

ASHESI UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

**An Investigation into City Planning and the Possible Implications for
Ghana's Development: Tema and Ashaiman Compared**

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THESIS

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**An Investigation Into City Planning And The Possible Implication For
Ghana's Development: Tema And Ashaiman Compared**

By

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College. In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Bachelor of
Science degree in Business Administration

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

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Date: April 13, 2015

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by Ashesi University College.

Supervisor's Signature:.....

Supervisor's Name: Dr. Stephen Armah

Date: April 13, 2015

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Glossary

For the purpose of this study, urban, city planning and town planning were used interchangeably.

TOPIC: An investigation into city planning and the possible implications for development in Ghana: Tema and Ashaiman compared.

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores how city planning affects economic development in Ghana by comparing two urban settlements in the greater Accra region of Ghana: Ashaiman and Tema. The two proximal settlements were chosen because Tema is a planned city while Ashaiman evolved into a settlement without any formal planning. In this paper, city planning refers to orderly zoning of domestic residences as well as the provision and placement of infrastructure like good roads and social amenities such as water and social spaces like mosques, churches and schools. This thesis goes beyond the presence of these amenities to incorporate the intended and appropriate use of these amenities. In comparison, economic development is defined following Amartya Sen's definition of development to include sustenance, self-esteem and freedom (Todaro & Smith, 2011). However, the thesis focuses on the sustenance aspect of development. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected from respondents and analysed. Data was obtained from twenty two inhabitants and workers at Tema and Ashaiman primarily through interviews.

By comparing and analysing the responses of the populace of Ashaiman and Tema, the paper concludes that city planning in fact does affect economic development. This is because the unsanitary conditions and poor layout of Ashaiman led to sicknesses, floods and fire outbreaks. These negative conditions in Ashaiman resulted in a vicious cycle perpetuated by the indiscriminate

placement of wooden kiosks which made it difficult for the town to attract good and high paying businesses into the town to sustain its people. Unlike Ashaiman, Tema had more residents with higher education, was generally clean and sanitary and did not have many unauthorized structures leading to a virtuous cycle. Tema attracted higher end businesses and highly educated people with higher income who further developed it because of the relatively good roads and sanitary conditions. Further, the good layout of the town, facilities, good housing and urban design which were the results of effective town planning helped the people achieve sustenance. In Effect development in Ghana will be stifled if cities are not planned.

Key words: city planning, economic development, sustenance, sanitary, quality of life indicators

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

City planning is a dynamic profession that works to improve the welfare of people and their communities by creating more convenient, equitable, healthy, efficient and attractive places for present and future generations (American Planning Association, 2014). Some of the elements of city planning are infrastructure, urban design, urban layout, housing and transportation.

City planning is effected to protect the interest of the people in the community by planning suitable arrangements and allocation of lands and equipment that will advance economic development. Adarkwa (2012) describes the type of rapid urbanization taking place currently in Ghana and tries to link it to the significant city planning during colonial rule. Adarkwa (2012) argues that the disparity in terms of essential amenities such as road and drains among different locales in Ghana is a result of poor city planning in some cities and careful planning in others. The disproportionate effort in terms of planning the different locales, according to him, originated during the colonial times where colonial masters occupied the “desirable” areas neglecting other areas. The colonial masters built infrastructure such as the Accra Fort Ussher and the Christiansborg Castle to facilitate their trading activities. According to Adarkwa (2012), deliberate segregation was embarked upon to separate expatriate residential areas from the native settlements because they were deemed unsanitary.

In Kumasi, there was reasonable landscaping and ceremonial streets were adorned with nicely planted trees as captured by Bowdick’s (1817) account of Kumasi in 1817. The other areas were left without infrastructure and without proper layout. In Accra, the west of ridge was occupied by rich merchants whilst

other areas that were deemed unfavourable were occupied by the local population. After independence however, industrialization was concentrated around the areas of Accra-Tema, Sekondi-Takoradi and Kumasi. These towns became recipients of immigrants as urbanization grew rapidly. Unfortunately, the planning authorities that were established post-independence did not seem to have planned properly for the growth and development of these towns and this led to current state of such towns that are characterized by filth and poor sanitation (Fordjour, 2009).

It can be argued as Bates did (2008) that extractive institutions established by the colonial masters are partly responsible for the poor development performance record of some African countries. This is because the aim of the colonial masters was not to develop the country but rather to plunder its resources. If that meant constructing roads to help in trade or to facilitate the transportation of precious minerals to the ports, then roads were built. However, it is quite unfortunate that, with a few exceptions, the areas that the colonial masters settled in are the areas that remain organized and sanitary while many other areas remain disorderly.

In the article "The state of Town Planning in Ghana", Fordjour (2009) discusses how Ghana is struggling to implement its planning vision to create liveable communities. The author describes how significant numbers of urban dwellers live in informal settlements called slums and "Zongos". The term "Zongo" is used to describe an area that lacks planning and is disorderly; characterized by filth and inhabited by uneducated people who do not care much for personal hygiene.

In the “Zongos”, unauthorized structures (often called kiosks or containers) by the locals are erected haphazardly with no provision for toilets, proper drainage or garbage disposal. Parts of Ghanaian cities like Accra and Kumasi are characterized by filth especially in these so-called “Zongos”. There is a high incidence of cholera, malaria and environmental problems such as inappropriate disposal of faeces, waste and garbage in the “Zongos” (Fordjour, 2009). Fordjour (2009) also points out that the lack of planning in urban areas like Accra and its major suburbs seem to undermine effective transportation and free movement of goods and services, commercial activities, as well as the siting of vital infrastructure such as roads, power generation plants, schools and hospitals. This is not surprising because Owusu (2010) gives an account of rapid rate of urbanization in Ghana and states that the rate of urbanization is unlikely to dwindle till 2030. As at 2009, the rate was 51%. Under such rapid urbanization, cities that have not been planned for to accommodate this influx undoubtedly experience what Fordjour (2009) describes. The consequence of the lack of city planning is often manifested in diseases and flooding during rains.

Tema, a planned city in Ghana built after independence by Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana’s first president, has not experienced a bad case of flooding, poor sanitation and the issues mentioned above as compared to unplanned suburbs of the city of Accra such as Ashaiman, Agbogbloshie, Chorkor etc.

On June 25th 2013, the National Disaster Management Organization (NADMO) embarked on an assessment tour to Tema after a heavy downpour. NADMO concluded that Tema was affected to some extent because of illegal structures that had sprung up on lands earmarked for the free flow of water but on the whole, the city was commended for curtailing the issue of flooding in the area

because of the construction of drains and the dredging of drains and water channels. Figures 1 and 2 below present a visual comparison of Tema and Ashaiman

Figure 1: Tema, a planned city



Source: Google Images

Figure 2: Ashaiman, an unplanned city



Source: Google Images

From the on-going discussion, it is clear that some urban areas of Ghana suffer from the effects of poor city planning. This thesis thus set out to find the implications of this lack of city planning on the economic development of Ghana by comparing Tema and Ashaiman such a context specific study has not been carried out. These two are neighbouring urban towns in the Greater Accra region of Ghana. While Tema is a planned city, Ashaiman is not. Ashaiman seems to suffer from the same problems of poor sanitation, poor drainage, diseases, stench and haphazard siting of infrastructure that other unplanned urban locales in Accra suffer from.

As at 2010, Tema's population was 402,637 whilst Ashaiman had a population of 190,972 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). While the population of Tema is higher than Ashaiman, a comparison of the effects of city planning (or lack thereof) on the inhabitants and on economic development in general is still

plausible because of their proximity, comparable sizes and population densities. According to City Population (2012), Ashaiman and Tema have population densities (in Km²) of 1643.5 and 1822.7 respectively. The population densities do not differ much and this allows the two places to be compared. Also, both Tema and Ashaiman have town planning institutions. While the town planning institution of Tema is directed by Tema Municipal Assembly, Ashaiman's is spearheaded by the Ashaiman Municipal Assembly. This comparison therefore aids in learning lessons that will be useful for the development of Ghana along the different dimensions of development. Note that this paper will consider the different aspects of city planning: land use, housing, transportation, urban design, infrastructure and public facilities.

Although one may initially have some reservations about relating town planning to economic development, this paper shows that the two concepts are in fact closely related. Economic development is the process of improving the quality of all human lives and capabilities by raising people's levels of living, self-esteem, and Freedom (Todaro & Smith 2011, p.5). Given the definition of economic development, a poorly planned city subject to poor drainage, filth, poor siting of infrastructure leading to congestion, urban slums, associated crime and diseases and concentration of poor people is unlikely to lead to economic development.

According to Todaro and Smith, values, attitudes and institutions play an important role in the development process. From the definition of economic development that was provided by Todaro and Smith, there are three core values of economic development: sustenance, self-esteem and freedom (Todaro & Smith, 2011). These core pillars of development will clearly be hard to achieve in a poorly planned city. It is interesting however to find out from the inhabitants' own

perspectives how lack of city planning impacts on the aforementioned development pillars.

Another important reason for concentrating on city planning has to do with the efforts by Ghana's government to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) adopted by the United Nations to eradicate poverty and achieve other human development goals by 2015. The MDGs aim to, among other things, reduce child mortality, improve maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability and develop a global partnership for development. Ghana unfortunately may not be able to achieve the Millennium Development Goals because of the lack of proper city planning in several parts of the country. City planning is undertaken to protect the interests of the people in the community by planning suitable arrangements of lands and equipment. However, if a sizeable number of urban dwellers live in informal settlements such as slums and Zongos leading to a high incidence of cholera, malaria and other environmental related issues, Ghana might not achieve the millennium development goals. Informed by this, this thesis focuses on the sustenance aspect of development and teases out how it can be influenced by city planning.

1.2 Problem Statement

Many Metropolitan areas in Ghana are characterized by filth, stench and slums. Buildings are neither well-structured nor sited, the gutters are poorly constructed and sometimes there are no gutters at all. People often build in swampy areas, destroying natural wetlands and creating a strong structure to withstand flooding. Very recently, there was a case of flooding in Ghana and people lost their lives

and property. This issue of flooding and loss of lives is not new to Ghanaians as the problem has become a recurring one. The government of Ghana spends millions of Ghana Cedis to control issues arising from what is most probably a lack of city planning. Aside the obvious issue of spending money on a recurring problem that can be fixed, there are other economic implications the lack of city planning is posing. These include health issues and accidents that impede on the economic development of the country as whole. This comparison of Tema and Ashaiman would lay bare some of the important issues concerning planning.

1.3 Research Question

In what ways does effective city planning (or lack thereof) affect economic development and what lessons can we learn by comparing Tema and Ashaiman, 2 proximal locales in Ghana?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

- To determine the economic implications city planning or the lack has had on Ghana by comparing Tema and Ashaiman.
- To collate recommendations for improving city planning in Ghana in order to enhance development.

1.5 Relevance of Study

The recent concerns about cholera in the media, the negative impact torrential rains have had on Ghanaians, and the collapse of buildings among other things have led to a heightened awareness among Ghanaians of the importance of city planning. This research thus reveals the core problems Ghanaians are complaining about with the aim of sensitize city planning committees. This is

because policy makers need to plan for citizens now and also take into account of an increasing population because it can also pose problems. The research is also to help Ghanaians and other nationals facing city planning problems appreciate and adopt city planning by studying the effects a planned city has on the lifestyle of the inhabitants as opposed to that of an unplanned city. This research additionally contributes to literature on city planning in Ghana since a direct link between city planning and economic development in Ghana is lacking in the literature.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Planning Theories and Perspective on Planning

Urban planning has taken many forms throughout history. What binds the many different conceptions of urban planning together, and thus makes it meaningful to speak of one distinct concept, is a general understanding that planning is future oriented and “seeks to connect forms of knowledge with forms of action”, according to Friedman (1993).

City planning therefore needs to have an idea, a vision of the future and how to implement it. Normative theories seem to be at the core of city planning however they are rarely visited by planning theory according to Steino (2000). Rather than the question of why to plan towns, the focus is more on what and how to plan. These focuses are summed up respectively in the substantive theory and procedural theory of planning. Substantive theory deals with what planning is about; the object and procedural theory deals with how planning is performed; the planning process (Steino, 2000). There is therefore the missing picture of why planning is needed or what planning is for among these theories. This thesis is in tandem with Steino (2000)’s views as it seeks to find out how town planning or the lack of it affects economic development. This answers the question of why planning is needed.

Law (1912) approaches city planning from the procedural theory perspective which deals with how city planning is performed. In his article, he mentions that city planning should be thought of in two distinct ways. One way is concerned with land being devoted to public services whilst the other is concerned with arrangement and adaptation of land mainly for housing. Of the land being devoted to public services, there is one aspect that deals with transportation, railways, and

waterways. The other is focused on playgrounds, schools, public-service corporations and the like. The argument Law (1912) makes is that there are different kinds of buildings that are found at different places nevertheless, they complement the various inhabitants. However, the difficulty lies in knowing the kind of buildings a particular locality will desire before setting out to plan the locality by laying out the local street and fixing the lot depths.

There is also a recurrent problem of how to meet new conditions that demand a certain kind of housing different from the originally designed one as time goes on. This may be as a result of new developments. Law (1912) states that it is impossible to plan a city that can be altered to suit the new conditions of the locality without bringing about some form of waste and evil results. "It is a serious drawback to many deliberately adopted street plans that they tend to enforce a permanent uniformity and rigidity in the standards of block and lot depth". The author also argues that main roads should be laid out and should be permanently fixed, however the minor streets should be adjusted to the local uses and should be amenable to alteration without interfering in the general system of circulation. However, the focus on my thesis is on the normative theory of planning in accordance with Steino (2000).

Steino (2000) analysed the need to plan from three different perspectives. The first view adopts the economic view of why to plan. Here, the author explains that public intervention is done to correct market failures. According to Moore (1978), market failure is the inability of the market to allocate goods and services efficiently or distribute them equitably. Public goods, according to economic theory, are non-rivalrous; the consumption of public good by one does not

prohibit its simultaneous consumption by another and non- appropriable; there is no clear ownership to restrict its consumption, (Klosterman, 1985; Moore 1978).

These characteristics of public goods make it hard for the private market to supply them satisfactorily since the private market deals with demand and supply of the good. Externalities are unintended side effects of market activities (Mankiw, 2009). They could be negative or positive. An example is a chemical plant that emits pollutants. It affects everyone in the environment and not only the company responsible for it. Public intervention in the form of regulation is therefore necessary. Government intervention is also needed in the case of public goods where the prisoner's dilemma and the tragedy of the commons concepts often apply. The prisoner's dilemma is a condition where the pursuit of individual interests leads to sub- optimal outcomes for the individual and society at large. The tragedy of the commons is a situation where in the short run, over-use of common resources may benefit individuals but in the long run may be detrimental to all (Mankiw,2009).

Public intervention can take many forms; one of which is city planning. Thite (2011) and Steino (2000) both consider public intervention as necessary for city planning and consider city planning as essential for economic development. The argument Thite (2011) makes is that is that the presence of quality of life indicators drives economic development because it improves human lives and capabilities by raising people's levels of living, self-esteem and freedom (Thite,2011). When people's levels of living and self-esteem are raised through the presence of quality of life indicators they are able to sustain themselves; gain access to necessities such as food, clothing, health, sanitation, security and shelter.

In Thite (2011)'s "Smart Cities: Implications of Urban Planning for Human Resource Development", he reiterates the fact that people go where jobs are and that jobs drive economic development. Jobs are unlikely to be attracted to unplanned locales. The importance of human capital as drivers of economic development cannot be underemphasized here. Planned cities are those places that attract talent from all over the world and they are the locales that thrive (Lucas 1988; Glaeser 2000). Donald (2001) identified quality of life indicator such as:

- social cohesion, indicated by participation, inclusion, belonging
- Human services, including quality and accessibility of health care, community support services and social safety net.
- Learning, including education and skills level, quality of public education and quality of public research institutions
- Community safety, indicated by levels of crime
- Affordable housing , availability and accessibility
- Public transportation, availability and accessibility
- Environmental quality
- Culture, recreation and lifestyle amenities

Locational branding has been noted to improve economic development by attracting highly skilled workers and the spill over effect makes the residents enjoy the benefits of this. Governments should therefore consider city planning as an essential component of the development process. Porter (1997), who is of a contrary view, discusses city planning by suggesting roles for the private sector, the public sector and non-profit community organizations unlike Thite (2011) who looks largely at what government

should offer. Porter (1997) suggests that the private sector should take the initiative and move into the inner city because the inner city can offer attractive markets, advantageous location and good employees. He goes on to say that there are several aspects of the business environment in the inner-city that require corrections and adjustments. This includes discrimination, high taxes, crime, poor infrastructure and burdensome regulations among others. The public sector then has to come in and emphasize on crime prevention programs, affirmative action and government programs designed to fight discrimination, infrastructure financing, limited and focused tax abate programs among others. Then the non-profit sector should concentrate on building schools, banks and chambers of commerce. Porter (1997) was advocating for very little government intervention. Bates (1997) thought Porter (1990) was underestimating the importance of government in city planning and felt what Porter (1997) was suggesting was overly simplistic. Looking at Ghana and the cause of slum areas and haphazard planning as a result of private individuals being left to settle without adhering to rules, I would not be an advocate for little government intervention. Also, as quality of life indicators indeed attract people and some of these indicators are public goods, there ought to be an advocacy for government intervention.

Steino (2000)'s second perspective on why to execute city planning looks at the question of normativity within the evolutionary history of the planning discipline. The author looks at the evolution of planning. Urban planning was a means to control the new urban growth which was as a result of the industrial city in the middle of the 19th century. Land therefore had to be allocated to industry, housing, and made developable through the layout of streets, provision of water

pipes, sewers and other technical infrastructure. This period's focus was mainly on utility and aesthetics. Towards the end of the 19th century, it was realized that although cholera, typhoid and other epidemics had been battled, hygiene was far from satisfactory. The Garden city project was therefore proposed. It was an attempt to link a vision for a new social order to its expression in physical space and to communicate the idea that planning should go beyond aesthetics and utility.

As societies became more complex, towards the middle of the 20th century planning incorporated social concerns. The physical layout of cities were not the only considerations but provision of social amenities and infrastructure like schools, hospitals, parks, highways, electricity systems and others were the focus. The third perspective looks at whether planning should work for the maintenance of established power relations, for a gradual system change or for a radical transformation of society (Friedman, 1987).

Steino (2000) argues that since city planning is future oriented, it should be founded on a vision. A conservative vision would want it to be little different from the present, and would see planning as a tool for system maintenance. A radical vision, on the other hand, would want it to be much different from the present, and would see planning as a tool for system transformation. Mediating between these extremes, a moderate vision would want things to alter gradually, and would see planning as a tool for gradual system change (Friedman, 1987). Here, three different planning styles are introduced. Namely, these are the system-maintaining, system-changing and system-transforming styles. According to the author, system-maintaining is generally bureaucratic and articulated by the state.

System-transforming planning is a form of autonomous action in opposition to institutionalized planning whilst System-changing encompasses a bit of both.

In “A City in A Good Shape” Hebbert (1999) also talks about the evolution of town planning and talks about the relationship between town planning and public health. It contrasts two moments of agreement between doctors and planners. One of these is the unifying paradigm of the 1840s centred on streets and ventilation. During this era in England, health was associated with good ventilation and well-defined streets. The movement during this period was started by Sanitarians. The sanitarians held the filth theory. Filth theory stated that unhealthy cities were as a result of the gas emitted by decomposing organic matter. In the 19th century however, legal standardisation of new buildings and the statutory closure of old slums contributed to radical improvements in life expectancy for British town-dwellers (Wohl, 1983). This period was about urban layout along pavements and concerns about having airy places. Social Darwinists attacked the Sanitarians’ achievement of 18 per cent reduction in death rate. They claimed the unfit were now surviving. They were accused of breeding a generation of sickly survivors.

By the 19th century, the filth theory was undercut by bacteriologically based concepts. In 1909, statutory town planning was introduced in Britain and its objectives were linked to public health considerations (Hebbert, 1999). Architects now incorporated a new dimension of flexibility in layout and orientation as well as consideration of sunlight in buildings. The new movement in health seemed to have reconciled the sanitarians views, the bacteriologically based concepts and others. It was a requirement for practitioners of the “new public health” to have a

good grounding in ecology and a vision of how to reconcile the natural and built environments. This meant revisiting topics on old public health-housing, food, water, sanitation, education, occupation, transport, genetics and microbiology, and medical and social service-and re-examine them with ecological eyes (Ashton, 1991).

From the articles written by Hebbert (1999) and Steino (2000), there has been a lot of discussion on what to consider when planning a city, given the historical account of city planning. However, the issue of health has been of major concern in the renditions on city planning. This establishes the fact that how cities are planned affects the sustenance aspect of development among other things. Todaro & Smith (2011) defined economic development as the process of improving the quality of all human lives and capabilities by raising people's levels of living, self-esteem, and freedom. If the levels of living and self-esteem of people in a city can be raised through city planning, then it is worth bringing to light so that city planning can be replicated in areas where it is not being done.

2.2 City Planning And Institutions

In a study of town planning in Nigeria, the author Ola (2011) starts by establishing the grounds that what is notable among the cities in Nigeria is their nature. The author further states that the disorderly nature of the cities in Nigeria is because the cities are growing in an unplanned manner. The ever increasing population is also seen as catalyst to the disorderly nature. This is because increase in population puts pressure on the existing amenities and as no planning

is being done to take account of this growth, the cities become disorderly and chaotic.

Ola (2011) goes on to say that this problem of urbanization which is characterized by ever increasing rural-urban migration coupled with no planning has resulted in the creation of slums in the cities. Rural –urban migration is mainly as a result of people in the rural areas moving into the cities in search of a better economic life (Mazumdar, 1987). This is because the quality of life indicators attract economic development. This rapid urbanization that has not been catered for in the planning of cities thereby causes rapid deteriorating of housing and living conditions hence, sustenance. However, there are local planning authorities who are supposed to exert control over the use of urban land yet many buildings are being constructed without approved layouts and many open spaces in Nigeria are disappearing.

Ola (2011) goes on to explain how development control which is basically the act of implementing building and land sub-division regulations and specifications is important. He does this by stating that one building or site should not interfere with the safety, convenience, privacy and efficiency of another. This is because certain land users need to be separated from others due to their incompatibility. Negative externalities like pollution and traffic generated by industries need to be separated from residents.

Since there are different interest groups present in any community it is important that land, a scarce resource is apportioned well such that it reduces short term or long term conflicts that may arise. There are however some constraints that have prevented the local planning authorities from enforcing development control.

Some of these constraints include manpower problems, finance, official corruption and political interference from affluent people and absence of development plan for the cities (Ola, 2011).

Ola (2011) explained manpower problems as having inadequate personnel to undertake the city planning process. State Government is not giving adequate funding to the planning authorities. The local planning authorities therefore have to rely on money generated from development control. However, with the springing up of illegal structures, local planning authorities have lost significant revenues. Political interference from the affluent has also stifled the advancement of the town planning authorities. In Ibadan, especially during the military regime, this was common. Illegal structures were put up overnight and the planning authorities could not prosecute them. It is clear that rule of law is not being enforced in Nigeria and this is affecting the development of Nigeria.

Rule of law is one of the main determinants of development as Acemoglu et al (2001) rightly said in their article "Institutions as a Fundamental Cause of Long- Run Growth". If rule of law was being enforced in Nigeria and the powers of government were not interfering in the town planning activities, a lot of progress could be made in town planning. This is because illegal structures would not be put up and even if they were, it is extremely likely that the culprits could be persecuted for it. Ola (2011) concluded by saying the citizens of Nigeria have all stifled the town planning authorities in one way or the other. To curb this issue, the citizens need to be educated on family planning so as to check population growth. Civil education on the benefits of planned development like city planning should be made known. Also town planning authorities should be made

independent from the government among other things. The problem of the kind of institution that was set up in Nigeria shaped their development. This same problem of institutions is also seen in the articles discussed below.

In the article “The transformation of municipal development planning in South Africa (post-1994): Impressions and impasse”, South Africa underwent a transformation process which resulted in a new democracy (Coetzee, 2012). This democracy was also spearheaded with the change in municipal planning. After two decades, the municipal planning system is struggling to develop a more appropriate planning system and is therefore not being effective in addressing the development goals in the country. In an attempt to address and propose solutions to these shortcomings, the article written by Coetzee (2012) explores the gaps in the planning system.

Coetzee (2012) talks about how South Africa’s planning system looks good on paper but is actually not achieving the change and transformation that is required in the South African urban, regional and rural spaces. Regions in South Africa are scattered, fragmented and characterized by low density.

Before the 1990s the cities in South Africa were planned according to a set system however after apartheid, it made sense that urban planning be restructured. This is because pre-apartheid urban planning only benefited the colonizers and white settlers, according to Coetzee (2012). Most of the malls and good infrastructure were found in areas where the colonial masters lived. After apartheid, it made sense to restructure the planning system since scarce resources necessitated sharing so that development would be evenly distributed in South Africa.

Adarkwa's (2012) "Changing Faces of Ghanaian Towns" also emphasizes the problem of institutions, among other things. Adarkwa (2012) talks about how Ghana is gradually becoming more urbanized. Urbanization is a shift in population from rural to urban areas. Cities will therefore change and experience transformation in terms of layout and human activities and this will affect the use of urban land, the physical outlook, spatial development and general wellbeing.

During pre-independence, the town and country planning ordinance of 1945 was the basis for zoning and building codes to maintain an orderly and European ambience according to Adarkwa (2012). The colonial masters moved into the residential areas they had created for themselves and left the less desirable areas that were liable to flood and low lying areas to the natives of the land. This pattern of residential development was replicated in areas like Accra. According to Adarkwa (2012), this is how the spatial segregation of Ghanaian towns started. Oduwaye (2006) also gives a similar account of the colonial masters encouraging racial segregation and creating a dual urban structure system that was enshrined under the 1902 Reservation Ordinance. This ordinance separated European residents from Nigerian residents and the former had better landscape and infrastructure than the latter. North (1991), in his article "Institutions", defines institutions as the humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction. North (1991) went ahead to talk about how institutions determine the direction in which development of a country heads; that is, if a country will grow, decline or be stagnated. This is because institutions provide the incentive structure of an economy. The kind of institutions that were set up in South Africa, Nigeria and Ghana clearly determined the subsequent growth of cities in those countries. In particular, the institutions that were present

before apartheid benefited the colonial institutions in South Africa and influenced the nature of South African cities.

The two main features of good institutions are property rights and rule of law. Property rights and rule of law ensure that lands can be owned and sold inhabitants without discrimination. This will make sure development is not limited to particular groups of people. Racism in South Africa during apartheid made it difficult for the indigenes that had been segregated to get equal opportunities to develop their areas. During apartheid, the institutions that were set up were not concerned about development of the country as a whole. This has accounted for the income disparity among the various races in South Africa. Access to quality education was difficult for the indigenes. According to the levers of growth article written by Johnson et al (2006), certain countries with weak institutions experienced sustained growth. Some of the levers of growth were higher levels of literacy and equality. These factors that were missing could be attributed to the income disparities and the poor levels of development among some areas in South Africa. This led to a reform of town planning so that all areas were considered so as to have access to facilities and the necessities that will lead to development.

According to Acemoglu et al (2005), institutions are the main determinants of development even though geography and culture matters. Acemoglu et al (2005) used the Korean experiment in explaining this theory. North Korea and South Korea were once one country with very similar geography (that is, considering climate and natural resources). The two Koreas split into two. North Korea decided to not to encourage property rights. However, South Korea did. After some years, South Korea surpassed North Korea in terms of development

because of the kind of institution that was encouraged. Property rights meant that people would not build where they were not supposed to since their property rights did not extend to such areas. This, it was believed, would promote good city planning contrary to slum areas where there is no order.

In Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa, extractive institutions were set up by the colonial masters. This kind of institution benefitted the few elites and left the poor poorer (Adarkwa, 2012); (Oduwaye, 2006). This left Ghanaians occupying the low land areas which were not developed. Up till now, the areas that were occupied by the colonial masters are more developed than those areas that were occupied by the inhabitants as not much attention has been given to city planning. Acemoglu et al (2005) thus developed a theory on extractive institutions which states that exploitative institutions like that which the colonial masters set up can be used to explain the cause of the underdevelopment and development of some of the areas in Ghana. Bates (2014) could be used to justify why Ghana up till date is maintaining the differences in development among areas. Bates (2014) implies that the maintenance policies that lead to underdevelopment and development of areas are a method used by governments to stay in power and to amass wealth for themselves. This has led to poor economic development for the country as a whole.

South Africa however reviewed its urban planning structure after apartheid because the kind of institution a nation will encourage will determine the direction in which the nation will move, as North (1991) rightly said. South Africa, after reviewing its urban planning structure, came up with a more modern one that does not only consider land use control, zoning and structure planning like Nigeria

does according to Ola (2011), but is supposed to take into account environmental management and sustainable development.

According to Coetzee (2012) the planning process in South Africa also started acquiring a new look by focusing on understanding the environment and also considered the integration of the various environmental components in the planning and development process. The problems that were raised by Coetzee (2012) as impediments to the success of the urban planning structure were very similar to the ones Ola (2011) in “Urbanization and Effective Town Planning in Nigeria” mentioned. This included poor leadership, lack of capacity and the need for council planners to network locally and globally in order to be competent. Among the problems raised, funding, poor intergovernmental relations and negative attitudes towards work were cited. From the literature review, it is evident a lot of work has been concentrated on what should go into city planning and the reasons for the unequal development of different cities. However, very little work has been done on why city planning should be undertaken and the implications not planning a city can have on economic development. Hebbert (199) and Steino (2000) recognized that a good layout and public health are closely linked. Public health which is also an element of sustenance is needed in the development of cities. Steino (2000) analysed why city planning should be undertaken and concluded that from the economic point of view, due to market failure an intervention of some sort is needed. Public goods belong to everyone and the consumption of a public good by one person does not impede on another person’s ability to consume that same good. This characteristic makes it difficult for the market to efficiently allocate resources. Thite (2011) further states that quality of life indicators—which public goods are a part of—are necessary for

sustenance. These indicators therefore draw quality talent from all over the world to develop a place. This thesis however looks at why city planning should be undertaken by looking at the impact sustenance which looks at having access to food, clothing, health, sanitation, security and shelter at the barest level of living.

Conclusions, lessons learned and a case for the current research.

From the literature review it is apparent that city planning is closely linked with improved sanitation by improving layouts in cities. Quality of life indicators like infrastructure and transportation attract skilled labour from all over the world to set up businesses which develop the cities since there will be a trickle-down effect. Most Infrastructure and transportation are public goods which need to be provided for by government. Also, the presence of externalities requires government intervention in the form of allocating land use. The institutions which are responsible for the provision of such amenities will promote economic development if effective. This is because when individuals have access to public goods and externalities are controlled they are able to sustain themselves. Sustenance is a key area in economic development. This importance led the researcher to explore the ability of the inhabitants of Ashaiman and Tema to sustain themselves by looking at the presence of city planning elements. Also, a study that involves a direct research (context-specific studies) where inhabitants share their experiences on how the elements of city planning which are infrastructure, transportation, good urban layout, good urban design and housing have affected their ability to sustain their lives has not been probed into.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview and Justification of research

Methodology is important as it shows how the proposed research is supposed to be carried out, making it a critical aspect of the research process (Soritious & Sarantakos, 2005). The research investigates the impact of city planning on economic development by comparing how city planning has affected the lives of the inhabitants and users of Tema as well as Ashiaman. A qualitative research approach will be employed for the purpose of this study. Prior works on city planning such as Steino (2000), Thite (2011) and Hebbert (1999) have taken this form of approach because it is almost nearly impossible to quantify city planning and therefore carry out a quantitative study with respect to the subject matter. A comparative design was employed in this research since it involves the study of two contrasting cases: Tema a planned city and Ashaiman an unplanned city and how city planning or the lack of it has impacted the lives of the inhabitants of the mentioned places.

3.2 Discussion of key variables

The key variables in this research are city planning and economic development. This is because the purpose of the research is to know the impact of city planning on economic development. City planning will be viewed from the following aspects;

- Land use

Land use assesses how land is being for different kinds of activities like industrial and residential purposes.

- Housing

Housing determines what kind of houses are present and if they address the different needs of people present. This includes people with disabilities, low income families and other needs.

- Transportation

Transportation assesses the overall transportation of the community including roads, highways, and bus stops for vehicles.

- Urban design

Urban design will be assessed from how well the community looks and also how it functions. This takes the physical form of the buildings, the layout of the entire community or town and individual buildings into consideration.

- Infrastructure and public facilities

Infrastructure and public facilities will be assessed from the planning of sewer pipes, power lines and quality of water among others.

Economic development will be viewed from the sustenance point of view which refers to access to the basic necessities such as food, clothing, health, sanitation, security and shelter. This thesis focuses on sustenance because the element of development is often underemphasized even though it is very important. It is the sustenance element like good health that in fact makes it possible to achieve economic development. Thus, embedded in the variables of economic development discussed are elements of sustenance that enhances economic development.

3.3 Scope of research

3.3.1 Study Population

The study population is basically the inhabitants and users of both Tema and Ashaiman since they have the information necessary for the study. Vendors, businesses and inhabitants were the targets as they have some experience working or living at these places.

3.3.2 Study Area

The research context is Ghana; specifically, Ashaiman and Tema. These two places are located in the Greater Accra region of Ghana. These two are neighbouring urban dwellings in Ghana. As mentioned earlier, Tema is a planned city and Ashaiman is not. Tema has a population of 402,637 whilst Ashaiman has a population of 190,972 according to Ghana Statistical Service's 2010 Population Census. While Tema is a coastal district situated about 30 kilometres east of Accra, the capital city of Ghana, Ashaiman is bounded by Tema in the south (Ministry of Agriculture Republic of Ghana, 2013).

3.3.3 Sources of data

Journal articles were reviewed to get an in-depth knowledge on city planning. Also, open-ended interviews were the tools used to gather information. This is because open ended interviews allow the researcher to gain as much information as possible without restricting respondents to the ideas of the researcher. As the sample will include individuals of all literacy levels, the researcher perceived that the use of questionnaires might hinder the ability to obtain this information (Turner, 2010) as all individuals present might not have the ability to read and write.

3.4 Sampling Strategy

3.4.1 Sampling Techniques & Size

A non-probabilistic sampling procedure was used to gain information. As the objective of this study was to determine the economic implications city planning has had on Ghana by comparing Tema and Ashaiman, convenient sampling was used in obtaining data. This is because the researcher wanted to speak to any inhabitant or worker who would be met at Tema and Ashaiman. This method proved to be a faster way of obtaining data as the researcher could move quickly to another person if a potential respondent was hesitant in participating in the research. A sample size of 22 was used for Tema and Ashaiman. The 22 people that were interviewed consisted of vendors, businesses and inhabitants. An interview guide was used in obtaining information for the research to be as consistent as possible.

3.5 Data collection

3.5.1 Data Collection Instrument

An interview guide was used in obtaining data that was later analysed in order to compare how city planning or the lack of it affects economic development of the individuals present in both communities. The interview guide is included in the appendix.

3.5.2 Data Collection Procedure

On the 9th of March, the researcher set off around 2pm to the industrial area of Tema, Community One. Here, convenient sampling was used in the selection of

the participants for the study. The prospective participants were approached and requested to participate in the study after explaining what the research was about. After that, an interview guide was used in gathering data from both inhabitants and users of Tema since they both would have some information that would be useful for the research. After Tema, the researcher went to Ashaiman where the same process of data collection was replicated.

Data from these two areas were collected on four different occasions. Data was collected from Ashaiman and Tema since the study was a comparison of how city planning has affected the development of the inhabitants present in both communities.

3.5.3 Data Preparation, Collation and Processing

An interview guide was prepared and used to collect the data. The data that was collected was handled solely by the researcher to prevent any breach of confidentiality. Data was then sorted out to make analysis thorough.

3.6 Data Analysis

The data that was collated from undertaking the study was grouped into themes and analysed based on the themes that emerged in the data. A content analysis was done to provide an in-depth analysis on the data. Microsoft Excel was also used in the drawing of graphs and in analysis.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Since this research involved interviewing people, an application reviewed and passed by Ashesi University's Human Subjects Review Committee ensured that the rights of the individuals being interviewed were respected. Information

obtained was considered confidential and details of parties interviewed were withheld where interviewees did not approve disclosure of their identity. Hence, consent forms were signed by participants before going ahead with the interviews. Also, participants were given the option to opt out in case some of questions made them feel uncomfortable in any way. Results from the analysis of the study were presented as analysed and were not altered in any way.

3.8 Limitations

- Time was a major limitation in this study. This is because there was limited time to collect data and this affected the number of people that could have been interviewed at the locations visited.
- Money was a constraint as it affected the researcher's ability to visit the locations often.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS

In order to carry out the study, the researcher used an interview guide to obtain data from 22 respondents based in Tema and Ashaiman respectively and from 3 officials at Tema Municipal Assembly. The questions were centred on the components of a planned city which are infrastructure, urban design, good transportation, housing and land use. Push factors and pull factors; factors that attracted people to or repelled them from Tema and Ashaiman as well as how these factors had affected the lives of inhabitants were discussed since that would inform the ability of these factors to sustain and improve their lives.

From the interview, the respondents indicated that people were particularly drawn to Ashaiman (in descending order) because of the access to the market and businesses, then work, followed by the low cost of living in Ashaiman, and the cheap labour as seen in figure 1 below. The proximity to other areas with job opportunities was the last pull factor. One thing was clear from the responses in the interview conducted: Ashaiman is a place where mass commercial activity of a basic nature like selling and buying of various items like clothes and electrical appliances and also a lot of hawking goes on. The underlying factor for Ashaiman being a commercial centre was attributed mainly to its high population.

Tema, on the other hand, had more respondents talking about infrastructure, availability of work and businesses and the ease in settling at Tema as the main reason they were drawn to Tema as seen in figure 2 below. The supporting reason was the fact that Tema is an industrialized place and therefore attracts more people and businesses to set up. The underlying factor for this attraction was attributed to the facilities like good roads, availability of water among others.

Generally, the respondents at Ashaiman were not enthused about the layout of their town. However, Tema had some very enthusiastic people who even said they would not leave the town to settle elsewhere as result of the good layout. Other respondents from Tema said the layout encouraged ventilation and prevented cases of flooding.

The poor layout of Ashaiman, however, was a push factor that was linked to poor sanitation leading to sickness and spread of diseases. Perhaps, this is to be expected as favourable life quality indicators drive economic development (Thite, 2011). Quality of life indicators include infrastructure, it is therefore not surprising that a lot of people are attracted to do work and set up businesses in Tema as the research confirmed that people are indeed attracted to life quality indicators which are found in a planned city like Tema but not in an un-planned city like Ashaiman.

From data collected at Ashaiman, an unsanitary location is not an attractive place to settle or do businesses and will therefore stifle development. Planned cities are those places that attract talent from all over the world and thrive (Lucas 1988; Glaeser 2000). Donald (2001) identified quality of life indicators such as environmental quality, human services including quality of healthcare and accessibility of health care, community support service and social safety net.

Sixty per cent of the respondents reported that the land in Ashaiman has not been allocated for various relevant purposes such that residents were grouped together away from schools and industries whilst 79% said Tema had been allocated for such purposes. There were some of the respondents at Ashaiman that said even though land had been allocated for different purposes,

the inhabitants did not follow those allocations and built anywhere they wanted. Twenty five per cent of the respondents at Ashaiman said allocations for different purposes had been done while fifteen per cent said they did not know. Regardless of their responses to the previous question, all the respondents indicated that it was important that such an allocation was done.

Notable among the reasons for allocating land for different purposes, respondents stated that each institution could focus on the purpose for which it was set up without distractions. Siting residents, schools and industries together would not be advisable because of air pollution from the industries and noise pollution from the commercial activities. Interestingly, one respondent of Ashaiman attributed the poor performance of the junior high school in the Basic Education Certificate Examination to the noise pollution and distraction. From statements such as this, planning is necessary because externalities need to be controlled. Emission of harmful gasses by industries affects everyone in the environment and not only the people responsible for it. It is therefore important that industries, schools, churches, mosques are separated from residents to curb the issue of externalities. This very same notion of the need of curbing externalities is why Steino (2000) advocated that city planning should be done.

Other reasons given for the importance of land being demarcated for specific purposes include promoting easy navigation and direction, to prevent the spread of diseases, to ensure orderliness, to beautify the place and attract businesses and aid in the development of the town. Navigation by ambulance in case of injury and and by police in case of theft was among the

Due to the lack of such planning being enforced in Ashaiman, the respondents complained that there was disturbance and social disorder in Ashaiman. People have very little regard for the formal laws of Ghana. Some people in Ashaiman even live in factories since the town cannot support livelihood. There had been a case of fire outbreak due to houses being made of wood and carelessness. Ashaiman was not a respected town and therefore certain businesses would not be attracted to such a place. The complaints led to a question of whether there were any rules with respect to putting up buildings. About forty seven per cent said yes, forty one per cent said no and 12 per cent said they were not sure about the existence of these rules. However, even those who said there were such rules admitted that it was not being obeyed. All the respondents said it was important that such rules were instituted and enforced.

The levels of education of the respondents were probed into to give a fair idea of the kind of people who worked and lived at Ashaiman. The highest level of education that was realized from the respondents at Ashaiman was senior high school whilst that of Tema was university. Planned cities do attract talent and in this case, more educated people who in turn drive development. This is because human capital is a major driver of economic development (Thite, 2011).

A question on why the respondents have to travel to work where they are was asked and the most prominent answer was proximity. This was followed by other reasons like there not being a ready market in Ashaiman for the kind of work they wanted to pursue and the fact that the location of their current work place is where work was found.

Given that utilities like water affect development and enhances wellbeing, a question was asked on how frequent the respondents had water. To this, majority of the respondents at Ashaiman ranked the frequency of water supply as somewhat whilst the majority of Tema respondents responded that they frequently had water as shown in figure 3 and 4 below. Some of the respondents stated that livelihood and work were affected by necessities such road and electricity. A respondent said some people had to fetch water from places with low sanitation in Ashaiman whilst the Tema respondents complained about traffic in the city. Some of the respondents in Ashaiman went further and spoke about the financial cost of obtaining water and how they had to come to work late as a result of its unavailability.

Public goods are goods that have no private ownership and are enjoyed by all and so must be provided for. The consumption of public goods by one does not prohibit its simultaneous consumption by another (Klosterman 1985; Moore 1978). It is therefore very necessary that public goods such as electricity, roads, water are provided for because these public goods are indicators of quality of life. Porter (1997) was of the view that private individuals should take the initiative and move into inner cities to develop them. Porter (1997) was advocating for little government intervention.

However, comparing Tema and Ashaiman, it seems like a lot of government intervention is needed. An interview with one of the town planners at Tema Municipal Assembly indicated that enforcement of planning in areas were difficult because there is no law binding residents to follow the city plan strictly. Fortunately for Tema, Tema Development Council (TDC) which was set up by Dr Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president, had started planning Tema and building

as such in times past leading to the city being planned well to a large extent. Looking at Ashaiman that was not so fortunate to have a council like TDC, the results of this lack is seen by the responses of workers and inhabitants there.

Generally, the components of city planning which are good urban design, infrastructure like good roads, housing, and land being allocated for different purposes were present in Tema. Also, respondents of Tema said people were drawn to Tema for these reasons and that had led to jobs and more businesses being attracted to Tema. This in turn would enhance the development of the inhabitants of Tema because they will be able to enjoy the benefits it comes with.

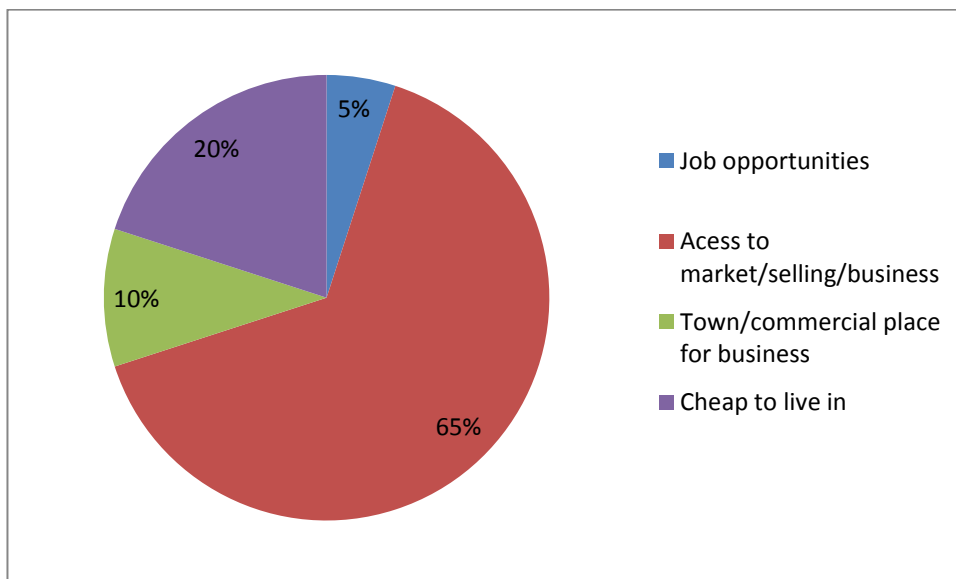
Such benefits include job opportunities and access to schools. Unfortunately, the general lack of good urban design, infrastructure, housing and land being allocated for different purposes were the push factors for Ashaiman. People that were working and living at Ashaiman were not pleased with their conditions. In June 2014, when it rained heavily in Accra, Ashaiman was affected because of bad drainage and poor sanitation. In fact, The Total Petrol Filling Station at Ashaiman for example was affected because water went into their fuel and this caused financial loss to the company.

It was not surprising that the respondents at Tema had attained higher education as compared to Ashaiman. Ashaiman attracted a certain calibre of people because of population and ready market. The level of education informed the kind of work that was been patronized. The main job was retail on a small scale.

On the issue of water being supplied frequently, the inhabitants of Tema are able to go about their activities smoothly and therefore do not stress

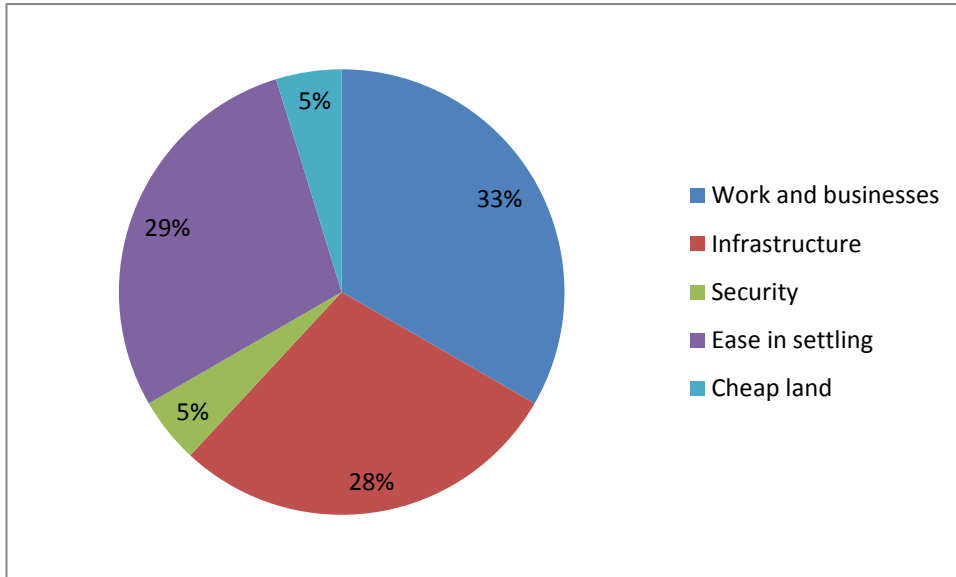
themselves out looking for water. However, same cannot be said about Ashaiman. There is therefore little peace of mind to carry out daily activities at Ashaiman. City planning based on the components like land use, urban design, transportation and housing has not been evident in Ashaiman. This has affected the quality of the people in Ashaiman. This is because people's level of living has not been elevated nor as the esteem in relation to the city. The inhabitants mentioned being ashamed of the town and called it a slum area due to the poor planning that had led to sanitation problems, theft. This has, to borrow the words of Sen, thwarted the freedoms of people in the neighbourhood.

Figure 1: Pie Chart Indicating pull factors for Ashaiman



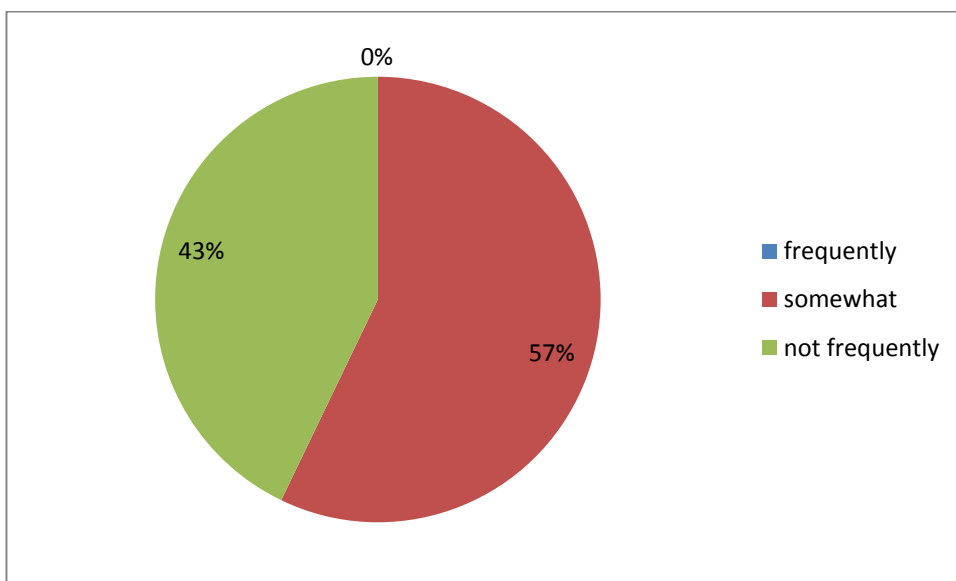
Data Source: Field Data

Figure 2: Pie Chart indicating pull factors for Tema



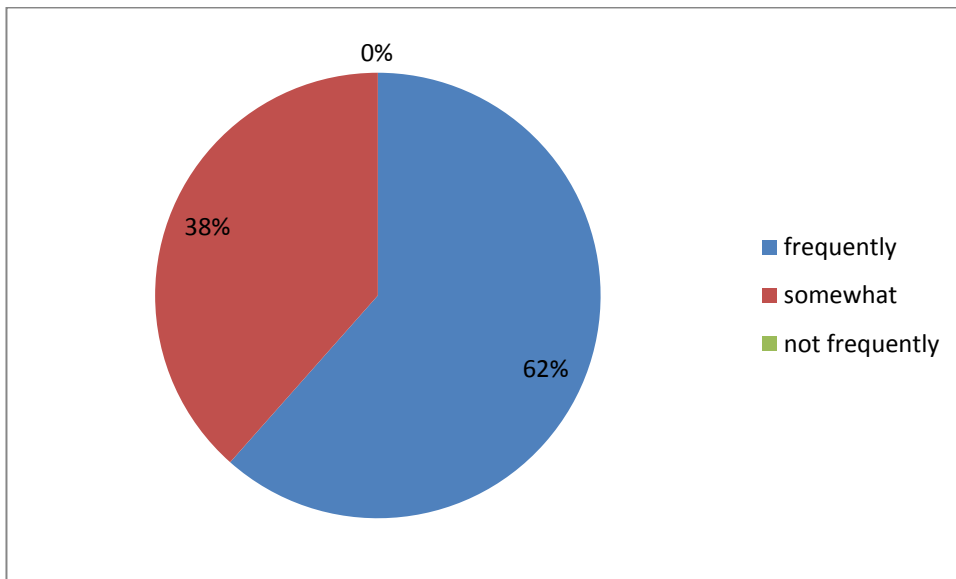
Data Source: Field Data

Figure 3: Pie indicating frequency of water supply for Ashaiman



Data Source: Field Data

Figure 4: Pie indicating frequency of water supply in Tema



Data Source: Field Data

Table 1: Summary of the effects of poor/lack of planning in Ashaiman

Element of city planning	Effects on sustenance
Land use problem	noise pollution, communal places have been sold
Lack of good urban design and infrastructure	lack of respect, unattractiveness, loss of money
Layout problem	congestion, diseases and sicknesses like cholera
Housing problem	people living in factories, fire outbreak affecting wooden houses

Table 2: Summary of the effects of planning in Tema

Element of city planning	Effect on sustenance
Land use	prevented the spread of fire outbreaks and pollution
Good urban design	attraction of businesses
Infrastructure	good drainage, good paying jobs to further education, serenity to carry out everyday activities
Housing	Good housing, security

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion

It was noted that the main pull factor to Ashaiman was the market available whilst that of Tema was attributed mainly to work and businesses. From Table one and table two above, the land use problem at Ashaiman lead to noise pollution whilst that good land use lead to the prevention of fire outbreaks and pollution. The lack of good urban design and infrastructure lead to lack of respect, unattractiveness and loss of money whilst the good urban design at Tema leads to attraction of business. The layout problems at Ashaiman lead to congestion, diseases and sicknesses like cholera. Also the housing problem at Ashaiman led to people living wooden houses as opposed to houses made of cement which can sustain human lives better because it can prevent fire outbreaks among others.

Infrastructure and transportation like roads and housing are quality of life indicators that attract quality human resources because their lives are improved and are able to go about their activities smoothly.

Effective land use is also important to address the needs of the people and also to control externalities. A good urban design is also important to attract human resources to further develop a place and also for the inhabitants to have some self-worth about where they live. Having a good urban layout is also closely linked to an improved sanitation. Highly educated, highly skilled, high-income individuals are drawn to quality of life indicators and end up moving into these areas to settle and work. This leads to further development and a trickle-down effect on the inhabitants which also leads to attracting many more high-end individuals. This leads to a virtuous cycle where the places with favourable quality

of life indicators are filled with educated people who have good paying jobs and a developed town.

The reverse is also true where a poorly planned town with bad infrastructure and urban design that inhibits drainage and worsens the incidence of diseases attracts people with low levels of human capital who cannot attract the kind of businesses needed to sustain the people leading to a vicious cycle. Given such differences in city planning development will be rationally concentrated at specific areas in Ghana. Also, the Millennium development goal which includes alleviating poverty and creating sanitary conditions will be hard to achieve.

Recommendation

Having established that our cities should be planned and have those plans enforced as doing so leads to economic development, policy makers should take note and enforce them. In the 19th century, legal standardisation of new buildings and the statutory closure of old slums contributed to radical improvements in life expectancy for British town-dwellers (Wohl, 1983). Unplanned areas leading to the creation of slum areas need to be closed down and developed well through city planning. However the government will need to find a suitable way of relocating the inhabitants of such areas. Furthermore, as planning is future oriented, it should be founded on a vision. Therefore planning should be done taking into account of the future needs of the people (Friedman, 1987).

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Appendix

Interview Guide

1. Do you live here? If the person lives in Tema or Ashaiman then we proceed to question 2 if not the next question will be their purpose for being at either Tema or Ashaiman and other questions related to Tema or Ashaiman that are relevant to them will be asked.
2. How long have you lived there?
3. What influenced your decision to settle here?
 - a) Availability of infrastructure and facilities
 - b) Ease in settling in such an area
 - c) Security
 - d) Cheap labour
 - e) OtherPlease explain if other.
4. Do you like the layout of your town i.e how close or far apart buildings are from each other, where gutters have been constructed, where markets are located? Why?
5. Why do you think people settle here or set up businesses or even visit this area causally?
 - a) Cheap labour
 - b) Access to market
 - c) Availability of infrastructure and facilities such as schools, good roads

- d) Security
 - e) Other
Please explain if other.
6. And why do you think it is so?
7. Has land been allocated for different purposes such as residents, schools, industries? Yes/No
8. If yes why? If no why? And is it important?
9. How do you think this demarcation of land for other purposes or the lack of it affected your community?
10. Are there any rules regarding putting up buildings? If yes are they obeyed? Is it important and why
11. Where do you work/school?
12. Where is your work/school located?
13. If the person is a worker, which level of education has been attained?
14. How long have you been working or schooling there?
15. Why do you have to travel to that location?
16. How frequently do you get water?
17. Has it affected your day to day activities? How?
18. Do you think the absence or presence of facilities like roads, electricity have affected your lives in any way?

19. If yes how if no why?

20. Would you want to move into a new neighbourhood? Yes/No

21. If yes why if no why?

22. What are some problems you encounter in this town?

23. What do you think is the root cause of these problems?

24. Were you affected by the recent heavy downpour that occurred in June last year?
Yes/No

25. If yes why if no why?