridge gaps in professional cultures, ways of defining and approaching problems. According to Vigar (2009, p. 1587) in practice, government employees are often receptive to legal and regulatory obligations

to coordinate strategies and actions but notes that "legal provision would do little but force people to pay attention to each other's strategy without real integrative effort".

It is however, imperative to note that in an environment of fragmented governance, generating the capacity to interact collaboratively is important. In the opinion of Healey (2006), the governance landscape for formalised collaboration among institutions does not yet exist, at least not in the United Kingdom even though recent case studies suggest promise in terms of informal collaboration in certain instances. In an effort to engender certain kinds and practises of interaction and strategic coordination among governance institutions, vertical tensions up and down the power hierarchy emerge. It is often assumed that local government is better able to provide flexible, coordinated, integrated solutions, because of tighter, more personal relationships of accountability among local agencies and their publics, a more manageable and action-oriented scope of activities, and a more place-based understanding of effectiveness and implementation success (While, Littlewood and Whitney, 2000). This assertion however, has been realised not to be exactly correct. In considering the sustainability efforts of six large Canadian cities, Robinson (2008) found that far from sharing and moving in concert toward a strategically coordinated vision of sustainability, some local governments lacked even the capacity to differentiate between environmental and sustainable development initiatives. In contrast with the view of local-scale collaborations as a productive hive of innovation for sustainability, Allmendinger and Haughton (2009, p. 2548) refer to the informal plans, processes, and strategies put in place by flexible groups of actors at the local scale of governance as not only a "glue to a fragmented governance system" but also "a congestant." In the process of answering the call for a more visible, rapid, locally strategic implementation of urban land use plans, local "soft spaces" of discretionary planning exacerbate urban policy diversity and the fragmentation of groups on the ground doing the work of governance.

Integrating communities and voices

For more effective, integrated governance institutions discussed above it is strongly advocated that there is the need for more effective engagement of different voices and actors in the policy process (Denters and Rose, 2005; Hambleton, Savitch, and Stewart, 2002; Andersen, 2001; Governa and Salone, 2004; Keil, 2006). This has become necessary due to the challenges to the legitimacy of local decisions and urban land use plans from different groups, demands from the urban populace for higher quality, meaningful public participation in decision making at all levels, and related demands for socially inclusive approaches to urban land use planning and policy that work to (re)integrate structurally excluded racial, cultural, economic and other identity groups from public discourse. Moreover, the effective use of the energy, resources, and information of 'different publics' is also considered key to overcoming the implementation gap, that is, the failures to put new policies and urban land use plans into practice. Accordingly, the burgeoning literature on sustainable cities forcefully suggest that urban areas already serve as the meeting place for key minds, ideas, and necessary participants from all points of the spectrum of action needed to implement necessary changes, and processes to coordinate and facilitate this

action are thus the surest and most obvious path to beneficial change toward sustainability (Wälti and Kübler, 2003). As stated by Seymour et al. (2009), to build a sustainable urban area, networks that maintain themselves due to recognised common interest must be created to draw on strong interpersonal and networking skills, which are essential for creating, transferring, and using knowledge across the spectrum of actors.

Even though the process of conflating the interest of various actors is pertinent to the success of integration, it also has the potential to aggravate disagreements. As stated by Parkinson and Roseland (2002, p. 411), even though the participation of various stakeholders contributed to the achievement of local government projects in Canadian Municipalities in 2000, many actors lacked a "clear, holistic vision". Similarly, various writers give accounts of various pitfalls of the process including lack of understanding of public views and perceptions by officials (Sapountzaki and Wassenhoven, 2005); the increased cost involved in the process (Nuissl and Heinrichs, 2011, p. 51); the possible political resistance to implementation of the results (Holden, 2006); competition among organisations (Innes and Booher, 2010); the likely loss or co-opting of radical or dissenting voices (Asthana, Richardson, and Halliday, 2002); the fear of disempowering the state which might be the only qualified actor group to protect the public interest (Nuissl and Heinrichs, 2011; Healey et al., 2002) among others.

However, the point must always be emphasised that the benefits of an effective participatory engagement can only be judged by juxtaposing the benefits against the cost involved. Additionally, as suggested by Holden (2012), the 'democratic legitimacy' of a policy is also revealed in its substance. It is widely accepted that the key driver of public involvement in the urban land use planning process is to achieve distributive justice, and this can only be ascertained empirically (Dobson, 1998, pp. 4-5).

Integrating policy sectors

This can be termed as the need to "take account of the consequences of policy outside of a specific policy sector" (Stead and Meijers, 2009. p. 319). The main idea is to ensure policy uniformity, synchronisation and partnership among various organisations (especially those at similar level) to prevent gaps, lacunae and discrepancies. In the opinion of Pressman and Wildavsky (1984, p. 133) "no suggestion for reform is more common than what we need is more coordination". Achieving a harmonised policy across various sectors for urban land use planning in many urban areas at least in Ghana has proved elusive. Breda-Vázquez, Conceição, and Móia (2010, p. 229) discovered that collaborations between policy actors in different sectors failed to elicit the synergy that they all anticipated. Rather, collaborations were described as inflexible, unstable, and consisting of "functional relations, derived simply from the common presence of those agents across various initiatives." This is due to the fact that adequate attention and resources is not devoted to problem definition, consensus building, policy selection, policy implementation, and monitoring and evaluation, which has not made sectoral integration beneficial. It is imperative that adequate resources are put at the disposal of the processes

involved in integrating policy sectors in urban areas to help solve the multiple challenges holistically.

Integrating knowledge types and learning processes

In the literature, little attention is paid to integration of knowledge and learning. According to Nilsson (2005, p. 207), integrating knowledge and learning refers to "a policy-learning process in which perspectives evolve and sectoral actors reframe their objectives, strategies and decision making processes towards sustainable development". In mainstreaming the process as a method of accumulating knowledge, it can be described as the process of social learning which aims at interlocution and building capacity to move between knowledge types and make the best use of different knowledge types for different purposes. The primary objective of this form of integration is to demonstrate to people the different ways of understanding the nature of knowledge, sources, and best uses of knowledge and information and to change people's negative perception to understanding and relating to other people's perceptions and epistemologies. Issues of truth, validity and verification of information, understanding "what works" and "what counts" underlie all public decision-making processes. Undertaking the process of knowledge integration to respond to these issues promotes social learning among participants in a process and, if it is well-maintained and institutionalised, also among those who learn about or experience the results of the process in the future.

Circumstances of diversity and fragmentation stimulate the appreciation of learning capacity as important, and new ambitious visions and place-based development goals influence the need for new knowledge in particular. Particular knowledge about place, and new knowledge about organisations, individuals, and groups and their capacities and interests are some forms of knowledge often singled out for their value. Undoubtedly, specific learning occurs for individual actors in any policy integration process, learning that does not conform with the rational scientific model often go unrecognised, unfacilitated, uncontextualised, and uncollected. Consequently, social learning, or interpersonal learning that challenges people to change preconceived ideas based on knowledge that is new to them, and understand potential value in other ways of knowing about specific people, places, and situations, is often discouraged through avoidance (Holden, 2008b). This can be easily observed across cultures: scientific knowledge forms retain their dominance, regardless of the suitability of this type of expertise to the particular question at hand, other forms of knowledge are mostly considered 'folk' knowledge that may spark new scientific studies, but not be treated as valid to inform decisions in and of themselves. The knowledge forms of those in power retain their power, those of the disempowered are not permitted to compete, and epistemological pluralism, which would permit meaningful contributions of different knowledge types depending on context and question, is not considered an option.

The production and maintenance of learning capacity within local governance does occur and a number of models exist. Fundamental among them is the use of ongoing monitoring and benchmarking processes suitable for the generation of a full spectrum of information related to

local sustainability. Although continuous evaluation, monitoring, and indicator systems are consistently undervalued, some local governments are beginning to connect to their local learning institutions with various models of the embedding of scholars and scholarship in flagship sustainability initiatives (Savan, 2004; Stephens et al., 2008). More important than the existence of such monitoring programmes is their integration of diverse knowledge types and their use in evaluation procedures and other learning processes. Social learning is dependent to a large extent on the nature and mobilisation of existing social networks, which may themselves be knitted together by new knowledge, new processes, and new situations in place (Kasperson, in Nilsson and Eckerberg, 2007, p. xvi).

Specific activities in a process of effective knowledge integration include identifying knowledge types, opening a dialogue among participants regarding their personal and group affinities to different knowledge types in different circumstances, framing the question at hand from within these identified knowledge types and holders, designing context-specific means of translating different types of knowledge for different groups, cross-interrogating and incorporating these cross-translated knowledge types into a format to inform decision making, and institutionalising the result for the future. More often than not, authors within both urban land use planning and policy literatures refer to the importance of storytelling, in a range of forms including narratives, maps, the built form, and other types of installations, as key means of translating knowledge across expertise and epistemological perspectives (Sandercock, 1998; Forester, 1999).

4.5.3 Understanding integration as sustainability

It is widely believed that one of the important activities or processes for the successful implementation and institutionalisation of sustainable development is integration (along with system integrity, intergenerational equity, livelihood sufficiency opportunity, precaution, adaptation, and long-term planning; Bomberg, 2004; Gibson et al., 2005). As stated by Holden (2012), integration was the principal policy inheritance of sustainable development institutionalisation internationally in the 1980s and 1990s. The difficulties experienced by sustainable cities simply intensifies the need for integration in urban land use planning by extending our sense of urban land use planning responsibility for nonhuman species, unborn generations, and geographically distant links in our cities' production and consumption chains. Similarly, the complex nature of sustainability, prevalent with uncertainties and up- and downstream effects, makes integration mostly challenging. Moreover, it is generally acknowledged that sustainable development objectives within government are usually deprived of a solid policy framework or legal ground, as a result, real achievements resulting from conscious integration toward sustainable development can be counted. In summarising the motivation for an integrative approach toward sustainable development, and the changes implied for environmental policy, Liberatore (1997, p. 107) states that:

"the relevance of integration for moving towards sustainable development is straightforward: if environmental factors are not taken into consideration in the formulation and implementation of the policies that regulate economic activities and other forms of social organization, a new model of development that can be environmentally and socially sustained in the long term cannot be achieved".

Similar to integrated urban land use planning and policy in general, an integrated approach to sustainable urban development cannot be easily defined. The expected results of the integrated approach to sustainable urban development are progressively being reinforced by the commitments of the 'science-minded sustainabilists' and the 'normatively minded sustainabilists' (Holden, 2008a).

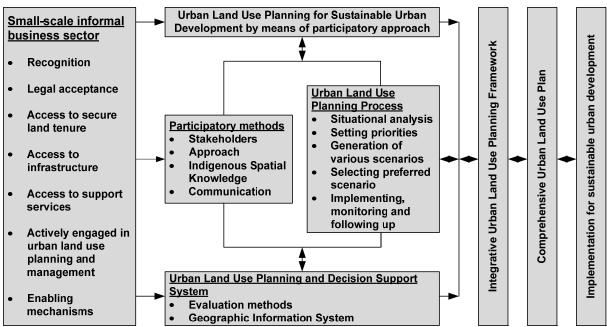
According to Dale (2001) this shift in expectations can be referred to as a shift from first- to second-generation sustainability thinking. First-generation sustainability thinking featured the notion of the triple bottom line (Elkington, 1997), the three legged stool, the triangle or three interlocking circles (Campbell, 1996), but this kind of integration tended to be framed as merely additive of components (the integration-as-stapler approach). The difference is secondgeneration sustainability thinking emphases on process rather than predetermined objectives. This is particularly necessary because society as well as the environment is dynamic and constantly coevolving and uncertainty is prevalent. As a result of this new view of sustainable urban land use planning, it is essentially being realised that the objectives of sustainable urban land use planning can only be achieved through unprecedented levels of cooperation and collaboration. This is because solutions for the numerous urban challenges are beyond any one sector, any one discipline, or any one government, and process matters from the grand urban land use plan to the fine detail (Beatley and Manning, 1997; Hempel, 1999). Integration as an approach in this manner is understood to mean an act or process of problem definition and solving that is holistic, communicative, cooperative, complex, and multifaceted. From the foregoing, it can be realised that to achieve the goals of an efficient and effective urban land use planning in a sustained manner, an integrated approach is necessary due to the dynamic interconnections, dependency, and coevolution of society and the environment, coupled with the charge that existing systems of organising, instilling, rewarding, and governing human behaviour have netted serious harm to the environment including even some segments of society itself.

4.6 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework introduces the main concepts that have been reviewed by the study in the literature and their interactions as flow of concepts. The concept of informality as it pertains to the small-scale informal business sector has been interrogated in all its facets in relation to the urban land use planning and urban development in the previous chapter and in various sections of this chapter. Additionally, the various institutional and organisational frameworks of the urban land use planning system guiding urban development has also been thoroughly reviewed to understand its nexus with the small-scale informal business sector. Moreover, integration both as a concept for sustainability and a practice in urban land use planning was contextualised in the preceding section to give impetus for integrating the small-scale informal business sector into urban land use planning for sustainable urban development which has been constructed in the

conceptual framework as illustrated in figure 4.4 to guide the research. Accordingly, the conceptual framework which illustrates a graphical presentation of the proposal for integrating the small-scale informal business sector into urban land use planning was extremely driven by insights of the contents of the preceding chapter and the previous sections of this chapter.

Figure 4.4: Conceptual framework



The components of small-scale informal business sector activities that contravene urban regulations are categorised to be recognised and captured in the issues for urban land use planning through the means of participatory planning. Since the issues are multidisciplinary and multifaceted in nature, an effective and efficient participatory approach that properly includes all the actors will appropriately identify, analyse and prescribe the exact remedies for implementation. It shifts the approach of planning the urban area for the people to planning the urban area with the people which has the potential to build trust, foster strategic alliances, transparency, legitimacy and elicit support during urban land use plan implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The urban land use planning system must adequately conflate the participatory approach and planning framework. The participatory approach includes the identification of all stakeholders, in addition to the selection of the appropriate methods at every stage to encourage full participation and elicit the right beliefs, values, goals and objectives of each segment of stakeholders. These should also be used to elicit their context-specific spatial knowledge. It also includes proper communication channels to disseminate and support the decision making process at each stage. These participatory approaches must influence and permeate the entire stages involved in the urban land use planning framework.

Consequently, the above activity is expected to generate an urban land use planning and decision support system. This will comprise of data (quantitative and qualitative), models, and various

tools for graphical illustrations and visualisations to adequately support urban land use planning and decision making. The combination of these, form an integrative urban land use planning framework. Such a framework will lead to the development of a comprehensive urban land use plan to promote sustainable urban development when implemented.

4.7 Concluding remarks

The chapter discussed the decentralised system of government in Ghana in which the urban land use planning of the country operates. Consequently, the different levels of government – national, regional, district and sub-district levels - were discussed in relation to their urban land use planning functions. Additionally, the various land tenure systems in urban areas in Ghana and their management methods were also discussed. Insights were thoroughly given into the history of the urban land use planning regime. The chapter discussed institutions that set-up the planning regime and the organisational framework set-up by the institutions to undertake urban land use planning. It also explained the various processes, procedures and products involved in the urban land use planning. Further, the chapter elaborated on integration as a concept and its importance in urban land use planning as well as sustainable urban development. The chapter concluded by conceptualising the entire research in a conceptual framework with the various concepts of the theories discussed in the various literature that have been reviewed.

The next chapter discusses the various methods and approaches that were selected and used to guide the entire research. It explains the choice of research design and strategy and the rationale for choosing them. Moreover, it also explains the specific tools that were used in collecting the data; how the respondents were selected; the organisation of the data, and their relevant tools that were used to analyse the data.

5 Methodology

For any careful study that is carried out in any subject or discipline has to be guided by a systematic, theoretical analysis of the methods applied to a field of study, or the theoretical analysis of the body of methods and principles associated with a branch of knowledge before it can be classified as scientific. It, normally, includes concepts such as paradigm, theoretical model, phases and quantitative or qualitative techniques. This is what is referred to as research methodology.

5.1 Nature of research

The choice of theories and strategies to guide the work of a researcher has been well documented in the literature on research methodology. It is mostly believed the choice of a researcher's research approach is guided by the nature of the phenomenon being studied, their perspective or understanding of what constitutes knowledge and the extent of the researcher's bias or leanings. As stated by Glesne (2011, p. 5), the research approach of a researcher gives an idea of what constitutes valuable knowledge to that researcher as well as the nature of phenomenon being investigated. Since planning and social science research is mostly engaged in in-depth analyses of a vast breadth of social phenomena in their real life contexts, it is quite difficult for researchers as social beings to be completely unbiased in their choice of the range of methods (McKereghan, 1998) as our values affect our pattern of thoughts when we interpret systems (see Norgaard, 1994 and Schönwandt, 2008). It is however, important for the researcher to make clear his orientation providing logical reasons for the stance taken and showing how it has guided the conduct of the research. This will help make transparent the approach chosen and contribute to the understanding of the outcomes of the research by shedding light on perspectives that informed it.

Two major forms of methodology that has long dominated the literature on research methodology are quantitative and qualitative methodologies. For decades, these research traditions have been separated by the existence of a schism in the social and behavioural sciences (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003; Teddlie and Tashakkorri, 2003). The advantages and disadvantages of both traditions have been widely discussed in the literature by numerous writers in a way that seeks to suggest hegemony of one over the other thereby creating a dichotomous situation. On the contrary, Turner (1981, p. 243) is of the view that despite the projection of one tradition over the other through the expression of their respective strengths as a result of preference, there is no need to pursue one to the exclusion of the other as they are not polar opposites. Similarly, McKaereghan (1998) observes that there is no existence of polarity between both traditions in the 'real world'. They are therefore two ends of a spectrum along which scientific research takes place.

5.1.1 Juxtaposing quantitative and qualitative methodologies

As portrayed by the discussions above, the two traditions are not polar opposites but rather two ends of a continuum along which scientific research is carried out. It is therefore imperative for their underlying assumptions and foundations to be discussed and understood as these shape their respective conclusions when employed in scientific research. The two research traditions have therefore been compared and contrasted in terms of their strengths and weaknesses, issues about sample sizes and analytical methods.

Contrasting strengths of qualitative and quantitative methods

The quantitative research approach that is based on positivism and neo-positivism methodological principles and holds on to the standards of strict research design developed before the research begins. It mainly uses quantitative measurements and statistical analysis. Again, several statistical tools are used in order to easily aggregate, categorise and compare research data. As aptly noted by Agbesinyale (2003, p. 80), it provides relative ease for researchers to make broad generalizations out of the findings of the piece of work conducted based on the characteristics of the sample scientifically drawn from its population.

The strengths of quantitative approach includes the following: (a) accurate operationalization and measurement of a specific construct; (b) the capacity to conduct group comparisons; (c) the capacity to examine the strength of association between variables of interest; and (d) the capacity for model specification and the testing of research hypotheses. One major limitation of the quantitative approach is that measurement typically detaches information from its original ecological "real-world" context (Moghaddam, Walker, and Harre, 2003), a phenomenon referred to as 'decontextualization' (Viruel-Fuentes, 2007).

On the other hand, the qualitative approach mostly employs non-quantitative principles and strategies and is associated with the employment of diverse methods. Its basic assumption is that the social world is always a human creation and not a discovery, consequently interpretive science tries to capture reality as it is. This methodology perceives the researcher and the researched as two equally important elements of the same situation. As noted by Sarantakos (1993, p. 44), the approach does not view respondents as mere variables, units or hypotheses but as part of the whole research. It examines the "whole person" holistically within that person's natural environment - a fully contextualized approach (Gelo, Braakman, Gerhard, and Benetka, 2008). Its strengths include: (a) the capacity for generating rich detailed accounts of human experiences (emotions, beliefs, and behaviours) and (b) narrative accounts that are examined within the original context in which observations occur (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Moreover, the qualitative approach affords an in-depth analysis of complex human, family systems, and cultural experiences in a manner that cannot be fully captured with measurement scales and multivariate models (Plano Clark, Huddleston-Casas, Churchill, Green, and Garrett, 2008). Limitations of the qualitative approach include difficulties in the reliable integration of information across observations or cases (Kirk and Miller, 1986) and difficulties in assessing links and associations that occur between observations, cases, or constructs.

Moreover, qualitative research methods often lack well-defined prescriptive procedures (Morse, 1994), thus limiting the capacity for drawing definitive conclusions (confirmatory results), an important aspect of scientific research. In addition, purely qualitative studies have been challenged for their small or unrepresentative samples, and thus their limited capacity to produce generalizable findings, although some qualitative analysts have argued that the cannons of scientific research - generalizability, replication, reliability, and validity - are not relevant for qualitative research (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Whereas this alternative perspective has raised important epistemological issues, nonetheless, purely qualitative studies have often been regarded as methodologically weak when applied to the conduct of scientific research (Dreher, 1994).

Concerns of sample size and approach

Qualitative studies are idiographic in approach, typically focusing on depth of analysis in small samples of participants. One pervasive qualitative practice in sample selection is the goal of "reaching saturation." Once the investigator concludes that response saturation has been attained, sampling ceases. However, criteria for defining "saturation" are often intuitive or inexact. Unfortunately, saturation promotes the collection of smaller, "just enough" sized samples, for example, samples sizes of 8 to 20, which from a quantitative perspective is antithetical to attaining sufficiently large-sized samples for conducting stable multivariate data analyses (Dreher, 1994) that can generate credible research results.

Limitations in qualitative data analytic methods

The field of qualitative research has been rich in strategies for "entering the field" and for engaging special or hidden populations (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994), although by contrast qualitative approaches have often been methodologically weak in procedures for "mixing" qualitative and quantitative methods and data and for processing their inductively derived information (verbal evidence; Dreher, 1994; Gelo et al., 2008; Plano Clark et al., 2008). These limitations include weaknesses in precisely describing interrelationships that exist among two or more of inductively generated constructs or categories. Although such associations can be explored using visual case-ordered and predictor-outcome matrix methods that allow a cross-tabulation of categorical information (Miles and Huberman, 1994), nonetheless, these methods have lacked the capacity to reliably assess the strength of association among key categories or constructs, as can be accomplished with quantitative methods such as correlational analyses. In recent times, the emergence of mixed methods approaches offers the promise of bridging across both traditions (Haverkamp, Morrow and Ponterotto, 2005).

5.1.2 Mixed methods research

As the name connotes, mixed methods research approach seeks to incorporate techniques from both qualitative and quantitative methods to answer research questions. Researchers who employ this method choose from a full repertoire of methodological options at any number of multiple points in an enquiry process – purpose, overall design, methods, sampling, data recording, analysis and interpretation. A truly mixed methodology incorporates multiple approaches in all

stages of the study; however the researcher may choose certain points of contact as well. Various mixed method research designs have been discussed in the literature. These include:

Sequential mixed methods designs

Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, and Hanson (2003) classified mixed methods designs into two major categories - sequential and concurrent. In sequential designs, either the qualitative or quantitative data are collected in an initial stage, followed by the collection of the other data type during a second stage. On the other hand, concurrent designs are characterised by the collection of both types of data during the same stage. Within each of these two categories, there can be three specific designs based on (a) the level of emphasis given to the qualitative and quantitative data (equal or unequal); (b) the process used to analyse and integrate the data; and (c) whether or not the theoretical basis underlying the study methodology is to bring about social change or advocacy (Creswell et al., 2003). In accord with this typology, the three types of sequential mixed methods designs are (a) sequential exploratory, (b) sequential explanatory, and (c) sequential transformative.

Concurrent mixed methods designs

The three concurrent mixed methods designs identified by Creswell et al. (2003) are the following: (a) concurrent triangulation, (b) concurrent nested, and (c) concurrent transformative designs. In each of these designs, the quantitative and qualitative data are collected during the same stage, although priority may be given to one form of data over the other. The purpose of concurrent triangulation designs is to use both qualitative and quantitative data to more accurately define relationships among variables of interest. In concurrent nested designs, both qualitative and quantitative data are collected during the same stage, although one form of data is given more weight over the other (Creswell et al., 2003). Similar to sequential nested designs, concurrent transformative designs are theoretically driven to initiate social change or advocacy, and these designs may be used to provide support for various perspectives.

Integrative mixed methods designs

Within the context of these design approaches, the need persists for a methodology that affords a rigorous and integrative analysis of qualitative textual evidence and quantitative numeric data (Schwandt, 1994). Given the noted strengths and weaknesses of the qualitative and quantitative approaches, it would be advantageous to have a truly integrative methodology for the concurrent use of both methods in a manner that offers the descriptive richness of text narratives and the precision in measurement and hypothesis testing afforded by quantitative approaches (Carey, 1993; Hanson et al., 2005). Regarding such integrative designs, Creswell et al. (2003, p. 229) have indicated that, "there is still limited guidance for how to conduct and analyse such transformations [the qualitative - quantitative exchange of data] in practice".

From the foregoing it can be realised that mixed methods approaches in research is intended to reap the benefits of the co-existence of qualitative and quantitative methods, in differing extents not only in the same discipline but in the same research projects, and which complement each

other. This enables the researcher to reap the benefits that are innate to each method through the use of a mix of methods to support his or her research. The methodology used in this research adopts such a concurrent mixed methods approach to enable me realise the benefits of both qualitative and quantitative methods. Considering the complexity of the phenomenon that is the object of this study, I considered a greater inclination towards the qualitative approach appropriate because it fitted the social nature of the topic and the research questions better. Quantitative data was also gathered to triangulate information obtained from the qualitative approach and secondary sources; and increase the validity of outcomes. Every scientific enquiry or research is conducted within a particular strategy. The case study research approach was adopted as the strategy for conducting this research.

5.2 The case study approach

Among the range of methods available for conducting social science research are surveys, experiments, archival analysis, and historical analysis including case studies. The case study as a specific research strategy has been variously defined in the literature. These different definitions are characterised by the different themes and priorities to which the strategy is applied. For instance, even though the case study has been viewed in an interpretivist frame by sociologists, educationists, and psychologists, their counterparts from business, politics, and other areas may perhaps promote the interpretivist holism of case study but only through "neopositivist" means (Thomas, 2011).

Despite the plurality in the definition of case study as a research strategy, it is generally regarded as an intensive analysis of an individual unit (Flyvbjerg, 2011) in relation to its context. The individual unit can be a geographical unit, an institution, an organisation, a system or a person. The strategy engages itself with the holistic analysis of the study of a system by the use of one or more methods within its real-life context. The case study is usually employed as a research strategy when HOW and WHY questions are posed; when the investigator has little control over events; when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within real life context and the boundaries between these are not clearly evident (Yin, 1994, p. 1); and when multiple sources of evidence are used. In addition, it is also very useful when the emphasis of the research is on processes and relationships as it is very strong on this. Various types of case studies abound in the literature.

5.2.1 Types of cases study

The case study can be employed either as a single or multiple case studies. It may also be based on theoretical propositions as in research designs (see George and Bennett, 2005, pp. 75-76). The organisation of case studies based on theoretical propositions is based on explanatory, descriptive and exploratory themes (Yin, 1998). The single case study involves the study of only one main unit in a holistic manner or one main unit with multiple units of analysis. According to Yin (1994, pp. 45-46), the single case is eminently justifiable where the case presents a critical test of existing theory, is a rare or unique one or even where it serves a revelatory purpose. The

multiple case studies on the other hand as the name suggests involves the study of more than one case. The study involving this can also revolve around a holistic or an embedded study. Ordinarily, the multiple case study is preferred to the single case study as it is believed to be more stimulating and vigorous. However, the multiple case approach is very demanding and may require extensive resources and time which may be beyond the means of a single investigator or student.

Based on theoretical propositions drawn from research design, the explanatory case studies are informed mostly by HOW and WHY questions. The descriptive cases are also based on questions that are descriptive in nature though there is selectivity based on study objectives while the exploratory case study is carried out when available literature is poor on an issue under study. Though there may be no clear distinction between the above categorisations, the single and multiple case classifications with their attendant characteristics may be the best option as the others are weaved within them. Just like any other research strategy, the case study has its own strengths and drawbacks.

5.2.2 Pitfalls of case study

Even though the case study method as a research strategy has existed for a very long time, it has often been lowly regarded or ignored as a methodology within the scientific community (Flyvbjerg, 2011). As aptly captured by Gerring (2004, p. 341), the case study survives in a 'curious methodological limbo' and so it is poorly appreciated. The critics of the strategy argue that a work that focuses on a single example of a broader phenomenon is apt to be desirable as a mere case study. Additionally, it is often identified with loosely framed and non-generalizable theories based on selections and informal and undisciplined research design. Moreover, it also involves weak empirical leverage, subjective conclusions, un-replicability and causal determinism (Gerring, 2007, p. 6).

On the contrary, Flyvbjerg (2011, p. 302) is of the opinion that these criticisms are mainly misunderstandings about the case study that progressively undermine its credibility. For example, the notion that one cannot generalise on the basis of a single case and therefore the case study as a research strategy cannot contribute to scientific development which is one of the main criticisms, Flyvbjerg wrote that scientific generalisation is not necessarily based only on large samples but rather the critical nature of the case. It is therefore noted that in choosing a research strategy, the criteria should be based on the research problem under investigation and its circumstances as every strategy has its own merits and demerits. As result, in choosing this approach to research, the researcher should categorically spell out how the research will be carried out, why a specific case or cases have been selected, which data are used, which data are omitted, how data are processed and analysed and how inferences were derived from the case presented. Furthermore, the research design should be robust to pass the quality test involving construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability. In recent times, just as discussed above, the trend has been a collaborative approach among research strategies in order to have complementarity of approaches in research.

5.2.3 Rationale for the use of that case study approach

As already mentioned, in the literature there abound various research strategies. Each of these strategies has its own merits and demerits. For a researcher to choose a particular research strategy, it is imperative to consider the topic or title of the research, the nature or type of research questions being posed, the aims or objectives expected to be achieved by the research, the particular context within which the phenomenon is being investigated, the resources available to the researcher as well as the strengths of the other research strategies or approaches. The ensuing discussion details out the motives behind the use of case study as a research approach in this research.

The case study is a fully 'contextualized approach'. It examines the "whole person" holistically within that person's natural environment (Gleo, Braakman, Gerhard and Benetka, 2008). It is imperative to preserve the natural environment of the phenomenon being investigated in this research. This is because to be able to fully appreciate or comprehend the issues or focus of the research, it must be explained in its natural environment or context. Deliberating on the conflicts between the urban land use planning system and the small-scale informal business in Ghana, and the synergies for their integration will be meaningless without the structuring of a firm and relevant contextual basis for the discussion. Essentially, this means that the natural environment within which actual actions/events transpired is taken account of in the explanation and understanding of issues. As stated by Huberman and Miles (2002, p. 8), the case study approach is a "strategy which focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single settings". Also, it is most suitable when it is not easy to separate the phenomenon that is being studied from its natural environment, as in the case of this research; and this has to be considered when explaining the phenomenon (Yin, 1993). In the view of Flyvberg (2004), the case study approach allows the case's story to be captured in its diversity, revealing its many facets and complexities.

Additionally, the choice of the research approach was also guided by the need to maintain the uniqueness of the cases being investigated. This ensured that the uniqueness of the cases investigated is not missing in the outcome or findings. This is a social science research which is essentially investigating social phenomena within its real life context and therefore it was important to capture the context peculiarities of the phenomena as this has the possibility of giving further and detailed explanations to the nature and characteristics of the phenomena. By its nature, the case study gives the investigator the chance to on a case by case basis deal with the issues, and to deeply explore into the causes in addition to the relations between variables of prevailing situations in each case. The level of depth of these explorations is at the discretion of the investigator. Cases are described and analysed for findings individually in the case of multiple cases studies. The cases are then brought together again in a cross case analysis and analysed again in order to make wider generalisations. This is important since the pursuant of academic research is to make a meaningful contribution to scientific development or prevailing knowledge. As already stated elsewhere, the literature abound with conditions under which research findings from a case study research can be generalised or otherwise. This research deals

with revealing important and appropriate local development issues in a decentralised governance system which academic research can have the additional value of making recommendations for policy directed at both the local as well as the national government. It is in the light of this that I align myself with Yin (1993) and Smaling (2003), who state that the particularity that characterises cases and their often few number also means that the resultant findings cannot be statistically generalised. Nevertheless, generalisation of the findings from such a research can still be done within the context of the theory that guided the research but then again to the similar level or unit of analysis as was used in the research (Yin, 1993). This is what Yin describes as 'analytical generalisation in which the previously developed theory is used as a template against which to compare the empirical results of the case study' (Yin, 1994, p. 31). It is a 'theory-carried generalisation' (Smaling, 2003, p. 5).

The focus of this research is to explore and identify synergies that will help integrate the small-scale informal business sector into the urban land use planning system within the concept of integration. Two cases were selected based a set out criteria which is primarily related to the regulatory settings within which they exist. These two cases would discover the broad range of issues concerning the small-scale informal business sector and urban land use planning in Ghana. A detail discussion on the process for case selection is in 5.3.3 below.

Moreover, of significance to this research is the discovery of the authentic explanations or causes underlying the phenomena under investigation. As a result, it was imperative to select a research approach that allowed in-depth data to be collected rather than one which would have enabled data to be collected on a broad range of issues but without going into much detail. It is quite doubtful such shallow data would unearth the in-depth reasons behind the issues under investigation which is the focus of this research. In the opinion of Yin (1994), two research approaches that stand out in meeting these criteria are case study and experimental research approaches. The case study was preferred because it answered 'WHY' and 'HOW' things are as they are whilst the experimental approach wouldn't quite have. Again, even though the experimental research approach also seeks to answer WHY and HOW research questions and focuses on contemporary issues or events, it requires control or influence of behavioural events or the variables at play in the phenomenon under investigation. This research had the propensity to generate various variables for analysis and there is little possibility for their control or influence by the investigator. Hence, the case study seemed more appropriate.

Furthermore, flexible nature of the case study approach allows the investigator to adjust to circumstances on the ground which may be different from what was anticipated during the design stage of the research. Consequently, the researcher can amend and review the research design if required for the research goals to be achieved; or if it is recognised from preliminary field work that the focus of the research needs changes. Time frames and schedules can also be changed and amended by the investigator to reflect the reality on the ground especially during the stage data collection in situations where schedules are not necessarily followed as pertains in Ghana which is the context of this research.

As already noted earlier on, because all methods of data collection have limitations, the use of multiple methods can neutralise or cancel out some of the disadvantages of certain methods. In addition, the strengths of each approach can complement each other. It is also important to adopt a strategy that has in-built mechanisms for cross-checking data in social science research where there is a high tendency for capturing the subjective opinions of respondents during data collection without realising it. The data for cross checking should be free as much as possible from subjectivity in order to enrich the output of the research. This is known in literature as triangulation. The case study approach makes it possible for the investigator to triangulate as well as allow the combination of a broad variety of data collection methods spanning observation, interviews, documents, among others. It also provides room for complementary use of qualitative and quantitative data in analysis in the same research (Yin, 1994, p. 8).

5.2.4 Case selection

As already discussed above, case or subject (Thomas, 2011) selection in case study is one of the essential activities to make the strategy credible. It is also one of the arduous activities which need the serious attention of the researcher. The case or subject is often defined by boundaries around places and time periods (Ragin, 1992, p. 5). As noted by Yin (1994, p. 8),

"selecting the case or cases to be studied is one of the most difficult steps in case study research".

In order to overcome some of the weaknesses of the approach, the selection must be done in a pragmatic and scientific manner. The case selection should be guided by the research goal, objectives and questions of the research expected answered in the research. Additionally, to aid the selection of the appropriate case or cases, the researcher should bear in mind the elaborated theoretical issues and variables within the research.

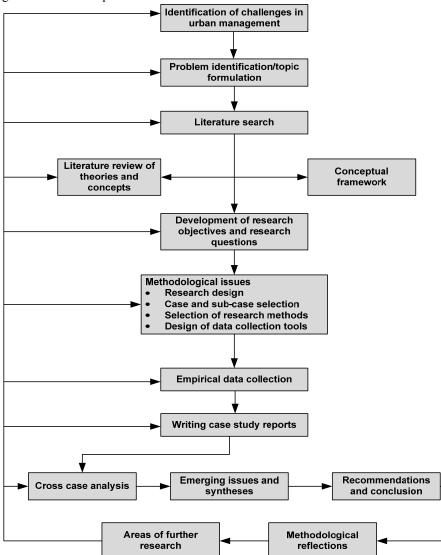
Furthermore, in the sampling of cases from chosen theoretical and statistical reasons, (Glaser and Straus cited in Miles and Huberman, 2002, p. 12) the concept of universe or population is very critical as it defines the set of entities from which the research case is to be drawn as the selection of the appropriate population controls extraneous variation and helps to define limits for generalising findings (Huberman and Miles, 2002). Moreover, for the research to provide an insight into a broader phenomenon, it must be representative of a broader set of cases and should have typical sets of values given some understanding of a phenomenon which may include a set of descriptive characteristics (Gerring, 2007, pp. 91-93; Yin, 2009, p. 48).

The selected case should be a representative case or cases. As stated by Yin (1994, p. 12), the selected case/cases should reflect strong and positive examples of the phenomenon of interest. As a consequence, some form of factor analysis may come handy in identifying the most typical case or cases to be selected where the case selection criteria are multi-dimensional and large samples of potential cases are involved. The following section of the discussion will concentrate on the specific research design and process of the study.

5.3 The research design and process

The robustness of a method in scientific research lies in its well defined systematic code of operation by which it is guided. This research of understanding the urban small-scale informal business sector and urban land use planning nexus as a guide to device strategies for their integration is multidisciplinary in nature and covers such wide issues as social, political, cultural, technical and historical-geographic contexts.

Figure 5.1: Research process



It was generally motivated by the many urban challenges in urban areas in Ghana and many cities of countries especially those of the global south of which the small-scale informal business sector is largely held responsible. These urban challenges in addition to my professional

encounters as well as the existing theories, concepts and analytical frameworks on the subject guided me to unambiguously define the research problem as illustrated in Figure 5.1.

Consequently, the defined research problem also influenced the various theories and concepts in the burgeoning literature on the subject which culminated into the construction of the conceptual framework. Insights drawn from these enabled me to develop a profound understanding of the research problem and also identify the research gaps. This formed the background for the formulation of the research objectives and the research questions.

Additionally, the appropriate research design, selected cases, research methods and data collection tools for the empirical research in order to be able to adequately answer the research questions were decided. The multidisciplinary nature of the phenomenon under investigation demanded an interdisciplinary, process-oriented and institution-focused approach which uses concepts from multiple disciplines such as anthropology, political science and public administration. Undoubtedly, the multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary nature of the research means that the issues cannot be analysed and discussed adequately from a single methodological perspective. As a result, a variety of research methods from different disciplines were used to address the research questions. A research methodology based on case studies was deemed appropriate, on the grounds that such methodologies are well suited to the investigation of interactions between phenomena in real life contexts. The use of case studies is also appropriate for descriptive studies in which the goal is to describe the features, context and processes of a particular phenomenon (Yin, 2003). The case study research uses an explanatory case study technique (Yin, 2003). Explanatory case studies are suited to causal investigations, where the aim is to examine and explain 'how and why' certain phenomena occur, and for testing hypotheses, (Tellis, 1997) all of which feature in this research. To ensure excellence in case study as a research approach, the researcher has to adhere to etiquettes of the strategy. Again, to be able to come up with valid findings, the research has to subject itself to tests. According to Yin (1994), it is a matter of necessity that the research design demonstrates a logical relationship between the various components of the research and incorporates mechanisms for testing trustworthiness, credibility, "confirmability" and data dependability. In general, in scientific research, a research design is expected to pass four (4) tests. These include construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability as mostly mentioned in the literature. Techniques of passing these tests in case study research as documented by Yin formed the basis of the research design (ibid).

Moreover, the various data collection tools were employed during the empirical data collection in the case study areas. Data was collected from the small-scale informal business activities as well as organisations with the mandate of urban land use planning in the case study areas. Subsequently, the data collected from the case study areas culminated into case study reports arranged in accordance to the research questions. The reports were further consolidated in a cross case analysis to tease out the similar and contrasting issues arising from the cases. It was revealed the major findings from the cases.

Furthermore, the major issues emerging from the cross cases analysis were further analysed to sieve out interesting findings that contributes to the theories and concepts that guided the research. These emerging issues form the major contributions of the research to the production of scientific knowledge. They are the research's contribution to the scientific community. They contribute to the global debate on the small-scale informal business sector in particular and urban informality in general to help improve the lives of urban dwellers. Drawing insights from these issues, innovative approaches that should guide policy for the substance and procedure of urban land use planning were recommended. This will enable the urban land use planning system to integrate the small-scale informal business sector, anticipate future small-scale informal business sector activities in urban areas and be able to adequately develop appropriate sustainable strategies for their integration. Subsequently, further areas of research were also generated.

5.3.1 Selection of study settlements

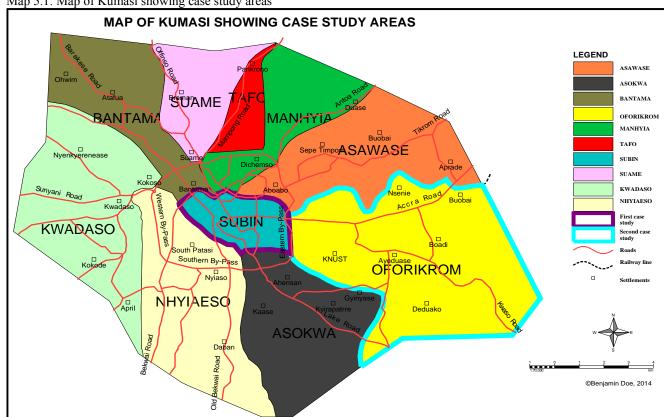
Geographically, this research is located in Kumasi. The Kumasi Metropolitan (District) Assembly is one of the 216 district assemblies in Ghana. The District level is where political and administrative authority is exercised in Ghana as thoroughly discussed in section 4.2 in the previous chapter. The 1992 Constitution, the fundamental law in Ghana, bestows development planning and implementation responsibilities in all areas related to the development of a district to the district assemblies. As a result, they are the largest administrative units within Ghana's decentralised local government structure and the managers of these units of administration, responsible for the implementation of state policies in the areas under their jurisdiction.

Besides being the second largest city in Ghana with a population of about 2,035,064 (GSS, 2013), Kumasi was selected because it is a unique case in the country with dynamics in both economics and land development from other metropolitan district assemblies in Ghana, such as Accra, Cape Coast, Secondi Takoradi, Tamale and Tema in terms of culture, urban growth patterns, economic dynamics and political organisation. For instance, the city has more than 80 percent of its working population in the small-scale informal business sector GSS, 2013) and a unique land tenure system which is being administered by the traditional authority (Asantehene's Lands Secretariat) and the Lands Commission. On the contrary, similarities can be drawn mostly from the small-scale informal business sector and the urban land use planning in relations to urban areas. Consequently, while recognising the context specific nature of this research, the knowledge produced can nevertheless make a meaningful contribution to theory building beyond the local context.

Selection of cases

The study was conducted in two (2) of the ten (10) sub-metropolitan district councils (SMDC) of the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA). These are the Subin and Oforikrom Sub-Metropolitan district councils. The selection was based on factors such as the sub-district council's status, length of existence and the researcher's familiarity with the sub-district council. In terms of status, certain characteristics concerning the type of local administrative unit were

relevant. These included the urban, peri-urban and rural status, the proximity, the land tenure system, accessibility and convenience.



Map 5.1: Map of Kumasi showing case study areas

Based on field work data (2012).

This is based on the fact that the time and resources at my disposal were very limited and did not warrant the selection of a large number of cases. The issue of familiarity with the customs, values and norms of the people was also very critical as it allowed the researcher easy entry and communication within this particular environment. As a result, language was not a barrier to the data collection exercise.

Table 5.1: Contrasts for study settlements selection

Contrasting criteria	Sub-Metro A	Sub-Metro B
Type of land ownership	Public lands	Stool lands
Location	Central business district and hence fully urbanized	Highly peri-urban
Nature of small-scale informal business activity	Mainly informal trade, commerce and service	Mainly informal manufacturing and construction

This reduced the ten sub-metropolitan district councils to five. Furthermore, the selection of the study sub-metropolitan district councils were subjected to the logic of contrasting cases (Yin 2003, p. 54; maximum variation cases as stated by Flyvjerg 2004, p. 426) with regards to their location in the city, type of land tenure and nature of small-scale informal business activity. The Subin Sub-Metropolitan District Council was selected for type A and the Oforikrom sub-Metropolitan District Council for case type B after visits to the five potential study settlements.

5.3.2 Units of analysis

Defining the unit of analysis in any research is very imperative since it is the smallest unit as well as the major entity of analysis for study. This also helps to set the limits or the boundaries of the investigation. It is the entity that the entire investigation revolves around. In social science research, unit of analysis may include groups or communities, individuals, programmes or their components, social organisations, time periods and critical incidents. In this research, the unit of analysis is the small-scale informal business sector in urban areas at the district level in Ghana. The Local Government Act of Ghana, Act 462 of 1993, bestows planning functions upon Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs). Even though the central government through its ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs), have some coordinating, guidance and supervisory roles, each district assembly is autonomous in deciding and managing the urban land use planning and development of the area under its jurisdiction. As the small-scale informal business sector is only one of the many activities taking place at the district level and as part of the general planning and development functions of the district assembly, the district assembly was not chosen as the unit of analysis. To be able to adequately explore and identify the synergies for the integration of the small-scale informal business sector, it was appropriate that the small-scale informal business sector in urban areas was used as the unit of analysis.

5.4 Investigating the research questions on the field

Various methods were applied to investigate and collect data from the field for answering the research questions. As this is a case study research, it was to ensure the provision of complementary views on the focus of the research as well as probe the research questions from dissimilar perspectives in order to achieve detailed responses for contributing to knowledge and make planning recommendations. A combination of methods therefore contributed to understanding the characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector, revelation of the various development guidelines and zoning regulations controlling development, the identification of the challenges with the urban land use planning system and exploration of new and appropriate land use planning approaches for the study areas.

As stated by Denzin (1970, p. 297), combining methods in the study of the same phenomena is referred to as 'methodological triangulation'. Consequently, Denzin differentiates between four (4) types of triangulation: the use of different data sources (data triangulation), the use of different researcher groups, observers and interviewers (investigator triangulation), the use of multiple perspectives and hypotheses (theory triangulation), and the application and combination of multiple methods (methodological triangulation) (Denzin, 1970, p. 301; Flick, 2008, p. 13). Triangulation as a research strategy has the express objective of minimising biases that emanate

from single methodologies and subsequently increase research validity (Denzin, 1970). The characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector were probed by:

questionnaire

- o revealing the profile of the small-scale informal business enterprises, length of existence, reasons and attractions of location, days and time of operation, rates/levies/fees paid, size of land occupied by businesses and their land requirements among others;
- o revealing the relationship between the small-scale informal business sector and the city administration, the impacts of bye-laws on small-scale informal businesses, processes of business registration, amount paid by small-scale informal businesses that pay rates/levies/fees to city managers; and
- o revealing type and volume of waste generated as a result of the operations of the small-scale informal business and availability and accessibility of municipal infrastructural facilities to the small-scale informal business sector among others.

spatial inventory

- o revealing the locations of small-scale informal businesses and the materials for their construction:
- o revealing the impacts of the small-scale informal business activities on their locations as well as their conformity with planning schemes; and
- o revealing encroachments, incompatible land uses, conflict of land uses (both public and private), complimentary land uses among others.

• in-depth and key informant interviews

- o deepening and giving more insight on the findings from the questionnaire
- o revealing land tenure and administration processes among others
- o understanding the various norms, values and legislations which regulate access to public space

Interrogation of the development guidelines and zoning regulations was done by:

• documentary investigation

- o revealing the various zoning codes, land use types, specified land requirements for various land use types, permissible space sizes for various activities, permissible setbacks, building orientation and construction materials among others
- o revealing various policies on urban development
- o bye-laws on city managing the city as well as charging fees/levies among others

Appropriateness of the urban planning system was explored by:

• expert interviews

- o revealing the relevance and appropriateness of the planning standards, development guidelines and zoning regulations as well as the processes of urban land use planning and management
- o revealing the various stakeholders and their roles
- o revealing the various actors involved and processes for planning application and their approval

Exploration of new and appropriate urban land use planning approaches was done by:

participatory mapping

- o revealing the ingenious knowledge of community members on urban land use planning
- o establishing the representation of the ingenious knowledge of community members on maps
- o exploring how GIS tools can enhance ingenious knowledge and local capacity in urban land use planning

expert interviews

- o understanding the processes of urban land use planning and management
- o documentary investigation
- o revealing cases of tested new and innovative urban land use planning approaches

5.5 Field data collection

Field Protocols and Preliminary activities

Before the data collection exercise was conducted on the field, some preliminary activities which are necessary for the success for the exercise were undertaken. All the data collection instruments such as the questionnaires, interview guides for the various types of interviews, checklists for observations and guidelines as well as issues for discussion during the participatory mapping exercise were all constructed. These were subjected to a number of revisions with colleagues and lecturers. Since the questionnaires were analysed with the aid of the SPSS, the SPSS template was also developed.

Moreover, introductory visits were made to the various units of data collection. This was to formally introduce the researcher and also establish a rapport with the units/ individuals who were going to be respondents. To be able to elicit the desired response from the respondents, it was necessary to stir up the interest of the institutions/units/individuals involved by communicating to them the motivations of the research and why they need to contribute to the research. Hence, introductory letters confirming the researcher as a genuine research student and explaining the main objectives of the research were distributed. Permission was sought from the regional and district administrations involved by formally contacting them to request to carry out the research within their territory. Similar exercises were also conducted at the community level to ensure that they cooperate fully during the data collection exercise. Key community

personalities such as traditional rulers, assembly-members, opinion leaders and the executives of some small-scale informal business groups were contacted to introduce the researcher to the community members. This was very important as it helped to win the trust of the respondents.

Field assistants

Four (4) field assistants were carefully selected and trained to help with data gathering on the field. Their selection was based on their ability to communicate in the local language, familiarity with the culture of the research areas and the research issues. This was necessary as it made the respondents feel at home and comfortable when being interviewed. The focus of the research and research questions were discussed with the assistants. It was also necessary to discuss and translate the questions into the local language to ensure common meaning among all the assistants and the researcher as well as ensure that the meanings of the questions are not lost during administration when translated. This adequately prepared them to gather the relevant data for the research.

Pilot Survey

The pilot survey was very useful for the actual data collection exercise. It helped to refine the plan for data collection with respect to both the content of the data and the procedures that were to be followed. As a result, even though resources in terms of time, money and other logistics were limited for the actual survey, it was worthwhile devoting some to the pilot survey. Some activities undertaken during the pilot survey include the selection of the pilot case, the scope of the data to be collected and the findings.

Pilot case selection

Ejisu in the Ejisu-Juaben Municipal Assembly in the Ashanti Region was selected as the pilot case. This is because of its geographical proximity to Kumasi which is the study area of the research, its convenience and accessibility. Also, some issues which are essential to the research such as land tenure system, the small-scale informal business, local governance, urban land use planning among others were fairly similar.

Scope of data to be collected

As stated earlier, the pilot survey was used to test the data collection tools that were going to be used in the study area, the various methods that were going to be employed and the entire plan for the field work. As a result, 50 small-scale informal business enterprises were randomly selected and interviewed with the aid of structured questionnaires. Purposive sampling was also used to select two executives of Small-scale informal business Associations for in-depth interviews with the aid of interview guides as well as three officials of the Ejisu-Juaben Municipal Assembly for official interviews also with the aid of interview guides. A local Chief and an Assembly-member were also interviewed with the aid of interview guides.

Findings from the pilot survey

There were very useful lessons from the pilot survey which was used to properly plan and carry out the actual survey. For example, it was realised that it was necessary to begin the main survey with the qualitative interviews as it revealed a lot of issues which helped to properly state and structure the questions in the questionnaire as they are more close-ended. It also served as a very good dress rehearsal for the research assistants and the researcher in terms of the time, translation of questions into the local language, how to appropriately ask questions to elicit the right response, the right conduct and attitude toward respondents among others.

5.5.1 Data collection

Data was collected at various levels during the fieldwork for the research. These are the national, regional, district, sub-district and community levels. Even though Ghana is practising decentralised system of governance, the various levels of government still have some level of relationship with the level preceding it. For example, whilst the local government Act, 1993, Act 462 entrust planning and development management of districts in the hands of various districts assemblies, the various regional administrations (Regional Coordinating Councils) still have oversight supervisory, advisory, harmonisation and coordination functions over the districts under their jurisdiction. Similarly, the national government, through its various MDAs, maintain standards by issuing polices and guidelines to the districts through their various regional administrations.

The strategy was to systematically collect progressive data from the national to the community level for a more focussed discussion. At the national level, data was collected on policies and guidelines that shape the planning, development, growth and management of urban areas in Ghana. There were discussions with experts and officers at the Town and Country Planning Department, Head Office and the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development. At the regional level, interviews were conducted with experts and officials of the Town and Country Planning Department, Environmental Protection Agency, Lands Commission, Small-scale informal business Associations and Utility Companies. Data was collected on the urban planning and management direction of the region, the goals and objectives of urban growth of the entire region, the urban growth potentials of various districts in the region and how they contribute to the urban growth agenda of the region, and their relations with the small-scale informal business.

The districts are mandated by law to plan and manage development in the areas under their administration so a lot of data was gathered here. Data was sought on the urban land use planning process, actors involved in the planning process, how the actors are chosen and the level of their involvement, the various legislations and guidelines governing the planning process, how development is managed, their definition of the small-scale informal business, how their plans take care of the needs of the small-scale informal business among others. The statutory planning committee members were a very important source of information as they are responsible for approval, refusal or rejection of individual planning applications for development

which might not conform with the planning schemes and to generally guide and control development within the planning areas in accordance with the approved planning schemes.

At the community level, data was collected on their levels of participation in the planning process, their experiences on the planning process, the type of economic activities their engaged in, how they access land, utilities, infrastructure and municipal services to enhance their economic activities among others. Small-scale informal business operators, community leaders, landlords, opinion leaders and leaders of small-scale informal business associations were involved at this level of data gathering. The process for sampling these respondents is described later in this chapter.

Sampling frame and procedure

The qualitative data was collected from individuals and organizations including experts, chiefs, opinion leaders, leaders of associations of small-scale informal business enterprises, city authorities and collaborating organizations. Official, key informant and in-depth interviews were therefore employed for the qualitative data collection. Purposive sampling was used to select the various respondents. It was started by contacting the Metropolitan Town and Country Planning Officer of the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly. This was after the researcher had discussed the purpose of the data collection exercise and also built rapport with the staff. The office helped with information on the mandate and functions, their stakeholders and collaborators as well as the contacts. And with the experience of the researcher as an urban planner, a list of potential respondents was drawn. This list was later discussed with experts and other officials who are knowledgeable in urban planning in the research settlements by virtue of their practice and experience. Appointments were therefore booked with the various stakeholders, actors and collaborators in the urban land use planning process for the interviews.

Sample surveys were also conducted during the field work. Since the nature of the research is explorative and explanatory, and also with the experience from the pilot survey, it was necessary to understand most of the issues with open ended questions before narrowing down to closed ended questions that could be best answered with closed ended questions. The sample surveys were conducted in the two sub-metropolitan district councils of the research.

A sample size of 151 and 147 were determined for the Subin and Oforikrom sub-metropolitan district councils respectively and used for the survey. These were determined with the aid of the formula; $n = N/[1+(N\alpha^2)]$. Where n = sample size, N = sampling frame (i.e. Total number of small-scale informal business enterprises) and $\alpha = \text{the confidence level}$. According to the revenue sections of the Subin and Oforikrom sub-metropolitan district councils, the total numbers of small-scale informal business enterprises were about 4503 and 2501 respectively. The confidence level of 8 percent was chosen and used in the determination of the sample sizes. As the random sampling method was employed, the random number tables aided selection of the small-scale informal business enterprises for interviewing. The four (4) research assistants, who

were recruited and trained to assist in administering questionnaires, helped in administering the questionnaires in the sub-metropolitan district councils.

Table 5.2: Number of respondents and the procedure for their selection

Quantitative		Qualitative		Participatory Mapping		
Random sampling		Purposive sampling		Purposive sampling		
		(Sample			
Number of small business from SI section		Official interviews	12	Participants	Subin SMDC	Oforikrom SMDC
Subin SMDC	4503	Key informant interviews	3	Sub-metro officials	3	3
Oforikrom SMDC	2501	In-depth interviews	3	Small-scale informal business	3	3
Total	7004	Total	18	Community leaders	1	1
Number interviewed-298 (Submetro A-151, Sub-metro B-147)				Total	7	7

Additionally, for participatory mapping, participants were purposively sampled. Similar to the selection of respondents for the various interviews, a list of prospective participants was drawn with the aid of the administrators of the respective sub-metropolitan district councils. This list was made up of stakeholders and actors in urban land use planning and the small-scale informal business in the respective sub-metropolitan district councils. The list was again discussed with experts and urban planning practitioners who made useful contributions into it. Table 5.2 gives a breakdown of the samples.

Fieldwork methods

A number of research methods were employed for gathering data on the field. These included observations, interviews, investigating documents and informal discussions. The following subchapters give further explanations on the methods.

Observation of small-scale informal businesses

The strength of observation as a method for gathering data was exploited during the fieldwork. It was the entrée to the study areas (Adler and Adler, 1994). The method was the source of information to note situations/conditions, operations, events among others in the study areas as well as non-verbal reactions to issues during interviews. Notice was made of locations of small-scale informal business enterprises, materials for construction, access to utilities and municipal infrastructure, ways of waste disposal, their compatibility or otherwise with adjoining land uses for the purposes of triangulation with other information obtained from land use maps and interviews. Prior to the observation, a list was made of the issues to observe in the study areas. This was necessary to help the researcher be focussed and take notice of issues and things that were relevant to the research. Emerging and interesting issues and things were however taken note of and added to the list to update it. As someone who is very familiar with the study areas, it

was important to constantly make reference to respondents to clarify and explain things and happenings in order to avoid bias.

The essence of the observation was to afford me the opportunity to take account of several aspects of the phenomenon under investigation in a flexible and tolerant manner. Hence, the process can be described as 'descriptive observation' (Flick, 2009, p. 288). Respondent's responses to questions, issues and situation through non-verbal cues were also recorded. In addition to taking notes, photographs were also taken to aid the recording process.

Qualitative interviews

Employing a case study research strategy and the focus of the research being a deep and in-depth investigation of a phenomenon in its real life context, it was imperative to use qualitative interviews to gather such data from respondents. The different kinds of qualitative interviews employed include official interviews, key informant interviews and in-depth interviews. The choice of the qualitative interview conducted was influenced by the context and the respondent:

- official interviews with officers at government ministries, departments and agencies and also administrators and officers at the decentralised units of the metropolitan assembly in the submetropolitan district councils,
- key informant interviews with opinion leaders and community leaders who have first-hand knowledge about the small-scale informal business and the study areas,
- in-depth interviews mainly with small-scale informal business operators.

All of the interviews were semi-structured. This implies that interview guides were prepared and Figure 5.2: Interview with a gari processor used during conduct of the interviews. These



used during conduct of the interviews. These were developed individually for each respondent. This afforded respondents the opportunity to provide detail information - views and suggestions as well as facts were freely stated about events and activities, while still enabling me to guide the process and keep it focused enough to produce the kind of information that was useful to the research. As such all the interviews were characterised by openness and flexibility.

Also, all the interviews were documented with

an audio digital recorder in addition to the taking of notes in a field note book with the express consent of the interviewees. The audio recording helped to easily record every single detail of interviewee's responses-capturing emotions in the voices of interviewees during their responses. It also ensured the fluency of the interviews. The notes taken made it easier to ask follow up

questions on interesting and relevant issues from interviewee's responses and also to seek clarifications on their responses.

Interviews were mostly held in the offices, shops/work places and homes of respective respondents. This was to establish appropriate, relaxing and familiar interview situations for the respective respondents. It must be noted that these interview settings created other challenges. For instance, during the official interviews, interviews had to be paused for respondents to attend to other official duties even though each and every interview was properly scheduled with a prior appointment. In the case of small-scale informal business operators, interviews also sometimes had to be paused for respondents to attend to their customers as interviews were conducted in their shops. Again, it was quite difficult to prevent other elders and community leaders from disturbing and joining in during key informant interviews. These in most cases tended to make interviews take longer than estimated. As it was not possible to create a setting devoid of these challenges, the situation was tolerated and the dynamics captured. The interviews were transcribed and analysed with the help of the MAXQDA software.

Ouantitative interviews

Quantitative data was gathered in the study areas with the aid of a questionnaire. Most of the questions were closed-ended and therefore respondents had to choose from a list of answers that had been provided for each question. However, a few questions were open-ended in order to make room for respondents to give more details on their responses. All the completed questionnaires for each day were edited by the researcher together with the research assistants to ensure that they were being well administered. The analyses of the questionnaires for the research were carried out with the aid of SPSS.

Document investigation

Investigating documents was one of the methods used to collect data on the field. Prior to the exercise, a list of documents that needed to be investigated to produce relevant data for research was made. These included various policies on land use planning and management, urban development and land; various legislations on land use planning and management; planning standards; planning regulations and guidelines; planning schemes, maps and orthophoto maps; and various plans.

Evidence from these documents yielded very rich and relevant information which was crossed checked with other information from other sources on the field. Where there were discrepancies, efforts were made to further interrogate the issues with other sources of data collection. In certain instances, the source became the starting point for investigating some research questions on in the study areas.

Participatory mapping

Participatory mapping exercise were undertaken in the two sub-metropolitan district councils to promote more public participation in urban land use planning and also access indigenous local knowledge in the exploration of synergies for the integration of the small-scale informal business into urban land use planning. The burgeoning literature in participatory GIS is of the opinion that the participatory GIS mapping will empower and afford the public the opportunity to produce and analyse georeferenced spatial data and also be able to include many realities and varied forms of information (Rambaldi, 2010, p. 2). During the process, the PGIS approach and tools were used (Rambaldi and Manila, 2003; Rambaldi, Kyem et al., 2006). These mainly were obtaining data and preparatory works (maps and orthophoto maps in the required scales and geodetic references); transect walks, p-mapping, GPS surveys and feedback forums.

Data and preparatory work

An Ortho-rectified aerial photo of the two sub-metropolitan district councils recorded in 2009, obtained from the Town and Country Planning Department, Head Office, was used for the p-mapping exercises. They were already geo-referenced using the WGS84, UTM Zone 30N reference system. The images were overlaid with a coordinate grid, and the photomaps were printed in tiles of A0 size at a scale of 1:2500. This was to enable easy identification of objects as printing at bigger scales would cause objects on the maps to become blurred and also frustrate interpretation images by the human eye. For the purposes of verification during the p-mapping, two types of map were acquired from the Survey and Mapping Division of the Lands Commission: (i) a 1:50,000 topographic map from 1967, compiled from aerial photographs taken in November 1960 and March 1962; and (ii) a town sheet at a scale of 1:2500, created in 1997. The assembly halls of the study areas were used for the exercise as they had large tables that adequately accommodated the maps. A GPS (Garmin GPSmap 76CSx), which identifies coordinates with an accuracy of plus (+) or minus (-) 10 metres (if no use is made of any GNSS infrastructure), was used to measure reference points to check the maps created during the p-mapping exercise.

- 1. Approaching the community Discussions were held with small-scale informal business associations, communities, chiefs, the administrators of the sub-metropolitan district councils, assembly members to seek permission and also to explain the objectives of the study, its relevance and the researcher's expectations concerning the role to be played participants. The photomaps were displayed and the p-mapping exercise was explained. An observational walk around the study areas were conducted to obtain first-hand information about the area's boundaries and current land uses.
- 2. Selection of participants In each of the two sub-metropolitan district councils, seven (7) people were selected for the participatory mapping exercise. Three (3) officials from the sub-metropolitan district council, three (3) small-scale informal business operators and a community leader were purposively selected from each respective sub-metropolitan district council. To overcome the temptation of influencing the selection of participants, the selection was thoroughly discussed with community members, sub-metropolitan district council officials and small-scale informal business operators who used their social networks and local knowledge to select people who could participate in the p-mapping exercise.

The selection criteria included: knowledge of the community's urban land use planning and management system, length of stay in the community, and availability and willingness to participate. Furthermore, as a group, the participants represented a broad spectrum of stakeholders in urban land use planning and the small-scale informal business sector.

- 3. Training Each group of participants was given some level of training. They were initially briefed on the objectives of the study and their own roles. They were then taught the basics of pmapping. Afterwards, they were also given some training on how to interpret images, including photomap orientation, the identification of features on maps and the use of mapping tools. They were also given some information about the ethics of PGIS.
- 4. Transects and GPS survey Transects were designed to capture selected features, including roads, boundary points, rivers and shrines, using GPS. The survey aimed to verify the ability of locals to interpret the photomap and ascertain whether the maps reflected the actual state of the terrain. Participants were then given markers, A0 sheets and felt pens for their sketch mapping exercises.
- 5. Sketch mapping Participants created sketch maps to show their familiarity with their environment and to get to know the p-mapping tools and photomaps. On A0 sheets, each group drew the community boundary, main road networks, some major features, major land uses and areas that are very attractive to the small-scale informal business sector. After this, they discussed the land use needs of the various activities including the small-scale informal business sector and other issues identified. These included conflict of land uses, encroachments, congestion, pollution, incompatible land uses, design flaws, vacant plots in built up areas, complimentary land uses among others.

Furthermore, the teams were provided with various items of different colours and shapes representing various land use activities to locate these activities in space, bearing in mind all their previous discussions. Land use activities were located in space to as much as possible complement each other to satisfy their own land use needs as well as those of others and that of the sub-metropolitan areas as a whole.

6. Feedback forum – For each sub-metropolitan district council, the results of the participatory mapping exercise were displayed during a feedback forum. During this forum, all participants were able to validate the maps and suggest additions and corrections. The evaluation focused in particular on the level of participation and the extent of the match between the maps produced and the planning schemes.

The participants of the feedback forum could have been widened to include all community members in the study in order to have a wider input. But this also had to be limited to the selected participants due to lack of time and other resources. Nonetheless, careful nature of participants' selection to reflect major stakeholders made it possible for the minimisation of such limitations.

7. Data Processing – After completion, the researcher processed the maps to a land use map of the sub-metropolitan district councils in a GIS (MapMaker) for the further analysis in the research. The discussions were facilitated by the researcher, assisted by field assistants. The forum ended with the handing over of copies of the photo-maps and sketch maps to the sub-metropolitan district councils.

5.5.2 Analysis and interpretation

Data analysis is the process of bringing sanity into data collected for answering research questions in scientific research. As stated by Marshall and Rossman (1999, p. 145), it is the process of ordering data collected from the field from different sources, organising them into patterns, categories and basic descriptive units. Subsequently, during data analysis, data is inspected, cleaned, transformed, and modelled into various simple expressions and illustrations with the aim of determining relevant information, suggesting conclusion and supporting decision making. There is a fine line between data collection and analysis as there is no precise point where one ends and the other begins. Similarly, there is no clear-cut separation between data analysis and interpretation. Data collected from the field were taken through various processes for analysis and interpretation.

The entire questionnaire used for the quantitative data collection was collected and with help of the field assistants numbered serially. The data was then entered into the SPSS template that had been created for the questionnaire. In this way, the serial number on each questionnaire corresponded with the serial number of an observation in the SPSS template as data from the questionnaire with a serial number was entered in its corresponding serial number template in the SPPS. The data was then screened to check their completeness, normality of distribution as well as outliers in the SPSS template. A normally distributed data would aid the use of parametric test for the analysis but the data was not normally distributed and therefore the non-parametric test (Mann-Whitney U-Test) was used. In addition, line graphs, pie charts and bar graphs were used to illustrate quantitative data

Qualitative data from the field was processed by editing field notes and listening to audio recordings. The recorded interviews were transcribed by listening to them and typing them out. They were then compared with the field notes. This kick started the process of building categories and sub-categories from the interviews. The transcripts were therefore analysed thematically in consonance with emerging themes. These emerging themes were aligned with research questions to form the analytical chapters of the report.

Participatory land use maps prepared by respondents on the field were overplayed on the Planning Schemes of the area. This was to check the proper mapping of features and orientation of the maps. Field notes of recorded discussions were compared with the prepared maps to ensure that discussions, agreements and disagreements were graphically represented on the maps. The analyses were done by building themes from the issues that emerged from the participatory maps and from the overlaying of various maps.

Case reporting

The processing, analyses and interpretation of the field data culminated into the production of the case reports. In case study research, the data from the cases under investigation are similar to the case evidence which forms the report. According to Yin (1994), it is necessary for the case report to entail sufficient data in order to afford the reader the opportunity to understand the case context and arrive at their own conclusions. A report was prepared on each case, providing indepth insights to the contextual background and incorporating actual data, in the form of quotations or footnotes that could help the reader form his/her own opinions without relying wholly on the investigator. For each case, an analysis was done and the conclusions drawn were captured in the case report. A cross-case synthesis was done to compare both cases and a cross-case report was produced which summarised the outcomes of the cross-case discussion.

5.6 Concluding remarks

The chapter on methodological issues elaborated on the methodology, the research approach, the methods and tools used in the data collection and analysis in this study. It also brought to the fore the various units of analysis covered in the study and the various sources of data collected and analysed in this piece of research. Though there are shortcomings of most research methods, what is important is the adoption of strategies to mitigate these effects on the overall quality of work and this is precisely what has been done. The chapter has put in plain terms how the research was conducted to give a clear understanding of the issues understudy. Based on this, the data collected during the empirical study is analysed in the next chapters of this report.

6 Kumasi - a commercial hub with a unique land tenure system

Throughout literature a typical African city is generally described as a city in crisis. Emphasis is laid on the many challenges such as failing infrastructural services, inadequate housing for the ever increasing population, lack of decent jobs, severe environmental issues, wide spread poverty, increasing inequality coupled with incapable local government structures among others. This is because African cities are largely viewed based on a preconceived notion of 'cityness' – similar to cities of the global north. Also, their urbanisation and growth proceed along trajectories that defy existing theories and models of urban land use planning, sociology, geography and anthropology. Nonetheless, beyond the many challenges are the underlying unique aspects of many African cities that make them work even in the midst of the crisis. The chapter profiles Kumasi by presenting and discussing the various aspects such as physical, social, economic, demographic, political and cultural characteristics of the city. It also explains the uniqueness of these aspects of the city and their connection to the entire research.

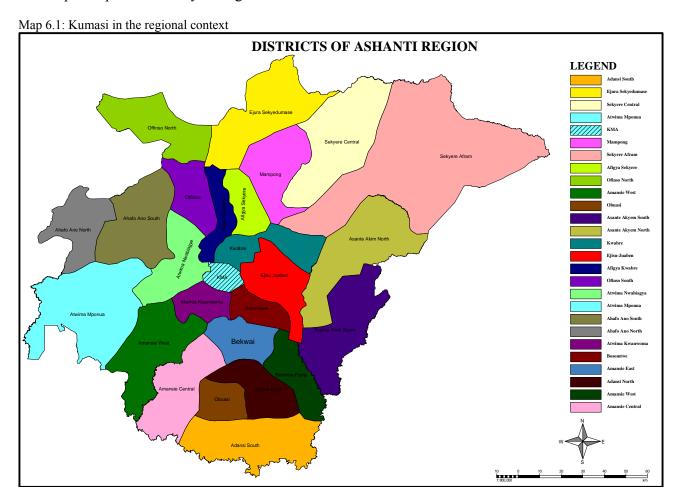
6.1 Background of the city

Kumasi was founded by the King Osei Tutu I (the first King of the Ashanti Kingdom) in 1680. This was done through the unification of various communities ruled by chiefs (chiefdoms). Kumasi then became the political capital of this historic Greater Asante Union, which is also variously referred to as *Asanteman* (Twi) or the Ashanti Empire. The strategic location of the Ashanti Empire gave it the impetus to control trade between the coast and savannah areas. This trade relation facilitated the growth and wealth of the Ashanti Empire which inspired the richness of the ancient Ashanti culture and its capital, Kumasi. The area however came under British colonial rule in the mid-1890s. Due to its strategic location and wealth in natural resources such as timber, cocoa, and gold it was developed by the British as a sub- regional wholesaling centre for livestock such as cattle and sheep from the north and foreign goods that came from abroad. Kumasi became the top of a triangular road and rail system linking Accra and Sekondi-Takoradi as well as the gateway to the north. This led to the development of the Kumasi Central Market further emphasising its previous role as a major trading centre of ancient Kumasi.

This boom in trade in the area attracted many immigrants from other parts of the country to the area. This phenomenon in many respects changed the urban structure of the city. As was the practice in British colonial rule (indirect rule), the traditional authority (Asantehene) and the land ownership structure was restored with the return of the exiled Asantehene and rebuilding of his palace in Kumasi in its traditional form. This restored the political authority and cultural significance of the city. A combination of these events and the growth in cocoa production and timber products coupled with increase accessibility made Kumasi an important city to the surrounding areas which facilitated its exponential growth. The symbol of unity and authority of the Asante nation (Asanteman) is the Golden Stool which is said to have descended from the sky through the incantations of Okomfo Anokye, a fetish priest. The Asantehene is the occupant of the Golden Stool.

6.1.1 Location

Kumasi is located in the transitional forest zone, about 270 km north of the national capital, Accra. It covers a total land area of 254 square kilometres, stretching between latitude 6.35° – 6.40° and longitude 1.30° – 1.35° , an elevation which ranges between 250 – 300 metres above sea level. It is bounded to the north by the Kwabre District, to the east by the Ejisu-Juabeng Municipality, to the west by the Atwima Nwabiagya District and to the south by the Bosomtwe-Atwima Kwanwoma District. As already stated above, it's unique centrality (see figure 3.1) as a traversing point from all parts of the country make it a major commercial centre in Ghana and also a special place for many to migrate.



Source: Town and Country Planning Department, Kumasi (2012).

6.1.2 Political administration

The Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) is the local government in charge of the administration of the city. As aptly discussed in chapter four, section 4.2 of this research, Kumasi is one of the six metropolitan assemblies in Ghana. The functions of the KMA are outlined in the Legislative Instrument (L.I. 1434) which established it. These functions are summarised as follows: provision of a sound sanitary and healthy environment; provision of educational

infrastructure for first and second cycle schools; provision of markets and lorry parks within the Metropolis; planning and development control of all infrastructure within the city; activities bordering on the maintenance of peace and security within the Metropolis and provision of public safety and comfort. The Assembly is made up of 87 members, out of which 60 are elected from the various electoral areas in the Metropolis, while the remaining 27 are appointed by the President in consultation with the traditional authorities. A Metropolitan Chief Executive MCE), who is also a member of the Assembly, is the Mayor of Kumasi and head of the KMA. The assembly has sub-committees for finance and administration, works, development planning, education, social services and environment as shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Some departments of the KMA and their functions

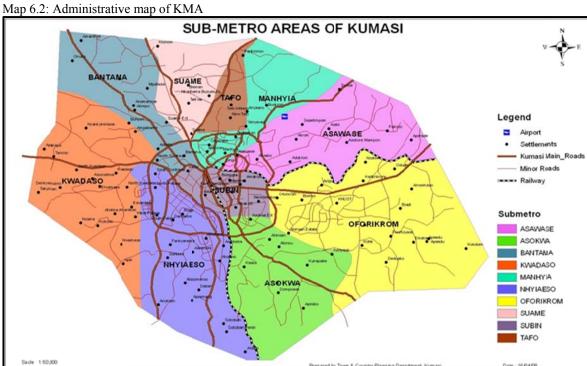
Department	Functions
Metro treasury	Collection of revenue and pays expenses monthly and annual financial statement, and
	also advises on financial matters.
Metro Works Engineer	Design/management of building projects, premises/house numbering, street furniture.
	Building permits delivery and general development control.
Metro Director of	Adherence to educational regulations and policies, provide infrastructure and
Education	logistics.
Public Health Officer	Food hygiene, disease, vector and pest control, enforcement of Sanitation Bye-Laws
	and Control of Cemeteries.
Waste Management	Liquid and solid waste disposal, Cleansing of streets and drains, public open places,
Department	and weeding of grass on roadsides and open public places.
Town and Country	Detailed Planning Schemes/Structure Plan, Secretariat of the Kumasi Planning
Planning	Committee.
Metro Planning and	Collection and analysis of economic, social, physical and institutional data.
Coordinating Unit	Preparation of projects documentation. Monitoring and evaluating projects. Co-
-	ordination of donor funded projects.

Others include revenue mobilisation, public relations and complaints, justice and security, transport and market sub-committees in which members serve to support the general assembly to discharge its duties. These are further supported by various departments and decentralised departments of national ministries, departments and agencies to technically support the assembly to implement its decisions. The legislative instrument (L.I. 1434) was amended in L.I. 1805 in 2010 to divide the KMA into ten Sub-Metropolitan District Councils (SMDCs) as graphically shown by Map 6.2.

These Councils have secretariats headed by sub-Metropolitan Directors who manage their day-to-day business for effective co-ordination and harmonisation. The SMDCs are further divided into 24 Town Councils and have a total of 419 Unit Committees.

Even though the administrative structure is well laid out and well intentioned, it grapples with many challenges. Generally, the administrative structure is weak and many of the decentralised departments have dual allegiance as they are still controlled by their parent ministries, departments or agencies at the regional and national levels. Besides, there are also the problems

of non-connectivity of departments, low management interconnection, lack of transparency, over centralisation of administration and inadequate financial resources.



Source: Town and Country Planning Department, Kumasi (2010).

6.1.3 Traditional authority

As stated in section 6.1 above, the indigenous administration of the Asante nation (Asanteman) is through a traditional system of chieftaincy and elders. Each community (chiefdom) in the KMA, similar to many parts of the country, has a chief of some level from *Odikro* (chief) to *Omanhene* (paramount chief). The Asantehene is the only King of Asante. Each chief has "divisional chiefs" with portfolios, similar to the national president and ministers. The ascension to chieftaincy (except *Nkosohene* [development chief]) is through the matrilineal system as the Asantes practice the matrilineal system of inheritance. The authority is recognised by many statutes in the country including the Constitution and is widely consulted on a variety of issues ranging from politics to development. In addition, majority of the land in the Metropolis is owned by the traditional authority on behalf of the chiefdoms.

6.2 Land tenure and management

There are three types of land ownership in Kumasi. The first type of land ownership is the stool lands which have been vested in the President of the Republic of Ghana in trust for the Golden Stool (Asantehene). These lands are public and its status is attributable to various laws culminating in the promulgation of the Administration of Lands Act, Act 123 of 1962. The entire Central Business District (CBD) of the city falls under this category, as well as portions of

Amakom, Asokwa, Asafo, Bantama, Manhyia and Dichemso. The second category of land ownership is purely stool lands held in trust by caretaker chiefs for the Golden Stool. These lands constitute about 60 percent of the entire landmass of the KMA. And the third category refers to those acquired in the public interest for various uses by law. Prominent among these category of land include the 91 metres of both directions from the centre-line of Kumasi – Offinso, Kumasi – Mampong and Kumasi – Sunyani trunk roads. The Road Appropriation Ordinance of 1902 vests these lands in the Government of Ghana. They also include the vast area in the Ridge Residential area as well as right of ways, sanitary sites, railway reservations, open spaces, public school lands among others.

There are no freehold grants of land in Kumasi. Customarily, stool lands are not to be sold. The sale of stool lands or public lands is barred by statute. Leasehold rights are however acquired for the various categories of users: residential – 99 years, commercial/industrial/civic & cultural – 50 years, petrol filling stations – 21 years among others. The large stock of the state lands which are used for public infrastructure has been exhausted; as a result the state usually resorts to acquisition of private land for public infrastructural projects. This is done through negotiation with caretaker chiefs in the various chiefdoms.

Moreover, due to the surge in urban population, the demand for land for housing and other uses has soured up due to speculation. Prices of plots of land along the major roads are relatively high. This is because land development in the Metropolis precedes urban infrastructure development; hence people prefer parcels of land that are easily accessible. Thus, the demand-side exceeds the supply-side forcing up prices. On the other hand, lands that are further away from these major roads are sold at relatively cheaper prices. Incidentally, lands along the radial routes of Kumasi – Mampong, Kumasi – Ejisu, Kumasi – Offinso and Kumasi – Kuntanase roads have been developed almost to the statutory boundaries of the city. Another phenomenon that has engulfed the Metropolis is the upsurge of economic activities. The greater demand for industrial and commercial warehousing facilities has given rise to mergers and successions especially at the CBD, thus reducing the quantity of housing stock at the CBD.

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's 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 (KPC). The procurement of land in the public interest for public purposes is administered by the Land Commission in a centralised 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 allotee 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 allotee 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 (KTC).

Thereafter, a 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 urban land use plan drawn up for the area.

Notwithstanding this due procedure, land acquisition procedures in the Metropolis are plagued with problems of irregularities in the land market, unclear land boundaries and the absence of well-institutionalised estate agencies. This makes it difficult for a prospective grantee to know where to start from and who to deal with in respect to the grant of stool lands. It is further saddled with bureaucracy and thereby making the acquisition procedure slow and irksome. It is more pronounced with the grant of state lands. Land litigation is another issue confronting land acquisition in the Metropolis. This phenomenon has contributed to the slow process for the granting of stool land. This has been attributed to inadequate data on land boundaries between stools.

6.3 Urban infrastructure

The promulgation of the Town and Country Planning Ordinance, Cap 84, cut the sword for organised development of Kumasi in 1945. It specifically set aside 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 especially the Kumasi Outline Planning Scheme of 1963, sought in broad terms to provide the framework for social, economic, physical, infrastructural and environmental growth of the city. The growth of the city has been guided by planning schemes that propose various land use developments for various areas in the city. The Kumasi Outline Planning scheme of 1963 is still largely being used as a base for the preparation of the planning schemes.

The high rate of population growth (see Table 6.3) 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. In terms of housing types the Metropolis has been categorised into high-income area, government-workers area, indigenous areas and tenement area. Kumasi is also a home to a number of lumbers and saw milling firms as well as two giant breweries and a bottling company along the Anloga – Ahinsan – Kaase stretch.

The Metropolis has an estimated total road network of 1,921km but much of it remains unpaved, un-engineered, missing links and riddled with potholes. But the major problem with the road network in Kumasi has to do with traffic congestion particularly in the CBD. This is because majority of vehicular traffic has the CBD or at least within the ring-road (see Map 6.2) as its final destination since majority of the activities in the city are located in there. Even outside rush hour, it can take a long time to reach a nearby destination. This congestion creates aggressive situations on the road which coincides with a large amount of smog and air pollution, worsened by the bad condition of the old vehicle stock. The city has an airport and lorry terminals to provide the transportation needs of residents. Public transportation services are provided by "trotros" (mini-buses) and taxis for people without private means of transport. A railway system put in place during the colonial era has not been working for the past three decades.

Moreover, the state of sanitation in Kumasi is poor. The city is characterised by choked drains, indiscriminate waste disposal and uncollected refuse in central waste containers. The KMA estimates that it is only able to collect 60 percent of the total waste (1500 tonnes per day) that is generated in the city. The rest is disposed of through various means such as open dumping, burning among others by residents. Some of the factors responsible for the poor sanitation include, lack of adequate sanitary facilities, ignorance and irresponsibility of individuals, households and community members, lack of community action, springing up of unauthorised temporary structures among others.

Kumasi is supplied by pipe-borne water from two surface water treatment plants - The Barekese and Owabi Water Works. Access to water by the classes of people in Kumasi varies according to the categories of urban dwellers. There are those who live in first class residential areas and are connected to the water supply network. This class of people get water 24 hours a day, and pay for water at the official rates. And then, there are the majority of residents, mostly the poor and vulnerable groups living in slums and poor neighbourhoods, which are not connected to the network, and have to buy their water from water vendors at prices higher than the official rates. These people usually have to support their water needs with water from other sources such as wells which are cheaper.

Furthermore, the city is supplied with electricity from the national electricity grid. It is the main source of energy for domestic uses and economic production. It is supplemented with liquefied petroleum gas (LPG), fire wood, charcoal among others for domestic uses especially for cooking.

The city authorities largely blame the dominance of the small-scale informal businesses in the city as the main cause of its problems, as they claim the CBD and all the principal streets have

been taken over by traders in the sector. According to the city authorities, the erection of wooden structures including kiosks and metal containers along the streets and on any available space have greatly blighted the beauty of the city and are responsible for the environmental problems.

6.4 Demographic characteristics

According to the GSS (2013), Kumasi has an estimated total population of 2,035,064 as of 2010, reflecting an inter-censal growth of 6.8 percent between 2000 and 2010. These growth trends especially of the population over the census periods has made Kumasi the most populous district in the Ashanti Region in that it accounts for more than a third (42.6%) of the region's population.

Table 6.2: Population of Kumasi (1948 – 2010)

Area/year	1948	1960	1970	1984	2000	2010
Kumasi	81,870	218,172	346,336	487,504	1,170,270	2,035,064
Ashanti	1,109,130	1,481,698	2,090,100	2,948,161	3,612,950	4,780,380
Nation	4,118,000	9,726,320	9,632,000	12,296,081	18,912,079	24,658,823

Source: Population and Housing Census Reports of Ghana (1948, 1960, 1970, 1984, 2000 and 2010)

Compared to the national and regional growth rate of 2.5 percent and 2.7 percent respectively, the Metropolis is growing at a faster rate indicating the attractiveness of Kumasi in the region in particular and in the country in general.

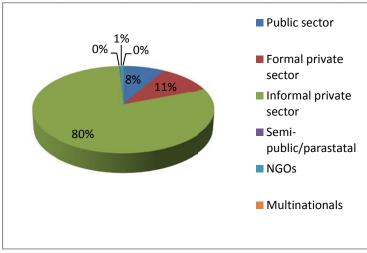
Table 6.3: Population growth rates

Area/year	1948-1960	1960-1970	1970-1984	1984-2000	2000-2010
Kumasi	7.9	4.5	2.5	5.4	6.8
Ashanti	2.0	3.8	3.8	3.4	2.7
Nation	4.1	2.4	2.6	2.7	2.5

Source: Population and Housing Census Reports of Ghana (1948, 1960, 1970, 1984, 2000 and 2010)

6.4.1 Occupation distribution

Figure 6.3: Sector of economic activities



Source: GSS (2013).

Service (GSS) (2013) based on the 2010 population and housing census also revealed that 66.5 percent of the population constitutes the active labour force of the population. The active population refers to those between the ages of 15 and 64 years who are economically active hence they can be engaged in productive employment activities. However, the active population that is available for work constitutes about 44.5 percent of the total population. This indicates

that the economic dependency ratio for the Metropolis is 1:2.2. This implies that each economically active person in Kumasi has more than two people depending on him/her. Thus, all things being equal, the active population has to work more to take care of themselves and their dependants.

The census report also revealed that 3.9 percent of the active population are unemployed. The remaining 40.6 percent of the entire population are employed in various types of occupational activities comprising public sector, formal and informal private sector, semi-public/parastatal, NGOs/International organisation and others as shown in Figure 6.3. Having large size of the active labour force constituting the informal private sector explains the dominance of small-scale informal businesses and petty trading activities in the metropolis and a reflection of inadequate capital formation to establish large or medium scale enterprises. It also explains the low mobilisation of internally generated funds by the Assembly due to the inadequate data on these petty traders. In terms of gender, females constitute 50.7 percent of all those employed with males constituting 49.3 percent.

6.4.2 Rural-urban split

The urbanisation syndrome that plagues most of the cities in the world did not exclude Kumasi. A significant feature of this phenomenon experienced by Kumasi is the influx of rural folks to the metropolis in search of perceived greener pastures which often end up becoming a mirage. This partially explains the emergence of urban poor who lack basic necessities such as balanced diet, decent clothing and accommodation as well as education and proper health care services. As earlier stated in section 6.4 above, the metropolis currently accommodates more than a third of the population in the region making it the second largest urbanised area in the country after the capital, Accra. Even though according to the GSS (2013), the KMA is entirely urban, there are still many suburbs that exhibit some rural characteristics, making them peri-urban. Notable amongst the factors that have partly precipitated this growth is its history and traditional significance including the creation and expansion of industrial and commercial activities in the metropolis.

6.4.3 Spatial distribution of population

The population of the Central Business District (CBD), which stretches to cover Adum, the Kumasi Central Market area, Asafo and Ashtown, experiences high population growth during the day whilst the dormitory towns, which are predominantly located outside the ring-road experiences low population. In the evening this phenomenon is vice versa. The main pull-factor of the population to Adum, Asafo and Ashtown is the concentration of economic activities in these areas. Nevertheless, records available indicate that the residential population in these areas are gradually reducing over the years. For instance, Adum recorded 12,991; 9,693 and 8,016 in 1970, 1984 and in 2000 censuses respectively. This is anticipated to further fall. On the other hand, areas such as Kentinkrono, Oduom, Anwomaso, Santasi, Fankyenebra, Bremang, Pankrono and Maakro, which were small communities in 1960 and 1970, have grown into densely populated residential areas with 30,000 – 50,000 people. This gradual decline of

population in the CBD is attributable to the mergers and successions that are taking place in the CBD in response to the growth of commercial activities by rezoning of residential properties to shops and stores for commercial activities.

6.4.4 Household size and characteristics

The population of Kumasi is made up of 512,767 households. It ranges from single-member households to more than eleven-member households. The average household size in the Metropolis is four (4). Comparatively, this is lower than that of the region (4.1). This could be traced to the high educational background of residents and the fast spate of urbanisation sweeping through the Metropolis. Figure 6.4 below, highlights the household sizes in Kumasi.

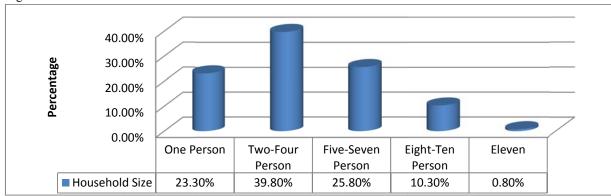


Figure 6.4: Household sizes in Kumasi

Source: GSS (2013).

Though the metropolis has a large household size on the average, the age dependency (1: 0.7) and economic dependency ratio (1: 2.2) revealed that the labour force in the households have less people depending on them. This could be attributed to the fact that appreciable number (43.3%) of people who constitute the household, are "other relatives". Certain cultural practices prevailing in the old (traditional) towns in Kumasi partly explain this phenomenon. As tradition demands, daughters who are pregnant and are well into the antenatal period, must move to stay with their parents until they give birth. After child birth they return to their spouses. Another cultural practice is the system that allows divorced and widowed spouses to return to their parents while catering for themselves. The urban setting also compels especially the unemployed to come and stay with relatives whilst actively searching for jobs or their own dwelling units. All these are manifestations of the informal social safety net that characterises the extended family structure.

Another laudable reason for the low dependency is the fact that 23.3 percent of the households are single-member households while 39.8 percent are two to four member households. This statistics partly explains the favourable room occupancy rate of 2.7 (compared to the national standard of 3 persons per room), though the average household size is four (4). Nonetheless, from the perspectives of the UN standard of 2.5, this statistics is a reflection of fairly high room occupancy.

6.5 Land use structure

Physically the structure of Kumasi is concentric or circular in shape (see Map 6.2). This is attributable to the radial growth of physical structures along the arterial roads in the metropolis. These major arteries converge at Kejetia, the centre of Kumasi. Thus, infrastructure growth and development is traversing all directions in the city, with the city centre as the origin of growth.

Land use distribution

The KMA covers a total land area of approximately 254 km² (25,415 hectares). A significant size (79.0%) of this land area has been planned, approved and developed. These developed areas comprised various land uses (see Figure 6.6 and Map 6.7).

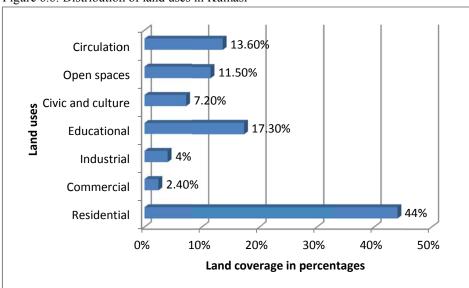


Figure 6.6: Distribution of land uses in Kumasi

Source: Town and Country Planning Department (2012).

Residential land use

This land use covers living areas in the metropolis and thus, is predominantly occupied by housing facilities. Majority (43.9%) of the total land developed in Kumasi is occupied by residential facilities. These residential facilities are further stratified into the high-income residential area, middle-income residential areas and low-income residential areas. The rapid growth of Kumasi due to in-migration and the inability to tandem the population growth with housing provision has led to the emergence of slums. Furthermore, the inability of the city authorities to enforce development control in the metropolis has resulted in haphazard development of physical infrastructure. This uncontrolled development has resulted in encroachment on access roads by residential buildings in some of the communities especially newly developing areas.

Commercial land uses

Approximately 2.4 per cent of the total land area developed in the metropolis is occupied by commercial activities. These commercial activities are mainly concentrated at the centre of Kumasi. These areas comprise Adum shopping area, the Central Market, Asafo Market, Kejetia and Asafo transport terminals. Notwithstanding this allocation for commercial activities, new commercial activities are now emerging along the arterial roads in the metropolis. This is attributed to the limited space in the CBD due to haphazard organisation of activities especially in and around the Central Market, leading to uneconomic use of space as well as inability to meet demand for new economic activities.

Industrial land use

This accommodates facilities for processing and manufacturing consumable and non-consumable goods. It occupies 4 percent of the total land developed in the metropolis. With regards to consumable goods, the notable area in Kumasi that accommodates such industrial facilities is the Ahinsan – Kaase enclave, a home for Guinness Ghana Brewery Limited and the Coca Cola Bottling Plant that are engaged in beverage processing as well as other small-scale industries. Suame and Asafo Magazines; Kaase/Asokwa Industrial Area and the Sokoban Wood Village are well-known non-consumable goods industries that occupy significant size of the industrial land use in the city. The inability of these industries to effectively manage the waste generated by their production has been a pain in the neck of the residents dwelling in the communities that houses these establishments and city authorities.

Educational land use

Educational land use in the metropolis is the second largest land user (17.0%) in the Kumasi after residential facilities. This activity ranges from pre-school to primary school, junior high school, senior high school, vocational/technical, colleges of education and other tertiary institutions. The largest educational land user is the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) located in the eastern section of Kumasi. Other five (5) tertiary educational institutions also occupy significant size of educational land use. Collectively, the fifteen (15) major senior high schools within Kumasi also cover a significant size of the educational land use. One of the difficulties confronting the educational land use in the metropolis is encroachment by private residential property and make-shift structures. These structures sometimes create noise pollution which disrupts teaching and learning.

Civic and Cultural land use

It is purposely zoned to accommodate public and private offices, health facilities, security establishments and centre for religious and socio-cultural functions. It covers 7.3 percent of the total land area developed in Kumasi. The Manhyia Palace, Centre for National Culture, Komfo Anokye Teaching Hospital (KATH) and other five major polyclinics are the prominent architectural edifice that occupies significant size of the civic and culture land use. There are also several financial and insurance companies in the city which occupy a sizeable land area with their offices. Parcels of land occupied by religious centres such as churches, mosques and shrines

are also considered as civic and culture land uses. The inability of religious organisations to get access to land in the city centre has compelled some of these organisations especially the churches to build their structures in unapproved areas such as waterways. Coupled with this phenomenon is the noise pollution created by these churches during their services especially in the evenings as their buildings do not have noise proof facilities.

6.6 Formalisation

Legalising an economic activity in the study area involves a complex and very bureaucratic process. The number of agencies to be involved in the process is dependent upon the specific type of activity to be undertaken by the economic activity. As outlined in table 7.13, to register an economic activity, a Tax Identification Number (TIN) has to be initially acquired from the Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA). It is only after this that the entrepreneur can reserve the company name and submit the company documents for registration at the Registrar-General's Department (RGD). A prescribed Form A could be picked from the in-house bank of the RGD at the cost of GH¢15. The filled forms is submitted at the bank in addition with a processing fee of GH¢35.00. The Registrar examines and issues business registration certificate as well as certified true copy of the form to be submitted as an attachment. The issued certificate is renewable each year at a cost of GH¢15.00.

Table 7.13: Procedure for business for business registration

No.	Procedure	Duration	Fees
1.	Acquire a tax identification number (TIN)	2 days	No charge
2.	Check for availability of company name and submit company documents 1 day GH¢17 to obtain an incorporation certificate others		
3.	A Commissioner of Oaths authenticates forms required for the certificate to commence business	1 day	GH¢2
4.	Obtain from the Registrar-General's Department the certificate to commence business	2 days	0.5% of stated capital plus GH¢10
5.	Deposit paid-in capital in an account	1 day	No charge
6.	Apply for business licenses from the Metropolitan Assembly	7 days	Fee depends on turnover p.a.
7.	Inspection of work premises by the Metropolitan Assembly	1 day	No charge
8.	Apply for social security	1 day	No charge

In addition, a Form 4 must be completed for the issuance of the certificate to commence business, which requires authentication before a Commissioner for Oaths. The Commissioner for Oaths, located in the RGD, usually swears the oath within 1 day so that the company can obtain the certificate to commence business. After incorporating the company, the founder must complete Forms 3 and 4 within 28 days, indicating, among other information, the names, addresses, businesses, and occupations of the company's secretary and directors; name and address of the company's qualified auditor; the address of its registered office; its register of members; the amount of stated capital; and the number of issued and unissued company shares. Forms 3 and 4 must be signed by all company directors and the secretary. As the company's

commencement tax, 0.5% of the stated capital is collected by the Registrar-General's Department on behalf of the Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA).

The Registrar of Companies now automatically registers new companies with the GRA. For companies engaged in general commercial or industrial activities, the minimum registration fee is GH¢1 and the maximum registration is GH¢10, as calculated on projected turnover. Obtaining a tax clearance certificate - if the company is otherwise entitled to a certificate and has a satisfactory tax position - will cost GH¢2. A Value Added Tax (VAT) is charged at 15% including a national health insurance levy (NHIL) of 2.5%. The following documents must be presented to deposit paid-in capital in a bank account: copies of company regulations; the certificate of incorporation and the certificate to commence business; and signatures of the authorised company representatives.

The cost to apply for a business license at the KMA depends on the type of business and the category in which it falls. Documents to be submitted depend on the type of enterprise (for example, restaurants must have permits from the Fire Service, the Town and Country Planning Department and the Metropolitan Public Health Department - and, among other documents, an inspection certificate from the Ghana Tourist Board). Companies fall into five categories as depicted in table 6.13a. It is worthy of not that all the above mentioned fees are subject to change according to law (Local Government Act 462, 1993). Even though these categories of business operating permit fees were generally charged by the various local governments, there were substantial variations from one local government to the other. For instance, the business operating permit fees fixed by the KMA in 2013 ranged from GH¢ 5 to GH¢ 100, 000 per annum depending on type of business and annual turnover.

Table 7.13a: Annual business operating permit fees charged by the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs)

Category	Annual turnover (GH¢)	MMDA business permit fee (GH¢)
A	500, 000	400
В	210, 000 – 500, 000	245
С	100,000 - 200,000	160
D	3000 - 100,000	91.50
Е	0 - 3000	49.5

Source: Registrar Generals' Department, Accra (2012).

An officer visits the business premises and reports to the Revenue Accountant of the Metropolitan Assembly, who then submits a report to the Revenue Mobilization Sub-committee of the Metropolitan Assembly. The sub-committee meets to deliberate on the report and then recommend to the Executive Committee of the Metropolitan Authority, whether any adjustment is required. The final stage is the application of social security from the Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT). The company must attach the list of employees, their respective salaries and social security numbers, and the company's certificate of incorporation and certificate to commence business.

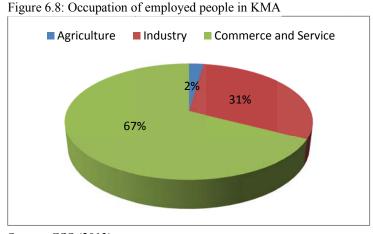
6.7 Economic characteristics

As already indicated in section 6.4.1, about 44.5 percent of the active population in Kumasi are economically active. The economic activities sustaining the livelihood of the residents in the metropolis can be categorised into trade/commerce/service, industry and agriculture. The proportion of the active labour force employed by these sectors is presented in Figure 6.8.

Trade (Commerce)/Service sector

The trade/commerce/services sector is the economic backbone of Kumasi. Majority (67%) of the employed population are engaged in this sector. This sector has made Kumasi a hub for commercial activities in the country. The activities carried out by players in this sector are wholesale and retail in nature

They cover all kinds of commodities ranging from food stuffs, clothing, building materials, office and educational stationeries to herbal and orthodox medicines. The need for ancillary services to support economic activities in the metropolis has attracted other relevant service



Source: GSS (2013).

providers. The banking insurance sector coupled with other relevant institutions have contributed immensely in creating conducive environment for smooth running of business transactions in Kumasi. Such relevant institutions comprise professionals in planning, medicine, engineering, teaching and law practice. Another group of providers that service contributed tremendously to the

creation of productive employment ventures and revenue generation in the city are the telecommunications companies, transport sector, hotels, restaurants and traditional caterers (chop bars), hairdressers and dressmakers/tailors.

Industrial sector

The positive and significant correlation between manufacturing and economic development in the metropolis cannot be underestimated. Kumasi is a hub for scattered pockets of industrial activities. Notable amongst them are the agglomerated small-scale informal mechanical garages, wood processing companies and food processing companies as well as construction firms. This sector has contributed quiet significantly to productive employment creation (31%) and revenue generation.

Suame Magazine (the biggest mechanical garage in West Africa) and Asafo mechanical garages have impacted positively on productive employment creation and revenue generation in Kumasi. Suame Magazine, which is located at the northern section of Kumasi, is a hub of agglomerated small-scale mechanical garages that both manufacture vehicle parts and provide other mechanical services not only to the city but to the whole West Africa sub-region. Its presence in the city has made Kumasi a well-known hub for mechanical garages in the sub-region of West Africa.

Other industrial centres that have contributed immensely to job creation and sustainable source of income for a section of the active labour force in the city are the beverage processing industries. Notable amongst them are the Diageo Public Limited Company (Diageo plc) and the Coca Cola Bottling Company. Diageo plc produces both alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages whilst the Coca Cola Bottling Company produces only non-alcoholic beverages such as Fanta, Coke, Sprite etc. These companies are clustered at the Asokwa-Ahinsan-Kaase stretch hence have become industrial hub for large-scale industries. In addition to these large scale companies are micro, small and medium – scale enterprises that produces fruit juice and fresh yoghurt among others.

Timber processing firms and plywood manufacturing companies located along the Asokwa-Ahinsan-Kaase stretch are other industrial centres that have significantly contributed to sustainable livelihood in Kumasi by providing productive employment and revenue. The semi-finished products of these companies are exported to the international market to generate foreign exchange as well as sold to domestic furniture workers to create jobs. This has contributed to the establishment of the Sokoban Wood Village. The products of these woodworkers are not only utilised by the residents in Kumasi but residents in the West Africa sub-region. Another area of interest is the handicraft industry which comprises of basket weavers, potters, wood carvers and cane weavers. Although they are scattered in the city, majority of them are concentrated at Ahwia, another suburb of the city.

Urban agricultural sector

Agriculture in Kumasi consists of farming, aquaculture, horticulture and some animal rearing. Farming is limited to small scale staple crops production including maize, plantain, cocoyam, cassava and traditional (tomatoes, pepper etc.) and exotic (carrots, cabbage etc.) vegetables especially in the peri-urban areas. In terms of food crops, it is a net importer. Most of the foodstuffs are brought in from the adjoining districts as well as distant areas such as Techiman, Nkoranza and Ejura. There are small scale agro-processing centres where pork, chicken and beef are processed into standard sausages, bacon etc. Plantain chips, cassava flour and *gari* (cassava flakes) are processed as well as local milk is processed into yoghurt and milk drink. There are about 165 functioning fishponds in the metropolis.

The rapid rate of urbanisation in Kumasi has denied agricultural activity the land needed to sustain its practice. Currently, it is estimated that more than 80 percent of the arable land has

been lost to residential development. Notwithstanding, the metropolis has 12,000 hectares of irrigable lands consisting of swampy and marshy areas. Only 2 percent of the active labour force is engaged in urban agricultural activities and largely on a subsistence scale.

Categories of economic activities

Business activities in the Kumasi metropolis can be categorised into formal and informal sectors. The formal sector comprised institutions that have registered at the Registrar General's Department (RGD) and have been legally permitted to carry out operations in the city and in the country as a whole. They are characterised by corporate ownership, large-scale operation, capital-intensive and the use of sophisticated technology and appropriate infrastructure and land. Notable groups of economic activities that fall within this sector in Kumasi are financial institutions, hospitality industry, breweries, quarry industry, pharmaceutical industries among others. The informal sector in the city is used to refer to economic activities that are operating in the city without a legal go-ahead from the Registrar General's Department because they have not been registered. The informal sector of Kumasi, which is the economic backbone of the city, is characterised with a host of petty traders dealing in all kinds of items ranging from food stuffs to clothing, stationeries, small-scale mechanical shops and beverage manufacturing industries all of whom fall in the small-scale informal business sector. The sector employs majority (see figure 6.3) of the active labour force in the city. City authorities attribute the inability of the KMA to mobilise enough Internally Generated Funds (IGF) to finance the city's development programmes to the huge size of the small-scale informal business sector as there is little to no data base on these businesses.

6.8 Municipal finance

Kumasi is the third most industrialised city in Ghana. The revenues sources of the KMA include Internally Generated Fund (IGF), District Assemblies' Common Fund (DACF), District Development Fund (DDF), Central Government and Oversees Development Assistance. These categorisation forms the structure of finance of the Assembly. Accordingly, Central Government made subvention to the Assembly in the form of emoluments and development expenditure always form a large part of its total revenue. Again, the KMA spends large part of its revenue on recurrent expenditure and capital expenditure. KMA receives about 53% of its revenue from Central Government. This makes KMA vulnerable to central government control. Nevertheless, with a large fiscal capacity, KMA has the propensity to generate more revenue to upset dwindling transfers from Central Government. Analysis of Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) reveals that KMA generates large revenues from small segments of its tax base - about 90% from three sources (Property Rates, Fees and Licences).

6.9 Concluding remarks

The chapter discusses Kumasi, the city where the two case studies are located. Even though a typical African city, Kumasi is unique in many respects. Historically, it is the birth place and the

capital of the ancient Ashanti Empire. The city is geographically located at the centre of the country making it a major centre for trade between the coastal areas and the northern savannah areas. Besides, it is a dense forest area, rich in natural resources such as gold and timber as well as major production of cash groups such as cocoa. These features make Kumasi a suitable area for commercial activities and the influx of people in search for employment and better living conditions. The situation presents various challenges to city authorities as urban land use planning cannot meet the needs of the ever increasing population. The next chapter describes the first case study and analysis data from the small-scale informal business sector in relation to the urban land planning regime.

7 Subin sub-Metropolitan District Council - First case study

This chapter is the first of two chapters that presents the empirical study of the two case studies. It mainly describes the historical background of the study area; everyday living activities; the various economic activities that are carried out by the inhabitants; and the considerable embedding of urban public space in all these activities. It further presents analysis on the characteristics of the small-scale informal business activities in the study settlement as a significant aspect of the social, economic and cultural life of the people which largely shapes the urban structure of the settlement. It also analyses the negotiation processes of small-scale informal business operators' access to urban public space, and urban infrastructure and support services as well as their challenges.

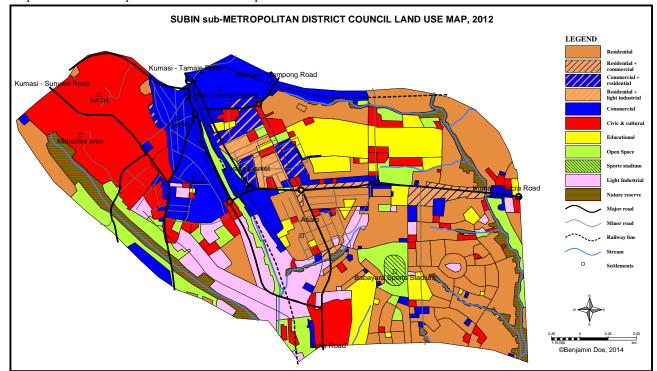
7.1 Background and location

The Subin sub-Metropolitan District Council (SMDC) of the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) is located in the centre of Kumasi. It is bounded to the north by the Manhyia and the Asawasi sub-Metropolitan District Councils, to the east by the Oforikrom sub-Metropolitan District Councils and to the west by the Bantama sub-Metropolitan District Council.

Legend has it that Kumasi was founded by King Osei Tutu I with the help of the fetish priest (Okomfo Anokye) in the 1680s in this sub-metropolitan district council. This is evidenced by the existence of the 'Kumasi Fort', which is probably the oldest building in the city where a lot of battles were fought between the Ashanti Confederacy and British forces in the 19th century (between 1824 and 1901) (Adarkwa and Post, 2001). It therefore holds a very important place in the history of the city and the Ashanti people. From the small suburb of Adum, Krobo and Bompata in the Subin sub-metropolitan district council, the city grew on a concentric form to currently cover a total of about 90 suburbs. The centrality of the Subin sub-metropolitan area and its history as the founding place of the city (the traditional seat of authority of the Asantehene) made it attractive for all the surrounding villages and towns for transacting business activities. Over time, it became a major centre of exchange for agricultural produce. The Central Market (described as the largest open-air market in West Africa) and the Asafo Market were developed and used for this purpose.

These commercial activities influenced the circulatory system and so roads were constructed to support these activities. As the Central Business District (CBD) of the city, all major businesses including banks, insurance companies, supermarkets and all manner of wholesale, retail shops as well as administrative, industrial, educational and health establishments were all located here. A major ring-road was planned and constructed around the area at the time with all the major arterial roads leading to the major nearby towns and villages (where many traders came from) and indeed to the rest of the country were also planned, engineered and constructed by the colonial administration. In addition to these major roads was the construction of the eastern

(Kumasi-Accra Railway line) and the western (Kumasi-Sekondi Takoradi) corridor railway lines. These made the SMDC a major centre of commerce and trade as well as transit point for mainly raw materials from the rich rain forest area to the ports in Tema and Sekondi Takoradi for exports.



Map 7.1: Land use map of the Subin sub-metropolitan district council

Based on field work data (2012).

Population and density

As estimated by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), the Subin SMDC has a population of about 174,004 with about 81,475 and 92,529 being males and females respectively which make up the about 48,105 households (GSS, 2013). In addition, about 109,899 of the total population with about 50,218 and 59,681 being males and females respectively are estimated to be above the age of 18. However, this is said to be smaller compared to the daytime population. It has a population density of 20,719 persons/km² as it covers an area of about 8.4km² which is quite high compared to the population density of 8,012 persons/km² of the entire city.

Housing characteristics

Compound or courtyard houses were constructed to take care of accommodation needs. These were mainly single story buildings of dwelling units often constructed in circular or rectangular shape with places for cooking, bathing and toilet facilities to accommodate households. The houses were built with clay and sticks roofed with thatch. Overtime, the walls of the houses and the floors of the rooms were plastered with cement and the thatch rooms replaced with corrugated iron sheets. During this period, a few large two and three storey buildings were also

built which was a sign of prestige and riches at the time. The commercial boom which attracted a lot of rural migrants, increased accessibility and the prestige of having a house in Kumasi increased the housing stock considerably. Currently, the entire Subin SMDC area is built up with many residential properties being turned into shops and stores. A cursory glance at the urban landscape will reveal the entire area categorised into high-income area, government-workers area, indigenous areas/tenement area and commercial area. A common phenomenon of the area's landscape is the continuous spring up of high rise structures in place of low rise ones. Within the past decade, many of the single and two storey buildings have being giving way to three to eight storey buildings on the same pieces of land.

Available infrastructure

These improvements in conditions of houses however, do not have corresponding infrastructure expansion or marginal increase in services such as fixed telephone lines and electricity which were obviously designed for a much lower density. Road infrastructure, water, waste and sewage disposal, and parking lots have not seen much improvement. Facilities are overstretched and the area seems to have gotten to its saturation point. Most of the services have exceeded their carrying capacities. As the result, there is erratic supply of water and electricity, huge piles of solid waste (especially in and around the markets), choked drains and gutters, open damping of liquid waste, congestion, noise pollution, slow movement of traffic especially during peak hours among others.

Furthermore, the Subin SMDC is drained mainly by the Subin River and artificial drains constructed along some of the major roads. These major drains mostly over flow their banks during heavy down pours. This is mainly attributed to some of the drains being choked with solid waste especially and human activity on the courses of some of them. The geographical location of the SMDC could also be a possible explanation of this phenomenon as it is lying below the three hills (Roman Hill, Bantama and Ashtown) in the city.

The administrative or government-workers area houses the office of the KMA and all its decentralised departments; and the majority of the Ashanti Regional departments of the ministries, departments and agencies. In the area of security, it is home to the Ashanti Regional Police Headquarters and Northern Command of the Ghana Armed Forces as well as the Kumasi Central Prisons. In terms of health, it also houses the second largest teaching hospital in Ghana (the Okomfo Anokye Teaching Hospital). The commercial area is made up of the markets, banks, insurance companies, media houses, hotels, lorry terminals, restaurants, supermarkets, retails shops and stores. Generally, the landscape of the SMDC is decorated with statues of the past leaders and rulers which portray their reverence for their culture and heritage. All these activities have put a lot of pressure on land in the SMDC.

7.2 Land use planning

The conscious effort towards planning the use of land and the socio-economic activities of the Subin SMDC started during the colonial era. The then colonial administration started an exercise of town and country planning in Ghana (then Gold Coast) through the enactment of the Town and Country Planning Ordinance Cap. 84 in 1945. Subsequently, a 25-year structure plan "the Kumasi Outline Planning Scheme" was prepared for Kumasi in 1963. This was to provide the framework for social, economic, physical, infrastructure and environmental growth of the city during the plan period. The area was designated by the plan as the CBD of the city. In addition, it assigned various uses to broad land use zones in the area. These were residential, civic and cultural, commercial, industrial, educational, open space, nature reserve and government use zones. Proposals were also made for roads and various infrastructural and utility services. Overtime, detailed local plans which were expected to conform to the structure plan were prepared for all the neighbourhoods in the sub-metropolitan area. Apart from their conformity to the structure plan, they were also expected to detail out the use of every single parcel of land in the area according to the use zone within which it falls. The local plan designed an average plot size for 160m² (40m x 40m) with access road widths including reservations/walkways for approximately 15-20m.

The current land use of the SMDC shows a lot of changes in land uses. A careful comparison of the current land use of the SMDC to the proposed land use in the 'Kumasi Outline Planning Scheme' show many mixed land uses (mostly residential and commercial; residential and industrial; commercial and civic and cultural among others), changes in land uses (mostly residential to commercial) and the emergence of other land uses. For instance, in the government workers area, a lot of commercial and trading activities have emerged in metal containers, tents, kiosks and wooden structures situated in open spaces around office buildings, road reservations and pavements/pedestrian walkways.

Figure 7.1: Residential houses converted to informal retail shops



preserved due to its history.

In the indigenous/tenement areas, majority of the residential houses have parts being used for retail 'convenient' shops, home-based industrial activities, barbering shops, food vending among others. As already noted above, generally the problems of narrow roads, low accessibility, mixed land uses and over-densification are recognised. City authorities are of the belief that the best way to solve these problems is vertical expansion whilst still maintaining that the distinct urban fabric of the area should be

7.3 Open spaces and issues of tenure

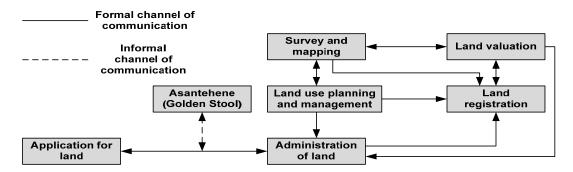
Open spaces in the Subin SMDC include roads, road reservations, pavements, lanes, public school parks, nature reserves, railway reservations, the abandoned railway station and some vacant plots. The larger open spaces in the study settlement are the Baba Yara Stadium (Kumasi Sports Stadium), the Jackson's Park (Golden Jubilee Park), and the Children's Playground. The Baba Yara Stadium, Ghana's largest sports stadium (43,000 capacity), was constructed in the late 1950s. Even though it was built purposely for football and athletics, it has often been used for other functions which are essentially religious and social in nature. It is the home of Kumasi Asante Kotoko Sporting Club and in many occasions also hosts national sporting events especially football and athletics. Around the Baba Yara Sports Stadium are open spaces which are also used for sports, religious and social activities even though they are also fenced. The Jackson's Park is also an undeveloped open space which was generally used by the public for religious and social activities. It was also accessible to the public for playing football until it was fenced, the floor fitted with paving stones and stands constructed with places for officials in 2007 as part of Ghana's independence golden jubilee celebrations. As a result, the park is now only accessible to the public during official functions organised by city authorities. It is also sometimes rented out for religious and other social functions especially funerals. In addition, the Kumasi Children's Park was developed in the late 1980s. It had a library, pavilion, playing field (fitted with see-saws and merry-go-rounds), urinals, toilet facilities among others for use by the public especially children. Since the late 1990s, the park has been neglected. Most of the facilities are now in a dilapidated state and the park over-grown by weeds making it a safe haven for thieves and drug peddlers. The pavilion however is used as a church and occasionally by some youth groups as a place of meeting.

Apart from these three, the open spaces in the area are restricted to roads, road reservations, railway reservations, pavements/walkways, footpaths, lanes and the abandoned railway station. Most of the lanes and footpaths between houses are hardly accessible. Moreover, the road reservations and pavements/walkways are occupied by itinerant traders, shops, kiosks, metal containers and production units pushing their patrons and pedestrians onto the narrow streets. They are also the places of loading and off-loading by big trucks into the numerous wholesale and retail shops. A common sight at these open spaces is the chasing away of the itinerant traders and hawkers by the 'Decongestion Task Force' of the KMA on a daily basis. The vendors who are unlucky to be caught have their wares seized and taken to the office of the KMA but those who manage to outwit the members of the 'Decongestion Task Force' return to their various places to continue their activities. The kiosks, shops, metal containers and other structures have warning signs written on them asking the owners to remove them by a certain date in default of which they risk being demolished by the 'Task Force'. On many occasions, these structures are also demolished by the 'Task Force' describing them as illegal or unauthorised structures raising issues of security of tenure and poverty in the area.

Land distribution and access in Kumasi and Ghana as a whole is highly influenced by customary law. However, in the study area, land management and allocation procedures are guided by British Colonial laws. During the colonial era, the Kumasi Town Boundary (Cap 143) of 1928 was used by the British to describe lands that used to be under the management of the Golden Stool (Asantehene) as custom dictated. However, in 1902 the then Gold Coast Government of the British took over control and management of the Kumasi Town Lands (KTL) after the Yaa Asantewa War in 1900. These lands were to be later vested back in the Asantehene by the government under the Kumasi Lands Ordinance in 1943. The administration of these lands was carried out by the Asantehene through his Lands Office (the Asantehene's Land Secretariat) until Ghana had her independence in 1957. Soon after independence the new government passed the Ashanti Stool Lands Act (Act 28) to vest title of the KTL in the government in trust for the Golden Stool and the Kumasi State in 1958. The entire study area falls under this category of land in the KMA. The management of these lands often referred to as 'Part 1' Lands is vested in the Government and are therefore public land. Currently, the Lands Commission by exercising its constitutional mandate is in charge of all transactions affecting the lands. The activities of the Lands Commission relates more to lease renewals, grant of consent to dispositions, leasehold rent management, and urban renewal programmes.

Both customarily and statutorily, there are no freehold rights in land in the study area. State lands in the area are allocated on a leasehold basis. And the period of the lease is determined by the Lands Commission based on the land use zoning of the land. Generally, residential land use zones have longer lease periods as compared to other land use zones such as commercial and industrial (which are currently being leased for 10 to 15 years due to scarcity and increasing land values). The land allocation process follows a complex and bureaucratic process. To be able to acquire a vacant state land in the study area, an application for the acquisition has to be made to the Lands commission. This takes the form of a written request to the Lands Commission seeking to acquire a piece of land that is supposed to be vacant.

Figure 7.2: Land acquisition process



Upon the receipt of the application, the applicant is invited by the Commission to fill a form (Form 5) and then hold discussions with the applicant as well as inspect the particular piece of

land in question to check whether it is free for allocation or not. In recent times, this is also communicated to the Asantehene' Lands Secretariat. After the Commission has satisfied itself with these initial background checks, it then writes to the Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD) to check on the zoning of the land. This is to verify whether the intended purpose for the use of the land by the applicant conforms to the zoning of the land according to the land use planning scheme of the area. If the application is approved, the Commission prepares a cadastral plan of the land and issues an offer letter to the applicant. The offer letter states the conditions (plot number, name of the lessee, period of the lease, type of land use, amount to be paid (economic value of the land), lease processing fees, development charges among others) under which the land is being leased to the applicant. The applicant is expected to accept the offer through an acceptance letter within a specified date (usually three months from the date of the offer) or forfeits the offer. This must be followed by the payment of the appropriate charges. In the case of disapproval, the Commission also communicates this in writing to the applicant stating the reasons for the disapproval of the application. The entire process of land allocation, preparation of the lease, registering the land and issuing land certificate to the lessee is expected to take about seven and a half months to complete but in reality it takes longer. The land acquisition process in the study area is inundated with problems of irregularities in the land market. It is further saddled with bureaucracy and thereby making the acquisition process slow and tiresome. This makes it difficult for prospective grantees.

7.4 Economic activities

The economic activities of the residents in the study area are mainly micro-economic activities. As already mentioned the area is the administrative and the traditional capital of the region as well as the city and hence houses almost all the decentralised regional and district offices of the ministries, departments and agencies of the government. Again, as the CBD of the second largest city of the country, is the location of many local and some international companies. However, employment opportunities generated by these enterprises employs just about 35 percent of the working population. Majority (about 65 percent) of the working population in the study are engaged in micro-economic activities which comprises largely of petty trading, small production units and provision of services.

The Kumasi Central and the Asafo markets are the main centres for the trading activities. The Kumasi Central Market is located between the abandoned railways station and the main highway intersection and the Kejetia Bus Terminal. The entire city's population shops here for most of its consumer goods. The wholesale yards coordinate exchanges between ecological zones across a broad area stretching into neighbouring Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Togo and other West African countries. Despite heavy congestion, this market still remains much larger than the growing satellite markets, located in the suburbs near highway junctions on the ring-road. When the market gates open at six in the morning, traders and customers pour into wholesale and retail sections for locally-grown foodstuffs, craft products and a wide range of manufactured and

imported goods, located within a labyrinth of stalls and sheds. Some sections lie outside the market walls; they can begin earlier and continue after the 6:00 p.m. closing, just before dark. The busiest days are Saturdays and Mondays; few bother to come on Sundays.

One of the largest sections displays second-hand clothes from Europe and North America, and another sells smoked fish from rivers and beaches throughout Ghana. Craftsmen and women make shoes, handbags and clothes from their market stalls. Furthermore, livestock such as cattle, sheep, goats and poultry are also sold. Overall, it is estimated that about 70 percent of the market vendors are women. This can be attributed to the cultural fabric and traditions of the area where females sell the farm produce of their husbands.

Unlike the Central Market, the Asafo Market is constructed with cement blocks and roofed with corrugated iron sheets when the old market was razed down by fire. It is located just at the foot of the Asafo Interchange. There are many rows of market sheds which have been divided into stalls for each vendor. The floors are paved with paving blocks. The traders in the market trade in similar wares as those traded in the Central Market but at much lower level of intensity. As part of the market is the Asafo Transport Terminal. Together with the Kejetia Bus Terminal, they support the activities of the markets as they transport majority of the goods and people within the city, the region, the country and to other countries in the West African sub-region. There are also a row of cold-stores opposite the market that wholesale and retail imported fish. Additionally, various vendors provide services to support the commercial activities in the markets. These are food vendors, micro-finance enterprises, barbers, beauticians, dressmakers, head porters, truck pushers, chemist shops, drinking spots, business centres among others. The very fascinating aspect of the economic activities in the study area is their strategic use by the large wholesale and retail companies as they have recognised their ubiquity and power. For instance, the telecommunication companies and sachet-water manufacturers use the extensive penetration of the itinerant petty traders to widely market their products.

Moreover, around the administrative areas are kiosks, tents and tables providing services such as photocopying, typing and printing of documents, certification of documents by commissioners for oaths, among others to clients who have come to conduct official businesses at the offices. Another significant feature is the production and selling of arts, crafts and batiks printed with indigenous designs especially to the many tourists who visit the city.

Furthermore, almost all the residential houses in the area have some feature of economic use. In between the Central and the Asafo Markets is the Fante New Town neighbourhood. It is an area well renowned for the baking of bread and manufacturing of wooden caskets. Almost all the compound houses in this area of the study settlement have traditional mud-ovens which are erected in the open space within the compound house, on the open space at the frontage of the house or in the lanes in between the houses.

Figure 7.3: Traditional ovens for baking bread



These are supported by the various flour-mills in the area where the flour (supplied by the wholesale stores) for baking the bread is prepared. Each baker has a number of vendors who came each morning to help in baking after which they take them for sale. With exception of the flour-mills which are operated by men, all the activities associated with the baking and selling of the bread is done by women with the help of their children. Again, this is in consonance with the tradition and the cultural fabric of the areas as food preparation is the duty of females.

Similarly, the workshops for making the wooden caskets are also erected in compounds within houses, open spaces and lanes around the houses. Each master craftsman together with three to five young men (apprentices) go through a process of manufacturing the casket from sewn lumber through beautifully stuffing the inside by upholstering to polishing it with the aid of spraying cans. The finished caskets are displayed in outer rooms of the houses along the streets which have been converted into shops.

In the Asafo neighbourhood, almost all the outer rooms of the compound houses abutting the narrow streets in the vicinity have been converted from residential to home-based industries. These include printing presses, beer parlours and bars, eateries (chop bars) and fast food joints, boutiques, pharmacies and cosmetic shops among others. The activities of these home-based industries extend onto the narrow streets making free-flow traffic difficult. Some of the houses have also been converted to private hostels to provide accommodation for the students of the Kumasi Polytechnic which is also located in the study settlement. Along the road from the Asafo Ahmadiyya-roundabout leading to the Babayara Stadium is the Asafo Garage. This is a piece of land zoned as a nature reserve located in between the surrounding houses and the Nsuben Stream housing about 250 mechanics, their apprentices and shops dealing in spare parts.

7.5 Administrative set-up

As already mentioned in section 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 of chapter four of this research, institutions refer to the norms, values, customs and formal rules, regulations and laws established by society to regulate people's behaviour ('the rules of the game') whilst the actors involve in this process are the organisations as espoused by Douglas North. Accordingly, the institutional framework that govern urban land use planning in the country generally as explained in section 4.4.2 also applies to the study settlement. The SMDC was established by a Legislative Instrument (L.I. 1614) of 1995 as a sub-structure of the KMA to ensure more participation in the administration of the city by citizens for effective urban development. It is made up of four (4) town councils - Asafo, Amakom, Fante Newtown and Adum (the central business area of the city). The town councils

are further divided into eight (8) electoral areas - Amakom, Asem, Anlo Fante Newtown, Nsuase, Dadiesoaba, Baamu Dominase, Fante Newtown and Asafo. There are various unit committees in the electoral areas even though very few are functioning. All the unit committee chairmen, assembly members of the eight (8) electoral areas, the town councillors and the government appointees to the KMA constitute the management of the SMDC. It has an administration which runs the day-to-day functions in the settlement. The administration is made up of various decentralised departments under the KMA and is headed by a director who coordinates their activities.

Table 7.1: Subin SMDC units and their functions

Unit	Function
Central administration	Secretarial and other administrative duties
Finance and revenue mobilisation	Collect rates, licences, rents on behalf of KMA
Development control	In charge of physical development permission, monitoring and supervision.
Environment	Ensure environmental health and sanitary inspection
National Disaster Management Organisation	Advise on disasters and provide relief during disasters
Waste management	Collection, transportation and disposal of solid waste

According to the laws establishing the SMDC, they are supposed to have units of the all the decentralised departments of the metropolitan assemblies to enable them adequately carry out their functions. However, only six (6) units were identified at the SMDC office which is seriously impacting of their performance in the study settlement.

"Under the local government concept there are about 16 departments who are supposed to work and report to the KMA and as such their decentralised units should also report to us at the sub-metro (SMDC) level but they still report to their mother organisations..." (Kumasi, 22.09.2012).

Additionally, the SDMC has many challenges hampering its work. For instance, the SMDC has revenue retention arrangement under which it retain up to fifty (50) per cent of revenues collected, the other fifty (50) per cent sent to the KMA. Again, they are entitled to a share of other revenues received by the KMA especially the District Assemblies Common Fund (DACF) but in reality, this sharing does not effectively take place though Act 462 and L.I. 1589 give legal effect to this. And since, they are also forbidden by the same laws to impose any levy or rates in the settlement they are usually stifled by funds. Accordingly, they lack adequate logistics such as vehicles, moto bicycles and computers and the adequate qualified personnel.

7.6 Characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector in the Subin SMDC

The nature of the small-scale informal business in the study area is diverse. There are many economic activities that are undertaken to meet various needs of the various areas in the study area and most especially to take advantage of the daily influx of people. These economic activities do not lend themselves to easy categorisation into the traditional economic sectors as activities carried out in most cases are mixed. Moreover, whilst many of the economic activities have endured, others are rather ephemeral.

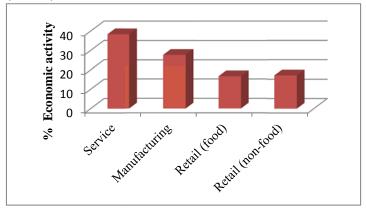
Table 7.2: Categorisation of small-scale informal business activities into industrial groupings

Service	Construction	Manufacturing	Agriculture	Retail (food)	Retail (Non-food)
Food vendors	Carpenters	Tailors and	Vegetable	Provision	Second hand cloth
		dressmakers	growers	stores	dealers
Auto repairs	Masons	Metal fabricators	Horticulturists	Fruit sellers	Mobile phone dealers
Electronic	House-	Wood workers	Fish farmers	Food-stuff	Scratch card
repairers	wiring/installations			sellers	dealers
Hairdressers	Steel benders	Cane weavers	Animal		Stationery dealers
			husbandry		
Lotto writers	Plumbers	Kente and 'Smock'	Food crop	-	Electronic
		weavers	growers		appliance dealers
Notaries public		Food processers			Building material
and typists					dealers
Barbers					
Business					
centres					
Call centres					

For the purposes of easy analyses, the various economic activities have been categorised into the industrial groupings of service, construction, manufacturing, agriculture, retailing of food items and retailing of non-food items based on the classification used by the GSS and NBSSI in Ghana which are also largely in conformity with that of the International Standard Industrial Classification (ISIC) of the United Nations Statistical Division. In addition, the categorisations were guided by the specific type of service rendered or product produced by an economic activity in the area. And where an economic activity produced more than one product, rendered more than one service or did a mix of the two, the dominant activity was used to categorise it. Table 7.1 shows the various categorisations and specific activities that fall under each.

However, they can be categorised to various industries depending on their main activity – service, construction, agriculture, manufacturing or retail.

Figure 7.4: Sector distribution of economic activities in percentages (n = 151)



About 38 percent of the small-scale informal business enterprises interviewed were in the service industry.

This is followed by those in the manufacturing (27.8%), retailing of non-food items (17.2%) and retailing in food items (16.6%).

7.6.1 Demographic characteristics of enterprises in the small-scale informal business sector. The demographic characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector include the age of operators; their gender; level of education attained; ownership status; number of people employed by each enterprise in the sector; number of hours the employees work per week; the income earned per day; and the levies paid to city authorities. This is important to understand and analyse the requirements of each of the segments of classifications in the sector for designing meaningful and appropriate policy interventions. One of the controversial issues of the small-scale informal business sector is the heterogeneity and diversity activities and people engaged in the sector. Subsequently, designing a suitable policy intervention for such a heterogeneous sector seems herculean. This analyses aims to overcome this challenge.

7.6.1.1 Age of small-scale informal business operators

The age cohort of the operators engaged in the small-scale informal business sector will help to identify and fashion out appropriate interventions required to create the right environment for urban growth and development. In terms of the age of the operators in the small-scale informal business, majority of the people engaged by the sector in the study area are within the age cohort of 25-29 (26.5%). Those in the 60-64 (1.3%) and above 65 (1.3%) age cohorts are the least with a percentage of less than two of the total people employed in the sector. The minimum age is 18 whilst the maximum age is 77 years with an average age of 35.15 years. From the table 7.3, it can be realised that more than 60 percent of the people engaged in the sector are within the age brackets of 20 to 39. This shows a very youthful population. This has serious implications for planning and development of the SMDC. As already stated earlier, the economic activities of the settlement shape and influence the urban structure and development of the settlement. The large youthful population engaged in these economic activities indicates that these type economic activities will continue to influence and shape the urban structure and development in to the future. Again, it is imperative that every effort is made to create and enabling environment for the youthful population and their economic activities in order for them to be able to meaningfully contribute to the development of the area and country as a whole.

Table 7.3: Percentage age distribution of small-scale informal business operators in age cohorts (n=150)

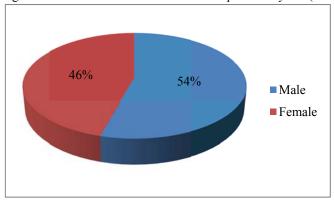
Age Cohort	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
15-19	2	2	2
20-24	8.6	8.6	10.6
25-29	26.5	26.5	37.1
30-34	17.9	17.9	55
35-39	15.2	15.2	70.2
40-44	7.9	7.9	78.1
45-49	7.3	7.3	85.4
50-54	7.3	7.3	92.7
55-59	4.6	4.6	97.4
60-64	1.3	1.3	98.7
65+	1.3	1.3	100
Total	100	100	

The data reveals that majority of the labour force in the small-scale informal business sector is in the prime-working age category. It shows that the sector is very essential to the labour force in the SMDC.

7.6.1.2 Gender of small-scale informal business operators

The data on gender aims to examine the number of males and females in the sector. This will help to design suitable gender specific policies to each of them. For instance, female operators in the small-scale informal business sector with children will require day care centres to take care of their children whilst working. Besides, the matrilineal system of inheritance is the system of inheritance in the SMDC. This implies that, females are more likely to invest their incomes towards the upkeep of their homes thereby improving the standard of living of their children and the entire family. That data also showed a higher percentage of males as compared to females engaged in the small-scale informal business in the study area (figure 6.3).

Figure 7.5: Small-scale informal business operators by sex (n=151)



A further analysis revealed that with the exception of the food retailing sector, all the industrial groupings had higher percentage of males engaged in them as compared to females (Table 7.3). More than 70 percent of the people employed in retailing of non-food items were males whilst the percentage of female was 27 percent. In addition, the service and manufacturing industrial groupings also

had 55 percent and 54.8 percent respectively of the people engaged in them being males whilst their female counterparts were 45 percent and 45.2 percent respectively.

Table 7.4: Percentage male and female engaged by the small-scale informal business industrial groupings (n=151)

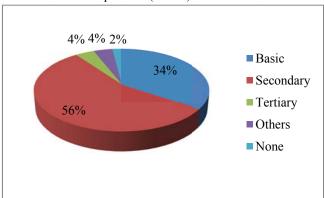
	S	Sex	
Industrial grouping	Male	Female	Total
Service	55	45	100
Manufacturing	54.8	45.2	100
Retail (food)	32	68	100
Retail (non-food)	73	27	100
All	54	46	100

7.6.1.3 Levels of educational attainment

The data on the educational levels of the small-scale informal business operators will help to analyse the educational status of the labour force in the sector and aid in designing the appropriate methods and strategies for engaging them to participate in decision making process. It is generally assumed in the informal sector literature that the labour force in the sector is mostly made up of the educationally disadvantaged. However, the data on the educational levels

of the labour force of the small-scale informal business sector in the Subin SMDC reveals the contrary. The levels of education attained by respondents were varied among the various levels of educational attainment. The survey revealed that more than 50 percent of respondents (56%) had attained secondary education. It was further revealed that 34 percent had attained basic education, four percent each had attained tertiary and another four percent education had also had other forms of education such as non-formal education. Only about two percent of those interviewed had never had any form of education.

Figure 7.6: Level of education attained by small-scale informal business operators (n=148)



Again, the level of educational attainment by the respondents varied widely according to the industrial groupings. More than 70 percent and almost 70 percent of people engaged in retailing of food items and retailing of non-food items had attained secondary education. For the people engaged in the service industry, 56.9 percent had attained secondary education and those engaged in the manufacturing

industry being 35.7 percent. Again, about 64.3 percent of people engaged in the manufacturing industry had attained basic education. Those engaged in the service, retailing of non-food items and retailing of food items had 34.6, 11.5 and 8 percent respectively to have attained basic education. Retailing of food items, retailing of non-food items and service industries also had 8, 7.7 and 3.4 percent respectively of people employed in them to have attained tertiary education. About 12, 3.8 and 3.4 percent of people engaged in retailing of food items, retailing of non-food items and the service industries respectively had also attained some of education other than formal education. The retailing of non-food and service industries had 7.7 and 1.7 percent respectively of people employed in them to have never had any form of education. Table 7.4 details out the educational level attainment of people employed in the various industries in the small-scale informal business.

Table 7.5: Educational level attainment by people in various industrial groupings (n=148)

		Educational level					
	Never been to						
Industrial groupings	school	Basic	Secondary	Tertiary	Others	Total	
Service	1.7	34.6	56.9	3.4	3.4	100	
Manufacturing	0	64.3	35.7	0	0	100	
Retail (food)	0	8	72	8	12	100	
Retail (non-food)	7.7	11.5	69.3	7.7	3.8	100	
All	2	34.4	55.6	4	4	100	

The high level of education among the labour force in the sector could be attributed to the high literacy literate in the country as a whole which is estimated at about more than 70 per cent (GSS, 2013). Another explanation for the phenomenon is the continuous diminishing opportunities in the formal sector which is pushing more highly educated labour force in the labour market to rely on the sector for employment.

7.6.1.4 Ownership status

Data on the ownership status of the enterprises in the small-scale informal business sector is aimed at examining the types of labour relations in the sector to aid the fashioning out of appropriate labour related policies. In the literature, three main types of labour relations are documented: self-employed or own-account; hired labour; and unpaid family labour. As is to be expected and typical of the sector, majority (80 percent) of the small-scale informal businesses in the study settlement were owned by the operators themselves (own-account) (Table 7.6). The economic activities in the sector that were family businesses—and being operated by a family member (unpaid family labour) were 18 percent with the rest two percent of economic activities being operated by employees (hired labour), apprentices or friends.

Table 7.6: Percentage ownership types of small-scale informal business activities by industrial grouping (n=151)

Industrial grouping	Own business	Family business	Others	Total
Service	75.9	20.7	3.4	100
Manufacturing	95.2	2.4	2.4	100
Retail (food)	84	16	0	100
Retail (non-food)	61.5	38.5	0	100
All	80	18	2	100

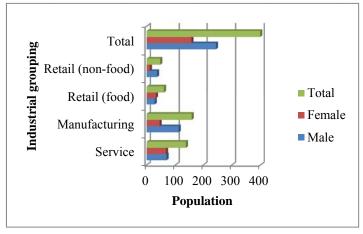
Moreover, the data revealed that in all the industrial groupings, majority of the economic activities in the small-scale informal business were owned by the operators themselves. The manufacturing industrial grouping had more than 90 percent of the businesses operated by the owners themselves. The percentage of businesses that were being operated by family members were 2.4 and another 2.4 percent of businesses were being operated by employees and apprentices. This is because most of the economic activities categorised under this grouping involve the acquisition of some level of training and skill and therefore could not be easily delegated. The retailing of food items, service and retailing of non-food items also had 84 percent, 75.9 percent and 61.5 percent respectively of the business operated by the owners themselves. The remaining 38.5 percent and 16 percent of businesses in the retailing of non-food items and the retailing of food items industrial groupings respectively was owned and operated by a family member. For the service industrial grouping, 20.7 percent of the businesses were owned and operated by a family member whilst the remaining 3.4 percent was operated by an employee or apprentice of the owner.

7.6.1.5 People employed by various categories of the small-scale informal business sector. A disaggregated data of the people engaged in the small-scale informal business sector according to the various activities groups in the sector is a useful data that will help in eliciting the appropriate requirements for each of the activity groups. The number of persons employed by the economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector in the study area ranged from one to seventeen. On the average, every small-scale informal business economic activity in the study area employs 2.6 persons. Table 7.7 indicates that manufacturing engaged the highest percentage (39.1%) of people, followed by the service industrial grouping which engaged 34.4 percent of people in the small-scale informal business. The retailing of food and retailing of non-food industrial groupings engaged 15 percent and 11.5 percent respectively of the small-scale informal business people in the study area.

Table 7.7: Percentage people engaged by the industrial groupings in the small-scale informal business sector (n=151)

	Industrial grouping				
Number of people employed	Service	Manufacturing	Retail (food)	Retail (non-food)	Total
1	27	22.6	31	19.4	100
2	30.8	25.7	23	20.5	100
3	52.2	17.4	4.3	26.1	100
4	100	0	0	0	100
5	50	50	0	0	100
6	25	75	0	0	100
7	100	0	0	0	100
9	0	0	100	0	100
10	0	100	0	0	100
11	0	100	0	0	100
13	0	100	0	0	100
15	0	100	0	0	100
17	0	0	100	0	100
All	34.4	39.1	15	11.5	100

Figure 7.7: Employment in the sector by sex (n = 151)



Further analysis revealed that largely, the small-scale informal business sector employs more males as compared to their female counterparts in the study area (Figure 7.7). With the exception of the retailing of food items, all the remaining industrial groupings in the study area employed more males as compared to females. This suggests that even though the area is highly urbanised, traditional role assigned to women

mainly as processers and marketers of food stuff has not changed (also see Table 7.7 above).

Obviously, as is typical of small-scale informal businesses in developing cities, more than 60 percent of the enterprises in the sector are engaged in service and retail activities.

7.6.1.6 Hours worked per week by small-scale informal business sector operators

The average number of hours worked per week by a worker in the small-scale informal business sector in the study area was 69.12 hours. This means that a worker in the small-scale informal business sector on the average works 29.12 hours per week more than his or her counterpart in the formal sector who is expected to work 40 hours per week. The lowest number of hours worked per week was 18 whilst the highest was 114 hours.

Table 7.8: Percentage n	1			` 1 1.	
Table / X. Percentage n	illmner at nalirs	worked weekin i	w small-scale int	ormai niiginegg	Workers in=1500

		Wee	kly Hours Wor	·ked		
Industrial grouping	0-19	20-39	40-59	60-79	80+	Total
Service	0	3.5	12.3	61.4	22.8	100
Manufacturing	0	0	14.3	78.6	7.1	100
Retail (food)	0	0	12	44	44	100
Retail (non-food)	3.9	0	19.2	69.2	7.7	100
All	0.7	1.3	14	64.7	19.3	100

As portrayed by Table 7.8 above, there is substantial variation in the number of hours worked per week by workers among the various industrial groupings. Overall, more than 90 percent of the workers in the small-scale informal business sector in the study area worked more than 40 hours per week. This is a reflection of the labour intensive nature of the economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector in the study area. All the workers engaged in the manufacturing and the retailing of food items spend at least 40 hours per week on their jobs. In addition, 96.5 percent of workers engaged in service and 98 percent of those in the retailing of non-food items also spent at least similar much time on their work. The survey also revealed that among all the industrial groups, workers in the retailing of food items are more likely to spend more hours per week on their jobs whilst those engaged in the retailing of non-food items are more likely to work for fewer hours.

7.6.1.7 Income of operators in the small-scale informal business sector

The small-scale informal businesses in the Subin SMDC earned GH¢4.40 (equivalent to €1.80 with an exchange rate of GH¢2.40 per €1 in October, 2012 according to the forex exchange of the Bank of Ghana) daily on the average. The minimum amount earned was GH¢2 (equivalent of €0.83) whilst the maximum was GH¢50 (equivalent of 20.83) daily.

7.6.1.8 Levies paid small-scale informal business operators to city authorities

Even though the data suggested that more than 70 percent of respondents had registered their small-scale businesses, none of them had certificate of incorporation and certificate to commence business. This can be attributed largely to the lack of awareness by the operators of the small-scale businesses on the processes for registering economic activities in the country and the SMDC. It was largely observed that the small-scale informal business operators showed receipts for licences, fees or rates paid to city authorities collected by the revenue collectors at the Subin

SMDC and/or membership certificate of their associations (by those who are members of associations) as evidence of their business registration. According to the data, more than 90 percent of the economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector pay daily/monthly/quarterly/annual licences/fees/rates. On the average the economic activities pay GH¢ 8 to the KMA per month with the minimum amount paid by a small-scale informal business being GH¢ 1 and the highest being GH¢ 60 (the licences/fees/rates are fixed by the KMA annually).

7.6.2 Location characteristics of enterprises in the small-scale informal business sector It was observed that majority of the enterprises were located on pavements, road reservations/walkways, lanes and vacant lands especially around public schools, transport terminals and administrative buildings. In cases where residential apartments abutting roads were converted for such purposes, their activities extended to road reservations/walkways and lanes.

Authorisation for the location of economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector in the study area was acquired through various individuals and organisations. As shown in table 7.9, nearly 40 percent of the enterprises indicated that they were permitted to locate their businesses at their present location by the respective landlords of the adjoining properties. In addition, 21.4 percent of the operators stated that they were permitted by their electoral area representative (assemblyman/woman) at the SMDC. Another 20 percent and 18.6 percent had their businesses located at the frontage of their houses and their family houses respectively. About 1.4 percent of the operators however did not get authorisation from anybody before locating their businesses at their locations. This is contrary to the popular notion that small-scale informal businesses locate without prior permission even though the sources of the authorisation might not be those authorised by law. It also explains the contestations over the ownership of urban public spaces in the settlement and how various power sources exercise them over the use of urban public space.

Table 7.9: Percentage land grantors (n=140)

	How land for business was acquired					
Industrial grouping	Permitted by landlord	In-front of family house	Permitted by assemblyman	In-front of my house	Asked no one	Total
Service	37.3	19.6	17.6	23.5	2	100
Manufacturing	53.8	14.6	14.6	17	0	100
Retail (food)	24	28	28	20	0	100
Retail (non-food)	30.4	13	34.9	17.4	4.3	100
All	38.6	18.6	21.4	20	1.4	100

Business location authorisation also differs among the various industrial groupings of the small-scale informal businesses in the study area. More than 50 percent of enterprises in manufacturing and about 37.3 percent of economic activities in service were permitted to locate their businesses at their locations by the landlords of the adjoining properties. Additionally, 34.9 percent of the

enterprises in retailing of non-food items and 28 percent of enterprises in retailing of food items had permission to locate their businesses at their locations by assemblymen/women. Conversely, about 4.3 percent of small-scale informal businesses in retailing of non-food items and 2 percent of the enterprises of the sector in service located at their locations out of their own volition. One of the reasons for this is that the sizes of spaces used for small-scale informal business activities are smaller than the usual plot sizes that are allocated for by the various land owners in the SMDC and that which are also registered by the Lands Commission and the Asantehene's Land Secretariat. Further, it also be explained that the small-scale informal business operators are not aware of the land use laws and policies guiding the urban development in the SMDC since they are not involved.

Monetary payments to grantors to the use of urban public space

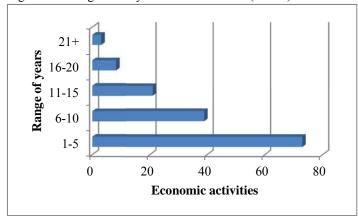
Moreover, the information gathered also revealed that more than 50 percent of respondents paid monthly rents to the respective individuals and organisations that permitted them to locate their businesses. The amount collected by the various individuals and organisations ranged from a minimum of GH¢2 to a maximum of a GH¢100 per month. On the average a monthly amount of GH¢14.32 is paid by an economic activity operator for the use of urban public space.

Furthermore, in addition to monetary payments, there were other conditions that had to be met in order to continue operating at their business locations. These conditions include maintaining a cordial relationship with the individual or organisation that granted the use of the space; attending social functions such as funerals; weddings, naming ceremonies invited to by the grant giver; as well as sympathising with the political party of the assemblyman/woman among others. It can therefore be realised that small-scale informal business in the stud settlement are willing to pay rent for the use of the land for their enterprises even though their ability to pay realistic market prices for the spaces and compliance with urban land use planning regulations may be a subject of debate. Moreover, the operators of the small-scale informal businesses regard the assemblymen/women as having the requisite authority to permit them use the public spaces for their activities since the assemblymen/women are the representatives of the inhabitants of the study area at the SMDC.

Length of stay at present location

Averagely, the number of years an economic activity in the small-scale informal business sector had stayed at their location of doing business according to the data was 1.8 years. This suggests that all economic activities had stayed at their location of doing business for at least one and a half years. The total number of years an economic activity had stayed at their location of doing business ranged from a year to more than twenty-five years. As shown in Figure 7.6, more than half of the economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector in the study area had stayed at their location of operation from between one to five years.

Figure 7.8: Length of stay economic activities (n=144)



There were significant variations in number of years economic activities had operated at their locations among the different industrial groupings as well. According to the information gathered, more than 50 percent of the economic activities in retailing of food items and retailing of non-food items had stayed at locations for periods ranging from one to five years. Similarly, 49.1 percent of economic

activities in service and 46.2 percent of economic activities in manufacturing had operated from their locations for the same year range. Table 7.10 also reveals among other things that about 3.6 percent of economic activities in service and 2.6 percent of economic activities in manufacturing had stayed in their locations of doing business for more than twenty years.

Table 7.10: Percentage length of stay of economic activities by industrial groupings (n=144)

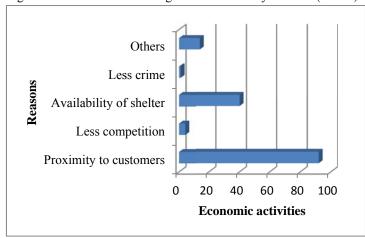
	Number of years					
Industrial grouping	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21+	Total
Service	49.1	32.7	11	3.6	3.6	100
Manufacturing	46.2	25.6	20.5	5.1	2.6	100
Retail (food)	56	20	16	8	0	100
Retail (non-food)	56	24	12	8	0	100
All	50.7	27	14.6	5.6	2.1	100

Consequently, it can be argued that more than 50 percent of the enterprises in the small-scale informal business sector in the study area deserve to be integrated through appropriate policies into the urban land use planning of the city. As explained by the UN Habitat (2009), informal sector activities that have occupied urban public spaces albeit illegally over such long periods of time should be integrated through innovative approaches rather than forcefully evicting them through demolitions especially since they have been located there with the full compliance of landlords, chiefs and local government representatives and the local government itself.

7.6.2.1 Factors influencing the choice of small-scale informal businesses' location Information on the factors influencing the choice of locations for siting small-scale informal businesses are essential for any meaningful policy interventions that are aimed at finding suitable locations for small-scale informal businesses in the study settlement and beyond. The choice of a business location by operators of economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector in the study area was carefully considered and guided by various attraction factors. Those attraction factors largely influenced business location decisions. As illustrated in Figure 7.7, obviously the major business location attraction was the proximity to prospective customers.

Additionally, a significant number of economic activity operators considered the availability of shelter at a place for their business activity as stimulus to locate their business. Moreover, areas where economic activity operators were likely to face less competition and they felt safer together with their activities also influenced their location decision. Other reasons for businesses' location decision included, availability of enough space to accommodate economic activities; and access to infrastructure such as electricity, water, storage facilities, road, sewerage systems, toilet and urinal facilities, waste disposal facilities among others. It is worthy of note that all operators mentioned combination of these factors as a consideration for business location decisions. However in terms of analyses for easy comprehension, they were analysed according to operator's priority.

Figure 7.9: Reasons influencing economic activity location (n=151)



Among the industrial groupings, proximity to customers was the main reason behind the selection of business' location. More than 80 percent of economic activity operators in retailing of non-food items, 72 percent of economic activity operators in retailing of food items and 62 percent of economic activity operators in service cited it as the stimulus factor for locating their businesses. For economic activity

operators in manufacturing, availability of shelter was the most important reason for citing their businesses at a place. As indicated in Table 7.11, security concerns were relatively less important compared to the other factors considered by operators for choosing business locations. This is because the SMDC as well as the entire city is relative safe. As a result, security concerns were not a priority for small-scale informal business sector operators.

Table 7.11: Operator's business location decision factors by industrial groups in percentages (n=151)

-	Attractions of business location					
Industrial grouping	Proximity to customers	Less competition	Availability of shelter	Less crime	Others	Total
Service	62	6.9	19	1.7	10.4	100
Manufacturing	35.7	0	52.4	0	11.9	100
Retail (food)	72	0	16	0	12	100
Retail (non-food)	88.5	0	11.5	0	0	100
All	60.9	2.6	26.5	0.7	9.3	100

7.6.2.2 Physical structure and sizes of small-scale informal businesses

The economic activities in the study settlement were carried out in different structures which were also constructed with different materials such as wood, metal sheets, metal poles and large sheets of canvas and nylon among others. On the whole, more than 40 percent of the economic activities in the study area were housed in metal containers. The economic activities that were housed in stalls and kiosks were 29.1 percent and 7.1 percent respectively. The rest 20.5 percent which were not housed in any of the previously mentioned structures were accommodated in structures such as tents, vehicles boots, among others.

Table 7.12: Physical structure of economic activities in percentages (n=127)

Industrial grouping	Physical structure				
	Stall	Metal container	Kiosk	Others	Total
Service	5.8	34.6	48.1	11.5	100
Manufacturing	10.5	26.3	15.8	47.4	100
Retail (food)	4.8	76.1	14.3	4.8	100
Retail (non-food)	6.3	68.7	18.7	6.3	100
All	7.1	43.3	29.1	20.5	100

Similarly, economic activities in the various industrial groupings were also accommodated in the different structures. More than 70 percent of the economic activities in retailing of food items and 60 percent of economic activities in the retailing of non-food items in the small-scale informal business sector in the study area were housed in metal containers. Moreover, majority of economic activities in service (48.1%) and manufacturing (47.4%) were housed in kiosks and other structures such as garages and workshops. Lower proportions of economic activities in service and manufacturing were housed in stalls. Economic activities in retailing of food items and retailing of non-food items also had lower proportions being housed in stalls and the other structures. It was widely observed that majority of the structures housing the economic activities in the study area were painted with the colours of the several mobile telecommunication companies operating in the SMDC and the country as a whole.

7.6.2.3 Land sizes occupied by small-scale informal businesses

An examination of the sizes of space occupied by economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector is essential for designing appropriate land sizes for their activities. Moreover, it can be observed from Table 7.13, that the various economic activities in small-scale informal sector in the study area also occupied different sizes of space for their activities. The size of space occupied by an economic activity was largely determined by the type of specific activity undertaken by the economic activity. On the average, a space size of 7.3m^2 was occupied by an economic activity in the small-scale informal business sector with the minimum size occupied being 2.2m^2 and 30m^2 being the maximum.

Table 7 13: S	hace occupied in	percentages of eco	anomic activities	(n=148)
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	Space occupied (m ²)					
Industrial grouping	1-4.99	5-9.99	10-14.99	15-19.99	30-34.99	Total
Service	58.6	31	1.7	8.7	0	100
Manufacturing	35.7	21.4	0	38.1	4.8	100
Retail(food)	68	28	0	0	4	100
Retail(non-food)	76.9	23.1	0	0	0	100
All	57	26.5	0.7	13.8	2	100

More than half (57%) of the economic activities occupied spaces that ranged between the sizes of 1m² and 4.99 m². About 26.5 percent occupied a land size that ranged from 5m² to 9.99m². Land sizes between the range of 15m² and 19.99m² were occupied by 13 percent of the economic activities. The biggest land sizes between the range of 30m² and 34.99m² were occupied by two percent of the economic activities. A lower proportion (0.7%) of economic activities occupied land sizes from the range of 10m² to 14.99m². A higher proportion of economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector in retailing of non-food items (76.9%), retailing of food items (68%) and service occupied land sizes within the range of 1m² and 4.99m². The most common land size occupied by economic activities in manufacturing (38.1%) is between the range of 15m² and 19.99m². The data indicated that the proportion of economic activities (77%) that reported the space they occupy is enough for their operations was three times more than their counterparts (23%) that needed more space.

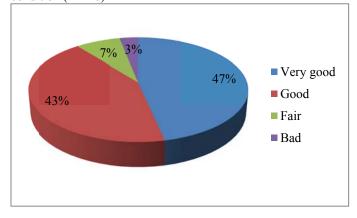
7.6.3 Accessibility of urban infrastructure and services to small-scale informal businesses Obviously, an economic activity requires access to infrastructural and other services in order to flourish and the economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector of the study area are no exception. Water, sanitation and refuse removal services, as well as access to electricity, are important municipal services that may support or constrain, in their absence, the economic activities. Equally important are transport infrastructure and services, telecommunication, security and storage facilities.

7.6.3.1 Accessibility

The main means of transportation in the study area is by road. The Department of Urban Roads (DUR) is the agency responsible for the maintenance, development and planning of roads in the study area. The economic activities in the study area that had access to roads were 87.8 percent as compared to 12.2 percent of their counterparts who had no access to roads.

In addition, about 47 percent of the economic

Figure 27.10: Informal sector operator's perception of road condition (n=148)

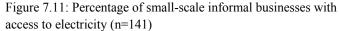


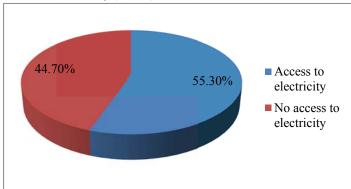
activities stated that the condition of the roads accessible to them was very good and 43 percent were of the opinion that the roads accessible to their businesses were in good condition. The economic activities that thought their access roads were fair were about 7 percent with the remaining 3 percent stating that their access roads were in bad condition.

7.6.3.2 Electricity

Electricity as a source of energy is used by the economic activities for activities such as lighting, powering their machines, powering their appliances, cooking among others. The supply and distribution of electricity in the study area is the responsibility of the Electricity Company of Ghana (ECG). The company is expected among other things to provide quality, reliable, adequate and safe electricity services to support socio-economic growth and development. To be able to access and use electricity in the study area, an application has to be made to the ECG.

Before an application of electricity supply connection can be made to the ECG, there should be an electrical installation and maintenance carried out at the property where power will be connected by a licensed electrician (electrical contractors certified by the Architectural and Engineering Services Limited (AESL) (a government department mandated to certify such contractors) in accordance with the prevailing wiring regulations in Ghana). The licensed electrician then helps the applicant to fill a form (Supply Application Form) which is obtained from the District Offices of the ECG or their Customer Service Centres at a fee. The information provided on the form will help the ECG to know exactly the power requirements of the applicant and hence determine the right amount of power to be supplied. Attached to the Supply Application Form should be an Installation Completion Certificate duly completed and signed by the licensed electrician who undertook the wiring of the customer's house or premises, the original and photocopy of applicant's identification (National ID/Passport/Voters ID/Driver's License) and the original and photocopy of applicant's site plan (obtained from the Town and Country Planning Department).





In addition, an inspection team will visit and survey the site for information that will be needed for the provision of a quotation or estimate for the supply of electricity to the property. If the necessary conditions are satisfied, the quotation for the cost of electricity supply to the premises will be ready within three working days, subject to an already existing electricity supply line.

On the other hand, electricity can only be supplied after five working days if the service connection requires a supply line extension of up to two poles. On the contrary, a request for electricity supply that involves more than two poles, however, is considered as a development

project that will require engineering studies. In such a case, the service connection may or may not be undertaken depending upon the results of the engineering studies.

According to the data gathered in the study area, about 55.3 percent of the economic activities had access to electricity whilst 44.7 percent reported that they had no access to electricity.

The sources for electricity connection of the economic activities with access to electricity in the various industrial groupings were also varied. As many as 70.4 percent of the economic activities had their electricity supplied to them by the ECG. The economic activities that had electricity supplied to them by their neighbours was 22.2 percent with the rest 7.4 percent getting electricity to their premises through other sources such as connecting from the electricity service lines by themselves (popularly called illegal electricity connections).

Similarly, with the exception of economic activities in retailing of non-food items, majority of the economic activities in the various industrial groupings reported they had their electricity supplied to them by the ECG. About half of the economic activities in the retailing of non-food items indicated they had their electricity from their neighbours. All the economic activities in the industrial groupings had lower proportions of their economic activities getting their electricity from sources other than the ECG and their neighbours.

Table 7.14: Sources of electricity by economic activities in industrial groupings by percentages (n=141)

Industrial grouping	Source of electricity connection					
	ECG	Neighbour	Others	Total		
Service	91.6	5.6	2.8	100		
Manufacturing	55	40	5	100		
Retail (food)	66.7	20	13.3	100		
Retail (non-food)	30	50	20	100		
All	70.4	22.2	7.4	100		

It was however, revealed that electricity supply and quality to the study area was plagued with several challenges and as a result affected the operations of the economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector especially those whose operations depended much on electricity. On the issue of supply, there were problems of bureaucracy and long periods of waiting for new electricity connections; frequent and rampant power outages; and frequent load shedding programmes (rationing of electricity supply) by the ECG. The quality of the power supplied was also sometimes problematic with low and high voltages which mostly damaged their machines and equipment. However, contrary to the above, it was revealed by the ECG that majority of the small-scale informal businesses steal the electricity.

"Because it [the small-scale informal business sector] is not planned, it is anyhow, power is leaking here and there, that is the danger and there is a lot of danger associated with what they do. So we don't have a problem, but the only problem is most of them are stealing the power because of the way their system is" (Kumasi, October 8, 2012).

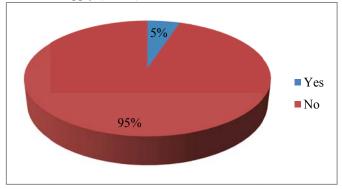
This could be as a result of the bureaucracy and the stringent requirements that are expected from the small-scale informal business sector before they can access electricity supplied by the ECG. Since, they are considered as businesses by the ECG, they are categorised under commercial users. This defines both the tariff and the requirements for accessing the electricity.

7.6.3.3 Water

Water in the study area is used for both industrial and domestic activities. The Ghana Water Company Limited (GWCL) is the public agency responsible for the storage, treatment and distribution of potable water in all urban areas in Ghana through its regional and district offices. The company among other things is also responsible for the management of applications for new service connections; definition and establishment of commercial procedures; signing of contracts with customers for the supply of potable water; issuing of bills on delivery of potable water; receiving of payments from customers, disconnection and/or prosecution of customers for non-payment of bills and/or on other grounds in accordance with applicable law; and identification and removal or regularisation of illegal connections of water from the supply lines of the company.

Majority (70.4%) of the people engaged in the economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector use water mainly for domestic purposes with the remaining 28.6 percent using it for their economic activities as well as for domestic purposes. According to the data, none of the respondents uses the water supplied by GWCL that flows from the taps for drinking. This is mainly due to the wide perception of poor quality of the potable water supplied by the GWCL through the taps. Their main sources of drinking water were sachet water and bottled water. As depicted in Figure 7.10, a large proportion (95%) of the economic activities in the study area had no water supply connection from the GWCL. This is attributed to the requirements (especially the demand for building permits and site plans) of the GWCL for new water supply connection, the bureaucratic nature of the process and the cost involved.

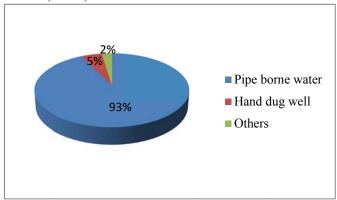
Figure 7.12: Percentage of economic activities connected with water supply (n=142)



Even though, only 5 percent of the economic activities in the study area were connected with water supply, more than 90 percent of the economic activities get their water from the water supplied by the GWCL by buying from the few who were connected. Hand dug wells in the study area largely by individuals supplied water to about 4.8 percent of the

economic activities and the remaining 2.4 percent get their water from sources such as buying from water vendors among others. These increase the cost of water to the people engaged in the sector as the water vendors sell the water at rates higher than the official rates of the company.

Figure 7.13: Percentage of economic activities' water sources (n=142)



Sewerage

A sewerage system refers to the infrastructure that conveys sewage and/or wastewater. It encompasses components such as receiving drains, manholes, pumping stations, storm overflows, and screening chambers of the combined sewer or sanitary sewer. It usually ends at the entry to a sewage treatment plant or at the point of discharge into the

environment. The sewerage system in the study area was made up of concrete open-drains along the edge of roads (which are inadequate), gutters, and the Subin stream which is mainly the end point for majority of the wastewater in the study area. The data revealed that only 2.1 percent of the economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector in the study area had access to some form of sewerage as compared to 97.9 percent of their counterparts who didn't have any form of access to sewerage. It is observed that, a large proportion of the wastewater is poured onto the streets or at best stored and poured into the few open-drains and gutters.

7.6.3.4 Waste management

It was observed that the activities of the economic activities in the study area generated some amount of waste. The waste generated can be categorised into solid, liquid, gas (smoke and smog) and noise. Each of these categories of waste generated by their activities was disposed-off through various methods. In the case of the noise and gaseous substances such as smoke and smog, they were basically released into the environment.

In addition, the liquid waste that is generated by their activities is initially gathered in containers and subsequently emptied onto the streets or at best in open gutters (sometimes concrete constructed) where they are available.

Table 7.15: Solid waste disposal methods in percentages of economic activities (n=98)

Industrial grouping	Solid waste disposal methods				
	Burning	Refuse dumpsite	Open dumping	Others	Total
Service	11.9	76.1	4.8	7.2	100
Manufacturing	2.6	94.8	0	2.6	100
Retail (food)	0	91.7	0	8.3	100
Retail (non-food)	0	83.3	16.7	0	100
All	6.1	85.7	3.1	5.1	100

In few instances, some operators of economic activities connect rubber tubes from containers in their shops to the streets or open gutters in order to dispose-off their liquid waste. Table 7.15

depicts that more than 80 percent of the economic activities dispose-off their solid waste at the communal dumpsites in their areas were they operate. Another 6.1 percent gathers the waste and burn them in the open with another 3.1 percent dumping their solid waste in the open. The remaining 5.1 percent dumped their solid waste through a combination of the above mentioned methods depending on which is convenient at the time of disposal.

7.6.3.5 Telecommunication

One of the infrastructural services which was easily accessible in the study area and to the operators of the economic activities was telecommunication. Even though as little as 2.1 percent of the economic activities had fixed telephones lines compared to the 97.9 percent of their counterparts who had no fixed telephone lines, more than 95 percent of the economic activity operators in the study area had access to mobile telephony services. This is attributed to the existing competition among several telecommunication companies (six telecommunication companies) operating in the country with services in the study area which had led to relatively lower service charges. The influx of relatively cheap Chinese mobile handsets; the less bureaucratic and cumbersome nature of mobile telephony service connection as compared to the fixed telephone line connection among others is the major contributory factor to this phenomenon. It was therefore easy for the small-scale informal sector operators to get in touch with their suppliers as well as regular customers.

7.7 Land use conflicts as a consequence of the small-scale informal business sector

A conflict of land use is said to have occurred if the use to which a piece of land is put became harmful to the use to which an adjoining piece of land is put or to the entire neighbourhood. It is usually the function of urban land use planning to use various regulations such as planning standards, building regulations, and development and zoning guidelines to designate suitable sites for various activities. Consequently, land uses that are seen to be complementary to each other are located closer to each other and those that are deemed to be harmful are sited at remote places or measures taken to mitigate their negative impacts. The most common land use conflicts in urban areas are caused by the negative impacts of industrial land use on residential land uses and other land uses.

The land use conflicts recorded in the study area that was said to have been caused as a result of the activities of the economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector can be grouped into those that were between small-scale informal business activities (private) and public land (public); and those between the small-scale informal business activities (private) and individuals or organisations (private).

Private/Public conflicts

The small-scale informal business sector's use of the land is said to be in serious conflict with the various other land uses in the study area by city authorities. Even though they are not against the specific activities undertaken by the economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector, they do not approve of their location. Firstly, they argue that the pieces of land occupied by the economic activities have not been zoned for such purposes. And secondly, the negative

impacts of their activities such as encroachment, pollution (noise, water, air), waste, congestion, squalor among others are harmful to the other land uses and an eyesore to the entire city.

Private/Private conflicts

These conflicts came about mainly as a result of the some of the negative impacts of the economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector in the study area. The survey indicated that other land users complained of the negative impacts of the activities of the small-scale informal business sector being harmful to them and their activities. In addition, some individuals and organisations also argued that the economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector caused the values of their properties to depreciate largely due to their squalor nature.

Consequently, these conflicts are largely the bases for branding the economic activities as 'informal' by city authorities leading to their evictions through seizure of their wares and demolition of the structures that accommodate their activities. Majority of the economic activities (60%) in the study area have suffered eviction and always operate with the fear of eviction as compared to 40 percent of their counterparts who are yet to suffer any form of eviction from the city authorities.

Small-scale informal business associations and other organisations relating to the sector Generally, formation of associations and groups was identified among economic activities of the small-scale informal business sector in the study area. Associations were largely formed around products and/or crafts. As a result each type of product and craft in the study area had its own association. The associations had the usual characteristics of an organised group such as having an association name; elected and functioning executives, having written constitution/bye-laws, registered with either of these public agencies: National Board for Small Scale Industries (NBSSI), Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) or the Department of Co-operatives. They also hold regular meetings, pay regular usually monthly dues, operate a bank account among others. An interesting feature of the membership composition of the associations was that some of the associations had single-sex and a single ethnic background membership whilst others had both males and females with multi-ethnic backgrounds.

The associations largely sought to provide their members with general welfare and savings and loans services. In addition, the craft associations sought to maintain standards by providing training for members; and examining and certifying apprentices of members. The product associations were quite critical in managing competition, price standardisation as well as providing cooperative services to their members. Some of them explained that they are only engaged by the KMA when new rates/fees/licences are being fixed.

Moreover, most of the associations of the economic activities in the study area also formed or joined higher level networks. These networks were formed at the zonal, regional and national levels. Some networks were also joined the Ghana Trades Union Congress (GTUC). However,

the data revealed that the percentage of the economic activities that joined an association was 30 percent as compared to 70 percent of their counterparts that had not joined any association. This can be attributed to the fact that many of the associations were product and craft based and therefore could not be joined by economic activity operators who did not trade in those products or practiced those trades. Other operators were also of the opinion that the subscription fees and the membership dues were quite high compared with the rather small benefits.

Apart from the small-scale informal business sector associations, there were also other organisations in the settlement that supported small-scale informal businesses. These include public organisations, faith based organisations, civil society organisations and non-governmental organisations. The informal economic activities largely collaborated with these organisations especially churches and mosques to engage city authorities in order to help legitimate their activities in the settlement. These helped them to fight and resist many evictions.

7.8.1 National Board for Small-scale Industries (NBSSI)

The National Board for Small-Scale Industries (NBSSI) is the apex organisation set up by the Government to promote and develop the small-scale industrial sector. The NBSSI was established by an Act of Parliament in 1981, Act 434, and is governed by a Board of Directors. The Government makes nominations to the Board, headed by an Executive Director who sees to the day-to-day running of the organisation. It is subsidised and funded mainly public funds by the state. Act 434 establishing the NBSSI gave it the specific function to promote and develop micro- and small-scale enterprises because of the contribution that they can make to the economic development of Ghana. The NBSSI, however, lacks the funds to achieve its aims. The organisation is poorly funded by its overall meagre budget allocations. There is also political interference, sometimes, with the management of the organisation. Besides, workers are poorly remunerated, leading to low morale among its staff. It collaborates with and receives support from the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the German Development Services, GRATIS, the World Bank, the International Labour Office (ILO) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

7.8.2 Ghana Regional Appropriate Technology Industrial Service (GRATIS)

GRATIS was established as a project in 1987 by the Government of Ghana under the Ministry of Environment, Science and Technology (MEST) to promote small-scale industrialisation and provide employment opportunities, improve incomes and enhance the development of the country. It is expected to do this through the dissemination of appropriate technologies by developing and demonstrating marketable products and processes for micro- and small-scale enterprises. It operates through a network of Intermediate Technology Transfer Units (ITTU) established in all the ten regions of the country. GRATIS is managed by a Board of Directors which is responsible for formulating major policies and guidelines for implementation. An Executive Director provides general coordination, supervision and guidance to the GRATIS/ITTU network.

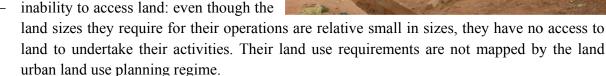
The project is funded by public funds by the state, which provides buildings for GRATIS and the ITTU in all the ten regions of the country. Government also employs and pays employees and bears all administrative costs. GRATIS provides training and technical assistance to artisans in mostly the small-scale informal business sector. Since 1987, 22,221 persons have benefited from GRATIS/ITTU training. Out of this number over 4,000, including women, have benefited from the four-year technical apprentice training programme. During the same period, 452 students from the university and technical and vocational institutions, including 134 women, were attached to the ITTUs to gain practical experience. Training is provided in metal machining, foundry works, welding and fabrication, basket-weaving, and batik tie-and-dye. GRATIS experiences a high rate of labour turnover in the project as a result of low remuneration and motivation for the workers. There is high level of worker dissatisfaction with poor conditions of employment. Many workers think that once GRATIS is a project they should have handsome packages in terms of salary and other emoluments. GRATIS collaborates with the European Union (EU), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and TECHNOSERVE who provide equipment, computers and other inputs and logistic support.

7.9 Challenges of the small-scale informal business sector

Although every endeavour has its challenges, that of the small-scale informal business sector go to the heart of its very existence. The operators in the small-scale informal business sector mentioned various challenges that they face in their operations. These have been categorised into:

- lack of recognition and protection in the study area: even though there are various international and national laws espousing the right to work to make a living, they are not protected by these laws in the study area. City authorities do not extend these rights which are enjoyed by their colleagues in the Figure 7.14: Informal shop demolished by city authorities

formal sector to them. This puts their businesses in a state of precariousness. Consequently, workers in the sector do not benefit from national minimum wage; insurance from income losses during ill-health; annual leave; maternity leave; job security; ensuring safety and protection from occupational hazards among others which are enjoyed by their counterparts in the formal sector.





- poor accessibility to urban infrastructure and support services: moreover, infrastructure such
 as roads, parking spaces, electricity, water, waste management among others which essential
 for the success of their activities are not available to them. Their requirements are not
 considered in the planning and supplying of these infrastructural facilities.
- lack of training: training for the operators in the sector to ensure occupational and upward mobility is nonexistent. Again, educational and training for children whose parents work in the sector as well as the parents themselves to break the poverty cycle are also non-existent.

7.10 Concluding remarks

The chapter discussed the Subin sub-metropolitan district council as the first of the two case studies of the research. The profile of the study area is presented in the examinations of the background and location of the SMDC; the types of houses in the area; the population and density of the area; land tenures system; the condition of the area's infrastructure; the urban land use planning regime; and the economic activities in the area. These discussions presented insights into the heterogeneity and dynamism of the study area. Additionally, the small-scale informal business sector was thoroughly discussed in relation to the urban land use planning regime and the administrative set up of the study area to draw synergies to aid the fashioning out of innovative policy interventions for their integration. The characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector examined based on: demographic characteristics; location characteristics of the enterprises in the sector; and their access to urban infrastructure and support services. Land use conflicts that arise as a result of the small-scale informal business sector were also discussed. The analyses arising out of these discussions reveal the various diversities in the sector. This helped to adequately assess the specific requirements of the specific diversities for drawing meaningful policy interventions.

In addition, various organisations of small-scale informal business sector groups as well as other organisations such as public organisations and non-governmental organisations that are carry out activities that are related to the sector were also discussed. The analyses reveal the associations as the potential rallying points for meaningfully engaging the sector for building consensus on urban development. The various public and non-governmental organisations with related activities to the sector offer opportunities for implementing policy interventions aimed at supporting the sector to contribute to urban development. Moreover, the chapter ends by discussing the various challenges faced by the sector. The issues arising from the analyses of the challenges presents a starting point for addressing the problems in the sector. The next chapter presents the second case study. It analyses the second case study area to enable the drawing of differences and similarities between the two case studies.

8 Oforikrom sub-Metropolitan District Council - Second case study

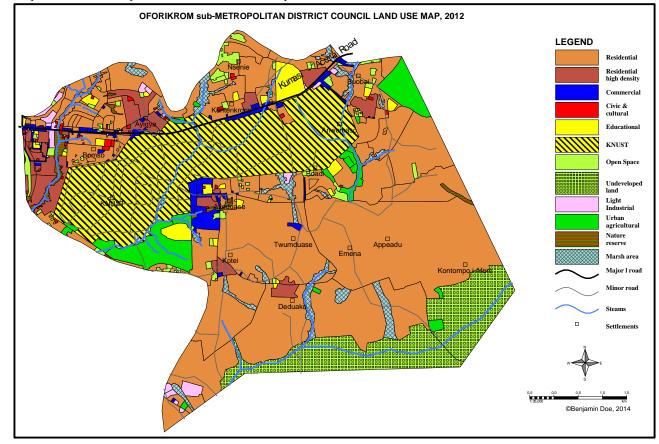
The second chapter on the empirical analyses also reveal the everyday living conditions and their open space nexus of a rapidly urbanising urban neighbourhood. It specifically examines the character of the small-scale informal business activities in a different regulatory setting made up of a more peri-urban setting. It further explores the implications of these to urban land use planning and future development of the settlement.

8.1 Background and location

The Oforikrom sub-Metropolitan District Council (SMDC) is one of the new sub-metropolitan district councils that was established by a Legislative Instrument (L.I.) 1805 of 2010, which was an amendment of the earlier L.I. 1614 of 1995 and 1434 of 1988 that established the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) and its sub-structures. It shares borders with the Asawase SMDC to the north, the Subin SMDC to the east, the Bosomtwe District Assembly to the south and the Ejisu-Juaben Municipal Assembly to the west.

The settlements that make up the SMDC are a mix of small settlements (Bomso, Kentinkrono, Ayeduase, Kotei, Anwomaso, Boadi among others) which were part of the Asanteman confederacy and immigrant settlements (Anloga, Ayigya among others) which developed as a result of the influx of immigrants into the city to take advantage of booming commerce and the vast array of natural resources. Even though Kumasi has developed in a concentric form along its major arterial roads, it did not grow from the centre. It is rather an agglomeration of various small settlements.

The origin of the present city structure is the decentralised small settlements such as Bomso, Kentinkrono, Ayeduase, Kotei, Anwomaso, Boadi among others, which existed as small autonomous city states (chiefdoms) that formed the ancient Ashanti Empire (confederation). These autonomous city states were based on clans that were headed by their own chiefs and a group of elders. It was these autonomous city states that were brought together in the midseventeen century by King Osei Tutu I with the help of Okomfo Anokye with the purpose of standing together against common enemies. It is believed that Okomfo Anokye commanded the Golden Stool from the sky to be a symbol of this union of autonomous city states (referred to as the Ashanti Kingdom) as the stool is believed to contain the soul and spirit of the Ashanti people. All the chiefs of the various states as well as their people swear allegiance to the occupant of the Golden Stool, the Asantehene. For the purposes of understanding the contemporary urban structure of the city, it is worthy to note that the ancient Kumasi (currently the CBD) was not one of those autonomous city states that stood together under the Golden Stool, but was the founding place of the Ashanti Kingdom and as such is a symbolic and political centre of the Ashanti Kingdom or Asanteman.



Map 8.1: Land use map of the Oforikrom sub-metropolitan district council

Based on field work data (2012).

These states were agrarian economies that produced for the markets in Kumasi. As a result of increasing population, the agricultural lands are fast being converted to residential plots. As land values rose, more farmlands were converted to residential plots to the detriment of the settlements but rather to the advantage of the chiefs who benefited from the sale as custodians. The land in between the various states and the centre has witnessed massive residential developments over the years resulting in an urban sprawl.

In addition to this was the growth of the immigrant neighbourhoods. During the ancient Ashanti Empire, there was a conscious effort to prevent massive immigration and the few who were successful were meticulously absorbed through marriage. The matrilineal system of inheritance in the area made this successful. There was however a massive influx of migrants from other parts of Ghana as well as the neighbouring countries to the area when it came under British colonial rule after the British defeated the Ashanti's in 1900 and the Asantehene (Nana Agyeman Prempeh I) exiled. Subsequently, when the Asantehene returned to Kumasi in 1924, settlers could not be evicted and therefore their neighbourhoods were leased to the heads of the communities. This continued until after independence. Even though no new migrant quarters were allocated, the number of immigrants coming to Kumasi grew exponentially.

Moreover, the development of the area has also had much influence from the establishment of the Kumasi College of Technology now the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) in the early 1950s. Small towns such as Bomso, Ayigya and Ayeduase started growing rapidly from the 1960-70s as residential neighbourhoods due to their closeness to the university campus. Many of the teachers and staff of the university started living in these settlements. In recent times, these settlements in addition to settlements such as Kentinkrono, Kotei, Deduako, Boadi, Emena among others have seen massive conversion of residential houses to student hostels to accommodate the ever increasing student population of the university (more than 31,000 as at 2012).

Population and density

According to the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS, 2013), the Oforikrom SMDC has a total population of about 303,016 with about 49.4 percent (149,827) and 50.6 percent (153,189) being males and females respectively distributed in the about 248,533 households in the area. The total population above eighteen (18) years old is estimated to be 186,622 with about 92,312 and 94,315 being males and females respectively. It has a population density of 6,123 persons/km² as it covers an area of about 49km² which is lower than the population density of 8,012 persons/km² of the entire city.

Houses characteristics

With the exception of the university campus (KNUST) which occupies almost 20 percent of the total land area of the SMDC, the entire area is mainly a residential neighbourhood. As typical of the city, the housing typology in the area is largely the compound house. And due to the large number of the average number of inhabitants it can accommodate, it houses more than 70 percent of the population in the area. They are largely single-storey, few are two and three-story buildings. In addition to accommodating the people and defining the spatial structure of the study area, the compound house also performs the important task of constructing the social relations and networks in the area. This is intrinsic to its original design; all rooms open to the courtyard and with shared facilities since usually all inhabitants belonged to the same extended family. Currently, even though the design remains the same, the compound house provides rental residential accommodation to people from different tribes and families rather than the same extended family but still has the capacity to create a family. It creates a sort of 'extended family' (small community) on its own and the courtyard as a semi-public space plays a key role in this. The courtyard hosts many everyday living activities such as cooking (since the common kitchen tends to be too hot or small for use by all households), funerals, marriage ceremonies, naming ceremonies among others. These communal living conditions in the compound house creates the social relations and networks that further provides a rather high level of social control, social security and social safety for the inhabitants which extends to the entire neighbourhood.

Furthermore, there are numerous uncompleted detached and semi-detached houses in the SMDC which also provides accommodation to people especially immigrants. Construction of houses in the study area and the entire city is largely carried out by private individuals. Hence, it is mostly

done on a piecemeal basis and usually takes some time to be fully completed. In order to protect the uncompleted structure as well as prevent the stealing of expensive building materials which are usually kept in the uncompleted house, it is assigned to caretakers. The caretakers are usually poor migrants who cannot afford to rent residential accommodation and therefore occupy these uncompleted houses without paying anything. As these uncompleted houses spring up in newly developing areas, they do not have access to social infrastructure such as water and electricity since development generally precedes planning. Consequently, even if the houses are completed, it takes time for the owners to occupy them as there are no social infrastructural facilities or they are residing abroad. For the caretakers, the advantage of not having to pay rent is enough to compensate for no pay.

Available infrastructure

In general, social infrastructure is not adequate in the study settlement and even not available in the newly developing areas. Obviously infrastructure such as electricity and water were supplied many decades ago to take care of the relatively small number of people that inhabited the small indigenous settlements. These settlements have increased considerably in population over time without a corresponding increase in the infrastructure. Added to this is the long years of neglect encountered by most in the study settlement especially those of the immigrant communities from city authorities. Solid waste is dumped in communal containers provided by city authorities which over flow on the spaces around them forming 'hills' of refuse since they are not collected regularly. Open dumping, dumping in streams and burning are also some of the ways solid waste is disposed-off in the study area even though a few private waste management companies collect solid waste from few houses (mainly house of the high and middle income residents) for a monthly fee. In the case of liquid waste, it is disposed-off by open dumping onto the streets, dumping into the gutters and dumping into the streams draining the study area. With the exception of one of the arterial roads (Accra-Kumasi Road) passing through the study area, only few of the roads in the study area are tarred. Especially in the newly developing areas, the road networks are very bad and dusty. This makes these areas inaccessible particularly during rainy seasons. Similar to the Subin SMDC, mobile telecommunication services is widely accessible in the study area.

8.2 Land use planning

The 25-year 'Kumasi Outline Planning Scheme' of 1963 made provisions for the study settlement as well. The planning of the various communities was based on their functions as mainly agrarian economies at the time and their relation to the centre (CBD) as suppliers of agricultural products and other natural resources such as timber to the central market. Consequently, with the exception of Oforikrom, all the other communities in the study area were designated as village development and agriculture zones by the plan. As autonomous chiefdoms, they were expected to maintain their unique identities whilst producing to feed the commercial

activities at the centre (CBD). It also demarcated the land area of the KNUST campus as shown on Map 8.1 above.

Eventually when the populations of the communities began to increase rapidly and their agricultural lands being rapidly converted into residential lands, detailed planning schemes where prepared for them. The detailed planning schemes mapped the existing land uses and made land use proposals for the future use of vacant land for the social, economic and physical growth of the settlements. Provision was also made for the land uses of various social amenities such basic schools, sanitary areas, clinics, access roads, churches, markets, public open spaces, nature reserves among others. Access road widths were designed for 9-15m whilst residential plot sizes were generally demarcated for 900m² (30m X 30m).

Conspicuously absent on the 'Kumasi Outline Planning Scheme' were the immigrant neighbourhoods especially the Anloga neighbourhood. The neighbourhood is located along the Kumasi-Accra Road and the recently constructed eastern by-pass of the ring-road in the city. Similar to other immigrant neighbourhoods, the neighbourhood was able to lease land from the Amakom Stool in 1951 through its union (the Ewe Migrants Union) since the inhabitants were mainly settlers who migrated to the area from the eastern part of the country. In addition to their lack of official recognition was their denial of access to municipal services by city authorities. This was because firstly, their economic activities (mainly woodwork and charcoal burning) were taking place at the area zoned for the eastern by-pass of the ring-road which was the only unconstructed portion until recently in 2011 and secondly their proportion of growth (in population and activities) was unexpected as this resulted in their activities polluting the two streams enclosing them and causing blight to the city. The neighbourhood was subjected to constant threats of eviction and relocation. Despite these challenges, the inhabitants bonded together under its union and eventually turned into a light-industry cluster with an international market. Presently, it is Ghana's biggest centre of woodwork and it has made an immeasurable contribution to the economy of Kumasi. This growth was in many ways influenced by its strategic location which is just outside the centre (CBD) and along the Kumasi-Accra Road. The Anloga wood light-industry cluster has been subsequently relocated to the Sokoban Wood Village in 2010 (located 20km from Kumasi) leaving the residential neighbourhood which has enabled the completion of the eastern by-pass of the ring-road in 2011. Obviously this portrays the low attention that is paid to giving the urban small-scale informal business sector the 'right to the city'. The critical question that begs for answer is whether there is any conscious long-term effort to accommodate the small-scale informal business sector and also indicates a strategy of 'unmapping of space' where the small-scale informal business's current land uses are largely neglected and thus the sector is invisible on official maps.

8.3 Open spaces and issues of tenure

The public open spaces are largely the alleys in between the compound houses as the houses do not occupy the entire plots, the access roads and the vacant lands. The compound houses were

constructed to turn away from the access roads with its courtyard designed to host most social activities. However, due to overcrowding, the courtyard is getting filled up and the public spaces have become a necessary addition to them. Cooking, trading and gathering all take more and more place in the alleys or on the access roads. In addition, parked cars, taxis and trotros (private mini-buses that provide public transport), drying laundry, animal husbandry and solid waste burning find their place in the public space. Other public activities that are not able to take place in the courtyards such as religious activities and other customary rites (Muslim prayers and festivities, Christian crusades and evangelism, community durbars, marriage ceremonies, naming ceremonies among others) also take place in the public space. Public space in the study area also provide essential public facilities, for instance, public toilets, stations for taxis and *trotros*⁹, children playing grounds among others.

The other type of public spaces in the study area apart from the ones mentioned above, are road reservations, railway line reservations, public school parks, nature reserves along streams and marshy or areas liable to flood that are unencumbered. Access roads and railway lines have spaces of 30m from the centre of the actual carriage ways that are undeveloped. These are purposely reserved for utility lines and also for future expansion of the infrastructural facility. With the continuing increase in population in the area and the compound house having human activities beyond their carrying capacity, these public spaces have become the receptacles of the activities. They provide residential accommodation, spaces for economic activities, waste disposal sites, community durbar grounds among others to people in the study area. These areas are without basic social amenities such as water, electricity, toilet among others which are gradually creating blight conditions. Similarly, the nature reserves and marshy areas are being used for residential purposes, public facilities and places for economic activities. They also lack many social amenities and also get flooded during the raining seasons. These places as zoned by the detailed planning schemes of the various neighbourhoods as public lands and as such do not fall under the communal land tenure (stool lands) of the study area. In addition, some of the places especially the nature reserves and the marshy areas are considered as marginal lands and as such have no value in order for them to be leased out.

With the exception of land zoned for public facilities and infrastructural services, all the land in the Oforikrom SMDC is classified as Stool Lands. Stool land as already mentioned in section 4.3 in chapter four of this research, is a form of communal land tenure system that pertains among the communities and ethnic groups (mostly Akans) in the south of Ghana. In the communal land tenure system, ownership of land is vested in the community which is headed by the stool or the chief. The stool which is an embodiment of political community represented by the chief and his council of elders are allocated the right by the community to manage and administer land within their areas of jurisdiction on their behalf. This includes the right to alienate and dispose of land.

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⁹ Trotro is used in Ghana to refer to privately owned minibuses for public mass transport that travel fixed routes, leaving when filled to capacity.

In order to acquire a piece of land in the study area, a negotiation has to be made with the chief of the particular stool of the land regarding the location, size and the intended purpose. It is only after this that 'drink money' is collected from the lessee. This is because land is considered sacred and not to be sold and also the highest title (allodial title) in land according to customary law is vested in the stool and therefore can only transfer a lesser title (Kasanga and Kotey, 2001), in this case a lease. Until recently, these transactions were oral. As the oral nature of the transfers and transactions led to a myriad of problems, including uncertain boundaries of adjacent stool areas; protracted chieftaincy disputes within particular stools; the allocation of the same piece of land to two or more persons; and informal land markets, the transactions are now being documented. Currently, even though receipts are not issued after the payment of the 'drink money' allocation notes are issued by the stools to the allottee. The allocation notes contain the name of the stool, the size and location of the piece of land, the name of the allottee and the signature of the chief and two of his elders. Some allocation notes have stated conditions under which the piece of land was leased which among other things may indicate the development of the land within a certain timeframe (usually 2 years) absence of which the grantor can re-enter the land.

Furthermore, since the issuing of the allocation notes has not quite solved the above mentioned problems, majority of grantees after receiving allocation notes from the chiefs of the stools continue further to register their land through the statutory process or apply for a lease from the Asantehene's Land Secretariat (Golden Stool).

8.4 Economic activities

Until recently, the main economic activity in the Oforikrom SMDC was the woodwork lightindustrial cluster at Anloga. It was estimated that the cluster was made up of over 200 smallscale businesses that are all classified to be in the small-scale informal business sector. These comprised of woodwork shops, woodwork product marketers' shops, wood sellers' stalls, shops that deal in hardware (saws, hammers, chisels, block planes, squares, sliding bevels among others) for woodwork, shops that deal in input materials for woodwork (nails, glue, polish, sand paper among others) among others. It is in no doubt that their association (Small-scale Carpenters Association) had 20,000 registered members in 1990. Closely linked to the economic activities in the small-industrial cluster were other economic activities that provided services to some of the economic activities in the small-industrial cluster or depended on their by-products as inputs for their activities. Transportation, truck pushing, micro financing (susu), food vending and other support services were provided by a whole lot of people to support the activities of the economic activities in the small-industrial cluster. Scrap wood, wood chippings and saw dust generated from the activities of the small businesses were used especially by women to produce charcoal as well as other smoked and roasted foods. Even though majority of the small businesses forming the small-industrial cluster have been moved to Sokoban, some economic activities engaged in woodwork still remain in the area.

Another land use around which many economic activities take place in the study area is the university campus (KNUST). The main entrance of the university campus (popularly called Tech-junction) is along the Kumasi-Accra Highway and opposite the Ayigya neighbourhood. Also located at Tech-junction, is the university hospital (which serves the university community as well as the neighbouring communities), the Ghana Commercial Bank (a branch of one of the main commercial banks in the country), two lorry stations and a bus stop, a number of churches

Figure 8.1: Informal businesses at Tech-junction



as well as the Ayigya market (one of the satellite markets in the city).

As a result of these activities, many people come to access services provided at the area. It is also a transit point for many people who live in the neighbouring communities and those from the Ejisu-Juaben Municipality which borders the SMDC at the East. It is therefore the location of many economic activities. A chain of provision stores to enable the many travellers, students and workers to get easy and ready access to all manner of grocery items; a pharmacy and

chemist shops for the numerous patients that access the university hospital for health care; restaurants, food vending, chop bars, beer bars; food (plantain, corn, meat among others) roasting and fruit sellers; hawkers; repairers of all manner of appliances among others. There are also many stationery shops and photocopying joints that provide services to the university community.

In addition, there are various satellite markets in the study area where trading takes place on a daily basis. Notable amongst them are the Anloga and the Ayigya markets. The Anloga market is the bulk breaking point for onion in the city. Many trucks transport 84kg bags of onion to the market daily. These are sold by the traders especially women in small portions to other traders who in turn sell them in further smaller portions in the same market or to other markets in the city. Apart from the onion, other food stuffs are also brought in from mainly the central market. Similarly, foodstuffs and other goods are brought in from various areas especially the central market and sold in the Ayigya market.

Furthermore, various people in the study area are engaged in hairdressing, barbering, tailoring and sewing. The empty spaces between and in the various neighbourhoods are used for urban agriculture.

8.5 Peri-urban characteristics

Even though the Oforikrom SMDC is no doubt urban, it exhibits many rural characteristics. It has the continuing presence of agricultural land and activity. This is partly because there is little social segregation and it houses a strong mix of inhabitants. The indigenous population is supplemented with both rural immigrants and immigrants from the city centre. In all the neighbourhoods, rich and poor are present. The indigenous population are, or used to be, farmers. As the SMDC expands, the amount of farmland is decreasing in favour of the growing amount of residential plots. Nevertheless, many of them still do some farming to provide a necessary extra income. Even if that means they have to walk further to reach their farms or if they have to do it with small pieces of land. This sustaining of agriculture is very evident in the neighbourhoods of the study area. An empty plot in between the houses, a construction site, the river edges, a home garden, all can be used as urban farmland for plantain, cocoyam and maize. This produces an urban neighbourhood were the peri-urban seems to be omnipresent.

Moreover, there is the existence of legal pluralism in the study settlement. There is a pronounced evidence of the overlap of traditional authorities and institutions with modern ones. A typical example is in the area of land ownership. There is also the mix of modern houses and indigenous houses built with ingenuous materials, designs and technology which are in often cases quite low; the occupation of plots by building little structures to prevent them from being taken; and as well as housing development being ahead of urban land use planning and hence the absence of roads, water provision and other services, such as waste removal as residential plots are demarcated and dispose of by chiefs.

It is important to state that the peri-urbanism of the Oforikrom SMDC is not that of it being a transition zone between the urban and the hinterland. This sharp distinction is quite blurred and would be difficult to make. And of course it is still a conspicuous part of the city. The peri-urban status is rather in the characteristics it exhibits as mentioned earlier. The possibility of the inhabitants to combine the economic activities with the urban and the rural to improve their incomes as well as combine the services provided by modern institutions and traditional ones.

8.6 Administrative set up

Similar to the Subin SMDC, the Oforokrom SMDC is a sub-structure of the KMA. And as part of the Kumasi Metropolis, the study settlement is also governed by the entire institutional framework governing the administration of the city. All the urban land use planning laws, planning standards, building regulations, and development and zoning guidelines as well as byelaws of the KMA regulating urban land use planning and management in the city also apply to the study settlement. Procedures for urban land use planning and building permissions follow similar processes of the KMA. Even though, the SMDC is a decentralised structure of the KMA mandated to administer the study settlement, it is not permitted to receive urban land use planning and building permission applications. Every single application for urban land planning

and building permission for any development has to be sent by the applicant directly to the Metropolitan Office of the Town and Country Planning Department. This defeats the purpose of the decentralisation concept and makes it difficult for the SMDC to effectively control developments in its area of jurisdiction.

As a public organisation, the Oforikrom SMDC has some decentralised units as part of its

Figure 8.2: Oforikrom SMDC office



administrative set up that supports it to discharge its mandate in the study settlement.

They include the development control section, the revenue and accounts unit, environmental health unit, the central administration unit and the waste management unit. Similar to the Subin SMDC, the Oforikrom SMDC did not have the full complement of all the decentralised units under the KMA to support it effectively discharge its mandate. Moreover, the few units available also in most cases take instructions and also report directly to their

mother departments at the Metropolitan Head Offices.

"I am supposed to be the final authority but I am not because KMA is the main organisation at times you will be here and you see some engineers from main office go straight to a certain community without informing the sub—metro (Oforikrom SMDC) so sometime there are lapses" (Oforikrom, October 23, 2012).

As aptly captured in the above interview, the phenomenon undermines the authority of the SMDC to effectively work in the study settlement. In addition, the few units also lacked adequate funds, logistics and qualified personnel to discharge their mandate. However, the SMDC was able to carry out some of its functions in the face of these challenges. For instance, it was able to mobilise revenue mainly from the small-scale informal business sector in the study settlement. It emerged from the interview that the SMDC was usually able to realise the monthly revenue target of $GH \not\in 8,000$ (equivalent of $\in 3,333$) through its revenue and accounts unit for the KMA.

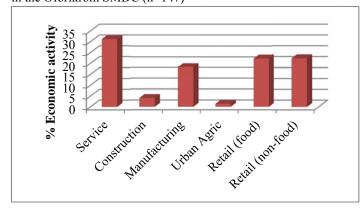
8.7 Characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector

On a cursory glance, the small-scale informal business sector appears labyrinth and complex for any significant policy intervention especially with regards to their integration by the urban land use planning regime for improving urban development. However, a careful examination of the activities in the sector reveal its strengths and potentials that can be harnessed as well as weakness that can be effectively addressed through the designing of appropriate policies. Understanding the sector through the analyses of the characteristics of its various activities will tremendously aid in this exercise. The economic activities of the small-scale informal business

sector in the Oforikrom SMDC cut across all the various industrial groups of economic activities. The operators largely take advantage of the slow traffic on the Kumasi-Accra Highway to provide goods and services to the many customers that ply the road daily as well as the customers in the various neighbourhoods. Innovative approaches that combine both traditional and modern technology are applied to provide goods and services to customers. These approaches enable the operators to reduce their costs of operation and thus relatively lower the price of their goods and services as well as to increase profits. In order to be able to aptly analyse the characteristics of the economic activities, they have been again grouped into six industrial groups – service, construction, manufacturing, urban agriculture, retail of food items and retail of non-food items based on the similar classifications of activities in sector in section 7.6 in the previous chapter of this report.

8.7.1 Industrial groups in the small-scale informal business sector in the Oforikrom SMDC

Figure 8.3: Percentage of economic activities in industrial groups in the Oforikrom SMDC (n=147)



All the various industrial groupings had at least an economic activity. Majority (31.3%) of the economic activities were in the service sector. Economic activities that made up the retail of food items and retail of non-food items were 22.4 percent each. The manufacturing industrial grouping had 18.4 percent of the economic activities grouped under it whilst the construction and the urban

agriculture industrial groupings had 4.1 percent and 1.4 percent grouped under them respectively.

8.7.2 Demographic characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector

The demographic characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector in the Oforikrom SMDC presents the age, gender and the education levels attained by the people engaged in the sector. It also discusses the ownership status of the businesses, the number of hours operators and employees in the sector work per week, levies paid to city authorities as well as incomes made by the operators in the sector.

8.7.2.1 Age of small-scale informal business sector operators

Data from the analyses of the ages and respective age-cohorts in the sector will immensely aid the designing of appropriate policy interventions in the sector. Again, it will also aid in the designing of specific programmes for some age-cohorts that may be vulnerable such as the aged. As indicated in Table 8.1, more than 70 percent of the small-scale informal economic activity operators in the study area were between the ages of 15 and 34. This portrays a very youthful and

economic active population of the study area that is engaged in the small-scale informal business sector. The minimum age of operators was 15 years whilst 62 years was the oldest age of the people engaged in the sector.

Table 8.1: Percentage age distribution of small-scale informal business operators in different age cohorts (n=147)

Age cohort	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
15-19	6.1	6.1	6.1
20-24	24.5	24.5	30.6
25-29	26.5	26.5	57.1
30-34	19	19	76.2
35-39	9.5	9.5	85.7
40-44	7.5	7.5	93.2
45-49	3.4	3.4	96.6
50-54	2	2	98.6
55-59	0.7	0.7	99.3
60+	0.7	0.7	100
Total	100	100	

The 25-29 age cohort had the highest number of the people engaged in the sector with the least age cohort of people engaged in the sector being the 55-59 and the above 60 age cohorts. The data reveals that the prime-working age group were the largest age cohorts in the sector. It is therefore imperative that the sector is supported to help the youth contribute their quota to urban development through the sector.

8.7.2.2 Gender of small-scale informal business operators

A similar analysis of data on the gender of small-scale informal business operators is essential for fashioning gender sensitive policies. The percentage of females engaged in the small-scale informal business economic activities in the study area was almost similar to that of the males. As shown in Table 8.2, with the exception of urban agriculture which is undertaken solely by the males, all the economic activities in the various industrial groupings are undertaken by both males and females.

Table 8.2: Percentage males and females of small-scale informal business operators (n=147)

	S	ex	
Industrial grouping	Male	Female	Total
Service	54.3	45.7	100
Construction	75	25	100
Manufacturing	59.3	40.7	100
Urban agriculture	100	0	100
Retail (food)	27.3	72.7	100
Retail (non-food)	54.5	45.5	100
All	50.3	49.7	100

8.7.2.3 Level of educational attainment

The general assumption in majority of the informal sector discourse is that the people engaged in the sector are the disadvantaged in society including mostly illiterates. The data on the educational levels of the operators in the sector will help to design suitable interventions including appropriate training programmes for the development of the sector. The entire small-scale informal business operators surveyed in the study area had some form of education. A higher proportion of 44.9 percent of the entire population engaged in the small-scale informal business had attained basic education. Those who had attained secondary education were 42.2 percent. About 9.5 percent of the small-scale informal business operators reported they had attained tertiary education whilst the remaining 3.4 percent of the operators interviewed reported they had had non-formal education.

Table 8.3: Percentage level of educational attainment by small-scale informal business operators (n=147)

		Level of Education					
Industrial grouping	Basic	Secondary	Tertiary	Others	Total		
Service	39.1	45.7	8.7	6.5	100		
Construction	33.3	50	0	16.7	100		
Manufacturing	63	25.9	11.1	0	100		
Urban agriculture	50	50	0	0	100		
Retail (food)	36.3	45.5	15.2	3	100		
Retail (non-food)	48.5	45.5	6	0	100		
All	44.9	42.2	9.5	3.4	100		

Among the industrial groupings, manufacturing had a higher proportion (63%) of those engaged who had attained basic education. Construction and urban agriculture also had 50 percent each of those engaged in them to have attained secondary education. A higher proportion of 15.2 percent and 16.7 percent of those engaged in retailing of food items and construction had attained tertiary education and non-formal education respectively. As already explained in section 7.6.1.3 of the previous chapter, the reason for more educated people especially the highly educated ones working in the sector is the inability of the formal sector to provide employment opportunities for them. The designing of suitable policies directed towards the development of the sector will help to create employment for a critical mass of the active labour force in the study area.

8.7.2.4 Ownership status

Analyses on the data of the small-scale informal business sector is expected to reveal the types of labour – self-employed or own-account, hired labour, unpaid family labour – in the sector.

Table 8.4: Percentage ownership status of informal economic activities by industrial groups (n=147)

		Ownership				
Industrial grouping	Own business	Family business	Others	Total		
Service	63	34.8	2.2	100		
Construction	16.7	83.3	0	100		
Manufacturing	81.5	18.5	0	100		
Urban agriculture	100	0	0	100		
Retail (food)	60.6	39.4	0	100		
Retail (non-food)	66.7	30.3	3	100		
All	65.3	33.3	1.4	100		

This will immensely make the designing of appropriate labour related policies for the sector meaningful. More than 60 percent of the economic activities in the study settlement were owned

and operated by the owners themselves (own-account). The economic activities that were owned by families and operated by a member of the family (unpaid family labour) were 33.3 percent whilst a little over one percent of the economic activities were being manned by an employee (hired labour), apprentice or a friend of the owner. In addition, with the exception of the construction industrial grouping, majority (more than 60 percent) of the economic activities in each industrial group was owned and managed by the economic activity owners themselves. Family members largely assist in the operation or are joint owners of economic activities. This is quite understandable as this brings down considerably their costs of operation and increases their profit margins.

8.7.2.5 People employed by small-scale informal businesses

Data on the number of people small-scale informal business employs will aid in assessing the requirements of specific business in the sector. The average number of people employed by the small-scale informal businesses in the study area was 2.3 persons for every economic activity with nine (9) people being the maximum number of people employed by an economic activity.

Table 8.5: Percentage of number of people employed (n=147)

	Industrial grouping							
Number of people employed	Service	Construction	Manufacturing	Urban agric	Retail (food)	Retail (non- food)	Total	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	26.7	0	8.3	0	38.3	26.7	100	
2	27.9	8.3	25	0	19.4	19.4	100	
3	32	0	24	0	8	36	100	
4	50	12.5	37.5	0	0	0	100	
5	50	12.5	37.5	0	0	0	100	
6	60	20	0	0	20	0	100	
7	0	0	100	0	0	0	100	
8	100	0	0	0	0	0	100	
9	0	0	0	0	0	100	100	
All	31.7	4.1	18.6	0	22.8	22.8	100	

With the exception of urban agriculture, all the economic activities in the various industrial groupings had employees. As the farmlands were being continuously converted to residential plots, the farm sizes of the inhabitants were constantly diminishing. And coupled with the fact that rudimentary methods are still being employed by the farmers, it is quite understandable that they had no employees. A higher proportion of people were employed by the economic activities in the service industrial grouping as compared to their counterparts in the other industrial groups.

In addition, more females were employed in the small-scale informal business as compared to their male counterparts. This can be attributed to the fact that there are more females than males in the study area. In addition, the number of males employed as compared to their female counterparts varied widely among the various industrial groupings. A higher proportion of males were employed in the manufacturing and the retailing of non-food products than their female counterparts. In the construction industrial grouping, only males were employed.

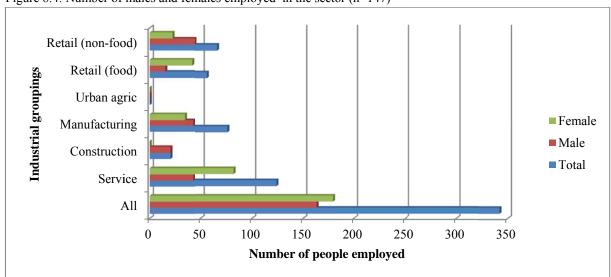


Figure 8.4: Number of males and females employed in the sector (n=147)

8.7.2.6 Hours worked per by employees in the small-scale informal business sector

Compensations and other benefits of workers are usually determined by a number of factors including number of hours spent on a job. Analyses of the data on the number of hours spent by employees in the sector will aid the fashioning of labour related policies to the sector. Generally, the people engaged in the economic activities in the small-scale informal business sector worked relatively longer hours. On the average, a person engaged in the sector worked 58.6 hours weekly. The least number of hours any person engaged in the sector worked was 24 hours weekly whilst the longest was 90 hours weekly. Among the industrial groupings, people engaged in urban agriculture worked least hours as compared to their counterparts in the service, construction and retailing of non-food items industrial groupings that had 33.3 percent, 33.3 percent and 33.4 percent respectively of their workers working the longest hours.

Table 8.6: Number of hours worked weekly by percentage of workers in the industrial groupings (n=147)

			Industrial grou	pings			
Hours worked	Service	Construction	Manufacturing	Urban agric	Retail (food)	Retail (non-food)	Total
4	0	0	0	100	0	0	100
5	0	0	0	0	100	0	100
6	33.3	33.3	0	0	33.4	0	100
7	33.4	0	20.8	4.2	20.8	20.8	100
8	40	5	10	0	25	20	100
9	28.6	0	28.6	0	7.1	35.7	100
10	12.2	2.4	34.2	0	12.2	39	100
11	41.7	0	8.3	0	41.7	8.3	100
12	55.6	0	11.1	0	33.3	0	100
13	71.4	0	0	0	28.6	0	100
14	33.3	16.7	0	0	33.3	16.7	100
15	33.3	33.3	0	0	33.4	0	100
All	31.3	4.1	18.4	1.4	22.4	22.4	100

8.7.2.7 Income of small-scale informal businesses

A higher proportion of the small-scale informal businesses in the study area earned incomes of more than GH¢5 (equivalent of $\in 2.10$) a day which was more than the national daily minimum wage of GH¢4.48 (equivalent of $\in 1.86$) a day in December, 2012. Profits earned by small-scale informal businesses also varied among the various industrial groups in the study area as shown in Table 8.16.

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		Daily profits (GH¢)						
Industrial grouping	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21+	Total		
Service	2.3	13.7	22.7	27.3	34	100		
Construction	0	0	0	33.3	66.7	100		
Manufacturing	3.8	19.2	19.2	23.2	34.6	100		
Urban agriculture	0	100	0	0	0	100		
Retail (food)	12.5	25	0	41.7	20.8	100		
Retail (non-food)	7.1	28.6	7.1	14.3	42.9	100		
All	5.5	21.3	13.4	26	33.8	100		

Majority (33.8%) of the people engaged in the sector earned more than GH¢21 (equivalent of €8.75) daily. Within the industrial groups, those engaged in the construction sector earned more compared to the other sectors. A worker in the construction sector earned at least GH¢16 (equivalent of €6.67) daily with more than 60 percent earning more than GH¢21 per day. This is because of the increase in the residential housing development in the SMDC. In addition, it is difficult to tax the income of people engaged in the construction sector. Even though the SMDC collects rates, licences and fees from the various economic activities on behalf of the KMA, it is difficult to trace the incomes arising from the activities of those engaged in the construction sector.

8.7.3 Location characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector

Figure 8.5: Informal businesses located along roads



As already mentioned, the small-scale informal business economic activities in the study area are located in lanes in between houses, road reservations, railway reservations, nature reserves, vacant plots among others. In most cases, the habitable rooms of residential houses that abut streets that have been converted into shops and workshops of small-scale informal businesses had their activities extending to the pavements/walkways, road reservations and lanes.

These specific locations were accessed by

small-scale informal business operators from various people in the study area that were perceived to be owners or caretakers of the locations in question.

Access to the locations was also usually influenced by operators' relationship to the perceived land owners or caretakers. As depicted in Table 8.8, access to these spaces is granted to small-scale informal business operators by various people. Majority (48.2%) of the small-scale informal business operators had their places of operation from the landlords whose frontage they were located.

Table 8.8: Sources of land access by industrial groups in percentages of the small-scale informal businesses (n=141)

	How land for business was acquired						
	Permitted by	In-front of family	Permitted by	In-front of my	Permitted by	Asked	
Industrial grouping	landlord	house	Assemblyman	house	the chief	no one	Total
Service	53.5	23.3	9.4	6.9	6.9	0	100
Construction	33.3	50	0	16.7	0	0	100
Manufacturing	56	0	24	8	12	0	100
Urban agriculture	0	0	0	0	100	0	100
Retail (food)	43.7	25	6.3	15.6	9.4	0	100
Retail (non-food)	45.5	18.1	15.2	18.2	0	3	100
All	48.2	19.1	12.1	12.1	7.8	0.7	100

A further 19.1 percent and 12.1 percent also had their businesses located in-front of their family houses and their own houses respectively. About 12.1 percent and 7.8 percent of the small-scale informal businesses had their spaces given out to them by their assemblymen/women and chiefs respectively. These are mostly economic activities that are located on vacant plots, nature reserves, railway reservations and other vacant lands acquired by government for public purposes but are unencumbered. Nonetheless, about 0.7 percent of the small-scale informal businesses stated they located their businesses on their own volition without getting permission from anyone.

Monetary payments to grantors to the use of urban public space

More than 50 percent of the small-scale informal business operators interviewed indicted that they make monetary payment for the use of the spaces of their business location to the people who granted the spaces to them whilst 41.9 percent do not make any payments. As indicated in the previous section, some of the operators had their businesses located either in their own frontage or that of their family house or out of their own volition and as a result need not make any payments.

Table 8.8: Payment status in percentages of the small-scale informal business in industrial groups (n=136)

	<u> </u>	_	1 \
	Paying		
Industrial grouping	Yes	No	Total
Service	71.4	28.6	100
Construction	50	50	100
Manufacturing	68	32	100
Urban agriculture	0	100	100
Retail (food)	46.4	53.6	100
Retail (non-food)	48.5	51.5	100
All	58.1	41.9	100

Among the various industrial groupings with the exception of those engaged in urban agriculture, at least one of the small-scale informal businesses in the other industrial groupings made monetary payments to perceived land owners. A higher proportion (71.4%) of those engaged in service made monetary payment as compared to their counterparts in the remaining industrial groupings. It was largely observed that majority of urban agricultural activities took place on 'marginal' lands along the streams, vacant plots and undeveloped lands and thus did not make any monetary payments to perceived land owners as their land use activity can be easily converted whenever the need arises which had always been the case. This is also in conformity with the communal land tenure system.

On the average, informal economic activities in the study area pay GH¢24.20 (equivalent to €10 with an exchange rate of GH¢2.40 per €1 in October, 2012 according to the forex exchange of the Bank of Ghana) to perceived land owners on a monthly basis. The lowest amount paid every month was GH¢4.60 (equivalent to €1.91) whilst the highest amount was GH¢60.00 (equivalent to €25). The amount of money charged was dependent on the attractiveness of the location and size of the land. For instance, small-scale informal businesses located along major roads paid more than those located in lanes in between houses.

Length of stay

Small-scale informal businesses had spent various years at the places of their respective operation. The survey revealed that the average number of years spent by a small-scale informal business in the study area was 5.5 years. The least number of years spent at a business location was a year whilst the longest period was more than twenty-one (21) years. Consequently, more than 60 percent of the small-scale informal businesses had spent between one (1) and five (5) years. About 18.2 percent had also stayed at their business locations at periods ranging between six (6) and ten (10) years. Periods ranging from eleven (11) to fifteen (15) and sixteen (16) to twenty (20) had been spent by 8.1 and 2.9 percent of small-scale informal businesses at their business locations respectively. The least percentage of small-scale informal businesses spent the highest period of more than twenty-one (21) years as shown in Table 8.9.

Table 8.9: Length of stay of small-scale informal business by industrial groupings in percentages (n=137)

		Number of years					
Industrial grouping	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21+	Total	
Service	88.9	4.4	4.4	2.3	0	100	
Construction	66.6	16.7	0	16.7	0	100	
Manufacturing	66.6	29.2	4.2	0	0	100	
Urban agriculture	0	0	0	50	50	100	
Retail (food)	53.6	25	14.3	0	7.1	100	
Retail (non-food)	59.4	25	12.5	3.1	0	100	
All	68.6	18.2	8.1	2.9	2.2	100	

Furthermore, a higher proportion of small-scale informal businesses that had stayed at their business locations for periods ranging from one to five were in the service industrial group whilst those in urban agriculture had the highest proportion of businesses that had stayed at their business locations for more than twenty-one years.

8.7.3.1 Factors influencing the choice of small-scale informal business location

The factors influencing the choice of business location varied among the small-scale informal businesses in the study area. Most of the small-scale informal business operators interviewed in study area indicated that a combination of these factors influenced their choice and location of their businesses. However, operators were made to rank these factors in order of importance for easy analyses.

Table 8.10: Operators' business location decision factors in industrial groups in percentages (n=143)

	Attractions of business locations								
Industrial grouping	Proximity to customers	Proximity to suppliers	Less competition	Availability of shelter	Less crime	Others	Total		
Service	55.6	0	22.2	15.6	0	6.6	100		
Construction	50	0	50	0	0	0	100		
Manufacturing	38.5	7.7	19.2	30.8	3.8	0	100		
Urban agriculture	50	0	0	0	0	50	100		
Retail (food)	75.7	0	12.1	6.1	0	6.1	100		
Retail (non-food)	58	6.5	25.8	9.7	0	0	100		
All	57.2	2.7	21	14	1	4.1	100		

Obviously, the most important factor that influenced the choice of a business's location among all the small-scale informal businesses was proximity to customers. This was followed by locations where operators envisaged having less competition with other informal economic activities with regards to goods or services offered. In addition, 14 percent and 2.7 percent of operators indicated that the availability of shelter and proximity to their suppliers respectively influenced their choices of business location. Another 4.1 percent were more influenced by the ability of the space to adequately accommodate their businesses and access to infrastructure to support their operations as shown in Table 8.10. Security was the least factor influencing operators' choice of business location. One of the reasons to explain this is that because the study area as well as the entire city is generally peaceful and crime rates are generally low, security was not much of a concern to the operators in the sector.

8.7.3.2 Physical structures and sizes of small-scale informal businesses

The physical structures accommodating the small-scale informal businesses in the study area varied according to the peculiarity of activity. Whilst the peculiar nature of some activities allowed them to be accommodated in more secured and furnished structures, other businesses were better accommodated in more temporary and less furnished structures. Subsequently, the materials used for the construction of the structures were also durable and others were also of rather poor quality. This could also be dependent on the security of tenure of the space being occupied by the small-scale informal business as it was generally observed that businesses which

perceived to have secured land tenure arrangements were accommodated in more durable structures.

More than 60 percent of the small-scale informal businesses were accommodated in metal containers. This suggests that the small-scale informal business operators perceived the tenure of the space their businesses were occupying to be relatively secured as these metal containers were more secured and well furnished. Another 21.4 percent and 9.7 percent of the small-scale informal businesses were accommodated in stalls and kiosks respectively. The remaining 4.1 percent did not need to be accommodated in any structures. For instance, urban agriculture, whilst others were undertaken on tables, on the bare floor, under big umbrellas among others as depicted in Table 8.11.

Table 8.11: Physical structure of small-scale informal business in percentages of industrial groups (n=147)

	Physical structure					
Industrial grouping	Stall	Metal container	Kiosk	Others	Total	
Service	10.9	60.8	26.1	2.2	100	
Construction	0	100	0	0	100	
Manufacturing	7.7	57.7	30.8	3.8	100	
Urban agriculture	0	0	0	100	100	
Retail (food)	15.2	69.6	15.2	0	100	
Retail (non-food)	6.2	68.8	18.8	6.2	100	
All	9.7	64.8	21.4	4.1	100	

With the exception of urban agriculture, a higher proportion of all the small-scale informal businesses in the various industrial groups in the study area were accommodated in metal containers.

8.7.3.3 Space occupied by small-scale informal businesses

The actual amount of space occupied by the small-scale informal businesses in the study area also varied among businesses. Nonetheless, with the exception of urban agriculture as they usually require large land sizes, the average land space occupied by the small-scale informal businesses was 11.97m². The minimum land size occupied was 2m² whilst the highest was 34m². Those engaged in urban agriculture occupied an average land size of about 2,973m².

Table 8.12: Space occupied by percentage of the small-scale informal business in industrial groups (n=147)

Industrial	Space occupied (m²)								
grouping	1-4.99	5-9.99	10-14.99	15-19.99	20-24.99	25-29.99	30-34-99	35+	Total
Service	8.7	67.4	6.5	13.1	0	0	4.3	0	100
Construction	0	33.3	16.7	33.3	0	16.7	0	0	100
Manufacturing	11.2	44.4	18.5	7.4	3.7	0	14.8	0	100
Urban agriculture	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	100
Retail (food)	0	27.3	36.4	33.3	0	3	0	0	100
Retail (non-food)	12.1	24.3	12.1	39.4	0	0	12.1	0	100
All	7.5	42.1	17	23.1	0.7	1.4	6.8	1.4	100

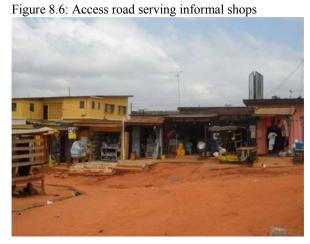
As shown in Table 8.12, a higher proportion (42.1%) of all the small-scale informal businesses in the study area occupied land sizes ranging between 5m² and 9.99m². Land sizes ranging from 20m² to 24.99m² was occupied by the lowest proportion of the small-scale informal businesses in the study area. The smallest land size ranging from 1m² to 4.99m² was occupied by 7.5 percent of the small-scale informal businesses whilst the biggest land size of 35m² and above was occupied by about 1.4 percent of the small-scale informal businesses.

8.7.4 Accessibility of urban infrastructural and services to small-scale informal businesses. The success of economic activities largely depends on available and reliable infrastructural that is easily accessible. The available infrastructure in the study settlement that is accessed by the small-scale informal business sector include: accessibility, electricity, water, waste management and telecommunication.

8.7.4.1 Accessibility

Accessibility in terms of roads, lanes and parking spaces are essential for business operations. Analyses on the data of the characteristics of accessibility available to the sector will aid the policy interventions in the engineering and construction of appropriate roads, lanes and parking spaces to support the sector. As already explained in the section 8.1 above, with the exception of

the Kumasi-Accra Highway and the Eastern bypass of the ring-road which pass through the SMDC majority of the access roads are untarred. The roads become dusty in the dry season and muddy in the raining season severely affecting the operations of businesses in the sector. The few access roads that were tarred had developed potholes making them generally difficult to ply. Parking spaces were generally non-existent. Consequently, customers and suppliers of small-scale informal businesses had to park on the streets resulting in traffic



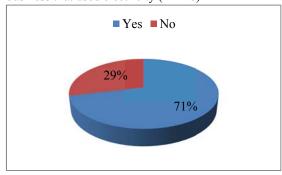
congestions. One of the main reasons for this situation is that the general accessibility in the study area was not designed to take care of the requirements of businesses in the sector.

8.7.4.2 Electricity

The main types of energy that were used by the small-scale informal businesses in the study area were electricity, gas (Liquefied Petroleum Gas), kerosene, charcoal and firewood. Whilst electricity and kerosene were largely used for lighting, gas, charcoal and firewood were used for cooking. The type of energy used by a small-scale informal business operator was largely determined by the specific activity and the service or good produced. Additionally, accessibility, affordability, cost and method of operation also determine the energy used. A combination of these types of energy sources was used by majority of the small-scale informal businesses. From

Figure 8.7, it can be realised that majority of the small-scale informal businesses used electricity. This is either for lighting, powering machines, cooking or a combination of these.

Figure 8.7: Percentage of small-scale informal business that used electricity (n=146)



As already stated, electricity was supplied to the study area by the Electricity Company of Ghana (ECG). A higher proportion (78.9%) of the small-scale informal businesses was connected to the electrical energy in the study area by the ECG as compared to a lower percentage (21.1%) of their counterparts that had electricity connection from their neighbours as shown in Table 8.14.

Table 8.14: Sources of electricity connection of small-scale informal business in industrial groups (146)

	Sources of elect		
Industrial grouping	ECG	Neighbour	Total
Service	79.5	20.5	100
Construction	80	20	100
Manufacturing	68.2	31.8	100
Retail (food)	88.9	11.1	100
Retail (non-food)	75	25	100
All	78.9	21.1	100

8.7.4.2 Water

Similarly, water was used by the small-scale informal business operators for domestic and industrial purposes. Water in the study area was supplied by the Ghana Water Company Limited (GWCL). More than 90 percent of the small-scale informal businesses in the study area reported they were not connected to pipe-bone water. Those connected with pipe-borne water by the GWCL were about 4.7 percent of the total small-scale informal businesses interviewed in the study area. Water was therefore sourced through various means by the small-scale informal business operators for both domestic and economic purposes.

Table 8.15: Source of water of small-scale informal business in industrial groups (n=85)

Industrial grouping	Pipe borne water	Hand dug well	Others	Total
Service	63.2	36.8	0	100
Construction	0	100	0	100
Urban agriculture	0	0	100	10
Retail (food)	10	90	0	100
Retail (non-food)	50	50	0	100
All	40.5	54.1	5.4	100

Majority (54.1%) of the small-scale informal businesses got water from hand dug wells in the study area. About 40.5 percent indicated they got water from the pipe-borne water points in the study area. Even though they were not directly connected to the pipe-borne water system, they

bought the water from those that were directly connected. This increased the cost of water that they use as it was sold to them at a higher rates than that charged officially by the GWCL and thus, increasing their cost of operations. The remaining 5.4 percent indicated they got their water from other sources. These were largely those engaged in urban agriculture that used waste water from the gutters and polluted water from the streams to water their farms. Rain water was also harvested and stored for use.

8.7.4.3 Waste management

The waste generated by the small-scale informal businesses are categorised into liquid, solid and gas. About 83 percent of the small-scale informal business operators interviewed indicated that their activities generate solid waste. Those whose activities generate liquid waste were 16 percent with the remaining 1 percent generating waste in the form of gas. It was largely observed that small-scale informal businesses in the study area generated a combination of the above mentioned categories of waste. However, the data was analysed based on the dominant category of waste generated by the small-scale informal businesses.

Table 8.13: Solid waste disposal (n=131)

Industrial grouping	Solid waste disposal				
	Burning	Refuse dump	Open dumping	Others	Total
Service	0	94.8	2.6	2.6	100
Construction	25	50	0	25	100
Manufacturing	8	84	0	8	100
Urban agriculture	50	0	50	0	100
Retail (food)	3.1	93.8	0	3.1	100
Retail (non-food)	7.4	85.2	3.7	3.7	100
All	5.4	87.6	2.3	4.7	100

The data on Table 8.13 indicates that more than 80 percent of the small-scale informal businesses disposed their solid waste at the communal refuse dump. Burning and open dumping of solid waste was the disposal method employed by 5.4 and 2.3 respectively of the small-scale informal business operators. The remaining 4.7 percent disposed their solid waste through other means such as dumping them into open drains, streams among others.

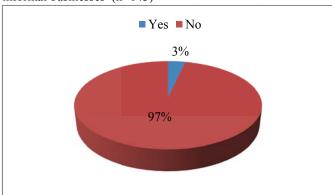
8.7.5 Land use conflicts

The conflict of land uses that arose in the study area were usually those between small-scale informal businesses in the manufacturing industrial group and their counterparts in the other industrial groups especially retailing of non-food items. The smoke that is generated from the activities of charcoal makers, fish-smokers, gari roasters, plantain roasters and other economic activities sometimes affects the operators of the small-scale informal businesses situated near them. This was also a source of conflict between them and other residential houses around them. This was largely because their main source of energy for production was firewood. In addition to the smoke was the solid and liquid waste that produced some unpleasant smell to other land uses located near them.

8.7.6 Complementary land uses

With the exception of the above mentioned conflicts, all the land uses in the study area seemed to comfortably coexist and complement each other. The small-scale informal businesses supplied goods and services to the population of the sub-metropolitan district council. Similarly, they also provided goods and services to each other. These led to the general wellbeing and functionality of the study area which hitherto would not have been the case.

Figure 8.8: Complaints by neighbours about small-scale informal businesses (n=143)



The survey revealed that more than 90 percent of the small-scale informal businesses interviewed did not have any problems from their neighbours regarding their activities as compared to 3 percent of their counterparts.

8.7.7 Small-scale informal sector organisations and other organisations related to the sector Additionally, there were other organisations in the study settlement engaged in various activities that affected the growth and development of the area. These were various small-scale informal business associations such as the dressmakers association, the hairdressers and beauticians association, the *gari* processors association; faith based organisations such as churches and mosques; and youth groups which were popularly called fan clubs. The various small-scale informal business associations were largely trade based. Some of these associations had district, regional and national networks that were members of the Ghana Trades Union Congress (GTUC). As a result, membership of these associations was used by the small-scale informal businesses to legitimise their activities and the locations of their activities in the study settlement. They also served as social and economic support systems for the small-scale informal businesses by supporting members during events such as bereavements, marriage and outdooring ceremonies. Consequently, many of the associations operated as cooperatives that cooperate for their mutual social and economic benefits. Sometimes, the associations are used as collateral to source credit facilities from suppliers for members.

"I am the leader here (a cluster of *gari* processors). We are about ten in number. But together with our children and people who come to help us, we are many....we usually do not have the money to buy the cassava and the firewood. As a leader, I guarantee the quantity required by each member from our suppliers who supply us with cassava from different parts of the region (Ashanti Region). After processing, we also have customers from many parts of the country who come to buy. I make sure everyone who took a credit from a supplier pays (Oforikrom, October 19, 2012)".

Furthermore, there were the traditional authority, the assemblymen and opinion leaders. These actors played various roles which had implications for the urban growth and development in the study settlement. They represent various power sources in the study settlement. They exercised their power to 'reproduce' space and this overtime has become the norm (see Table 8.7). One of the main non-governmental organisations in the study area working to support small-scale informal business sector was TECHNOSERVE Ghana.

TECHNOSERVE

TECHNOSERVE Ghana is a subsidiary of TECHNOSERVE Incorporated, an international non-profit, non-governmental organisation with headquarters in Connecticut, USA. TECHNOSERVE was established in 1971 by Edward Bullard, who worked in Ghana for two years as a hospital manager at Adidome in the Volta Region. It is governed by a Board of Directors drawn from the private sector in the United States. In Ghana there is a Country Director who manages the country programmes. Its activities are funded by individuals, United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and also moneys accruing from contract projects undertaken for the Ghana Government and the World Bank.

TECHNOSERVE went into the informal sector because it was convinced that rural Ghanaians needed professional management skills and the technical means to generate more income from their hard labour. TECHNOSERVE collaborates with extension officers of the Ministry of Agriculture and with various cooperatives and self-help foundations. Limited finances is the most basic problem as against the NGO's stated objective to train small-scale informal business operators to acquire the required managerial skills for their businesses.

8.8 Challenges of the small-scale informal business sector

Progress is made in any endeavour when the challenges identified are adequately addressed with appropriate actions. The identifying and analysing the challenges in that small-scale informal business sector will help to design appropriate interventions to bring progress into the sector. Challenges identified by the small-scale informal business sector operators in the study area were largely similar to identified by operators in the sector in the Subin SMDC thoroughly discussed in section 7.9 of the previous chapter. These were largely those that pertained to their lack of the recognition and protection of their businesses; their inability to adequately access secured land; their inability to adequately access infrastructure and services for their operations; and lack of training in the sector. However, it was revealed that businesses in the sector did not have easy access to credit facilities for their businesses. In addition, a suitable market for marketing their products especially for those engaged in food processing, metal works and wood works.

8.9 Concluding remarks

The chapter is the second case study report of the two case studies of this research. It discusses the Oforikrom sub-metropolitan district council as a rapidly growing urban neighbourhood with

peri-urban characteristics. It presents the background and location of the SMDC; the urban land use planning regime; the open spaces and the land tenure issues; the economic activities in the area; its peri-urban characteristics as well as the administrative set-up of the area. These analyses the study settlement in the context of the city. The chapter reveals peri-urban character of the study settlement is not in that of its transition from rural to urban but rather its ability to combine modern and traditional institutions, organisations and general way of life. Further, various characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector in the study settlement is also explored. The characteristics include: the demographic characteristics; the location characteristics of the small-scale informal businesses; the accessibility of the urban infrastructure and support services in the settlement to the business in the sector; as well as small-scale informal sector organisations and other organisations that are related to activities of the sector. The small-scale informal business sector on the surface appears complex and confusing. It seems to defy the intervention of any meaningful policies aimed at its development. But a careful study reveals the patterns and logic of the activities in the sector. The chapter meticulously analyses the characteristics which revealed various patterns and logics in the sector to inform meaningful policy interventions. Moreover, the chapter reveals the strengths and potentials of the sector that should harnessed for urban development as well as weaknesses that needs to be addressed to derive the full benefit of the sector.

The next chapter examines the harnessing of indigenous spatial knowledge from various actors in the urban land use planning regime and the small-scale informal business sector operators as with the aid of a participatory Geographic Information System approach as a strategy for integration.

9 Indigenous spatial knowledge for integrating the small-scale informal business sector into urban land use planning

An assessment of the current urban land use planning system especially as discussed in chapter four (4) of this research reveals that it suffers from both foundational and procedural limitations. There is inadequate capacity (inadequate personnel, inadequate logistics and obsolete legislation) and over reliance on the traditional approach of urban land use planning with actual little involvement of relevant stakeholders. These stated challenges are some of the greatest constraints to the effective and efficient integration of the small-scale informal business sector by the urban land use planning system in the urban area. It has been argued severally in this research that for the urban land use planning system to be able to integrate the small-scale informal business sector, it should equally consider and include all relevant stakeholders in decision-making processes.

The approach sets out to first identify the indigenous knowledge of the relevant stakeholders on the land use types in the study area, their land use requirements and other competing interests, the various land ownership types in the area, and how the various representatives of these can deliberate, argue and map in order to clearly structure and reconcile these competing interests; and secondly to explore whether Participatory Geographic Information System (PGIS) as a method can be used to identify competing interests in urban land uses and address them for possible integration. Two neighbourhoods (one from each sub-metropolitan district council) were selected for the exercise. Apart from diversity and variations in tenure, the availability of high-resolution orthophoto¹⁰ maps, topographic maps, land use maps and other relevant spatial data for the participatory mapping exercise; willingness of relevant stakeholders to cooperate and participate in the exercise were the main criteria used to select the two neighbourhoods.

Additionally, the chapter also elucidates on the findings from the neighbourhoods, the PGIS approach, the results of the participatory mapping exercises as well as the analysis resulting thereof. The preferred scenarios in the form of maps prepared by the stakeholders in each case are also presented. The results of stakeholder discussions and the results of the Global Positioning System (GPS) surveys are also discussed. In section 9.4, an appraisal of the PGIS approach and collective decisions made by stakeholders are outlined in terms of outputs and processes. The appraisal is based on the transfer of indigenous knowledge, the accuracy and representativeness of the maps, and the usefulness of the maps for communities and for urban land use planning. The appraisal also covers the usability of PGIS tools for local capacity enhancement (participation and empowerment).

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An orthophoto, is an aerial photograph geometrically corrected (orthorectified) such that the scale is uniform – meaning the photo can be considered the equivalent of a map, and thus has the same lack of distortion as a map.

9.1 The PGIS approach

Public participation as a concept and practice in development and urban land use planning discourse grew ever more popular throughout the 1970s and 1980s and became the operational focus of many local, national, and international agencies (Taylor and Mayo, 2008). The concept is credited to Arnstein's (1969) work on citizen participation which describes participation in terms of "citizen power", which consists of citizen control, delegated power and partnership, and "tokenism," in which she includes consultation, informing, and placation. Manipulation and therapy were considered as "nonparticipation". In what is popularly referred to as "Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen participation", she uses the metaphor of a ladder to illustrate how the power progresses from power holders to citizens: The base of the ladder denotes power holders having power over citizens, who have no opportunity to participate, and higher rungs represent citizens having the power to achieve their own priorities and gaining increased levels of participation to the apex of the ladder which represents citizens holding power in decision making. Subsequently, in building on Arnstein's work, Jackson (2001) attempts to shift the attention from power and builds on the ladder model by spelling out the motivations of those who adopt and practice participatory approaches. A listing is made of these motivations in a hierarchy that shows the different purposes of getting the public involved: informing, public education, testing reaction, seeking ideas, and sharing decision making. The similarity to both models is the suggestion of a normative progression toward more genuine forms of participation that shift from authority control to citizen control. However, each stage of Jackson's hierarchy needs to include the previous ones to keep the value of the newly achieved stage. For instance, sustaining the informing stage should be considered indispensable at all stages, rather than being considered just a lesser form of participation (Cornwall, 2008).

In this research, participation has been defined as the local government efforts in involving the people in their areas of jurisdiction in the urban land use planning process, using the collaborative planning approach. As a result, it is imperative to know 'who' to involve in the practice of participation as well as the mechanisms used in involving them. Obviously, one of the arduous tasks in the practice of involving the public in urban land use planning or any project for that matter is the kind of people to involve in the process. Schlossberg and Shuford (2005) consider possible stakeholders to include informers, affected groups, decision makers, implementers, and the general public. These broad categorisations assist to know and articulate the different actors to be involved in public participation.

Moreover, of equal importance is the medium through which public participation is practised. Majority of public participation in the process of governance have included face-to-face discussion in a multi-stakeholder forum, public meetings, referenda, opinion surveys, focus groups, deliberative polls, citizens' panels, and citizens' juries among others (Sanoff, 1999; Carver, 2003). In recent times however, due to the enormous growth of information and communication technologies (ICT), new forms of participation have been developed. These

started with services delivered online, such as payment of taxes, and evolved into the use of online discussions, web surveys, and online decision support systems (Finney, 2000). In spite of the diverse of means for public participation, the process has been sharply criticised to require a mere reactive involvement of the public. For example, Innes and Booher (2004) recognise that hearings and procedures for review are not dialogical but based on one-way communication from members of the public to elected officials. Spaces for communication through invitation are indeed necessary, but they are by no means sufficient to ensure authentic participation (Cornwall, 2008).

Accordingly, the burgeoning literature over the past decade or so on the concept emphasises the importance of developing the conditions for two-way communication between urban land use planners and the public (Innes and Booher, 2004; Cornwall, 2008). In order to come to this realisation, participants of any participatory exercise in the urban land use planning process would have to be educated about the technicalities of urban land use planning and informing them about the empirical facts gathered by urban land use planners. As the ultimate objective of urban land use planning is the efficient and effective arrangement of activities in space and their management to increase social welfare, educating and informing needs to be linked to a spatial understanding of the issues at stake. Urban land use planners and city authorities need to facilitate an understanding of the urban place by providing a spatial explanation of governance, population, and traditional assets. Hence, it is essential that the mechanism of public participation in urban land use planning shall ensure a two-way communication process, educate and inform participants about the issues and their manifestation in space.

One of the tools that had been envisaged to achieve this objective is the Geographic Information System (GIS). GIS has been variously defined in the literature, but as stated by Pickles (1995), it is basically a device that analyses space by combining computerised processes of map making and database management. These components provide the following functions: the representation of a place in a coordinate geography, the collection of information about spatial objects, and the elaboration or manipulation of this information. Thus, it combines the power of information technology with cartography (Goss, 1995). For instance, it has the capacity to create maps or graphical descriptions that display the political boundaries of a place juxtaposed with the information included in that place, such as demographics, housing, infrastructure, social and economic characteristics among others and manipulates it to produce particular kinds of data to better the understanding of that place. It makes it possible for various sets of data to be connected to their geographical positions; hitherto, this was only possible by using very sophisticated machinery operated by highly skilled technicians.

The idea of using GIS together with traditional mechanisms of public participation is not a recent phenomenon. According to Sieber (2006) the connection between GIS and public participation that led to the rise of Public Participation Geographic Information Systems (PPGIS) began in the late 1990s. This was aimed at using PPGIS to integrate GIS data from different sources such as

social narratives of marginalised communities, nongovernmental organisations, and grassroots groups (Laituri, 2002; Obermeyer, 1998; Jarvis and MacLean Sperman, 1995), demonstrating the inclusion of qualitative data representing people's needs and judgments (Ceccato and Snickars, 2000). Furthermore, a PPGIS facilitates the development of increased access to a GIS through projects that allow the community to include their local knowledge in the information system (Ghose, 2001; Elwood, 2002; 2006; Elwood and Leitner, 2003) and through the dissemination of data using web-based information technologies (Simao, 2009; Carver, 2003; Nuojua, 2010; Sidlar, 2009; Shiffer, 1995; Haque, 2001).

Since its inception, the concept has been labelled variously as PGIS (Abbot et al., 1999), PPGIS (Obermeyer, 1998; Jordan, 2000; Weiner et al., 2002), Community-integrated GIS (CiGIS) (Harris and Weiner, 2002) and Mobile, interactive GIS (MIGIS) (McConchie and McKinnon, 2002) among others. In this research, the general term 'Participatory GIS' (Chapin, 2005) is used. Nonetheless, in referring to the literature, the specific terminology of individual authors is retained.

9.2 Existing situation and necessary pre-conditions

Preliminary activities and relevant data

A high quality orthophoto maps with a resolution of 20cm recorded in 2009, from the Land Use Planning and Management Project (LUPMP) of the Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD), was used as the base map for the participatory mapping exercises. The maps had been geo-referenced using the World Geodetic System (WGS84), Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) Zone 30N reference system. The images were overlaid with a coordinate grid, and the orthophoto map was printed in tiles of A0 size at a scale of 1:2500. In addition to this scale making objects easily identifiable and to read for the stakeholders, the planning schemes of the communities had also been prepared in a similar scale. This therefore prevents blurring and difficulty in reading by the human eye as well as easy comparison to the planning schemes. The revised planning schemes of the communities were also acquired from the TCPD. This was to make easy comparison between planned or proposed land uses and the current land uses. A Global Positioning System (GPS) equipment (Garmin GPSMAP 76Csx.), which identifies coordinates with an accuracy of plus or minus 10m was used to measure reference points to check the maps created during the participatory mapping exercise. The main hall of the offices of the Town Councils in each community was used for the exercise. The entire exercise involved eight steps which have been described below.

1. Community entry and observation of relevant protocols – Meetings and courtesy calls were organised to seek permission from chiefs, assemblymen, area counsellors, leaders of small-scale informal business associations and opinion leaders to work in their communities, as well as to explain the objectives of the study, its relevance and the researcher's expectations concerning their role. The orthophoto maps were displayed and the participatory mapping exercise explained to the relevant stakeholders. As part of the protocols, it was made known to all stakeholders that

the planning area will be the community as a neighbourhood. This was followed by a reconnaissance survey in the study areas to obtain first-hand information about the neighbourhood's boundaries, major land marks as reference points, various land use zones, land ownership situation, various land use activities and their requirements for space among others.

- 2. Focus groups A group of seven participants representing the relevant stakeholders in urban land use planning in the neighbourhoods was selected in each of the two neighbourhoods for the participatory mapping exercise. Each group consisted of three from the sub-metropolitan district council, three from the small-scale informal business sector and one representative of the community leaders. The selection of the participants was made using purposive sampling techniques. The list of participants was drawn in conjunction with the sub-metropolitan district council officials, the small-scale informal business operators and the community leaders. The selection criteria of a participant were based on the knowledge of the community's tenure system, knowledge of urban land use planning system in the area, length of stay in the community, availability and willingness to participate, and involvement in small-scale informal business activity. Furthermore, the list was again discussed with experts and urban land use planning practitioners who made useful contributions to it. This was to ensure that the level of researcher's bias in the selection of stakeholders is reduced considerably and give greater transparency and trustworthiness to the exercise further increasing reliability in the research.
- 3. Training Selected participants were taken through some basic training on participatory mapping and the use of the GPS. After being briefed on the objectives of the study and their own roles, the trainees were taught the basics of participatory mapping. Next, they were trained in image interpretation, including orthophoto map orientation, the identification of features on maps and the use of mapping tools. They were also given some information about the ethics of PGIS and taught how to carry out GPS measurements.
- 4. Sketching and mapping A day each of participatory mapping exercises was organised in each of the study neighbourhoods. The exercises were organised on different days at the Town Councils of the study neighbourhoods facilitated by the researcher and field assistants. The participants were made to create sketch maps to show their familiarity with their environment and to get to know the participatory mapping tools and photomaps. They drew the neighbourhood boundary, farmland, residential areas, chief's palace, schools, clinics, main road networks, land occupied by the small-scale informal businesses, markets and other features on A0 paper sheets. Furthermore, the participants were presented with an A0 paper sheet which had major land uses of their neighbourhood as reference points. Pieces of paper in different colours and designs representing various land use activities were given to them. They were then asked to locate these activities in space bearing in mind the land use challenges and opportunities their different activities present to other land use activities in the neighbourhood. The pieces of coloured papers were used to locate land use activities in space as much as possible to complement each other, satisfy their own land use needs as well as those of others and that of the community to create a preferred land use map.

- 5. Feedback forum The preferred land use map was displayed together with the revised planning schemes of the neighbourhoods for a feedback forum after the participatory mapping exercise. All the participants were able to validate the maps and suggest additions and corrections.
- 6. Transect walks and GPS survey Based on the information from the participatory mapping exercises, transect walks were designed to capture selected features, including water points, sanitary areas, electricity transformers, and most especially the small-scale informal businesses using the GPS. The survey aimed to verify the ability of locals to interpret the orthophoto map and ascertain whether the maps reflected the actual situation on the ground.
- 7. Data Processing After completion, the researcher processed the maps in a GIS (MapMaker). The A0 sheets were scanned, geo-referenced and digitised on the same scale as the orthophoto maps (1:2500). The GPS data were also imported into the GIS (MapMaker) to illustrate the features picked on the ground.

9.3 PGIS urban land use plan preparation

The PGIS urban land use plan preparation involved the following cyclical and iterative processes: preparation, information/data collection, data analyses, plan formulation, negotiation and decision-making, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and plan updating. Whilst some of these processes were done concurrently, others overlapped giving credence to its cyclical and iterative nature. As stated above in section 9.2, participatory tools were applied throughout the entire process. The GIS was also used to support the analysis as well as decision making and monitoring. The approach is therefore a mix of methods including classical, scientific-technical and participatory planning tools.

9.3.1 Preparation

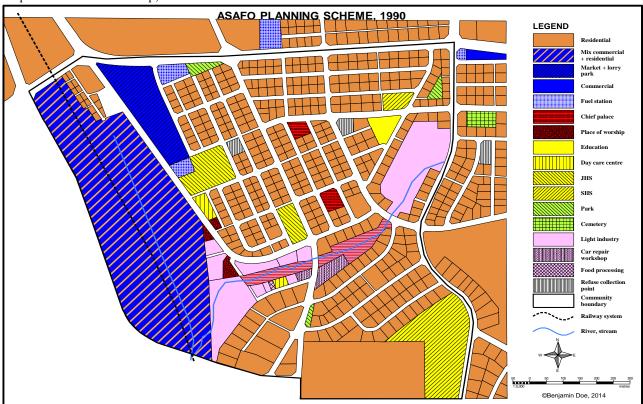
The preparatory activities centred on contacting the relevant stakeholders and actors, discussions on the purpose and relevance of the PGIS urban land use plan, the discussions on the planning area and the objectives of the entire exercise. This was carried out during the community entry exercise as stated in section 9.2 above.

9.3.2 Information/data collection

The relevant data on the existing situations in the neighbourhoods were collected. It was started with some discussions on the legal provisions regulating land use planning in the neighbourhoods. It was realised that the sub-metropolitan district councils as well as the relevant town councils within which the neighbourhoods fall are all sub-structures of the KMA. As a result, Local Government Legislative Instrument of 2004 (L.I. 1809), that established them also stipulated their functions. The relevant planning laws such as the Local Government Act of 1993, Act 462; the National Development Planning (Systems) Act of 1994, Act 480; the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1945, Cap 84; and the National Building Regulations of 1996 which sets the KMA as the planning authority and to guide planning also applied to them. Again,

the bye-laws that were set by the general assembly of the KMA also applied to them. Consequently, the relevant body that should initiate and lead the urban land use planning in the neighbourhood level is the town council. And the plan should be in accordance with the approved medium-term metropolitan development plan (2010-2013), the development guidelines of the Metropolitan Assembly and the guidelines prescribed by the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC).

In addition, the existing local plans/planning schemes of the neighbourhoods were collected from the Development Control Sections of the respective sub-metropolitan district councils (SMDCs). Efforts were also made to collect other relevant programmes covering the socio-economic and the general development of the areas from the relevant sections at the SMDCs. However, this was not possible as some relevant departments (roads, education, agriculture, water, electricity among others) did not have decentralised units at the SMDCs. This revealed the inadequate capacity of the SMDCs as managers of development in their areas of jurisdiction.



Map 9.1: Asafo land use map, 1990

Based of field work data (2012).

Moreover, the planning schemes of the neighbourhoods were updated. The orthophoto maps of the areas were overlaid on their respective planning schemes. This revealed the various land use conversions, the competing interests among various uses which had resulted in land use conflicts, encroachments, incompatible land uses, vacant plots in built-up areas, pollution,

congestion, among others. The overlaid maps also revealed emerging land uses as well as complementary land uses. The stakeholders in the Asafo neighbourhood in the Subin submetropolitan district council revealed that all land in the entire neighbourhood is public land (see Map 9.1 above). Thus, the neighbourhood falls within the Part 1 lands which are administered by the Lands Commission on behalf of the state. Also, the stakeholders classified all private residential houses and commercial areas to be owned by private persons, families or groups. The perceived spatial extents of the various land ownership types were identified and captured. The perceived changes in the land ownership types that have occurred over the past two decades in the neighbourhood as expressed by changes in land uses was captured in Maps 9.1 and 9.2.

ASAFO UPDATED PLANNING SCHEME, 2012

Redderilat - Redderi

Map 9.2: Update land use map of Asafo

Based on field work data (2012).

In addition, the team also identified and mapped the various land use types in the neighbourhood. The various land use types that were identified by the team include residential, commercial, educational, industrial, civic and cultural, public open spaces, access roads as well as sanitary areas. These have been represented in their various land use colour codes as prescribed by the TCPD in Ghana in Maps 9.1 and 9.2 above. Of significance to the team were the increasing mixed land uses that had taken place in the neighbourhood over time. The most prominent were the mix of residential and commercial uses; and residential and industrial uses. Furthermore, the

team also apart from the formal land ownership system in the neighbourhood acknowledged the existence of various land-use types in the neighbourhood. Five main land-use types were identified; leasehold, usufructuary, gift, public and collective.

On the other hand, in the Ayeduase and Kotei neighbourhood in the Oforikrom SMDC, two main land ownership types were identified by the team of stakeholders.

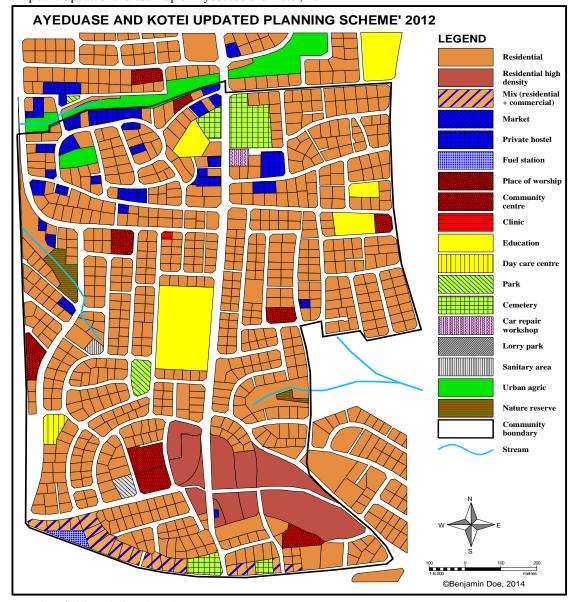
AYEDUASE AND KOTEI PLANNING SCHEME' 2005 LEGEND Residential Mix (residential Car washing bay Market Fuel station Place of worship Clinic Educational Children play ground Cem eter v Sanitary area Lorry park ПП Stream Neighbourhood ©Benjamin Doe, 2014

Map 9.3: Land use map of Ayeduase and Kotei, 2005

Based on field work data (2012).

These were public lands which were administered by the Lands Commission on behalf of the state and stool lands which were administered by the chief of the area on behalf of the Asantehene (occupant of the golden stool). All the communal lands in the neighbourhood such as

schools, clinics, the refuse dump, the market, and the cemetery were perceived as public lands by the team. Also similar to the Asafo neighbourhood, individual lands were perceived as those acquired by private individuals and corporate bodies whilst churches and mosques were perceived as group lands. Maps 9.3 and 9.4 below depict the various land ownership types as expressed in the various land uses in the Ayeduase and Kotei neighbourhood.



Map 9.4: Updated land use map of Ayeduase and Kotei, 2012

Based on field work data (2012).

They also identified the various changes in land ownership that has taken place over the period. The team did this by overlaying the 2005 planning scheme of the neighbourhood which was printed on a transparent paper on the orthophoto map of the area. In addition to their knowledge

of the area, the changes were mapped. These changes were subsequently effected on the revised planning scheme of the neighbourhood which had already been scanned, geo-referenced and digitized in the GIS. The resulting map is the updated planning scheme (see Map 9.4 above).

Changes in land uses over the period in the neighbourhood were also identified and mapped accordingly. Similarly, the team also recognised that people had some right to land which they had converted into land uses over time. As stated by Pottier (2005: 60), 'colonial development policy converts "use" into "ownership", "users" into "owners". This assertion is confirmed by the scale maps. Comparing the scale maps (Map 9.1 with Map 9.2, and Map 9.3 with Map 9.4), one can conclude that land given to individuals on leasehold is conceived as individual land.

Additionally, various actors discussed their interests, needs, priorities, problems and conflicts in relation to their use of space in the neighbourhoods and that of other land users in the neighbourhoods. The discussions revealed how each stakeholder's interest and use of space impacts on others. They realised that each one had interests that is expected to be addressed by the urban land use planning system. And their competing interests generate various conflicts. Nonetheless, these conflicts can be addressed if they all acknowledge their various interests and needs and work together to negotiate measures to address the conflicts that arise as result of their different interests. It was acknowledged by all the stakeholders that the laws and the guidelines of the urban land use planning system does not recognise the interests and address the requirements of the small-scale informal business sector and this had to be addressed.

Furthermore, it was realised that the sub-metropolitan district councils and the town councils lacked the adequate capacity to ensure efficient and effective urban land use planning in the neighbourhood. The discussions revealed that even though the sub-metropolitan district councils and the town councils had the full complement of the elected and the appointed members by the government as stated by the L.I. as well as some office accommodation, the adequate requisite technical staff that were needed to man the decentralised units of the various departments as well as the adequate financial resources were not available. The required equipment such as computers, vehicles among others were also not available.

9.3.3 Analyses

The stakeholders agreed that the various land uses in the neighbourhoods required space and various levels of infrastructure and support services that should be provided in order for them to function effectively to support the development of the neighbourhoods. Consequently, the available infrastructural facilities in the neighbourhoods were operating beyond their carrying capacities. This was as a result of the many land use changes that had occurred overtime in the neighbourhood. The predominantly residential neighbourhoods as depicted by the planning schemes (see Maps 9.1 and 9.3) have now transformed significantly to mixed use neighbourhoods (see Maps 9.2 and 9.4).

Space size and characteristics

The planning schemes of the two neighbourhoods hardly zoned any space for small-scale informal businesses. The small-scale informal business operators were of the opinion that even though they belonged to the neighbourhoods and made a great contribution towards their development, this had not been recognised by city authorities. They therefore made a strong case for city authorities to recognise them as part of the neighbourhoods and also recognise their land use. The group agreed that spaces should be made available to the small-scale informal businesses in addition to the necessary infrastructure to support their activities.

The representatives from the decentralised departments of the KMA in the sub-metropolitan district councils who represented the city authorities largely agreed that the small-scale informal business sector was not recognised by city authorities because they were not registered. Thus, they were not known by the city authorities since they did not have any records on them. This they said had a lot of implications including security. Accordingly, all the plans and projections that were undertaken by city authorities such as provision of infrastructure and services for the development and management of the city did not include the requirements of the small-scale informal businesses. Again, their activities were largely to blame for the many environmental problems in the city.

This was vehemently contested by the representatives of the small-scale informal business sector who argued that the environmental problems were the results of planning that did not include their requirements of their businesses which the representatives of the city authorities alluded to and not necessarily attributes inherent in their respective activities. The groups realised that the environmental challenges were manifestations of the inability of the urban land use planning system to adequately respond to the growing dynamic requirements of the city rather than caused by the small-scale informal business sector. Consequently, these led to various levels of negotiations among the stakeholders. They indicated that the best way of addressing the issues was to first recognise the small-scale informal business as part of the city; secondly, to provide them with appropriate business operating spaces; thirdly, to provide them with the requisite infrastructural facilities and other support services; and fourthly, to involve them in the day to day management of the city.

Urban infrastructure

The discussions revealed that for the small-scale informal business sector to function effectively, they need basic infrastructure to support their businesses. Since, the neighbourhoods are largely residential neighbourhoods, the infrastructure were planned and provided to the various households. Basic infrastructure such as electricity, water, parking spaces, storage facilities, waste collection among others should be made available to the small-scale informal business sector. The small-scale informal business operators advocated for water standpoints, public toilets and waste collection services. It was also realised by the group that even though all operators in the small-scale informal business sector lacked access to basic infrastructure, there

were variations depending on the nature of trade, service or size of the activity. The groups agreed that to be able to address all these needs it was important for the city authorities to recognise and engage all the various diversities in the sector and accordingly plan for them.

Other support services

In addition to the basic infrastructure, it was revealed that the small-scale informal business sector required other support services such as financial, business management skills, entrepreneurial skills and other forms of training. They requested for such services that were provided by the Business Advisory Unit of the National Board for Small Scale Industries (NBSSI) of the KMA. Others include first aid and occupational safety measures, fire prevention measures among others. The groups also agreed that the environmental health unit of the KMA should organise good hygiene practices and education for food vendors in order to protect and ensure public health and safety. In the Asafo neighbourhood, even though there was a private day care centre in the neighbourhood, the small-scale informal business operators suggested the provision of an additional one to take care of the educational needs of the children of the many female traders with children as the private school charged higher fees as compared to the public schools.

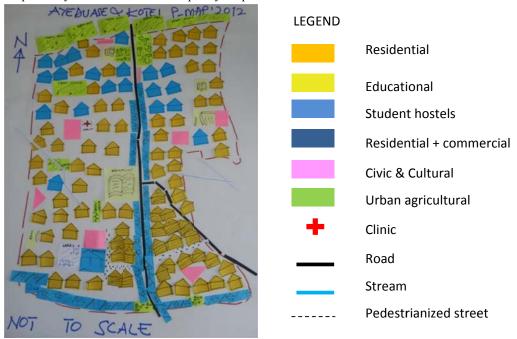
9.3.4 Participatory mapping

After undertaking the above enumerated analysis, the groups in the two neighbourhoods represented their preferred neighbourhood with an urban land use map. They were provided with A0 sheets, different colours of permanent markers, pieces of paper of various colours to as much as possible represent the various zoning colour codes of the various land uses.

Residential
Educational
Residential + commercial
Civic & Cultural
Industrial
Open space
Clinic
Road
Stream
Pedestrianized street

They were entreated to use the various items to represent the various land use activities and to locate these activities in space, bearing in mind all the discussions they had previously to create a preferred urban land use map of their respective neighbourhoods. They were also to ensure that land use activities were located in space to as much as possible complement each other, satisfy their own land use requirements as well as those of other land users and that of the their submetropolitan area as a whole in Maps 9.5 and 9.6.

Map 9.6: Ayeduase & Kotei Participatory Map



Field work (2012).

The participants were able to demarcate the boundary of their neighbourhoods. They were also able to locate the major land uses such as residential areas, commercial areas, industrial areas, educational areas, civic and cultural areas, major and access roads, public open spaces, sanitary areas among others. Other natural features such as water bodies were also located.

In addition, the participants located the emerging land uses which were mostly mixed in nature as well as those of the small-scale informal business sector which had never been mapped. They also made proposals for certain land use changes to enhance the social, economic and environmental growth and sustainability of the neighbourhoods. For instance, in the Asafo neighbourhood, the participants changed the uses of almost all spaces along the major highway abating the north of the neighbourhood (Kumasi-Accra Road) to mixed-use of residential and commercial activities (see Map 9.5). In a similar vein, most of the residential land uses along many of the access roads in the neighbourhood were also changed from residential status to mixed-use of residential and commercial. Proposals were also made for some residential land uses at the southern section of the neighbourhood to be rezoned for industrial land uses. The

semi-pedestrianisation of one of the access roads that links the neighbourhood to the major highway was also proposed. This according to the participants will reduce the traffic congestion and the danger posed to inhabitants, pedestrians and customers who access the many drinking spots that are located along these access roads.

In the Ayeduase and Kotei neighbourhood, the participants also changed the use of most residential land uses to commercial (see Map 9.6). The difference however was that, whilst the commercial activities in Asafo were mainly trading and food vending that of Ayeduase and Kotei were hostels and guest houses for students due to its nearness to the KNUST. Also, similar to the Asafo neighbourhood, majority of the residential land uses along the main road that runs through the neighbourhood from the north to the south and those that form the boundary at the south were converted to mixed-use of residential and commercial (mainly trading) from residential land uses. Participants decried the increasing conversion of urban agricultural land for residential land use. They further made proposals for the exiting areas being used for urban agriculture to be retained for such purposes.

Even though the participatory maps made by the participants largely symbolised the land uses at the two neighbourhoods, they were not drawn to scale. This limitation raises the argument about the purpose of maps (Alcorn, 2000). Since maps are made for different purposes, this limitation does not necessary mean that maps not drawn to scale are not useful. Undoubtedly, one of the essential features of any urban land use map is accuracy and precision of the boundaries of the various demarcated land uses which should have a proportional relationship to that demarcated on the ground (scale). These require the use of technical tools. Nonetheless, before this objective can be achieved, there would be the need to identify, plan, design and delineate general boundaries using participatory mapping, after which cartographers and urban designers could scale them into a scale map using technical tools. The scaled map could be further translated to the ground by professional land surveyors. More importantly however, this so-called 'accuracy standard limitation' emphasises the need to have flexible mapping standards especially where the small-scale informal business sector is involved. In an exercise which had the ultimate aim of capturing and incorporating the peoples' spatial conceptualisations, values and needs into the urban land use map of their neighbourhoods, the essential questions to ask would be what level of accuracy/precision should be tolerated?, and, what will be the difficulties in implementing such a plan? Nonetheless, the accuracy/precision challenges presented by the fuzziness and imprecision of the participatory map were reduced to the barest minimum with the use of the orthophoto maps, the geo-referenced updated land use maps (see Maps 9.2 and 9.4) of the neighbourhoods and the use of the data from the GPS equipment.

Implementation of the urban land use map

The full and successful implementation of the PGIS urban land use plan was also thoroughly discussed by the participants. Whilst some were of the opinion that the plan should be implemented by a new agency with the full complement of staff, others still thought the office of

the sub-metropolitan district council could implement the plan with the full involvement of the stakeholders since they already have staff in many relevant departments who could be relied upon. The latter option proved to be more advantageous since the council had a range of human and technical resources that it could easily access; facilitate cooperate work within and between the various departments; and also had the legal backing to plan, implement and manage development in the areas under their jurisdiction. They however, asked for an increased involvement of the stakeholders especially the small-scale informal business sector to ensure the full and successful implementation of the plan.

Management issues

Due to the varied nature of the small-scale informal business activities and the number of people involved, the groups agreed that there was the need for the effective management of their activities to ensure that their negative impacts were minimised and they were able to increase and sustain their contribution to the development of the neighbourhoods. It was resolved by the groups that the various leaders of the various small-scale informal business associations in the neighbourhoods should be actively involved in the development and management of the neighbourhoods.

9.3.5 GPS survey

The stakeholders used the Garmin GPS to capture features on the ground that were not represented on the planning schemes of the areas during the transect walk. Land use activities especially those in the small-scale informal business sector were picked with the GPS. Those that occupied the road reservations along the major and access roads in the area were also tracked. Additionally, infrastructural facilities such as electricity transformers, sanitary areas, and water points were also picked. Accordingly, the GPS points and tracks were plotted on the scaled PGIS maps (see 9.7 below). The vast majority of the locations of features measured by the GPS coincided with locations on the map that were prepared by the stakeholders. Nonetheless there were few deviations. And these can be attributed to the non-scalability of the participatory map prepared by the stakeholders. Generally, it is clear that the participants knew their environment well and could easily identify features on orthophoto maps. Further, their spatial knowledge of the neighbourhoods and their requirements for urban space for their daily activities and most important their economic activities were spatially captured on the PGIS maps.

ASAFO PGIS LAND USE MAP, 2012

| Comment | Com

Map 9.7: Asafo PGIS land use map

Based on field work data (2012).

9.3.6 Stakeholder appraisal

The various stakeholders appraised the output of the entire PGIS urban land use planning exercise during this session. The stakeholders in both neighbourhoods who participated in the exercise were appreciative of the fact that they were able to aptly represent the various land uses in their communities on a map in their right geographical positions through the PGIS urban land use planning process. Accordingly, they all acknowledged that, through this process they were able to include all the land use requirements of the different land use types particularly the small-scale informal business sector in their neighbourhoods and thereby solving the many conflicts that arose as a result of the competing interests of the different land use types that breed various contestations, through negotiations with all the stakeholders. It also helped to plan to provide the small-scale informal business sector with infrastructural and other support services to enhance their operations. It was believed that if the plan was implemented together with the full cooperation of all stakeholders, it would ensure an effective and efficient management and development of the neighbourhoods.

Furthermore, the exercise afforded the stakeholders the opportunity to learn from each other. Some appreciated having had an opportunity to learn about GPS and map-reading, both skills that can be developed with little or no support from professionals. They also recognised that these skills would enable them to become more equal partners in the urban land use planning process, and that the scale maps were valuable in ensuring an integrative urban land use planning.

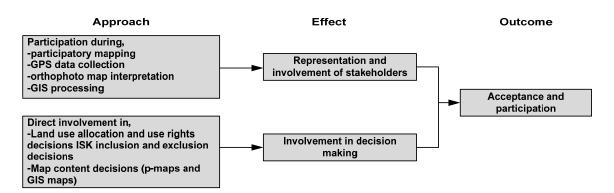
9.4 Appraising PGIS and indigenous spatial knowledge for small-scale informal business sector integration into urban land use planning

According to Minang and McCall (2006), the benefits of PGIS can be largely assessed in two ways. These are those that relate to output of PGIS and those that are related to its process. Whilst the output of the PGIS was appraised with regards to the transfer of ISK (Indigenous Spatial Knowledge), how the maps reflect the actual situation on the ground and their usefulness to the neighbourhoods and for urban land use planning, the process was appraised with respect to the ability of the stakeholders to use PGIS tools (usability) and its ability to promote legitimacy and participation, empowerment, ownership of spatial knowledge and process, respect for local people and their knowledge, and effectiveness and competence.

9.4.1 Participation

Participation in participatory mapping and using GPS was widespread among participants. Stakeholders accepted and actively participated as a result of the smooth infusion of their spatial knowledge the seemingly highly technical methods of map making as illustrated in Figure 9.1. All the stakeholders were actively involved in the orthophoto map interpretation, GIS measurements as well as the overlaying of maps. Open popular meetings were the main forums for analysis and decision-making, as well as decision-making for the map content.

Figure 9.1: Contribution of PGIS to active stakeholder participation



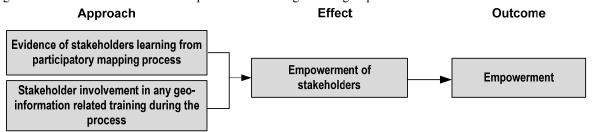
During the GPS measurements and the map making, it was realised that participants from the sub-metropolitan district councils tried to dominate the process with their obvious higher understanding and appreciation of the sometimes technical process and tools being employed.

However, conscious efforts were made to ensure the active involvement of all the stakeholders in the PGIS process. Intensities of participation varied between activities. The evidence shows that inter-group dialogue was improved through the dynamic use of geo-information to support participatory forums, leading to a better understanding between stakeholders that encouraged negotiations and efforts towards conflict resolution.

9.4.2 Empowerment

Generally, all participants acquired knowledge and skills in geo-information technology through formal training and participation in the process.

Figure 9.2: Contribution of PGIS to empowerment of marginalised groups

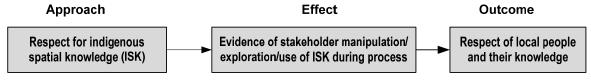


They were all empowered through the exposure to new forms of analysis using geo-information, which improved their capacity for decision support as shown in Figure 9.2. Empowerment was more general from learning how to influence access and land use rights through joint urban land use planning and management decision-making.

9.4.3 Respect for indigenous knowledge and indigenous spatial knowledge

The participants felt highly respected through the external recognition and use of their local knowledge in the map outputs as shown in Figure 9.3. There was evidence of all participants providing spatial knowledge of their respective activities in the neighbourhood. Some land uses such as cemeteries were very sacred to the stakeholders. The participatory land use maps showed more indigenous spatial knowledge than did subsequent GIS products, including neighbourhood boundaries, land use rights, names of localities, land use types, natural features such as water bodies among others.

Figure 9.3: Contribution of PGIS to respect for local people and their knowledge



9.4.4 Ownership (legitimacy)

Typical spatial data in the form of planning schemes, topographical maps and other socio-economic data were easily accessible to the participants through the respective sub-metropolitan district councils. However, digital geo-information facilities and information was nearly impossible for the neighbourhood to access except through the Land Use Planning and Management Project of the Town and Country Planning Department. Participants acknowledged

ownership of the spatial data on the PGIS maps as they actively participated in all the tehacnical mapping processes as shown in Figure 9.4.

Approach

Effect

Outcome

Direct access to,
-Analogue geo-info during process
-Digital geo-info during process
-GIS facility during process

Use of Geo-info in PGIS
-Digital
-Hardcopy/printed

Geo-information application

Figure 9.4: Contribution of PGIS to community ownership of urban land use plans

9.4.5 Uses of geo-information

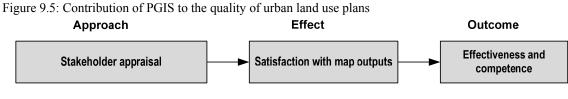
Geo-information is generally used for administrative and management purposes; for strategic planning; for tactical interventions; and for generally organising and promoting participation. Geo-information produced in the PGIS process was applied for all purposes: for updating current land uses and strategic planning; in stakeholder organisation, especially for facilitating meetings; in tactical operations, as geo-information was significant in highlighting specific land use locations, complementary land uses and conflicting land uses. However, it was not in use for administration by the KMA. Participants strongly recommended its use for easy land use administration and management to city authorities.

9.4.6 Equity: inclusiveness and gender

As a result of the PGIS process and decision-making, some actors had to shed some of their previously held access rights or powers of control, whilst others especially the small-scale informal business gained, which thus changed the social power equations. Even though this cannot be solely credited to the PGIS and the decision making process, they hugely facilitated it. In addition, the PGIS processes provided a platform for innovative meetings between stakeholders, and helped built relationships and institutions. New structures emerged with responsibility for urban land use planning and management, which gave marginalised groups, including women, a louder voice in decision-making.

9.4.7 Effectiveness and competence: delivery of maps with spatial data

An assessment was made of stakeholder's' satisfaction with the maps delivered during the PGIS process.



As already stated in section 9.3.5 above, the participants were satisfied that the outputs - the p-maps and the final urban land use map - recognised and mapped their specific interests and needs. As illustrated in Figure 9.5, the satisfaction of the participants is a confirmation of the effectiveness and the competence of the maps as a true reflection of their inputs.

9.4.8 Accuracy of the maps

The GPS survey indicates that ISK reflects reality, and that the participants had a rich knowledge of their neighbourhoods. The urban land use maps of 2012 indicate that both neighbourhoods were predominantly mixed-use areas. Scale maps showing the current land use of the neighbourhoods could easily be compared with their respective orthophoto maps. Again, the land ownership type described by the participants which was illustrated by the land use maps was confirmed by the records of the Lands Commission. However, it can be realised that the participatory map (see Maps 9.5 and 9.6) could not capture all the land uses in the neighbourhoods as well as their right geographic locations revealing deficiencies in the way that information is stored and communicated, a key weakness of ISK. ISK can be incomplete, meaning that local experience should be used as a starting point to complement scientific and other technical knowledge.

9.4.9 Usefulness of the maps

The scale maps (see Map 9.1, 9.2, 9.3 and 9.4) provide an overview of planned land uses and existing land uses. They clearly depict the land use proposals that were made for the development of the neighbourhoods, their expected organisation in space, those that were not recognised and therefore 'excluded', the existing land uses as well as the emerging land uses and the direction of growth of the neighbourhoods. The maps also show that land use rights, spatial values and emotions which were only documented in local memory, can be revealed through active involvement of local people. The appraisals with the actors revealed that the maps created using PGIS tools were appropriate for several purposes. Boundary representation of the neighbourhoods as well as the various land uses using the participatory mapping approach was not up to cadastral mapping standards.

9.4.10 Usability of PGIS tools

All stakeholders were immediately able to identify features such as schools, markets, houses, the chief's palace among others on the orthophoto maps. This was a demonstration that locals are capable of reading and interpreting orthophoto maps. And thus no special skills are required, as sometimes tends to be the case for interpreting standard maps. The use of simple map symbols, such as various colours of paper of various shapes to represent various land uses, makes the participatory mapping exercise easier to follow. Consequently, given local skill and education levels, the PGIS tools appeared to be readily accessible, understandable and usable.

9.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter explained the exploration of the potential of PGIS as a method in urban land use planning for harnessing ISK and enhancing active local participation in urban land use planning in a neighbourhood each in the two case study areas respectively. It also describes the potential of the local people to actively participate in the use of geo-information and tools in urban land use planning and also build their capacity in their application. The participants proved to be knowledgeable about the changes that had occurred in the land uses in their respective neighbourhoods overtime. Participants were well informed about the local conditions which helped to aptly map the various land use types, land ownerships and interests which would have been cumbersome to achieve through other mechanisms, especially if they are not appropriate to the local conditions and aspirations. PGIS proved to be a useful tool for harnessing ISK.

Further, the PGIS tools also promote interactive participation among stakeholders and consequently empowered them. Both literates and illiterates can use PGIS tools. The participants were able to interpret orthophoto maps, transfer their spatial knowledge to map land uses and use geo-information technology, such as hand-held GPS devices. PGIS tools helped the participants especially the small-scale informal business sector to map their land uses. The maps created could be of significant importance in the identification of the specific land use requirements of specific land users such as the small-scale informal business sector. Consequently, locals can be involved in the process to identify and document the land use requirements of emerging land uses. The locals demonstrated their ability to carry out the PGIS approach. The ability of the participants to use PGIS tools with little professional support clearly indicates that urban land use planners and other land policy makers can use such tools to actively involve residents of urban neighbourhoods in planning and managing their land uses for sustainable urban development. This method could act as a paradigm for creating PGIS strategies for harnessing ISK, so as to identify various land use requirements of various interest groups in urban neighbourhoods and also enhance local capacity for urban land use planning.

Based on the results of the case studies described in this and the two preceding chapters, the next chapter discusses the major findings arising from the analyses of the empirical study and their nexus with urban land use planning.

Discussions and synthesis of the major findings on the small-scale informal business sector and their urban land use planning nexus

The characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector in the study settlements reveal that the sector makes positive contributions to the urban area in diverse ways. Even though these are yet to be officially recognised by the city authorities, the sectors' contribution to employment, training and skills acquisition, revenue generation, preservation of indigenous knowledge (in arts and crafts, food, clothing among others), and their general supply of goods and services to the urban populace devoid of the bureaucracy that characterises the public departments and agencies that were expected to provide them cannot be underestimated. Additionally, data in the study settlements reveal that the sector's access to the city, though through 'unregulated' processes is not only peculiar to it. It has been realised that city authorities use similar processes to locate other activities in the city by varying the regulations that control access to the city to these activities. Also, whilst the data reveal that the activities of some operators in the sector generate some environmental hazards such as environmental pollution, health hazards, safety risks, traffic congestion, poor visual intrusions as well as the general aesthetics of the urban area, it has been realised that these hazards are the result of inappropriate urban land use planning and management in the city that had not adequately responded to the needs of the sector. The chapter discusses and syntheses the major revelations from the study settlements.

10.1 The characteristics of the small-scale informal business in the study settlements and their land use requirements

At a glance, the complexity of the small-scale informal business sector cannot be overemphasised. The complex character gives the impression that any attempt at designing policy interventions for improving the sector will be an exercise in futility. However, a thoughtful examination of the sector reveals patterns and various segments of the sector that can be improved. The analyses on the characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector in the study settlements had the objective of examining the heterogeneities and diversities of the sector for appropriate policy interventions.

10.1.1 Characteristics and profile

The empirical study largely revealed minimal but quite significant differences in the small-scale informal business activities of the two study settlements. Whilst majority of the small-scale informal business activities in the Subin sub-metropolitan district council were deemed to have encroached on the land they were occupying as well as putting the land into uses other than the designated use of the land by the local plan, majority of the small-scale informal business activities in the Oforikrom sub-metropolitan district council were deemed to be largely guilty of the latter. The different land tenure systems in the two sub-metropolitan district councils could explain this characteristic. The sizes of majority of public lands reserved for future developments in the study settlements were over generous compared to that of more developed and densely

populated cities. These lands were also unencumbered over long periods of time in contrast to customary lands which were always under the protective eyes of chiefs who expeditiously expropriate them for various uses. As explained by Roy (2009), 'the use of eminent domain or vesting as an instrument of the state to acquire large parcels of land for future development which it leaves unencumbered is a calculated informality practiced by the state'.

Moreover, the small-scale informal business' environment in the study settlements was characterised by fine-grain and high intensity. The data revealed that the co-location of activities was common in the sector. For instance, retailing and eating areas located near each other thereby creating efficiencies in land use, information exchange among activity operators, as well as supplier relationships. Activities such as bakeries were located near to flour mills; shops and kiosks that sell spare parts of vehicles located near mechanic workshops; stationeries, photocopier shops and internet cafes also located near educational institutions, among others. Consequently, the co-location of many of the small-scale informal business activities created clusters of small-scale informal business activities. Large clusters of small-scale informal business activities were observed in the study areas and depicted by the land use maps of the neighbourhoods (see Maps 9.1 and 9.3). These economic activities benefited from the advantages of locating close to each other as their activities depended on one another. They networked among themselves and shared information which led to reduced cost of production, increased productivity, and increased innovation, among others. It also enhanced a sense of community which was a strong element of their culture. The clusters created a strong public realm which was enhanced by the close interaction of buyers and sellers. Even though, a lot of benefits ensue to the small-scale informal business sector when they congregate to form a cluster, the small-scale informal business sector clusters in the study settlements were not planned. Due to the general challenges they faced in getting spaces to locate their activities in the city, they located at places that served as business locations of other small-scale informal business activities that was 'free' of the difficulties that accompanied the location of small-scale informal business activities in the city. This also attracted other small-scale informal business activities thereby leading to many of them congregating at a place. Thus, the clustering of smallscale informal business activities was not planned but developed incrementally over time. Undoubtedly, this emerging type of land use pattern of the small-scale informal businesses in the study settlements has implications for urban land use planning and management in the area. The urban land use planning in the study area should seek to locate small-scale informal business activities engaged in similar activities together including small-scale informal business activities engaged in the supply of goods and services to such organisations.

In addition, it was realised from the analyses of the data from the study settlements that some of the small-scale informal business form a value chain. These comprised of small-scale informal business activities engaged in the production, processing, transporting, and marketing of goods and services. For instance, farmers engaged in urban agriculture produced crops such as cassava, yam, sweet potatoes, maize and vegetables which were transported by transporters in the small-

scale informal businesses to processors. The small-scale informal business activities engaged in processing, process these food stuffs into 'processed' (cooked food) food which was marketed by other small-scale informal business operators engaged in trading (food vendors). This forms a system of small-scale informal business value chain in the city. These value chains also networked among themselves, shared information and technology in order to increase productivity. These small-scale informal business activities largely depended on each other for the success of their activities but did not necessarily had to locate close to each other. This pattern also has implications for the urban land use planning and management of the city. Most vacant and undeveloped lands in most suburbs of the city as depicted by the land use maps (see Maps 9.2 and 9.4) were used for urban agriculture. To sustain this pattern of value chain system of the small-scale informal business sector which also largely contributes to poverty reduction in the city, the urban land use planning and management system of the city has to make proposals especially for the agricultural lands which are fast being converted to residential lands for the continued use of such lands for urban agriculture.

Also, most of the small-scale informal businesses operated as cooperatives. These small-scale informal business activities were those that were mostly involved in food processing such as bread baking, 'gari' roasting and those trading in similar products among others. Individuals who operated similar activities at the same location came together as a cooperative. They were usually headed by the eldest operators in the area and in the case of the foodstuff traders, the queen of the particular foodstuff (e.g. cassava queen). These leaders were the main negotiators with suppliers, landlords and other service providers. The leaders in most cases served us guarantors who took raw materials from suppliers on credit on behalf of the entire group. The groups led by the leaders also ensured standardization and regulation of the prices of their goods. This characteristic is quite useful for urban land use planning and management. The small-scale informal business activities that were in the nature of this cooperative should be engaged to actively participate in the land use decision making and management process. Again, urban land use planning and management can broadly allocate land uses to the entire cooperative which it can subdivide among its members according to their requirements.

In addition to the these general findings on the general characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector in the study settlements, there were also findings on the demographic characteristics; location characteristics; characteristics on the available urban infrastructure and their accessibility to the sector; and characteristics of small-scale informal business sector organisations as well as other organisations that are related to the activities of the sector.

10.1.2 Demographic characteristics of enterprises in the small-scale informal business sector Data gathered also revealed that the activities carried out in the small-scale informal business were diverse. The activities comprised of petty trading, artisanal production, construction, manufacturing, a myriad of service provision, agriculture among others. The activities were classified into services, construction, manufacturing, agriculture, and commerce which were sub-

classified into trading of food items and non-food items to make for easy analyses. These classifications were based on those of the National Board for Small-scale Industries (NBSSI), and the GSS which also largely fall in line with that of the International Standards Industrial Classification (ISIC) of all economic activities of the United Nations Statistics Division. About 39 percent of the small-scale informal business activities are classified in commerce, trading in food and non-food items. More than 30 percent are also classified in the service sector with those classified as manufacturing and construction representing 23.3 and 2 percent respectively. The rest are in agriculture which is less than 1 percent. Even though all of these activities belong to the small-scale informal business and therefore have many common needs, there are some needs that are peculiar to activities in each of the economic classifications. For instance, whilst those engaged in trading generally desire "feet passing" areas, those engaged in the manufacturing sector desire locations with enough space to support their manufacturing activities with adequate support of infrastructure such as access roads, electricity, water and telecommunication. Hence, any effort that is aimed at planning and making provisions for the small-scale informal business has to identify and recognise the diversities. The urban land use planning and management system of the city has to critically identify, recognise and analyse these diversities in order to be able to adequately plan and manage the small-scale informal business sector in the city.

Furthermore, the small-scale informal business employs more than 70 percent of the working population in the city. About 83 percent of the small-scale informal business activities also employed between one (1) and three (3) people. The ages of those engaged by the sector were between 15 years of age and persons more than 64 years of age. Majority of those employed fell within the youthful age of 20 and 39. More than 90 percent of the small-scale informal business operators had had some form of formal education with almost half of them attaining secondary education. This clearly shows that sector is the source of livelihood for majority of households in the city. It is also the main avenue of employment for the majority of the youthful secondary school leavers in the city. And again, the sector may be argued to be the main economic backbone of the city based on the number of people it employs. However, it is often argued that since these are largely micro and small-scale economic activities, their outputs and incomes are low compared to the large formal businesses. It is being realised from the data that many of the drawbacks of the sector is due to their state of oscillation and lack of recognition by the urban land use planning regime in the city. As a result, the requisite infrastructure and support services that are required to promote production, innovation, profitability and expansion in the sector are not available. It is for this reason that the urban land use planning regime in the city has to recognise and engage the small-scale informal business operators as relevant stakeholders in the planning and management of the city.

Again, even though the small-scale informal business activities were not recognised by city authorities and did not consider them in the planning and management of the city, they were required to pay fees/licences/rates to the city authorities. The data revealed that more than 90 percent of the small-scale informal business in the study settlements paid various sums of money

in the form of fees/licences/rates to city authorities. These fees/licences/rates were collected on daily/monthly/quarterly basis based on the type and category of small-scale informal business activity. Those that were housed in ephemeral structures were charged daily whilst those that were perceived to be permanent and employed more than one person were charged monthly, quarterly and annually. According to the data, a small-scale informal business activity was charged GH¢65 (equivalent of €27) on the average by city authorities monthly. The fees/licences/rates were reviewed yearly by the KMA. Nonetheless, the average income of the small-scale informal business operators in the study settlements was GH¢4.60 (equivalent of €1.90) a day.

From the foregoing, it can be realised that the small-scale informal business sector in the study areas is an embodiment of the social, cultural, economic and political lives of majority of the inhabitants in the study areas. The processes that govern the small-scale informal business activities in the study areas largely emanates from their culture which constructs their social and economic relationships. The sector is more than a mere economic activity. It is a 'people' as it covers every facet of the lives of the inhabitants. At first glance, it appears labyrinth, but a careful and thorough examination over and over again and it gradually becomes familiar. Patterns emerge, contexts take shape, everyday objects take on new significance, become guides and signposts for its comprehension.

10.1.3 Location characteristics of enterprises in the small-scale informal business sector Moreover, the land intake and requirement of the small-scale informal business activities also varied. With the exception of those engaged in urban agriculture, the land area occupied by the small-scale informal business activities in the city ranged from as low as 2.2m² to as high as 29.7m². Those engaged in urban agriculture cultivated land areas averaging about 2500m². While some were satisfied with the land intake of their activities, others indicated that the land area occupied by their activities were not enough, limiting the expansion of their activities. According to the Lands Commission, normal plot size that is registered by the commission is a quarter of an acre, which is about 1011m². This implies that the small-scale informal business activity operators cannot register the land occupied by their activities. Again, this also suggests that, the urban land use planning system cannot demarcate land uses below the minimum threshold at which a plot of land can be registered. To be able to accommodate the small-scale informal business sector, appropriate and innovate policies have to be adopted by the urban land use planning and management system as well as the Lands Commission. Even though the data also revealed that there are various attractions for small-scale informal business activity locations, three basic factors were identified to be most attractive. These comprised proximity to customers (generally 'feet passing' areas), availability of adequate space for business operations and areas where living and work space could be easily combined.

The structure housing small-scale informal business activities ranged from ephemeral to more permanent. The ephemeral structures were mainly constructed with cheap and less durable

materials. Accordingly, it can be observed from the data analysed from the study settlements that there is a relationship between the type of structure housing a small-scale informal business activity and the perceived security of tenure of the land occupied by the structure. The small-scale informal business activities that were housed in metal containers erected on concrete platforms and as such permanent in character indicated that the land accommodating their activity was a subdivision of their own leased land or that of their family. Others also indicated that it was rented to them either by the landlord or the chief. Those small-scale informal business activities that were housed in tents, big umbrellas, tables among others that were generally ephemeral in character indicated that they settled there on their own accord. Thus, the level of investment that an operator in the small-scale informal business sector was prepared to make in the activity was largely related to his/her perception of the security of the tenancy of the land occupied by the activity. This implies that for the small-scale informal business to invest in the structures housing their businesses, appropriate policies would have to be implemented to secure the pieces of land accommodating their businesses.

Accordingly, the data revealed that the main issue that is limiting the growth of the small-scale informal business sector in the study area was the harassment by local authorities. About 57 percent of those interviewed revealed that they had been evicted before by city authorities from land accommodating their activities and hence, operate under the constant fear of eviction.

Furthermore, the planning, design and construction of infrastructural facilities in the city did not include the small-scale informal business sector. Those interviewed indicated that the growth of their businesses largely depend on adequate, efficient and accessible infrastructure. In the absence of these, the small-scale informal business sector was forced to improvise and access the infrastructure and the support services they required through various means outside the regulatory system. And as most of these methods were rudimentary and unrefined, they sometimes generated negative impacts to the urban environment and even harmful to the health of the people working in the sector.

10.1.4 Accessibility of urban infrastructure and support services to small-scale informal businesses

It was realised that the activities of the small-scale informal business sector like any other economic activity, generated some waste to the general environment of the city. These waste products were categorised into liquid, solid, gas and noise. The type of waste generated by a small-scale informal business activity was largely related to the specific activity and the scale. Even though majority of the small-scale informal business activities generated more than one type of waste, more than 80 percent of those interviewed indicated they generated liquid waste since it could be the major type of waste their activities generated. These wastes had various effects to public health and the general environment of the city. City authorities believed that majority of the waste and blight in the city was mainly as a result of the activities of the small-scale informal business sector. On the contrary, about 40 percent of small-scale informal

business operators believed their activities had some negative effect to public health and the environment.

Even though the city authorities blamed the small-scale informal business sector for the waste in the city, they largely depended on the reports of the ordinary residents as they did not have the required equipment to measure and confirm the harmful nature of the waste. For instance, as revealed in this interview, the main medium for assessing the waste generated by small-scale informal business activities in the city was through complaints of residents.

"...one of the ways we use is the number of complaints we receive from various individual about noise, pollution, dust, smoke and then we can actually determine its impact through worries people have..." (Subin, October 5, 2012).

However, the complaints of residents largely resulted from negative effects of the waste to their environment as a result of lack of proper waste management. This go a long way to confirm that the environmental challenges in the city is not mainly because of the waste generated by the activities of the small-scale informal businesses but rather mainly due to how the waste generated is managed. The waste that is generated by the small-scale informal business sector was disposed through various ways other than those permitted by city authorities. For instance, liquid waste was mainly dumped on the unpaved streets, alleys lanes creating gullies and insanitary conditions. Majority of the solid waste were dumped at open dump sites that were unmanaged and unkempt. Those that did not have access to open dump sites resorted to the open burning of the solid waste. Obviously, there was the need for municipal services such as drainage system, dustbins, communal collection points, properly managed and kept dump sites, efficient and effective waste collection system and public education on proper disposal of waste by city authorities. A concerted and coordinated effort of all the relevant departments of the local authority with the active involvement of the small-scale informal business sector will reduce the effects caused by the waste generated by the small-scale informal business sector to public health and the environment to acceptable levels in the city.

Moreover, other infrastructural facilities such as water, electricity, access roads and parking facilities were also in similar deplorable states. The survey revealed that a large number of the small-scale informal business sector in the study settlements did not have direct pipe borne water connections. They had to buy water from secondary sources such as water vendors and water tankers at prices higher than official prices. This increases their cost of production and cost of living. Similarly, the requirements and costs associated to accessing electricity by the small-scale informal businesses were difficult for most of them. Also, the electricity supplied was erratic and irregular. Most access roads were unpaved with many becoming muddy and unpassable whenever it rains. There were also inadequate parking spaces leading to customers and suppliers of small-scale informal business activities parking on the roads. All these have adverse effects to the operations of the small-scale informal business activities in the study settlements.

Test of hypothesis

The discussions on the insights from the data from the study settlements revealed the diversities of the small-scale informal business sector in the study settlements. Even though, the data revealed the existence of many similarities of the small-scale informal businesses in the study settlements, it also revealed some characteristics that were peculiar to the small-scale informal businesses of the various study settlements which had implications for the urban land use planning regime. Accordingly, these peculiarities will have to be recognised in fashioning out appropriate strategies for integrating the small-scale informal business sector. The hypothesis for the research was tested to assess the level of similarity of the characteristics of the small-scale informal businesses in the two study settlements statistically. The three dependent variables that were used to test the hypothesis include the land size occupied; the monthly fees/rates/licence paid to city authorities and amount of income made daily by the small-scale informal business operators in each of the study settlements.

The Mann-Whitney test which is a non-parametric test of the Independent T-test which statistically determines whether there is a statistically significant difference between the means in two (2) unrelated groups was used. This is because the data did not distribute normally. They were subjected to the Skewness and Kurtosis tests in the SPSS. This was to check their normal distribution using numbers as these tests quantify normality of data with numbers. Again, the P-P plot (probability-probability plot) in the SPSS was also used to plot the data in order to check their normal distribution graphically. In all these tests, the results were highly non-significant (ns) indicating that the data did not distribute normally and thus, using parametric test (Independent T-test) will yield inaccurate results. Consequently, the hypothesis of the research:

The study Hypothesis (H_1) : The small-scale informal business sector of different regulatory settings in Kumasi has similar characteristics.

As shown in Table 10.1, the Mann Whitney statistic is 6038.00, 6835.50 and 7117.50 respectively for land size occupied, rates/fees/licences paid to city authorities and profit earned daily from small-scale informal businesses in the two study settlements. However, the important statistics in the table are the standard score (z = -6.905, -1.170 and -3.225 respectively).

Table 10.1: Summary	v statistics and Mann	Whitney I	I test in three	characteristics
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Characteristic	Category	Mean	n	U	z	Sig. (2-tailed)
Land size occupied	Subin SMDC	115.99	151	6038.00	-6.905	0.000
	Oforikrom SMDC	183.93	147	-		
Rates/fees/licenses paid	Subin SMDC	117.99	128	6835.50	-1.170	0.242
	Oforikrom SMDC	128.57	116	-		
Profit earned from	Subin SMDC	121.93	144	7117.50	-3.225	0.001
business per day	Oforikrom SMDC	151.96	127	_		

The 2-tailed significant value (reflecting the non-directional nature of the hypothesis of no difference between the characteristics) (c=0.000 and 0.001 respectively for land size occupied

and profits earned daily) is statistically very significant indicating that the difference in the characteristics of small-scale informal businesses in the Subin and Oforikrom SMDCs was not due to chance but certainly as a consequence of the different regulatory settings in the two SMDCs. Therefore, on this basis, the study hypothesis that the small-scale informal business sector in different regulatory settings in Kumasi has similar characteristics is falsified and not retained.

Conversely, the 2-tailed significant value (c=0.242 for rates/fees/licenses paid to city authorities) is not statistically significant indicating that the any differences in the rates/fees/licenses paid by the small-scale informal business sector in the two study settlements is not as a result of the different regulatory settings of the two SMDCs but may be due to other factors.

10.1.5 Small-scale informal business sector associations and organisations related to the sector Small-scale informal business sector associations are very excellent avenues for having a meaningful engagement with the sector. Considering the fact that unions of small-scale informal business sectors have exceptional knowledge and insight on the various segments and heterogeneities of the activities of their members and could provide such useful data without much effort, engaging the sector through the associations for designing innovative policies for integrating the sector into urban land use planning and management will be probably the most effective.

However, setting up small-scale informal business sector associations is not an easy task as widely discussed in the literature (Amin, 2002). This is usually due to the varied nature of the businesses in the sector. Besides, the operators in the sector must be certain and be confident that the association will be able to adequately articulate their needs especially in engaging with the local government to adequately bargain over urban infrastructure and support services.

The analyses of data from the two study settlements revealed some small-scale informal business sector associations. These associations were mostly based on similar trades such as hair dressers and beauticians; tailors and dressmakers; bread bakers; gari processors; garages; and small-scale carpenters. Others were also based on product lines such as cloth dealers; flour dealers; cassava sellers; onion sellers; among others. The associations had the characteristics of a vibrant and function organisation such as registering, having a leadership, holding regular meetings, and paying regular contributions (dues). Majority of the associations also had district, regional and sometimes national networks with some being registering at the Informal Sector Desk of the Ghana Trades Union Congress (GTUC). For instance, the small-scale carpenters, and the hairdressers and beauticians associations are members of the GTUC.

Further analyses revealed that many of the trade based organisations helped their members to improve standards in the various trades by organising regular seminars for the members as well as examining apprentices of members for certification. The associations also served as social support systems for members during social functions such as marriages, naming ceremonies,

funerals among others. Moreover, it was realised that small-scale informal business sector associations was common among trade based businesses in the sector than traders. It was however, realised that the associations in the sector could not articulate for the improvement in the conditions of service of employees in the sector. This was largely because the members of the associations were mostly owners of small-scale informal businesses and therefore did of see the benefit of advocating for the improvement on conditions of their employees which will eventually increase the cost of operation of their businesses.

In addition, the data revealed other public organisations such as the NBSSI and GRATIS which were set up with the mandate of supporting the development of businesses in the sector. The NBSSI was set up by the state through an act of parliament of Ghana to provide business advisory services for the promotion and development of the small-scale enterprises based on the potential of the enterprises to make meaningful contribution to the country's economic development. Also, the state instituted the GRATIS project to promote small-scale industrialisation and provide employment opportunities, improve incomes for enhancing the development of the country. GRATIS was expected to achieve this objective through the dissemination of appropriate technologies by developing and demonstrating marketable products and processes for micro- and small-scale enterprises. However, further analyses revealed these public organisations had not been able to achieve the objectives for which they were set up many decades ago. The main challenges cited by these organisations as affecting their operations had been lack of adequate financial resources and logistics.

Furthermore, some nongovernmental organisations (NGO) were also identified. These include faith-based organisations; community-based organisations; as well as international organisation such as TECHNOSERVE with related activities to the sector in the study settlements. TECHNOVER is an international NGO engaged in the training of small-scale informal business operators to acquire managerial skills for improving their businesses. It also cites inadequate finances as its main challenge.

These small-scale informal business sector associations and the organisations with related activities to the sector present an excellent opportunity to the urban land use planning regime to meaningfully engage the sector. For instance, leaders of associations in the sector can be actively involved in the urban land use planning, designing and day-to-day management of small-scale informal business sector spaces in the city. The already existing public organisations can be adequately resource to provide business advisory and technological services to the sector for improving the activities in the sector. Similarly, there can also be a good partnership between city authorities and community-based organisations and the international NGO to work together in solving the problems identified in the sector.

10.2 Framework of legislation for urban land use planning

The analyses revealed that there were numerous legislations and provisions governing urban land use planning and management in the study area. According to Larbi (2006), there are over 100 statutes on land ownership, tenure, planning and use, in addition to the various customary laws that pertain to specific areas in the country. These include the Town and Country Planning Act, 1945 (CAP 84); the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, 1992; the Civil Service Law, 1993 (PNDCL 327); the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462); the National Development Planning Commission Act, 1994 (Act 479); the National Development Planning (Systems) Act, 1994 (Act 480); the National Building Regulations, 1996; the National Urban Policy Framework, 2012; the KMA bye-laws among others as extensively explored in chapter four. The many urban planning and management legislations and provisions led to a fragmentary framework of urban planning and management legislation and provision which was insufficient to deal with the accumulated problems of urban development in the study settlements. Their very nature was designed to promote and protect the large economic activities that were visualised as major contributors to urban growth. As such their minimum thresholds were beyond that of the small-scale informal business sector that were largely small economic activities compared to those in the formal sector. Their implementation 'excludes' the small-scale informal business as part of the city.

Moreover, it has been realised that majority of these legislations and provisions were antiquated. Some of them predate the independence of the country since they were promulgated during the colonial era based on the laws of the colonial masters and for the urban challenges of that era. These legislations and provisions on the statue books have not seen any revision ever since. Their essence both in letter and spirit in urban land use planning and managing the urban area is now lost. Obviously many of the current urban challenges are alien to these laws. Again, as they were based on the laws of the colonial masters, they were alien to the context as well. As a result, continuous usage of these laws and regulations to guide urban growth will be an exercise in futility. The evidence was the many urban management challenges in the city.

Accordingly, the zoning and development regulations that were based on these antiquated urban land use planning legislations and provisions were also outdated. The zoning and development guidelines were expected to provide clear definitions for land use activities within each of the various land use zones. That is the permitted and prohibited uses in these land use zones. They also outlined the issues to be considered during changes of land use, either for an individual plot or parcel of land within a Local Plan or a broad land use zoning classification in the Structure Plan. Thus, they were statutorily enforceable guidelines used in the preparation of urban land use plans such as Structure Plans and Local Plans as well as granting of planning and development permissions. Majority of the zoning and development guidelines were similar to those implemented to solve the problem of filth, squalor and general insanitary conditions that led to the outbreak of communicable diseases during the industrial revolution. The strict and rigid land use zoning that was designed and implemented at the time to cater for a specific problem is not

only inappropriate but also incapable of solving the contemporary urban problems and promoting contemporary urban growth with the many mixed land use activities and that advance living standards and technology. This rigid and strict land use zoning type of urban land use planning and management being promoted and guided by the zoning and development guidelines was not friendly to the small-scale informal business sector in the study areas.

Similarly, all the planning standards that guide urban land use planning and management in the study area were also based on the antiquated legislations and provisions. The standards provided clarification on the permissible uses of land and the space requirements that must be taken into account by anyone or any organisation preparing urban land use plans and seeking urban land use planning or development permission. It also provided a legal basis for reviewing development proposals which was binding on all persons and organisations proposing the development of land as defined in the legislations and provisions. They also included standards of the EPA, Fire Service, Utility service providers and other Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) with responsibility for the provision of specified public facilities and services and that of other international bodies such as the United Nations (UN). Data analysed from the study settlements revealed that the majority of the standards did not reflect local ideals and aspirations. They were largely based on the concepts and ideals of the global north just as the legislations that were designed many decades ago. They rarely reflected the local context and capacities. For instance, the minimum plot size for an economic activity proposed by the planning standard was 250m² in addition to the prescribed percentage built area, maximum frontage, maximum height, among others. The data revealed that the minimum land size occupied by a business in the small-scale informal business sector with the exception of land used for urban agriculture was 2m² and 34m² being the maximum.

In addition, there were also bye-laws of the local government to regulate all activities within its area of jurisdiction. The section 79 of the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462) empowers all MMDAs to enact bye-laws to regulate developments in their respective areas of jurisdiction. Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) enacted various bye-laws to regulate waste management, religious activities, economic activities and also to abate various activities it considered a nuisance to the public which had been published in the Ghana Local Government Bulletin of 1995. These bye-laws also did not recognise the economic activities of the small-scale informal business sector. They were based on the minimum thresholds prescribed by the zoning and development guidelines and the planning standards. It therefore considers majority of the activities of the small-scale informal business sector a public nuisance that must be abated. However, the irony is that, was revealed by the data that, more than 70 percent of households were either directly engaged in the sector or depended on income and activities of the sector. For instance, the 1995 bye-laws of the KMA states that:

No person shall work as a self-employed artisan¹¹ or individual in the area of authority of the Assembly (Kumasi) unless such a person has received license from the Assembly. Also:

No person shall erect a temporary structure without obtaining permit from the Assembly (Kumasi).

The bye-laws also prescribe the punishment for a person who works as a self-employed artisan or individual in the Assembly and any person who erects any temporary structure in the Assembly without permit:

A person who contravenes any provision of these Bye-laws commits an offence and shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding ~ 200,000.00 or in default to a term of imprisonment not exceeding six month or both.

Clearly, the right of the small-scale informal business sector to work has been criminalised. The bye-laws criminalise the commercial activities as well as the use of urban public space of the small-scale informal business sector in the study settlements.

The analyses also revealed two land tenure systems in the study area. They were the customary land tenure system and the statutory land tenure system. These land tenure systems worked parallel alongside each other in the area. So also were the statutes and customary laws and norms, public and indigenous institutions, traditional and corporate norms governing land all operating alongside each other. Whilst the customary land tenure system was administered by the traditional authorities (care-taker chief) with leases granted by the Asantehene at the Asantehene's Lands Secretariat, the public lands and vested public lands were administered by the Lands Commission (LC) on behalf of the state. However, the law regulating the administration of the customary land system enjoined the Asantehene's Land Secretariat to seek concurrence from the LC before issuing leases for lands registered at the secretariat.

These dual management responsibilities held by the LC: first as an authority for the management of state lands, and second, as the giver of consent and concurrence for stool land transactions created various challenges for customary land registration. Some of these functions seemed to conflict with the managerial functions of the customary authorities, as enshrined in the constitution. The consequence is that consent for an allocation of stool land was never sought by

Smiths, Manufacturing of Blocks, Canopy Hirers, Undertakers and others.

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¹¹ In these Bye-Laws, 'Self-employed Artisan' mean any skilled person working in an industry or trade and who is not employed in any Government Department or any state corporation or a registered company including the following: Fitters, Vulcanizers, Photographers, Welders, Bicycle Repairers, Raffia, Workers, Straightener, Masons, Glass workers, Sprayers, Carpenters, Leather Workers, Electrician, Plumbers, Tailors, Upholsters, Wireless, Radio Repairers, Seamstresses, Washermen, Steel Benders, Hairdressers, Barbers, Painters, Black

chiefs (Ubink and Quan, 2008). Only lessees who wished to formalise their acquisitions sought concurrence from the LC, which was a highly bureaucratic and complex process.

Consequently, the legal framework did not recognise the reality of 'informality' in the study areas. As aptly explained above, the legal framework only responded to the requirements of the population whose activities it deemed conform to it, and as for the population whose activities it deemed to be averse to it, they simply didn't exist.

10.2.1 Formalisation

The procedures for incorporating and registering a commercial or industrial business in Ghana did not embrace the small-scale informal business sector. Apart from the bureaucratic procedures, the requirements such as land ownership documents, environmental health certificates, fire safety certificates among others that were demanded by the Registrar General's Department and the MMDAs were beyond the reach of the small-scale informal business sector operators. As a result, more than 87 percent of respondents indicated that they had never tried registering their economic activities in the city. This however contradicts the claim of majority of the respondents who indicated that they had registered their economic activities with the KMA and other organisations such as the Department of Cooperatives and the NBSSI. To be able to efficiently monitor and manage the activities of the small-scale informal business sector for urban development, it is imperative that some records are known about the characteristics of the sector. City authorities would have to adopt and innovative appropriate procedures and requirements that are flexible enough to accommodate records of the characteristics of the smallscale informal business sector. The revelation that more than 50 percent of respondents have expressed the willingness to provide such records is an opportunity that must be swiftly embraced by the city authorities.

The data also revealed that despite the fact that there was a general lack of compliance of the regulations and policies controlling economic activities in the city by the small-scale informal businesses, they had their own indigenous 'rules and regulations' governing their activities. These rules and regulations principally guided the relations within themselves and also with suppliers, landlords and other service providers. Furthermore, the empirical research revealed that small-scale informal businesses preferred to have permits from city authorities to cover their activities in the city. Despite the data largely revealing that majority of the small-scale informal businesses had no permits covering the operation of their activities in the sector, they generally preferred having permit for their activities in the city as it legitimised their activities in the city.

10.2.2 Local government and economic growth perceptions

The data revealed a general lack of knowledge and awareness on the bye-laws of the local government that regulates and controls economic activities in the city. Even though the data revealed that more than 60 percent of respondents indicated that they were aware of local government bye-laws, these turned out not to be the case. Analysis of subsequent interviews revealed that the small-scale informal business operators had little knowledge about the bye-laws

of the local government that regulate and control economic activities in the city. This was mainly because there were many laws and regulations as well as many organisations that were responsible for the regulation and control of economic activities in the city. Different laws and regulations as well as organisations were responsible for various stages that were involved in the establishment and operation of an economic activity. For instance, the organisation in charge of the registration of land for a business location was different from the organisation that ensured that the building accommodating the business was constructed according to specified standards. Also, the process for business registration was also lengthy and cumbersome. Coupled with these was the general lack of publicity by the organisations and local government on the general processes as well as the laws, regulations and bye-laws governing the establishment and operation of economic activities in the city.

10.3 Organisational framework for urban land use planning

Analyses of the data from the study area revealed that even though the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462) established and empowered the local government (MMDAs) as the planning authority in the city, it largely worked with other decentralised and non-decentralised government departments and agencies especially those that provide infrastructural and utility services for urban land use planning. This was because majority of the decentralised departments that existed before the passing of the local government act still maintained strong links with their respective parent departments (headquarters) at the regional and national levels. The participatory composite budgeting proposed by the local government law for local governments was still yet to come to fruition. As the activities of the departments and agencies were largely financed and supervised by their parent departments, they owed allegiance to them, and thus, maintaining the former vertical chain of command and communication rather than the local authority and horizontal chain of communication with effective collaboration and coordination under the local government system proposed by the local government act. The various state departments at the regional and national levels were supposed to provide non-regulatory supervisory and harmonisation roles of the activities of their respective decentralised departments and agencies in the various MMDAs in their respective regions. This had the tendency of causing delays and complex procedures in the urban land use planning process.

Consequently, the data revealed a lack of proper coordination and integration of the activities of the sectoral departments of the metropolitan authority as well as with the other departments and agencies in planning and managing the city. This had resulted in disjointed and uncoordinated urban land use planning in the city. The various departments with technical expertise in various aspects of the city formulated and implemented policies aimed at solving problems in the city which were not harmonised with policies of other technical departments and agencies. In certain cases, the various departments had different policies concerning the same issue in the city. For instance, the analyses of the interviews conducted revealed that whilst some organisations had policies preventing the granting of any access to certain types of the small-scale informal

businesses and were vigorously pursuing it, the situation was different in other organisations in relation to the same issue indicated in the transcripts below:

"Yes, we also have the provision to give out temporary permit but we don't want to entertain it because it generates so many problems.... To this effect, we have stopped giving permit for them (small-scale informal businesses) to do that" (Kumasi, November 2, 2012).

This was however, different in another organisation which was also implementing policies to allow certain types of small-scale informal businesses in the city under very complex and stringent procedures.

"What happens is that the person who wants [to use] a piece of land for a hairdressing saloon or something like that will apply..... in that case we ask our development control officer to go and inspect the site to see that it conforms to what we have then we give the person a temporary permit" (Subin, November 22, 2012).

These inconsistencies exhibited by the organisations in the formulation and implementation of policies geared towards the urban land use planning and the management in the city created confusion and many challenges for the small-scale informal business sector, other departments and the city. It also sums up the general attitudes of officers working in the various departments towards the small-scale informal business sector. To achieve the desired integration of functions of the various departments and agencies in the city, central government departments and agencies operating in the city must be absorbed into the KMA to operate as integral departments of the KMA.

Additionally, the organisations also lack the requisite capacity to undertake proper urban land use planning of the city. Capacity in terms of the up-to-date and appropriate legislations, well trained and adequate human resource and logistics such as computers, vehicles, GPS among others were non-existent in many of the organisations. The legislations that stipulated the functions of many of the organisations were outdated, inappropriate and based on standards and guidelines that were alien to the local environment as elaborately explained in section 10.2 above. Their implementation in most instances were either partial or not at all as it was largely left to the discretion of the personnel of the organisations. This created a fertile ground for favouritism and discriminations. The most affected was the small-scale informal business sector which employed majority of the urban poor. Again, many of the departments and agencies did not have the full complement of staff to effectively and efficiently execute their functions. Others were also manned by staff without the requisite skill and professional expertise. The recruitment of staff for the various government departments and agencies was still being done by the Office of the Head of Civil Service in Accra on the recommendation of the respective department or agency and posted to the various regions and MMDAs. The headquarters of the various government departments and agencies often times retained the large number and the best qualified staff at the national and regional headquarters of the departments starving their offices at the MMDAs of best qualified staff and at the adequate number. Also, there were problems of inadequate working tools and equipment in the form of computers, duplicating machines,

plotters, GPS, GIS software, vehicles among others. The few staff was not able to build adequate database of activities in the city that was capable of finer segregation; undertake better analytical techniques such as improved projection methods, better ways of generating and appraising alternative scenarios and more systematic means of identifying and approving sites for physical developments in the city; and build a database management system as the basis for the formulation, monitoring and evaluation of urban land use policies and their outcomes. In addition, KMA was not able to generate enough revenue to finance and to provide the badly needed infrastructural and utility services in the city.

10.4 Urban land use planning procedure and administration

The local government act also established the administrative procedure for undertaking urban land use planning and implementation in the study area. The law established the Metropolitan Planning Board which was expected among other things to integrate the development planning and management of the metropolis and monitor and evaluate such development planning and management. The Board is responsible, through the Metropolitan Planning Authority, to the Metropolitan Authority. The Metropolitan Planning Coordinating Unit (MPCU) is the secretariat for the Metropolitan Planning Board.

Additionally, the laws also established the Board of Metropolitan Works to among other things also integrate the various components of metropolitan works that had metropolitan, regional or national implications particularly in the areas where collaboration and coordination with non-decentralised departments and agencies were necessary; be responsible for the provision of services including civil engineering and building construction, health, secretarial and welfare services; encourage private sector and community initiatives in the achievement of the developmental objectives of the assembly; and advise on development control and enforcement measures in the metropolis. The Board of the Metropolitan Works is responsible to the Metropolitan Planning Authority through an appropriate sub-committee of the metropolitan authority depending on the subject matter concerned.

The analyses of the data also revealed that even though there seemed to be a well laid down urban land use planning process similar to the classical planning process introduced by the British during the colonial era, the processes were hardly followed. Urban Land Use Plans especially local plans or sector layouts were usually hurriedly prepared by following little or no laid down regulations and guidelines. As aptly captured by the qualitative interview, plan preparation hardly follow the planning process.

"So if I [Town Planner] strike a deal with any landowner who wants his plan the following week,...in a classical land use process, you should not be able to do so in one week" (Accra, September 18, 2012).

In their bid to fulfil the requirement of the law that states that no piece of land shall be allocated for physical development without an approved land use plan, land owners (chiefs) in the suburbs of the city quickly engage Town planners at the Town and Country Planning Department to prepare local plans for their land. The ultimate aim of the land owner was to divide the land into various residential plots for leasing. The planning officers used their influence to get the plans approved by the metropolitan authority. Obviously with the limited capacity of the KMA, the implementation of the plan was hardly monitored. As these places develop as part of the city, various challenges with serious infrastructural deficits emerged which had dire consequences for the development of the city.

Moreover, even though laws establishing (especially Act 462 and 480) the new planning system emphasised on high level of proper and adequate public consultation as an integral part of the planning process, this was mostly by-passed. Urban land use planning was undertaken with very little or no public consultation. For instance it was clearly revealed in this interview that public participation was hardly practiced as part of the planning process.

"However, the participatory element of the process has been part of us for a long time but has not been really practiced.....we still have a situation where usually one person (urban land use planner) conceives and works through to approval" (Accra, September 18, 2012).

Evidence from the appraisal of the PGIS urban land use plan indicated that the resultant urban land use plan did not only represent the stakeholder's perception of their neighbourhood but also creating it. In other words, the urban land use plan was a representation of the neighbourhood the stakeholders including the small-scale informal business sector desired. It was an appropriate mode of producing inclusive spaces in the urban area with the consensus of all stakeholders. This mode of producing space has the ability to give the urban land use plan the required legitimacy that is needed to support and promote its implementation in order to create a workable and liveable urban environment. Furthermore, it was also realised that urban land use planning in the study area was usually carried out with little or no data and in instances where some data were used, the data were usually out-of-date. These resulted in unrealistic or mistaken projections with the resultant plans or reviewed plans being unable to meet the demands of a rapidly changing urban area.

Finally, it was realised that there was little or no attention paid to mobilisation of adequate resources by the metropolitan authority for the implementation of urban lands use plans. The implementation of the urban land use plans was mostly left to land owners and private property developers. The metropolitan authority's role was limited to that of ensuring the adherence and compliance to regulations. The responsibility of translating the urban land use plan was very much on the land owner and property developers. To be able to effectively manage the city and promote effective urban growth, it is important that the city authority includes adequate revenue mobilisation and infrastructure financing as part of the plan implementation processes. Access roads, pedestrian walkways, open spaces, utility line reservations have to be encumbered and developed to prevent unnecessary encroachment. Investments for infrastructure and service delivery have to be well coordinated with public departments and agencies in charge of them.

10.5 Concluding remarks

The chapter discussed the major findings from the empirical study. From the discussions it can be observed that small-scale informal business sector in the city contributes immensely to the economy of the city. Findings on the demographic characteristics revealed that the sector is the main source of employment for a majority of the largely of the active labour force in the primeworking age group in the city. It also revealed that even though males were in the majority of people employed in the sector, females employed in the sector were more than 45 percent. Majority of workers in sector had also had formal education. In comparison to their counterparts in the formal sector, workers in the small-scale informal business sector works longer hours per week. Businesses in the sector also contributed to the local government revenue through the payment of rates/fees/licenses. The major factors influencing the choice of business location of businesses in the sector included proximity to customers; available of adequate space for businesses activities; and areas where businesses face less competition. The space size occupied by businesses in the sector ranged from 2.2m² to 29.7m² with the exception of those in urban agriculture that cultivated an average land area of 2500m². Access to urban infrastructure and support services to the sector was generally poor. Analysis of the characteristics in the two study settlements showed a significant difference in the land sizes occupied and the profits earned daily from businesses indicating that the character of activities in the sector is affected by the regulatory settings of the area. However, there was no significance difference with regards to rates/fees/licenses paid to city authorities by business in the sector in the two study settlements.

Further, the chapter discussed findings on the framework of legislation of the urban land use planning regime. Apart from the urban land use planning laws being scattered across many laws, they also old and not responsive to currents trends of development in the city. The laws also criminalised the work and the use of urban public space of small-scale informal business sector. Consequently, it negates the right of those engaged in the sector to work and use urban public space which is enshrined in many national and international laws.

In addition, the chapter also gives insight into the organisations of the urban land use planning regime that were mostly uncoordinated in their functions. It also explains that projections for urban land use planning were mostly based on outdated data. Laid down urban land use planning processes were also hardly followed. Participation which is to be at the centre of the urban land use planning processes was elusive.

It can be generally observed that the urban land use planning regime can integrate the small-scale informal business sector by designing appropriate policies to harness the strength and potentials of the sector for urban development whilst fashioning remedies for the weakness highlighted from the analysis. The next chapter reflects back to the theory guiding the research to discuss the contributions of the findings to the general theoretical debate as well as prescribe some recommendations for urban land use planning to integrate the small-scale informal business sector.

11 Theoretical reflections, innovative approaches to small-scale informal business sector integration into urban land use planning

In this chapter, I seek to reflect on the entire research by drawing insights from the discussions of the findings and their implications by relating them to the theories that underpin the entire research. It discusses the contributions of the findings to the body of knowledge in the urban informality literature. In addition, it also proposes various innovative approaches based on the findings from the discussions to the urban land use planning regime for integrating the small-scale informal business sector. The chapter concludes by reflecting on the entire research from the main research objective, research questions, the methodology employed and the findings that emerged thereof. Some areas of further research that are identified are also stated.

11.1 Theoretical reflections

The evidence from the empirical research suggests that the small-scale informal businesses create and shape urban space. The social, economic, political and cultural relations of the majority of the inhabitants in the city are structured and guided by informal processes. These relations manifest in space. They translate themselves in the how urban space is put to use by inhabitants. Thus, it is a 'mode of the production of space'. The conceptualised urban space in the city is mainly shaped by the population's informal processes, which is referred to by Lefebvre as the 'representations of space'.

Accordingly, it also largely emerged from the empirical research that the small-scale informal businesses in the city is 'an organising logic'. As already stated in section 10.1.1, at a glance, the sector appears to be labyrinth, chaotic and anarchic. But a cautious and systematic investigation of the phenomena over a period reveals its real character. Patterns emerge, contexts take shape, everyday objects take on new significance, become guides and signposts for its gaining understanding and knowledge about the phenomena. This informal process is largely understood as "an organising logic...a process of structuration that constitutes the rules of the game, determining the nature of transactions between individuals and institutions and within institutions" (Roy & AlSayyad, 2004, p. 5).

Again, the small-scale informal business sector is largely being understood as a response to the 'exclusion' of the inhabitants in the economy of the city due to the inappropriate and discriminatory legislations and regulations regulating and controlling general economic activities and urban growth in particular in the city. It is evidently clear from the empirical research that the various legislations, planning standards, zoning and development guidelines as well as the bye-laws regulating and guiding the city 'exclude' the economic activities of majority of the population. The small-scale informal business sector is therefore viewed as a strategy or a de facto regulation of the economy. According to the legalist theorists, the small-scale informal business sector and for that matter 'informality' is as a result of bypassing the rigid rules and regulations regulating the operations of economic activities in the formal sector. Thus, the small-

scale informal business sector thrives in order to avoid the cost of formality in terms of inflexible rules and regulations, taxes, time and effort in complying with cumbersome formal rules and bureaucratic procedures (De Soto, 1989).

Additionally, the small-scale informal business sector is also viewed as an approach used by the majority of the population of the city that have little or no access to land and urban infrastructure and support services. The empirical research revealed majority of the population of the city in the small-scale informal businesses are marginalised. The legislations and regulations guiding urban growth does not recognise their existence in the city. Even those that are recognised do not have access to land and adequate urban infrastructure and support services due to the inability of city authorities to provide to make them easily accessible. Majority of city's population employ processes and activities that are outside the rules and regulations to claim land, urban infrastructure and support services for their livelihood. The small-scale informal business activity is as a strategy of the majority of the city's population (excluded) enabling them to make claims to urban land, infrastructure and support services.

Furthermore, the empirical research also reveals that the informal activities and processes characterising the small-scale informal business sector is not entirely outside the city authorities. City authorities play an active role in defining the structural conditions and the organising logic inherent in the small-scale informal business sector. According to Meagher (1995, p. 279), the small-scale informal business sector in sub-Saharan Africa, shows how the expansion of informality is not a process occurring "outside the state" but is the result of an environment of "state complicity". For instance, the inappropriate planning standards; zoning and development guidelines which are alien to the local context and as such difficult for the majority of the population to meet as well as enforce by city authorities; the antiquated legislations; and the inconsistent policies on the activities of the small-scale informal business sector in the city by city authorities largely point to a complicity of city authorities. This is what is referred to as 'state informalisation' by Meagher (ibid). Again the decision created within the population by city authorities into 'citizens' and 'unrecognised population' is problematic. This is because their support for recognised population groups (citizen) is not only through established laws and regulations but also through 'deregulation' of its regulatory authority. "Deregulation indicates a calculated informality, one that involves purposive action and planning, and one where the seeming withdrawal of regulatory power creates a logic of resource allocation, accumulation and authority" (Roy, 2009, p. 83). For instance, the provision of urban infrastructural services to 'modern' detached and semi-detached houses at the unplanned periphery of the city whilst at the same time neglecting the provision of such services to the small-scale informal business activities in the city.

Consequently, these aforementioned discussions results in contestation and negotiation in land, urban infrastructure and state welfare distribution among recognised population ("citizens") and the unrecognised population as well as the state itself. The continuous contestations and

negotiations among these actors result in the 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' of various segments of the population creating insurgents (the small-scale informal business sector) in the city. This gives rise to the need for a 'just city' that cannot obviously be implemented by the current regime of urban land use planning being implemented in the city. It is in the light of this that some recommendations are proposed in the form of innovative approaches based on the understanding of the literature on urban land use planning and the small-scale informal business sector, the analyses of the empirical research and the conclusions drawn from the analysis to appropriately integrate the small-scale informal business sector into urban land use planning.

11.2 Innovative approaches to urban land use planning for integrating the small-scale informal business sector

The aforementioned discussions on the theoretical reflections on the small-scale informal business sector in the study area reveal its several antecedents. With this ambiguity, it is difficult to conclude that the excessive regulation of the formal sector is only to blame for the occurrence of the small-scale informal businesses and the sector's continuous expansion. Accordingly, it is quite obvious that a complete introduction of formal sector-like regulations and interventions to this sector shall not efficiently and effectively integrate the sector into urban land use planning and the city. Similarly, any one fit-all policy that is aimed at integrating the sector into urban land use planning and management will be an exercise in futility.

Additionally, as clearly suggested by the empirical research, interventions in the sector with the aim of integrating it into urban land use planning and management will have to consider the diversity of the various activities undertaken in the sector. The peculiarities of each segment of the sector will have to be considered in any endeavour aimed at designing appropriate approaches to include it in the city. Consideration of the peculiarities of each of the segments in the sector will help to identify the specific requirements of the sector. Undoubtedly, many of the requirements such as the right to be recognised, security of land tenure, access to basic infrastructure and support services, credit and other financial services, training on how to successfully manage and grow their activities, as well as actively participate in urban management are all common to the sector. On the other hand, other requirements vary depending on the characteristics of their specific enterprise. A first step to be able to identify the diversities, is the building of a Spatial Observation System (SOS). This exercise as the initial and important step of understanding the diversities and the constant dynamism in the sector should be carried out on a quarterly basis.

11.2.1 Establishment of a Spatial Observation System (SOS)

The information system should be established by local governments to collect, store, process and communicate data on the sector. The use of ICT such as computers, GIS and GPS tools will help to collect large amounts of data on the sector as well as link them to their specific geographical locations in space through their coordinates. These large amounts of data can be stored in digital form, processed and analysed for proper and realistic projections for assessing the requirements

of the sector. Such data will also lend itself to easy segmentation in order to be able to easily and efficiently assess the needs and potentials of each segment of the sector. The information system will also make it easy and possible for monitoring the activities of each small-scale informal business activity. The building of the information system will include the following specific activities:

- units should be set up at all the MMDAs throughout the country with the specific task of building a spatial observation system (the unit should be the office of the observation system team made up of all the relevant stakeholders with all the building inspectorate divisions of the all the sub-structures such as sub-metropolitan district councils, zonal/area/town councils being the sub-unit offices of the unit)
- the acquisition of computers, a GIS software, GPS equipment for the units as well as each of the units in the sub-structures of the MMDAs
- the assistance of the Land Use Planning and Management Project Office (LUPMP) of the TCPD should be sought to train the team members and the building inspectors at the building inspectorate division of each of the sub-structures in the use of the GIS and GPS equipment
- guidelines such as file formats, name syntax, scales among others should be developed to conform to that used by the LUPMP project of the TCPD
- the hardcopies of all the land use plans, topographical maps and town sheets in each of the areas of the sub-structures should be scanned and digitized by the trained personnel and stored in the relevant approved file formats, name syntax among others
- images of the areas under the jurisdiction of the sub-structures such as satellite images/aerial photographs of the format corresponding to the agreed guidelines should be acquired
- with the coordination and guidance of the spatial observation system unit offices of the MMDAs, a transect walk of all relevant stakeholders should be conducted by each of the teams in the sub-structures in their respective areas with the aid of the printed (at the approved scale on a sheet of paper) satellite images/aerial photographs of the area to update the land use plans of their respective areas (with particular emphasis on the spaces occupied by the small-scale informal business and their relations with other land uses)
- with the aid of the GIS, the various digitized maps of the areas of the sub-structures of the various MMDAs should overlaid on each other and updated with the information gathered during the transect walks to create the current land use plans of the various areas
- structured questionnaires should be designed by the various units of the sub-structures with the participation of all relevant stakeholders and administered to every small-scale informal business economic activity whilst at the same time using the GPS equipment to pick the specific spatial locations of the small-scale informal business economic activities (questions in the questionnaire should include among others the characteristics and profile of the small-scale informal business operators, their specific activities, their land requirements and specific locations, the infrastructural and other support services they require, the types of

- waste their activities generate, how they organise and manage themselves, and the difficulties they face in their activities)
- the GPS data should be downloaded with the aid of the GIS to create a layer of small-scale informal business activities in each of the sub-structures of the MMDAs with the profile of each small-scale informal business activity used to create an attribute database linked to the respective spatial location of the small-scale informal business picked with the GPS

The data gathered from the aforementioned process can now be processed, analysed, and stored with the aid of the computers, GIS software and the GPS equipment in conformity with the approved guidelines to form a Spatial Observation System (SOS) for each of the sub-structures of the various MMDAs. Since the guidelines for data gathering, processing, analyses and storing are similar, each of the various MMDAs can easily put together the data from the SOS of the various sub-structures in their areas of jurisdiction to create a Metropolitan/Municipal/District SOS. The data in such an information system on the small-scale informal business sector can be used to make realistic projections for an inclusive development and management of the various urban areas in the respective MMDAs. The SOS will also be a basis for the development of an 'affirmative action' for the inclusion of the small-scale informal business sector especially with regards to the formulation of appropriate legislations with accompanying development guidelines and planning standards.

11.2.2 Reengineering of urban land use planning legislation

The Town and Country Planning Department should initiate processes to review and harmonise all the legislations regulating and facilitating urban land use planning in Ghana. As already mentioned, many of the legislations and their accompanying development guidelines and planning standards that are guiding urban growth and development in the city are antiquated and do not reflect the local context. For instance, the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1945 (Cap 84) and its accompanying development guidelines and planning standards is the main law guiding physical development in the city. Again, majority of the bye-laws of the local authority were enacted since 1995 when the KMA was established through the L.I. 1614 as a local government to manage the city and have since not seen any major revision to reflect current trends of development in the city as well as the aspirations of the populace.

These legislations and development guidelines and planning standards, criminalise the activities of the small-scale informal business sector in the city. Whilst the development guidelines and planning standards set high standards that are difficult to be met by the small-scale informal business sector, the laws set harsh punishment for operators who break the relevant laws. These have potentially far-reaching social and economic consequences because court-imposed sentences can be as high as imprisonment for six months. Appropriate laws should be enacted to among other things recognise the activities of the small-scale informal business sector, decriminalise their activities in the city, recognise their contribution to the local economy as well as make appropriate provisions for their space and infrastructural requirements.

It is quite refreshing to note that the Ghana National Urban Policy which was formulated by the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD) in 2012 gave some general policy directions for the development of the small-scale informal business sector in the country. The policy has a set of thirteen (13) policy objectives to guide urban growth and development in the country. Those that pertains both directly and indirectly to the small-scale informal business sector were under the policy objective of "promote urban economic development," with the last four initiatives directly targeting the small-scale informal business sector:

- change the official attitude towards the informal enterprises from neglect to recognition and policy support;
- ensure that urban planning provides for the activities of the informal economy;
- build up and upgrade the operational capacities of the informal enterprises; and
- improve funding support for the informal economy.

Nonetheless, these are broad policy statements. A number of more concrete activities would have to be undertaken in order to fully realise these objectives. It is proposed that in addition to the policy objectives, the relevant legislations, bye-laws and their accompanying development guidelines and planning standards should be reengineered to recognise the small-scale informal business sector the city. Similar to the state's own 'informalisation' through the process of 'deregulation' discussed earlier, the various legislations and regulations as well as their accompanying development guidelines and planning standards that 'exclude' the small-scale informal business sector in accessing land, infrastructure and other support services in the city should also be appropriately 'reengineered' to integrate the sector in the city. This will be a catalyst for a general change in the attitude of planners and other officers involved in urban land use planning and management in the city toward the small-scale informal business sector.

Appropriate development guidelines and zoning regulations

Development guidelines and zoning regulations are urban land use planning tools used by planners and planning authorities to prescribe the acceptable use and form of development of and on an area of land. The development zones mainly define the use category of a piece of land, prescribing allowable and non-allowable activities and developments on a parcel of land within a zone. This is to ensure that land use activities are sited in areas which best suit their functions and also mitigate the adverse impacts associated with noise, traffic, safety of operation and amenity, of all land within a planning scheme area zoned. As already discussed extensively in section 10.2 of this dissertation; the application of the development guidelines and the zoning regulations has strictly 'excluded' the small-scale informal business sector from the city. The evidence from the empirical research suggest which development zone serves as an attraction for a particular segment of small-scale informal business sector even though a variety of the segments of the sector could be found in a particular development zone. It is imperative that permissible activities in a particular development zone are made flexible and in conformity with the local context in order to integrate the small-scale informal business sector.

Residential zones

Residential zones are areas zoned mainly for building units or houses for human habitation. To promote health, safety and general social welfare, the area is envisaged to be environmentally friendly with no or very little nuisance. Nonetheless, the strict zoning of such an area to only human dwellings will result in consequences that will outweigh the intended benefits. For instance, separating the zone from all other land uses will only result in the inhabitants being forced to make many more and more distant commutes. These results in a loss of working/leisure time, environmental pollution, higher transportation costs, reduction in disposable household income, greater demands on the transportation system and, thus, higher public spending. Besides it also excludes others which contravene various laws and conventions in a democratic environment. To be able to achieve the objectives of urban land use planning and management as well as create a just environment by incorporating the small-scale informal business sector, it is recommended that the current permissible activities that are allowable in the sector are reviewed to make it accessible to the small-scale informal business activities while at the same time maintaining the character and philosophy of the zone to a large extent. Based on the scale of activities carried out and the severity of nuisance they cause, various segments of the small-scale informal business sector can be allowed in the various types under the zone.

Low density residential development: as the name suggests, the zone is intended to remain as an area for low density residential development. A housing density of 10-15 dwellings per hectare and a predominant development of detached houses on plot sizes of not less than 500m² are permitted by the development guidelines and zoning regulations. Land uses prohibited from the area include industrial, commercial and mixed land use activities in order to maintain a spacious environment, free from intrusion by incompatible land use. In addition, high density block of flats/apartments, institution or community dwelling facilities will also not be permitted. The general permitted land uses include official residences, educational, child care facilities and places of public worship (depending on the location and size). Home businesses with not more than two employees, clinics, pharmacies and surgeries may be permitted but shall be limited to 250m² in gross floor area. It is proposed that small-scale informal business activities that are environmentally friendly with very low nuisance and occupies land space of not more than 100m² should be allowed in this area. These may include small-scale home based commercial, manufacturing, construction and service enterprises. Examples include corner shops, vegetable vendors, fruit vendors, tailors, seamstresses, hairdressing and beautician parlours, barbering shops, horticulturists/florists, artists, bakeries (especially those who use other ovens that generate minimal to no smoke), plumbers, electricians among others similar to these that engage in activities that cause no or very minimal environmental nuisance or emissions.

Medium density residential development: the zone is envisaged to provide for a variety of residential uses at net site densities of between 16 and 30 dwelling per hectare. The form of development will comprise a mixture of detached, semi-detached (duplex), row (terraced) and compound houses. Some small retail development would be permissible in this zone in selected

areas, to accommodate the day-to-day shopping needs of the population. To ensure that an adequate level of amenity is achieved, small areas of public open spaces will be intermixed with the development. Major commercial, industrial transportation activities will be excluded from the zone so as to minimize traffic congestion and preserve the residential character of the zone. The small-scale informal business activities that can be allowed in the sector are those with low nuisance or emissions. In addition to those that can be allowed in the zone above, all regular residential activities and small scale informal businesses that are street-linked should also be allowed in the zone. Examples include various retail shops, vulcanising shops, neighbourhood markets, printing shops, business centres, small-scale carpentry shops, internet cafes, bars, fast food joints, chop bars, electronic repair shops, watch and mobile phone repair shops, lotto kiosks, cobblers and shoe makers, plumbers, electricians, carpenters among other small-scale informal businesses with low nuisance or emissions but a little more than those allowed in the zone above.

High density residential development: the zone is largely intended for intensive residential development with densities in excess of 30 dwellings per hectare. The minimum plot size on which a development is approved is 110m² with adequate provision for public open space, roads and footpaths and parking areas. It is expected to comprise urban low income housing areas, which can be upgraded to meet the minimum space requirements. In addition to the above proposed small-scale informal business activities, the sector can also be allowed to accommodate small-scale informal business activities that tend to locate along streets and with general nuisances or emissions higher than those in the above two zones. Examples include corn mills, flour mills, carpenters, plumbers, electricians, car fitting shops, metal and fabrication shops, corn and ripe plantain roasting, yam and sweet potato chips frying, foodstuff sellers, cassava flakes (gari roasting), palm oil and palm kernel oil production, groundnut oil production among others of similar character.

Educational zone

Areas zoned for educational purposes are land that is intended to be used for the purposes of training or teaching of persons and research into specialised areas. The zone contains education facilities that range from Basic, Junior and Senior High Schools, Technical and Vocational Institutes/Colleges to Tertiary Institutions like Polytechnics and Universities. Usually, basic educational facilities such as crèche, kindergartens, primary and junior high schools are located in the various respective residential zones even though this also largely depends on the size (number of pupils it is expected to enrol) and the accompanying facilities. This is necessary to ensure complementarity between land uses which is essential for promoting economic efficiency and ensure a decent level of social and economic equity which maximises the general social welfare of the population. Generally, due to their nature, higher educational institutions usually take large land space due to their accompanying facilities, enrolment and the specialised activities they are expected to perform. Apart from the accompanying facilities, it is also necessary that other land uses that ensure highest compatible use with the land use are allowed

into the sector. To be able to conveniently achieve this, the various land users in the zone must be able to tolerate some level of nuisances or emissions from each other. The empirical evidence suggests some small-scale informal business activities that are attracted to this zone. Activities of the various segments of the sector that present benefits to the land use zone with acceptable levels of nuisance or emissions should be allowed into the zone. These include stationery shops, photocopying shops, food vendors, fruit sellers, printing shops, grocery shops, barbering shops, hairdressing and beautician shops, tailors and seamstresses, photo studios among others that have similar characteristics.

Civic and cultural zone

The civic and cultural development land use category is intended for significant civil and precinct buildings. These are buildings that are strictly used for the purposes of cultural, medical, security, public administrative business and other uses which are strongly vested with public or social importance. The specific uses that are listed by the development guidelines and zoning regulations under the land use category include health facilities, places of worship (churches, mosques, shrines etc.), public administrative areas, museums and monuments, chief's palaces, public meeting places (durbar grounds, community centres, cultural centres etc.) and tourist centres. The various uses under the zone vary depending on the size, threshold population and level of services they are expected to render. These also determine the amenities that it can coexist with in order to be fruitful and render the effective and efficient services. The magnitude and segment of small-scale informal business activities that the land use attracts is also very much dependent on its size, threshold and service level as revealed by the empirical research. Small-scale informal business activities that present compatible uses to the different uses in the zone with acceptable nuisance or emission levels to it should be allowed to make the zone perform its function effectively and efficiently to the public. Examples of small-scale informal business activities that can be allowed in each of the segments of the zone include but not limited to:

- Places of worship: food vendors, fruit sellers, dealers in religious books, dealers in religious
 music and movie CDs, clothe sellers, shoe sellers, shoemakers and cobblers, dealers in arts
 and artefacts etc.
- Health facilities: food vendors, fruit sellers, convenience shops, florists etc.
- Public administrative areas: food vendors, grocery shops, fruit sellers, clothe sellers, shoe sellers, cobblers, photocopying, printing shops, photo studios, business centres, stationery shops, internet cafes, cane weavers, commissioners for oaths, type writers etc.
- Security areas (such as police stations and fire service stations): food vendors, printing shops, photo studios, commissioners for oaths, type writers etc.
- Museums and monuments: food vendors, bicycle hirers, dealers in arts and artefacts, photo studios, clothe dealers, photo coping etc.
- Chief's palace: photo studios, dealers in arts and artefacts, clothe dealers etc.
- Public meeting places: food vendors, dealers in arts and artefacts, photo studios, florists etc.

 Tourist centres: food vendors, dealers in arts and artefacts, bicycle hirers, florists, photo studios etc.

A fruitful interaction between the small-scale informal business activities and the use of the zone as well as the permitted amenities of the zone would ensure the achievement of the intended purpose of the zone. However, it is important to note that the permitted amenities that are allowed in the sector largely depend on the scale of uses in each of the use types. These also determine the scale of small-scale informal business activity that could be allowed to be able to ensure compatibility and the desired synergy.

Commercial zone

The commercial land use category is predominantly zoned for the sale of products and services. It is usually abutted by, residential, agricultural, or other contrasting land use categories which help define them. The main components of the land use category include urban central business districts; shopping centres, usually in suburban and outlying areas; commercial strip developments along major highways and access routes to cities; resorts among others.

Often, commercial land use zones may include some non-commercial uses that may be too small to be separated out. For instance, central business districts commonly include some residential units; institutions, such as churches and schools; and commercial strip developments may also include some residential units. In most Ghanaian cities as well as those of most countries of the global south, these non-commercial uses exceed one-third-of the total commercial area, and thus, the land use zone seem to be more of a mixed land use category.

The commercial and service identity of the land use category and especially its mixed-use nature in the global south is a lure for majority of the population – the main attraction for majority of small-scale informal business activities (especially those engaged in retail and service activities who incidentally form the majority of small-scale informal business activities). It is quite logical that majority of the small-scale informal businesses can be found in this land use category. Due to the intense nature and high density that is usually associated with some components of the land use category especially in cities of the global south, it suffers from environmental nuisances such as congestion, blight, pollution among others. These environmental nuisances are largely viewed as negating the expected benefits of the land use category to the entire city. These environmental nuisances in the zone similar to other land use categories are blamed on the existence of the small-scale informal businesses in the zone.

Similar to the other land use categories the development guidelines and zoning regulations should be designed to make provisions for the various segments of the small-scale informal business sector in the land use category. It is very essential that the synergies of the various activities in each of the components of the land use category are harnessed for the full benefits of society. The various land use components of the commercial zone include:

- Central Business District: as the name suggests, the area is the most important area of business activity in the city. Most local and international organisations, government businesses and other civic and cultural organisations are headquartered in this area of the city. Because of the opportunities that it presents, the use of space in such areas is highly competitive which consequently leads to relatively high land values. Obviously, the relative high land values are often beyond the means of majority of the small-scale informal business sector. As a result, the small-scale informal business activities that are attracted to the area with acceptable nuisance or emission should be supported to be able to acquire appropriate spaces in the area. Examples of the small-scale informal business activities that could be allowed in the area include; traders, who sell mainly general goods such as mobile phones, mobile telephone cards, clothing and shoes, CDs and DVDs, and some small electrical goods; stationery shops; food vendors; convenience shops; fruit sellers; vegetable sellers; dealers in arts and artefacts; cane weavers; florists; lotto sellers in kiosks; printing shops, business centres; commissioners for oaths; type writers; photo studios among others.
- Markets: these are areas that are designated for trading in all manner of goods ranging from agricultural produce to manufactured goods. In Ghana and most countries in the global south, markets are designed in a rectangular manner with stores built to form the rectangle and the courtyard designed with a row of stalls divided into several compartments. The row of stalls is roofed to protect traders from the vagaries of the weather with the sides open to form a concourse. However, only few markets in Ghana are well designed and constructed in this manner. Consequently, they lack infrastructure such as well constructed stores and stalls, water, electricity, toilet and urinals, drains, paved floors, lockup storage, proper roofing among others. Even those that are well constructed and designed are based on inappropriate specifications and standards. They are not able to accommodate all the traders neither do they adequately cater for their needs. The development regulations and zoning guidelines should make appropriate guidelines for the design and construction of markets to make them adequately accommodate and promote the activities of traders, majority of whom are in the small-scale informal business sector. It is proposed that traders are adequately observed, surveyed, consulted and analysed. This will help to group the activities of traders in appropriate activity clusters. The design and infrastructural facilities that can appropriately accommodate and promote the activities of each cluster will emerge from such an exercise. It is also evident from the empirical research that some small-scale informal business operators change their activities depending on the time of day, demand of customers or season of the year. For such activities, it will be difficult to aptly predict the factors that will appropriately cater for such activities but deeper consultation, negotiations and demonstrations with various scenarios/models with the operators will help to come up with an appropriate design, sizes and construction materials.

In addition to the above mentioned land use activities, other land use activities that appropriately accommodate and promote the small-scale informal business can be created in various neighbourhoods. For instance, an Informal Business Land Use Zone should be created for local

community business activities that accommodate small shops, sub-offices and agencies and a neighbourhood market. Similar to the neighbourhood markets that evolve overtime, these land use zones should be created to progressively develop overtime with convenience for pedestrian and vehicular access (which is major attractions of the small-scale informal business). Furthermore, adequate provision for infrastructure and support services such as water, electricity, drains, lockup storage, toilet facilities, kindergarten, waste disposal and other public amenities should be made and adequately provided. The allowable neighbourhood market in the zone should be a daily market around which should be constructed more permanent retail and community facilities. Other small-scale informal business activities with acceptable scale and nuisance or emission level to the above mentioned activities such as small scale repairs, home craft and cottage industry, food vendors, barbers, hairdressers and beauticians, tailors and seamstresses, cane weavers, kente weavers, tie and dye makers, batik makers, bead sellers, herbal and traditional medicine dealers, dealers in poultry and livestock among others should be permitted to the land use zone. These neighbourhood centres will go a long way to accommodate a sizeable number of the small-scale informal business sector thereby reducing the pressure on the CBD and other large markets in accommodating them.

Transportation, Communication and Utilities zone

The specific land use components that form this land use category often times can be found within many other land use categories. Hence, their mapping as a separate and distinct land use largely depends on the scale being employed, if not, they are mostly considered an integral part of the land use within which they occur. The various land uses and their accompanying amenities also present attractions to various segments of small-scale informal business activities. For instance, major transportation routes and areas greatly influence other land uses, and form the outline boundaries of many land uses. The types and extent of transportation facilities in a locality determine the degree of access and affect both the present and potential use of the area. The various components include:

- Highways: the land use activities include rights-of-way, areas used for interchanges, and service and terminal facilities. Small-scale informal business activities that could be allowed include fresh fruit sellers, fresh farm produce sellers, food vendors, vulcanising workshops, dealers in arts and artefacts, mobile phone card sellers among others.
- Major regional bus and taxi terminals: Small-scale informal business activities such as food vendors, convenience shops, tea/coffee shops, fruit sellers, clothes and shoe sellers, mobile phone card sellers, CD and DVD sellers, arts and artefacts sellers among others can be allowed within the land use.
- Railway facilities: include stations, parking lots, roundhouses, repair and switching yards, overland tracks, and sufficient width for spur connections. All the small-scale informal business activities mentioned above in addition to others of similar characteristics can be allowed in the land use.

Ports (Airports, seaports, major lake ports): isolated areas of high utilization, usually with no well-defined intervening connections; airport facilities include the runways, intervening land, terminals, service buildings, navigation aids, fuel storage, parking lots, and a limited buffer zone (terminal facilities generally include the associated freight and warehousing functions); small airports (except those on rotated farmland), heliports, and land associated with seaplane; seaport areas include the docks, shipyards, dry-docks, locks, and waterway control structures. Small-scale informal business activities with uses that are compatible, with acceptable scale and nuisance levels with the any of the categories of uses can be allowed in the particular land use. For instance, cold stores operators, fish smokers and fishmongers can be allowed in the sea and lake ports. Tea/coffee shops, convenience shops, dealers in arts and artefacts, and fast food vendors can be allowed in airports.

Communications and utilities areas such as those involved in processing, treatment, and transportation of water, gas, oil, telephone and electricity and areas used for airwave communications. The major land use types include pumping stations, electric substations, and areas used for radio, radar, or television antennas. The small-scale informal business activities that can be allowed within the land use include food vendors, fruit sellers, convenience shops, mobile phone cards, mobile phone repairers, plumbers, electricians among others.

Industrial zone

The industrial land use category includes a wide range of land uses from services, light manufacturing to heavy manufacturing plants. The classification of activities under the land use is largely based on the activity type, scale and level of hazardous emissions produced as a result of its activity. These also determine their specific locations and the various other land uses that can be allowed in the land use zone to ensure compatibility of the uses. Similarly, small-scale informal business activities can be analysed based on their level of environmental nuisances, scale and activity type in order to have a useful guide for identifying those that are compatible with each of the various land uses under the land use category. The various small-scale informal business activities that can be allowed in each of the land uses under the land use category include:

- Service industry: as the name suggests, the area is designed to accommodate small-scale, service activities involving repair and maintenance, servicing and processing. It is envisaged to support commercial and residential zone activities. Small-scale informal business activities that can be allowed in the sector include small scale suppliers, dry-cleaning, photogenic film processing, small carpentry workshops, plumbers, electricians, spare parts dealers, barbering, hairdressing and beautician shops, seamstresses and tailoring, mechanic worships, printing shops, photo studios, mobile phone repairs, cobblers, repairers of electronic appliances including computers, food vendors, convenience shops, fruit sellers among others.
- Light industry: light industrial activities include industries whose activities involve the use of clean, low technologies to limit air and noise nuisance. These are industries which are largely

engaged in the production of high value but low weight and volume goods, such as specialised electronic firms, IT based industries, jewellery, medical products among others. Small-scale informal business activities that should be allowed include food vendors, fruit sellers, convenience shops, mobile phone repairers, computer repairers, CD and DVD sellers, mobile telephone card sellers, clothe sellers, shoe sellers among others.

Heavy industry: the land use accommodates a wide range of industrial and related development including manufacturing, food processing, assembly of machinery, and heavy equipment, vehicles and appliances. To ensure that services are provided to a high standard and reliability to support activities in the land use, it is usually sited close to major roads and other infrastructural facilities. The small-scale informal business activities that can be allowed in the land use include mechanic workshops, auto straightening and spraying workshops, food vendors, fruit sellers, mobile phone card sellers, convenience shops, spare parts dealers, mobile phone repairers, barbers, tailors, plumbers, electricians among others.

From the aforementioned, it can be realised that whilst the fundamental idea of zoning land into various uses is necessary, the basic idea is to maximise social welfare. Consequently, every land use has benefits and nuisances or emissions to society. Development guidelines and zoning regulations should therefore not be interested in eliminating activities per se, but rather, concentrate on organising and managing them in a way that projects their benefits among themselves and to society and at the same time reducing their nuisances to acceptable levels. In general, small-scale informal business activities can be allowed in all the various land use categories. However, what is important to consider is their compatibility with the land use, environmental nuisance level, scale of activity and the benefit to the population. As tricky as this exercise may be, it must be carried out with utmost good faith with the ultimate goal being society's welfare.

Appropriate planning standards

In addition to the development guidelines and zoning regulations, planning standards are also used as urban land use planning and management instruments to set mandatory standards or basic considerations that must be met when carrying out any development. It sets the minimum criteria for determining the scale, location and site requirements of various land uses and facilities. To be able to integrate the small-scale informal business sector, the planning standards also have to be made relevant and appropriate to recognise the activities of the small-scale informal business sector. Nonetheless, to be able to maximise social welfare, there must be a set of criteria to guide the spaces occupied and the structures accommodating the small-scale informal business sector even among the small-scale informal business activities themselves. It is imperative that in undertaking such an exercise, each of the small-scale informal business operators within each of the segments is thoroughly observed and questioned about how they use their spaces. Based on the empirical evidence, the recommended appropriate planning standards

proposals for accommodating the small-scale informal business in the various land use categories include:

Sizes of small-scale informal business shops

The empirical research revealed that the sizes of the small-scale informal business shops varied widely based on the activity type, the number of people employed (apprentices), the specific location of the activity and the scale of the activity. In general, with the exception of small-scale informal businesses in the urban agricultural sector, four (4) main categories of small-scale informal business shop sizes emerged. These were categorised from very small with an area size of between 2.23m^2 and 4.46m^2 to big with a size of 29.73m^2 . The proposed standard for small-scale informal business shops could be as depicted in Table 11.1 below.

Table 11.1: Proposed size of different category of small-scale informal business shops

Category	Maximum dimension	Area in m^2
Very small	2.4m x 1.8m (8ft x 6ft)	4.5
Small	3.7m x 2.4m (12ft x 8ft)	8.9
Medium	6.1m x 2.4m (20ft x 8ft)	14.9
Big	12.2m x 2.4m (40ft x 8ft)	29.7

Bearing in mind the proposals that have been made under the development guidelines and zoning regulations, it is imperative to make proposals to guide the sizes of the shops of the small-scale informal business activities within each land use category. As already mentioned, small-scale informal business activities that are allowed within each category of land use should be assessed based on its space requirement, traffic it is expected to generate, any nuisance or pollution that may be created as well as the benefit it contributes. Using such criteria as a basis, small-scale informal business shops could be permitted on roads having a developed carriage way width ranging between 6m to 30m. For instance, local roads with a carriage way width of 6m have additional reservations of at least 4m for future expansion and utility lines on each side. Small shops such as tea/coffee shops, lotto kiosks, convenience shops as well as activities carried out on tables such as fruit sellers, vegetable sellers, food vendors, mobile phone card sellers that cover a maximum area of 4.5m² and others with similar character could be allowed to locate along such roads. Small-scale informal business shops with a maximum area of 30m² such as barbering shops, hairdressing salons, tailors and seamstress shops, vulcanising shops, business centres, drinking bars, clothes and shoe sellers, grocery shops among others with similar characters could be allowed to locate along collector and arterial roads with carriage ways of between 12m and 18m respectively with additional reservations of at least 6m to 10m respectively on each side. These roads constitute the majority of roads in the study area. The empirical research reveals a frontage space of between 3m to 7m from the edge of the right of way to the start of the building line. Consequently, the prescribed shopping lines could be part of the boundaries or fence walls of the buildings abutting the roads and they will be enough space for utility lines, pedestrians and other road users.

Moreover, to ensure safety and orderliness, direct access to the shopping area from the local roads where small-scale informal business shops are allowed along local roads should be limited. Access by customers could be permitted from a service window or counter at an appropriate height as is mostly practised by such shops with the only main entrance opening in the courtyard of the building on whose plot it is located.

Additionally, their infrastructure needs could be catered for by the main infrastructural facilities supplied to the buildings on whose plot they are accommodated. Infrastructure such as electricity, water, drainage, access roads, security, waste disposal facilities among others could be accessed from that available to the building. As already revealed by the empirical research, majority of the small-scale informal business activities indicated they were authorised to locate their economic activities by the landlords of the plots accommodating their activities. As a result, adopting such a strategy to integrate the small-scale informal business sector will be appropriate, sustainable, make the landlords directly responsible for monitoring as well as generate income to landlords through the charging of rents and local government through rates/fees/license charges.

Building materials for structures accommodating small-scale informal business activities

The building materials for constructing structures accommodating small-scale informal business activities

The building materials for constructing structures accommodating small-scale informal business activities depended on a lot of factors and also varied widely as revealed by the empirical research. Issues such as perception of the security of tenure, fear of eviction by city authorities, the specific type of activity being carried out and the scale of the small-scale informal business activity among others played a major role in determining the type of structure and building materials for constructing it. However, in the consideration for the recommendation of an appropriate standard for the materials for constructing small-scale informal business activity structures, more attention should be paid to the scale of the activity, the security of tenure of the space occupied by the activity, the specific location, security, affordability, nuisance or emission level of the activity, ease of use and in general, the degree of permanence or otherwise of the activity.

Small-scale informal business activities on tables and mobile vans

Small-scale informal business activities that use tables largely operate on pavements, alley ways, bus stops, bus terminals and other public spaces where there is 'feet passing'. In order to make the place easily accessible for cleaning, make the tables easily transportable, visually pleasant and prevent them from being used for sleeping places at night, they could be designed to be sizeable enough to accommodate the activity, easily foldable and constructed with wood for affordability. Again, the spaces beneath them could be used for storage by the operators. To ensure aesthetics, the operators engaged in the selling of fresh produce such as vegetables, fruits, foodstuffs, fresh fish among others could cover them with plastic table cloths.

The empirical research also revealed that apart from tables, other structures especially car boots were also used. As a result, it is necessary to ensure that boot of cars, sales vans and wagons which have long sliding windows at the sides that serve as serving hatches are permitted but

controlled to prevent nuisance to pedestrians, vehicles and other road users. Lines could be drawn on the pavements to clearly demarcate trading zones at appropriate dimensions for tables, cars, sales vans and wagons that are all supposed to be removed by the close of trading to make the places accessible for thorough cleaning.

Small-scale informal business activities in sheds, stalls and wooden kiosks

These structures were also largely used to accommodate small-scale informal business activities. The materials that were used for their construction as revealed by the empirical research were mainly wood, iron sheets, metal poles and large sheets of canvas, plastic and nylon. The dimensions depended on the scale of activity and the number of people it employed. The sheds that were constructed with metals poles and bars with large sheets of canvas or nylon as roofing were easy to dismantle and remove. Hence, they could be recommended for use by more ephemeral small-scale informal business activities and on temporary locations. For the others that are constructed with wood and were for longer periods (more than 5 years), treated timber poles with pre-painted corrugated metal sheets could be recommended. The kiosks could also be constructed with treated timber poles and plywood with roofing made of pre-painted corrugated metal sheets. As already mentioned, the sizes of the areas were mostly influenced by the activity scale and the number of people involved. Nonetheless, the minimum space occupied was 2.2m² (1.8m x 1.2m) with heights not exceeding 2.4m or the height of the first floor of the building it abuts.

Small-scale informal business activities in metal containers, and block and mortar structures Some small-scale informal business activities were accommodated in mental containers and stores built with block and mortar. Whilst those that were built with block and mortar were usually part of buildings along roads, metal containers were built and placed at various open spaces. They were largely preferred because of their security. To make them more secured, most of them were placed on foundations of concrete platforms. This structures especially the block and mortar stores were constructed by small-scale informal business operators who had a stronger perception of security of the tenure of the land. The materials for their construction included metal sheets, cement blocks, sand and cement with their roofing made of metal sheets. These construction materials are durable and secured enough. However, their sizes and paintings should be organised to ensure aesthetics and limit their nuisance levels. The metal containers could have a minimum area of 9m² (3.6m x 2.4m). This could be used as a basis for both metal containers, and block and mortar structures and increased based on the activity scale, number of people employed, land availability and the value of the land. Similar to the sheds, stalls and kiosks, the height should be limited to that of the first floor of the building it abuts or a maximum of 2.4m. A prescribed colour and type of paint should be used to improve aesthetics.

Infrastructure and support services for the small-scale informal business
Infrastructure and support services are very essential for the success of small-scale informal business activities just like any other economic activity. Even though majority of the

infrastructure and support services are common to many of the small-scale informal business activities, some are rather peculiar depending on the scale activity type, people involved, type of activity among others. As already mentioned majority of the small-scale informal business activities that are located as part of main buildings could be served by the main infrastructure supplied to the building. Water, electricity and drainage connections of the main building should be at the disposal of the small-scale informal business activity as well.

Additionally, conscious efforts should be made to supply water and electricity to small-scale informal business activities in sheds, stalls, kiosks, metal containers and block and mortar stores. These infrastructural facilities should be supplied in their right capacity as demanded by the different activities within the small-scale informal businesses. For instance, small-scale informal business activities engaged in manufacturing and the service industries demand more electricity to power their machines than those largely in commerce who might need it for lighting when it is dark. Similarly, water is an input for production for some small-scale informal business activities. Various service levels could be considered in the supply of infrastructure. For instance, water points could be provided to serve a number of small-scale informal business activities were they are clustered while metal containers and block and mortar stores are directly connected. Electricity could be supplied in a similar manner. These could also be guided by the activity type, scale and demand. To prevent small-scale informal business activities accruing huge debts resulting from non-payment, the prepaid metering system could be adopted.

Table 11.2: Infrastructure for small-scale informal business activities

Type of infrastructure	Minimum requirement	
Water	60 litres/person/day	
Electricity	480 watts/activity/month for lighting purposes 5000 watts/activity/month for powering small scale machines	
Parking	0.3 spaces/seat in eateries and bear bars 3 spaces/92m ² for small-scale informal business activities engaged in services 4 spaces/92m ² gross floor space for retail trade	
Fixed telephone lines	1/25 persons	
Refuse collection points	14m ² capacity container/175 persons per hectare with a maximum distance of 150m (each activity should have a refuse bin)	
Toilet and urinals	1 hole/50 persons with appropriate waste bins and wash basins (supply mobile toilets were appropriate e.g. weekly markets)	
Loading/Off-loading spaces	1 space/100m ² – 1000m ² of usable floor space	

Access roads, adequate parking spaces, drainage connections, waste disposal facilities and security should also be provided to support small-scale informal business activities. These will prevent the blight caused by small-scale informal business activities due to improper disposal methods they usually adopt. Where there is a clustering of small-scale informal business activities, infrastructural facilities such as toilets and urinals should be provided in their appropriate proportion. Appropriate storage facilities for small-scale informal business activities especially those that are not accommodated in structures such as metal containers, and block and mortar stores should also be provided. The storage facility should be in close proximity to where

the small-scale informal business activities are located; fees charged should be affordable; well secured and policed; flexible opening times as well as working days including weekends and public holidays; and generally well cleaned and well maintained.

Public health education services including hygiene education, sexual and reproductive health among others should also be appropriately provided in addition to others such as financial management, savings culture, better business management, and entrepreneurial skills. Table 11.2 below depicts the suggested minimum standards of some infrastructure required to support and improve small-scale informal business activities.

11.2.3 Appropriate reforms of land tenure with regards to the small-scale informal business sector

The Lands Commission should initiate the process for appropriate reforms into the land tenure system in Ghana with particular reference to the land requirements of the small-scale informal business sector. Access to land is quintessential to the small-scale informal business sector. It is quite obvious that freehold (ownership) and long-term leaseholds are the most important rights in land. Two main parallel systems (the statutory land tenure and administration system, and the customary land tenure and administration system) were revealed by the empirical research as the processes through which these rights in a land are administered. As aptly captured by the empirical research, the systems are inundated with many problems such as antiquated laws, cumbersome bureaucratic processes, long processing times, expensive processing fees among others which make it difficult for prospective grantees especially the small-scale informal businesses to access land. The most challenging requirement to the small-scale informal business sector is the minimum size of land leased by these two systems which is far larger than the majority of land sizes required, could be afforded and leased by the small-scale informal businesses. Appropriate reforms have to be undertaken in order to make land accessible to the small-scale informal business sector.

An innovative approach to reform land tenure in order to make land easily accessible and affordable to the small-scale informal business sector especially in urban areas where land values are high is to lease public lands that are unencumbered and are not going to be used in the short term to the small-scale informal business sector. The empirical research revealed that majority of public land is undeveloped, underutilised and unencumbered over long periods of time. These lands include road reservations, railway reservations, public school lands, land for public sanitary facilities, land for public health facilities among others. It is suggested that majority of such lands acquired by the state for public infrastructure are sometimes over generous and thus the government's inability to fully utilise them for the purposes for which they were compulsorily acquired. For instance, as revealed by the empirical research, more than 90m of road reservations from the centreline of both sides of the Kumasi-Sunyani, Kumasi-Ashanti Mampong and the Kumasi-Offinso roads acquired by the colonial government since 1902 and transferred to the state since independence were still laying fallow as they are very much

underutilised. Large parcels of these lands can be leased to small-scale informal business operators engaged in urban agriculture such as cultivation of food crops, cultivation of flowers and ornamental plants, cultivation of vegetables to boost the city's production and economic growth as well as ensure food security. This also has the tendency to ensure that the current generation of the original owners of the land do not re-enter the land to create problems of encroachment, uncontrolled development, incompatible land uses, conflicts of land uses among others.

Moreover, small-scale informal business sector associations and cooperatives could be supported to acquire large parcels of land and subdivide it among their members. Majority of small-scale informal business activities were identified to be in associations and cooperatives. Some of these groups, associations and cooperatives regulated the activities of members by setting standards of goods and services, fixing prices, served as medium of sharing business information and techniques, served as a form of insurance (by supporting members during bereavements, accidents, ill health etc. from a pool of members' monetary contribution), as well as support members to source credit especially from suppliers. The land leased to these groups could be registered in the name of the groups. Subdivisions of the same land leased to individual members could then be registered using the main group's registration as a base. This will make it easy, convenient and affordable for small-scale informal business activities to access and register their lands whilst at the same time not creating difficulties for the land administration systems.

Furthermore, the local government could partner with private investors in a public-private partnership (PPP) agreement to make land accessible to the small-scale informal business sector. Private investors could be encouraged to acquire large parcels of land zoned for small-scale informal business activities in the city and subdivided according to the land requirements of the small-scale informal business sector for rent. The local government could then contribute in the provision of the relevant infrastructure and support services as well as facilitate the issuance of leases to the various small-scale informal business activities. Such a partnership between the local authorities and the private sector will ensure that land in urban areas is easily made accessible and affordable to the small-scale informal business sector. This arrangement presents a win-win situation to all stakeholders. The private investor will benefit from the rents paid by the small-scale informal business whilst the local government boost its internal revenue through the charging of fees/rates/licenses. Again, private landlords/landladies should also be permitted to sub-lease part of their lands in appropriately zoned areas for small-scale informal business activities.

In addition to the above, it is recommended that the land administration systems be reformed to make them friendly and affordable to the small-scale informal business sector. For instance, according to the empirical research, there were as many as five land sector agencies (the Survey Department; Land title registry; Deeds registry; Land Valuation Board; and Lands Commission) that are directly involved in the statutory administration of land. Even though these land sector

agencies have been merged into one big land commission under the Land Administration Project (LAP) since 2009 through the promulgation of the Lands Commission Act, 2008 (Act 767), the system is still problematic. It is believed that the full implementation of the law coupled with the supply of the requisite resources to the new lands commission will help to cure the challenges faced by the system. Again, the state could support traditional authorities to create Customary Land Secretariats (CLS) proposed by the National Lands Policy of 1999 and adopted by LAP to improve the customary land administration system. These innovative approaches and reforms in land tenure and administration will ensure security of land which is inevitable for integrating the small-scale informal business sector into urban land use planning regime.

11.2.4 Appropriate organisational framework for urban land use planning with regards to the small-scale informal business sector

The local governments (MMDAs) should coordinate and harmonise the policies and activities of all organisations operating at the areas under their jurisdiction. In order for all the recommendations to come to fruition, a team or staff of people knowledgeable and equipped with the requite skills have to negotiate and work with all interest groups to ensure the successful implementation of the proposed recommendations. This all important activity has to be guided by a framework. As revealed by the empirical research, the existing organisational framework for urban land use planning and management is bedevilled with various challenges. For the urban land use and management system to function efficiently and effectively including the appropriate integration of the small-scale informal business sector, the identified challenges have to be addressed.

The various organisations involved in the land use planning and management of the city should have a definition of the small-scale informal business sector that truly reflects the sector's character. The equation of the sector to 'nuisance' and 'blight' by majority of the organisations is largely reflected in the posture and attitude of the staff of the organisations which permeates the policies of the organisations towards the sector. The formulation and introduction of the appropriate policies aimed at integrating the sector should guide and influence the various organisations to properly define the sector as well as change the negative attitudes of their staff.

The multi-disciplinary aspects of the small-scale informal business sector require an interdisciplinary organisational framework in order to be able to appropriately integrate the sector. It is imperative that the various decentralised and non-decentralised organisations collaborate and coordinate their efforts and resources. Of quintessence for this exercise is the sharing of information, knowledge, technical abilities as well as deeper consultation and negotiation with the small-scale informal business sector. Consequently, even though all the organisations will be strongly represented in the integration implementation team, it will require that various specific task teams with the requisite knowledge and expertise be formed to deeply consult and negotiate with the relevant stakeholders especially the small-scale informal business sector to deal with specific issues. For instance, in the integration of small-scale informal

business activities engaged in food vending, a special task team comprising the city engineers department, environmental and public health department, the fire service, the estate department and the waste management department should be formed to directly work with the integration implementation team. Moreover, it is imperative that the various structures of the local government are used to implement the programme. The various town/zonal/urban councils in the neighbourhoods of the cities should be used to implement the programme in a decentralised manner. The well implemented programmes from the decentralised structures can be scaled up to the sub-metropolitan districts council level, the metropolitan/municipal/district level, regional level and ultimately to the national level.

Furthermore, the various local governments and their sub-structures should be supported with the requisite manpower and the logistics to implement the project and to sustain it. The various legislations establishing the various local governments and the sub-structures prescribe the manpower and logistical needs. As revealed by the empirical research, sub-structures of the local government do not have the full complement of their manpower. They also have serious resource and logistical deficits. Since the success of the programme depends largely on the effective functioning of these sub-structures as they are the building blocks, adequately resourcing them is crucial.

11.2.5 Appropriate urban land use planning procedure and administration with regards to the small-scale informal business sector

The Town and Country Planning Department should adopt appropriate urban land use planning procedure and administration especially in response to the requirements of the small-scale informal business sector. Quintessence of the foundation of urban land use planning profession's complex identity and breadth of knowledge, theories, practices, and institutions suggest specific procedural, substantive, and normative elements. Hence, the achievement of its objectives strongly hinges on adapting these elements to the conditions and needs of local contexts, coordinated with related disciplines, and accordingly implemented. As discussed in preceding sections, the procedure of the urban land use planning and the followed processes in the administration of urban land use planning will have to be significantly improved, with the adoption of some new measures in order to be able to successfully integrate the small-scale informal business sector as well as ensure proper growth and management of the city.

The adopted urban land use planning process spelt out in the various urban land use planning legislations should be followed and implemented in adaptation with the conditions, needs and aspirations of various urban areas. It is imperative that technical sub-committees, the statutory planning committees and ultimately the various MMDAs ensure that the resultant urban land use plans have passed through the statutory urban land use planning process before approving them for implementation. This will ensure that urban land use plans are not hurriedly prepared with all its attendant problems.

Moreover, public participation which is supposed to be an important part of the urban land planning process has to be introduced and effectively practiced as part of the preparation of the urban land use plans. Effective consultations and negotiations at all stages of the urban land use plan preparation process have to be carried out with all relevant stakeholders. This will ensure that data collected are accurate and up-to-date which will also ensure that projections made from such data will be accurate. The resultant land use plan will also reflect the local context and meet their aspirations. The urban land use plan will also have legitimacy, local ownership, benefit from local indigenous knowledge, empower beneficiaries, and also elicit their full support during implementation.

In this vein, it is recommended that an appropriate urban land use planning methodology that is able to handle the above discussed complex but inevitable task is adopted and adapted to be able to integrate the small-scale informal business and also achieve the objectives of urban land use planning. The appraisal of the PGIS urban land use planning approach that was tested in two neighbourhoods of the city revealed its capacity to appropriately integrate the small-scale informal business sector into the urban land use planning regime. The approach aptly combined participatory planning tools with ICT which is increasingly becoming basic to urban land use planning and its related disciplines to integrate the small-scale informal business sector. Again, it also displayed its capacity to proficiently adapt to the conditions, needs and aspirations of the local context; facilitate the effective consultation and negotiation of all relevant stakeholders; as well as inherent system for monitoring and sustainability of the entire process. Even though the drawback of the approach is largely related to its cost implications especially the time and logistics (skilled personnel, GPS, GIS software, computers), the estimated benefits especially to social welfare cannot be quantified.

Furthermore, the bottom-up approach which is enshrined in the legislations (Act 462 and Act 480) guiding urban land use planning should be enforced. The laws directs the preparation of the urban land use plans from the neighbourhoods of the Town/Urban/Zonal councils should inform the urban land use plans of the sub-metropolitan district council which in turn also informs the urban land use plans of the MMDAs which also inform that of the regions and subsequently the regional urban land use plans informing the national urban land use plan. This process will ensure that every higher level plan is adequately informed by the level preceding it. The urban land use plans will therefore reflect the needs and aspirations of the small-scale informal business sector and all other relevant stakeholders who will have been effectively consulted right from below.

It is also essential that the resultant urban land use plans are well implemented on the ground. The local government should mobilise funds for building public infrastructural facilities and support services in the approved urban land use plans. Other strategies such as public-private partnership (PPP) agreements can be used to mobile enough revenue to provide public infrastructure in the approved plans. Private developments should also be monitored to ensure

that they are carried out according to the approved plans. This is done through development control and monitoring.

Development control and monitoring

The actual outcome of the urban land use planning process is the development on the ground. As a result it is very imperative that local government officials ensure that development and construction activity is in line with the approved urban land use plans and regulations which are carried out through the issuance of planning and building permits by the respective committees of the MMDAs. The technical and statutory planning committees that are responsible for vetting and approving building permits will have to meet and perform their duties as specified by the local government law (Act 462). This will reduce considerably the long waiting period for building permit approval. Again, the development control sections of the various local governments and their sub-structures should also be adequately resourced to ensure that they are able to monitor all permitted developments and constructions at every stage stipulated in the law.

Finally, it is also important to engage the public by effectively communicating all urban land use planning issues. This will create the public awareness and make it easy to elicit their cooperation for effective consultation and negotiation during every stage of the urban land use planning process. It will also change public perception as well as educate them about the contributions of the small-scale informal business sector to the economy. This can be done through community radios, newspapers, social media, public durbars, public announcements e.g. gong-gong beaters, town criers among others.

11.3 Concluding remarks

The chapter synthesised the major findings of the study by relating them back to the theoretical underpinnings of the study. It discussed the shaping of urban spaces by the informal processes of urban dwellers which is referred to 'representations of space' by Lefebvre. The patterns that emerge from the cautious studying of the small-scale informal business sector which are largely viewed as processes of negotiation the sector is also explained in the context of Roy and AlSayyad's (2004, p.5) description of the sector as an 'organising logic'. Again, the inefficiency of public organisations and lapses in institutional set-ups that motivates urban dwellers to consume urban resources through 'unauthorised' processes were also explained in Meagher's (1995, p. 275) 'state informalisation'.

Further, the chapter also recommended various policies in the form of innovative approaches to the urban land use planning regime for integrating the small-scale informal business sector. A legislation reengineering is suggested for the framework of legislations that set-up the urban land use planning regime to make the regime recognise the small-scale informal business sector. It also discusses the recommendation of a Spatial Observation System (SOS) that should be carried out on a quarterly basis in the urban neighbourhoods to capture dynamism in the sector as well as emerging urban land uses to create a database for the urban land use planning regime. Further,

the chapter details recommendations for recognising the sector's right to work; to secured land tenure; and efficient urban infrastructure and support services. The next chapter presents the conclusions of the research, reflections on the methodology and further areas of research.

12 Conclusions

The research has extensively examined a wide range of issues with regard to urban public space, its use, and management especially in relation to integrating the small-scale informal business sector in the urban arena. To conclude, the summary of the major findings as well as a reflection on the methodology and a discussion to some probable areas for further research are presented.

Summary of major findings

The discussions of the major findings under this section are organised according to the research questions that shaped the investigations.

In investigating the characteristics of the small-scale informal business sector, it was largely discovered that the small-scale informal business sector's environment is characterised by finegrain and high intensity and they usually tend to co-locate with activities compatible locating together to mutually benefit from each other sometimes forming a cluster of small-scale informal businesses. Again, they form a value chain made up of producers, processors, transporters, and traders of goods and services. They also operated as cooperatives with individual small-scale informal business activity operators in a common location coming together in the form of a cooperative. Moreover, it was also revealed that the sector contributed immensely to the economy by employing more than 70 percent of the working population in the city with about 83 percent of the small-scale informal business activities also employing between one and three people – suggesting that majority of households in the city depend on incomes from the sector. The people employed by the sector fell between the ages of 15 and above 64 years of age with majority falling within the prime-working age of 20 and 39. Ninety percent of the operators were educated, with almost half of them attaining secondary education. The activities of the smallscale informal business sector were varied and diverse, comprising of petty trading, artisanal production, construction, manufacturing, a myriad of service provision, urban agriculture among others. The varied and diverse character of the sector largely defined their requirements and aspirations which were peculiar to each of the segments even though they had many common requirements. Accordingly, their land intake and requirements were also varied with the land area occupied by businesses in the sector ranging from as low as 2.2m² to as high as 29.7m² with the exception of those engaged in urban agriculture that cultivated an average land area of 2500m². Various attractions for small-scale informal business activity locations were also identified with the three basic most important factors cutting across all segments being affordable rents, proximity to customers (generally 'feet passing' areas) and areas where living and work space could be easily combined.

With regards to the sector's perception of the local government, the growth of the economy and the general assessment of their infrastructural needs, the data revealed a general lack of knowledge and awareness on the legislations and bye-laws of the local government that regulates and controls economic activities including that of the sector. In addition, the structures housing

the sector's activities ranged from ephemeral to more permanent. Obviously, the ephemeral structures were mainly constructed with cheap and less durable materials. Accordingly, the empirical research revealed a relationship between the type of structure housing a small-scale informal business activity and the perceived security of tenure of the land occupied by the activity. Majority of operators (about 57 percent) had been evicted before by city authorities from land accommodating their activities and hence, operate under the constant fear of eviction. In consequence, access to land accommodating their activities is contested and their ability to access the land depended on negotiations with various actors. Again, even though the growth of their businesses largely depended on available, adequate, efficient and accessible infrastructure, it is lacked as the planning, design and the construction of infrastructural facilities in the city do not include the sector. With regards to processes and procedures for registering economic activities, more than 87 percent of operators in the sector indicated that they have never tried registering their economic activities because the procedures for incorporating and registering a an economic activity are circuitous and expensive. Apart from the bureaucratic procedures, other requirements such as land title certificates, environmental health certificates, fire safety certificates among others that are demanded by the Registrar General's Department and the MMDAs are beyond the reach of the sector. Despite the fact that activities in the sector are not registered, they have their own indigenous 'rules and regulations' governing their activities through their associations. Again, more than 90 percent of activities of the sector in the study area also paid various fees/licenses/rates to city authorities with an operator paying about GH¢65 (approximately €27 with an exchange rate of GH¢2.40 per €1 in October, 2012) on the average monthly.

In relation to municipal infrastructure and support services, activities of the small-scale informal business sector like any other economic activity, generates some waste to the general environment of the city. These wastes were categorised into liquid, solid, gas and noise. The type of waste generated by a small-scale informal business activity was largely related to the specific activity and the scale. According to the city authorities, majority of the waste and blight in the city is mainly as a result of the activities of the sector. However, the empirical research revealed that the environmental challenges in the city is not mainly because of the waste generated by the activities of the small-scale informal business but rather mainly due to how the waste generated is managed. As indicated above, the sector lacks the supply of adequate infrastructure and therefore resorts to unorthodox ways of disposing the waste they generate.

The various laws controlling access and use of urban public space in the study area were discussed under the section 10.2. It was realised that there are over 100 statutes on land ownership, tenure, urban land use planning and use, in addition to the various customary laws that pertain to specific locations in the country. Thus, the many urban land use planning and management legislations and provisions lead to a fragmentary framework of urban land use planning and management legislations and provisions which is insufficient to deal with the dynamic and accumulated problems of urban development in the study area. Moreover, it was

also realised that majority of the legislations and provisions were antiquated with some predating the independence of the country. Accordingly, the zoning and development regulations as well as the planning standards that are expected to provide clear definitions for land use activities within each of the various land use zones are also antiquated since they are based on the antiquated urban land use planning legislations and provisions. Again, their implementation 'excludes' the small-scale informal business sector as part of the city as their minimum thresholds are way above those in the small-scale informal business sector. Two land tenure systems are also identified to co-exist in the study area - the customary land tenure system and the statutory land tenure system. Accordingly, the legislative framework controlling the access and the use to which land is put does not recognise the reality of the small-scale informal business sector in the study area. It only responds to the needs of the population whose activities it deems conform to it, and as for the population whose activities it deems to be averse to it, they simply don't exist.

Investigating the organisational framework for urban land use planning and its relevance for integrating the small-scale informal business sector revealed a lack of proper collaboration, coordination and integration of the activities of the sectoral departments of the metropolitan authority as well as with the other decentralised departments and agencies in planning and managing the city. This resulted in disjointed and uncoordinated urban land use planning in the city. The formulation and implementation of the different policies on the same issue on the planning and management of the city by the various decentralised departments and agencies created various challenges for the small-scale informal business sector. Moreover, the departments also lacked the capacity in terms of the adequate personnel, legal backing and logistical support to effectively discharge their various expected roles.

In section 10.4 of chapter ten (10), the various processes and the specific activities that are carried out by the relevant actors in planning and managing urban land use are discussed. The research identified a Metropolitan Planning Board established by the law (Act 462) with the responsibility of integrating the development planning and management of the metropolis as well as monitor and evaluate such development planning and management. It is answerable to the Metropolitan Authority through the Metropolitan Planning Authority and has the Metropolitan Planning Coordinating Unit as its secretariat. In addition, the law also established the Board of Metropolitan Works to integrate the activities of plan implementation as well as advise the Metropolitan Authority on development control and enforcement measures in the metropolis. The Board of the Metropolitan Works is answerable to the Metropolitan Planning Authority through an appropriate sub-committee of the metropolitan authority depending on the subject matter concerned. It was realised that even though the above structures administered urban land use planning through well laid down urban land use planning processes similar to the classical planning process introduced by the British during the colonial era, they were hardly followed. Again, high level of proper and adequate public consultation processes which is emphasised to be an integral part of the planning process according to the laws (especially Act 462 and 480) establishing the planning system were also mostly by-passed. Furthermore, the research also

found that urban land use planning in the study area is usually carried out with little or no data and in instances where some data are used, they are usually out-of-date. Also, a crucial exercise such as plan implementation which involves the actual translation of the urban land use plan unto the ground was left mostly in the hands of private developers. The local government did very little in mobilising enough revenue for plan implementation. The development control process which includes the issuance of planning and building permits which actually begins the plan implementation process was also found to be problematic.

In order to appropriately integrate the small-scale informal business sector into the city and also safeguard the urban spaces of the small-scale informal business sector as quintessence of the city, the research concluded by proposing some innovative approaches for integrating the sector into urban land use planning which is extensively covered in section 11.2. The innovative approaches which evolved generally include the establishment of an spatial observation system (SOS); the reengineering of urban land use planning legislation with accompanying appropriate development guidelines and zoning regulations, and planning standards; appropriate land tenure reforms with regard to the small-scale informal business sector; appropriate organisational framework for urban land use planning with regards to the small-scale informal business sector; and appropriate urban land use planning and administration with regards to the small-scale informal business sector.

Reflections of the methodological issues

Guided by the nature of the phenomenon being investigated, I employed the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. The qualitative methods such as observations, in-depth, official and expert interviews enabled me to arrive at the roots of the urban land use planning issues as well as those of the characteristics of the small-scale informal business. They also helped to identify the traditions, social constructs as well as the norms and values of local context and the small-scale informal business which has implications for the urban land use planning. The approach also helped to extract very relevant and important data through the overlaying of maps and the updating of the maps through observations. The quantitative methods helped to analyse the information in various graphical forms such as bar and pie charts, line graphs and tables.

Furthermore, the empirical research helped to reflect back on the existing theories that guided the research. This enabled me to be able to critically reflect upon the findings emerging from analyses and synthesise them by relating them back to the existing theories. The use of the PGIS approach for integrating the small-scale informal business into urban land use planning even though quite challenging, revealed quite interesting findings. The approach significantly engaged the research participants and enabled them to graphically represent their land use. This generated very useful findings during analysis than initially expected.

Further research

The research revealed various challenges of the urban land use planning regime with regards to the small-scale informal business sector with various consequences based on the inadequacies of the local government. Though the research is far-reaching, various issues have emerged which needs to be further investigated. The research revealed largely that the state acquires land in the public interest for provision of various public infrastructural and support services in urban areas as well as every settlement in the country. However, these lands which have been acquired in the public interest are often unencumbered and unprotected over long periods of time. A further research into how land acquired by the state in the public interest can be protected will be an exercise worthwhile and will immensely contribute to the protection of public spaces.

Additionally, the research identified that majority of fertile agriculture lands in peri-urban suburbs of Kumasi (for example in the Oforikrom sub-metropolitan district council) are being fast converted to residential lands leading to urban sprawl. As a result, city authorities are forced to extend urban infrastructure and social services to these sprawl areas at huge costs. Apart from urban infrastructure, such developments also have huge cost to urban land use planning as they are generally not planned. It will also be necessary that a further research is carried out to find out how fertile agriculture lands in the city can be protected for urban agriculture and also to ensure food security.

Moreover, the research also largely revealed the inability of the local government to provide adequate infrastructure and support services for the city including the small-scale informal business sector. It is realised that, most of the environmental nuisance or emissions caused by the small-scale informal business sector was as a result of 'unorthodox' ways of accessing urban infrastructure and support services for their activities as well as providing such for those who find it difficult to access the available infrastructure. Again, it was also realised that some of the challenges of ineffective development control and monitoring is due to the fact that the translation of urban land use plans unto the ground especially with those relating to infrastructure provision is left to the private developers. It is envisaged that a further research leading to the identification and the development of innovative strategies for the mobilisation of adequate revenue by local governments for infrastructure development will greatly help to solve this problem.

Furthermore, the research based on cases in two sub-metropolitan district councils of an urban area revealed various findings relating to the neglect of the small-scale informal business sector and based on this made various recommendations on how they can be integrated into urban land use planning. As variously alluded to in the research, small-scale informal business activities are complex, diverse with a high rate of dynamism especially in different urban areas. The contribution of this research would be most significant if the awareness that is has elucidated become a relevant guide for comprehensively understanding the nexus of small-scale informal business sector and urban land use planning in urban areas. Therefore a further research for

examining the findings of this research in the light of the burgeoning literature on the phenomenon, to determine its appropriateness for effective urban land use planning is worthy of suggestion.

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire

FACULTY OF SPATIAL PLANNING DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

SMALL-SCALE INFORMAL BUSINESS ENTERPRISES
Name of interviewer:
Sub-Metro:
Name of the area:
BUSINESS CHARACTERISTICS AND PROFILE
1. Name of business:Type of business:
2. Name of interviewee:
3. Age: Sex:MaleFemale
4. Highest Educational Attainment: () Basic () Secondary () Tertiary () Others
specify
5. Civil Status:SingleMarriedWidowedSeparated/Divorced
6. Please describe the business activities you are engaged in?
7. Which kind of activity or function does your business perform?
8. Is this your own business or you are engaged by someone else? My businessFamily businessOther, please specify
9. How many people are employed by this business?MaleFemale
10. If working part-time do you have another job or are you searching another job?
11. If you are searching, why?
12. How long have you been doing business in this area?
13. What are the reasons for doing business at this location? Proximity to customersProximity to suppliersLess competition Availability of shelterLess crimeothers, please specify

14. How did you get this location?
15. How often do you work from this area? DailyOn weekendsDuring festive occasionsOther, specify
16. How many hours do you work in a day? From To
17. Do you have a building permit for your structure you are operating in? Yes No
18. If yes, which type of building permit? Temporal Permanent
19. Do you pay rent for locating your business here? Yes No
20. If yes, how much?
21. How often do you pay this amount? MonthlyYearlyOthers, specify
22. Are there any other conditions you have to satisfy for locating your business here?Yes No
23. If yes, what are they?
24. Is the space your business is occupying now enough for your operations? Yes No
25. If no, what are the challenges associated with getting more space?
26. Does your business have access to facilities like toilets, urinals etc.? Yes No
27. Have you made all these challenges known to the sub-metro? Yes No
28. If yes, how are your concerns being addressed?
29. How do you think the situation can be improved?
LOCAL MUNICIPALITY, ECONOMIC GROWTH AND INFRASTRUCTURE PERCEPTIONS
30. Do you know of the any KMA By-laws concerning informal trading in Kumasi?YesNo

31. What kind of a	shelter does y	our business o _l	perate from?	
Stall	Container _	Kiosk,	Other, please spec	ify
32. If you are not wDifficultl		•		one for your business?
33. If difficult, why	?			
34. If it is difficult to	o get a proper	shelter how do	o you think this proble	m can be addressed?
35. Are there any c	onstraints limi	ting the growt	h of your business?	Yes No
36. If yes, what are	they?			
No customers	Lack o	f proper shelte	rHigh rate c	esses to grow in Kumasi? of crimeFar from suppliers her please specify
38. Are you satisfieSatisfiedI		_	ourhood/CBD) current	ly?
39. Why? Give reas	ons?			
40. Which aspects			od/CBD) do you feel n	
				LayoutsSignage
		inessTrade	e hoursTo	ilets,
Other, please Sp	ecity			
41. Do you have th	e fear that you	ı will be evicted	d from this location?	YesNo
42. If no, why?				
FORMALIZATION				
43. Is your business	registered?	Yes	No	

44. If yes, where?	KMA	Registra	ar General	NBSSI/BAC			
Department of 0	Co-operatives	Others,	specify				
45. If no, would you like your business to be registered?YesNo							
46. Have you ever	tried registerin	ng your business?	YesI	No			
47. If yes, what we		es you were expe					
48. If no, why?							
49. What are the a	dvantages of r						
50. Do you pay any	fees or taxes?						
51. If yes, how muc	ch?						
52. How often do you pay this amount?DailyMonthlyYearlyOthers, specify							
MUNICIPAL SERVI	CES						
53. What kind of waste does your business generate? (Including liquid, solid, gaseous, noise etc.)							
54. How do you dis	pose off the w	vaste?					
By burning	At refuse dum	pOpen d	umping(Others, specify			
55 Here is a list of	effects of husi	inesses on the en	vironment For ea	ach nlease indica	te the level of effect		
in your opinion of y				ien, piedse maied	te the level of effect		
This affects the		2	3	4	T		
	1		•	4	5		
environment	1 No negative	A little negative	Some negative	Very negative	5 Extremely negative		
	_	_		-	_		
environment	_	_		-	_		
environment Air pollution Waste water Solid waste	_	_		-	_		
environment Air pollution Waste water Solid waste Noise	_	_		-	_		
environment Air pollution Waste water Solid waste	_	_		-	_		

56. Do people complain as a result of your business activities?YesNo
57. If yes, what do they complain about?
58. Do you use electricity?YesNo
59. If yes, how did your business get connected?By the ECGFrom a neighbourOthers, specify
60. Do you use water in your business activities?YesNo
61. If yes, what is your source of water supply?Pipe borne waterHand dug wellHarvest rain waterOther, specify
62. Are you connected with the pipe borne water system for your business activities?YesNo
63. If yes, how did your business get connected?by the GWCLfrom a neighbourOther, specify
64. Does your business have access to a sewage system?YesNo
65. If yes, who constructed it?KMAmy selfOthers, specify
66. Does your business have a fixed telephone line?YesNo
67. Is your business accessible by road?YesNo
68. If yes, what is the condition of the road?Very goodGoodFairBadVery Bad
69. How are you in touch with your customers?
70. How much profit do you make in a day? Less than GHS 1 GHS 1 - GHS 5
GHS 6 – GHS 10GHS 11 – GHS 15GHS 16 – GHS 20Other, specify
71. Would you like to participate in the planning of the city?YesNo
72. If yes, what role do you expect to play?
73. Do you have an association? Yes No
74. If yes, how do they relate with sub-metro officials?
75. Is there any other thing that you would like to add?

Thank you for your time.

Appendix 2: Interview guides

FACULTY OF SPATIAL PLANNING DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW (OPINION LEADERS, ASSEMBLYMEMBERS, TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES)

- 1. What role do you play in the land use planning of this area?
- 2. Which standards and guidelines are used for planning land uses in this area?
- 3. What is the land tenure system of this area?
- 4. How is land acquired for development?
 - i. Briefly explain the process
 - ii. Who are the actors in the land acquisition process?
 - iii. the framework within which land can be acquired
- 5. What is the nature of the small-scale informal business in your area?
 - i. Do their activities cause any problem in the area?
 - ii. Do their activities affect the development of the area both positively or negatively?
 - iii. Do you (community) have alternate location for their activities?
- 6. Would you personally support the integration of the small-scale informal business?
- 7. What is your personal opinion on the integration of the small-scale informal business in the city?
- 8. In which ways would you like them to be integrated?
 - i. Land tenure
 - ii. Utilities
 - iii. Formal registration
 - iv. Tax
 - v. Participation in the planning process
- 10. Can you imagine the development of this area with the small-scale informal business in the next 10 years?
- 11. Is there any other thing that you would like to share with me?

KMA-REVENUE COLLECTION SECTION

- 1. Which categories of business does KMA take fees, rates and licences from?
- 2. What criteria do you use in categorising the business enterprises?
- 3. How much is the KMA able to collect per day?
- 4. How difficult is it collecting the fees, rates and licences?
- 5. On the average how much does the KMA generate in fees, rates and licences from the small-scale informal business monthly?
- 6. What is the KMA's definition of the Small-scale informal business?
- 7. What are the main problems caused by the activities of the small-scale informal business?
- 8. What are the main conflicts caused by the small-scale informal business in relation to other land uses?
- 9. Can you imagine the development of the city with the small-scale informal business in the next 10 years?
- 10. Would you advocate for the integration of the small-scale informal business in the city?
- 11. In what ways? Tax, land tenure, formal registration, participation in planning, utilities etc.
- 12. Is there anything that you would like to add or share with me?

LANDS COMMISSION

- 1. What are the land tenure systems in the sub-metro?
- 2. What is the process of land registration in your area of operation? (process, actors, framework)
- 3. How is land valued in the sub-metro? (process, actors, framework)
- 4. What is the minimum plot size that you register?
- 5. How much does it cost to register a piece of land?
- 6. In which way (s) do the operations of the small-scale informal business affect your work? (Land use conflicts, encroachments, litigation etc.)
- 7. In your opinion, do you think the land values, registration processes and fees have any influence on the location and activity of small-scale informal business enterprises?
- 8. Do you have an idea of land values at the sub-metro?
- 9. What role does your department play in the protection of public lands?
- 10. Would you advocate for the relocation of the small-scale informal business to an alternate location in the city?
- 11. What is your opinion on the integration of the small-scale informal business into the city?
- 12. What would be the role of your department in the integration process? (Registration of land, land valuation etc.)
- 13. How do you see the physical growth of the city in the next 10 years?
- 14. What does your department play in the physical planning of the city?
- 15. How is your role related to land use planning of the city?
- 16. Are you satisfied with your current role?
- 17. Is there anything other thing that you would like to add or share with me?

KMA-TCPD

- 1. What is the process of land use planning in Kumasi? (process, actors, framework)
- 2. Which guidelines are used in planning the land uses in the sub-metro?
 - ✓ size of residential plots,
 - ✓ coverage and floor area ratio of residential plots,
 - ✓ population density,
 - √ land use regulation (zoning),
- 3. How does the process take care of the land use needs of the small-scale informal business?
- 4. Do the activities of the small-scale informal business affect the planning of the city? (both positive and negative)
- 5. Would you suggest the relocation of the small-scale informal business to an alternate location?
- 6. How is ICT (e.g. GIS) used in land use planning?
- 7. How is the land use plan implemented?
- 8. When was the last review of the land use plan in the sub-metro?
- 9. How was the review done?
- 10. What is the process for development application?
- 11. How do you control development in Kumasi?
- 12. What role does the small-scale informal business play in the planning process?
- 13. How do you see the city of Kumasi in the next 10 years?
- 14. Do you envisage any future conflicts or solutions as a result of the activities of the small-scale informal business?
- 15. Can you imagine a scenario where there is no small-scale informal business in the city? What will be the effect of that on land use planning?
- 16. How can the small-scale informal business be integrated in the city? (formal registration, provided with utilities, land tenure, taxed, participation in city planning, special land use zone etc.)
- 17. What will be the role of your department in the integration process?
- 18. Is there any other thing that you might like to add or share with me?

KMA-DEVELOPMENT CONTROL DIVISION

- 1. How is development controlled in Kumasi? (process, actors, framework)
- 2. What specific strategies do you use to control development?
- 3. What programmes have been introduced by the assembly to control development?
- 4. How does the public participate in your development control efforts?
- 5. How do you use ICT (e.g. GIS) in your development control activities?
- 6. How does the existence of the Small-scale informal business affect your development control efforts?
- 7. What are the main conflicts of the small-scale informal business in relation to other land uses?
- 8. What provisions have you made for this sector?
- 9. Is it possible to ignore the activities of the small-scale informal business in the city?
- 10. Would you advocate for the relocation of the small-scale informal business to another location rather than the city?
- 11. How do you see the growth of Kumasi in the next 10 years?
- 12. Can you imagine a situation where there is no small-scale informal business in the city? What will be the effect on land use planning?
- 13. How can the small-scale informal business be integrated in the city?
- 14. What role does your department play in the planning of the city?
- 15. Are you satisfied with your current role?
- 16. How is your role related to land use planning?
- 17. Is there any other thing that you would like to add or share with me?

SMALL-SCALE INFORMAL BUSINESS ASSOCIATIONS

- 1. What is the name of your Association and when was it formed?
- 2. What are the aims/objectives of the Association?
- 3. What is the registration status of the Association?
- 4. What is the procedure for admitting members?
- 5. What is your current membership status?
- 6. Do you collect any fees (registration, dues) and how much?
- 7. How does the association support members in their businesses? E.g. location, rents, fees and rates etc.
- 8. How does the association relate with the KMA?
- 9. How is the association involved in the land use planning?
- 10. Would you want to be involved in the land use planning of the city?
- 11. How do the activities of your members contribute to the development of the city?
- 12. Is there any department that you are collaborating or in conflict with?
- 13. Are you aware of any problems or conflicts that your members cause now or the future that affects the land use planning of the city?
- 14. Would your members like to be integrated in the city? (formal registration, land tenure, taxed, provided with utilities etc)
- 15. What are the challenges of the Association?
- 16. Is there anything that you might want to add or share with me?

KMA-METROPOLITAN PLANNING OFFICER

- 1. Could you briefly explain the land use planning process in the sub-metro?
- 2. What in your opinion should be changed in the land use planning of the city?
- 3. What are the standards and guidelines for planning the land uses in the sub-metro?
- 4. How is ICT (e.g. GIS) used in the land use planning process?
- 5. How do the activities of the small-scale informal business affect the development of Kumasi?
- 6. How is the small-scale informal business involved in the planning process?
- 7. Do you envisage any conflicts in the future as a result of the activities of the small-scale informal business?
- 8. How is development controlled in the sub-metro?
- 9. Can you imagine a scenario where there is no small-scale informal business operation in the city? What will be the effect on land use planning?
- 10. In what ways can the small-scale informal business be integrated in the city?
- 11. What could be the situation in the next 10 years?
- 12. What role do you play in the land use planning of the city?
- 13. Are you satisfied with your role?
- 14. Is there anything that you might like to add or share with me?

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

- 1. What is the mandate of the agency in the city?
- 2. How is it related to land use planning in the city?
- 3. What role does the agency play in the land use planning of the city?
- 4. Is the agency satisfied with its current role in the land use planning of the city?
- 5. What would the agency like changed in the land use planning of the city?
- 6. Do the activities of the small-scale informal business affect the operations of the agency? (both positive and negative)
- 7. What are the effects of the activities of the small-scale informal business on land use planning?
- 8. How do you measure these effects?
- 9. Would the agency advocate for the integration of the small-scale informal business in the city?
- 10. How can the small-scale informal business be integrated in the city?
- 11. Would the agency advocate for the relocation of the small-scale informal business to another location?
- 12. What could be the situation in the next 10 years?
- 13. Can you imagine the city without the small-scale informal business? What will be the effects on land use planning?
- 14. Is there any other thing that you would like to add or share with me?

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN ROADS

- 1. How do you design roads in the sub-metro?
- 2. What standards and guidelines are used for designing the roads?
 - ✓ space standards for roads, parking, bicycle lanes and pedestrian walkways
- 3. How do you involve the people in the sub-metro in the designing of the roads?
- 4. Do the activities of the small-scale informal business affect your operations in the city? (both negative and positive)
- 5. How do you take care of the land use needs of the small-scale informal business in the designing of roads in the sub-metro?
- 6. How is land acquired for the roads designed in the sub-metro? (process, actors, framework)
- 7. How do you ensure that the land demarcated for roads are not encroached upon?
- 8. What role does your department play in the planning the land uses of the sub-metro?
- 9. Are you satisfied with your current role in the land use planning of the city?
- 10. What would you like to be changed in the land use planning of the city?
- 11. Can you imagine a scenario where there are no small-scale informal business operators in the city? What will be the effects on land use planning?
- 12. How can the small-scale informal business be integrated in the city? (availability of land, formal registration, provided with utilities etc.)
- 13. What would be the expected role of your department in the integration process?
- 14. Would you advocate for the relocation of the small-scale informal business to an alternate location?
- 15. What could be the situation in 10 years?
- 16. Do you expect any future conflicts and problems in relation to land use planning as a result of the activities of the small-scale informal business? What will be your suggested solutions?
- 17. Is there anything that you would like to add or share with me?

UTILITY COMPANIES (GWCL, ECG, T)

- What standards and guidelines guide are used in the planning and supply of your services?
 - ✓ standards for water supply and sanitation
 - ✓ electricity supply
 - ✓ telecommunication lines
- 2. What is the process of applying for a new service? (process, actors, framework)
- 3. How is land acquired for laying out your infrastructure? (process, actors, framework)
- 4. How is the land protected?
- 5. What role does your department play in the land use planning of the sub-metro?
- 6. Are you satisfied with your current role?
- 7. What would you like to change in the land use planning of the city?
- 8. Do the activities of the small-scale informal business affect your operations? (both positive and negative)
- 9. Can you imagine scenario where there is no small-scale informal business in the city? What will be the effects on land use planning?
- 10. How can the small-scale informal business be integrated in the city? (provided with utilities, formal registration, availability of space etc.)
- 11. Would you advocate for relocation of the small-scale informal business to an alternate location?
- 12. Do you expect future conflicts and problems to land use planning as a result of the activities on the small-scale informal business? What will be your suggested solutions?
- 13. What could be the situation in the next 10 years?
- 14. Is there anything that you might like to add or share with me?

ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH DEPARTMENT (EHD)

- 1. What is the mandate of the department in the city?
- 2. How is it related to land use planning in the city?
- 3. What role does the department play in the land use planning of the city?
- 4. Is the department satisfied with its current role in the land use planning of the city?
- 5. What would the department like changed in the land use planning of the city?
- 6. Do the activities of the small-scale informal business affect the operations of the department?

 (both positive and negative)
- 7. What are the effects of the activities of the small-scale informal business on land use planning?
- 8. How do you measure these effects?
- 9. Would the department advocate for the integration of the small-scale informal business in the city?
- 10. How can the small-scale informal business be integrated in the city?
- 11. Would the department advocate for the relocation of the small-scale informal business to another location?
- 12. What could be the situation in the next 10 years?
- 13. Can you imagine the city without the small-scale informal business? What will be the effects on land use planning?
- 14. Is there any other thing that you would like to add or share with me?

SUB-METRO ADMINISTRATORS

- 1. What is the mandate of the sub-metro district council?
- 2. What role does the sub-metro council play in the land use planning of Kumasi?
- 3. Which departments constitute the sub-metro district council?
- 4. Is the sub-metro satisfied with its current role in the land use planning of Kumasi?
- 5. What would the sub-metro district council like changed in the land use planning of Kumasi?
- 6. Do the activities of the small-scale informal business affect the operations of the sub-metro district council? (both positive and negative)
- 7. Is the small-scale informal business still being given temporary permits?
- 8. What are the fees that are paid by the small-scale informal business (take a copy)
- 9. What are the effects of the activities of the small-scale informal business on land use planning in the sub-metro?
- 10. How do you measure these effects?
- 11. Would the department advocate for the integration of the small-scale informal business in the sub-metro?
- 12. How can the small-scale informal business be integrated in the sub-metro?
- 13. Would the department advocate for the relocation of the small-scale informal business to another location?
- 14. What could be the situation in the next 10 years?
- 15. Can you imagine the sub-metro without the small-scale informal business? What will be the effects on land use planning?
- 16. Is there any other thing that you would like to add or share with me?