2016

Slum or Sustainable Development? A Case Study of Sodom and Gomorrah in Accra, Ghana

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Recommended Citation

SLUM OR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT? A CASE STUDY OF SODOM AND GOMORRAH IN ACCRA, GHANA

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS IN URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

AT MINNESOTA STATE UNIVERSITY MANKATO

BY

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MAY 30, 2016

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ABSTRACT

The Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) has been successful in demolishing a few slums in the City of Accra. However, Sodom and Gomorrah, also known to be a squatter and an illegal settlement in the City of Accra continues to prosper. This study examines the benefits and shortcomings of slums with specific reference to Sodom and Gomorrah and why it has avoided all demolition attempts by AMA. It also examines whether slums can be improved to promote sustainable urban development in Ghana. The researcher explored these issues with surveys which elicited the opinions and experiences of slum dwellers in Sodom and Gomorrah as well as neighboring high and middle income residents. The researcher also surveyed the views of opinion leaders who constituted the mouth piece of the squatters to further test for consistency of the responses of slum dwellers. City officials of the AMA and The Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD) were also interviewed regarding the surrounding government's inability to demolish it, threats posed by the study area to city government, the benefits of the development and whether it should be demolished. As indicated, the need and relevance for this study emerges from the illegal status of the study area and its ability to escape all demolition attempts by city governments. Its flourishing nature and location in the urban hub of the capital city as well as proximity to the central business district compels further exploration regarding why Sodom and Gomorrah continues to prosper unabated.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My master's thesis research could be compared to a treasure hunt journey. In pursuit of this quest, there were moments of despair, happiness and times of great achievement. The success of this hunt could not have been possible without the support of many who wanted me to achieve academic excellence. I am forever indebted to all those who offered assistance and acknowledge them as part of this scholarly achievement.

First, I thank the almighty God for his protection and guidance during the course of this work.

Secondly, my heart felt appreciation and gratitude goes to my thesis advisor, Dr. Russell Fricano and my thesis committee member Dr. Raymond Asomani Boateng for their commitment, positive comments and words of encouragement. This work would have been an exercise in futility without their guidance.

Third, I wish to express my profound gratitude to Minnesota State University and Urban and Regional Studies Institute as well as the School of Graduate Studies for providing me an opportunity and a sound academic environment to further my studies.

I also wish to thank my family members and friends who prayed and supported me throughout this work.

Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to key informants of this study, especially officials of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly and the Town and Country Planning Department. God bless you all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

CHAPTER 2.

THE LITERATURE REVIEW

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Section One

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, DISCUSSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACET	African Center for Economic Transformation
AMA	Accra Metropolitan Assembly
CBD	Central Business District
CWS	Cities without Slums
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SUF	Slum Upgrading Facility
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
TCPD	Town and Country Planning Department
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commission for Human Rights
UN-Habitat	United Nations Habitat
UNCSD	United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WBG	World Bank Group

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Across Sub-Saharan Africa, slums are perceived in different ways by different people. To the slum dweller it is home. To city authorities, they are blighted areas in the urban landscape that should be eliminated.

Slum conditions pose a major challenge to cities and municipal governments. In Sub Saharan Africa, these challenges range from squalid environmental conditions, overcrowding, poor housing conditions and exposure of slum residents to environmental hazards. The UN Habitat (2012), reports that the prevalence of slums is high in Sub-Saharan Africa where slum dwellers represent 62 percent of the urban population. In 2001, the number of people living in slums in Ghanaian cities were estimated to be 4,993,000 and growing at a rate of 1.8% per annum (Owusu, Mensah & Lund, 2008). Slums pose challenges to authorities in Ghana and elsewhere in Africa. These challenges include unsanitary conditions, poverty, crime and disease.

As a result of problems posed by slums in Ghana's capital, city authorities have adopted the bulldozer approach to address challenges posed by slums. Sodom and Gomorrah, a slum located in the heart of Accra, Ghana's capital city have for a very long time defied attempts by city authorities to be demolished until 2015 when a portion of the slum was bulldozed. The question remains why a major part of Sodom and Gomorrah resisted all attempts by authorities in Accra to be demolished. Further what factors enabled city authorities to successfully demolish a section of the slum? This work explores why Sodom and Gomorrah continues to exist and its benefits within the context of sustainable urban development.

1.2 The Problem

The Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) has been successful in demolishing slums like Mensah Guinea in the City but Sodom and Gomorrah have resisted all attempts at demolition and clearance. Since Sodom and Gomorrah has survived demolition attempts until recently when a significant section of it was demolished, the question remains, whether slum development can be promoted to contribute to sustainable urban development. This study explored the inability of the AMA to demolish Sodom and Gomorrah for such a very long period of time, and what factors contributed to the recent demolition of a section of the slum. The study also examined the role of Sodom and Gomorrah within the context of sustainable urban development. Specifically the study examined:

1. The historical evolution of slums in Ghana.

2. Why some slums are easier to demolish than others?

3. The challenges facing slum dwellers in S & G and how slum dwellers in S & G perceive themselves.

4. Challenges Sodom and Gomorrah pose to city authorities and city's reaction to slums.

5. The beneficial role of Sodom and Gomorrah in the city of Accra's sustainable development efforts.

6. How citizen participation and inclusion could be a major catalyst in the improvement of slums.

1.3 **Organization of the Study**

The entire study is divided into 5 chapters. Chronologically, Chapter 1 presents an overview of the study, the research problem, the goal and objectives of the study as well as the organization of the study. Chapter 2 provides a review of literature on the evolution of slums and

why they continue to exist, challenges posed by slums and how slum improvement based on citizen participation could be harnessed in achieving sustainable development. The design of the study is presented in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 provides the findings from the interviews and surveys conducted during the field work. Finally, Chapter 5 concludes the thesis with the discussion, summary and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviewed the evolution of slums in Sub-Saharan Africa with a focus on Ghana. National and local strategies to address the slum challenges focusing on slum clearance, its success and failures are examined. The importance of slum residents in slum upgrading is examined. Furthermore, the continuous existence of slums in Sub-Saharan Africa and the role of slums in promoting sustainable urban development is explored.

2.2 Definition of Slums

During an expert group meeting in Nairobi, in November 2002, authorities including planners, environmental activist and decision makers reached consensus on the definition of slums and tenure security. This group of experts defined slums as "a contiguous settlement with inadequate housing and basic services" (UN-Habitat, 2003a). Slums have come to include the vast informal settlements in cities of developing countries (UN-Habitat, 2003b). Arimah (2011), defined slums or squatter settlements as "residential districts created by the illegal occupation of land and largely in contravention of official building regulations". Ali and Sulaiman (2006), also defined informal or squatter settlements as "residential buildings built on "planned" and "unplanned" areas which do not have formal planning approval". These dwellings are characterized by low quality houses and lack adequate infrastructure and social services. The UN-Habitat (2007) defined a slum household as a group of individuals living under the same roof in an urban area who lack one or more of the following:

- Durable housing of a permanent nature that protects against extreme climate conditions.

4

- Sufficient living space which means not more than three people sharing the same room.

- Easy access to safe water in sufficient amounts at an affordable price.

- Access to adequate sanitation in the form of a private or public toilet shared by a reasonable number of people.

- Security of tenure that prevents forced evictions.

Based on the various definitions provided above, this work has adopted the following operational definition of slums. A slum can be defined as an area, either legally or illegally occupied by diverse group of people without access to safe water, adequate sanitation, secured tenure, and durable houses of permanent nature.

2.3 Evolution of Slums

Slums are known to exist in every nation on earth (Dinye &Acheampong, 2012). Even developed nations like the United States have witnessed the effects of slums. Jane Jacobs, in her book "the Death and Life of American Cities" described how the Morningside Heights in New York swiftly became a slum in the 1950s and was demolished (Jacobs, 1961). Adam Suttles referred to the Addams neighborhood to be one of the oldest slums in Chicago and further revealed that it was first settled around 1837 by relatively well-to-do citizens but by the 1880s, the area had been invaded by immigrants causing property values to fall and eventually compelling affluent residents to leave (Suttles, 1968).

Slum development in Sub Saharan African cities has been the result of several factors. Among these factors include; rural urban migration, conflict and civil war, poor urban planning and lack of secured tenure.

According to Costello, (1987) and Muwonge, (1980) the proliferation of slums in Sub Saharan Africa is the result of rapid urban growth resulting from rural urban migration. Arimah (2011) argues that much prominence is given to urbanization which is seen as the driving force of slum proliferation in Africa. The population of most African countries around the 1950s was approximately 15%, however there has been a dramatic increase in urban residents to 38.7% between 1950 and 2007 (United Nations, 2008). Figure 1 below provides further explanation as to why people move from the rural areas to the urban centers in search for better opportunities.

Figure 1. Inequality, Poverty and Slum Formation
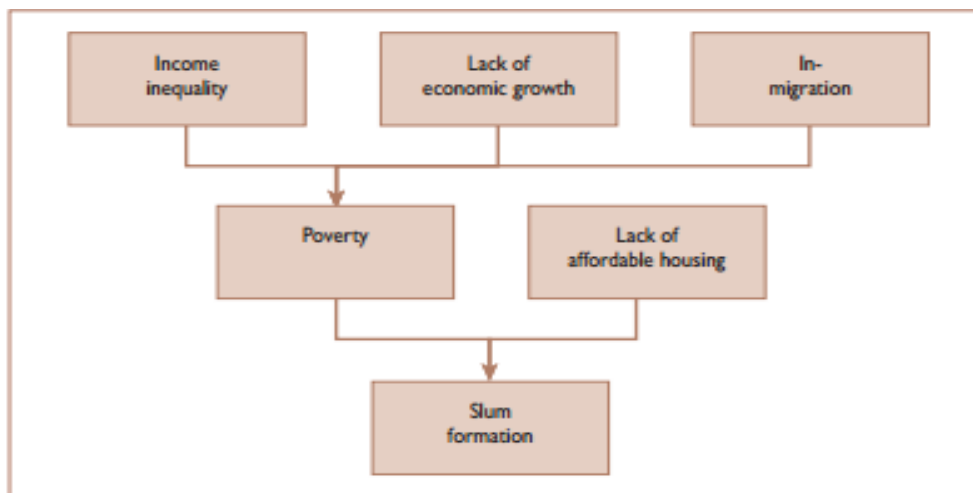
 Source: UN-Habitat, 2003

From Figure 1 above, income inequality and lack of economic growth induces most people in the rural areas to migrate into the urban centers. Absence of affordable housing coupled with urban poverty compels low income earners to squat on vacant or public land. Unfortunately, rural to urban migration has resulted in an increase in poverty levels in urban areas in Africa. The urban share of poverty increased from 24.3% in 1993 to 30.2% in 2002 (Chen & Ravallion, 2007).

Sule (1990), explained that the problem of housing in Lagos (Nigeria) has been due in part to the alarming rate of in migration into the city. Migrants from the rural areas often move to the

urban centers with the goal of harnessing perceived economic potentials. Even though economic opportunities exist (especially in the informal sector) the increasing rate of migrants coupled with shortage of affordable housing has resulted in the rapid growth of squatter settlements. These settlements offer affordable housing and a lower cost of living. Besides economic reasons, political conflict also influences rural urban migration with cases in point being the occurrence of civil conflict in Angola and Mozambique causing several people to flee into the urban centers in the 1980s (UN-Habitat, 2007).

Poverty in the developing world has for long been uniquely associated with rural areas and has increasingly become urbanized (UN-Habitat, 2003c). The UN-Habitat (2007) reports that rapid rural urban migration intensifies slum formation. The logic is that, slums and poverty are closely related and mutually reinforcing (UN-Habitat, 2003a). About 70 million people move yearly from rural areas into urban centers in search for better opportunities; however most of them end up in slums and are forced into poverty (Worldvision, 2012). Rapid urbanization and poverty are the major factors which cause people to live in impoverished and informal settlements called slums, hence creating a continuity for the existence of slums (Worldvision, 2012). For instance in Nigeria, slum areas are a locus of poverty where factors that enhance slum development, for instance, low income earnings further explain why six to 10 people would live in a room (Bobadoye & Fakere, 2013). As previously indicated, there is a wide disparity in development between the rural areas and the urban centers of most Sub Saharan African countries. Colonialism is described to be of the dominant causative factors (Ocheje, 2007).

The advent of colonialism and the creation of cities along the coastal areas of most West African countries set the pace for urbanization. Ocheje (2007) revealed that, the development strategies of the colonialist (Europeans) were urban-based, mainly within the coastal areas to the

7

detriment of rural areas. Cities were developed to promote the export of raw materials from African to Metropolitan Europe. This urban-biased development, which concentrated services (i.e. schools, jobs, banks, paved roads, health posts, etc.) to the neglect of rural areas resulted in the gradual movement of rural people into the urban centers to pursue of socio-economic opportunities. This trend still continues. The World Bank (2013) reported that developing countries must be prepared to house an additional 2.7 billion people between now and 2050 due to the influx of migrants from the rural areas to the urban centers in search for jobs and opportunities to access social services. However, the lack of adequate and affordable housing force these migrants to live in slums. These slums are characterized by poor housing, insufficient living space, lack of secure tenure, poor access to water and lack of sanitation facilities (WorldVision, 2012). In Kenya, 60% of the population in the capital city (Nairobi) live in slums (Oxfam GB, 2009).

Political turmoil and tribal conflict have been characteristic of most sub Saharan African countries for a long time. The aftermath of these circumstances often means the death and displacement of thousands of people. In order to survive and make a living, displaced persons migrate either internally (within their own country) or externally (to neighboring countries) and settle on either private or public lands as squatters. Kenya is ranked 7th in Africa in terms of numbers of internally displaced persons often caused by politically instigated ethnic clashes, conflicts among communities, droughts and floods (KHRC, 2007). This has resulted in the swelling up of the population of slum residents of Kibera in Kenya. The ethnic clashes and civil wars in the Northern regions of Ghana which endangered more than 1,000 combat related deaths and the displacement of 1,000s of people between 1980 and 1995 (Johnsson, 2007) led to an influx of displaced persons to the south of the country. Most of the displaced persons relocated and settled

in parts of Kumasi and Accra especially in Sodom and Gomorrah (Grant, 2006: Paller, 2014 and Peoples Dialogue Ghana, 2009)

Evolution of slums and squatting in most sub Saharan African countries have been attributed to high cost of affordable and decent accommodations and a deficit in the affordable housing supply. This has left the urban poor with no choice but to squat illegally on public or private land. Coupled with this is the absence of the right to land ownership or secured tenure.

Secured tenure based upon the right to land ownership. The UN-Habitat defines secure tenure as the right of all individuals and groups to effective protection by the state against unlawful evictions (UN-Habitat, 2003a). According to Sheuya (2008), the World Bank estimated that between 30% and 50% of urban residents in the developing world had no legal documentation to show that they had tenure security in 2003. Slums are occupied by individuals belonging to several households. Tenure security, as revealed by Nyametso (2010) can improve housing conditions of slum dwellers. The rationale is that, granting slum residents right to land ownership with laid down standards will empower them to develop their property. Unfortunately, slums have evolved and continue to spread in a haphazard manner due to lack of secured tenure. Furthermore, a major factor which causes the urban poor to live in slums is deficit in housing supply. According to Noppen (2007), one billion city residents live in slums. In Kenya, 22% of the population live in cities with urban population growth rate averaging 4.2% every year, with this increase Noppen estimates that Nairobi requires at least 120,000 new housing units to meet demand, however only 35,000 homes are built every year (Noppen, 2007). This has resulted in an increase in the population of slum communities such as the Kibera Slums in Kenya.

The evolution of slums in Sub Saharan Africa and the perceived challenges slums posed to city authorities has resulted in state and local governments addressing these challenges differently.

9

2.4 State and Municipal Government Reaction to Slums

Across Sub Saharan Africa, the reaction of state and municipal government to slum proliferation have focused on slum upgrading programs, resettlement or relocation programs and repressive options such as forced eviction and demolition. The mechanism are further discussed below.

2.4.1 Slum Upgrading Programs

In the 1970's and 80s, most African governments adopted comprehensive programs which focused on slum improvement through the provision of infrastructure such as electricity, water, sanitation, sewage facilities, roads, street lighting, and community facilities such as schools and healthcare facilities. In order to institutionalize these programs, the World Bank and the UN-Habitat introduced two main programs; Cities Without Slums (CWS) and Slum Upgrading Facility (SUF) (Arimah, 2011). The CWS program focused on poverty reduction by providing finance, jobs, improved governance and city management. The SUF was established with the objective of mobilizing local funds for slum upgrading. Unfortunately these programs failed due to the meagerness of finance for slum upgrading, insecurity of tenure and socio economic impacts including; unsanitary conditions, violence and lawlessness (Dinye and Acheampong, 2013).

2.4.2 Resettlement Program and Demolition

Resettlement programs are intended to relocate evicted households to alternative locations. Arimah (2011), reported that examples of slum resettlement programs are rare in Africa, but focused on the resettlement of slum dwellers from the Brasilia to Samambaia in Brazil between the 1980s and the early 1990s. The rareness of resettlement programs in Africa is supported by Gulyani (2002); his work examined Cameroon's Nylon project where out of 3,700 households

who had been displaced, only 20% were resettled thereby causing the world bank to cancel loans hence resulting in the demise of the project in 1994.

Arimah (2011), described the case in Zimbabwe where the government on May 25th 2005 commenced the demolition and burning of slums in Harare and other cities. This action resulted in the demolition of 92,460 housing structures and this unleashed economic hardship and humanitarian crises. Furthermore, war against the environmental indiscipline views slums as blighted areas and slum dwellers as polluting the urban environment. This approach stirred military regimes in Nigeria to evict over 300,000 inhabitants of the Marouko slums in Lagos Island by State government (Nwaka, 2005).

Slum demolition has been discredited and described as a nuisance which can exacerbate the already existing problem of urban housing shortage (Sule, 1990). Obafemi and Odubo (2013), explained that a sudden and complete clearance may be expensive, counterproductive or worsen housing problems. The United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development (UNCSD) described forced eviction, which leads to clearance to be unlawful; in addition evicted populations often return to the same location (UNCSD, 2004), hence defeating the very purpose of slum clearance.

Presently, particular attention is paid to slum upgrading, due to the consistent failure and criticisms against demolition of slums. Slum upgrading programs in most African countries in the 1980s were funded by the World Bank. Unlike other interventions, such as slum upgrading programs in Kenya, ended with minimum loss of physical assets, disruption of livelihoods and social support systems (Arimah, 2014).

2.5 Slum Clearance

Nyametso (2012) explored the social, political, economic, spatial and environmental problems created by slum dwellers and squatter settlements which compel governments to demolish slums. According to Bagheri (2012), these problems include congestion, insanitary conditions, lack of basic amenities such as water, sewerage and waste disposal. The severe impact of these problems induce most city governments to rely on slum clearance as an alternative approach to address these problems.

Slum clearance is prevalent in Africa and continues to be controversial. Often, there are concerns as to, temporary measures to house the millions of slum dwellers should clearance take place. There are issues regarding loss of jobs as most slum dwellers work within the slum neighborhood and lack of compensation to evicted squatters if needed (Amnesty International, 2009). Nigeria presents a unique example. Amnesty International revealed that more than 2 million people were forcibly evicted and their homes demolished to be replaced by offices and houses in Lagos, Abuja and Port Harcourt in Nigeria in 2000 (Amnesty International, 2011). Even though the covenant on political, cultural and economic rights, states unambiguously the rights of persons not to be forcefully evicted (UNCSD, 2004), most of these forced evictions and demolition took place outside of the legal framework without compensation and adequate alternative housing (Amnesty International, 2011). More often than not, unlawful evictions do not work because evicted populations return to the same location or an adjacent area (UNCSD, 2004).

Slum clearance has severe impact on slum dwellers despite its success in getting rid of squatters and their belongings. The government of Zimbabwe demolished and burned slums in Harare, lasting over a period of seven weeks. This action resulted in the demolition of 92,460 houses and created massive humanitarian crises and severe economic hardship on slum dwellers.

(Arimah, 2011). In the aftermath of this demolition exercise, about 700,000 people lost their homes, source of livelihood, and further resulted in the destruction of the informal sector which provided 40% of all forms of employment (Arimah, 2011). Nwaka (2005) explained that Nigeria experimented with numerous approaches including slum clearance in controlling the spread of slums in the 1960s, 70s and 80s; however, it caused much distress and social dislocation.

In the recent past, demolition of slums have been criticized by multilateral organizations including Amnesty International and the UN-Habitat. Demolition of slums have dire consequences if not properly executed. Particular attention must be given to pre notification of slum residents about the government's intention to demolish, relocation measures and the need for compensation if needed. More often than not, demolition of slums excludes these measures, hence resulting in violence, homelessness, loss of job, conversion of other vacant lots into squatter settlements, increase in social vices and other issues.

In Ghana, slum clearance has gained much recognition. For instance, in an effort to battle the spread of cholera which had escalated due to irresponsible disposal of solid and liquid waste in the City of Accra, the AMA razed the Mensah Guinea slums and received advice from the Chief of Ga Mashie to implement a similar action at Sodom and Gomorrah which is equally consumed with squalid conditions (Myjoyonline.com, 2014). However, it was not anticipated that Sodom and Gomorrah would still stand and continued to flourish until 2015 when parts of it were razed by the AMA. Despite the effectiveness of demolition, it is associated with several challenges such as economic and humanitarian crises.

Sodom and Gomorrah, the case under study after defying all demolition attempts, the AMA had portions of it demolished on the 20th of June 2015 after a severe flood resulted in a gas explosion leading to the death of over 200 people. According to residents, they were not informed

of the city's decision. Even though the exercise was successful, it was not without violence and casualty. Slum residents of Sodom and Gomorrah responded in violent protest. They burned car tires in the streets of Accra, marched towards the President's home and demanded for an immediate action to be taken by the President. See Figure 2.

Figure 2: Demolition of Parts of Sodom and Gomorrah

Source: Pulse.com.gh (Published 21/06/2015 by Albert Benefo Buabeng)

Figure 3: Residents Burn Tires which Sparks Fire in the Heat of the Demolition

Source: Thechronicle.com (Published 23/06/2015 by Bernice Bessey and Eric Oweridu)

Figure 4: Aftermath of Demolition (1)

Source: Pulse.com.gh (Published 21/06/2015 by Albert Benefo Buabeng)

Figure 5: Aftermath of Demolition (2)

Source: Pulse.com.gh (Published 21/06/2015 by Albert Benefo Buabeng)

Figure 6: Displaced Residents

Source: Pulse.com.gh (Published 21/06/2015 by Albert Benefo Buabeng)

Figure 7: Aftermath of Demolition

Source: Pulse.com.gh (Published 21/06/2015 by Albert Benefo Buabeng)

A similar event occurred in 2010, when a demolition warfare was conducted against residents of the Makoko slums in Lagos, Nigeria. Even though a notice was issued to residents for them to vacate in 72 hours, the time was very limited and no relocation arrangements were made for them (BBC, 2012). According to British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) reports, (2012), several residents did not know where they would sleep. In summary, slum clearance results in socio-economic, cultural and political consequences; this includes homelessness; growth of new slums; physical, psychological and emotional trauma; insecurity for the future; medical hardship; loss of livelihood; physical injury or death resulting from arbitrary violence, and loss of faith by victims in the legal and political systems (United Nations High Commission for Human Rights, 1993). Even though this leads to adverse consequnces, governments often provide justifications for their actions.

The questions arises as to whether governments have the basis to justify forced evictions and slum clearance. Ocheje (2006) asserts that governments normally offer official justifications such as the need to carry out developmental projects, implementation of urban redevelopment, the need to prevent evictees from being victims of natural hazards, and to construct facilities for international events. They argue that such projects will serve the needs of the general public. Unfortunately, slum dwellers are part of the general public and are, at the same time, evicted through slum clearance.

In spite of these justifications, slum clearance has received much criticism and failed to end slum proliferation. According to Ocheje, (2007), forced evictions which lead to slum clearance are associated with violence and violation of human rights. For instance, the declaration of Rainbow Town in Port Harcourt as government land in 1998 resulted in violent attacks on slum dwellers by residents of neighboring communities (Ocheje, 2007). Juma (2012), revealed that massive demolition of houses in Syokimau and squatter settlements near Wilson Airport in November 2011 in Kenya involved a major display of force and disruptive violence. Since the establishment of slums in Kenya, large scale demolition and forced evictions have occurred in a manner that contravenes international law (Amnesty International, 2009), For instance, Fact Sheet No. 5 of the Office of the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights states, "... The right to adequate housing [is] a basic human right ... people should be protected by law against unfair eviction from their homes or land" yet forced eviction and demolition continues to happen in varying proportions (OHCHR, 1996).

The UNCSD (2004) proposes that, the enactment of laws that prohibit eviction and demolition provides legal basis for the protection of citizens. Since legislation alone does not

ensure full protection, public officials, the courts and private developers must be sensitized to the unacceptable nature of slum demolition (UNCSD, 2004).

In conclusion, the problems posed by slum clearance to slum dwellers as presented in this section and the fact that slum clearance leads to the proliferation of new slums as revealed by Nwaka (2005), makes the pursuit of other interventionist approach including slum improvement very important. Any interventionist approach to slum improvement should focus on the participation of slum dwellers.

2.6 Citizen Participation and Slum Upgrading

According to Cities Alliance, slum improvement or upgrade is an integrated approach that emphasizes the improvement of housing, provision of potable water, sanitation and the reduction/prevention of crime, violence and poverty in slums (Cities Alliance, 2014). It has been found that slum upgrading is the most effective means of significantly improving the lives of slum dwellers (United Nations Commission for Sustainable Development, 2004). This is because slum upgrades result in multiple benefits including, fostering of inclusion; promoting economic development; improving quality of life through increased safety and security; improved living conditions and providing shelter for the poor (Cities Alliance, 2014).

The participatory process of upgrading slums has been acknowledged by the UN-Habitat, (2010) as the most effective method in addressing the problems faced by slum residents. Over the years, public policies have aimed at demolishing slums without taking into account the efforts of their inhabitants to resolve the very problems that slums generate (Bolay, 2006). According to African Center for Economic Transformation (2013), successful upgrading requires effective participation by affected communities. The rationale is that, community participation helps citizens

develop a sense of ownership and belonging during implementation (Natakun, 2013). From an urban perspective, "…participation is a process by which people, and especially disadvantaged people, influence resource allocation, policy and program formulation and implementation and are involved at different levels and degrees of intensity in the identification, timing, planning, design, implementation, evaluation, and post-implementation stages of development projects (Imparato & Ruster, 2003).

2.6.1 Benefits of Participating in Slum Upgrading

Participating in slum upgrading has varying degrees of benefits. The UN-Habitat (2003) noted that participating in slum upgrading enables the poor to play a role in improving their own living conditions through decision making and implementation of public policies. In an attempt to reduce poverty and upgrade slums in Kipsongo, a slum community in Kenya, a participatory approach was employed. MacPherson (2013) reported that the project was sponsored by the United Kingdom Department for International Development and locally led by a committee comprising of stakeholders including local government, development practitioners and the Kipsongo community. The project commenced with a survey which sought the needs of residents with regards to housing, infrastructure, access to land, social services and amenities (MacPherson, 2013).

This approach, according to MacPherson augmented partnerships among all stakeholders (private, public, civil society organizations, and slum dwellers), facilitated access to information and participation in decision making and implementation. This explanation brings to bear a cycle of participation which fosters poverty reduction, improvement in sanitation, and economic growth at the local level, legitimizes the community, nurtures partnerships, and minimizes crime and violence (MacPherson, 2013). This is presented in Figure 8 below.

Figure 8.

The Participatory Cycle
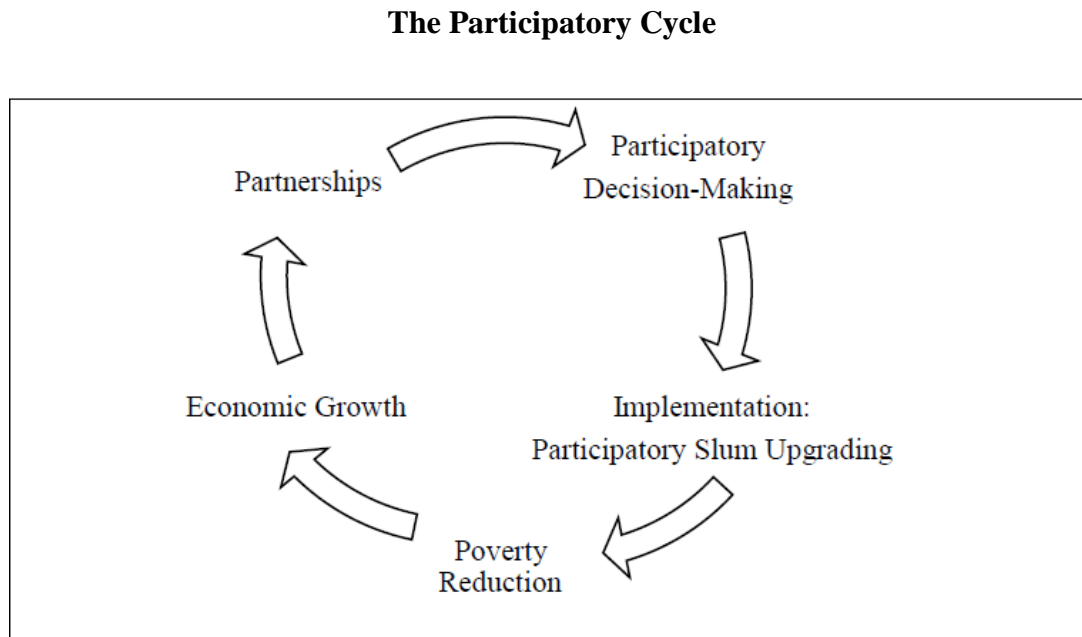
Source: MacPherson, 2013

Majela (2009) noted that this practice occurred in Kipsongo where the community is currently included in municipal planning.

Furthermore, participating in slum upgrading helps in sharing and utilization of human capital of residents who might have developed strategic approaches in overcoming poverty and other forms of difficulty in slum settlements.

2.6.2 Challenges Associated with Participation

In spite of the progress made, the participatory process is beset with challenges. MacPherson (2013) identified potential challenges and argues that if these are not addressed, the result will be the underachievement of poverty reduction. These problems include; a top-down approach in planning, diverse interests and financial constraints. Most importantly, participation is not a guarantee towards the attainment of poverty reduction. This is essentially the result of the

top-down approach in planning which focuses on decision making by governments and experts without including the experiential knowledge of slum residents (Mansuri & Rao, 2003). Normally, the exclusion of residents from decision making results in resentments and lack of support for the implementation of projects. If planning is indeed participatory, then its very purpose is defeated whenever residents are denied participation.

In creating and implementing a successful slum improvement plan, it is impossible to implement it with a top-down approach with the goal of meeting specific needs of slum dwellers (Petern, 2011). Since one-size does not fit all, local participation becomes valuable through a bottom up approach where locals take part in management and decision making in meeting prioritized needs (Petern, 2011).

The second challenge associated with participation has to do with the diversity of interests, desires and capabilities of slum residents (MacPherson, 2013). Decision making in connection with development projects must take in to account all of the diverse needs and interests of the various groups and residents within a slum settlement. Overcoming this hurdle often requires consensus building among the various factions (ethnic groups, government, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), private agencies).

The UN-Habitat (2003), has identified misuse of financial resources at the national and local level as well as lack of coordination and corporation among the various actors involved in the upgrade process as a challenge associated with participation. Under this approach, wasteful spending and the top down approach in planning which excluded some of the actors, especially slum dwellers from actively participating in the planning process, thwarts the effectiveness of participation. Arimah (2011) emphasizes that low levels of investment in participation and hasty

planning that allowed for no input from slum dwellers resulted in lack of ownership and unwillingness to pay for improved services.

In summary, "Sustainable urban development will only be possible if we concentrate on solving the problems of the majority of urban populations in ways that make use of their own creativity and involve them in decision-making" (Bolay, 2012). This warrants a closer look at slum upgrading and some successful upgrading schemes.

2.6.3 Successful Slum Upgrading Schemes

Arimah (2011) explains that slum clearance necessitated the need to pursue slum upgrading. Most African countries in the 1980s pursued slum upgrading programs which were funded by the World Bank (Arimah, 2013). These programs were designed to improve the various degrees of decay (land degradation, poor sanitation, spread of diseases, lack of amenities etc.) in slum areas through the provision of basic services and infrastructure such as water, drainage system, road and street light. In 2003, a collaborative slum upgrading program was initiated between the UN-Habitat, Cities alliance and the government of Kenya (UN-Habitat, 2007). This program focused on developing site for the layout of 600 units with funding from government and establishment of a slum upgrading fund (UN-Habitat, 2007). The UN-Habitat (2007) reported that the success of this program was the result of the inclusion of several parties (slum residents, government, NGOS, financial institutions) which helped to increase government's political commitment to slum upgrading.

In Uganda, a similar approach was adopted through private public partnerships where government with support from donors and the private sector undertook housing projects to meet the needs of the urban poor (UNDP, 2008). This project resulted in the construction of 400 houses

in Jinja, 460 houses in Mbale under the Malukhu slum-upgrading project which further provided benefits such as increased security of tenure, increased employment opportunities and improved housing conditions (UNDP, 2008). In spite of the success achieved, slum upgrading is confronted with challenges.

2.9 Sustainable Urban Development and Urban Slums

The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) defines sustainable development as that which "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCED, 1987). Essentially, this definition presents the notion of inter-generational equity where the present generation is required to make efficient and judicious use of today's resources for the benefit of posterity. From an urban perspective, sustainability is "the development of a city's physical structure and systems and its economic base in such a way as to enable it to provide a satisfactory human environment with minimal demands on resources and minimal adverse impacts on the environment" (Richardson, 1981).

The gradual increase in population growth, especially in the urban centers and its adverse impact on the environment makes the need to develop and preserve resources to meet the socio-economic needs of posterity very relevant. The UNCSD (2004), reports that, in the coming decades, almost all global population growth will occur in the cities of the developing world. At the same time, the number of slum dwellers is projected to increase to two billion in the next 30 years (UNCSD, 2004). The need to improve the lives of slum dwellers through regularization of tenure, affordable access to basic infrastructure and services such as, support for micro enterprises, remunerative employment opportunities must be created to integrate slum dwellers into the broader community (UNCSD, 2004).

24

According to Harris (2003), the concept of sustainable development has three major elements which includes economic, environment and equity (social issues). The World Bank Group revealed that, meeting the needs of the future depends on how well we balance social, economic, and environmental objectives or needs when making decisions today (WBG, 2001). Table 1 below presents the three dimensions of sustainable development and their features.

Table 1. Dimensions and Features of Sustainable Development

Dimensions	Features
Economic	1. Services 2. Household Needs 3. Industrial Growth 4. Efficient Use of Labor 5. Agricultural Growth 6. Jobs and Income
Environment	1. Biodiversity 2. Natural Resources 3. Carrying Capacity 4. Ecosystem Integrity 5. Clean Air and Water
Social	1. Equity 2. Participation 3. Empowerment 4. Social Mobility 5. Cultural Preservation

Source: WBG (2001) – What is Sustainable Development?

Harris, (2003) maintains that it is difficult to balance the three dimensions and their features as illustrated in the diagram because the pursuit of one may affect the achievement of the other. For instance, industrial growth might conflict with preservation of natural resources (WBG, 2001); provision of adequate food and water supplies may require changes in land use that will decrease

biodiversity (Harris, 2003). Despite these difficulties, the right choices must be made by providing

the right capital, conserving the ecosystem and natural resources, providing social services such

as health care, educational needs and equal grounds for citizen participation in the political process

(Harris, 2003). The World Bank Group also proposed that, conflicts among the dimensions of

sustainability is possible in the short run, however responsible use of natural resources will ensure

that resources are available for use in the long run (WBG, 2001). See Table 2.

Table 2. Sustainable Development Applications

Characteristic	Strategy	Pillar of Sustainability
Mobility/Accessibility	Enhanced public transit and physical mobility.	Economy
Attracts and retains investment	Reinvest to make a more sustainable place.	Economy
Educated population	Invest in education and orient training towards a sustainable future.	Social
Green spaces & Biodiversity	Developing a "green grid". Protection of open spaces.	Environment
Healthy population	Greater emphasis on public health.	Social
Leadership	Take long-term decisions outside political cycles. Attain support of champions with political and economic power. Remove blame culture.	Institutional
Local ownership	Creation of viable public private partnerships. City and community based entrepreneurialism. Stronger role for chambers of commerce.	Social
Resources	Transportation of goods and people is key.	Environmental

Safe & Secure	Safety for all. Community engagement (and ownership) of projects. Security of resources (water, energy, food).	Social

Source: Sustainable cities: A vision of our landscape (Thornton, 2011)

In addition to the above, the concept of compact cities were common in the past and have become more prevalent in contemporary times.

2.9.1 Achieving Sustainable Development

As presented, the concept of sustainability emphasizes an interconnection between three forces i.e. economy, environment and equity (social issues). Most urban slums are already characterized by strong socio-economic benefits ranging from easy access to informal jobs, affordable housing, strong family ties, source of revenue to city government through taxation and other benefits. In their work, "The Ecology of Place," Beatly and Manning, (1997) note that sustainable places:

- Acknowledge fundamental ecological limits.

- Are restorative and regenerative.

- Strive for higher quality of life

- Emphasize a sense of place.

- Are integrative and holistic

- Imply a new ethical posture.

- Strive to be equitable and just.

- Stress the importance of community

- Reflect and promote a full cost accounting of the social environmental costs of public and private decisions.

The needs of the present and future generations can be met if existing sustainable features in slum communities are extensively improved. Most sub Saharan African countries have made progress by creating an equitable environment where slum dwellers are empowered to take part in decision making towards the improvement of their settlements. According to the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, continuous increase in urban population requires the provision of low cost housing to meet future demand, improving access to land by minimizing excessive land regulation, providing tenure security to the poor, improvements in access to water, sanitation, energy and transport services (UNCSD, 2004). Developing slum settlements makes them attractive for investment which has the likelihood of creating additional job opportunities for slum residents there by expanding the informal sector and paving way for sustainable development.

2.10 Conclusions

This section provides a summary of literature that considers how slums develop and how they can be improved. It reveals shortcomings in existing policy and further establishes how these shortcomings can be addressed based on the objectives of this study.

From the narrative, slums in Sub Saharan Africa and its effects on slum dwellers as well as municipal governments have received different responses from government. State and municipal government's reaction have often focused on slum upgrading programs, resettlement or relocation programs and repressive options such as forced eviction and demolition. It was observed that, despite the adoption of these approaches by successive governments, slums in Sub-Saharan Africa continue to exist.

Slums in Sub Saharan Africa continue to blossom due to poverty induced rural urban migration, a deficient supply of affordable housing, poverty in urban centers, political conflict and civil wars which often induced rural urban migration. While slum clearance was noted to be the preferred method of government in minimizing slum proliferation, its effects on slum dwellers were overwhelming. Often, it leads to the conversion of other vacant lands into squatter settlements, causes violence and emotional distress, loss of job and homelessness. From the narrative, slum improvement and participation were discovered to be effective approaches towards minimizing the spread of slums and improving the lives of squatters.

Particular attention was paid to slum improvement and the concept of participation. Based on referenced success stories, slum improvement provides basic infrastructural amenities such as portable water, roads, good housing systems etc. The efficiency and effectiveness of slum upgrading is also dependent on participation by several actors including slum dwellers, municipal government, NGOs, financial institutions and multilateral organizations. The literature review revealed that participation by squatters provided valuable information regarding the challenges they face; and this combines their experiential knowledge with the technical knowledge of experts to help in improving squatter settlements. However this approach, while successful in some areas, have failed in other areas due to hasty planning which allowed for no input and in some cases total exclusion of slum dwellers from the planning process. Slum upgrading as an interventionist approach was equally identified to be characterized by obstacles which included low levels of investment in participation, corruption, lack of commitment by state actors and unwillingness of slum dwellers to pay for improved services. For this reason, the existence of slums continues to pose major problems in Sub Saharan Africa. Overcoming these issues is not well discussed in the literature.

Finally, an assessment was conducted about sustainable urban development and urban slums. Emphasis was laid on the three arms of sustainability; environment, economy and equity. As presented in the literature, most slum communities already have flourishing economic activities and stronger family relations among squatters. However, slum improvement will maintain a balance among the three E's by preserving the natural environment, promoting policies that revitalizes the communities' economy and will ensuring equity and just by planning with the interest of the public; thus provision of affordable housing, public health, community food systems, and ensuring that land use plans affect agricultural preservation. The pursuit of this agenda will not only benefit the present generation, but will provide enough room to cater for increasing future generations.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter of the study focuses on the description of the study area, the research design as well as the sample selection. It further discusses the method of data collection and analysis, examined the validity and reliability of the study, and concluded with the limitations of the study.

3.2 The Study Area

Sodom & Gomorrah is located near the Korle Lagoon in the capital city of Accra, Ghana. As the urban hub of the country, the city of Accra accounts for 1,848,614 (GSS, 2012) of Ghana's population. Sodom and Gomorrah also known as Old Fadama "occupies 31.3 hectares of land along the Odaw River and the Korle Lagoon" (Peoples Dialogue Ghana, 2010). See Figures 11 and 12. The study area lies in the northwestern section of the city of Accra's Central Business District (CBD), with the Odaw River, the Agbogbloshie drain and the Abossey Okai road serving as approximate settlement boundaries (Afenah, 2009). The area is less than one kilometer from Accra's CBD and consists of a triangular-shaped land region, which covers approximately 146 hectares (Grant, 2006). Nyametso estimates that Sodom and Gomorrah accommodated 30,000 people in 2004 (Nyametso, 2012).

Figure 9. Study Area: Sodom and Gomorrah

Source: Housing the Masses, 2010

Figure 10. View of Sodom and Gomorrah, Accra, Ghana

Source: https://philipkumah.wordpress.com/page/3/
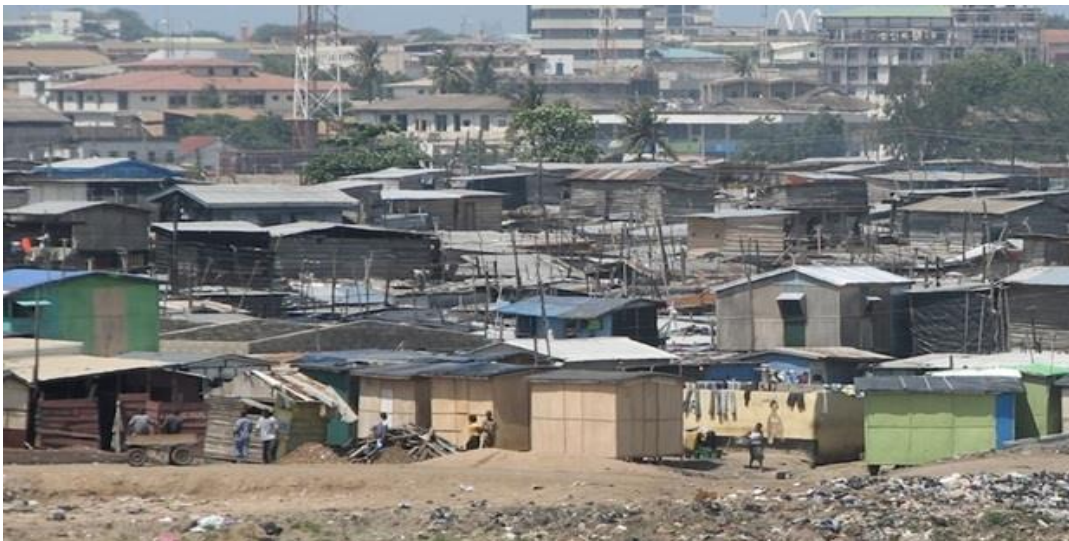
Figure 11. Location of Study Area
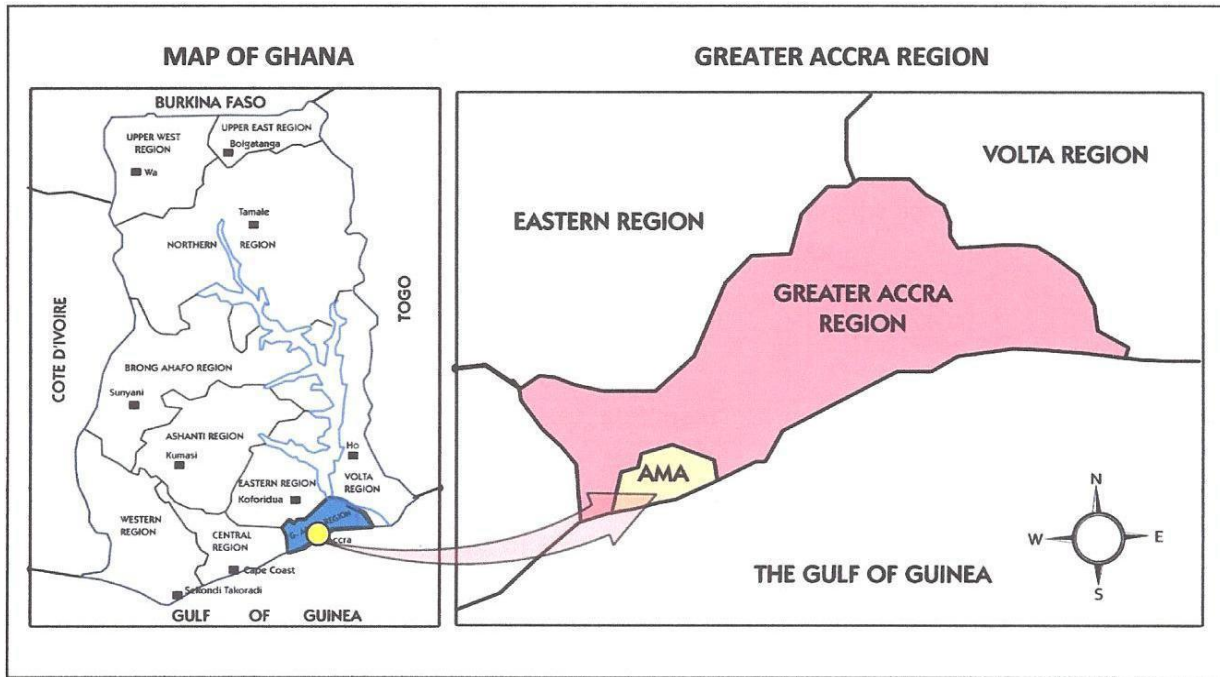
Figure 12. Sodom and Gomorrah
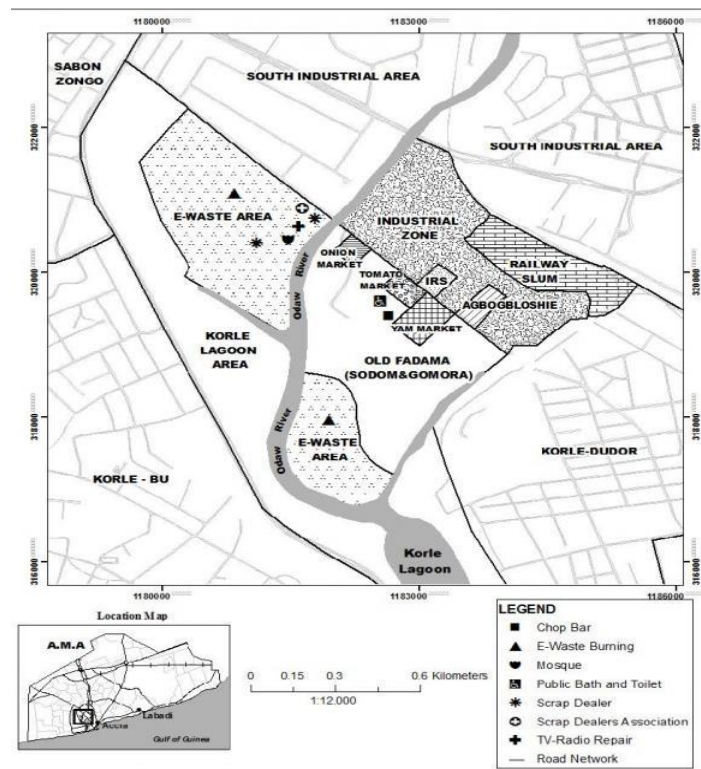
The entire area is public land and was acquired through several executive instruments including Accra industrial estates ordinance No. 28 (1956), (Nyametso, 2012). Sodom and Gomorrah was formed upon the relocation of squatters from Osu (a suburb of Accra) for the construction of the Non Aligned Movement in Accra in the 1990s. In 2009, Sodom and Gomorrah had a population of 79,684 with a population density of 2,424.18 persons per hectare (Peoples Dialogue Ghana, 2010). Residents of the slum are from various regions of Ghana and outside Ghana. Migrants from the Northern part of Ghana constitute 65.9%, Volta region 10%, while those from the Eastern region constitute 5% of the population. Non Ghanaian residents are from Niger, Togo, Ivory Coast, and Burkina Faso.

3.3 The Research Design

A case study research method was adopted for this study. According to Bromley (1990), case study is a **"**systematic inquiry into an event or a set of related events which aims to describe and explain the phenomenon of interest". The rationale is that, it involves in-depth interviews of participants and key informants Zukar (2009) and "allows the researcher to explore individuals or organizations, simple through complex interventions, relationships, communities, or programs" (Yin, 2003, p 1-2).

The case study method is appropriate for this study because it is "mainly suitable for research seeking to answer "how" and "why" questions (Yin 2003) which are relevant for providing answers to the research questions in this study. The purpose of this approach would explore the following;

- Why some slums are easier to demolish than others?

- What challenges confront slum dwellers and problems posed by slums to the Accra Metropolitan City Authorities?

- What has been the reaction of city authority to slums in S&G?

- What role can S&G play in the city of Accra's development efforts?

- Can citizen participation and inclusion could be a major catalyst in the improvement of slums.

3.4 Sampling

A purposive sampling method was used to select targeted respondents constituting a sample size of 160. This provided a good cross-section of stakeholders including community residents and government officials. Data gained from their survey responses and interviews enhanced the accuracy and reliability of the study in an efficient manner. The reasons for this preferred sample size was due to time and financial constraints as well as apathy expressed by residents from participating in the survey. Residents noted that researchers visit the site each year yet there is no improvement. Hence they saw no need participating in the survey. Also, the fact that they resided in an illegal settlement discourage them from participating. The composition of the sample size and its breakdown are shown in the Table 3.

Table 3. Targeted Respondents and No. of Participants

Targeted Respondents	No. of Participants
Slum dwellers	100
Opinion leaders (Heads of slum dwellers associations)	20
Neighboring Residents	20
City officials (AMA & TCPD)- Planning Officer, Metro Coordinating Director, Development Control Officer, Deputy Director Administration	20

3.5 Data Collection and Analysis

In collecting data for this study, the following instruments were used; face to face interviews using questionnaires, focus group discussions, field observations and photography. These instruments and their relevance to the study are further examined below. Also explanations regarding how the collected data were analyzed are provided.

3.5.1 Questionnaires and Interviews

Due to the size of the population of Sodom & Gomorrah (79,684) and the fact that more in depth information were needed from government officials, the use of questionnaires and interviews to a representative cross-section of stakeholders was deemed appropriate. According to Kendell (2008), while questionnaires can provide evidence of patterns amongst large populations, qualitative interviews often gather more in-depth insights on participant attitudes, thoughts, and actions. Closed and open-ended questions were administered to slum dwellers and neighboring residents of the study area.

Questionnaires for slums dwellers and neighboring residents were interpreted in the local dialect and responses transcribed in English. These questions obtained demographic information about slum dwellers, how they perceive themselves, challenges they face in the slum, why they chose to live in the slums and benefits they derive from living in Sodom and Gomorrah.

Officials of the AMA and the TCPD were subjected to face-to-face interview with the use of structured questionnaires and their responses documented. The interview sought answers on questions regarding the evolution of slums, how city authorities perceive slum dwellers, how some slums e.g. Mensah Guinea slums were easily demolished, government's reaction to slums and the

city's goal for Sodom and Gomorrah. The surveys and interview questions are included in the Appendix.

3.5.2 Focus Group Discussion

The views, thoughts and experiences of opinion leaders (leaders of the various slum dwellers associations) as well as leaders of the various ethnic groups in Sodom and Gomorrah were sought through discussions. This was conducted by holding two focus group discussions with each comprising of eight to ten participants between the second and sixth February 2015.

3.5.3 Field Observation

Field observation is the systematic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study (Marshall and Rossman, 1989). The reason for selecting this technique was to enable the researcher discover what is happening on the field, make comparative analysis between the general observations of the study area and responses from informants so as to determine consistency between actual situation per observation and responses from respondents. Primary focus was on the gender and ethnic background of occupants, the existing situation and what is being done, environmental conditions, economic activities and the physical outlook of the area.

3.5.4 Photography

In order to substantiate information obtained from the field study, photographs of the study area were taken to support field observation regarding living conditions of slum dwellers in Sodom and Gomorrah. Shwartz (1989), notes that, photographic records reproduce the reality in front of the camera's lens, yielding an unmediated and unbiased visual report. The sources and techniques of data collection are presented in Table 4

Table 4. Sources and Techniques for Data Collection

Primary Sources	Data	Techniques
Slum dwellers and slum conditions	• Challenges facing slum dwellers • Slum dwellers perception about themselves	Face to face interview Field observation Photography
Opinion Leaders (Heads of tribal groups)	• Evolution and persistence of slums	Focus group discussion
High and Middle income residents	• Perception about slums	Face to face interview
Officials of the AMA and City	• Slum evolution • Why some slums are easy to demolish and others are not • City's reaction to slums • City's perception about slums • Contribution of slums to sustainable development	Face to face interview
Secondary Sources	-	Literature review
Books	Evolution and effects of slums	Literature review
Published Articles	Urban slums and sustainable development	Literature review
Journals	Slum demolition and concept of participation	Literature review
Written Thesis	Why do slums exist	Literature review

3.5.5 Analysis

The basic software used in the data entry and analysis was the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 20.00, to compile data for a descriptive analysis of dichotomous and Likert scale questions. In addition, the researchers categorized and synthesized open-ended responses based upon issues.

3.6 Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability plays a dominant role in every qualitative research. Lincoln and Guba (1985), pose the question, "How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences that the research findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to?". The response is that, evaluation of studies then becomes an essential pre requisite to the application of findings (Long & Johnson, 2000). They argue that, "Failure to access the worth of a study, the soundness of method, and accuracy of its findings, and integrity of conclusions made, could have dire consequences" (Long & Johnson, 2000).

Hammersley (1992), provides that, an account is valid or true if it represents accurately those features of the phenomena that it is intended to describe, explain or theorize. In effect, the validity of information is its relevance and appropriateness to research questions and the directness and strength of its association with the concepts under scrutiny (Pierce, 2007).

On the other hand, reliability is defined as "the degree of consistency or dependability with which an instrument measures the attribute it is designed to measure" (Polit & Hungler 1995, p. 651). Essentially, the goal of testing the validity and reliability of this study has to with, establishing the trustworthiness and consistency of data.

The research also establishes the validity and reliability of this study adopting the triangulation method. Triangulation refers to the use of more than one approach in the investigation of a research question in order to enhance confidence in the ensuing findings (Bryman, 2004). In order to establish trust and consistency, data were gathered from three sets of respondents. These respondents include slum dwellers and their leadership, Government officials and high and middle income residents who lived adjacent to Sodom and Gomorrah. Furthermore, a multi-data collection

approach (as presented under Section 3.4) were employed with the goal of ensuring consistency between data collected and actual situation on the ground.

3.7 Limitations of the Study

The adoption of a case study method, with particular focus on Sodom and Gomorrah makes it difficult to make inferences. This is because the case under study involved slum dwellers in an illegal slum settlement who were unwilling to be open about their experiences, hence making it difficult for generalizations.

Another limitation of the study is with regards to the use of many open-ended questions. Delva, Kirby, Knapper (2002) contend that surveys distributed with time constraints were noted as challenging, since people who struggle with real or perceived time are less likely to respond. Hence some respondents did not answer the open ended questions. Also key respondents were limited in their range of responses due to particular response category sought by the survey questions. Finally, while focus groups represent a cross section of the community and their opinions may not be representative of the entire community.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents three sets of findings from residents and opinion leaders in Sodom and Gomorrah, neighboring high and middle income residents and government officials of the city of Accra. Section One presents the results of the survey on the socio-economic characteristics of the study area while Section Two presents findings regarding the opinion of respondents in connection with the following issues: problems faced by slum residents, why they chose to reside in Sodom and Gomorrah; benefits of slums and, potential slum upgrading and the use of participation to improve slums and promote a sustainable development.

Section One

4.2 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

4.2.1 Gender

The survey data revealed that 60.5% of the respondents in Sodom and Gomorrah were male's while 39.5% were females. See figure 13.

Figure 13. Gender of Residents of Sodom and Gomorrah
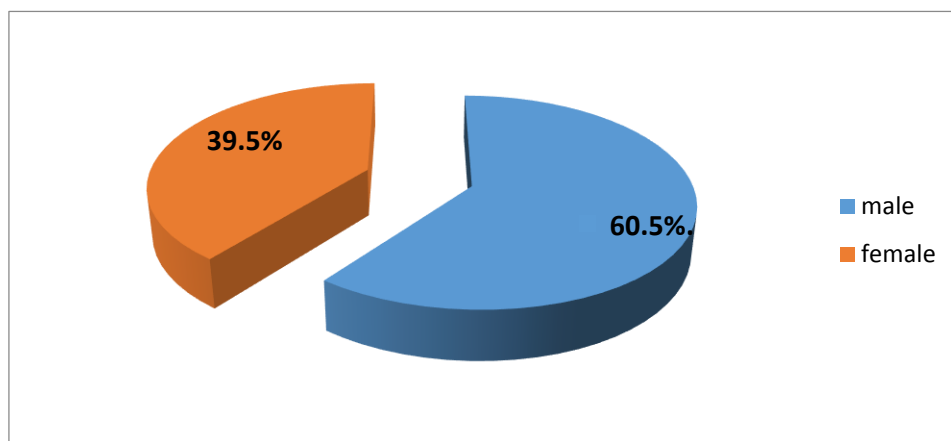
Source: Fieldwork, 2015

This result reveals the dominance of men (61%) over female (40%) residents of Sodom and Gomorrah. Nyametso (2010) also identified 72.5% of the respondents in Sodom and Gomorrah to be males while females constituted 27.5% of Sodom and Gomorrah's population.

The age distribution of residents in the study area vary. The study showed that Sodom and Gomorrah has an active population. About 28% of the population were aged 20 and 29. Also 23% fell within the ages of 30 and 39. Most of these age groups have informal sector jobs. According to residents who participated in this study, most of the profession in Sodom and Gomorrah are menial in nature and include auto mechanic, leatherwork, scrap metal dealership, escort delivery men who carry goods of customers who patronize the CBD and get paid for their services. See Table 5.

Table 5. Age group of respondents
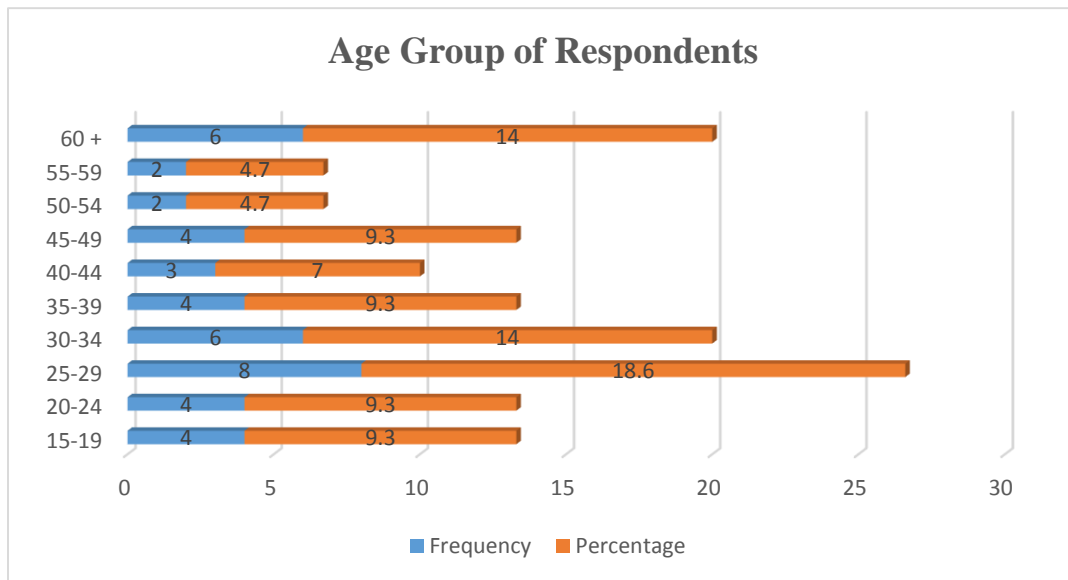
Source: Fieldwork, 2015

4.2.2 Ethnic Affiliation

A majority (53.5%) of the residents were identified as members of the Mole-Dagbani tribe who have relocated to Sodom and Gomorrah from the Northern region of Ghana. In spite of the dominance of Northerners in Sodom and Gomorrah, the area is also populated by the Akans who constitute 16.3% and the Ewes 7%. See Table 6.

Table: 6   Ethnic Affiliation of Respondents

Ethnicity	Frequency	Percent
Mole-Dagbani	23	53.5
Akan	7	16.3
Ewe	3	7.0
Grussi	2	4.7
Mande	2	4.7
Ga/Dangme	2	4.7
Other	2	4.7
Guan	1	2.3
Gruma	1	2.3
Total	43	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2015

4.2.3 Marital Status and Household Size

Forty seven percent of the residents were married while 33% were single. In addition to this, 23% of the residents had a household of 5 people followed by 16.3% who had a household size of 4. It must be noted that 4.7% of the respondents had a household size of 8. See Figure 14.

Figure: 14. Household Size
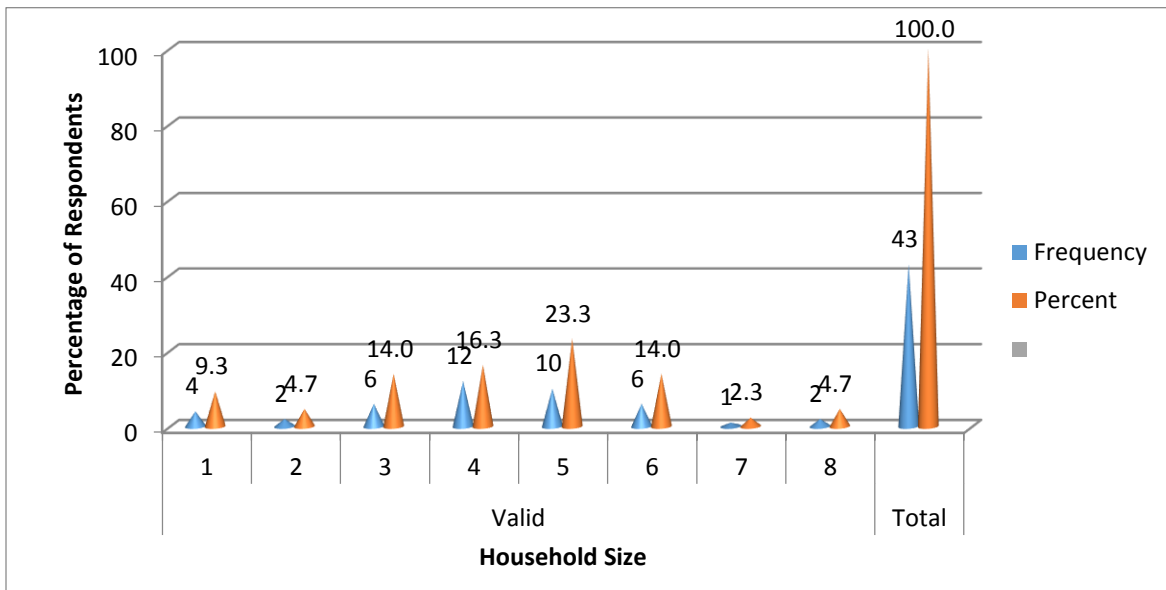
Source: Fieldwork, 2015

4.2.4 Employment Status

In identifying the economic potentials of Sodom and Gomorrah, it was observed that 84% of the residents were employed mostly engaged in informal sector jobs such as petty trading, scrap metal dealership, leather work, auto mechanic servicing, dressmaking, iced water selling, head porters, commercial drivers and commercial motor bike riders. 16% of the residents were unemployed.

Section Two

4.3 Findings of Resident Survey and Interviews with Local Officials

This section examines the persistence of slums in Sodom and Gomorrah, problems faced by residents, their reasons for residing in this area, the benefits of slums, problems posed by slums to city authorities, city's reaction to Sodom and Gomorrah, the concept of slum upgrading and sustainable development, and finally the concept of participation.

4.3.1 Persistence of Slums in Sodom and Gomorrah

This study inquired why residents choose to live in Sodom and Gomorrah and how they have survived for more than two decades. Thirty-seven percent of the respondents stated they moved to Sodom and Gomorrah due to the availability of Jobs such as auto mechanic jobs, sale of food etc. 33% stated that they relocated because of the trade potentials of Sodom and Gomorrah. In addition to this, 12% relocated to Sodom and Gomorrah because it is a strategic location for business due to its proximity to the central business district. The Central Business District offers employment opportunities and creates an avenue for slum dwellers to engage in the sale of goods, operate scrap metal business, leather work, sell food crops such as yam, tomatoes and engage in auto repairs. Furthermore, 5% reported that they moved to Sodom and Gomorrah due to the high cost of living in their former residence. These responses indicate the economic benefits provided by Sodom and Gomorrah, and affordable accommodation to low income earners. Due to these potentials, the area continues to attract low income migrants including foreigners.

4.3.2 Length of Stay in Sodom and Gomorrah

Sodom and Gomorrah, continues to exist because the neighborhood provides affordable housing to its residents and many other migrants, offers employment opportunities due to its proximity to the CBD. For majority of the respondents (28%), Sodom and Gomorrah has served as a home for

5 years. About 26% of residents who participated in this study stated that they have lived in Sodom and Gomorrah between 10 and 15 years while 21% reported that Sodom and Gomorrah has been home for them for 20 years and over.

4.3.3 Challenges Faced by Residents of Sodom and Gomorrah

Thirty five percent of the residents in Sodom and Gomorrah revealed that poor sanitation was a major challenge affecting residents. Field observation confirmed this issue as the environment was squalid. In addition, 21% noted potential for frequent fire outbreaks, caused by illegal connection of electricity, burning of solid waste, and the likelihood for their wooden homes to catch fire by candles during power outages. Furthermore, flooding and acute water shortage were each reported by 16% of the respondents to be challenges faced by residents of Sodom and Gomorrah. According to 7% of the residents, lack of social amenities such as schools, health facilities, access to potable water also comprised problems they faced. See Figure 15.

Figure 15: Problems faced by slum dwellers

	acute water shortage	poor sanitation	fire outbreak	flooding	lack of social control	deplorable social amenities	Total
■ Frequency	7	15	9	7	2	3	43
■ Percent	16.3	34.8	20.9	16.3	4.7	7.0	100.0
■							
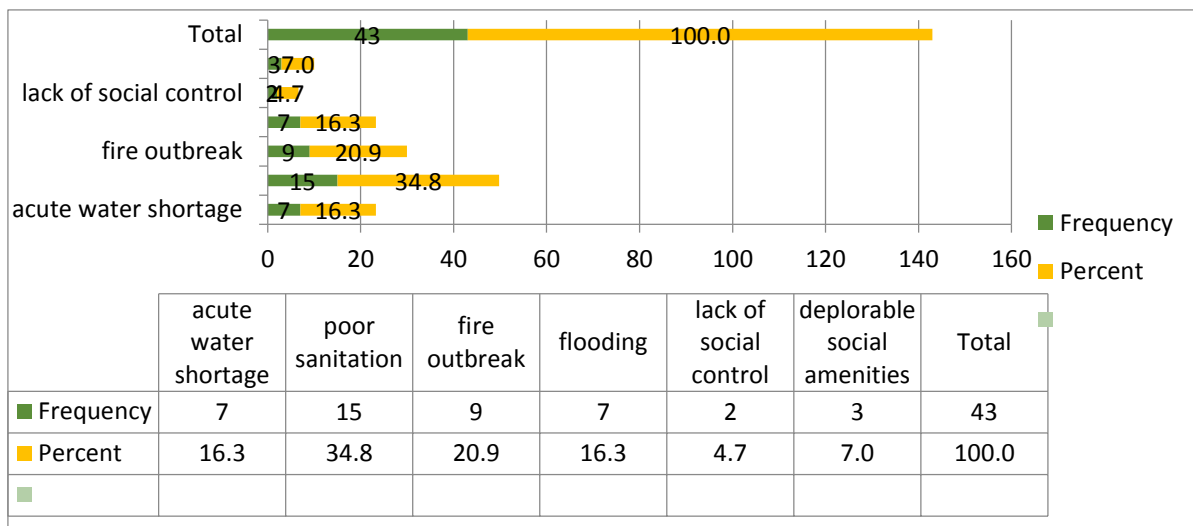
Source: Field work, 2015 (Views of slum dwellers**)**

4.4 Views of Opinion Leaders

Ninety percent of the opinion leaders in Sodom and Gomorrah stated that they were not satisfied with living conditions in the community. Furthermore, 44% stated that poor sanitation, inadequate infrastructural services and poor housing conditions are issues confronting occupants of Sodom and Gomorrah.

4.5 Perception of Neighboring High and Middle Income Residents about Sodom and Gomorrah

Problems were also expressed by adjacent residents. Twenty eight percent of neighboring high and middle income residents of Abbosey Okai and bordering Sodom and Gomorrah reported that Sodom and Gomorrah had inadequate infrastructure (poor housing and lack of basic amenities), 24% stated that Sodom and Gomorrah is a place of crime and high social vices, 16% revealed that the area took away the beauty of the City of Accra while 16% stated that Sodom and Gomorrah is an unplanned part of the City.

4.6 The Benefits of Slums

This study also sought from residents, the benefits they derived from living in Sodom and Gomorrah. Twenty-six percent of the residents stated that living in Sodom and Gomorrah was affordable in terms of cost of living; 14% of the respondents also indicated a booming and favorable business environment for running and operating one's own business as a positive attribute of Sodom and Gomorrah.

4.6.1 Payment of Taxes

Figure 16. Payment Taxes to the Government?
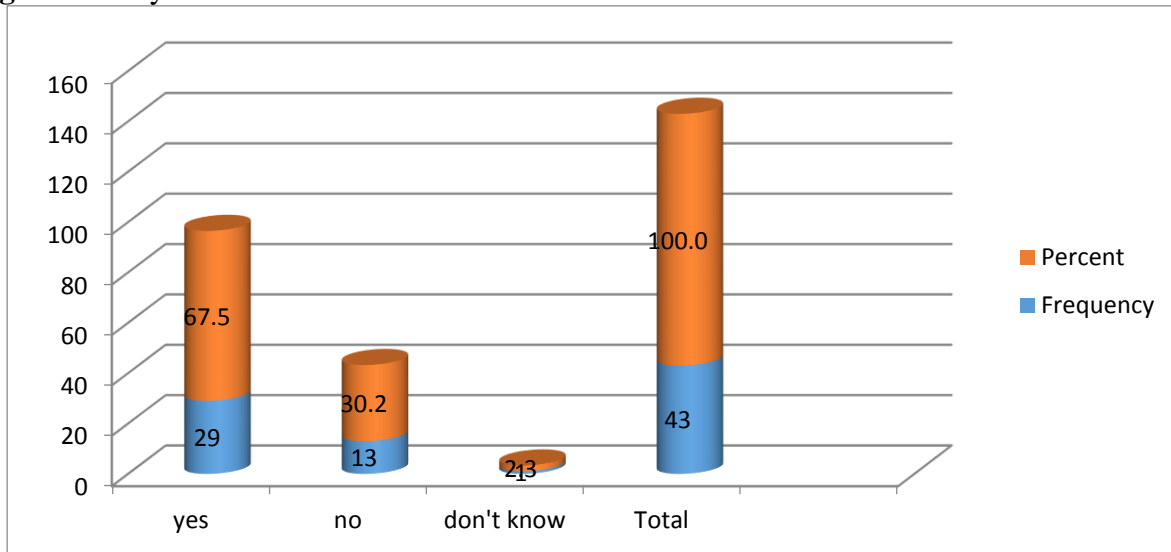
Source: Field work, 2015

Taxes serve as a major source of revenue to every city government without which the provision of basic amenities will be impossible. Even though Sodom and Gomorrah is not legally recognized by the city of Accra, it serves as a source for revenue generation. Sixty eight percent of the residents and business operators stated that they paid taxes to the city of Accra (See Figure 16). Daily taxes are collected by the AMA through the issuance of tickets to traders, business operators and hawkers at Sodom and Gomorrah. Unfortunately, residents are denied the provision of amenities in spite of their contributions in the form of taxes to the city. This is because, Sodom and Gomorrah is known to thwart major infrastructure projects as presented by city officials in an interview. They noted that, an attempt to dredge the Korle Lagoon in 2013 by Conti, an American construction company based in New Jersey failed due to the regular disposal of waste by residents into the Lagoon. Eventually, an amount of $596,000,000 provided by the Export-Import Bank of the United States for the project could not be accounted for since Conti abandoned the project after city officials failed to relocate the squatters. As stated by city officials, the AMA,

is concerned about demolishing the area rather than improving it. This is part of the reason why the city has denied the area of infrastructure.

4.7 Upgrading Sodom and Gomorrah *(Views of neighboring residents)*

A majority of the neighboring high and middle income residents (56%) revealed that Sodom and Gomorrah should be upgraded because it served as home to thousands of people and provided informal sector jobs to its residents as well as goods and services to city residents. Opinion leaders who participated in the focus group discussion indicated that Sodom and Gomorrah should be upgraded and further admitted that slum residents should be involved in decision making towards the improvement of the area. They further stated that the area offered job opportunities to residents provided services to customers and further revealed that residents and business operators also paid taxes which benefited the city through revenue generation. Ninety-five percent of the residents shared a similar view and expressed that slum dwellers and their associations should be involved in the upgrade of Sodom and Gomorrah because it offered affordable living to residents, is a place to strengthen cultural ties with tribe members and an ethnically diverse and culturally rich community.

4.8 Responses from City Officials (AMA and TCPD)

4.8.1 Historical Evolution of Slums in Ghana

Interviews with officials of the city of Accra revealed that Sodom and Gomorrah was settled around the 1980s. They stated that immigration to Sodom and Gomorrah never ceases. City officials further revealed that, there was an influx of immigrants from the northern region of Ghana in the mid-1980s, 1994 and 1995, mostly resulting from the Guinea Fowl war which led to the displacement of residents who moved and settled in Sodom and Gomorrah. Furthermore, the area has been settled by people from other parts of Ghana- Ashanti, Volta, Eastern and other West

African countries including Burkina Faso, Togo, Ivory Coast and Niger who have migrated from their country either due to civil war or political instability. The gradual movement of people into Sodom and Gomorrah has further caused the land size to expand. Presently, the entire area has a land size of about 16,187 meters square and it has been occupied by about 50,000 people.

4.8.2 The Legal Recognition of Sodom and Gomorrah

City officials of Sodom and Gomorrah revealed that the area never had legal recognition. They expressed that, the entire area is government land which is presently inhabited by squatters.

When asked why successive governments have not been able to demolish the settlement, City officials responded, Sodom and Gomorrah continues to exist due to the lack of political will on the part of politicians and strong opposition expressed by residents of the settlement facing eviction.

4.8.3 Challenges Posed by Slums to City Authorities and Governments Reaction to Slums

Sodom and Gomorrah poses challenges to city authorities. These challenges include constant fire outbreaks, severe floods, pressure on the few infrastructural amenities and subsequent deterioration of these services, prostitution, violent crimes, armed robbery, child delinquency; and lack of accessibility in times of emergency (fire outbreak). Officials also noted that the area serves as a habitat for criminals.

Furthermore, residents of Sodom and Gomorrah have converted portions of the adjoining Korle Lagoon into a dumpsite. Government's effort to clean up the Korle Lagoon which involved huge expenditure failed due to the fact that, while the dredging exercise was ongoing, residents of Sodom and Gomorrah continued to dump refuse into the lagoon. City officials stated that the area

thwarts hundred million dollar projects. The AMA is of the view that the demolition of Sodom and Gomorrah is the only solution to address the problems posed by the slum to the city.

4.8.4 Demolition Attempts and its Failure

City officials noted that past attempts to demolish Sodom and Gomorrah have been unsuccessful due to the lack of political will on the part of successive governments to demolish the settlement. Sodom and Gomorrah houses more than 50,000 residents; hence, it has the potential to improve the fortunes of politicians in terms of votes. Political leaders fear losing political votes if they evict the residents and demolish it.

Other observations made by city officials included stiff opposition and unwillingness of residents of Sodom and Gomorrah from being evicted and intervention from human rights activist. However, the recent flooding and gas explosion around the Kwame Nkrumah Circle, which is proximate to Sodom and Gomorrah, resulted in the death of almost 200 people and the subsequent demolition of parts of the area. On the instructions and supervision of the Mayor, the AMA succeeded in demolishing parts of Sodom and Gomorrah on the 20th of June 2015(myjoyonline.com, 2015). The cause of the flooding was attributed to encroachment and dumping of waste into the Korle Lagoon by residents of Sodom and Gomorrah, which deprives the ability of the lagoon to absorb runoff when it rains. It must be noted that this exercise was not accompanied by any relocation arrangements or compensation on behalf of the residents who lost their property.

4.8.5 The Position of City Authority Regarding Slum Upgrading

In the recent past, slum upgrading has come to replace demolition and eviction of squatter settlements. However 65% of city officials who participated in this study stated that no attempts have been made to improve Sodom and Gomorrah. Reasons given by city officials for the city's

unwillingness to upgrade Sodom and Gomorrah were as follows; the area is an illegal settlement, Secondly it is prone to disaster such as fires and flooding. According to city officials, efforts are geared towards demolition rather than upgrading.

4.8.6 The Positive Sides of Sodom and Gomorrah

The negative impacts (unsanitary conditions, blight, violence, absence of infrastructure, flood prone conditions) surrounding the slum mask its beneficial aspects. It follows that public officials noted that the settlement offers certain benefits as well; 60% of city officials made this observation in their interview. In their view, the situation in Sodom and Gomorrah continually brings development issues to the attention of city officials demonstrating the need for reactive measures. They also noted that Sodom and Gomorrah provided employment opportunities and shelter to the homeless.

Secondly, Sodom and Gomorrah offers benefits to the local economy. Surrounding businesses in the CBD can draw upon inexpensive skilled labor. Thirdly, due to booming economic activities, the area also offers employment opportunities which prevents homelessness. Also 67% of the residents stated that they paid taxes to the Accra Metropolitan Assembly. Furthermore, observations made during the field study indicated that the entire area had the character of a compact city. As defined by the Organization for Economic and Cooperation Development (OECD), a compact city is one characterized by: dense and proximate development patterns, urban areas linked by public transport systems and accessibility to services and jobs. Field observations made during a visit to the site revealed that, houses and business operation centers were interconnected. Most of the residents either operated businesses from their home or enjoyed a proximate walking distance to work.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, DISCUSSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

As revealed by this study, demolition of slums can have dire consequences. Issues such as human rights abuse, relocation measures, compensation, provision and or availability of job must be addressed prior to demolition. Demolition without appropriate relocation measures could result in violence, conversion of other vacant land into squatter settlements, increase in social vices and other adverse impacts. In order to avoid these consequences, this work focused on identifying the positive sides of slums in Sodom and Gomorrah and whether they can be developed within the framework of sustainable urban development.

This section of this work summarizes the study that was conducted. It highlights the purpose of the study, the research question, and discusses the major findings which answers the research questions. The chapter ends with policy recommendations and conclusion.

5.2 Summary

5.2.1 Purpose of the Study

This study explored why slums in Sodom and Gomorrah have defied demolition attempts, their benefits consistent with sustainable development and whether citizen participation can be a catalyst for development.

The research questions for this work revolved around the following:

1. Why do slums continue to persist in Ghana?

2. Why are some slums easier to demolish than others?

3. What challenges confront slum dwellers and how do they perceive themselves?

4. What challenges do slums pose to city governments and what are city government's reaction to slums?

5. Does Sodom and Gomorrah have a beneficial role in the city of Accra's sustainable development efforts?

6. To what extent can community participation affect slum improvement?

5.3 Persistence of Slums in Sodom and Gomorrah

This work attributed the persistence and proliferation of slums in Sodom and Gomorrah to multiple factors. People continue to move to Sodom and Gomorrah as it is a strategic business location, has high work prospects, a location close to the CBD, a low cost of living, and affordable housing. It also provides a high sense of belongingness to residents of the various tribal groupings. These are the factors which attract low income earners and migrants in to the area. In essence, factors that leads to slum persistence in Sodom and Gomorrah are the same factors that yields positive benefits to slum dwellers, neighboring residents who sometimes depend on the area for goods and services, customers who patronize services from the area and even provides revenue to city government through taxation.

Sodom and Gomorrah has continued to persist due to the inability of city authorities to demolish it. As presented in the literature, several unsuccessful attempts have been made by successive governments to demolish it. Reference can be made to threats of eviction by the AMA during their decongestion exercise in 2009 (Peoples Dialogue Ghana, 2010) which yielded no results. Fifty percent of city officials who participated in this study attributed the failure of demolition attempts to lack of political will by politicians. Emphasis here is on political benefits

and cost. In order to avoid losing political votes (and tax revenue), politicians refrain from demolishing the entire neighborhood.

However, a taskforce from the AMA successfully demolished parts of Sodom and Gomorrah after the occurrence of a flooding and a fire disaster on June 3, 2015, resulting in the death of almost 200 people (Myjoyonline.com, 2015). The mayor of Accra stated in an interview that, the intent of the exercise was to construct the required drains for water to flow into the Korle Lagoon and eventually into the sea; the focus was not to evict anybody living on the land but to get rid of structures located on the banks of the lagoon (graphic.com.gh, 2015). In spite of this exercise, Sodom and Gomorrah still remains.

Furthermore, the nature of Ghana's democratic system of government backed by rule of law made it easy for the leadership of Sodom and Gomorrah to seek an injunction on governments attempt to demolish Sodom and Gomorrah. According to Grant (2006), the residents of Sodom and Gomorrah responded with an appeal to the high court seeking an injunction to restrain the AMA from evicting them in 2002. Even though their request was rejected by the court following the authorization of the AMA by the court to evict Sodom and Gomorrah residents, they sought for grass root and international help. Surprisingly, the AMA was unable to demolish it due to intense grassroots and nationwide agitation which proved effective.

As to why Sodom and Gomorrah has been able to survive demolition attempts, the following revelations were made from this study: During an interview with city officials of Accra (Officials of AMA and TCPD), officials stated that the inability of government to demolish Sodom and Gomorrah results from the lack of political will. Due to fear of losing political support, successive governments refrain from tearing it down. Even though the incumbent government of Ghana recently succeeded in demolishing parts of Sodom and Gomorrah on June 20, 2015, they

55

could not demolish the entire area with reason being that the AMA only sought to demolish only those structures along the shores of the Korle Lagoon. The uniqueness of Sodom and Gomorrah revolves around its strong socio-economic potentials which were revealed by residents, city officials, as well as neighboring residents who participated in this study.

Other factors expressed by city officials that prevent the government from demolishing Sodom and Gomorrah include stiff opposition from slum dwellers, strong economic potentials of the area (source of revenue to the government through taxation, strategic location for business), unwillingness of slum dwellers to be relocated and human rights activist intervention. For instance, Peoples Dialogue Ghana played a key role in strengthening the community through the registering of the Old Fadama Development Association which aims at pursuing the development agenda of Sodom and Gomorrah (Paller, 2012).

5.4 Challenges Posed by Sodom and Gomorrah to Slum Residents and City Officials

5.4.1 Problems confronting slum residents

Residents of Sodom and Gomorrah are confronted with series of challenges. These challenges include poor sanitation, fire outbreak, flooding, acute water shortage, prevalence of communicable diseases, crime and violence. The perception of slum dwellers about themselves reaffirmed the challenges they are exposed to. Majority of the residents (37%) perceived violence to be characteristic of Sodom and Gomorrah. Other perceptions expressed by slum residents included poverty, poor sanitation, nuisance and the likelihood for them to be evicted. For instance on the June 20, 2015 the demolition of parts of Sodom and Gomorrah resulted in the displacement of over 200 people (Starfmonline.com, 2015).

Also neighboring high and middle income residents perceived Sodom and Gomorrah to be the hotbed of crime, violence, blighted areas and source of diseases. This view reflects those of Partha and Kishor (2012) who assert that slums are low cost habitats occupied by marginalized people, who live in make-shift shelters in overcrowded and unhealthy conditions and worsened by lack of basic civic amenities. To add to this unfavorable perception, Nieto (2012) includes that about one-third of the world's urban population live in slums with little or no access to basic services, substandard housing, overcrowding, poor water and sanitation systems, unemployment as well as crime and violence. Even though these views highlights the situation in Sodom and Gomorrah, the area has socio-economic potentials which cannot be overlooked.

Yeebo (2014), revealed that Sodom and Gomorrah contributes to floods, harbors armed robbers and thwarts costly and needed infrastructure projects (Yeebo, 2014). For instance, attempts to dredge the Korle Lagoon in 2000 which involved $160 million dollars failed due to regular disposal of waste into the lagoon by residents of Sodom and Gomorrah. This survey uncovered similar problems posed by Sodom and Gomorrah to City officials. These problems included pressure on the few infrastructure amenities available, social vices, lack of accessibility in times of emergency (fire outbreak), irresponsible disposal of waste into the Korle Lagoon and also the fact that area serves as habitat for criminals. The efforts of city government are been thwarted from been able to execute major projects such as the dredging of the Korle Lagoon. Furthermore, government previously took it upon itself to clear piles of refuse and solid waste in the area; however, these attempts proved unsuccessful because residents of the area continued to dump refuse in an indiscriminate manner. As these problems vex city officials in their line of duty, they also compel city officials to eliminate the settlement.

More importantly, this study revealed that government's reaction to Sodom and Gomorrah has always involved threats of eviction and demolition. Following the failure to dredge the Korle Lagoon in 2000, another attempt was made in 2013 which failed because the dredging Company (Conti, an American contractor) requested that Sodom and Gomorrah be demolished in order to make way for the dredging exercise since residents continued to dump refuse and waste in to the lagoon (Yeebo, 2014). The question remains whether the flooding potential of the Korle lagoon can provide a further opportunity for city authorities to justify the demolition of Sodom and Gomorrah. The June 2015 floods in Accra has renewed attempts to demolish the settlement.

Based on this study, several discoveries were made regarding the positive sides of slums in Sodom and Gomorrah. First and foremost, the study revealed that the population of men out numbered women. This presents the dominance of men over women, which positively correlates with the active age groupings revealed in the studies and the nature of menial jobs available. Essentially, this transforms into economic benefits due to the supply of cheap labor. Peoples Dialogue Ghana (2010) reported that Sodom and Gomorrah has economic potentials and made reference to the fact that 96% of its residents are gainfully employed. In addition to this, 76% of the residents of Sodom and Gomorrah reside there due to affordable housing and lifestyle while 21% stated that they live in Sodom and Gomorrah in order to have access to the market.

Secondly, majority of the residents (72%) who reside in the study area confirmed that they like Sodom and Gomorrah because of the following reasons: low cost of living, a booming business environment, strategic location for business, high prospect of work, and high sense of belongingness. As indicated previously, the proximity of the entire area to the CBD provides residents with diverse economic opportunities. This was evident in studies conducted by Richard Grant in 2006 which revealed that the area provided a mix of commercial and residential functions

which included a large numbers of food markets, hawker markets, small economic enterprises and offered services such as hairdressing, auto repairs, and dressmaking etcetera.

Further, Sodom and Gomorrah offers diverse job opportunities and affordable accommodation to its residents. Approximately 70% of the respondents stated that they moved to Sodom and Gomorrah because of work and trade purposes while others stated that they relocated due to high cost of living at former residence. The economic potentials of the area was further substantiated by Peoples Dialogue Ghana when they reported that about 96% of the residents of Sodom and Gomorrah are gainfully employed in the informal sector. This study also revealed that 68% of the residents paid taxes to the city government which served as revenue.

As revealed by slum dwellers, opinion leaders and neighboring residents of Sodom and Gomorrah, the area should be improved and not demolished for the following reasons; the unique economic potentials of Sodom and Gomorrah and its compact nature called for slum upgrading as a means to integrate Sodom and Gomorrah into the capital city. The relevance of its compact nature is defined by the close proximity between home and work place, the busy nature of streets, the interconnectedness between home, church, work place, cinema, grocery stores and the central business district, its diverse residents who belong to different ethnic groups, and the sharing of a sense of belongingness by members of the various tribal groupings.

5.5 Sustainable Urban Development and Participating to Upgrade

5.5.1 Sustainable Urban Development

The Brundtland Commission in 1987 defined sustainable development as that "which meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". According to Been, et al. (2010), this definition is broad and

encompasses economic sustainability, equitable development and environmental justice. In their argument, they present that economic sustainability ensures business development, adequately paying jobs, equitable development, addresses the provision of affordable housing and transportation. The environmental and economic issues in the definition presents the 3 Es (Environment, Economic and Equity). See Figure 17.

Figure 17. The Three Es

Environmental: Protect the natural environment and ensure benefits for future generations	**Economic:** Assess to economic opportunity so that people can meet their basic needs

Equity: People benefit economic opportunity and shared environment no matter their race, religion, age, disability or income.
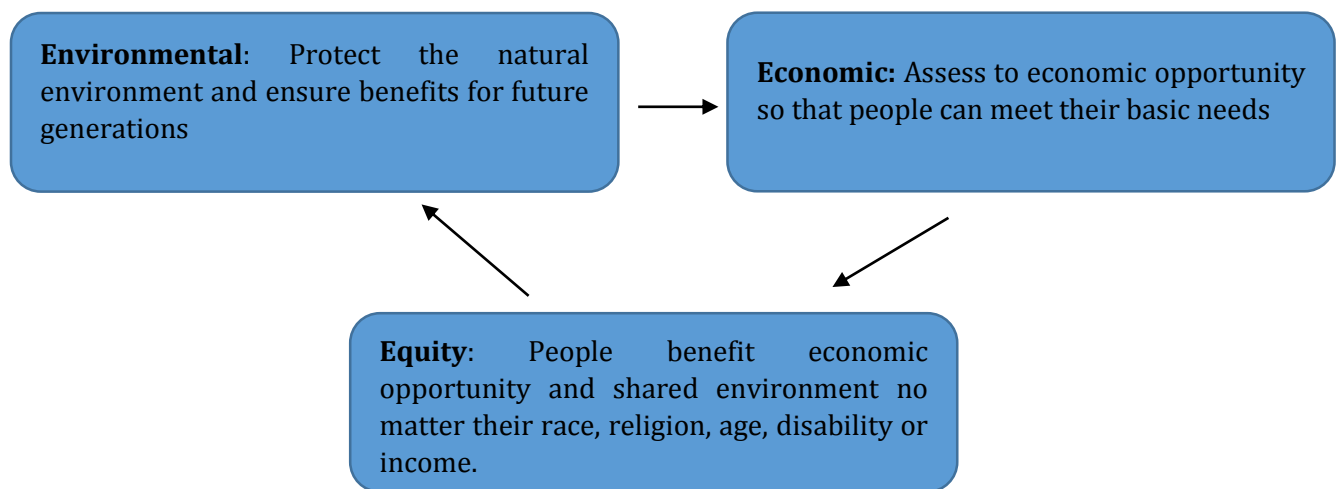
Source: Doane & MacGillivray, 2001.

Sodom and Gomorrah poses some of these sustainable traits. The area offers low cost of living, serves as booming business environment, provides high prospects of work, serves as a strategic location of work, and offers a high sense of belongingness through family ties. More importantly, it also serves as a major source for the generation of revenue to the government. Furthermore the area provides cheap skilled labor (mechanics, seamstresses etc.) to the CBD, prevents homelessness, and provides an avenue where Slum residents indulge in informal sector businesses in their home.

The settlement also has strong economic potentials which typifies the description of the three Es provided by Doane & MacGillivray (2001) (See Figure 12). In their analysis, protecting

the environment will make it more habitable, attract investors, flourish economic activities, and promote healthy living of the active labor force. This transitions into economic benefits (access to well paid jobs, booming business environment) and further result in equity where residents of Sodom and Gomorrah become the potential beneficiaries of the economic opportunities. They harness these opportunities by working as informal sector employees, either as scrap metal dealers, food sellers, truck pushers, mechanics, seamstresses, and head porters etc. as a means to make a living and take care of their families. Environmental issues as regards Sodom and Gomorrah is in a bad state. Based on the three Es concept, there is supposed to be a transition to a healthy environment devoid of piles of refuse as is characteristic of Sodom and Gomorrah. The question is, how can the three Es be achieved for the development of Sodom and Gomorrah and the eventual benefit of posterity? This brings to mind the concept of Participating to upgrade.

5.6 The Concept of Participating to Upgrade

This concept of participation involves an alliance between slum residents and their leadership, government, private and non-governmental organizations as well as multilateral organizations such as the UN and World Bank. The rationale is that, a participatory effort in upgrading Sodom and Gomorrah as indicated by slum dwellers, opinion leaders and government officials who participated in this study will pave way for the creation of a habitable environment conducive for slum residents. In their opinion, active participation by all actors, especially slum residents and their leadership will help identify the challenges confronting slum dwellers. Secondly, it will provide an opportunity for slum dwellers to suggest or propose means on how to address the challenges they face in addition to the technical knowledge of government experts (policy makers and city planners). Also, a participatory platform will provide an opportunity for government, NGOs and multilateral organizations to explain policies, programs and projects to

slum residents. The goal of this practice is to promote consensus building and support for the implementation of policies and execution of development projects. Furthermore, the involvement of financial institutions, NGOs and multilateral organizations will provide basis for financial support and provision of adequate infrastructure.

As regarding how participation should occur, opinion leaders during a focus group discussion agreed that slum dwellers should be involved in decision making with city government. This is based upon the premise that citizen participation serves as the foundation of urban planning and decision-making. This approach combines the experiential knowledge of slum residents and the technical knowledge of city planners with the goal of identifying strategic measures aimed at improving Sodom and Gomorrah. City officials also stated that the involvement of private and non-governmental organizations as well as multilateral organizations through the provision of relief supplies, funding long term projects such as the construction of a clinic, school, water wells, and educating the residents on proper health care and the effects of irresponsible disposal of waste, could be a means to transform Sodom and Gomorrah and integrate it into the urban setting.

5.7 Discussions and Recommendations

The lack of success and social and economic consequences of slum demolition, the urgency of addressing its impacts and the valuable role Sodom and Gomorrah plays in providing affordable housing and economic development underscore the need for slum improvement. Research by Arimah (2011) further supports that, given the failure of previous strategies as demolition, African countries should consider slum-upgrading programs instead. My purpose in this section is to link improvement strategies consistent with sustainable development through practices that harness community resources. The researcher suggests policies that promote citizen participation, stabilize

slum residence, upgrade housing while keeping it affordable, enhance the benefits of compact development and the economic sector and address environmental impacts.

5.8 Citizen Participation

A majority of responding residents of Sodom and Gomorrah (95%) stated that slum dwellers and their associations should participate in the upgrade process. This reflects the suggestions of Smith (2009), who strongly advocated for public participation in urban revitalization and further stressed that public participation should serve as a criterion for distributing state redevelopment funds. This argument is based on theoretical justifications of "Direct Democracy" (direct participation by residents in education and decision making towards the slum improvement) and "Empowerment Theory" (individual strengths, competences and behaviors that positively affect social policy and bring about social change). Further, several Sub-Saharan countries have successfully implemented community participation in slum improvement programs. For example, in Zwelisha, South Africa, a community participatory approach was adopted between government and local residents based on numerous meetings and communication, which led to the provision of affordable housing units and other infrastructure (Patel, 2013).

In the case of Sodom and Gomorrah, the concept of participation involves an alliance between slum residents and their leadership, government, private and non-governmental organizations as well as multilateral organizations such as the UN and World Bank. Active participation by all stakeholders, especially slum residents and their leadership will help identify the challenges confronting slum dwellers. Secondly, it will provide an opportunity for slum dwellers, relying on their experiential knowledge, to suggest means of addressing slum-related problems. Policy makers and city planners can facilitate the improvement process with multi-disciplinary expertise.

Furthermore, the involvement of financial institutions, NGOs and multilateral organizations will provide a foundation for financial support and provision of adequate infrastructure. Slum dwellers' associations and religious groupings in Sodom and Gomorrah can also be empowered and supported in performing various environmental functions such as landscaping and trash collection. They could also serve as a task force for the protection and preservation of the environment.

In order to promote participation in the redevelopment of Sodom and Gomorrah as well as other slums in the city, the national government must consider awarding state redevelopment funds based on citizen participation. Such a practice has the tendency of breeding trust and transparency and further promoting democracy based on the involvement of residents.

5.9 Development Policy Plan for Slum Upgrading

This work recommends a development policy plan based upon which participatory slum upgrading. As no attempts have been made to upgrade the area, this policy plan will focus on educating residents through the formation of an environmental development task force which will primarily be composed of slum residents, health practitioners and city officials of the AMA. This will serve as a forerunner for the development of the environment through the enforcement of sanitary laws, provision of waste collection systems and the dredging of the Korle Lagoon.

The policy will also focus of providing community infrastructure in the form of health posts, connecting roads, streets lights, affordable housing units and schools. As Sodom and Gomorrah already has strong economic potential, this development plan will focus on the implementation of economic policies that will attract environmentally friendly businesses. The rationale is to help balance economic and environmental development goals so as to preclude a major impact on any

of the aforementioned goals. According to Harris (2003), balancing the 3Es by making the right choices based on the priorities of the community will help in achieving sustainable development. Most importantly, the success of this plan depends on the level of coordination (bottom up approach rather than top down), commitment, good leadership skills and consensus building among the major actors, i.e. slum residents, city authorities (AMA&TCPD), Planners, Architects, financial institutions, NGOs, and international agencies such as the UN-Habitat and Habitat for Humanity.

5.10 Tenure Security and Development Incentives

In his work on land tenure security and improved housing in Ghana, Nyametso (2010) assessed the merits of tenure security as a means to improve housing. While he noted that land tenure on its own would not improve housing, he nevertheless found that granting land tenure security was associated with enhanced access to housing and improved living conditions. Arimah (2011) further observed that when slum residents are confident that local government would not arbitrarily evict them, they would be motivated to improve their properties.

Incentives for enhancing slum improvement can also supplement tenure security. One method practiced in the United States with applications to Ghanaian strategies are inclusionary zoning incentives; these involve relaxation of certain development standards to permit increasing the number of dwelling units within safety and public health parameters (Schwartz, 2015). This also requires collaboration between city officials (AMA & TCPD), the lands commission, landowners and opinion leaders of Sodom and Gomorrah to devise strategies aimed at lot allocation and affordable means of payment.

Another alternate view involves the construction of affordable dwelling units, which will be consistent with the compact nature of development and business needs of residents of the area. This can be facilitated through a collaborative effort between city governments, opinion leaders of Sodom and Gomorrah, the TCPD, financial institutions, NGOs, the World Bank and multilateral corporations.

5.11 Accessibility and Economic Advantages

The Organization for Economic and Cooperation Development (OECD) defines a compact city as characterized by dense and proximate development patterns, urban areas linked by public transport systems and accessibility to services and jobs (OECD, 2012). The OECD concept of compact city also demonstrates environmental, economic and social benefits of sustainable development. This definition typifies the situation in Sodom and Gomorrah, especially in terms of social and economic benefits.

Regarding economic potential of the area, 72% of the residents who participated in this study reported that the area offers strong economic benefits. Its proximity to the CBD makes it conducive to business and provides higher prospects for employment. In addition to close proximity between work and home, petty trading occurs at home in some instances. The tax revenue obtained from business activity (as reported by 69% of survey respondents), fills city coffers which, in turn, can be allocated to redevelopment purposes. Economic potential also translates into employment opportunities through the informal sector. Economic benefits relate to social benefits in providing a livelihood to slum residents.

5.12 Environmental Improvement

Slum improvement offers an avenue for environmental improvement through intensive education and investment. The agents of education may include city planners, public health workers, officials from EPA Ghana, NGOs and opinion leaders of the slum community. Their mission is to create awareness about the effects of environmental degradation, its impact on the present and future generations as well as the planning for the improvement of environmental health conditions.

The attainment of these environmental goals in Sodom and Gomorrah can further induce private and public sector investment in the area. Public sector infrastructure investment can include environmental health improvements such as energy, potable water delivery, waste disposal and transportation improvements. Local opinion leaders can participate in the planning and allocation of these services and improvements working in concert with local officials and private stakeholders.

5.13 Conclusions

The findings in this study revealed that, despite challenges posed by Sodom and Gomorrah to slum dwellers and city officials, the study area is strongly characterized by a number of beneficial outcomes: vibrant community life, flourishing economic activities (provides employment opportunities, a market to food sellers and other services), diverse religious activities, strong family and ethnic ties, and a source of revenue to the government, it indirectly provides political benefits to governments through electoral votes which partly discourages politicians from demolishing the settlement. Slum dwellers and neighboring residents have made it clear that Sodom and Gomorrah should be upgraded rather than demolished. As already indicated, demolition of slums has several and severe consequences.

Government's reaction towards slums in Sodom and Gomorrah has always aimed at demolishing the area without any strategic relocation arrangements. The need for a participatory slum upgrading approach becomes vital towards the transformation of the area. Slum residents, opinion leaders and neighboring residents of Sodom and Gomorrah strongly believe that an inclusive approach is needed. This involves opinion leaders who represent slum dwellers as well as private and non-governmental organizations, city government and multilateral organizations in a collaborative effort to upgrade of Sodom and Gomorrah. The building of a safe and environmentally enhanced community and economically viable economy is a shared goal among all of the stakeholders.

In addition, the provision of tenure security and/or affordable housing is also key towards the provision of homes for the residents and a means to eliminate all wooden shacks and deteriorated structures. Sodom and Gomorrah is an asset which should be protected and developed. Its development will not only provide social, economic and environmental benefits to the present generation, but also to the next.

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APPENDIXES

QUESTIONNAIRES

THIS STUDY IS CONDUCTED WITH THE GOAL OF IMPROVING SODOM AND GOMORRAH AND ULTIMATELY ACHIEVING SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT. GATHERING INFORMATION FROM GOVERNMENT OFFICALS IS A VITAL PART OF THIS PROCESS. PLEASE FILL OUT BOTH PART OF THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. THANK YOU

(Your responses are completely anonymous and cannot be traced back to you (the respondent). No personally identifiable information is captured unless you voluntarily offer personal or contact information in any of the comment fields. Additionally, your responses are combined with those of many others and summarized in a report to further protect your anonymity)

Questionnaire For Officials of Accra Metropolitan Assembly and Town and Country

Planning

Department: …………………………………………………………………..

Name: ………………………………………………………………………………….

Position: ……………………………………………………………………………

Definition of slum by UN Habitat: A slum is an area that combines to various extents the following characteristics; • Inadequate access to safe water • Inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure • Poor structural quality of housing • Overcrowding • Insecure residential status

Evolution of Slums

1. How many slums are in the Accra Metropolitan area?   …………………………..

2. When was Sodom and Gomorrah formed?   …………..................

3. What is the size of Sodom and Gomorrah?   …………………………..

4. What is the current population of Sodom and Gomorrah? ....

5. Is Sodom and Gomorrah legally recognized by the government? Yes………. / No……….

6. If yes, why?

………

……….

7. If no, why is it not?

………

……….

Issues

1. How do you perceive slums in the metropolitan area?

………

………

………………

2. Do slums pose problems to City authorities?   Yes……. / No…….

3. If yes, what are the problems?

………

………

………………..

4. Have attempts been made to demolish Sodom and Gomorrah? Yes…… / No…….

5. If yes, why have attempts to demolish it been unsuccessful?

………

………

………………

Governments Reaction to Sodom and Gomorrah

1. Have there ever been plans to upgrade Sodom and Gomorrah? Yes…….../ No……..

2. If yes, were these plans implemented? Yes…….. / No………

3. If yes, how were they implemented?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………

4. If no, what were the reasons for not implementing the plan?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………

5. Have there been past government policies to upgrade Sodom and Gomorrah? Yes…… /

No…….

6. If yes, what were these policies?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………

7. If yes to (Q5) what was accomplished?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………

8. If no to (Q5) what accounted for the failure of past government policies?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………

9. Are you willing to improve conditions in Sodom and Gomorrah? Yes……/ No…….

10. If yes, what will you do?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………

11. If no, why?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………

12. Do you think citizen participation is the best approach towards the upgrade of slums?

Yes……. / No………

13. If yes, should slum dwellers be involved in upgrading Sodom and Gomorrah? Yes……/

No…….

14. Do slums have positive characteristics? Yes…… / No……..

15. If yes, what are the positive characteristics of slums?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………...

....

Questionnaires for slum dwellers

Your responses are completely anonymous and cannot be traced back to you (the respondent). No personally identifiable information is captured unless you voluntarily offer personal or contact information in any of the comment fields. Additionally, your responses are combined with those of many others and summarized in a report to further protect your anonymity.

Demographic Characteristics

1. Age ……………

2. Are you currently (check only one)

   a. Married   ………

   b. Single   ………

   c. Separated   ………

   d. Divorced   ……...

   e. Widowed   ……..

3. Ethnicity …………………………………………..

4. Gender:

   a. Male…………….

   b. Female…………

   6. How many people are in your household? ………………

Stay in Sodom and Gomorrah

1. Have you lived outside of Accra? Yes………/ No………

2. If yes, why did you choose to move to Sodom and Gomorrah?

   ………………………………………………………………………………………………

   …………………………………………...

3. If No, why did you choose to live in Sodom and Gomorrah?

   ………………………………………………………………………………………………

   …………………………………………

4. How long have you lived here?

   a.   1-5 years   ……………

b. 5 to 10 years ………….

c. 10 to 15 years…………

d. 15 to 20 years…………

e. 20 years and over…………

Economic Status

1. Are you employed? Yes………/ No……...

2. If yes, what kind of job do you have? ....

3. Is your workplace in the neighborhood? Yes………../No………….

4. What is the distance from your residence to your workplace? ………………..

5. What is your monthly income?

a. Below ¢50   ……………

b. ¢50 - ¢100   ……………

c. ¢100- ¢200 …………....

d. ¢200- ¢300 ……………

6. Do you pay taxes to the government? Yes……../ No………

7. How much do you pay in taxes pay per day?

   a. 50 pesewas

   b. ¢1

   c. ¢2

   d. ¢3

   e. ¢4 and over

Quality of Life

1. Do you like living in Sodom and Gomorrah? Yes/ No

2. If yes, what are some of the things that make you like this place?

   ……………………………………………………………………………………………………

   ………………………………………………

3. If No, why do you still live here?

   ……………………………………………………………………………………………………

   ………………………………………………

4. If you have an opportunity to move, would you remain here? Yes…… / No………

5. If yes, why?

6. If no, why?

7. How do people perceive you living in this place?

   ……………………………………………………………………………………………………

   ………………………………………………

Problems in the Slum

1. What problems do you encounter living in Sodom and Gomorrah?

   ……………………………………………………………………………………………………

   ………………………………………………

2. What is your source of drinking water? (Check all that apply)

   a. Individual tap ……………….

   b. Public Tap   ………………..

   c. Bore well/Hand pump…….

   d. Open well…………………

   e. Water Tanker……..

f.   Other…………………..

3.   What kind of access do you have to drainage and sewage facilities? (Check all that apply)

a. Storm water drainage …………

b. Underground drainage/Sewer lines……

c. Not connected to sewer …….

4.   Is Sodom and Gomorrah prone to flooding? Yes………/ No……….

5.   If yes, how often?

a.   Regularly

b.   During the rainy season

c.   A few times in a year

d.   All year round

6.   What type of latrine facility is used by households? (Check all that apply)

a.   Public/Community latrine   …………

b.   Shared latrine   ………..

c.   Own latrine   …………

d.   Open defecation   …………

7.   Are there health facilities in Sodom and Gomorrah? Yes…… / No……..

Slum upgrading approach

1.   Have attempts been made to upgrade Sodom and Gomorrah in the past? Yes……..

/No………

2.   If yes, what was the nature of the upgrading?

……

…………………………………………………………

3. If yes, were slum dwellers involved in upgrading Sodom and Gomorrah?

Yes……../No…….

4. Are there slum dwellers associations in Sodom and Gomorrah? Yes….. / No……

5. If yes, what are some of the associations?

……

…………………………………………………...

6. Should slum dwellers or associations be involved in upgrading Sodom and Gomorrah?

Yes………/ No……..

7. What other means do you think will be suitable for upgrading Sodom and Gomorrah?

……

…………………………………………………

Questionnaire for High and Middle income residents

1. What do you think about slums in the city?

……

……………………………………………………………

2. Have you heard about Sodom and Gomorrah? Yes……. / No…….

3. Do you think Sodom and Gomorrah should be demolished? Yes……./ No…….

4. If yes, why?

....

5. If no, why?

    ……………………………………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………..

6. Do you think Sodom and Gomorrah should be upgraded? Yes……/ No…….

7. If yes, why do you think it should be upgraded?

    ……………………………………………………………………………………………………

    ………………………………………………………….

8. If no, why not?

    ……………………………………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………………………………..

9. Should slum dwellers be involved in upgrading slums? Yes/ No

10. In your opinion, what other approaches can be used to upgrade Sodom and Gomorrah?

    ……………………………………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………………………………..

Questionnaire for Opinion leaders

1. What is your leadership title?

    ....

2. Which tribe do you belong

    to?...

3. How long have you been the leader of this tribe?

    ……………………………………………………………………………….

4. Are you satisfied with the living conditions in Sodom and Gomorrah? Yes…….. /
    No…………

5. If no, why?

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………

    ……………………………………………………

6. If yes, why?

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………

    ……………………………………………………

7. What role can your leadership group play to address the problems of Sodom and
    Gomorrah?

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………………………………

8. Should slum dwellers be involved in decision taking towards the upgrade of Sodom and
    Gomorrah? Yes……. / No……..

9. What has been your response to previous and recent attempts to demolish Sodom and
    Gomorrah?..
    ....

10. How would you rate the relationship between the community leadership and city
    authorities?

    (1)   (2)   (3)   (4)   (5)

    Poor   Fair   Average   Good   Excellent

11. Has a joint attempt between city authorities and community leadership been made to
    improve Sodom and Gomorrah? Yes……/ No…….

12. If yes, were any improvements accomplished? Yes……. / No……..

....

....

13. What were some of the accomplishments?...

14. If no, what were the reasons?...

15. Do you receive assistance and benefits from the Government?

Yes…….. / No………

16. From what level of government do you receive assistance?

   a.   Central government…..

   b.   Local government……..

17. If yes to (Q. 15), what kind of assistance did you receive?

………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES   **DATE SURVEYED/INTERVIEWED**

Slum Residents……………………………………………………………...21st Jan to 23rd Jan 2015

Opinion Leaders………………………………………………………….2nd Feb and 6th Feb 2015

Neighboring Residents…………………………………………………..21st Jan to 23rd 2015

City Officials (AMA & TCPD)…………………………………………26th Jan to 30th 2015