

AMA COMMUNITY UPGRADING PROFILE: KORLE GONNO



Millennium Cities Initiative
EARTH INSTITUTE | COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Credits and Acknowledgements

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Executive Summary

INTRODUCTION

The Accra Metropolitan Assembly – in partnership with the Millennium Cities Initiative of the Earth Institute at Columbia University and the University of Ghana, Legon - with support from specific NGOs and community-based organizations, has engaged in a variety of projects to improve urban planning and livelihoods in an effort to make urban development more inclusive in Accra, Ghana. Teams of researchers have undertaken site mapping, community profiles and have collected primary data to inform the recommendations put forward here, regarding planning and development interventions that can improve the lives of Accra's residents.

This report focuses on the most recent MCI-AMA effort. It profiles Korle Gonno, a coastal community in the indigenous area of Accra known as Ga Mashie. Korle Gonno is a well-established traditional Ga community

(one of the original indigenous ethnic groups of Southern Ghana) that has experienced significant change in recent years but where research and knowledge have not kept pace with changing times. A core objective of the research was to update the profile of Korle Gonno. Using a mixed-methods approach of site assessments, household survey and firm interviews, focus groups, GIS analysis and site designs, this report presents a snapshot of the opportunities and challenges currently facing Korle Gonno within the wider urban economy of Accra. The report also presents a series of well-informed recommendations to promote community development in Korle Gonno.

KORLE GONNO: BACKGROUND

Established by the King of James Town in the early 1900s, Korle Gonno was a small but vibrant community that benefitted from spatial planning and



proximity to key economic nodes in the city, e.g., the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital (one of Ghana's most prominent hospitals), the bustling indigenous "Tuesday Market" and the Central Business District. Korle Gonno was also a center for recreational activities due to its proximity to the Korle Lagoon and the coastline. Dramatic urbanization in recent years has transformed the area for the worse in several dimensions. The resident population was projected to rise to 44,088 (based on the 2000 census), and it is even higher today. The Korle Lagoon has attained a level of environmental pollution to the point where it is considered one of the most polluted water bodies in the world (Boadi & Kuitunen, 2002). The Tuesday Market is in physical and functional decline. Many of Korle Gonno's residents now struggle to make ends meet. Resident average incomes are \$2 USD a day, indicating a faltering local economy and poor integration into the wider urban economy. Rapid population pressures, combined with poor employment opportunities and few resources for dwelling improvement have led to the decay of the natural and built environment. Severe crowding conditions have strained infrastructure services. For instance, sanitation services, including access to toilet facilities, are extremely poor. KG is a pale shadow of the community it once was.

Lack of work opportunities especially for the youth is causing significant community stresses. KGs residents' lack of qualifications for employment has reached a crisis point. Despite a prominent hospital and healthcare-related ancillary firms nearby, KG residents miss out on these opportunities. By their own admission, KG residents have few options other than street trade or to engage in survivalist business enterprises (e.g. "sand winning," truck-pushing, other unskilled and part-time work) through which they strive to eke out a living.

Despite the stresses on the community, Korle Gonno is not a slum in the most dire conditions. Yet the community is experiencing formidable challenges. Given its considerable potential and the right interventions, the neighborhood can be put on a positive development trajectory. The core community assets are still intact: a spatial grid, efficient road and transport network, proximity to economic clusters (such as the North Industrial Area and Central Business District), the Tuesday Market and the coastline – which itself can be developed for tourism, if appropriately planned.



KEY FOCUS AREAS

Residents have clear ideas regarding which improvements in Korle Gonno should be prioritized by local government, as detailed and ranked in the chart below.

| Resident ranking of issues requiring AMA intervention (see page 113) Source: Field Research, 2011 | |
|--|---------|
| Priorities for AMA intervention | Ranking |
| Drainage | 1 |
| Sewerage | 2 |
| Solid Waste Management | 3 |
| Job Creation | 4 |
| Roads | 5 |
| Street lights/electricity | 6 |
| Water Supply | 7 |
| Enforcement of bylaws | 8 |

Residents value improvements in sanitation services the highest, followed by job creation and physical infrastructure improvements. Our research supports this thinking, and we emphasize the importance of social services (especially education and job training) as fundamentally important in any community development program for Korle Gonno.

This profile points to four critical issues which the AMA and development partners should prioritize, to enable the efficient and healthful development of this community:

1. Sanitation Services—Any upgrading and/or local economic development program should start by improving sanitation services. Despite the presence of water, aging transport and drainage infrastructure, a sewer network was never installed. Most family houses used to have at least one in-house toilet,

but due to family expansion and/or economic hardship, many washrooms have been converted to bedrooms. The household survey shows 55 percent of respondents have an in-house toilet, but this figure may be misleading, and *presence* does not equate *access*: in general, family heads had better access to in-house toilet than tenants. In numerous cases, family heads charged extended relatives and tenants for using the in-house toilet. An alternative to in-house toilets are public toilets, but the AMA no longer supports this solution, and in any event, usage fees and wait times are drawbacks to this model, if a sufficient number of facilities is not provided. These prevailing conditions, along with behavioral aspects, account for open defecation along the drains and beach of Korle Gonno. The context of the unsanitary Lavender Hill in the vicinity combines to deter investors.¹

The first step in improving sanitation conditions in Korle Gonno is to invest sufficient time and resources in educating residents, particularly youth, on sanitation and hygiene promotion. Technological advances alone will not suffice. It will be important to involve religious institutions, as well as other prominent social groups, in this effort. Second, serious consideration of provision of low-cost sewerage networks such as condominium sewerage is necessary. It is entirely possible that a suite of technologies, including stand-alone toilets may be needed to achieve a sufficient level of service. Focus groups with young adults confirm their interest in being employed for upkeep of drainage and waste (liquid and solid) services – the AMA, in conjunction with local NGOs, should facilitate an employment program similar to what has taken place in James Town.²

2. The Local Economy – The Korle Bu Teaching Hospital, the Tuesday Market and the beach remain the key economic nodes in Korle Gonno. The hospital, located along Guggisberg Avenue, has steadily drawn firms offering ancillary healthcare-related services. Local investors are transforming Guggisberg Avenue into a mixed-use, multi-story corridor,

¹ Lavender Hill is the informal name for the large beachfront property just adjacent to the study site that serves as the de facto official dumping and disposal site for the city's liquid waste, thereby abetting a serious environmental and public health hazard on a sizeable segment of the potentially most valuable real estate in AMA.

² Local NGO CHF international hires youth from James Town to collect waste and help keep the area clean.

but the AMA can help improve it as a formal healthcare services corridor (as opposed to its ad-hoc current state) by facilitating land uses in relationship to its distance from the hospital, as well as by supporting business networks within the corridor. This report includes maps illustrating future land use scenarios that may be used as potential guidelines for spatial development.

A major issue is the fragmentation of the local labor force from employment or entrepreneurial opportunities along the corridor. This effect is due to a number of factors, including lack of educational qualifications and insufficient access to capital/credit to “start-up” a firm on the corridor. As such, spatial design interventions will not be enough to spur inclusive economic growth along Guggisberg Avenue. National and local government policies and programs aimed at improving education, skills development, and support of small firms will be essential for successful development of the corridor.

The Tuesday Market, one of Accra’s oldest indigenous markets, operates on a daily basis, but only at full capacity on Tuesdays. Market transactions are very poor on the other days, for to a number of reasons (e.g., price of goods, unsanitary conditions). Overall, the functionality of the market, according to vendors and customers, is very poor. The lack of proper flooring and drainage for the market makes it almost impossible to maneuver during the rainy season, and as a result, vendors have spurned the market to sell on the streets just outside. The administrative system for managing the market stalls is weak. Upgrading of flooring, roofing, drainage and waste management, as well as a new managerial system to equitably distribute vending stalls, would help restore some of the vibrancy the market once had and to which the community aspires. Indeed, a total re-design is recommended and proposed herewith for AMA’s consideration, together with a detailed floor plan. The main objective of upgrading the market should be to transform it into a reliable *everyday* market, not just a market with one busy trading day.

Korle Gonno’s beach, along Old Winneba Road, has already begun drawing local investment in tourism and hospitality services, despite the presence of the adjacent Lavender Hill. These firms employ some workers from Korle Gonno, but clearly, tourism development and investor confidence here will be hampered until a suitable alternative is found for Lavender Hill and the beach and coastal environment are remediated and restored to a healthy state, interventions that must be addressed at the national level.³ It is also critical to put an end to the practice of open defecation along the beach, something more easily managed once the beachfront remediation is clearly underway.

In addition to environmental sanitation issues, land use controls will need to be developed and enforced in the area to avoid further encroachments onto the beach. Recent real estate developments along the beach have already impacted the actual beach, and the tides now flow dangerously close to the beachfront edges of the resorts. It is important that the AMA devise a program aimed at facilitating tourism development along the Old Winneba Road corridor that integrates recent advances in coastal remediation and harmonious design techniques. It is also important to recognize that the community should have a primary role in determining how tourism development should occur. MCI recommends establishing a taskforce consisting of city planners, entrepreneurs, opinion leaders and residents to manage such a process. A set of strategy and design guidelines is included in this report for reference.

Strengthening these economic nodes is at the core of initiatives needed both to support emerging enterprises and to diversify the local economy. Other key support mechanisms include: facilitating business networks through public fora; encouraging cooperatives; documenting informal sector firm activities and exploring ways to improve their access to microfinance institutions and other forms of credit; and facilitating access to investors with the assistance of the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre. The youth of Korle Gonno very much need to be central stakeholders in a local

³ Likely with the support of international development partners.

economic development program. Improvements not only in educational attainment, but skills development, are essential in this regard.

3. Education and Skills Development - Educational attainment in Korle Gonno is generally poor: 45 percent of survey respondents finished junior high school as their last grade level, while 12 percent never even attended school, and the unemployed have poor educational records (e.g., 44 percent of unemployed respondents have not completed senior high). Focus groups with local youth confirmed high incidences of dropouts. A major factor behind students dropping out of school is parents' inability to pay school costs; pregnancy is an important factor in explaining why young women tend to drop out. Local vocational training programs, according to various interviews with community leaders and youths, do not yet provide high-quality and relevant training. Many complain that most vocational training opportunities are simply too expensive, and financial aid and/or child care support are/is not available. In a poverty environment where young people are unlikely to receive financial (and other) assistance from parents or from government welfare programs, these would-be new workers are forced to find some sort of income-generating activity that typically results in their entry into the informal economy. Upward mobility in the local economy, whether "formal" or "informal," appears to be rare.

Serious inroads will need to be made in up-skilling and re-skilling Korle Gonno's budding labor force to meet the demands of employers, especially within the healthcare and tourism sectors. Of course, financial aid programs aimed at assisting the poorest families would make a significant impact, but an overhaul of vocational training and apprenticeship programs is also critical, particularly apprenticeships, as these are the most common form of skills development for young adults. Facilitating skills development in ICT, nursing/healthcare work, auto repair, tourism and hospitality, construction, sanitation services and Ga cultural arts is necessary in order to improve the long-term health of the local labor market. If the local labor pool is not well integrated into the local labor market, progress in attenuating the poverty conditions currently so prevalent within the community will stagnate.

It is recommended that the AMA partner with the Ghana Ministry for Education's Council for Technical and Vocational Education and Training to design a robust education and skills development upgrading program for Korle Gonno.

4. Housing - Housing conditions in Korle Gonno have grown increasingly crowded and both living and recreational space are meager and dwindling. The mean number of households per house is 6.4, higher than the national rate of 5.1 (UN-Habitat, 2004), and MCI's survey data shows a mean persons-per-room (PPR) estimate of 5.1 among the sample size. Habitat International (2005:12) defines overcrowding as more than 2 persons per room and/or 5 square meters per individual. Under these criteria, Korle Gonno dwellings are severely overcrowded. Effective upgrading and vertical infill housing development will be needed to attenuate overcrowding problems. The structural quality of housing is also becoming problematic, especially with regard to roofing and lack of toilet facilities. Limitations in residential development arise with land at a premium. There is not enough AMA-owned land to facilitate a meaningful economic and housing development program, including upgrading and infill development, without engaging in negotiations with Ga traditional authorities and land plot owners. Land pooling and land sharing arrangements are potentially beneficial in this regard.

Rental housing can be a successful enterprise in Korle Gonno, if purchasing power, physical quality, access to key infrastructure services and proximity to employment and social networks are factored into a sustainable rental housing program.

The research points to the following actions for improving housing conditions in Korle Gonno:

- Prioritize maintenance of roofing
- Use local labor for upgrading projects

- Establish housing upgrading projects along the Sempe drain area of Zone 1 (the area with the most dilapidated housing in the community)
- Explore feasibility for mixed-use and infill projects.

BRINGING KORLE GONNO INTO FOCUS

This report shows that Korle Gonno bears complex, interspersed layers of potential and poverty. Despite its spatial planning, reliable transport network, secure tenure (for the majority), economic landmarks and strategic location, Korle Gonno as a community deals with some conditions similar to those found in informal settlements such as Sabon Zongo and Nima (overcrowding, poor sanitation, poor social services, etc.). The contexts in which these issues arose require a more nuanced approach to upgrading than the more conventional approaches, which tend to emphasize physical improvements alone. Housing is but only one aspect requiring intervention. While one neighborhood may urgently require physical infrastructure, others such as Korle Gonno require robust social and economic initiatives to take place before their potential for residential and commercial development can come to fruition.

While the AMA is the main beneficiary of this report, it is important to emphasize that other development agencies, NGOs and community-based organizations have a critical role to play in ensuring that ultimately, the residents of Korle Gonno become the primary beneficiaries of substantial, thoughtfully implemented community development initiatives.





Background



Background

chapter 1 Introduction

INTRODUCTION

Accra, the capital city of Ghana, is not dissimilar to other African cities, in that a number of its communities evince diverse manifestations of poverty, or different “slum” profiles. Such differentiated local conditions point toward taking a comprehensive and context-specific approach to improving access to municipal services and overall livability in these communities. Yet, there is a tendency for development organizations and urban researchers to focus on extraordinary communities such as Old Fadama (sometimes called “Sodom and Gomorrah”), Nima, Sabon Zongo and James Town. These places have for better or worse become “poster children” for poverty in Accra, due to their relatively extensive exposure to and involvement on the part of advocates and international development organizations. They suffer from little to no spatial planning, dilapidated housing, appallingly poor infrastructure and sanitary services, fragmented access to labor markets and sparse job opportunities. All the same, these

communities show remarkable resilience. The slum and poverty narrative can be different, if sufficient investment in municipal services and economic development is programmed.

Nevertheless, a potential consequence of focusing on the extraordinary is that much else is missed. We focus on an ordinary traditional community that is exhibiting a downward trajectory. We underscore that there are additional narratives of poverty and slum conditions in Accra that are in need of further elucidation.

Korle Gonno is an example of a spatially well-planned community in Accra which has experienced severe downward spirals in livability due to the lack of education, labor force skills (in relationship to emerging economic sectors), infrastructure maintenance, community organizing and other factors, but which have attracted relatively very little commentary, consideration or funding for significant upgrading.

From the late 1920s through the sixties, Korle Gonno was considered one of the most attractive communities in Accra, precisely for the combination of its site planning, housing architecture and its proximity to the shoreline and the Korle Lagoon. The beach and lagoon were magnets for recreational activity. Longtime residents who grew up in Korle Gonno during the 1940/50s espouse fond memories of going to the beach for a swim in the sea, for social gatherings or to sit under the abundant coconut trees to read a book. The lagoon was revered for both its recreational and spiritual significance.

SITUATING KORLE GONNO

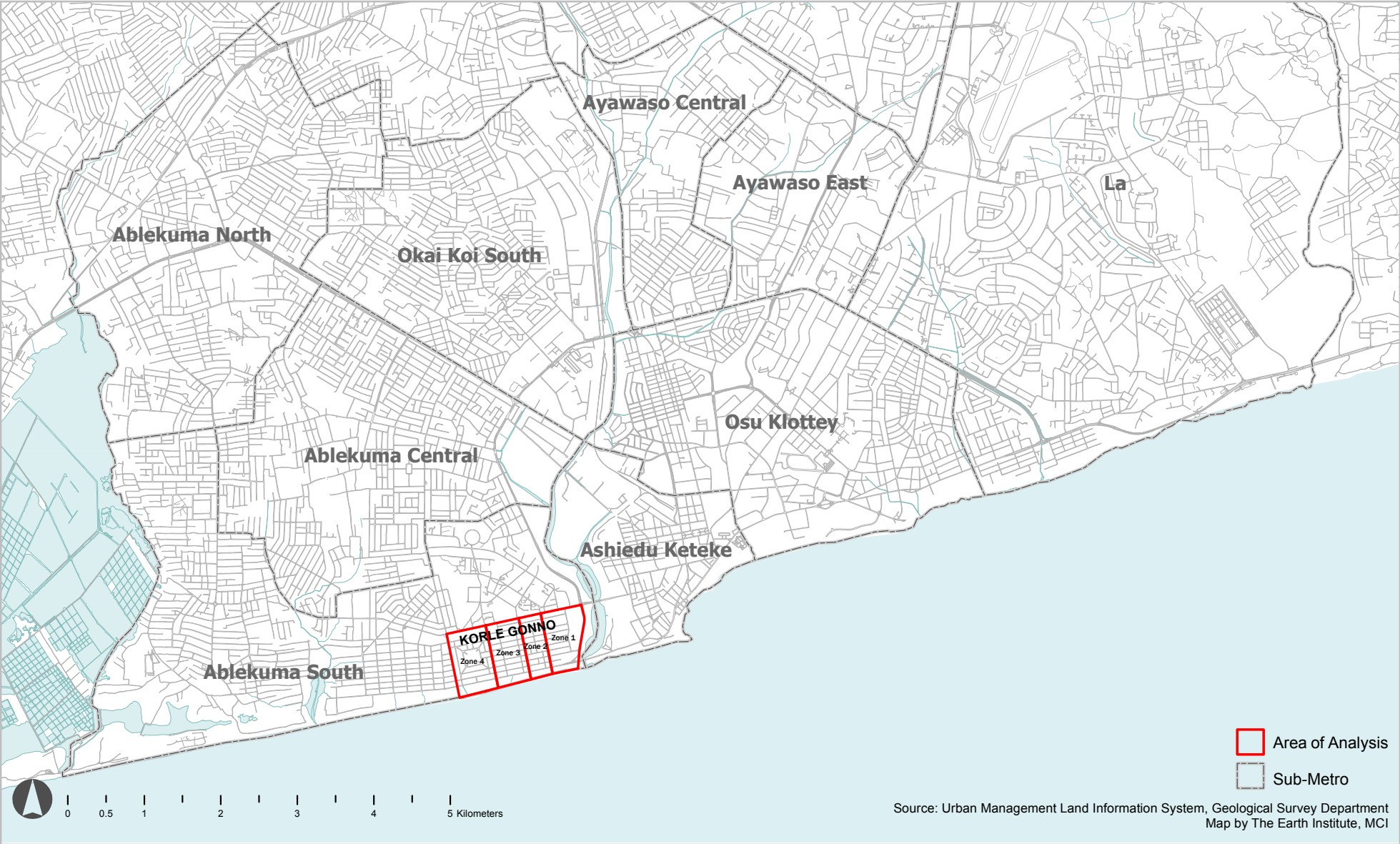
Map 1 shows Korle Gonno's place within Accra. Lying within the Ablekuma South Submetro, the AMA Town and Country Planning Department defines its borders as follows: Guggisberg Avenue (north), St. Mary's Secondary



School (east), Old Winneba Road (south) and Eduardo Mohlana Road (west). The major landmarks include the St. Mary's Secondary School, the Korle Lagoon and Korle Bu Hospital, one of Ghana's most important teaching hospitals and tertiary care centers. Just to the west of Korle Gonno lies Chorkor, a coastal fishing community that is highly integrated into the Korle Gonno Tuesday Market.

Residents and business owners in Korle Gonno enjoy a central location, in relatively close proximity to key economic clusters as the Central Business District, Kwame Nkrumah Circle, Agboghloshie Market, Abbosey Okai and Kaneshie, as well as key Ga enclaves such as James Town, Ussher Town and Mamprobi. People from across Greater Accra (and various regions of Ghana) travel to Korle Gonno primarily to avail themselves of the expert health services provided by Korle Bu Hospital. On Tuesdays, Korle Gonno experiences an influx of vendors and customers at the Tuesday Market. The beach also attracts mainly local customers to locally-owned beach resorts, especially during the weekend, though this remains a relatively untapped economic and environmental resource. The transportation network in Korle Gonno is considerably better than that characterizing several other neighborhoods across the city (e.g., Nima, James Town, Sabon Zongo, etc.), due to its street grid network. The combination of adequate layout and the transport network, Korle Gonno's convenient location to key economic nodes, proximity to a major hospital and market and neighborhood character suggest significant promise for investment and for economic development.

Despite these assets, Korle Gonno has struggled to realize its full potential as an economically and socially vibrant community. While a number of communities in Accra suffer from insufficient spatial planning, Korle Gonno suffers from a distinct lack of upkeep. This is no doubt in part due to the deterioration of its environmental and sanitary services. The lagoon, once a key environmental service for the catchment area, is now severely polluted, with an array of industrial, liquid, solid and electronic waste (e-waste) from upstream activities. The shoreline has become a receptor for the city's liquid waste due to the notorious Lavender Hill, which



Map 1. MCI AREA OF ANALYSIS: Situating Korle Gonno

Source: Urban Management Land Information, Geological Survey Department, Earth Institute Millennium Cities Initiative

discharges directly into the sea without treatment. Korle Gonno's beach is now a source of jokes among Ghanaians for its polluted conditions, as was vividly portrayed in the famous illustration below. Meanwhile, a corrosive sense of complacency and indifference among many residents permeates the community. Compounding the effects of unsanitary conditions is the income poverty resulting from a sluggish local economy.

The result is a complex condition in this indigenous urban coastal community where, in spite of its assets, past failures in municipal service provision and a struggling local economy both reflect and are exacerbated by unhealthy behaviors that have gone uncurbed, due to insufficient enforcement of sanitation bylaws. In effect, one witnesses the inverse of the typical "slum" profile: good layout, reliable transport network, numerous schools

and clinics, access to key employment nodes, but also poor environmental sanitation, lackluster liquid and solid waste management, and - likely most important - frail livelihood opportunities.

BUILDING MOMENTUM TOWARD IMPROVED LIVABILITY

To spark a pragmatic, outcome-oriented development program for communities with different poverty dynamics, the Accra Metropolitan Assembly engaged the Earth Institute Millennium Cities Initiative and the University of Ghana-Legon to collaborate with them and with other key local development partners, in order to facilitate improvements in community services, in line with the Millennium Development Goals and the city's own development aspirations. The partners, under the AMA's own "Accra Millennium City" program, have conducted in-depth feasibility studies and planning and design proposals aimed at generating community development strategies in Nima, Old Accra (James Town and Ussher Town), Accra New Town and now Korle Gonno.

Our analysis of Korle Gonno revolves around four focal points for strategic community development:

- Improving environmental and sanitation services
- Improving education and vocational training
- Buttressing and diversifying the labor market
- Upgrading of housing and community facilities

The 4 focal points are in line with most of the MDGs, particularly:

- Goal 1, Target 1.B: Achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people

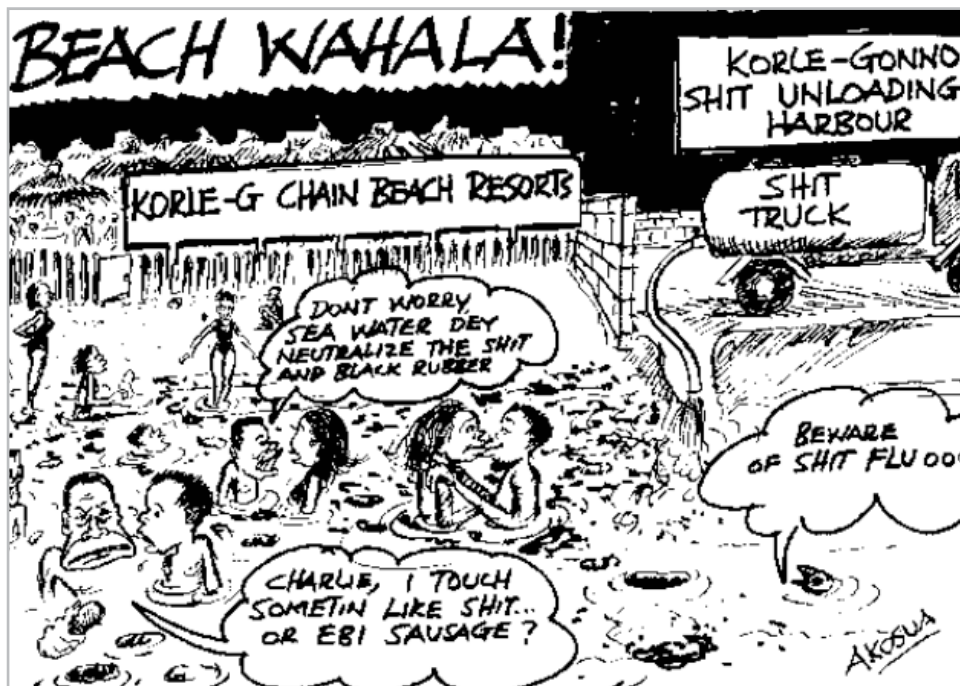


Illustration of Perceptions of Korle Gonno

Source: Akusoa

- Goal 7, Target 7.A: Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and reserves the loss of environmental resources
- Goal 7, Target 7.C: Halve by 2015, the proportion of the population without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation
- Goal 7, Target 7.D: By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of 100 million slum dwellers

THE PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT

We submit this report with the aim of contributing information and analyses that can assist the AMA, local NGOs, civil society and residents in developing a program for improving municipal services and livelihoods in Korle Gonno. We employ a mixed-methods approach to assessing Korle Gonno – this approach is outlined in detail in Chapter 2, “Methods of Analysis. Chapter 3, “The Genesis of Korle Gonno, gives an accounting of antecedents evolving into what Korle Gonno is today, via oral tradition – an overlooked but essential process, given the dearth of social research on the community. Chapter 4, “Baseline Conditions,” presents a demographic and socioeconomic snapshot of Korle Gonno, based on a household survey, business firm interviews and focus group discussions conducted specifically for this project.

Chapter 5, “Towards Vision & Realization,” discusses the need for a vision, strategy and process for linking a community development strategy with policy frameworks at the local, regional, national and international levels. The frameworks draw from the Ministry for Local Government and Rural Development’s National Urban Policy and, at the international level, on the Millennium Development Goals. A series of programmatic (i.e. long-term) recommendations for KG are presented in this chapter.

Chapter 6, “Planning and Design Proposals,” lays out the specific policy, planning and design proposals recommended by MCI for revitalizing the Korle Gonno community. The Phasing section outlines necessary steps that the AMA and community leaders in Korle Gonno can take in the short-term to ensure medium and long-term sustainability.

The AMA is the key benefactor of this report, and the convener for implementation of the proposals. But it is important to note that the AMA cannot undertake this process alone. Local, regional and national government, private sector (including financial institutions) and community residents each have shared responsibilities for revitalizing this important, critically situated community. As such, the MCI encourages that this report be used as a reference for all stakeholders interested in helping Korle Gonno realize its potential as a unique, vibrant and historic community.

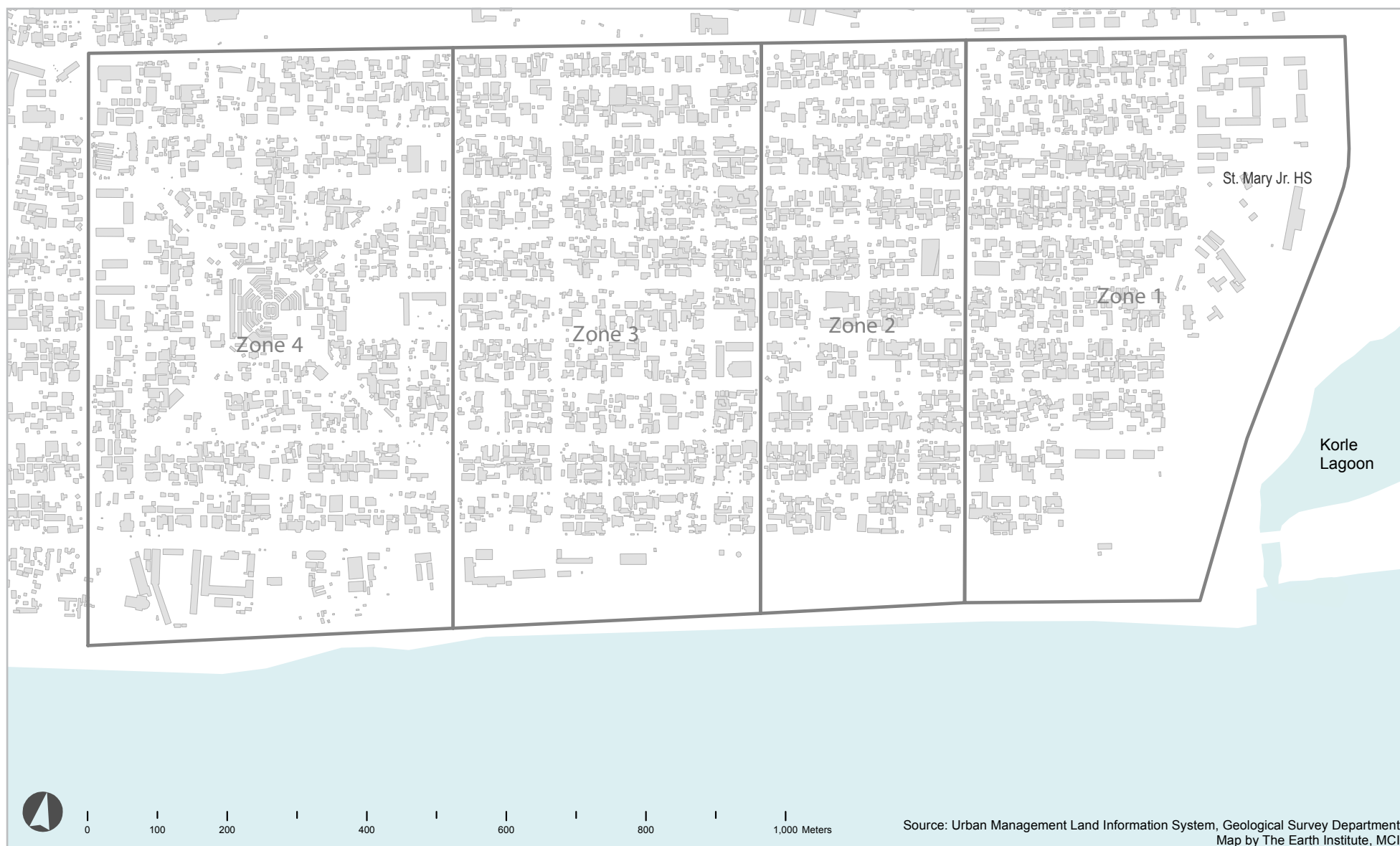


chapter 2 Methods of Analysis

SUMMARY

The baseline conditions analysis and policy, planning and design proposals found in this report are drawn on a set of empirical data collected between May and August 2011. The fieldwork involved:

- Site reconnaissance in the community, spanning three months
- GIS mapping of community facilities, land uses and economic activities
- A household survey, conducted by the University of Ghana, to capture respondents' demographics, dwelling characteristics, access to sanitation services, education levels, employment and perspectives on the local economy
- Business firm interviews, to capture demand-side perspectives on business and economic development in Korle Gonno
- Two focus groups with a cross-section of community youth, to capture information on education, employment and sanitation issues within the study area
- A water quality analysis at the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research of a groundwater seepage site in a residential block near the Korle Bu Hospital
- A sampled beach waste stream analysis along a section of the Korle Gonno beach.



Source: Urban Management Land Information System, Geological Survey Department
Map by The Earth Institute, MCI

Map 2. MCI AREA OF ANALYSIS: Demarcation of Study Area “Zones”

Source: Urban Management Land Information, Geological Survey Department, Earth Institute Millennium Cities Initiative

GIS (GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SYSTEM)

“Zone” Demarcations Within Study Area

Some of the data presented in this report have been disaggregated into “zones” in order to capture differentials in housing and infrastructure provision via GIS and the household survey. These spatial zones are not official planning units; they serve as important reference points for this study. Map 2 illustrates the zone demarcations.

MCI’s GIS zone boundaries track north-south corridors in the community with access to key piped water infrastructure, namely, Roger Avenue, Awestse Kojo Street, and Eduardo Mohlana Road¹. Glover Addo Road and Nii Tackie Owouwou Road were used as boundaries for Zone 1, since neither has a water main running through. Additionally, based on site reconnaissance surveys, this area also is markedly different than the others in terms of housing density; it is also the area with the poorest physical housing conditions. As such, it warranted demarcation as a zone.

Spatial data was collected and analyzed using GPS and GIS technologies. The MCI-UGL team, alongside the local assemblyman and his colleagues, conducted comprehensive mapping of community facilities, including sanitation and solid waste facilities, schools, churches, tro-tro stops, land uses along main corridors and economic activities. In addition, the entire road and drainage infrastructure of the community was mapped, including widths of drains and roads and conditions of roads. Select historic houses were mapped as cultural resources, as well.

An important limitation to this aspect of the analysis is that the GIS base-map data is from 2006; numerous new structures have been erected since then. The building footprints for these new buildings are not on the GIS base map. As such, they could not be identified on the map in any way other than by GPS waypoint labeling. Should the AMA possess updated building

footprint data in the future, the waypoints can be used to match up to their corresponding buildings.

HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

During the household survey, the community area was stratified according to the four GIS zones and also based on the current structural and housing conditions. Based on an initial reconnaissance survey, 70 houses were selected for two zones, and 55 houses were selected for the remaining zones. Seventy were taken for two zones due either to their high population density and/or their proximity to the Tuesday Market.

Within each zone, a member of the team moving from east to west systematically picked the fourth house on the right for interviewing. In each house the head of the family or the head of the household was surveyed. This was done to account for Ga community norms, whereby houses are typically inhabited by an extended family, but the eldest family member is usually the head of the house. However, the “house head” is not responsible for the sustenance of the entire extended family. As such, a “household” in this instance is defined as a group of people within a house who eat from the same pot. For the survey, the head of the house was selected whenever possible, but specific questions about her/his “household” pertained, as per the local definition of the term, to the number of people who eat from her/his pot. Where possible, the head of household and one tenant residing in the house were surveyed. This was done to ensure that the living conditions of tenants in the community were also captured.

In most societies in Ghana, families are headed by males. However, in Korle Gonno, female-headed households outnumbered their male counterparts. According to oral tradition, this stems from a deliberate policy of the King of James Town, who provided land for the relocation the disaster victims to Korle Gonno after the 1939 earthquake. Specifically, because of the Ga

¹ Please refer to Map 3, “Piped Water Network,” pg. 50.

polygamous cultural practice, male heads could marry from outside the community, thereby bequeathing the property to an “outsider” – thus, to control for this effect, many women were given land titles in Korle Gonno.

Site reconnaissance revealed that women, who were in most cases the principal homemakers, were engaged in such income-generation activities as *kenkey*-making, hairdressing and trading (both with and outside); these activities have empowered them. These characteristics of the area made the need to solicit both men’s and women’s views paramount, though in a normal Ghanaian cultural setting, male views predominate within the family. In situations where the man and the woman were both present, they were given the opportunity to determine who would be the lead respondent. In all, a total of 254 questionnaires were successfully administered, and because of the receptiveness of the respondents, the response rate was very high (nearly 100 percent).

IN-DEPTH BUSINESS FIRM INTERVIEWS

The team also conducted 84 in-depth business firm interviews, to obtain information on customer and supplier networks, ties with other businesses and to help identify prospects and challenges for business development in Korle Gonno. Using a combination of AMA business permit data and business inventories conducted by the MCI team, a set of economic sectors were chosen, followed by the selection of three firms within each chosen sector. In the case of beach resorts, six firms were chosen, to allow for a better understanding of how firms in the tourism sector operate, since tourism development is a key prospect for economic development in the community.

Information was gathered on firm registrations with the AMA, the number of employees with access to credit and/or loans, rents, etc., in order to attempt to determine how the firms operated within the formal or formal economic

spheres. During the course of firm interviews, interviewers further took note of whether the business was operating from inside a kiosk or container, as many informal Korle Gonno businesses do.

YOUTH FOCUS GROUPS

In addition, two focus group discussions were conducted with community youth. These engagements solicited their bio-data, educational attainment and skills development levels, access to water and sanitation services, challenges in seeking employment and their livelihood aspirations. The focus groups were audio-recorded with the written consent of the participants. Their identities and all other private information have been coded and are excluded from this report.

GROUNDWATER QUALITY ANALYSIS

Samples of groundwater from a seepage site in Zone 1 were carefully entered into clean plastic bottles and sent to the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research in Accra for analysis.

BEACH WASTE ANALYSIS METHODS

The University of Ghana conducted an analysis of waste characteristics along Korle Gonno’s beach, as part of the study’s overall environmental analysis. The purpose of the field work was to ascertain the type and, possibly, the volume of waste which constantly covered the beach. A belt transect, representing a sampling area of 2,000 m² (i.e. 5 m × 400 m) was demarcated on the upper and mid-shore of the beach. This method has the advantage of assessing both fresh and accumulated beach litter and provides a better chance of surveying both clean and dirty areas (Velandar

and Mocogni, 1999; Tsagbey et al., 2006). The beach litter was collected for a weeklong period. On each visit, the waste observed on the beach was noted while walking along the transect. To collect unabridged data, research locations were selected systematically along the transect, taken into consideration the length of the coastline. Upon the selection of the size, a 1m x 1m dugout was created, to ascertain the amount of waste accumulation over time. The litter was collected and weighed using a scale, the results then analyzed.

CONTEXTUALIZING THE DATA

The primary data were computed and analyzed with the Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS 17). Personal observations and responses to open-ended interviews were organized into themes and used to complement the survey research results. The results were conceptualized through data interpretation based on the real areas of analysis as outlined in the objective of the study. This was situated within the broader regional, national and international (MDG) realities and perspectives.

Satellite Image of Korle Gonno

Source: Google Earth



chapter 3

The Genesis of Korle Gonno

INTRODUCTION

Korle Gonno is one of Accra's coastal communities, located to the west of Korle Lagoon and the densely populated districts of James Town and Usher Town. It is also one of the most rapidly and radically changing Ga communities. Oral histories reveal that the settlement emerged from a simple self-supporting agrarian village to a modern urban "traditional" community whose history is fragmented owing to a paucity of documentation. The Millennium Cities Initiative (MCI) reconstructed the evolution of the settlement by drawing on evidence from medieval historical accounts and the memories of traditional authorities and natives. Indeed, Korle Gonno has urban origins long before the European colonial interlude.

According to historical record, Korle Gonno, geographically located at the uplands of the Korle Lagoon, was initially occupied by the Guans,¹ who were defeated by the Gas in battle around A. D. 1200. Their lands

were subsequently taken over long before the first missionaries arrived at the Gold Coast between 1471 - 82. Later, intercommoned war broke out between Kikan, Sempe and Akanmanjen (all clans within Ga Mashie), resulting in a portion of the Sempe and Akanmanjen clans migrating to Korle Gonno.

Another catalytic event that resulted in immigration to Korle Gonno was an outbreak of an airborne disease called "akpor naabu" (cancer of the mouth), attributed to high gunpowder exposure during the era of slave raids and wars and of intense state formation in Gold Coast between 1500 and 1807. This infectious disease was spread through body contact with an infected person and allegedly caused a spike in mortality rates in Ga Mashie. To

¹ The Guan ethnic group includes Efutu, Anum-Boso, Larteh and Kyerepong believed to have migrated from the Mossi region of modern Burkina around A.D. 1000. They travelled and built settlements through the Volta valley in a southerly direction before moving farther south onto the coastal plains. Some scholars postulate that the wide distribution of the Guan suggests that they were the Neolithic population of the region.

prevent the further spread of the disease, Korle Gonno was identified as an alternative settlement concentration by James Town Manste, Nii Kojo Ababio IV. This migration dislocated some of the extended family groups, leading to a re-organization of Korle Gonno space, adding new elements to the cultural landscape emerged in Korle Gonno. According to Little (1959):

West African urbanism is part of a much wider social process than the settlement or resettlement of large groups of individuals under new conditions of life and labour. It is the nucleus of a whole corpus of customs and practices which is gradually enfolding rural society within the social system as that of the town.

Korle Gonno was covered with virgin vegetation, thus affording new agricultural opportunities. The people of Korle Gonno were “fishermen: who initially concentrated on tilapia in the Korle Lagoon as well as sea fishing. By the tradition of the Gas, fishing was prohibited in the Lagoon on Friday and in the sea (Ocean) on Tuesday. Gas regard these two water bodies as their revered deities, and customary rituals were performed on these days. The Korle Lagoon deity is called the Naa Korle Aboyoo, and the custodian of the deity is the Korle Wulomo; Naa Nai Wulomo is the custodian of the sea deity “Naa Nai,” who doubles as the Gas’ chief priest. Combining the occupations of farming and fishing became more common in the community. According to Brown (1923), the sea fishing industry along the Ga coast began in the second half of the 18th century. As the settlement grew in size and importance, some men diversified into masonry and carpentry, others into the cultivation of vegetables and fruits. Typically, women sold foodstuffs in front of their houses, though a few specialized in mobile trade.

History has it that even though Korle Gonno witnessed tremendous transformation during the period, it still maintained its bounds with its ancestral heritage. For example, a local market emerged at the coast around the end of the 18th century, but connections with the Salaga market in Ga Mashie were also maintained. At the same time, customarily, the Chief of

Korle Gonno held allegiance to the James Town Mantse, or palace, and characteristically, like most Ga communities at the time, the people were said to be industrious and prosperous. According to Reeindorf (1895):

The aborigines were easily subdued by the powerful wandering tribe. Fourteen big towns are said to have existed inland of Ga Mashie and its environs of at least 40-50,000 inhabitants.

The growth of Korle Gonno as one of the main commercial towns started between 1919-1927, under the administration of Governor Sir Gordon Guggisburg. His administration significantly promoted the growth of Korle Gonno by constructing the Korle Lagoon Bridge, effectively linking Korle Gonno to the small, densely populated districts at the east of Korle Lagoon and Korle Bu Hospital. However, the growth of Korle Gonno ebbed and flowed in the years after Guggisburg era. For instance, a major earthquake in 1939 damaged many properties in Accra and halted the development of Korle Gonno. This setback was short-lived, however, as the government re-housed earthquake victims in Korle Gonno itself.

The Tuesday Market was established in the 1950s. The aim was to establish a community fishing market (essentially for a fishing community) amid the surrounding fishing settlements. Tuesday was chosen as the market day, because it was the day that fishing was forbidden. Thus, it was an appropriate day for traders to travel from afar to sell fishing gear, while others traded smoked fish. It also afforded the fishermen the opportunity to repair nets and engage in necessary boat maintenance.

In view of this, housing estates were developed in Korle Gonno. the majority of which were given out on hire-purchase terms, with the remainder on a rental basis. It is said that after the Second World War, a great expansion of housing estates took place in residential areas of Korle Gonno and that this eventually stimulated the growth and linkage of the Accra stretch of coastline into regional networks, including the destitute hostel at Chorkor (west Korle Gonno estate). Like most of the colonial cities, Accra was mainly oriented

towards trade and exchange with an emphasis on unprocessed exports. As Hodgkin (1956; page no) observes:

The main function of West African cities was to drain out of Africa its groundnuts, palm products, coffee, cocoa and cotton; and to pump into Africa European consumer goods – cloth, kerosene; bicycles, sewing machines.

The population of Korle Gonno was increasing, dominated by Gas with some representation by other tribal groups. According to a 1953 survey, the population of Korle Gonno increased to 3,967. However, the population distribution was dominated by children between 6-18 years of age. The youthful nature of the population of Korle Gonno propelled its growth and consolidation. During its inception, the means of transport was footpath and by water (through the lagoon), via canoes, except at low tide, when people crossed the lagoon on foot. Roads were introduced later, when the road network was planned by Guggisburg and subsequently implemented by Ghana's first president, Kwame Nkrumah.

Korle Gonno became an education center during the early 1880s, when several missionaries built primary and secondary schools. The Roman Catholic Boys and Girls Primary and Secondary Schools were built then, and the Anglicans also maintained schools in Korle Gonno. In the 1920s, Kingston Mills (a member of the then-prominent Half-British Ga family) also established the Korle Gonno Royal School near his house. Still, not all residents could be accommodated by community schools; some attended school at Accra Royal School at James Town during the colonial era, while others were schooled under trees.

Before the colonial period, the houses - like most structures in Ga Mashie - were constructed with mud and stones, with dry grass used for roofing. Family members lived in an enclosed big family house, with a big compound and one gate for security. Henry Stanley (1841 -1904), a British journalist

who visited Accra in 1873, depicted a town that was a far cry from the flourishing settlement it was to become, after just a few decades:

The scene ashore was that of a straight beach backed by a mud terrace, which stretched to the right and the left and rear of Accra for many miles, singularly open and clear as seen from shipboard. Accra itself straggled for nearly a mile on the edge of a terrace overlooking the beach, with many pretentious houses, whitewashed, attracting attention from their prominence above the clay-brown huts among them. Almost to the extreme left was the commandant's house, aloof and exclusive, its wide space around it informed you that at one time or another some occupant of it had been assiduous to procure unpolluted air. Away to the extreme right was another large house with wide verandas and abundant grounds about it. This was the Basel Mission House, occupied by a singular community of religious Swiss and Germans... In the very centre of the town was port and lighthouse of Accra. Between these houses the body of the town of native and European buildings jammed itself. Some three miles to the east of the Basel Mission is the village of Christianborg, a picturesque mass of whitewashed buildings..... The huts of the natives have been established everywhere, without regard to order or to any symmetrical arrangement. The consequence is that the streets are uniformly narrow, crooked and oppressive.... (Stanley, 1974; p 76).

Historically, one of the main challenges of communities in Older Accra has always been water supply, as was evident in Korle Gonno. Many residents had to sink boreholes to meet their water needs, especially on the floodplains around the lagoon. Indeed, the name Korle Bu, the name of Ghana's leading Teaching Hospital, situated on the floodplain adjacent to Korle Gonno (upland of the lagoon), originated from a well, which was dug by a female resident called "Korley," who reportedly supplied water to the people of Korle Gonno and its environs during water shortages.

The situation attracted a lot of commentary, and as far back as 1840, J.E Alexander had written of Accra's water crisis:

The Great Want of Accra is water...for want of water, there is very little cultivation to be seen anywhere. European merchants got their water from a small tank of rain in the fort; whilst I saw the women returning from the country at 8'oclock am with round vessels on their heads full of water, to procure which they had risen at three.

Korle Gonno, like many towns and cities of the colonial interlude, has grown up on indigenous rather than foreign nuclei and has consequently remained especially African in character, although subject as well to the pressures of urbanization. The community developed primarily as an insignificant Ga fishing and farming village, then operated as a trade and exchange center. Korle Gonno's dilemma is whether the area can continue to hold onto its traditional heritage and practices in view of current globalizing realities: the breakdown of social order in the course of rapid urbanization, overcrowding, deteriorating neighbourhood services and environmental sanitation and the dictates of neo-liberal economic policies. One pressing issue is whether its spiral of urban downgrading can be reversed.





Part I:

Baseline Conditions



Baseline Conditions

chapter 1

Demographics

INTRODUCTION

Capturing the current population and demographic profile for Korle Gonno based on official demographic data is difficult, given that community-specific data from the Ghana 2010 Census has not yet been released, and a comprehensive enumeration has never been conducted there. Given these limitations, the University of Ghana-Legon (UG) conducted a household survey to ascertain a “snapshot” of household and dwelling characteristics, access to sanitation services, educational attainment and the local economy/labor market. The survey sample size was 254 respondents. The data from this survey is not sufficient in of itself to provide a comprehensive demographic profile of the community, which would require a full enumeration.¹ However, the survey sample size is sufficient to illustrate current trends.

¹ For example, the gender distribution among survey respondents should not be misrepresented as the gender distribution for the entire community.

The survey was administered primarily to family heads -- in general, elders best-placed to provide information about all households within the family plot. However, the survey captured certain data only from the family head's household, such as gender, marital status, religion and educational attainment. As such, the degree to which generalizations can be made from the survey is limited. To supplement the head of household data, we ran two focus group discussions; facilitated jointly by MCI and UG – 1) with youth in their teens, and 2) with young adults in their early 20s. We justify a youth focus because youths are an increasingly important cohort in urban Ghana.² These focus groups revealed key information regarding education and employment challenges faced by youth and young adults in Korle Gonno. However, since age was not captured in the household survey, and the focus groups were limited to youth from within the community, we are mindful of the elderly-youth dichotomy presented.

² In Ghana, youth” refers to young people between the ages of 18-30, thereby generally including “young adults.”

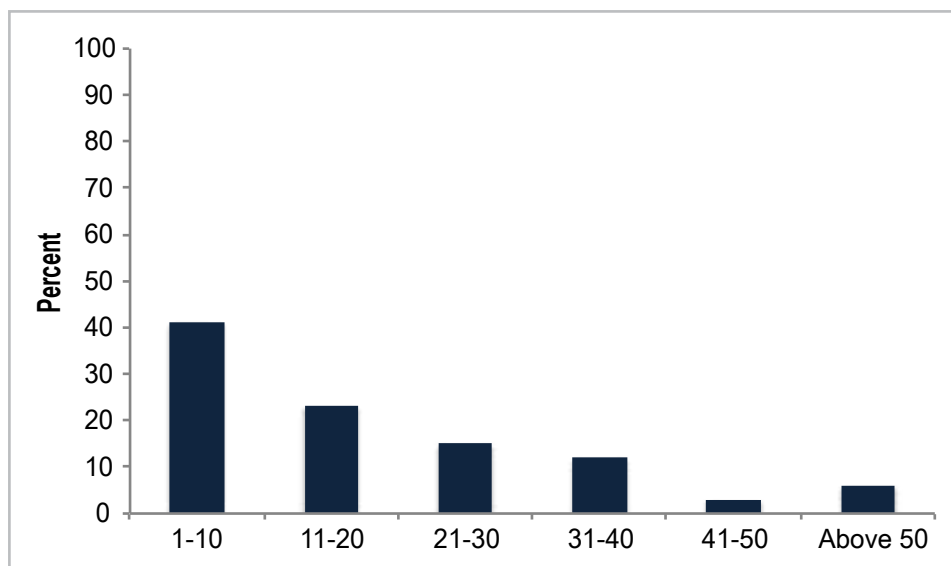


Figure 1. Number of persons within a house

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

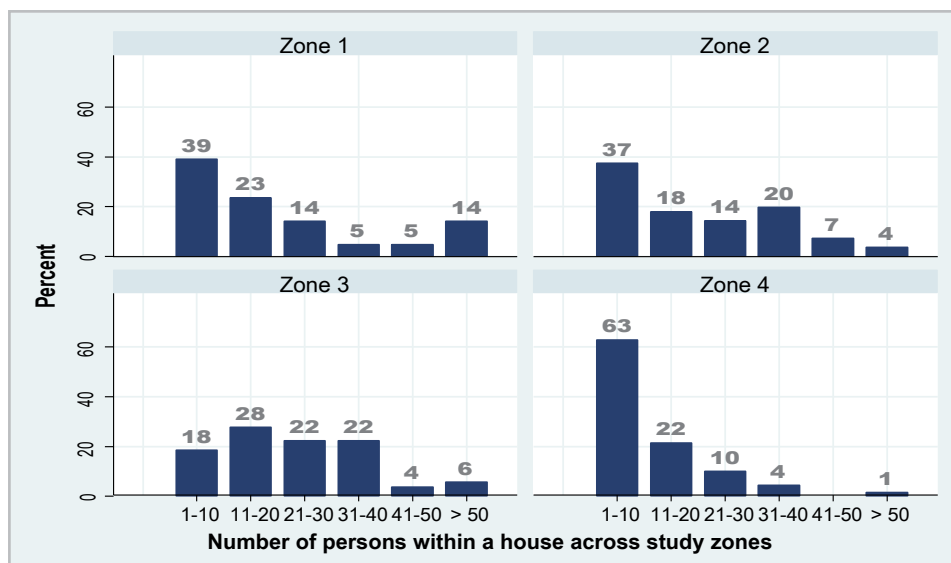


Figure 2. Number of persons within a house across study zones

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

STUDY FINDINGS

Population

The Ghana 2000 Census registered 27,826 residents in Korle Gonno and projected the community's population to reach 44,088 by 2008 (AMA District Environmental Sanitation Strategy and Action Plan, 2008, p. 8). It is almost certain that the population has exceeded 50,000 since the 2008 projection. Most residents of Korle Gonno are of Ga ethnicity, though migrants from other ethnicities and nationalities are now present.³

Household Composition and Size

Generally, the distinctions between the official uses of the terms “households” and “housing units” are somewhat nebulous. A “dwelling unit” is defined in the 2000 Population and Housing Census as “a specific area or space occupied by a particular household and therefore need not necessarily be the same as a house of which the dwelling unit may be a part of” (Bank of Ghana, 2007: pg 10).

The Bank of Ghana defines a house as, “a structurally separate and independent place of abode such that a person or group of persons can isolate themselves from the hazards of climate such as storms and the sun” (Bank of Ghana, 2007: p. 10-11).

It is important to add that in Ghana, particularly in low-income areas of Accra, ‘dwelling unit’ is not always clear or used appropriately. Buildings used for residential purposes are quite varied in size (from one to several dozen rooms), and rooms occupied by a single household tend to be part of a larger building, not separated in any of the conventional ways that a dwelling would be from other households’ accommodations. To add to the confusion, there is no word for ‘dwelling’ or ‘household’ in several of the major Ghanaian languages (Tippie et al. 1994), so the understanding of central housing constructs by ordinary households answering survey

³ Again, more reliable population statistics, including growth rate, age and gender projections, are not currently available, as the Ghana 2010 Census results (by community) have not yet been published.

questions is likely to be ambiguous at best, but is a necessary starting point.

In Korle Gonno, as with typical indigenous Ga communities, a family head owns the land plot on which the family house is situated. The family head and his/her family may or may not live in the house. Relatives – both “immediate” (offspring, siblings) and extended (cousins, etc.) – can also live in the house. In many cases, the relatives will live in their own detached unit or in a room when the family lives in the main dwelling. All residents of the house may belong to one family, but this does not constitute one household. Rather, a “household” in this socio-cultural context is *the number of people who eat from the same pot*. We operationalize this definition of a household, used in the University of Ghana 2011 survey and reported here.

The mean number of households per house in the survey was 6.4. Figure 1 shows the percentage of households in the entire sample falling within ranges of 10s per house. Figure 2 presents the percentage of households within a house by MCI study area zones.

Table 1 shows an estimation of Persons Per Room (PPR) by quartile range as per the survey data, in order to illustrate the degree of crowding. The number of persons per house was divided by the number of rooms per house

| Table 1. Persons Per Room (PPR) Among Survey Respondents. Source: University of Ghana, 2011 | | | | | |
|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Statistic | 1st Quartile | 2nd Quartile | 3rd Quartile | 4th Quartile | Total Sample |
| Minimum | 1.0 | 1.8 | 2.5 | 6.3 | 1 |
| Maximum | 1.8 | 2.9 | 6.3 | 26.0 | 26 |
| Mean | 1.3 | 2.3 | 4.4 | 12.4 | 5.1 |
| Standard Deviation | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.9 | 5.6 | 5.2 |

and then split into four quartile ranges (e.g., 1-5 persons per room). The mean PPR was 5.1. Habitat International (2005:12) defines overcrowding as more than two persons per room and/or five square meters per individual. Under Habitat criteria, Korle Gonno dwellings are very overcrowded.

Age

The survey did not capture age, as the survey was primarily aimed at family heads, who are generally in the best position to give information on their household and the other households within the house. Family heads are typically senior/elder in age.

Gender

Table 2 shows the gender distribution among survey respondents according to their household positions. Women outnumbered men in all household position categories, particularly in the head-of-household position. This is likely due to two factors: 1) land ownership was originally bestowed mostly upon women in Korle Gonno by the James Town Chief, as a strategy to ensure that land ownership stay within the family's bloodline (meaning, to control against land disputes from children of the father, who may have been born out of wedlock); 2) many family heads are elderly, and women tend to outlive men in Ghana. Women divorcees born in Korle Gonno may opt to return to their family house to reside there.

| Table 2. Household Position and Gender Survey Respondents Source: University of Ghana, 2011 | | | |
|---|------|--------|-------|
| Household Position of Respondent | Male | Female | Total |
| Head of Household | 44 | 75 | 119 |
| Spouse | 0 | 16 | 16 |
| Partner | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Relative | 19 | 38 | 57 |
| Tenant (renting a room) | 21 | 39 | 69 |
| Total | 85 | 169 | 254 |

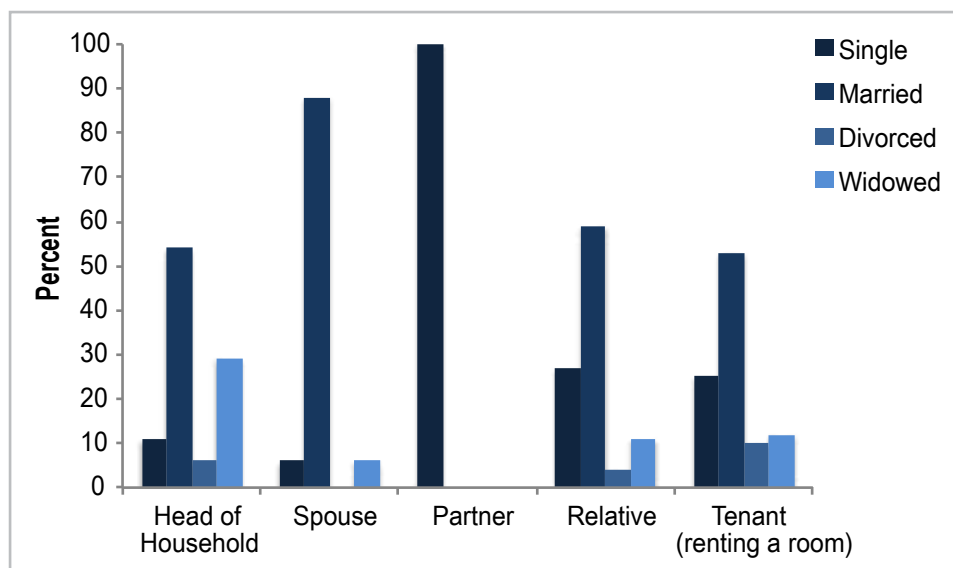


Figure 3. Household position and marital status of survey respondents

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

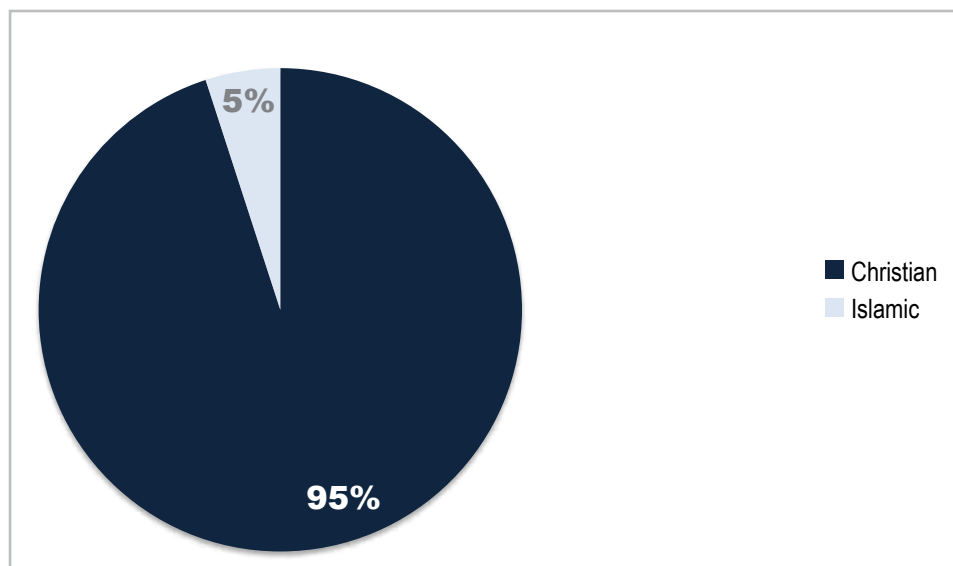


Figure 4. Religious affiliation of survey respondents

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

Marital Status

Figure 3 shows the marital status of survey respondents according to household position, with 56 percent of survey respondents married. Out of all widowed respondents, approximately 92 percent were female, reflecting a larger percentage of female respondents and female family/house heads.

Religion

100 percent of respondents reported a religious affiliation. Ninety-five percent of respondents were Christian, with the remaining five percent Muslim, as shown in Figure 4.

Education

Figure 5 shows educational attainment among the total survey sample. Forty-five percent of survey respondents completed junior high school (JHS) as their last level of education, and 27 percent completed senior high school (SHS). Table 3 shows levels of educational attainment by household position. Figure 6 shows percentage of people under 16 currently attending school.

Figures 7 and 8 show education levels among females and males, respectively. Note the sample size is larger for females than for males, due to a higher proportion of female respondents (an equal gender distribution was not necessary to capture, as the intent was to capture the family head's information). Again, there were more female family heads in the sample, so care should be taken when comparing education levels by gender.

Income and Poverty Levels⁴

The survey did not capture income levels. Instead, secondary data from CHF International (2010) was used to detail income and poverty levels. Korle Gonno is listed in CHF International (2010) as a "high poverty pocket," in terms of *income* levels. A "high poverty pocket" in terms of income is defined as income levels of \$1-2 dollars per day, or as poor as some

⁴ It is important to note that daily income levels can be misleading as indicators of household wealth or poverty.



Table 3. Educational attainment according to household position (percent of survey respondents).

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

| Last Grade Level Completed | Household Position | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------|---------|----------|--------|
| | Head of Household | Spouse | Partner | Relative | Tenant |
| Did not go to school | 12 | 19 | 0 | 9 | 14 |
| Primary and/or Junior High School | 45 | 50 | 50 | 40 | 46 |
| Senior High or Technical School | 26 | 25 | 0 | 35 | 25 |
| Vocational Training | 5 | 6 | 0 | 2 | 7 |
| Tertiary Education | 10 | 0 | 50 | 12 | 8 |
| Postgraduate | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| TOTAL (Percent) | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

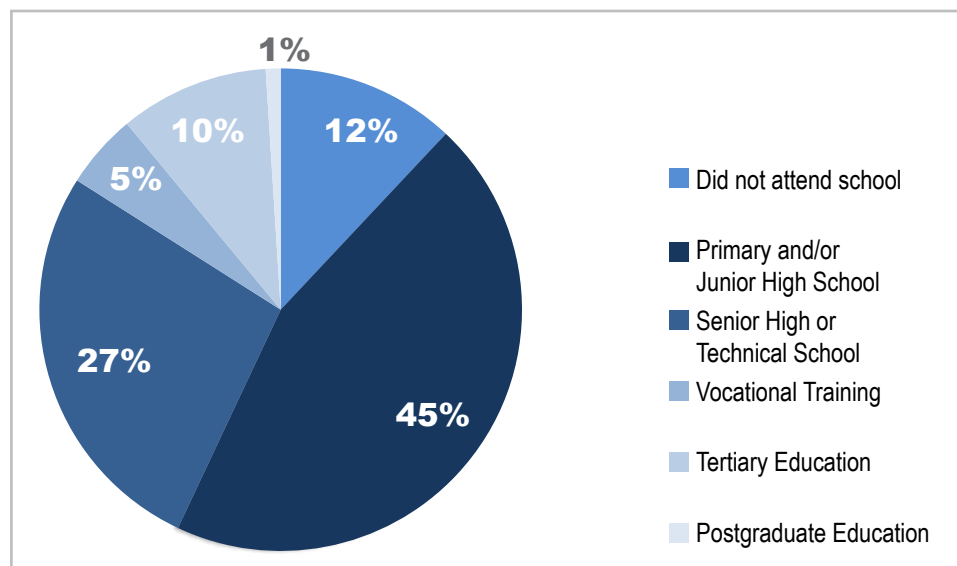


Figure 5. Educational attainment among survey respondents

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

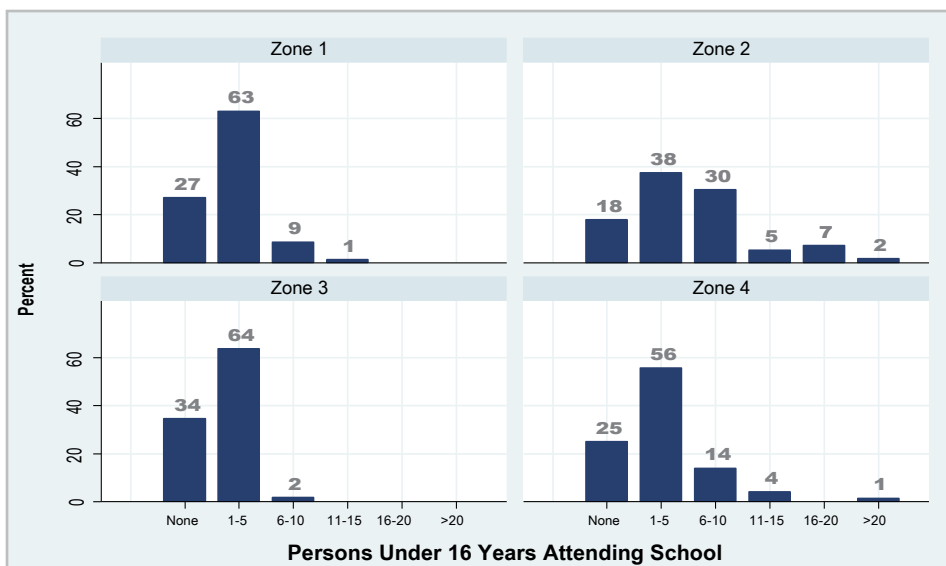


Figure 6. Persons under 16 years of age attending school by zone

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

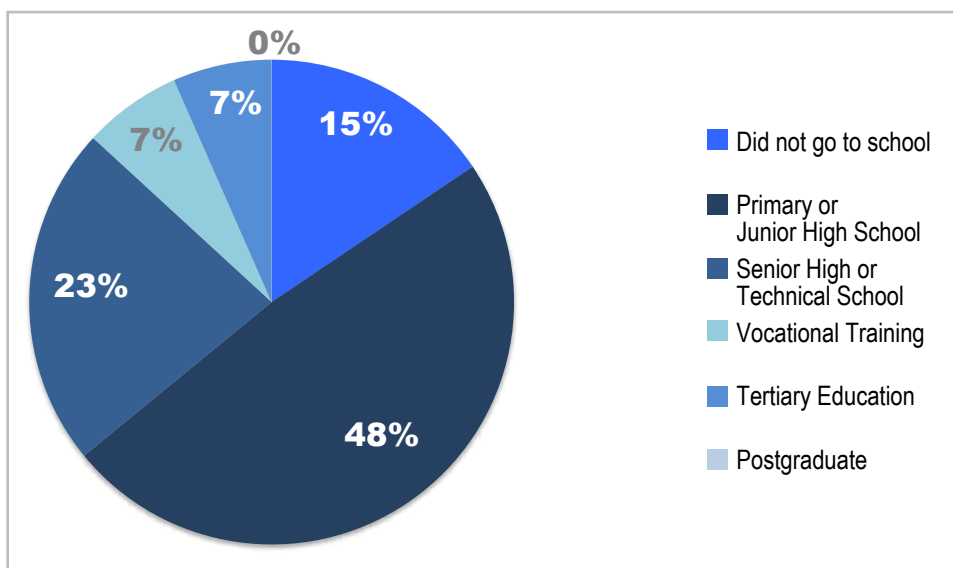


Figure 7. Educational attainment among female survey respondents

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

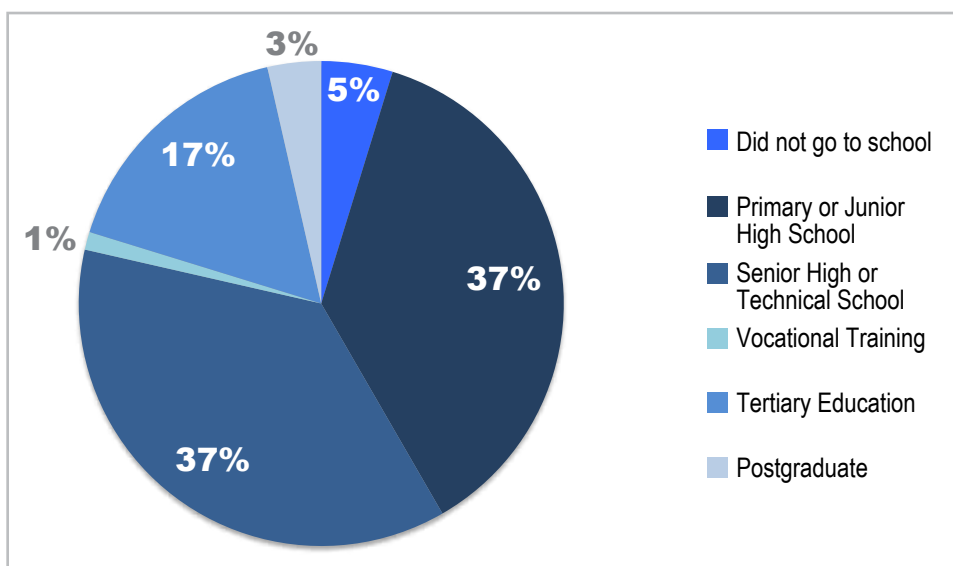


Figure 8. Educational attainment among male survey respondents

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

of those inhabiting Ghana's most remote villages. The other indicators for income poverty pockets are non-poverty (above \$10 USD/day), low poverty (between \$5-10/day), moderate poverty (between \$2-5/day) and very high poverty (less than \$1/day) (CHF International 2010: pg. 9).

Migration and Residential Mobility

Statistics on in- and out-migration for Korle Gonno alone are not available. That said, Korle Gonno has retained its predominantly Ga ethnic make-up over the years, with an increasing but relatively small percentage of residents of Ewe, Fante and Ashanti origin.

Residential mobility in Korle Gonno is largely determined by affluence – meaning, the general trend is that better educated and wealthier KG-natives often opt to move out of the community and into neighborhoods with more reliable municipal services. As one individual raised in Korle Gonno but residing elsewhere said, “those with the means to move out of Korle Gonno, usually do. Why stay?” (interview with anonymous former Korle Gonno resident, July 20th, 2011). Discussions with several other individuals who had been raised in Korle Gonno confirmed this trend. This trend may illustrate a type of “brain drain,” where the most educated and well-resourced community members leave and those without the means remain in the original family house. This predicament has important implications for investment in Korle Gonno, which will be discussed further along the report.

ANALYSIS

Population Dynamics

Inferences on population dynamics cannot be made until the community-specific 2010 Census data is released. However, data from CHF International (2010), drawn from AMA Statistical Office data from 2008, show Korle

Gonno to have a high population density range of 20,000 – 30,000 people/km².

Household Composition and Size

The data show a mean number of households per house of 6.4, which is far higher than the national rate of 5.1 (UN-Habitat, 2004). Zones 3 and 2 respectively have the highest percentage of houses with more than 30 inhabitants, while Zone 1 has the highest percentage of houses with more than 50 inhabitants, at 14 percent - a significant number. Houses in Zone 4 are the least densely populated, with 63 percent of houses containing fewer than 10 inhabitants. Site observations and interviews with community leaders revealed housing occupancy at its most dense in Zones 1 and 2.

The survey sample data shows a mean person-per-room (PPR) figure of 5.1, within a range of 1 – 26. From the available secondary data, KG is one of the most overcrowded communities in Accra. For example, the Bank of Ghana (2007) argues that 8.7 persons living in each housing unit represents inadequacy and acute overcrowding. Weeks et al (2007), working from a 10 percent sample of the 2000 Census data, report that Accra households endure a mean of 2.3, in relation to the five characteristics of slum housing, with the most critical gaps in access to water and sanitation and the lack of space per person. The other two characteristics, absence of durable structures and secure tenure, do not feature as such prominent problems. This assessment seems to reflect housing in traditional neighbourhoods in urban Ghana in general: it is reasonably well-built and secure, but it is badly serviced and overcrowded. Factors influencing overcrowding include both natural population growth – i.e., families expanding – and a higher number of tenants in recent years, as reported by landlords. Overcrowding is a clear determinant of decaying physical conditions of both the housing and infrastructure within the community.

For more analysis of housing conditions in Korle Gonno, please refer to “Baseline Conditions: Housing”, page 63.

Education

The abolition of the shift system⁵ has made headway into improving school attendance in Korle Gonno and across Accra in general, but serious challenges remain with regard to educational attainment. In general, education levels among residents of Korle Gonno are low, with many not having completed senior high school (SHS). The reasons for dropping out of school, as revealed by focus group discussants, include the inability or unwillingness of parents (or students themselves) to pay for tuition and class expenses; pregnancy and child delivery during enrollment in junior high school (JHS); and taking care of sick parents or grandparents. Re-enrollment for the majority of drop-outs is difficult to impossible, due to the lack of capital and/or time or incentive. (For example, it is not uncommon for youths who completed JHS to attain the same low-level jobs that SHS graduates do.)

Adult education – meaning, re-enrollment in school to complete SHS or above – is virtually nonexistent, due to lack of capital for enrollment and payment for materials, as well as a sense of discomfort over attending classes with students likely to be considerably younger. These factors put a significant strain on young people’s qualifications for “formal” employment, as most employers in the formal job market require at least a senior high school diploma.

Local vocational training programs, according to various interviews with community leaders and youths, are not yet regarded as provide high-quality training, which may hint at the capacity of the vocational training institutions, and perhaps the outdated trades being taught.

For more analysis on the role of education on employment and the labor force, please refer to “Baseline Conditions: The Local Economy,” page 89.

⁵ The so-called shift system, devised to address a shortage of classroom space, put many of Accra’s school-age children in school for only a half day, after which they would be replaced by a second “shift.” Accra’s current chief executive, as a signature issue, raised funds to build enough classroom blocks to eradicate the half-day program. Several hundred thousand Accra children still do not attend school at all, however, so the shortages of school infrastructure, as well as of qualified educators and community outreach, remain serious issues.

Education and Gender

Females endure particular obstacles in attaining sufficient levels of education. Specifically, young women are more often tasked with such household chores as fetching water, cleaning and helping with the home-based enterprise. It is not uncommon for young women to drop out during or after junior high school more than young men (see Figure 7), due in large part to teen pregnancy. Focus group discussions with young women revealed that the incidence of teen pregnancy in Korle Gonno is high, with an estimated average age of pregnancy at 15, and it not uncommon for 13 year-olds to become pregnant. Young women often enter relationships with men (their ages or older) in order to relieve financial pressures, our focus groups reported. Their boyfriends give them money and gifts, often in exchange for sex. In a number of instances, such exchanges have occurred not between a teen girl and her boyfriend per se, but simply with a neighborhood male.⁶

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

- Site observations, survey data and information obtained from interviews and focus group discussions highlight significant overcrowding – with a mean PPR among survey respondents of 5.1 - and its deleterious effect on housing and infrastructure conditions.
- Serious barriers to educational attainment prevail in Korle Gonno, especially among (but not exclusive to) girls and young women. Affordability of school tuition and associated costs are prohibitive for many families, a symptom of community-wide poverty. School dropout rates, undocumented here, are likely very high in Korle Gonno.
- Adult re-enrollment in school is low due to affordability issues and discomfort with being taught together with younger students. Nevertheless, there is significant interest in adult education if it can take place in an environment with similarly-aged peers.
- Dissatisfaction exists within residents (especially among young adults) with the affordability and overall quality of vocational training programs in Korle Gonno. Enrollment and course material costs are prohibitive for many interested young adults.
- Poverty in this residential area is not as multidimensional as in other low-income informal settlements: it is much more about the lack of jobs, low incomes and the poor quality of public services. These issues, both determinants for community-wide poverty, require urgent intervention.

¹ This is seen as “neighborhood prostitution,” though is not necessarily considered within the community to be “prostitution” in the conventional sense of the term. Indeed, it can be interpreted as a coping strategy.





Baseline Conditions

chapter 2

Land and Physical Infrastructure Systems

INTRODUCTION

This section presents the state of land and infrastructure systems in Korle Gonno, including land tenure and use, piped water, drainage and transportation services.¹ Findings are presented from site reconnaissance, new GIS data, survey and interview data and photo-documentation. Infrastructure engineering design and maintenance analyses were not conducted, as it was not within the scope or expertise of the MCI team. The data presented here can help identify ways forward for infrastructure maintenance assessments.

¹ Sewerage is not discussed, as there is no sewer network in Korle Gonno, a problem discussed in the “Sanitation Services” section of this chapter. Electrification is not discussed, either, as time and capacity restraints did not allow for it. During survey interviews, residents did report that electricity was sporadic, with frequent blackouts. However, these conditions are not exclusive to Korle Gonno, as many communities across income lines and across Accra experience frequent power outages.

LAND

To properly assess baseline conditions and the potential for redevelopment of the land and physical infrastructure systems in Korle Gonno, we must set into context Korle Gonno’s land administration dynamics.

Land Administration

Land in Korle Gonno was distributed for residential, educational, religious and sanitary uses by the Ga Mashie and James Town Stools authorities during the 1920s, in conjunction with city managers. Records of these original allocations are kept with the national Lands Commission office. The State Housing Company acquired some land following the 1939 earthquake, whereby they subsequently built common prototype houses for the resettlement of families; most land, however, was allocated directly to private individuals and families. As a direct transaction with the Ga traditional authorities was seen as sufficient in order to settle onto the land,



many families did not “formally” register with the Lands Commission. Most landowners who formally registered their lands were either foreigners or companies.² Land registrations that occurred before the 1960 constitution are freehold titles, whereas any land registered afterward are 99-year lease holds (Ibid).

Once the Ga traditional authorities vest ownership of land onto the family head, the land is under that individual’s control. Ownership is then passed on through lineage. While land in traditional Ga communities is typically vested through a patrilineal system, ownership was not necessarily passed down to men in Korle Gonno. Ownership of family plots was often bestowed upon women in order to avoid land disputes between offspring of the father, who may have had children with different women from outside the community, thereby risking bequeathing land to “non-core family members.” (It is very rare, and highly unconventional, for indigenous Ga

women to bear children with different men; thereby, core family retention by means of passing ownership to a Ga woman nearly risk-free in this regard.) As such, it is not uncommon for elder family heads in Korle Gonno to be women.

This custom has yielded some advantages. It has preserved the community’s Ga heritage and has allowed “eligible” women to enjoy security of tenure. In some cases, should a woman from Korle Gonno become widowed or divorced, she would return to her mother’s home and live there. All children of the woman landowner can claim rights to the land upon her passing. Many if not most of these women have taken advantage of ownership rights by establishing their own home-based enterprises.

Ga ownership of land, of course, determines how land is used - particularly residential land. Residential plot sizes for family houses typically incorporate space for a courtyard, as Ga families require a central space to hold important ceremonies such as “outdoorings,”³ weddings and funerals. Additionally, Ga family elders/heads are buried within their homes, with a shrine room built above ground. The need for space to account for these activities has resulted typically in low-density, horizontal, residential land use. There has not been much demand for compact vertical residential development, which is not perceived to be compatible with residents’ housing needs. (For further discussion of the implications of land tenure for housing, please refer to the Housing section in this chapter.)

Accounting for these important customs, as well as the fact that virtually all household (and many livelihood) activities take place in internal courtyards, it is easy to understand that land has a deeply embedded meaning to landowners in Korle Gonno. These customs influence the dynamics of Korle Gonno’s land market: many landowners perceive their land as invaluable and opt not to sell it.

² Source: personal communication, AMA Town and Country Planning Department.

³ Outdoorings are events celebrating the birth of a new child, introducing it to the community.

To this day, the Ga traditional authorities govern matters for land not owned by the AMA or family heads, including vesting ownership to families and resolving land disputes. Some residential land title records are kept at the James Town Chief's palace. However, to be legally recognized, land ownership and registration in Korle Gonno require the approval of both the Ga traditional authorities and the Lands Commission. Recent registration activities with the Lands Commission show that more families are beginning to register their properties formally. Despite the customary tenure system, market forces are increasingly determining the value of land in Korle Gonno and may be an additional incentive for formal registration. As such, land is administered in dual customary and freehold systems. Building permits must be obtained from the AMA in order to construct or renovate a building.

Examination of land ownership registries for Korle Gonno properties has thus far identified four sites under AMA ownership: the Roman Boys Catholic School grounds, the Kitson Mills School grounds, the Amazing Grace School grounds and the Post Office. All four properties are still operating and providing valuable services to the community. As such, the AMA may want to carefully consider the costs and benefits of converting this land into another use.

There are very few vacant lots available for purchase and/or development in Korle Gonno. In any case, the AMA and any interested investors need to engage in negotiations with Ga traditional authorities and/or family heads in order to acquire new land for development.

Land Use

City planners under the Guggisberg administration designed Korle Gonno's layout. The site design includes a street grid network and accompanying street gutters, as well as specific uses assigned to plots. This has translated into a relatively efficient transportation network for the community. Land designated for educational and worship use, for the most part, has not been converted to another use, whereas lands designated for sanitation

have been converted over time to other uses, such as worship, residential or commercial, which has affected access to sanitation facilities. This, by inference, hints at the lack of premium accorded environmental sanitation by the community, possibly an effect of the burgeoning population growth, which has led to the incessant illegal invasions of available (marginal) lands.

Despite its orderly site design, spatial planning and land use controls have not evolved in Korle Gonno. While there is a zoning ordinance from British colonial times (1945) with which every community must comply, the ordinance is widely considered obsolete by land planning authorities in Ghana. Indeed, the Land Administration Project is currently facilitating the Land Use Planning and Management Information System to revise the ordinance, and there is very little compliance with building codes or ordinance regulations. For example, infill development (residential or commercial) occurs without reference to established building codes (though



it can also be said that the building codes are obsolete in and of themselves). The AMA has had challenges in enforcing these bylaws.

Spontaneous commercial activity patterns have sprung up along major corridors and residential streets, with some degree of economic activity clustered around such major landmarks as the Korle-Bu Hospital and the beach. Along the major lateral corridors, such as Glover Addo Road and Roger Avenue, economic activities have not yet clustered into thematic areas that could be promoted as a particular land use other than “mixed residential-commercial.” Rather, there tend to be clusters of “informal,” small-scale businesses. Most homeowners also have a home-based enterprise operating from within their house. Home-based enterprises are allowed, without having to convert the use from “residential” to another designation, such as “mixed-use commercial.”

Land Use Planning Support Systems

Given that economic development is a key aspiration for the AMA, a reliable support system is needed to both enhance and control land use. The fundamental support system needed for devising sustainable land use planning in all communities in Accra is a Geographic Information Systems (GIS) database. The AMA Urban Management Land Information System (UMLIS), under the AMA Town and Country Planning Department, is the repository for GIS data. Data on Korle Gonno exists for building parcel footprints and roads, but an inventory of land uses did not exist before this effort began. Without this data for stakeholders to refer to, land cannot be effectively managed. The MCI-University of Ghana - Legon (UG) team thus created a land use and community assets mapping database for Korle Gonno, using source data from UMLIS and the Geological Survey Department. Since there is no zoning ordinance or land use plan for Korle Gonno, land uses here refer to the activities taking place on key corridors and in buildings. Activity patterns can and do emerge from the spatial data.

The maps contained in the “Local Economy” section contain color-coded schemes for each structure’s corresponding activity. The color-coding

Where site design and livelihoods intersect

One particular aspect of Korle Gonno’s site plan that has deteriorated over time is the use of frontage right-of-ways for pedestrian use. Outside of every home on every street, frontage was originally sited to create space for pedestrian use only. This feature was and remains an important asset for mobility, access and neighborhood character, as it represents the only form of non-motorized transport infrastructure in the community. Over time, kiosks and containers have sprouted all over the community’s frontages, providing services and retail such as salons, drinking spots, provisions, electrical repairs and video rentals. Some of these structures were built by landowners themselves, while others were built by native residents and residents from nearby communities such as Chorkor and Mamprobi. A more contemporary trend is for businesses to operate in front of family houses without “the family’s” consent, or perhaps with consent from a single family member. Many of these structures are also used as sleeping quarters during the night. These developments have resulted in a challenging predicament: while a number of these kiosks/containers provide important and affordable services to the community, they also encroach on a public good and are thus illegal. The dilemma for the AMA is how to consider the balance between enforcement of land uses and the administration’s sometimes conflicting aspirations to beautify the community while bolstering local economic development. Simply demolishing these structures without an alternative strategy for displaced entrepreneurs would hamper the local economy and foster distrust among the poor in Korle Gonno. (For further discussion on this important issue, please refer to the “Local Economy” section.)

is consistent with the proposed Ghana Land Use Planning Standards (2010). Data for building use activities were acquired via hand-held GPS inventorying on site. The map is not complete and requires further inventorying. However, the data captured by MCI can serve as a template reference for the Town and Country Planning Department, both to continue the inventory and to engage with the community to develop a future land uses plan that is consistent with a local economic development plan.

It is important to note that the spatial data, acquired from UMLIS, is dated 2006; buildings constructed since then, therefore, do not show up.

Conducting a full enumeration of the community and integrating the data into the GIS database would maximize the effectiveness of this new planning support system. It would aid tremendously in developing models and future development scenarios, all of which is critical information for investors and developers to draw upon.

PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE SYSTEMS

There is sentiment among some residents of Accra familiar with Korle Gonno that its infrastructure systems are enviable, compared to other low-income communities such as Accra New Town and Nima. Whether this is true or not depends on the context used for comparison. On one hand, Korle Gonno enjoys a fairly comprehensive (though decaying) trunk infrastructure network, except for sewerage. This is especially the case for its roads infrastructure, which allows easier access and rights-of-way for capital improvements in drainage, water and sewerage services; this kind of access is very uncommon in many of the city's low-income communities. On the other hand, maintenance of said infrastructure is the problem at hand, rather than its layout. If the appropriate maintenance and expansion works can be facilitated in Korle Gonno, it could serve as an example for the rest of the city regarding how well a community can function if only its land and infrastructure systems are well-planned and -maintained.



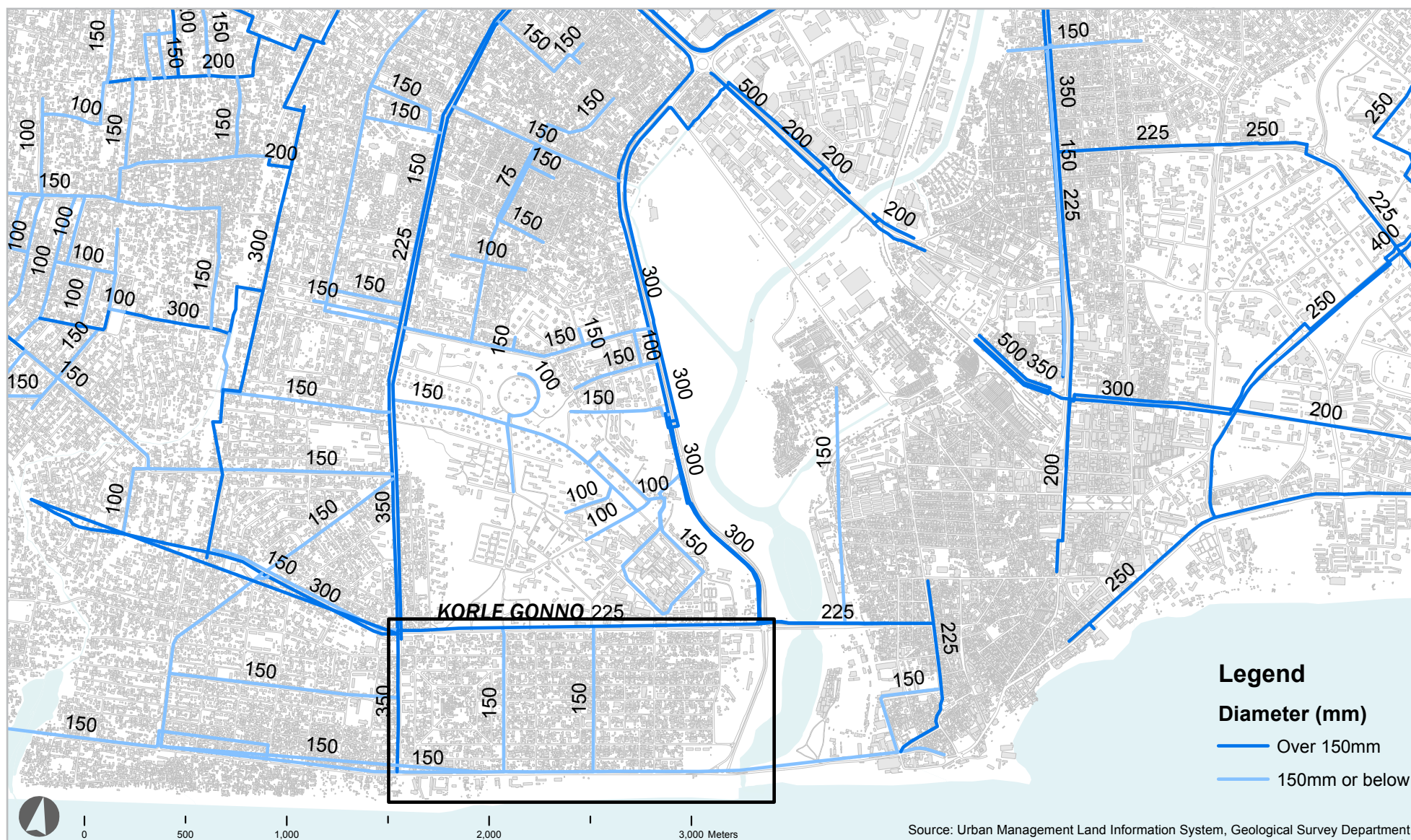
Water

Map 3 shows Korle Gonno's piped water infrastructure network in relationship to its surrounding area within the city. Note that the map does not show new water main installations since 2006 or illegal water pipe extensions.

Key water mains run through Eduardo Mohlana Road (350mm diameter) and Guggisberg Avenue (225mm diameter). Old Winneba Road, Awetse Kojo Street, and Roger Avenue have water mains with 150mm diameter. Glover Addo Road, which serves as the boundary between Zones 1 and 2 for this study, does not have a water main.

Household Access to Water

While household access to piped water or other improved water sources may be relatively good compared to other low-income settlements in Accra, the quality and access of water provision falls short of MDG targets. Site



Map 3. PIPED WATER NETWORK: Piped Water Network in Korle Gonno Area

Source: Urban Management Land Information, Geological Survey Department, Earth Institute Millennium Cities Initiative

inspection of select houses for the survey shows that many of them had an in-situ water tap and meter. Overall, 78 percent of survey respondents had access to a water tap for drinking, which qualifies as an improved water source, as shown in Figure 9. Figure 10 shows water tap access subdivided by zone; Figure 11 shows the percentage of tenants with access to an in-house water tap.

The survey shows Zone 1 having the largest percentage of residents lacking access to a water tap, at 31 percent. Zones 2 and 3 have water tap access above the 75th percentile, and 92 percent of Zone 4's respondents had access to an in-house water tap. Tenant access to in-house water taps was similar to those of family house heads and their relatives.

These statistics, however, tell only part of the story, as water access within a house may not be equal for all households. Generally, the head household owns the water tap. Other households – including family members and tenants – typically have to use the “pay as you go” system, where they

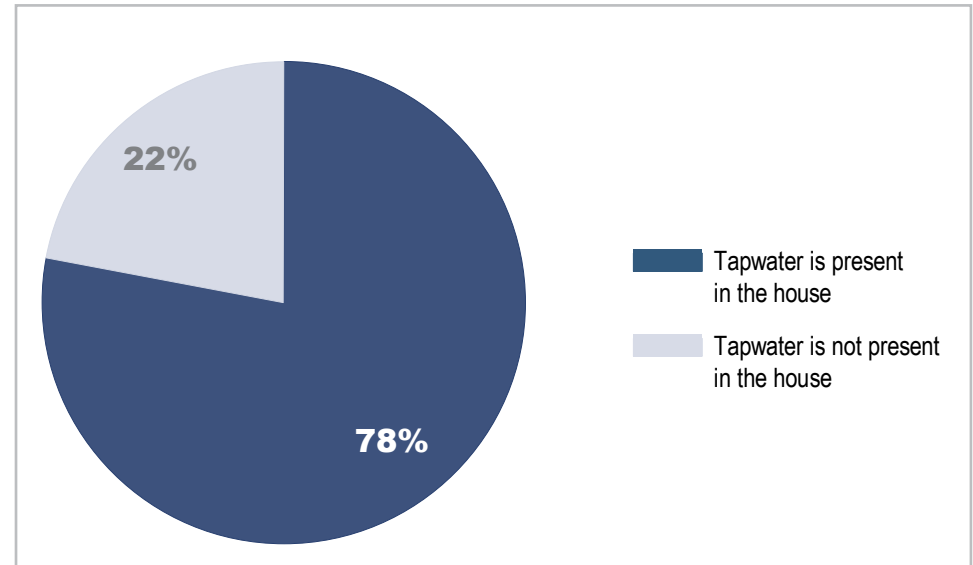


Figure 9. Presence of tapwater in house

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

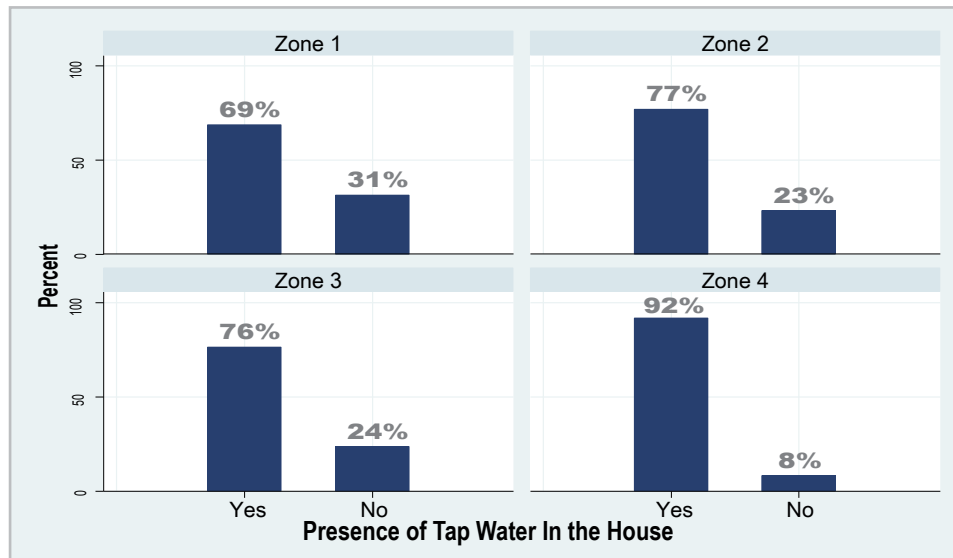


Figure 10. Presence of tapwater in house, by zone

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

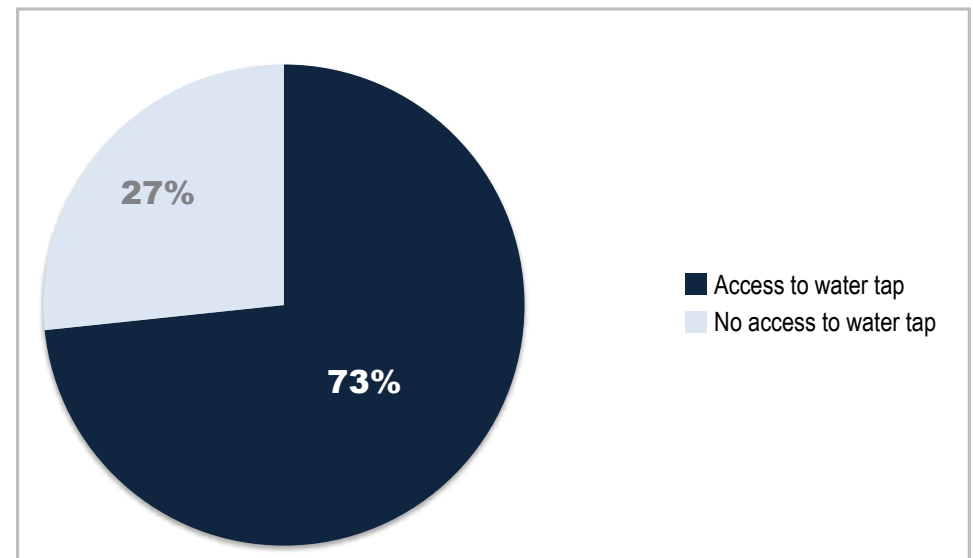
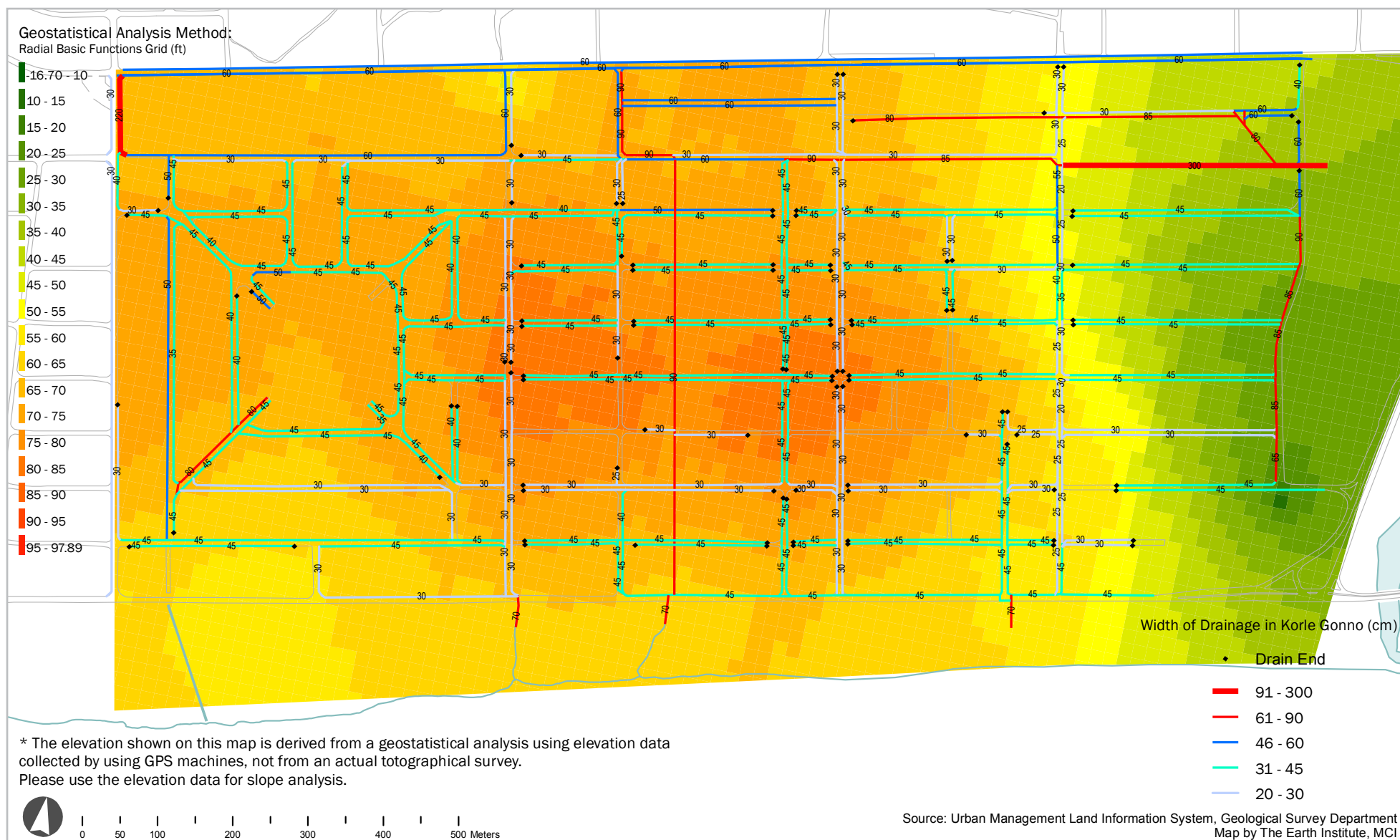
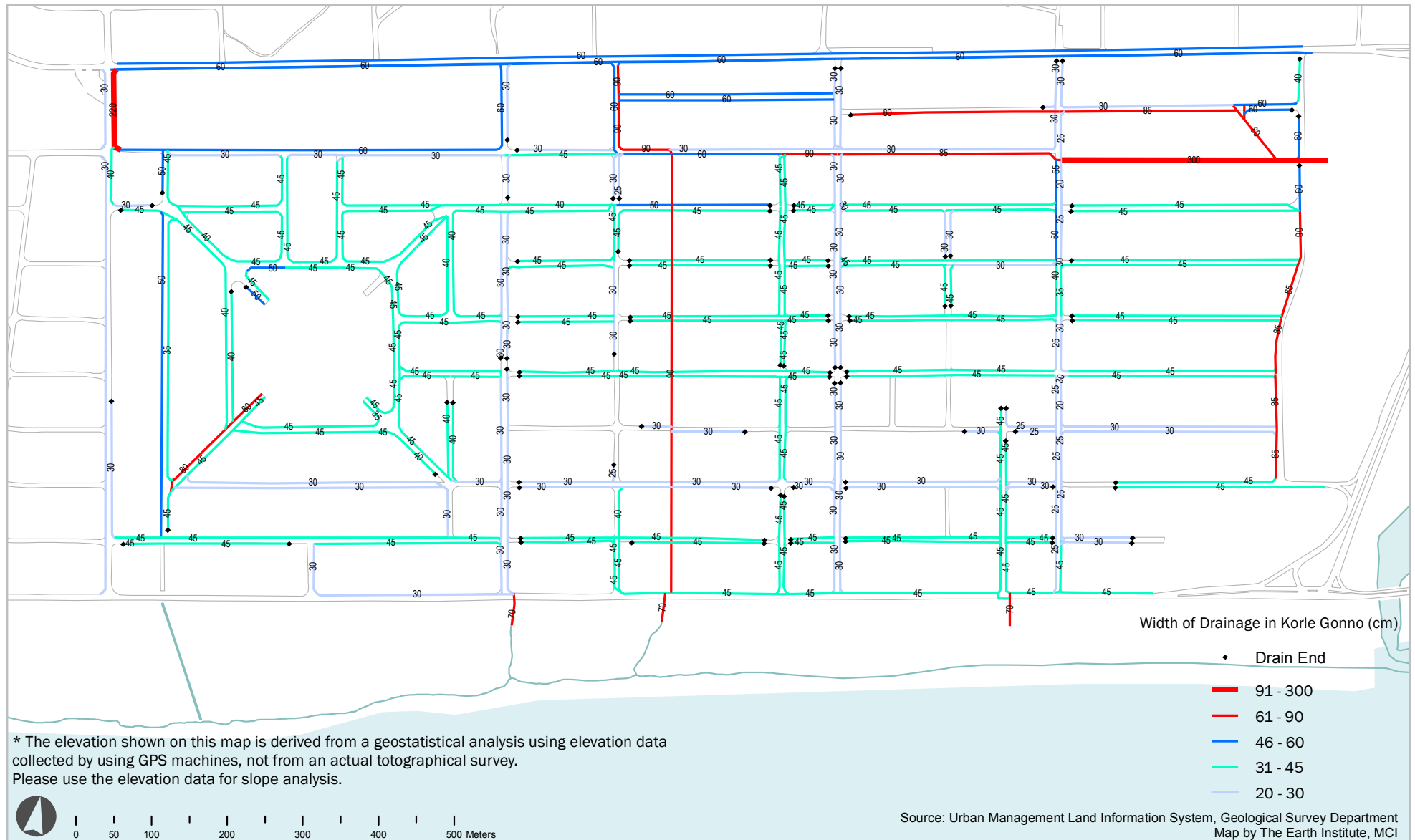


Figure 11. Tenant access to in-house water tap

Source: University of Ghana, 2011



Map 4. DRAINAGE NETWORK IN KORLE GONNO: Elevation



Map 5. DRAINAGE NETWORK IN KORLE GONNO: Drain Widths

Source: Urban Management Land Information, Geological Survey Department, Earth Institute Millennium Cities Initiative



pay the family or house head for water. A bucket of water typically costs 5 pesewas, while water for bathing directly from the shower costs 20-30 pesewas. This pricing is out of range for a number of households and therefore limits the access of many to potable water.

Illegal tapping of water occurs in Korle Gonno, especially in blocks where the water main runs through one side of the street. Pipes are routinely tapped into the main, with water diverted to the other side of the street for use. Tapping occurs mainly at night, using inappropriate materials and local contractors. Such practices not only affect the water supply pressure, thereby potentially interrupting access; they also compromise the water quality itself.

Most respondents without access to an in-house water tap reported purchasing water from a vendor.

The water quality of the piped or vendor-supplied water was not tested, as this was beyond the scope of the study. However, a number of residents complained about the quality of piped drinking water.

Drainage

The MCI team created a map of all drains in Korle Gonno, using GPS and GIS technologies. Maps 4 and 5 show its drainage infrastructure network and elevation.

Korle Gonno was developed with comprehensive roadside drains, with widths ranging from 0.3 to 0.45 and 0.6 meters. More recent drains have been installed, measuring between 0.6 and 0.9 meters in width. The 0.3-meter drains have depreciated notably, as they are the oldest existing drains – Map 4 shows noticeable width decreases of up to 0.10 meters along the lower part of Glover Addo Road.

Four outlets drain untreated into the nearby seashore south of Old Winneba Road. Not treating the stormwater effluent presents an environmental health hazard at the seashore, as residents defecate inside the drains and/or throw “flying toilets” into the drains as refuse. During the rains, this waste – liquid and solid – wash away into the sea – sometimes. Residents reported that it is common for many residents in the community to dispose of solid and fecal waste and wastewater by dumping it into the drains during the rains. However, the drains are usually choked with solid waste before the rains arrive, attracting flies and mosquitos, with potential vector-borne disease implications. Foul odours also arise, especially along Kitson Mills Road, where the Kitson Mills School is located.

There are numerous drains in Korle Gonno that end abruptly. MCI interviews of the local AMA assemblyman and residents have revealed that this gap may be due to contractors leaving the job unfinished after not getting fully paid by the accountable government agency. However, it is also possible that the stoppages were engineered as such, as part of the engineered drainage network. To further clarify this condition, site

inspections by drainage engineers is clearly needed. Map 1 shows GPS points indicating where these stoppages are visible.

Residents did not report flooding as a serious concern. However, there are flood “hotspots:” Adey Nuno Road and Roger Avenue; Zone 4 near the northwest corner of the Tuesday Market, and occasionally in Zone 1, where the 3-meter wide drain is located.

Though the physical conditions of drainage require maintenance work, the central concern is rather the choking of the drains, which is tied to a greater environmental sanitation problem. The attendant drainage conditions cannot be meaningfully improved without also improving access to toilet facilities and solid waste management. It is clear – and urgent – that further analysis of the physical drainage infrastructure be carried out by civil and/or environmental engineers.

Transportation

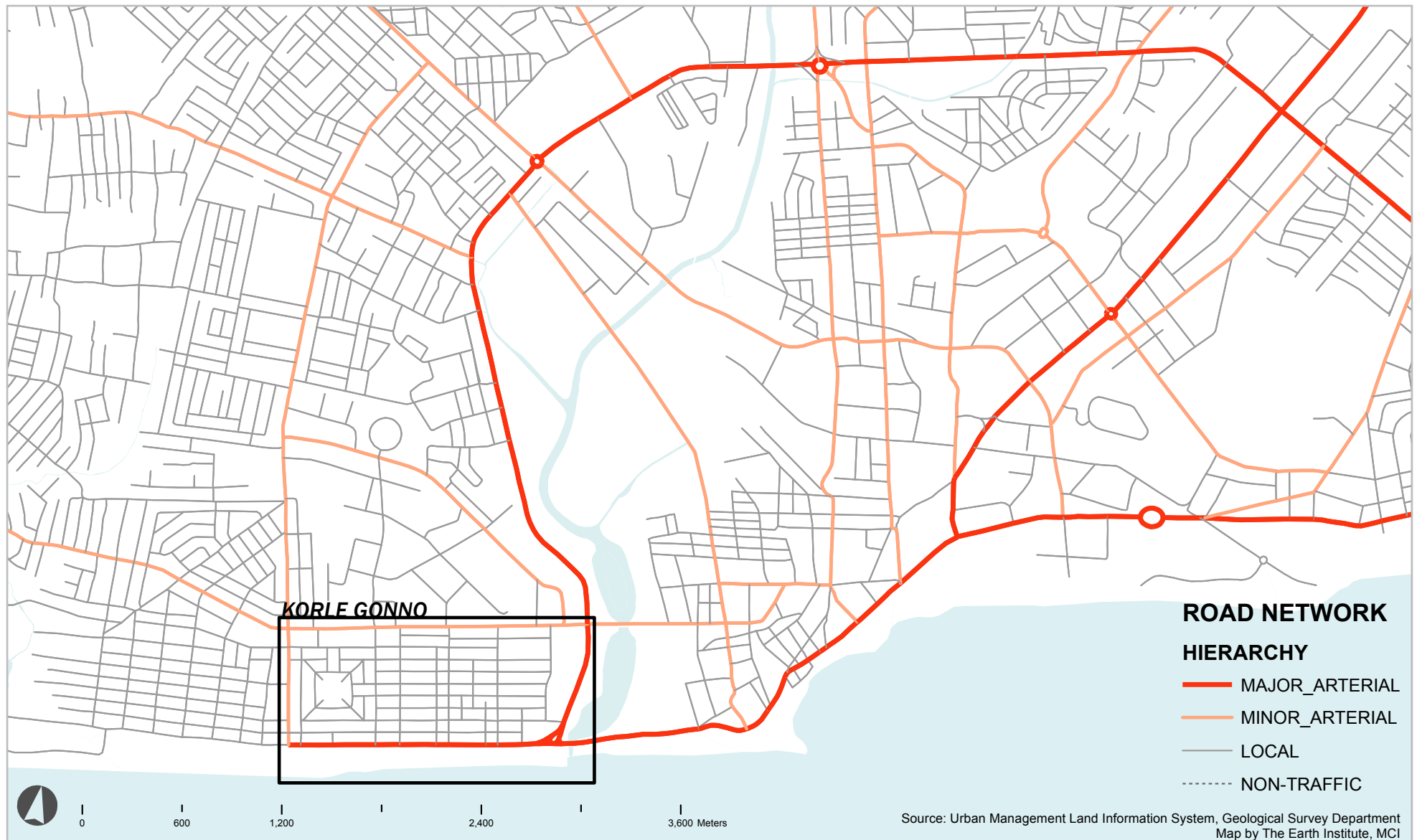
One of Korle Gonno’s key assets is its road network. Map 6 shows Korle Gonno’s arterial network in relationship to the surrounding areas within the city. Map 7 shows a close-up of Korle Gonno’s main arterials. Major arterials include Ring Road West and Old Winneba Road; minor arterials include Guggisberg Avenue, which links to Ring Road West, and Eduardo Mohlana Road, which links to Winneba Road (not to be confused with Old Winneba Road).

Across the community, local roads connect between Old Winneba Road and Guggisberg Avenue. In general, the grid network results in a relatively orderly traffic circulation. Guggisberg Avenue is the most important transport hub in the community, as many residents converge onto the tro-tro stations. Most of the tro-tros⁴ are destined for Accra Central (CBD), Kwame Nkrumah Circle and Kaneshie. Tro-tros also make stops on most of the other streets in the community. One transportation service emerging in the community is the use of motorcycle for commercial purposes, a system popularly called the OKADA service.

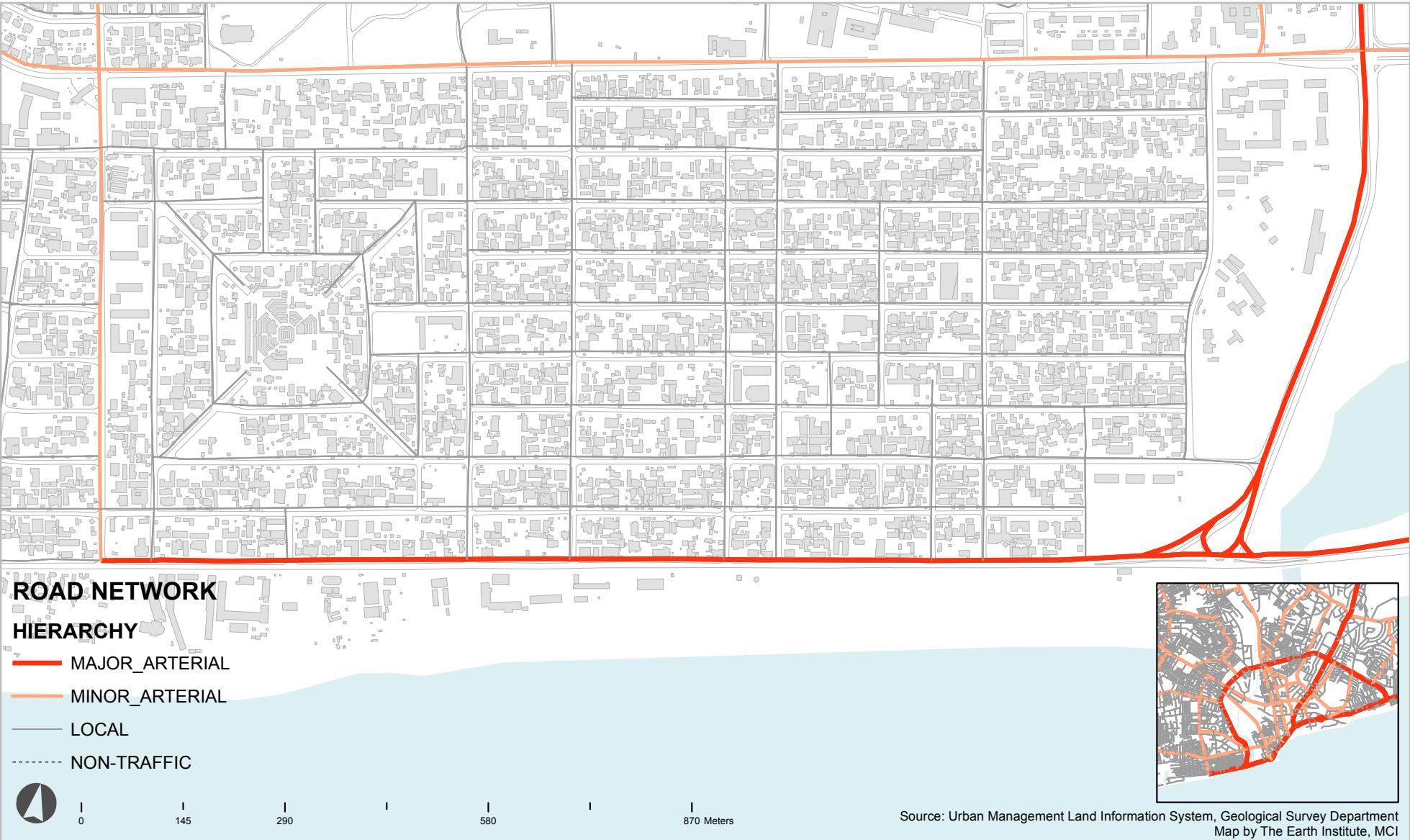
Road Conditions

The MCI, upon discussion with the AMA Department of Urban Roads, conducted a comprehensive GIS mapping exercise capturing the conditions of Korle Gonno’s road network. Included in the mapping were road widths, paving conditions and the presence of potholes and (small) sinkhole-like cavities. Maps 8-10 show the conditions of Korle Gonno’s road network. Road conditions are poorest (in terms of paving) on Kpakpo Brown Street and Ahoma Kojo Street, running throughout Zones 1, 2 and 3, as well as in Zone 4, where most of the roads around the Tuesday Market are either unpaved or have damaged paving. Zone 1 in particular has poor roads on Kpakpo Brown Street, Ahoma Kojo Street and Qunarmine Street.

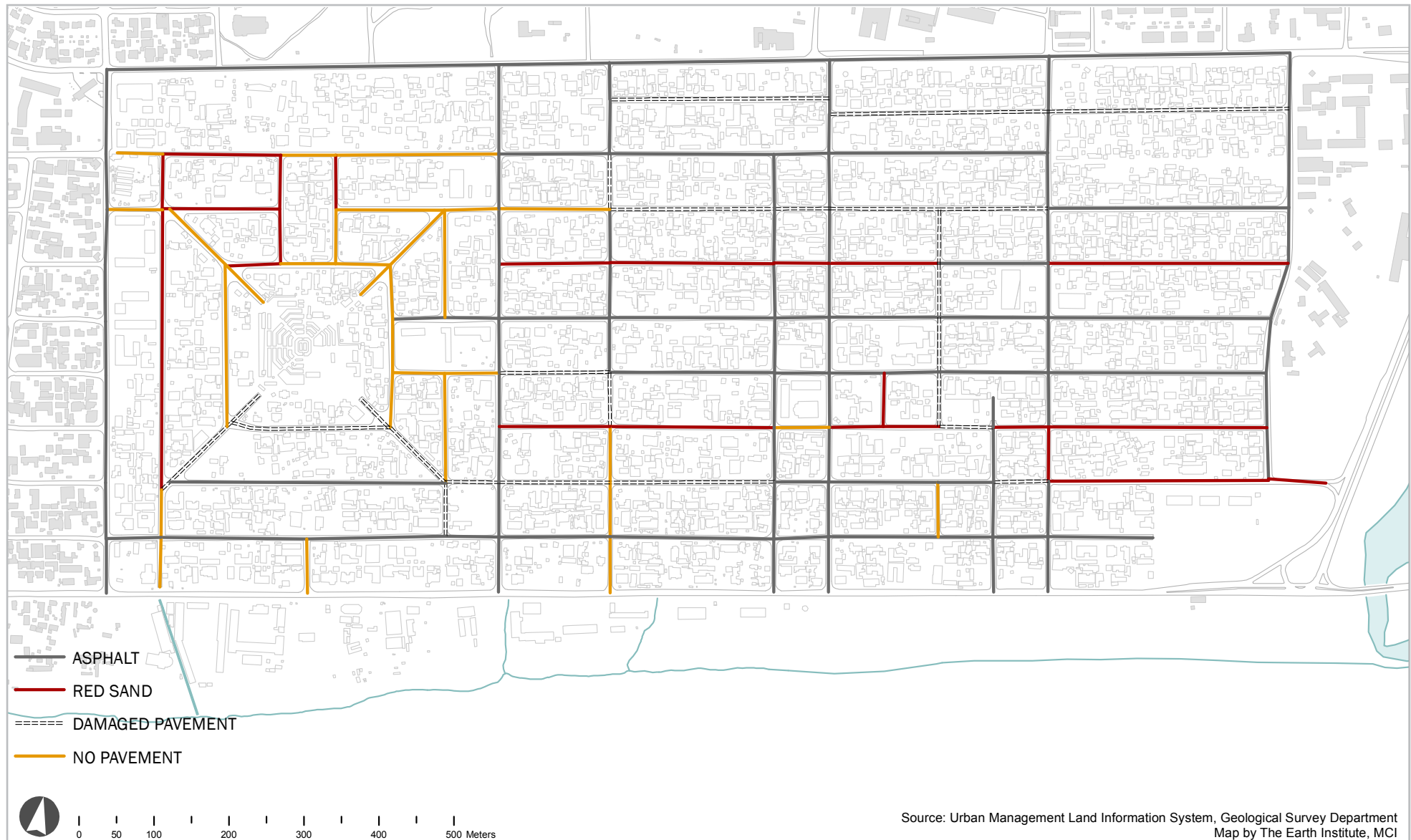
⁴ Tro-tros are minibuses used by most of the population to get around town; pricing depends upon the distance traveled but is generally affordable.



Map 6. KORLE GONNO'S ROAD ARTERIAL NETWORK

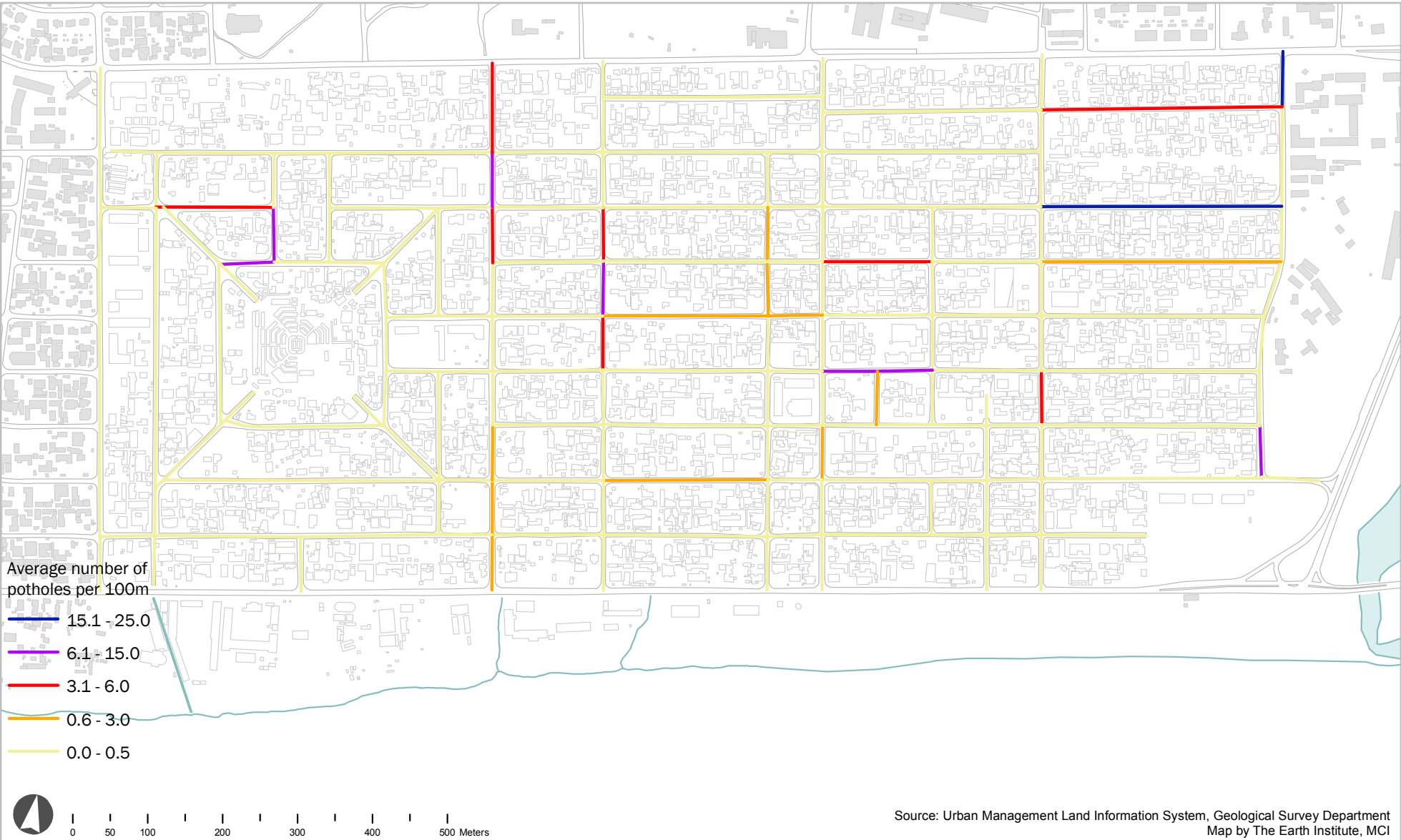


Map 7. KORLE GONNO'S ROAD ARTIALS: Zoom-In

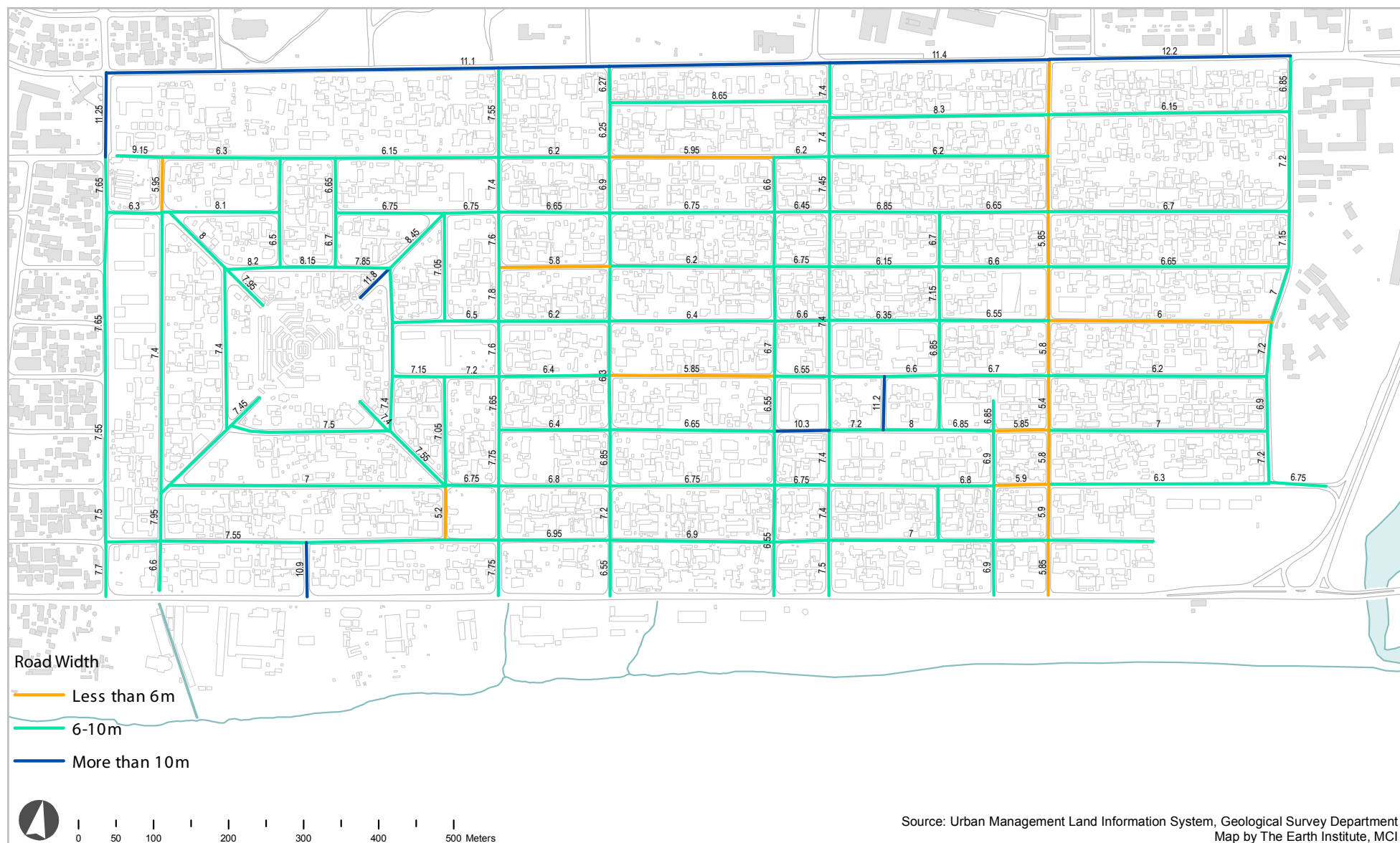


Source: Urban Management Land Information System, Geological Survey Department
Map by The Earth Institute, MCI

Map 8. KORLE GONNO'S ROADS: Paving Conditions



Map 9. KORLE GONNO'S ROADS: Quality Conditions



Source: Urban Management Land Information System, Geological Survey Department
Map by The Earth Institute, MCI

Map 10. KORLE GONNO'S ROADS: Widths

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

- There is not enough AMA-owned land to facilitate a meaningful economic and housing development program, including upgrading and infill development, without engaging in negotiations with Ga traditional authorities and land plot owners.
- Sewerage is the most urgent infrastructure service needed, as there is no sewer network in Korle Gonno.
- Water pressure and quality tests should be conducted on Korle Gonno's piped water network.
- Access to and affordability of water is a matter of concern, despite a more functional piped water network than in other low-income communities.
- Further analysis of Korle Gonno's drainage capacity is needed – in particular, site inspection by drainage engineers -- in order to accurately identify what is needed to improve the drainage infrastructure. In general, though, maintenance appears to be much more of an issue than design.
- Roads are particularly eroded on Kpakpo Brown and Ahoma Kojo Street. Zone 1 would benefit from road works on Kpakpo Brown Street, Ahoma Kojo Street and Qunarmine Street.
- The Tuesday Market area would benefit from road works, especially if it is to be considered a key community asset and potential site for future investment.
- Further assessments of Korle Gonno's electricity services are needed in order to identify accurately what must be done in order to improve upon its current grid.



Baseline Conditions

chapter 3

Housing

INTRODUCTION

Perhaps nothing else symbolizes the conflict between the promises and daunting challenges for development in Korle Gonno more vividly than its housing. Situated across the community lies a unique array of architectural styles: historic houses with Victorian motifs, built during the 1930s-60s by Ga elites and wealthy merchant women from Makola Market; the common prototype compound houses, painted with vivid local colors such as yellow, cream, pink and sky blue; and self-built wooden shacks, reflecting the gaps in supply and demand of adequate and affordable housing. This variety is microcosmic of the types of housing one finds across most of traditional Accra, yet presents a unique housing landscape because of its integration into one community's space.

Korle Gonno exemplifies the importance that Ga society places on housing not only as shelter, but as the center of all activity. Home-based

enterprises are a fixture in this community. Spaces in houses are used for the preparation and selling of various goods, from the *kenkey* being cooked in the courtyard and sold on the porch, to the indoor tailoring and product display in a makeshift store within the plot.

The family house is also a center for social events. On weekends and during holidays, members of extended families converge onto the original family house, to eat and drink together, discuss family matters, listen to folk tales and enjoy each others' company before setting out to their nuclear family dwellings across Accra and beyond. In Korle Gonno, land and housing are culturally indispensable – they form the vessel within which families imprint their identities and legacies.

Despite the central importance of housing to residents of Korle Gonno, lack of maintenance over the years has led to significant decay across all housing typologies. A casual streetside walk reveals flimsy roofing,



broken windows and fledgling doors; walking inside some of the houses would reveal overcrowded living spaces, filthy walls, absence of sanitation facilities and various foodstuffs and goods scattered haphazardly across the floor. There are several factors behind these conditions, including the lack of access to financial capital and a lack of financial investment in family houses by family members residing outside of Korle Gonno.

Upgrading of housing stock – and in some cases of infill housing development - can yield important benefits to Korle Gonno, if a well-rounded understanding, not only of its physical conditions, but also of housing's role in social and economic affairs, is factored into the planning and implementation of community housing schemes. This section helps to provide the AMA and other key partners in the housing sector with that understanding, through a combination of site reconnaissance, GIS data, photo-documentation, survey and semi-structured interview data.



TENURE TYPOLOGIES

Land tenure for residential use in Korle Gonno falls into four main categories:

- Freehold ownership via customary acquisition or purchase through the real estate market
- Lease arrangement – under an official leasehold with the landowner
- Rental arrangement – typically a direct owner-to-tenant arrangement
- Informal arrangement – unauthorized settlement, kiosk, container or “under-the-table” rental agreement

The vast majority of land for residential use in Korle Gonno is owned by families.¹ As such, security of tenure is not a pressing issue for longtime owner-occupiers and their resident relatives, most of whom enjoy living on premises without paying rent. However, landownership in Korle Gonno is still very complex, due in part to quarreling among relatives regarding ownership rights to the same land. Litigation between family members is not uncommon. These litigations – often over who can use the land, and how – can drag on for years, even decades. During this time, any investment in the upkeep of housing in the plot typically ceases. This creates a “dead land” scenario, where the land cannot be used to shelter anybody. Unfortunately, these plots of “dead land” amount to a waste, considering that the plots could be used (given negotiations with the owners) for upgrading or infill development.

RENTAL HOUSING ²

Rental housing provides shelter and income-generating opportunities for many residents of Korle Gonno. Rent revenues are a major source of

income for many property owners, most of whom are either retirees, widows or unemployed. Smallscale landlordism is common in Korle Gonno – 60 percent of owner-occupiers from the survey rented rooms to non-relatives (University of Ghana, 2011). Of course, rental housing provides flexibility for many prospective tenants across income lines, but especially for low-income workers and/or families. Many tenants in Korle Gonno live within the same house as their landlords, under both official and unofficial arrangements. Issues of tenant exploitation by landlords did not readily surface during survey interviews with tenants – one reason may well be due to the presence of landlords in the house during the survey, but every effort was made to interview tenants alone, to give them the opportunity to report any grievances.

Unsurprisingly, there is an informal rental market, and prices appear to operate within a quasi-market.³ Current rates for rental accommodations in Korle Gonno under this arrangement carry the following general pricing structure:⁴

- Standard room, 14 x 14 feet, no toilet: 25 cedis per month
- Standard room, 14 x 14 feet, with toilet: 28-30 cedis per month
- Room with chamber hall, 14 x 28 feet, no toilet: 45 cedis per month
- Room with chamber hall, 14 x 28 feet, with toilet: 48-50 cedis per month
- Self-contained single room, with kitchen, bath and toilet: 65-70 cedis per month
- 2-bedroom self-contained structure with kitchen, bath and toilet: 120 cedis per month
- 3-bedroom self-contained structure with kitchen, bath and toilet: 180-200 cedis per month

¹ Source: Interview with Director of AMA Town & Country Planning Department, May 22, 2011.

² Note: Research on supply and demand of rental accommodation stock was beyond the scope of this study. However, it is very important to conduct this research, in order to meet the demand for rental accommodations.

³ Note: “market rate” refers to a rental price system agreed upon by landlords in the community.

⁴ Source: Personal communication with Korle Gonno Assemblyman, June 25th, 2011.

DEVELOPMENT OF NEW SQUATTER HOUSING

Squatter housing – that is, housing with no land title or other permit - is on the rise in Korle Gonno, especially in Zone 1.⁵ These structures are typically situated on under-utilized land owned by absentee landowners or, in other instances, by “under-the-table” arrangements between owner and resident/tenant. These structures, also seen in between buildings and alleyways, are constructed by both indigenous homeowners and tenants, often with such flimsy material as timber scraps for foundations and frail corrugated metal sheets for roofing. Both indigenous Ga and migrants build and reside in these dwellings. Immediate neighbors are more often than not tolerant of these developments, as extra rental income is now a norm in the community.

Enforcement of building permit bylaws is still manageable, so long as adequate and affordable housing options are provided for those lacking tenure security.

⁵ Source: Personal communication with *Korle Gonno Assemblyman* and colleagues, June 25, 2011.



HOUSING TYPOLOGIES

There are generally six main housing typologies found in Korle Gonno:

- Historic multi-storey detached family dwelling with courtyard
- Ground-level compound house with courtyard
- Two-storey compound house with courtyard
- Multi-storey apartment complex
- Wooden shack structure with courtyard
- Wooden shack structure without courtyard
- Kiosk or container, used for economic activity during the day and as a sleeping unit at night

As mentioned above, Ga elites and wealthy market merchant women originally built many of the old multi-storey buildings. Most of these houses have retained their unique historic character but have deteriorated in physical quality, due to lack of investment in upkeep.

The compound houses, for the most part -- ground-level structures with a chamber room and attached rooms -- are the more typical houses in Korle Gonno. Most compound houses contain courtyards that are essential spaces for cooking, washing, working and socializing. Thus, the courtyard is inseparable from the Ga family house.

Wooden shacks are becoming more common in recent years, no doubt a reflection of poor households' inability or unwillingness to build, rent or buy more structurally sound houses. These structures are more reminiscent of the “slum” housing found in settlements in James Town, Accra New Town and other areas, illustrating that informalization in housing is becoming more common in established low-income neighborhoods. This trend can only be deterred by investments in the community.

In a number of cases, a mixture of building materials used as foundations was observed. It is not uncommon to see sandcrete and plywood extensions

from the original concrete structures. Extensions are typically used as additional sleeping quarters, washing bays or for economic activity.

While the wooden shacks are more dilapidated, virtually all housing typologies found in Korle Gonno have experienced some significant decay over time. There is no doubt that overcrowding plays a significant role in the deterioration of housing stock.⁶

BUILDING MATERIALS

The composition of building materials for housing in Korle Gonno varies, with the age of the structure an apparent factor. The historic buildings have cement walls and corrugated metal or asbestos sheets for roofing. More recent compound houses have a combination of concrete and sandcrete, with asbestos or slate roofing. Sandcrete on its own is the preferred alternative to concrete for the majority of community members, who desire their own personal residences, but who may be financially challenged. It is very affordable, due to the fact that the source material is simply extracted from the nearby beach and can be sold at between 60 pesewas - 1 Ghana cedi (USD 0.31-0.53), for a large rice bag full of sand.⁷

While some residents in Korle Gonno hire architects and contractors (informal, formal or both), do-it-yourself, incremental housing is more common. This self-help housing is dependent upon the homebuilder's social networks. The homebuilder can pay a lower price than market value, or can barter for a service or goods exchange with masons, e.g., to build their home or make repairs to it, when time and disposable income allows for it. As such, it is difficult to ascertain a reliable figure for construction costs of an average compound house.



It is important to note that although the use of asbestos sheets for roofing has decreased in Accra, and their prominence as a building material is less in Zone 4 in Korle Gonno, they are still found in many (if not most) homes; a series of inspections may be needed to ensure that there are no associated health hazards present.

In-house access to water and sanitation

For information on in-house access to water, please refer to the “Land and Infrastructure Services Section.”

Access to Sanitation Services

Access to an in-house toilet is much more problematic than the in-house piped water access. This is unsurprising, given that Korle Gonno does not have a sewer network, and numerous homeowners disclosed that they had converted their washroom into a bedroom. Provision of in-house toilet facilities is perhaps the most important and first step in an upgrading strategy

⁶ For information on housing occupancy, please refer to the “Demographics” section.

⁷ Source: Interview with sand seller, June 24, 2011.



for Korle Gonno. For survey results and more discussion on sanitation services in Korle Gonno, as well as forms of household solid waste storage, collection and disposal, please refer to the “Sanitation Services” section of this chapter.

Access to Kitchen Facilities

From the 2011 University of Ghana survey, 57 percent of survey respondents indicated they had access to kitchen facilities in their dwelling, as indicated in Figure 12. Care should be taken when looking at the figures showing presence of kitchen facilities, as presence does not necessarily equate access.

Zone 3 has the largest discrepancy in kitchen facilities; it is not clear why respondents there have significantly less access to kitchen facilities than in other zones. Among all tenant respondents, 68 percent did not have access to a kitchen; 44 percent of extended relatives of the family head did not have

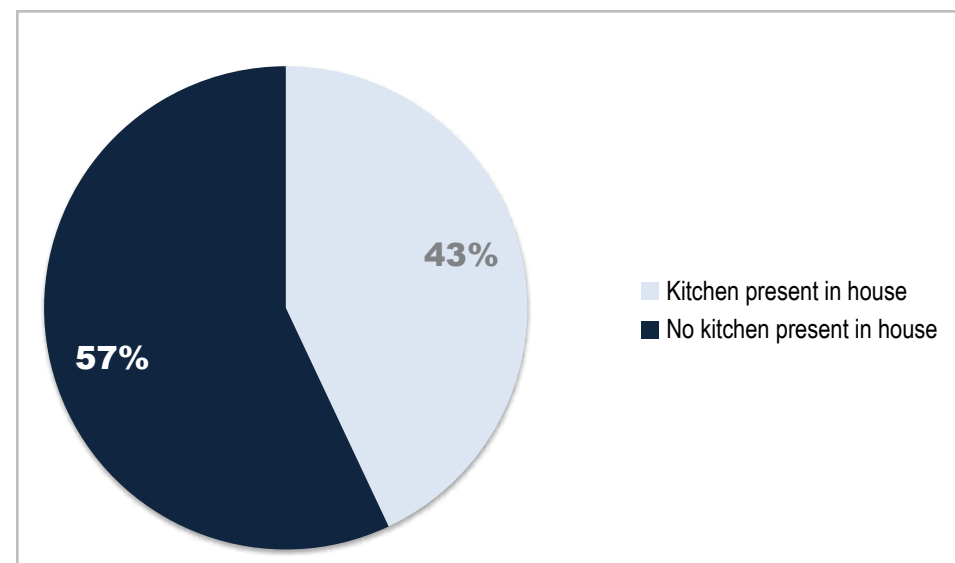


Figure 12. Presence of in-house kitchen facility in houses surveyed

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

access, either. This discrepancy in access between tenants, relatives and the family head's household is likely due to tenants and relatives not having their own kitchen facilities and not being granted access to the landlord/family head's kitchen. Quarrels among family members may ensue over access to kitchen facilities, as those closer to the family head may have better access than others.

Those without access to a kitchen for cooking reported using courtyard/open space or their porch to cook, as shown in Figure 13, which shows the location options for cooking among survey respondents. As Figure 14 shows, use of courtyard space for cooking is particularly high among respondents living in Zone 1. This may be due to Zone 1 possibly having a greater housing density than the other zones, hence the premium for space. Approximately five percent of respondents lacking kitchen facilities cook indoors using other means, such as a charcoal grill, making them potentially susceptible to elevated levels of indoor air pollution. Site observations and discussions with residents revealed that some prefer to cook in the courtyard or porch even if they do have access to kitchen facilities, underlining the importance of considering how to integrate the physical design of kitchen amenities with the courtyard.

Household members without access to kitchen facilities eat either inside their rooms, in the courtyard or in front of the house, risking pest infestations and their health-related consequences.

Housing as space for livelihoods

Like many communities across Accra, the use of living quarters for work space or home-based enterprises is very common in Korle Gonno. Forty-three percent of survey respondents used part of their living space for work or business. Many residents typically use their courtyard or porch for this activity, as shown in Figure 15.

Figure 16 breaks down the results across zones. Fifty percent of survey respondents in Zone 1 used their living space for work. Zone 2 has a

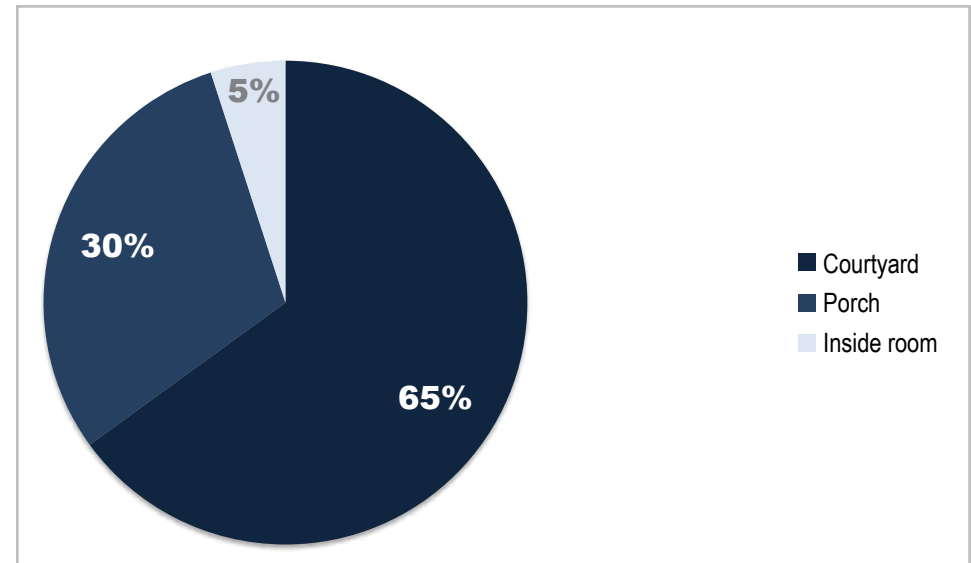


Figure 13. Other locations for cooking in-house.

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

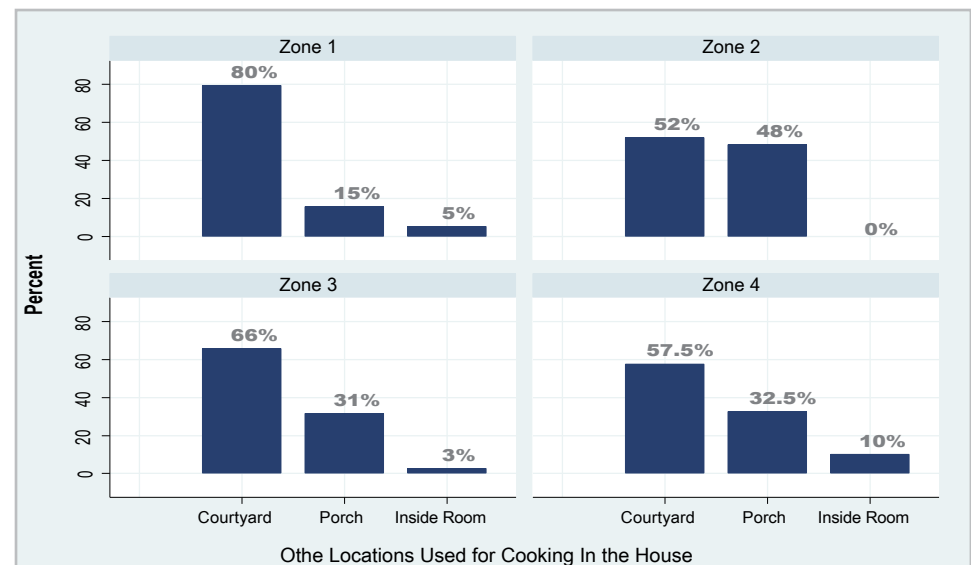


Figure 14. Other locations for cooking in-house, by zone

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

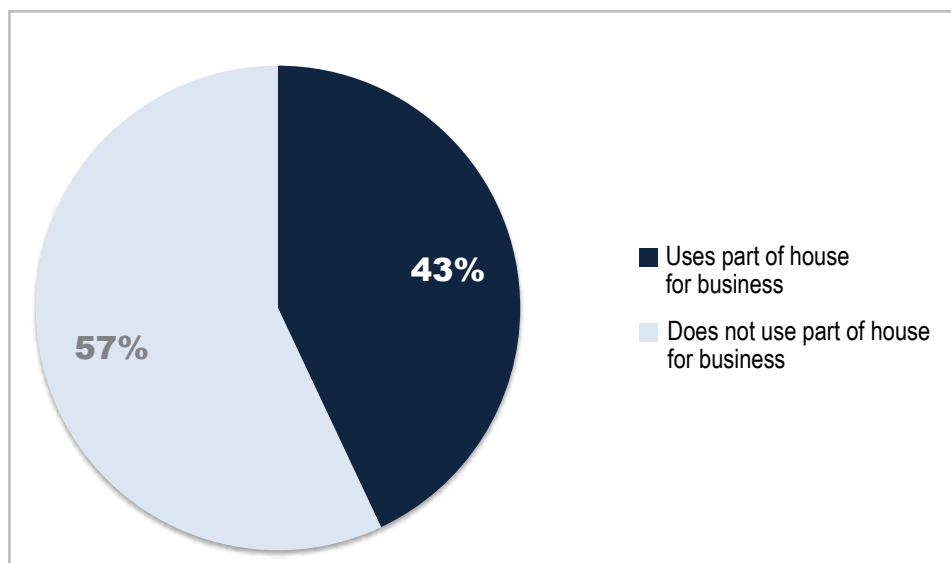


Figure 15. Use of living quarters for work or business

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

striking disparity – only 21 percent used their living space for work. We cannot offer an explanation for this difference at this time.

For more information on the importance of home-based enterprises as a source of income and livelihoods, please refer to Chapter 6, “Baseline Conditions: the Local Economy,” page 89.

Resident perceptions on physical conditions of housing

The UG survey asked respondents for their perceived level of satisfaction with the condition of their dwelling. Figure 17 shows the results by zone. Across all zones, under 30 percent of respondents expressed the condition of their housing as “bad” or “very bad.” In general, there appear to be average rates of satisfaction among residents with the physical condition of their dwelling. It is important to mention that at least two factors could have affected the outcome of this result: first, some residents did not want any perceived “trouble” and gave a positive answer; second, some residents

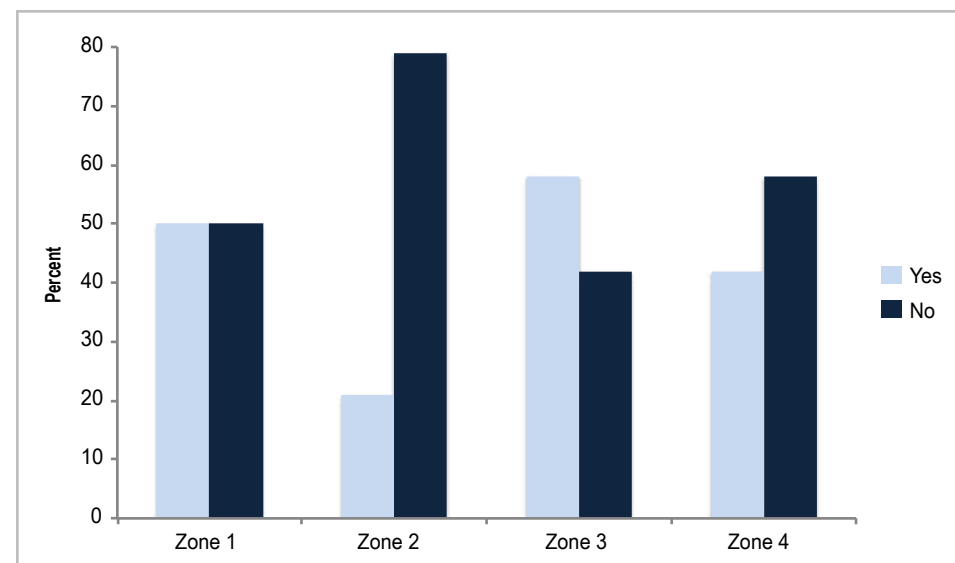


Figure 16. Use of living space as work space, by zone

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

may have grown accustomed to some of their unhealthy living conditions, such as overcrowding and lack of sanitary facilities, suggesting a lack of reference to better alternatives. However, one cannot rule out some residents' avowed sense of attachment and belonging to their family home, irrespective of its physical condition.

When asked to rank their housing problems unrelated to sanitation – specifically, lack of rooms, lack of open space, quarreling, water and electricity supply - respondents ranked lack of rooms and open space as first and second, respectively. These rankings reflect overcrowded conditions and a decrease in plot space due to structure extensions. Many residents expressed dissatisfaction that weddings, outdoorings and funerals, all of which used to take place outside of the family's house, are now occurring streetside, affecting traffic flow and increasing noise levels.

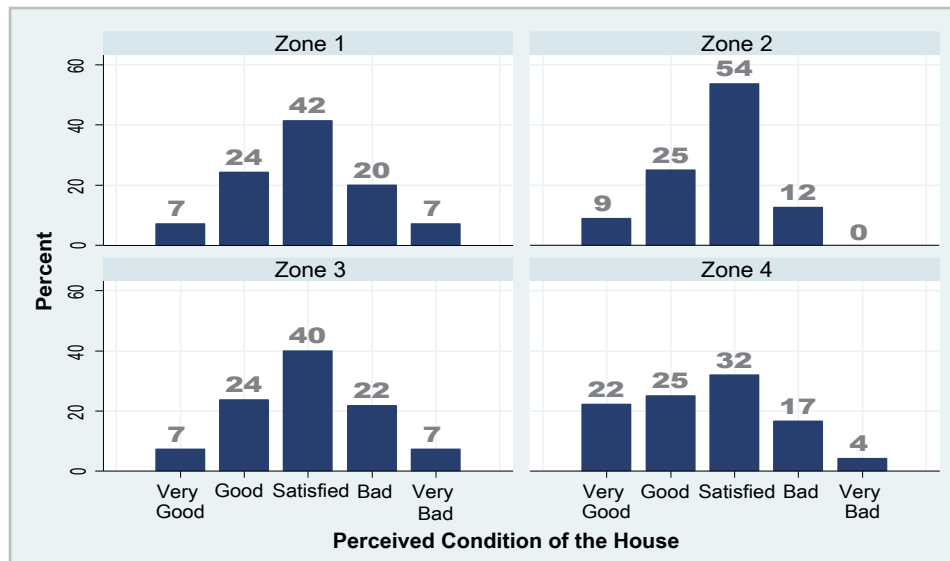


Figure 17. Perceived housing conditions among survey respondents, by zone
Source: University of Ghana, 2011

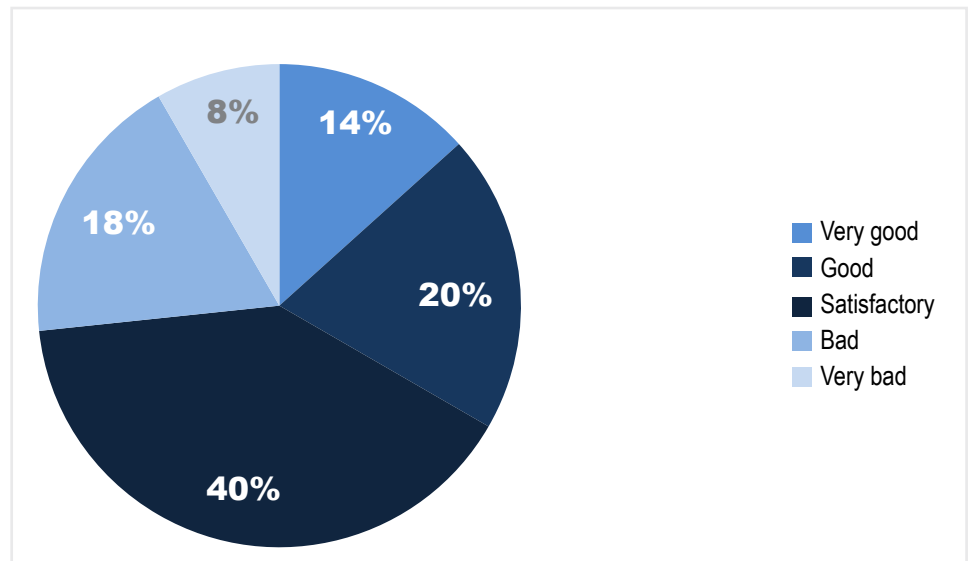


Figure 18. Tenant perceptions of housing conditions
Source: University of Ghana, 2011

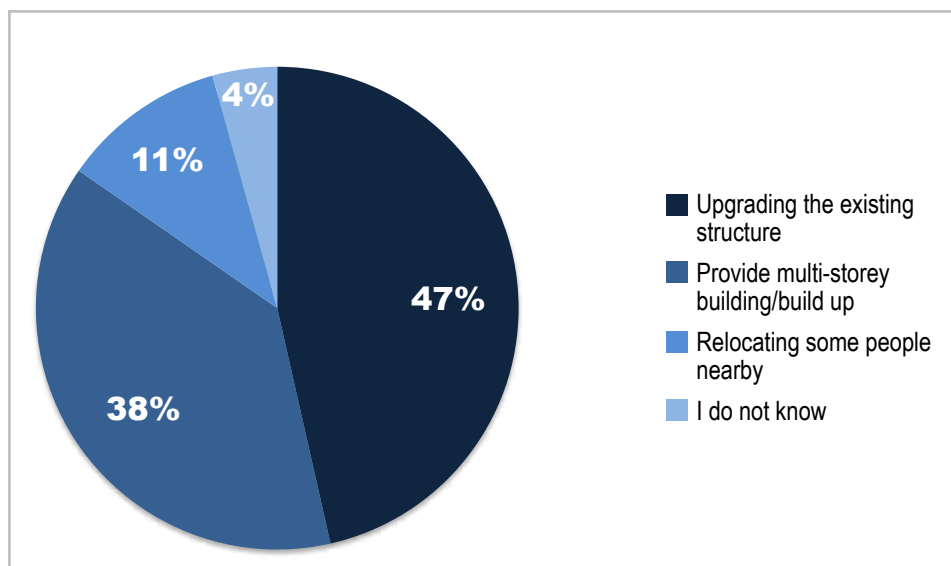


Figure 19. Preferred government intervention in housing sector

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

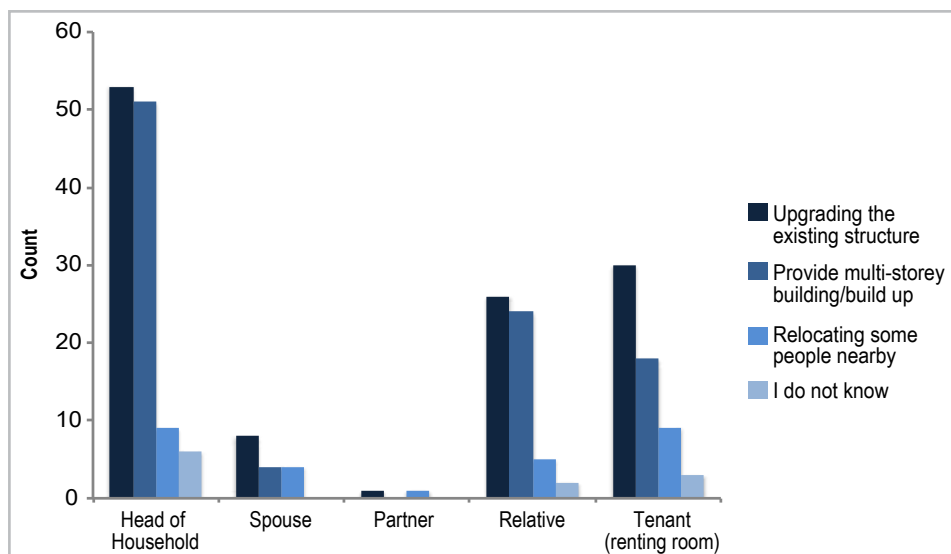


Figure 20. Preferred government intervention in housing sector, by household position

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

Resident preferences for housing upgrading

Survey respondents were asked to identify willingness and preferences for specific government interventions in the housing sector. As Figure 19 shows, 47 and 38 percent of respondents preferred in-situ upgrading of existing structures and multi-storey infill housing, respectively.

Figure 21 shows government intervention in housing by zone. Zone 1 favors both in-situ upgrading and multi-storey construction, with emphasis on the latter. Zone 3 respondents also favor multi-storey construction, but respondents in Zones 2 and 4 significantly preferred in-situ upgrading. It is worth noting that housing density is lower in Zone 4 than in the other zones, though Zone 2 has relatively higher housing density, yet prefers in-situ upgrading.

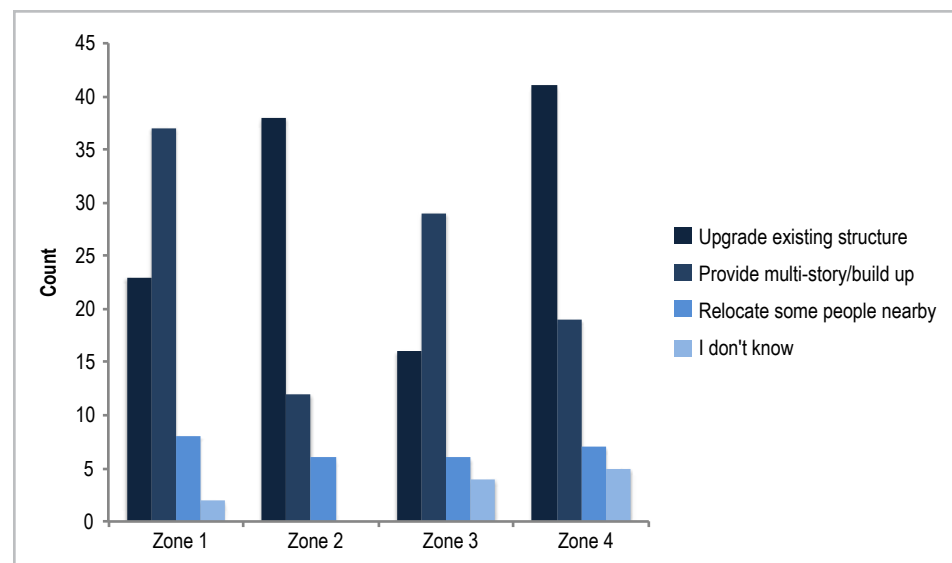


Figure 21. Preferred government intervention in housing sector, by zone

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

- Provision of in-house toilet facilities should be the first step in a housing upgrading scheme.⁸
- Potential health problems related to corrugated asbestos sheets used for roofing should be monitored.
- Houses are becoming increasingly crowded, and space is dwindling. Effective upgrading and vertical infill housing development will eventually be needed to attenuate overcrowding. Land pooling and land sharing arrangements are potentially beneficial in this regard.
- Alternatives to sandcrete as construction material need to be identified and promoted in order to improve structural integrity and drastically reduce the extraction of sand from the nearby beach, which is contributing to coastal erosion.
- Rental housing can be a successful enterprise in Korle Gonno, if purchasing power, physical quality, access to key infrastructure services, proximity to employment and social networks are factored into a sustainable rental housing program.
- Squatter housing by both indigenous Gas and migrants is on the rise in Korle Gonno but can be managed effectively, if adequate and affordable shelter is planned and provided for in the short-to-medium term.
- Future housing design and/or upgrading schemes need to factor in the importance of space for home-based enterprises, as well as integrating the functionality and accessibility of kitchen amenities within the courtyard.
- A historic preservation program whereby historic houses can be restored would contribute to community beautification, help restore the neighborhood character, pride and identity and benefit tourism development prospects for Korle Gonno.
- In general, Korle Gonno residents are in favor of government support for housing upgrades and infill housing schemes. Owner-occupiers and landlords are positive about both schemes, while tenants, surprisingly, endorse upgrading more than infill housing, which would give more options in rental housing stock. Residents of Zone 1 prefer government involvement in infill housing, which may reflect a particular premium in space for housing that may be felt less in the other zones. Residents of Zone 3 also showed more interest in an infill housing scheme, whereas residents of Zones 2 and 4 showed more interest in in-situ upgrading. While Zone 2 has high housing density, Zone 4 has the lowest housing density in the community and may reflect a preference among residents to keep it that way.

⁸ For more information, see “Sanitation Services” chapter.

Lavendar Hill Sewage Dumping Site



Baseline Conditions

chapter 4

Sanitation

INTRODUCTION

Sanitation services at their present levels represent the most significant impediment not only to public and environmental health in Korle Gonno, but also to luring investment for local economic development. Residents are well aware of this: asked to rank which service they thought AMA should focus on improving, the top three services (in order) were drainage, sewerage and solid waste management. These services have decayed to unacceptably low or nonexistent levels, despite the community's relatively strong infrastructure network.

This section presents the existing state of sanitation services in Korle Gonno, including sewerage, toilet access and solid waste management. For analysis of the conditions of drainage infrastructure, please refer to the "Land and Infrastructure Systems" section, page 45.

Sewerage and Toilet Access

The most urgent urban service lacking in Korle Gonno is access to toilets and sewerage. The community is faced with a severe two-fold condition: the siting of Lavender Hill within the community, and the lack of a sewer network. (Korle Gonno has never and currently does not have a sewer network.)

Lavender Hill

Approximately six years ago, the practically new, sole liquid waste treatment plant in Accra became non-functional, as a result of a lack of capacity for maintaining the facility. Not having an alternative liquid waste treatment facility, the disposal of liquid waste began to be dumped into the ocean untreated, from a slope on a stretch of beach in Korle Gonno. This place, now known as Lavender Hill, is a source of embarrassment for Accra residents, particularly those living and working in Korle Gonno.

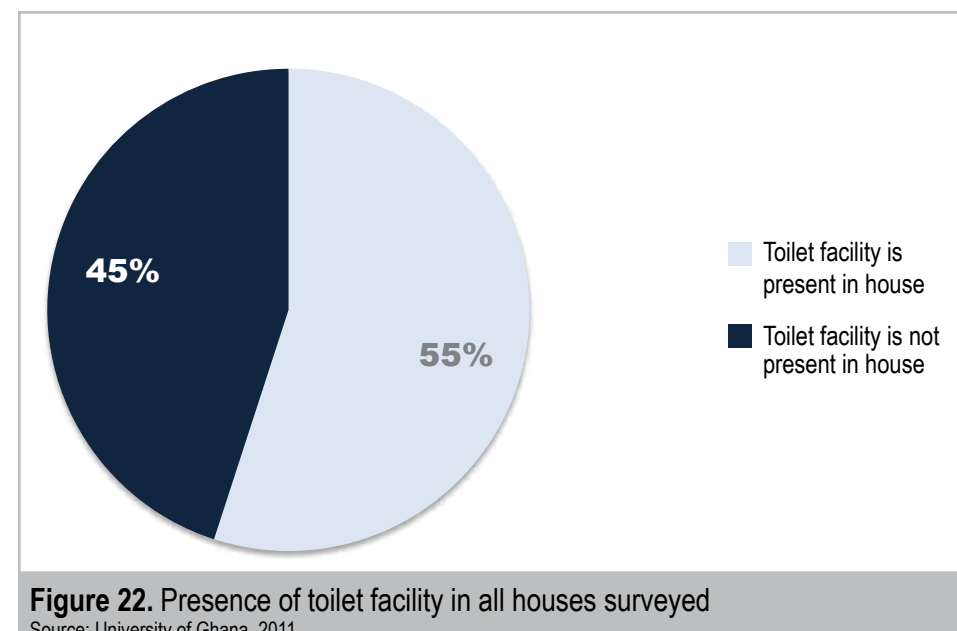
Korle Gonno's beach is the recipient of the city's liquid waste sludge, and as long as it remains so, it will continue to degrade the coastal environment. It also presents serious public health hazards, as high winds carry sludge particles into the air and through Korle Gonno and James Town. Lavender Hill represents the single largest deterrent to private investment in the development of Korle Gonno. For example, no serious planning for a tourism development corridor can be facilitated without what is popularly referred to as, "the elimination of Lavender Hill." However, doing so is a very complicated, multi-phase undertaking; and the contaminated, odiferous eyesore cannot be remedied without a viable alternative for managing the city's liquid waste.

Lack of Sewer Network

The absence of a sewer network has left residents of Korle Gonno with two "official" options for toilet access: an in-house toilet, such as a Kumasi Ventilated-Improved Pit (KVIP) or Water Closet (WC), or a public toilet.

The number of in-house toilets has declined in Korle Gonno as a result of increasing landlordism, triggered by pervasive poverty and culminating in the conversion of washrooms into rentable bedrooms. The UG survey provides a snapshot of this key issue. Figure 22 shows that 55 percent of all survey respondents have toilets in their houses. Figure 23 shows the percentage of those with an in-house toilet facility by zone. Respondents from Zones 1 and 3 had the least access to an in-house toilet. Figure 24 shows the type of in-house toilet facility as indicated by respondents.

However, these graphs tell only part of the story. Note that the data show the *presence* of a toilet in the house among all respondents, but not the *access* to a toilet. An individual house may have anywhere between 5 - 15 households or more living there, and only one household may have access to the toilet therein. Figure 25 illustrates access to an in-house toilet by household position. Unsurprisingly, the household of the head family member, the owner-occupier, has the best access to an in-house toilet;



tenants had the least. Figure 26 shows those alternate toilet facilities used, according to household position. Again, unsurprisingly, public toilets are the most frequently utilized option.

Access to Sanitation: Focus Group Findings

During the focus group discussion, participants unanimously confirmed that many of them have to rely, at best, on public toilet for their sanitation needs, even though they have WCs in their respective homes. There are two main reasons for this: the issue of water, who pays the bills and the cost of dislodging the liquid waste when full. Having the public toilet as the only option for so many is problematic, for the fee to use the public toilet is too costly for many residents. For example, a family of five has to pay 1 Ghana cedi (USD 0.53) per visit to a public toilet facility amount that might otherwise be used to buy two balls of *kenkey*, or dinner for one family member. Hence many are compelled to defecate at the “free range on the beach” or to use flying toilets, all of which are detrimental to the

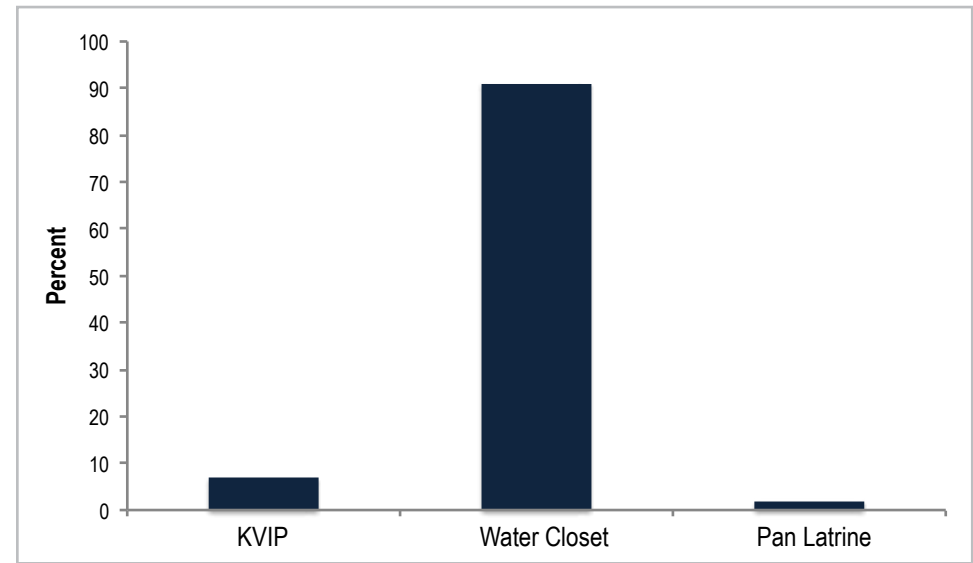


Figure 24. Type of toilet facility present in house

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

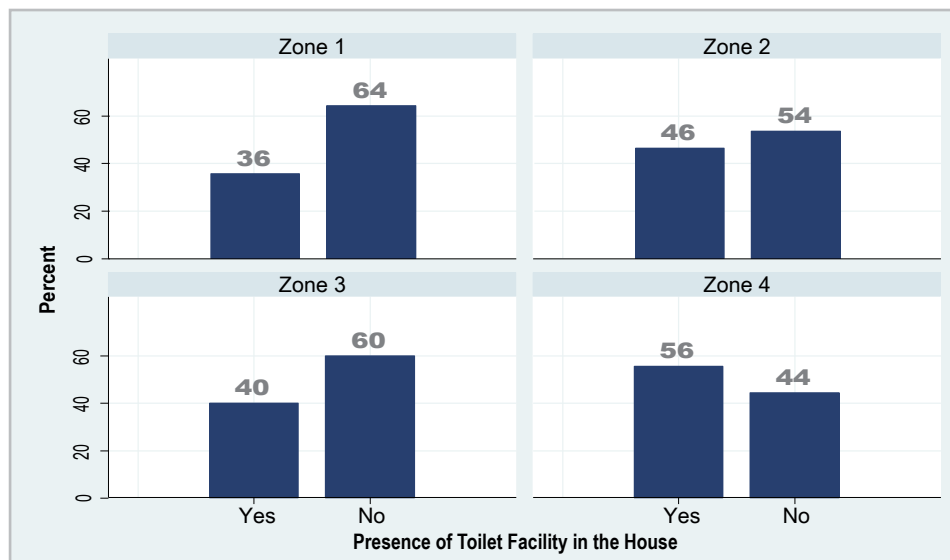


Figure 23. Presence of toilet facility in house, by zone

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

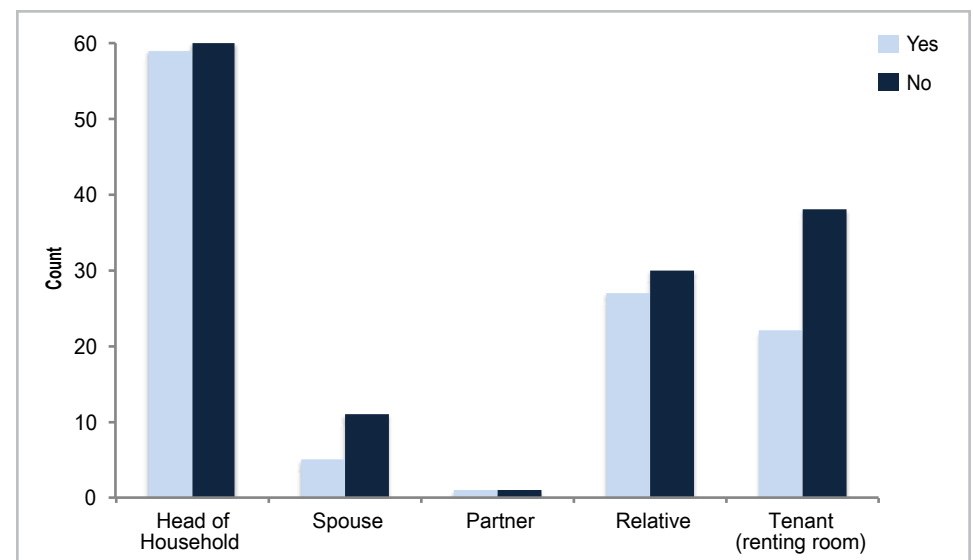


Figure 25. Presence of in-house toilet by household position

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

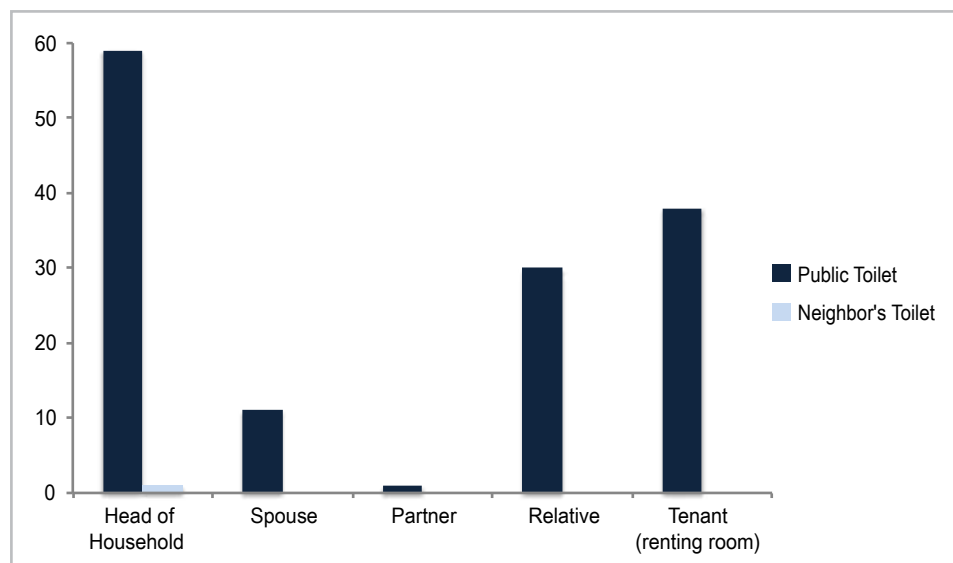


Figure 26. Toilet access if not in-house

Source: University of Ghana, 2011



environment, the public health, basic notions of cleanliness and dignity and the functionality of the community's drainage infrastructure. Impeded access to toilet facilities has also resulted in open defecation in the drains, especially into the Zone 1 3-meter drain, otherwise known as "Sempe," which flows into the Korle Lagoon (which itself flows into the sea).

The comments provided by focus group discussants give a more striking illustration of what happens in Korle Gonno as a result of the lack of reliable access to toilet facilities:

"We do not have private toilets, so we visit the public toilets. We pay 20 pesewa (USD 0.11) per visit, and we are giving paper to clean ourselves, not a toilet roll."

"There is no water at the public toilet to wash our hands with."

"We also visit the big gutter at Sempe [drain in Zone 1] in the nighttime, if we do not have money on us. "

In August 2011 the office of the AMA Chief Executive announced that work is underway to open a liquid waste treatment plant in Ga Mashie in January 2012,¹ and that Lavender Hill will subsequently be eliminated. Additionally, the AMA announced that some new in-house toilets would be installed in Korle Gonno by the end of 2011.²

Solid Waste Management

Under the AMA's public-private-partnership arrangement, solid waste management in Korle Gonno is the responsibility of Liberty Waste Company Limited. The company operates both house-to-house and with communal container collection systems. Currently, there are seven official solid waste collection sites in the community; Map 2 shows the location of most of these.

¹ According to the AMA Mayor's office, the plant will be situated near the firefighting training school.

² To date, neither of these projects has been realized.

Zoomlion Ghana, Ltd. has also distributed waste bins to residents who are registered and pay 10 GCD per month (USD 5.28) to deposit their waste. In addition, the AMA has provided free bins for registered households. These residents' waste is supposed to be collected outside their house once a week. Other residents who cannot afford or refused to pay end up disposing of their waste at the nearby dumping site into the skips, surface drains and streets, exacerbating unsanitary environmental conditions. The waste skips are often overloaded, and the dumping sites are littered with trash, creating waste heaps where flies and insects congregate and breed.

Residents repeatedly complained that the waste in the skips often does not get picked up for up to 3-4 weeks. During site reconnaissance visits, MCI took note of the amount of waste in the skips, particularly at the Roman Boys area and the Tuesday Market waste site. The overflowing skips have remained in that state for protracted periods, in one instance, for nearly three weeks.





Map 11. SANITATION FACILITIES IN KORLE GONNO

Figure 27 shows forms of storing waste among survey respondents across zones. Zone 1 has the largest percentage of respondents using a waste bin as their means of storing waste. Note that the use of plastic buckets and sacks to store waste is still high, especially in Zone 3. These modes of storage draw animals and pests into homes, posing public health hazards. Additionally, the windy nature of the area tends to blow the refuse off of the buckets and sacks into other areas.

The more telling graph is Figure 28, which shows forms of waste disposal by household respondents in each zone. Zones 1 and 2 have by far the largest percentage, using a formal contractor service, while only 9 and 11 percent (respectively) of respondents in Zones 3 and 4 are using a formal contractor.

In general, there is much room for improvement in solid waste management for Korle Gonno, given that road access is not an issue for waste contractor



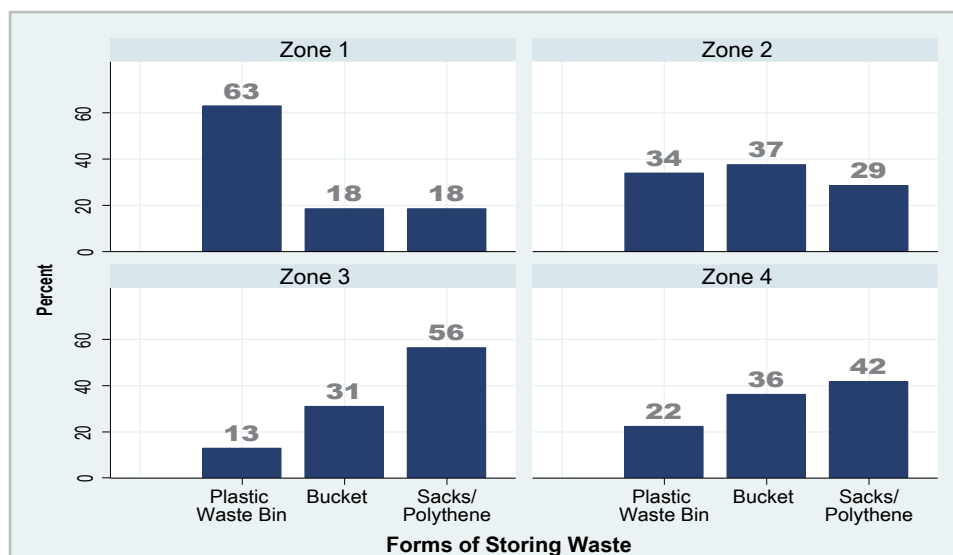


Figure 27. Forms of storing waste by households, by zone

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

vehicles and that each house, technically, can have its refuse picked up. The issue lies less with layout and much more with affordability and the level of service. Interviews with residents revealed a strong sense of dissatisfaction with the current waste contractor's service and shared the sentiment that the quality of service is not worth the monthly fee. Residents stressed that they would be willing and able to pay a fair price for waste collection, if the level of service was adequate. But out of this frustration comes a sense of complacency in some cases and a feeling that it is "inevitable" that waste be piled up and burned or thrown in the drains. Thus the question arises as to whether or not residents in the community would "own up" to the responsibility of curbing such activity, were the level of service for waste management to improve. It is critical, therefore, that local authorities engage residents in the process of waste management reform from the beginning.

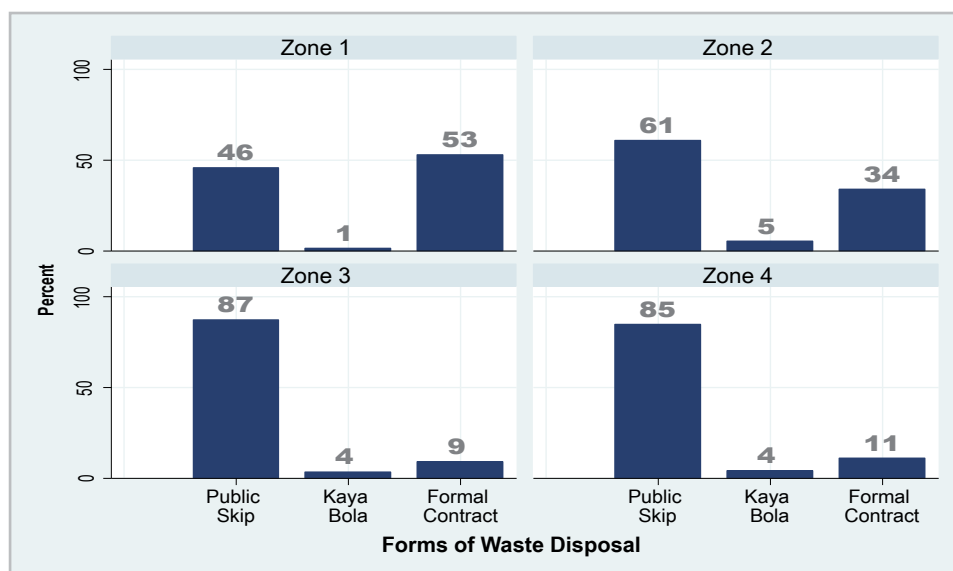


Figure 28. Forms of waste disposal by households, by zone

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

- Sanitation in Korle Gonno, as in many communities across Accra, is nowhere near the Millennium Development Goal targets for improved sanitation.
- Access to in-house toilets remains grossly insufficient in Korle Gonno, due to issues of overcrowding, increased landlordism, conversion of washrooms to bedrooms and affordability. This is especially true for tenants.
- Open defecation on the beach in Korle Gonno, as well as in the Sempe drain in Zone 1, is a serious problem, resulting from inadequate access to in-house or public toilet facilities, as well as out of habit.
- Central to any housing upgrading scheme should be the provision of new toilets and sewerage connections for each household (not house). Gender needs and preferences should also be taken into consideration when planning for improved access to sanitation.
- Resident respondents report high levels of dissatisfaction with the current waste management service providers.
- Use of plastic buckets and sacks for storing refuse is still common in the community, particularly in Zones 2, 3 and 4. This practice attracts animals and insects to homes and is susceptible to being carried away by the high winds common to the area.
- There are still many houses in Korle Gonno, which have not registered with a waste service contractor, either because they cannot afford it or, more commonly, because they do not feel the level of service merits the associated cost. The level of waste management service needs to improve, if the AMA expects more households to commit to service provider contracts.

Starting point of seepage along Zone 1



Baseline Conditions

chapter 5

Groundwater and Waste Contamination

INTRODUCTION

Previous chapters have highlighted the detrimental effects that the infamous Lavender Hill, Korle Lagoon and polluted drainage effluent have had on Korle Gonno's beach. In addition, two other important environmental concerns must be brought to the AMA's attention, should the regeneration of the community be accomplished: the seepage of polluted groundwater, and the increasing volume and changing character of solid waste along the beach.

GROUNDWATER SEEPAGE

Seepage of groundwater was found in Zone 1 by the MCI team during a site inspection of housing conditions after receiving complaints from residents. Although the actual source of the groundwater seepage is not

yet known, residents succinctly recounted its longtime presence, explaining that nearby residents use the groundwater for drinking, washing dishes and cooking, especially during periods with interruptions in water supply. The MCI team reported the seepage to the AMA Mayor's office. A water quality test conducted at the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research by the MCI team confirmed traces of chloride and total dissolved solids above WHO guideline standards and traces of faecal coliform and e. coli at levels not acceptable for drinking per Ghana Standards GS 175-I (2009). The report, however, indicated that the water was safe for bathing, washing and cooking, as long as it is boiled first. As of August 7th, 2011, the AMA was planning to intervene to control the seepage.



Groundwater trickling across the neighborhood block

SOLID WASTE POLLUTION AT BEACH

As part of the programme, the University of Ghana conducted an analysis of solid waste formation on Korle Gonno's shoreline.

Earlier studies have revealed that litter in the form of solid waste poses a threat not only to the residents of the immediate community, but also to the tourists and other guests who visit the beach for social activities. As beach litter devalues both the environmental quality and aesthetic value of the beach, where most tourists go to relax, it can further serve as a deterrent to future visitors (Ttagbey *et al.*, 2006). Beach litter is not just a health problem for bathers, but also for all who provide ancillary services to the holidaymakers. It also gives an indication of the sort of debris to be found in the ocean, though the linkage appears a bit ambiguous (Walker *et al.*, 1997). Sewage-related debris on the beach would suggest that the adjacent waters

are contaminated with sewage, which, according to McIntyre (1990), can potentially expose bathers to increased risks of skin and ear infections.

Generally, the presence of certain materials (litter, plastic, sewerage, condoms) at the beach influence public perception. The fact is that the average holidaymaker prefers to visit clean beaches, with both land and water free of litter, rather than those containing a variety of marine debris. The public may go so far as to avoid certain beaches if they find their appearance unacceptable (William *et al.*, 2002).

According to the WHO, the effect of aesthetic issues on the amenity value of marine and riverine sites include the loss of tourist days; damage to commercial activities dependent on tourism; damage to fishery activities and fisher-dependent activities; damage to the local, national and international images of a particular beach and surrounding community, even city (Phillip, 1993).

The findings of the analysis of the extent of beach litter pollution and the variety of waste found at the Korle Gonno beach is presented in Table 4. (For reference to the methodologies undertaken in this analysis, please refer to the "Methods of Analysis" section, page 21).

RESULTS

The results show that the main types of waste found at the beach include plastic bottles, black poly bags, 'pure water' sachets, lorry tyres, pieces of wood, jute bags, foam, bottles, metal cans, leather and clothes, used artificial hair, coconut husk, pieces of charcoal, pieces of paper, pieces of cigarette, pieces of footwear, pieces of aluminum foil, used diapers, used sanitary pads, paper drink packs, biscuit wrappers, disposable plates and spoons. For easy analysis and comparisons, these were grouped into four broad categories; plastics, organic, metals and textiles.

Table 4. Korle Gonno Beach Waste Audit

Source: Fieldwork, University of Ghana, 2011

| Station | Surface | Bottom | Plastics (%) | Organic (%) | Metals (%) | Textile/Fabric (%) |
|---------|---------|--------|--------------|-------------|------------|--------------------|
| A | 0.5kg | 0.5kg | 67 | 23 | 7 | 3 |
| B | 1.0kg | 0.6kg | 66 | 22 | 8 | 4 |
| C | 0.8kg | 0.4kg | 68 | 20 | 9 | 3 |
| D | 0.5kg | 2.5kg | 65 | 23 | 9 | 3 |
| E | 1.3kg | 6.8kg | 70 | 20 | 7 | 3 |

The result compares favorably with the findings of Tsagbey *et al.* (2006). For example the plastic components of waste accounted for 69 percent as against the 66 percent recorded by Tsagbey *et al.* (2006). Metallic objects made up eight percent of the total litter at the beach. One significant observation was the glaring presence of faecal matter, which could not be captured and measured under solid waste. Indeed, there was open defecation even as the study progressed. Additionally, the increasing percentage of waste with depth signifies that the beach littering has a long history and might not be a recent development. The waste found at the beach has three main sources: 1) direct deposition at the beach, especially by the houses close to the beach; 2) as part of run-off water, particularly during the rainy season, which is collected from the community as people dump waste into drains in the hope that it will be dissipated by the rainwater collected in the drains; and 3) through the Korle Lagoon, into the sea and later washed ashore.

It was further observed that a few resorts apparently manage to maintain a cleaner frontage because they have hired staff to ward off those who can potentially litter the area. Some resort managers, though, told MCI that because they are not serviced by any of the waste management companies, they 'bury' their waste at the beach.

By implication, the study shows that if environmental sustainability and tourism (local and international) are to be promoted, action must be taken to curtail the rapid degradation of coastal environments, in order not to derail the gains so far made in Ghana's tourism industry. The MCI joins Fobil & Hogarth (2006) and Tsagbey *et al.* (2006) in calling for the institution and enforcement of the "polluter pays" principle, through levying within a comprehensive and sustainable waste management system. Plastic litter can also be re-used through recycling processes and should be encouraged. It is important to realize that items found at the beaches are often considered offensive because of a perceived health hazard, rather than their actually being a danger. This perception is relevant to beach users, and its importance cannot be ignored. The perception that the beach is heavily polluted or contains items perceived to pose a health threat or induce feelings of discomfort could lead to a loss of tourists, with the attendant financial implications.





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Baseline Conditions

chapter 6 The Local Economy

INTRODUCTION

This section presents MCI's analysis of Korle Gonno's local economy – its labor market, business firms and workers. It is important to underscore that the Government of Ghana has very limited labor market data: the 2005 Ghana Living Standards Survey is now very dated and not useful for community disaggregation. Additionally, while the AMA does release community business development reports, it does not currently have a system for recording or analyzing labor market data. This is not uncommon in African cities; nonetheless, the lack of such data is a key gap in assessing economic activity and linkages among the constituent parts of the urban economy.

We therefore devoted considerable effort to assembling this data, mining business inventories, relevant AMA data (such as business operating permit registries) and engaging in primary data collection via household survey

data, key informant interviews with business owners and managers and GIS data. We present the spatial features of the community's economic activities, linkages (and lack thereof) with the rest of Accra's economy, firm profiles, emerging enterprises and the opportunities challenges for economic development.

Korle Gonno's local economy functions in different ways, largely related to proximity to key corridors and economic nodes. The main economic corridors are Guggisberg Avenue and Old Winneba Road; the key economic nodes are the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital, the Tuesday Market and the beach behind Old Winneba Road. Beyond these areas lie a number of collector roads and residential side streets, with far less concentration of economic activity. Within the residential areas lie arrays of home-based enterprises, which are also important to the local economy. These areas warrant further examination.

GUGGISBERG AVENUE

Korle Bu Hospital – Ghana’s largest hospital and medical training facility – is situated on Guggisberg Avenue, which also serves as the boundary between Korle Bu and Korle Gonno. The hospital, a major employer in the healthcare sector,¹ sees a steady stream of doctors, medical students and patients from all over the country. The hospital’s presence has sparked the establishment of firms providing supplementary healthcare-related services, such as diagnostic centers, laboratories, medical supply distributors and pharmacies, as well as such ancillary services such as restaurants and print shops. Traffic gridlock to and from the hospital is not an urgent issue at this time.

Figure 29 shows results of a business inventory conducted by the MCI-UG team along the south side of Guggisberg Avenue.

Guggisberg Avenue has the largest concentration of economic activity in Korle Gonno. Land along the corridor is managed according to market rates (not customary tenure). Given the proximity to Korle Bu Hospital, the general trend coming from east-west (that is, from St. Mary’s Secondary School) is mixed-use commercial/residential, with emphasis on healthcare services. The typology of mixed-use ranges from horizontal mixed-use in Zone 1 to vertical mixed-use starting in the middle of Zone 2 and stretching to the end of Zone 4. This trend allows the opportunity to further facilitate and promote compact development along the corridor, with a healthcare services focus. There is also potential for apartment and hotel development catering to medical staff, students and patients.

We identify an opportunity to address the economic growth of the corridor. Growth *will* continue; the question is whether it will do so haphazardly or sustainably, in partnership with developers, local entrepreneurs and the municipality. AMA leadership is necessary to ensure the latter by

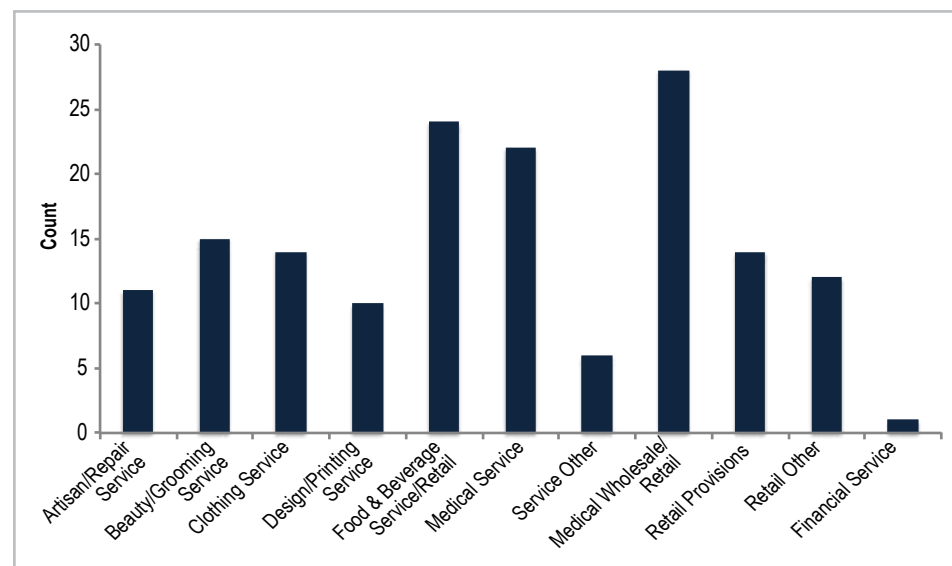


Figure 29. Inventory of businesses along south side of Guggisberg Avenue

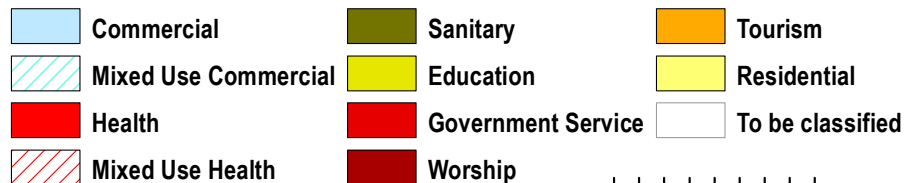
Source: AMA and MCI GIS data, 2011

¹ As of 2006, the hospital was employing 3,946 staff. Source: Korle Bu Teaching Hospital, 2006.



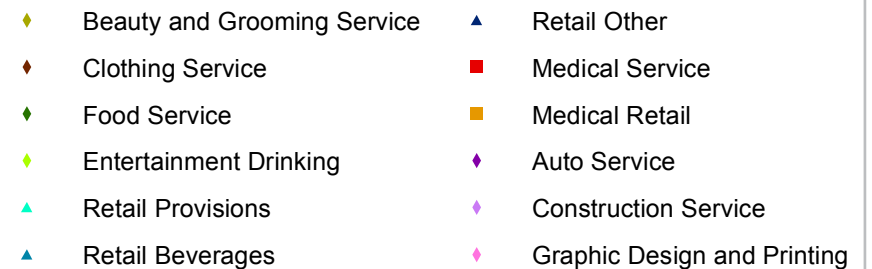
GUGGISBERG AVENUE: ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES (Center-East section of corridor)

Land Uses: 2006



0 25 50 100 Meters

New Businesses (containers, kiosks, etc. after 2006)



Source: Urban Management Land Information System, Geological Survey Department, MCI
Map by The Earth Institute, MCI

Map 12. NEW ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES: Guggisberg Avenue (East Side)

Source: Urban Management Land Information, Geological Survey Department, Earth Institute Millennium Cities Initiative



GUGGISBERG AVENUE: ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

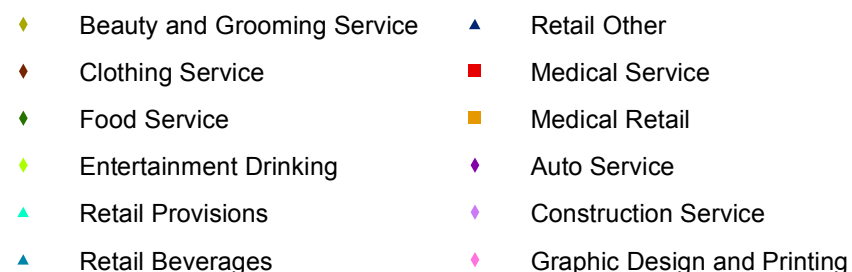
(Center-West section of corridor)

Land Uses: 2006



0 25 50 100 Meters

New Businesses (containers, kiosks, etc. after 2006)



Source: Urban Management Land Information System, Geological Survey Department, MCI
Map by The Earth Institute, MCI

Map 13. NEW ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES: Guggisberg Avenue (West Side)

Source: Urban Management Land Information, Geological Survey Department, Earth Institute Millennium Cities Initiative

developing land use and development control policies to harmonize growth appropriately.

OLD WINNEBA ROAD

Old Winneba Road has begun to draw development in small-scale tourism and hospitality services, such as resorts and beach clubs (albeit in a rather uncontrolled and haphazard manner). Other uses towards Zones 2 through 4 include educational and worship services and such small-scale commercial enterprises as auto repair shops. On the opposite side of the road lies a mix of residential and commercial uses, ranging from entertainment (drinking spots) and retail (provisions, stationary shops) to educational and worship services. Figure 30 shows an inventory of businesses along the corridor. Map 15 shows a map detailing land uses and economic activities.

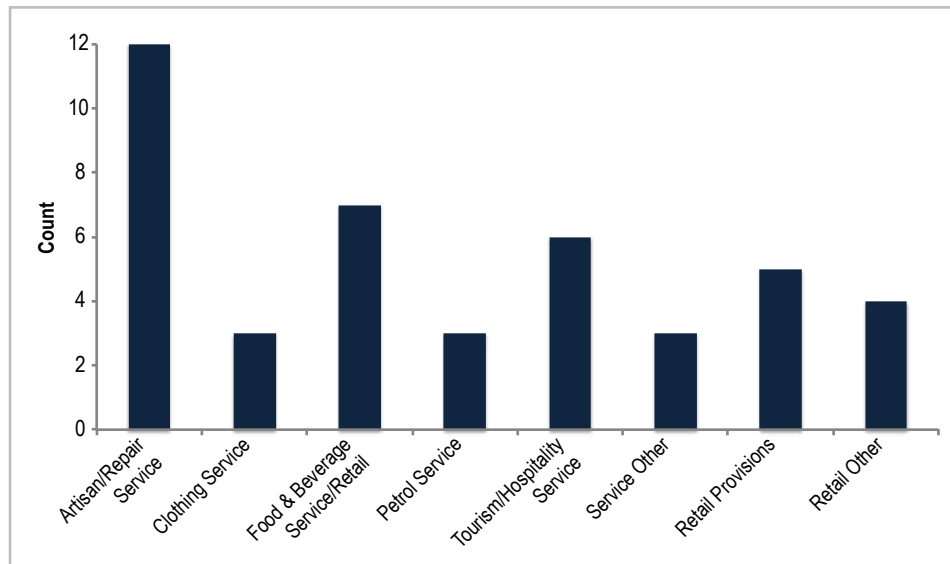


Figure 30. Inventory of businesses along Old Winneba Road

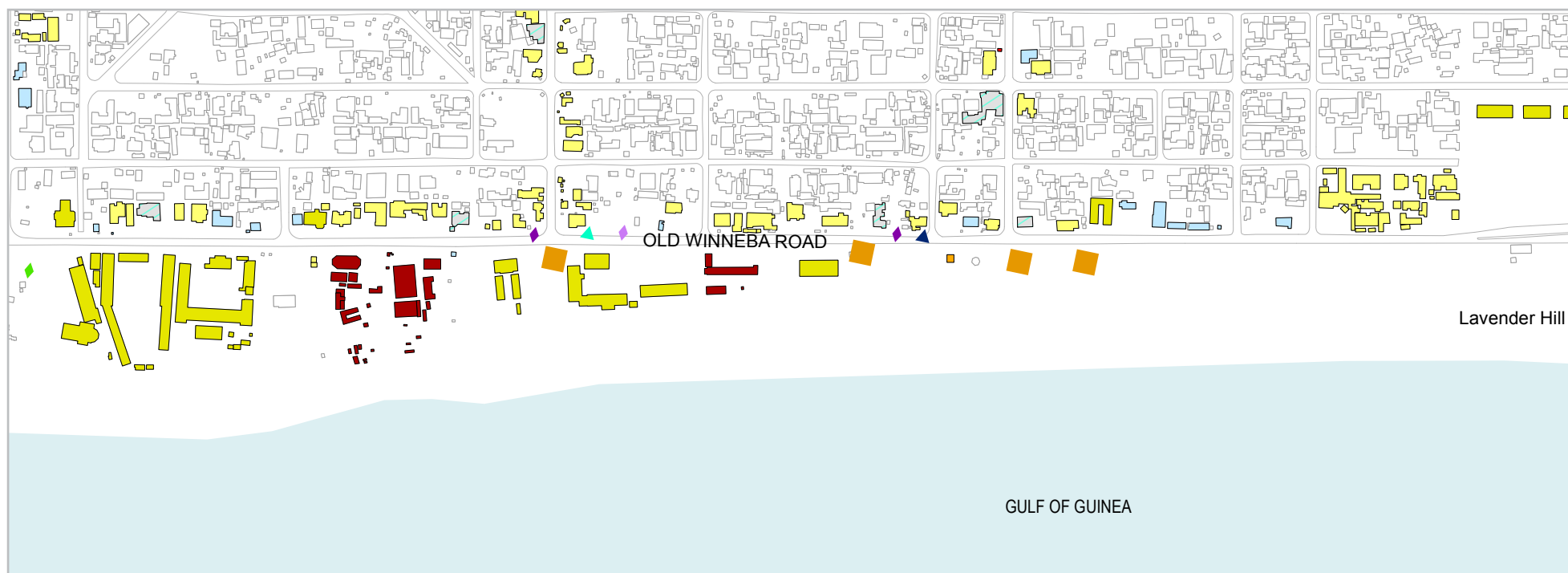
Source: AMA and MCI GIS data, 2011

Tourism and hospitality businesses that have recently sprung up along the beach have been able to create job opportunities for the labor force residing in Korle Gonno and Mamprobi (an adjacent community). Interviews with these firms revealed that they are among the few businesses in Korle Gonno employing more than 10 workers (fulltime, or varying mixes of fulltime, part-time and family workers). As such, the hospitality industry is to an extent a key employer in the area – this effect can be bolstered with carefully strategized sustainable tourism development. This will entail negotiations over land, as there a number of schools, churches and non-tourism businesses situated along the beach. How to reintegrate them into the community will also be an issue.

One particular problem is the illegal encroachment of almost all the beach hotels/resorts onto the shoreline, leaving alarmingly short distances from the edge of the business property to the tide itself. Enforcement of site permit bylaws is necessary, before further ad-hoc construction exacerbates coastal erosion, degradation and potential flooding.

Automobile service and repair firms along the beach have also provided jobs for residents, particularly young males. It is worth exploring how to support them, as long as it is done in harmony with tourism development.












Similarly, there are a number of places manufacturing sandcrete for sale. Sandcrete retail is detrimental to the beach as a natural resource, as well as to aspirations for tourism development. Ceasing this activity, however, will eliminate income-generating jobs for many young men in the local labor force, making it necessary to redirect these workers to other sectors of the economy. Tourism development may yield an opportunity to do so, but they will need to develop the requisite skills.



OLD WINNEBA ROAD: ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

KORLE GONNO

Land Uses: 2006

| | | | |
|---|----------------------|---|--------------------|
|  | Commercial |  | Government Service |
|  | Mixed Use Commercial |  | Worship |
|  | Health |  | Tourism |
|  | Mixed Use Health |  | Residential |
|  | Sanitary |  | To be classified |
|  | Education | | |

New Businesses (after 2006)

| | |
|---|-----------------------------|
|  | Artisan Service |
|  | Auto Service & Repair |
|  | Petrol Service |
|  | Retail Other |
|  | Retail Provisions |
|  | Tourism/Hospitality Service |



0 25 50 100 150 200 250 300 Meters

Source: Urban Management Land Information System, Geological Survey Department, MCI
Map by The Earth Institute, MCI

Map 14. NEW ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES: Old Winneba Road

GLOVER ADDO ROAD, ROGER AVENUE, AWESTSE KOJO STREET, EDUARDO MOHLANA ROAD

These roads have attracted small-scale businesses – mostly informal – such as provisions stores, beauty salons, drinking spots and chop bars. Businesses along these roads cater to nearby residents and passers-by. A greater concentration of these economic activities can be found on Glover Addo Road (approaching the Korle Bu Hospital) and throughout Awestse Kojo Street. Figure 31, showing a business inventory conducted by the MCI team along Awestse Kojo Street, represents a typical composition of businesses on these roads. Many of these enterprises are illegally occupying space on land intended for pedestrian use. However, simply displacing them also removes the primary source of income for these local entrepreneurs. Thus if the AMA seeks to reclaim these pedestrian areas, it will need to consider how to reconfigure them into the economy, as the businesses located there provide key services to the community.

TUESDAY MARKET

Korle Gonno's Tuesday Market is one of Accra's official neighborhood markets and an important trading center for the Ga communities. It serves as a space for fish sellers from Chorkor to sell their catch, as well as for vendors and traders from Korle Gonno, from across Ghana and from neighboring countries. In its early life, Tuesday Market fit its purpose as a bustling center of economic exchange. Several years ago, however, it was re-designed for upgrading due to upkeep issues. A new layout was created with rows of stalls measuring 2 x 2 meters, for vendors to sell their goods. The market was walled, and access was opened for each of its four corners. The floor was supposed to be paved, but to-date, this has not been achieved, due to financing issues (Interview with former MDPU officer, June 10th, 2011).

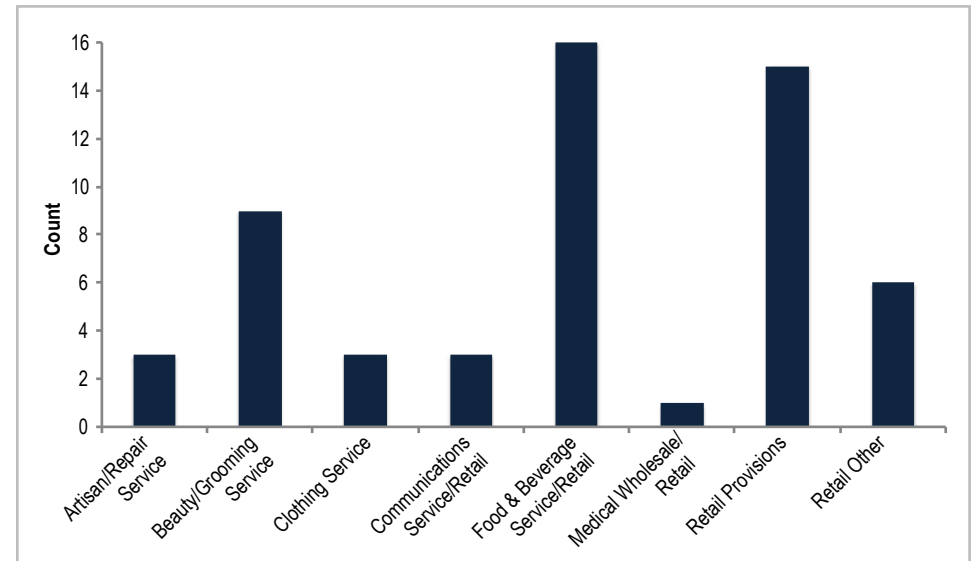


Figure 31. Inventory of businesses along Awestse Kojo Street

Source: AMA and MCI GIS data, 2011

Currently, the market is dilapidated, messy and underutilized. Many stalls are left empty or used for storage while vendors set up their spaces out on the nearby streets. Indeed, except on Tuesdays, most of the market vendors are either forced to sell on the street or prefer to sell outside the market. One reason why vendors retreat to the streets is that the lack of paved flooring results in the ground becoming muddy to the point of being inaccessible after rains. During discussions with market vendors, complaints also arose as to their inability to sell inside due to the unavailability of stalls. All stalls inside the market have reportedly been sold to “absentee” vendors, leaving others without an official place to set up shop. Presumably, some people rent out their stalls. Unfortunately, as business inside the market has dwindled, numerous stall owners use the stalls for storage only, or simply do not use the stall anymore, resulting in a great waste of space inside the market. The Tuesday Market Association states that they have invited sellers on the street to move inside and sell their goods free of charge, but this does not match what street vendors have reported. There is likely

some degree of posturing and contestation going on between the Market Association and vendors, with regards to this “space paradox.”

Market vendors also prefer to sell on the street because they report more profits in sales there, as opposed to inside the market. They claim that customers do not like to shop inside the market due to issues of accessibility (and parking), sanitation and foul odors coming from the waste dustbins.

Interviews with customers affirm the sellers’ claims; customer complaints included muddy floors, foul odors coming from waste dustbins and infestations of flies hovering over the fish and produce.

Survey respondents ranked (in order of priority) interventions necessary for the improvement of the market: paving the floor, improving the overall layout, drainage, waste management and moving sellers inside the market to decongest the roads. Damaged roofing was also cited as a problem.

Residents of Korle Gonno also made clear that they would frequent the market more often if it were a functional market every day of the week, and if prices decreased on other days, aside from Tuesdays. Currently, apart from Tuesday, there is not enough stock or variety of goods for local customers to rationalize coming, particularly given the aforementioned inconveniences. Residents prefer to travel rather to Agbobbloshie or Makola Market, where they can find the range of goods they are looking for at more affordable prices.

The combination of poor layout and access, unsanitary conditions and low functionality has resulted in decreased patronage of the market. Figure 32 shows where Korle Gonno residents go for their shopping.

The strongest competitor is Agbobbloshie Market, especially among residents of Zone 1. It is worth noting that the price of goods at the Tuesday Market is so prohibitive for resident customers that they prefer to incur the cost of transportation to go to Agbobbloshie.

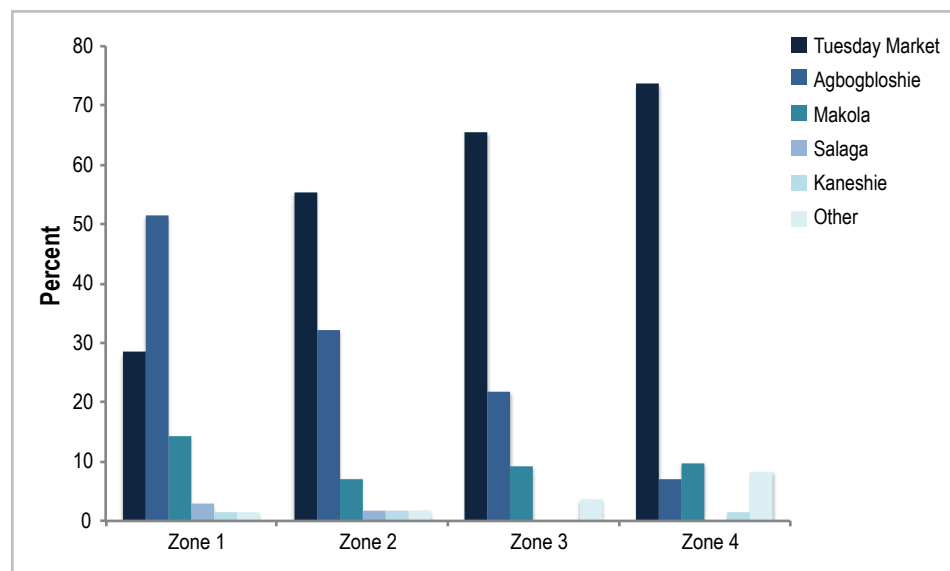


Figure 32. Market of preference among survey respondents

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

In essence, the Tuesday Market is experiencing an alarming degree of economic leakage. A number of customers within the community have become disheartened by the conditions of the market and have developed a dismissive perception of it. The task at hand is to reverse this trend, reclaim the Tuesday Market’s vibrancy by attenuating the conditions that have led to this predicament and build more community *esprit de corp* (encouraging local spending and job creation).

HOME-BASED ENTERPRISES

Home-based enterprises are common in Korle Gonno: 43 percent of survey respondents confirmed that they operate an enterprise at home or work from home. Common enterprises include beauty salons, provisions stands, chop bars and stalls selling whichever good the house specializes in, be it *kenkey*, rice, etc. These enterprises provide both primary and secondary sources of

income for residents. Many self-employed entrepreneurs use their living spaces to prepare and sell their products in kiosks or containers, typically located directly in front of their homes or within their courtyards. It is fairly common for these enterprises to be family-operated, with offspring and relatives assisting the business owner; hired help outside the family is uncommon. Profits from these enterprises are crucial for livelihoods, as they allow households to purchase meals and to pay for rent and other important expenses. Work hours are typically very long – many survey respondents who work from home indicated that they were open “all day and night.” Asked to estimate how many hours each day they worked, the common response ranged from 12 - 18 hours. Products are also used at times for bartering, such as the exchange of prepared food for another good or service.

“DOING BUSINESS” IN KORLE GONNO: SUPPLIERS AND CUSTOMERS

Figure 33 shows the locations of suppliers for local enterprises interviewed for this study. Of those enterprises interviewed, none had suppliers in Korle Gonno; rather, most were located across Greater Accra and/or in the Central Business District. Three competing wholesale specialized markets operate within reach: Makola (within the Central Business District) is a key wholesale distributor of textiles, cosmetics, rubber products and bulk provisions; Agogbloshie is a hub for distribution of agricultural produce; and Abbosey Okai is a major supplier of spare automobile parts.

In many cases, firms in Korle Gonno purchase supplies that are finished products (e.g., wheelchairs, medical scanners, beauty supplies, provisions, etc.), which in turn are either distributed or sold to customers within the community and across the city. By moving products for the manufacturers of such goods, these firms in Korle Gonno are integrated into the urban economy. However, the few *locally* produced goods, such as furniture and

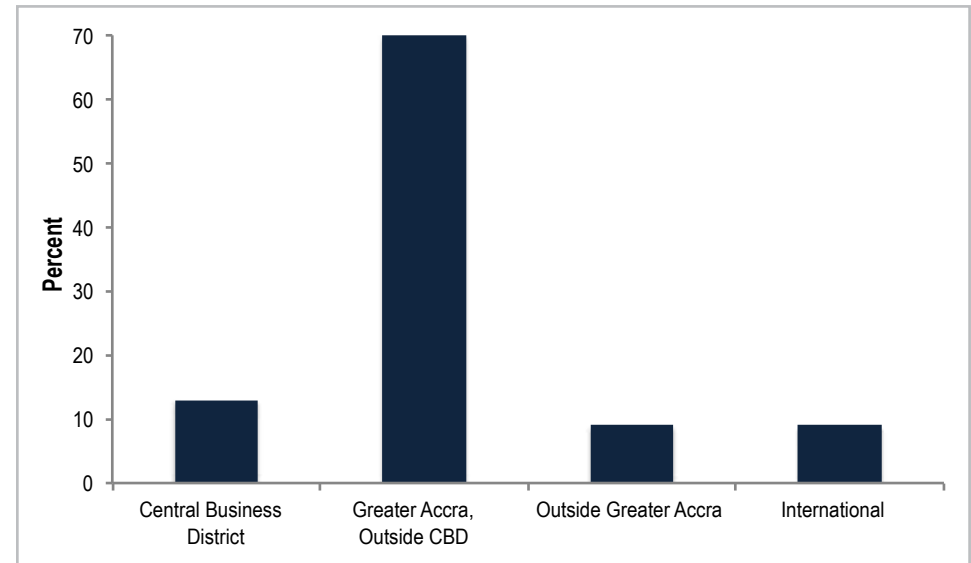


Figure 33. Location of suppliers for interviewed firms/enterprises

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

basket weavings, are not well integrated into markets outside Korle Gonno, reflecting the low capacity for smallscale manufacturing industries, as well as for the retail tradition in the area.

Table 5 shows estimates of the origins of customers patronizing the enterprises where the owners or managers were interviewed. Thirty-seven percent of business owners indicated that people with cars were good customers; 30 percent of respondents in commercial and consumer services claimed that their business comes from the Korle Bu Hospital. Many stated that the hospital staff, students and visitors who come to the hospital for medical treatment had created a demand for their related services, such as medical diagnostics and pharmaceutical sales.

Though the conventional method of attracting new customers is via marketing and advertising, this is not necessarily the convention in Korle Gonno or in areas where informal economic activity is prominent. As

Table 6 illustrates, 40 percent of Korle Gonno businesses rely on walk-ins and passersby, whereas only 28 percent use advertising to find customers and promote their businesses, and less than 16 percent of owners attract new clients through recommendations and word-of-mouth.

| Table 5. Profile of customers patronizing interviewees' businesses. Source: University of Ghana, 2011 | |
|---|----------------|
| Customers | Percent |
| Community residents | 4 |
| Passer-by/walk-in | 22 |
| Everybody using a car | 37 |
| Paramedical staff of Korle Bu Hospital | 4 |
| Patients from Korle Bu Hospital | 11 |
| Staff and students of Korle Bu Hospital | 15 |
| Other | 7 |
| Total | 100 |

| Table 6. How Korle Gonno businesses attract customers. Source: University of Ghana, 2011 | |
|--|----------------|
| Customer Draw | Percent |
| Advertising | 28 |
| Everybody | 4 |
| Informal relations | 8 |
| Open display | 4 |
| Friends and family | 16 |
| Passers-by | 40 |
| Total | 100 |

CITY-REGIONAL, COMMUNITY AND MOBILE ECONOMIC NETWORKS

The local economy's articulation is understood by assessing the linkages of firms and labor within and outside the community and by isolating inter-city and regional networks, community networks and mobile economic networks.

The *city-regional economic network* includes those firms providing services and products to the city at large and distributing or purchasing supplies from other firms in the city and beyond. As such, these businesses are fairly well integrated into the urban economy. Within this network are the Korle Bu Hospital and the healthcare-related firms operating along Guggisberg Avenue. Also in the inter-city and regional economic network is the Tuesday Market, which absorbs agricultural goods from the Agbobloshie Market, which itself receives bulk agricultural goods from the hinterlands. Additionally, on Tuesdays, the market attracts vendors of produce and other goods from within Greater Accra, across Ghana and even from neighboring countries. However, its local economic service function decreases significantly on all other days of the week. Trade still occurs in the Tuesday Market on other days, but except on Tuesdays, economic activity there is extremely low and inefficient.

The *community economic network* consists of firms providing services and products to the local customer base within Korle Gonno itself. These include the beach resorts, automobile repair services, artisanal services (e.g., furniture shops and masonry), beauty and grooming services, tailoring and retail shops (e.g. provisions). Such firms situated along Guggisberg Avenue may have an advantage in their exposure to a larger customer base, but for the most part, they cater to community residents. Exceptions are some contractors who hire young males for manual labor or to purchase sandcrete.

Individuals in Korle Gonno tend to participate in *mobile economic network* patterns consisting of economic activity that is not firmly rooted in one place. This network includes itinerant street traders and artisans who are “on call” for their services. Street traders residing in Korle Gonno sell their goods both within the community, as well as to key markets and transport hubs around the city, such as the Central Business District, Kwame Nkrumah Circle, Kaneshie, etc.

To further understand the dynamics behind these networks, formal and informal firms and their workers are examined below.

FORMAL FIRMS/FORMAL WORKERS

In economic development analysis, firms are generally considered “formal” if they are incorporated, have a business operating permit, have a freehold title or official leasehold on the land in which they conduct business, own accounting records separating business from individual earnings, provide work benefits for employees and get supplies from registered suppliers. However, all of these factors may not be present in all so-called formal firms.

Figure 34 shows the largest estimated number of businesses that are part of the formal economy in Korle Gonno. Firms within the formal economy tend to have the requisite business operation permits, freehold or leasehold land titles, formal labor contracts and formal supplier relationships.

The figure shows that private schools and firms in the healthcare sector make up the largest concentration of formal-sector firms in Korle Gonno. However, these firms are not employment centers for the community: from the firms interviewed in the healthcare sector, none hired employees from within Korle Gonno. While MCI cannot confirm that this is always the case, young workers reiterated that they have little success in obtaining jobs in

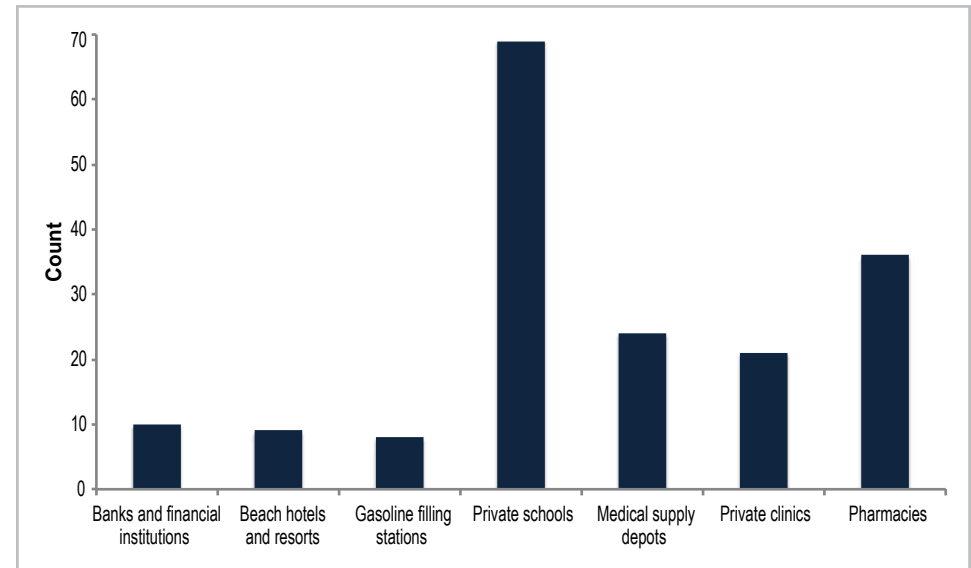


Figure 34. Most prevalent firms in formal sector

Source: AMA business operating permit data, 2011

healthcare-related firms, in part, no doubt due to their lack of qualifications and specialized skills.

From the firms interviewed, most firms in the healthcare sector received their supplies from distributors outside of Korle Gonno but within Accra, with a small number of firms getting supplies from international distributors.

Firms in other sectors exhibit more integration into the community economic network: hotels and resorts, petrol filling stations, cleaning services and auto repair and fitting shops. For the most part, they hire employees living in Korle Gonno and Mamprobi. Their suppliers are located in Accra, outside of the community.

INFORMAL SECTOR FIRMS AND WORKERS

Identifying informal economy businesses commonly relies on a set of indicators, including: registration with city authorities, unincorporated status, lack of records separating personal from business accounts, number of employees and whether employees are paid or not, among others.² Unsurprisingly, in Korle Gonno it is uncommon for a business to clearly fall under “formal” or “informal” categorization. For example, a firm may be registered but not have a business account, have three employees but pay only two (often with an unpaid family worker) and/or not provide benefits to any of them, and/or have informal supplier ties. In such a case, even with a permit, the firm can still be considered “informal.” A firm can also be formal but engage in the informal economy, as distinct from a formal firm engaging only with other formal firms. This hints at the problems with conceptualizing labor markets in a dualistic sense, but we use the terms to capture the main differences in economic activity.

Given these factors, we can categorize informal firms in Korle Gonno as:

- Most self-employed enterprises without employees;
- Micro-enterprises with fewer than 5 employees who may be unpaid family members or paid employees (family members or otherwise);
- Informal small business with 5-10 employees who may be unpaid family members or paid employees (family members or otherwise);
- Home-based enterprises (HBEs, as opposed to firms operating from a business location);
- Enterprises without business accounts, transaction records, operating permits, land titles, social insurance, etc.

In Korle Gonno, the most common type of informal enterprise is *self-employed without employees*, which includes retail traders and many

artisans, such as carpenters, masons and electrical repairmen. Figure 35 shows that the majority of survey respondents were self-employed street traders and artisans. Many of these enterprises are home-based – 63 percent of survey respondents under the “self-employed without employees” category worked from home.

Street traders also fall under this category and take advantage of their mobility and strategize as to where best to “set up shop.” As early as 3am, hordes of street traders residing in Korle Gonno converge on Guggisberg Avenue to take *tro-tros* and taxis to work. For many of these residents, work is located in Accra Central/Central Business District, Kwame Nkrumah Circle and Kaneshie. On Mondays they may travel to Agbobloshie Market or the CBD to sell their wares; on Tuesdays, they almost certainly go to nearby Tuesday Market, the day when Korle Gonno registers the highest influx of customers. On Wednesday they may travel to Kaneshie Market to trade, and on Fridays they may choose to sell at Kwame Nkrumah Circle.

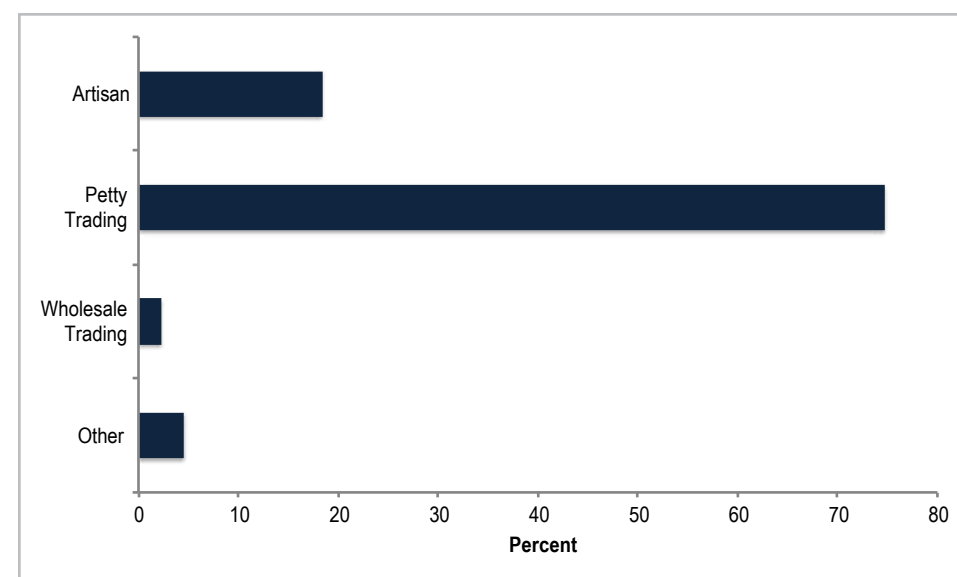


Figure 35. Self-employed firms without employees

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

² Hussmanns, Ralf. (2003). “A labour force survey module on informal employment (including employment in the informal sector) as a tool for enhancing the international comparability of data.” Conference Paper for Sixth Meeting of the Expert Group on Informal Sector Studies (Delhi Group).

Another determinant for their mobility is the illegality of street hawking and the consequent enforcement by the AMA Task Force. Many street traders resort to moving to other places nearby or across town in circuits, in order to evade the Task Force.

Self-employed micro-firms with 1-5 employees are also common in Korle Gonno. Many of the businesses interviewed for this study fell into this category. Activities include provisions selling, hairdressing, tailoring, food preparation and sales, drinking spots, sandcrete-making and artisan workshops such as carpentry. A number of these enterprises are also based at home.

Informal small businesses with 6-10 employees are less common in Korle Gonno. Enterprises in this category include firms producing metal goods from recycled sources, a few restaurants and retail trade firms employing street traders to sell their goods.

Workers in the informal sector often begin their worklife during childhood, as poverty conditions necessitate as many incoming revenue streams as possible for a household. It is common for students in primary and junior high school to work as street traders or at home, assisting with home-based enterprises. In some cases, youth resort to street trade to help pay their miscellaneous school fees, as their parents cannot afford to pay for their uniforms, books, school supplies.³ More often than not, the students' meager revenues are not enough to pay these costs, which may result in their dropping out of school. For young girls, pregnancy is another reason for dropping out. Whichever the case, young adults in Korle Gonno enter the labor force at a disadvantage, as they often lack the bare minimum education requirement (senior high school, or SHS) for employment in formal sector jobs. As such, they are disadvantaged on the formal job market and faced with a strong risk of unemployment.

³ Ghanaian parents or guardians no longer pay school fees per se, as Ghana enthusiastically subscribes to MDG2's prescription for universal primary education. But the associated costs of each child's education are considerable for poor families.

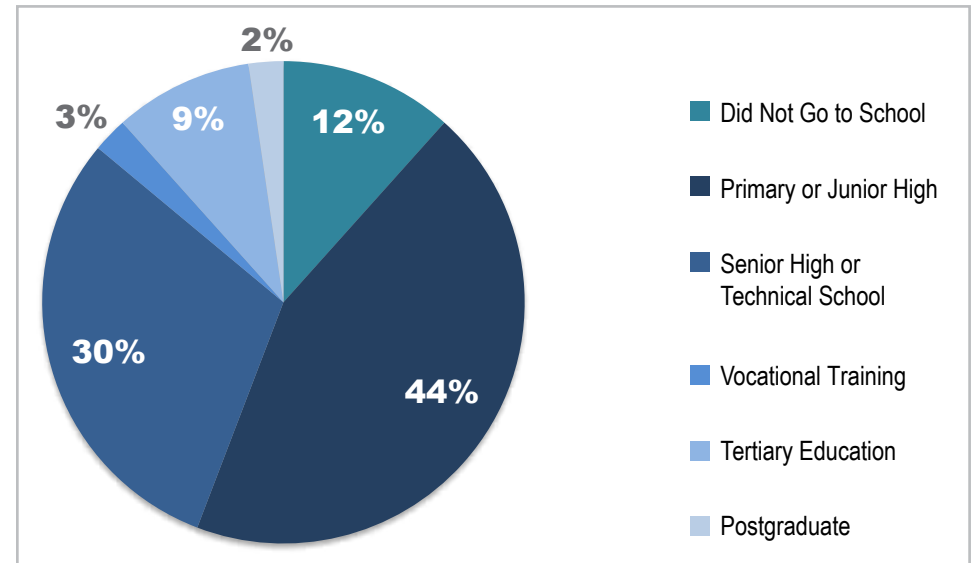


Figure 36. Education levels among unemployed respondents in active labor force

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

Figure 36 shows the education levels among survey respondents who are in the active labor force but unemployed.

From the survey, it appears that 44 percent of unemployed respondents in the active labor force have not completed SHS. In a poverty environment where young people are unlikely to receive financial assistance from parents or from government welfare programs, these would-be new workers are forced to find some sort of income-generating activity, which generally results in their entering the informal economy. Once engaged in informal economic activities, these new workers find it virtually impossible to gravitate to formal-sector employment.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Another factor limiting employability is the lack of access to quality vocational training. Most of the vocational training centers in Korle Gonno are owned by churches, where training services are offered mostly in secretarial services, seamstressing and cosmetology. Despite the presence of vocational training centers, interviews with young adults reveal concerns about the cost as well as the quality of the training. Course tuition and material fees are often prohibitive. Even if the local population can afford it, the quality of training is not well aligned with the skills demanded by employers in the formal economy

A key alternative to formal vocational training for youth has been to learn skills via unpaid apprenticeships with firms typically in the informal sector, often with family members or artisans within their own social network. In some cases, these apprenticeships provide crucial skills for entry-level work in the informal sphere. However, these skills are not always the ones the young adult wants to learn, or may not provide the skills necessary for upward mobility in the job market, such as ICT training. There is often a revolving door of apprenticeships, with few opportunities for up-skilling and with apprentices time and again acquiring the most basic skills.

Typically, apprentices serve their time and some go on to start their own enterprise, if they have enough resources to do so. The ease of entry and exit into the informal sector, coupled with the use of low-level or no technology, make it an avenue for employment creation. Some apprentices start in businesses in which they have no prior experience. This can lead to considerable churning in the informal economy, as young people move, for instance, from training as a bricklayer to starting a printing firm. Those without the means find the most unskilled and labor-intensive jobs available, such as sandcrete-making and truck-pushing. For many entrepreneurs and workers in the informal sector, pay is very low and working conditions (such as an exceedingly long workday) violate decent work standards.

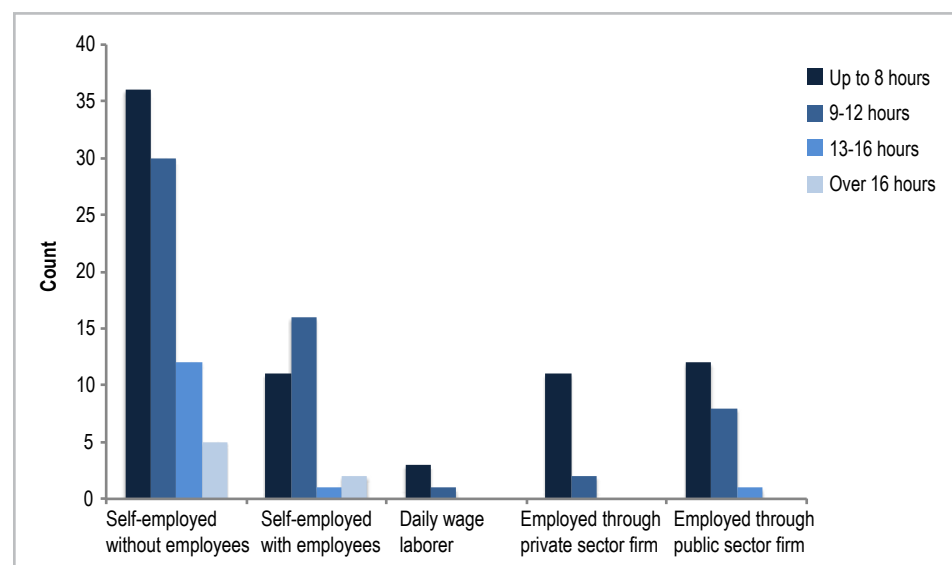


Figure 37. Employment category and hours worked among employed survey respondents Source: University of Ghana, 2011

Figure 37 illustrates the hours worked among surveyed self-employed with and without employees, and employees of public and private sector firms. Self-employed workers – mostly informal workers - reported working the longest hours.

Overall, the data on informal firms and workers illustrate that the prevalence of informal economic activities in Korle Gonno arises not from a surge in favorable conditions for entrepreneurship, but out of the simple need to survive. A range of factors makes the situation worse: increases in population and urbanization, poor educational attainment and skills development, the lack of opportunities for upward mobility and up-skilling.

Both formal and informal sector enterprises in Korle Gonno are faced with difficulties in establishing or expanding their businesses. The next section discusses these challenges.

CURRENT ISSUES AND DEVELOPMENT OBSTACLES

Challenges in the *informal* sector include:

1) Profitability and earnings are too low and inconsistent to entice firms into expanding or diversifying. The customer base for the informal sector is often but not exclusively peers -- that is, people who are marginalized, unemployed and poor. Goods tend to be sold at affordable prices, and with a low profit margin. To rise beyond such minimalist survivalism, the target market needs to encompass a more diversified range of purchasing power.

2) Too many businesses sell identical/interchangeable products within the same area, competing for the same clients. Generally, the clustering of similar businesses in an area is advantageous in terms of sharing infrastructure, competitiveness leading to innovation, sharing information and attracting customers. In Korle Gonno, however, competitiveness is determined by price - stores with similar products are targeting the same customers in the community whose purchasing power is limited. Hence technology and innovation are not as much of a factor as they should be. The only way to get customers is by slashing the prices of products, thereby diminishing profits. Further, the clustering is a result of a certain lack of creativity: people are simply copying when they see a successful business, instead of identifying a new and different business opportunity.

3) Most local traders have little capacity to buy in bulk and therefore to improve their profit margin. Generally, people in Africa use cash to do business, and small businesses' success depends on their ability to mobilize cash. But business owners in Africa tend to depend upon their own or family savings, and access to funding/credits remains a challenge. For most small businesses, the lack of ready capital and the complexities of obtaining loans from financial institutions are the major hindrances to starting up new or expanding existing businesses. Banks are reluctant to extend credit to businesses due to the inadequate documentation of business proposals or the lack of appropriate and adequate collateral. Most would-be borrowers

cannot meet the requirements for commercial loans, and those who do find such loans expensive, due to the high cost of administration and management of small loans, as well as the invariably high interest rates. According to the business interviews conducted, the vast majority of respondents claimed that they have not attempted to take out loans for these reasons.

4) Another major growth constraint is the lack of entrepreneurial and managerial ability, specifically, the areas of motivation, drive, technical skills and market research.

5) Informal small businesses in Korle Gonno have difficulty employing workers. For example, only 19 percent of self-employed survey respondents hired one or more people in their businesses.

Challenges in both informal and formal sectors

When the business owners were asked if they had come upon any obstacle(s) in conducting their businesses, several responses were no different from those issuing from the informal sector. When owners and managers were asked to assess their business performance, over 45 percent indicated that their businesses were unstable, and it was not uncommon for them to claim that their businesses had either deteriorated or had remained the same. In the retail business sector, too - the most prominent in Korle Gonno - 75 percent indicated deterioration or instability of their businesses. The breakdown of these responses can be found in Figure 38.

Many respondents cited access to capital and financial support as the main challenge to running or expanding their businesses. The other frequently cited challenge is the fact that businesses are unstable, and their earnings are too little and inconsistent to rely on. Additionally, too many businesses provide the same services within the same area(s) of operation. Furthermore, the businesses rely heavily on passing trade for the generation of sales of their products and services. Table 6 shows entrepreneurs' rankings of challenges faced in Korle Gonno's local economy.

Some businesses also complained of lack of space, as they rely on temporary shelter, such as containers, shacks and tents. Most of them displayed their merchandise on boxes or empty bottle crates. They also cited poverty and unemployment as the main contributing factors to their businesses being affected in terms of sales and customer decline.

The respondents also reported that most business owners, especially the street vendors, require better infrastructure, including proper shelter, drainage, electricity and water supply and amenities such as toilets. They also complained that the AMA charges high taxes, registering new businesses is difficult and Korle Gonno's reputation as a neighborhood is unfavorable for their businesses. Refer to Table 7 for a breakdown of answers by economic sector.

Table 7. Ranking of challenges in business climate in Korle Gonno.

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

| Business obstacles | Rank |
|--|------|
| Financial | 1 |
| Unstable market | 2 |
| Competition for customers | 3 |
| Access to capital | 4 |
| Negative reaction from clients | 5 |
| Acquisition of inputs | 6 |
| Poor supply of electricity | 7 |
| Low market | 8 |
| High taxes | 9 |
| Losses in proceeds | 10 |
| Road accidents | 11 |
| Stress | 12 |
| Utility (electricity charges are high) | 13 |
| High price of supplies/inputs | 14 |

Business owners were asked to recount their experiences with the AMA. Almost all expressed concerns that the AMA's activities had been an impediment to the progress of their businesses. Table 8 shows that 40 percent of interviewed owners claimed that AMA had imposed high or illegal charges (that is, bribes). Sixty percent of businesses interviewed claimed that the AMA had interfered with their work with so-called decongestion exercises, preventing hawking, directing these informal business owners to safer environments, pulling down business signs, driving them away and creating discomfort. As the result of these actions, many of the businesses believed they were not able to maintain regular customers and suppliers.

Lack of Supportive Services

Most local authorities assist small businesses largely because of the crucial role they play in the community's economic growth and development. However, most business owners interviewed indicated that they do not receive any assistance from the local government or local business agencies

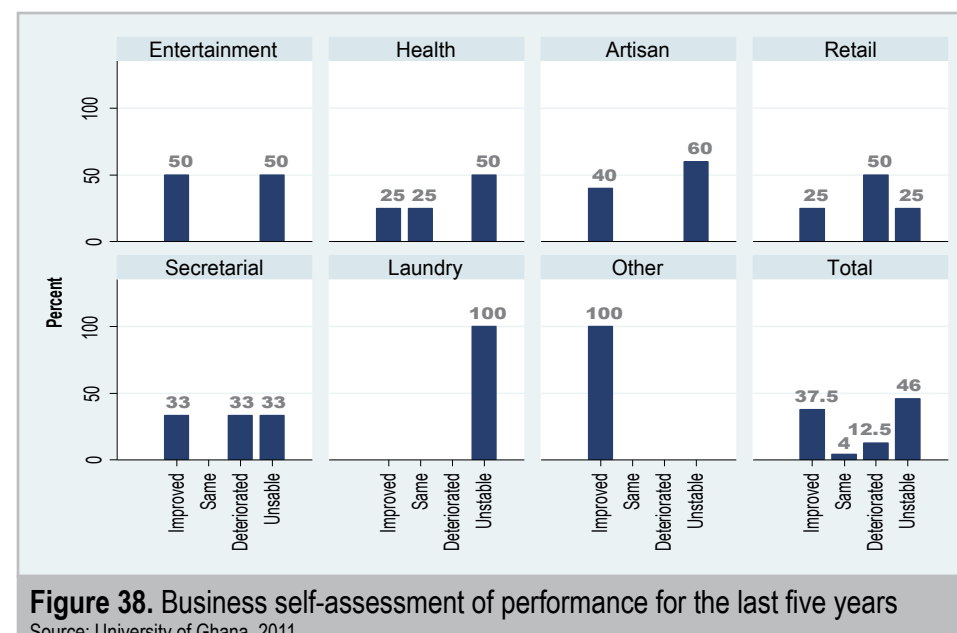


Table 8. Business obstacles cited by businesses, by economic sector

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

| Business obstacles | Entertainment | Health | Artisan | Retail | Secretarial | Laundry | Other |
|--|---------------|--------|---------|--------|-------------|---------|-------|
| AMA charges high taxes | | X | | | | | |
| Few people have money | | X | | | | | |
| Lack of space | | X | X | | | | X |
| Land security | | X | | | | | |
| Sanitation | X | X | | | | | |
| Beach protection | X | | | | | | |
| Availability of space | | | | | | X | |
| Bureaucracy from city authorities | | | X | | | X | |
| Favouritism | | | | | X | | |
| Frustration during business registration | | | X | | | | |
| Bad reputation of Korle Gonno | | | X | | | | |
| Poor drainage and flooding | | | X | | | | |
| Bad road | | | X | | | | |
| Social vices (e.g., stealing) | | | X | | | | |
| Harassment by AMA authorities | | | | X | | | |

Table 9. Ranking of AMA actions perceived to impede business, according to interviewed entrepreneurs.

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

| AMA Actions impeding business | Percent | Rank |
|---|---------|------|
| AMA charges are expensive | 35 | 1 |
| Conducting decongestion exercises | 20 | 2 |
| Preventing hawking | 5 | 3 |
| Directing us to a safer environment | 5 | 3 |
| Driving us away | 5 | 3 |
| Imposing illegal charges (bribes) | 5 | 3 |
| Inspecting the environment weekly | 5 | 3 |
| Pulling down signboards | 5 | 3 |
| Registering businesses | 5 | 3 |
| Sending drivers to court | 5 | 3 |
| Creating discomfort through their actions | 5 | 3 |

in the form of supportive services such as financial advice, training, tax incentives and research and development. The absence of a local business support agency that could help provide information on the availability of and access to loans is a significant impediment for small businesses, since most entrepreneurs are ignorant of loan availability and how they might access them. Additionally, there is a lack of government support agencies, which could fill the gap left by the financial institutions. Thirty percent of businesses interviewed with access to supportive services receive it in the form of training from suppliers and NGOs. Businesses expressed the need for the AMA to create a conducive economic atmosphere, as well as programs and policies that can help expand their businesses. Twenty-seven percent of businesses interviewed suggested that the AMA improve sanitation, while 20 percent asked that taxes be reduced.

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

Opportunities for the Accra Metropolitan Assembly

- Guggisberg Avenue is emerging as a healthcare services node in Accra. The AMA can and should target the corridor for investment by developing land use and growth management policies to ensure that it continues to grow in a sustainable rather than a haphazard manner.
- Old Winneba Road is slowly drawing investment from local entrepreneurs in tourism and hospitality services. The AMA should target the corridor for tourism development that can be well integrated into Korle Gonno's economy, especially in the form of providing new employment opportunities for youth now entering the labor force.
- The Tuesday Market can serve as a key economic node in Korle Gonno and for Ga communities. However, it is in dire need of an upgrade in its overall functionality, as it is not pulling nearly as many vendors or customers inside the market as it should. Upgrading of flooring, roofing, drainage and waste management, as well as a new managerial system to equitably distribute vending stalls, would help restore some of the vibrancy it once had and to which the community aspires. A total re-design of the market is recommended.
- Challenges requiring intervention
- The prevalence of informal economic activity is not a result of increases in entrepreneurship, but rather a form of survivalism in a very adverse employment environment. Renting out rooms to non-family members, sand extraction and petty trading are common forms of income generation in Korle Gonno; these activities are grossly insufficient to lift workers out of poverty and have deleterious environmental and crowding ramifications.

- Poor educational attainment and skills development are rampant in Korle Gonno and are key obstacles to productive employment, particularly for young adults. Vocational and education training programs are sorely needed, but they need to be designed and implemented in a way that harmonizes with employer skill demands.
- Entrepreneurs in both formal and informal firms have low access to financial capital to establish or expand their businesses. In order to empower these firms, access to financial and business services will need to improve. The AMA should consider how best to facilitate this process and should seek out capable partners to support this vital component of social and economic development.
- There is evidence of over-saturation of certain economic activities, including petty trade, sales of provisions and beverages and seamstressing, which do not yield sufficient profits to lift entrepreneurs and workers out of poverty. This trend reflects a real need to diversify the economy in Korle Gonno and to upskill its labor force in a broader array of economic sectors.
- Current taxes and permit fees are prohibitive for many enterprises. The AMA should consider conducting research on the levels of firms' income, to inform a revision of the city's taxation policies. A tiered taxation system might pose a fair and reasonable alternative, if thoughtfully executed.
- The AMA will need to consider how to restore pedestrian uses to the streets of Korle Gonno without adversely affecting local entrepreneurs. Sufficient space near to customer activity is needed to accommodate those commercial structures encroaching on pedestrian rights-of-way. Another option is to consider how to foster the co-existence of commercial activities within pedestrian rights-of-way without impinging on the functionality of the pedestrian and public space.





Part II:

Proposals



chapter 1

Towards Visioning and Realization

INTRODUCTION

The first half of this report illustrated the compounding adverse effect that population surges, urbanization and weak labor force integration into the broader urban economy have had on the living standards of the residents of Korle Gonno. This community provides an important example to draw upon, in the sense that it possesses locational and physical advantages virtually absent in other low-income Accra communities: proximity to the coast, as well as to such key economic clusters as the Central Business District and North Industrial Area; a good physical layout; a key periodic market; and the premier hospital in Ghana (Korle Bu Teaching Hospital). Yet, this once-tranquil residential community with relatively modern amenities is becoming increasingly overcrowded, with debilitating effects on housing and infrastructure. A large youth cohort is entering very challenging employment contexts. Income poverty (among other types of poverty) prevails, exacerbating the situation. These conditions reflect the fact that

the lack of investment in basic physical and social infrastructure can swiftly erode the raw potential of a wealth of community assets. Unfortunately, the predicament will get worse, unless an array of strategies and actions are created, revolving around reconfiguring the local economy for productivity and innovation, as well as upgrading housing and environmental health services.

How to facilitate such a program effectively is the question at hand. The objective of the rest of this report is to lay out a suite of programmatic and project-based recommendations and proposals whereby Korle Gonno's assets can be recalibrated so that they might feed into a transformative community development process.

A key starting point in the process is to link up institutional functions within the national and local government, private sector, donor agencies, NGOs and community leadership. When observing the missions and mandates of

Millennium Development Goals

- Goal 1, Target A: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than \$1 a day
- Goal 1, Target B: Achieve full productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people
- Goal 7, Target A: Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and reverse the loss of environmental resources
- Goal 7, Target C: Halve, by 2015, the proportion of the population without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation
- Goal 7, Target D: By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers

MLGRD National Urban Policy

- Objective 3, i: Promote local economic development (LED);
- Objective 3, vii: Build up and upgrade the operational capacities of the informal enterprises; improve funding support for the informal economy.
- Objective 4, iv: Provide adequate equipment and operational funds to support waste management activities.
- Objective 4, vii: Pursue rigorous public education and law enforcement against reprehensible public attitudes and conduct that induce environmental degradation;
- Objective 4, ix: Prepare and implement coastal management plans to effect coastal re-vegetation and erosion control of denuded and neglected coastal towns.

AMA Medium Term Development Plan

- Improve sanitary conditions in the metropolis
- Increase levels of youth employment
- Facilitate the creation of an enabling environment for private sector growth and development
- Equip the unemployed with employable skills

Graphic A. COMPARISON OF GOALS: Consistent Goals Among MDGs, GoG and AMA Policies

relevant stakeholders in urban development, one can identify commonalities in their objectives, as illustrated in Graphic A.

Further, the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) and the Council for Technical Vocational and Education Training (COTVET) provide essential support services in investment promotion and competency-based skills development, respectively.

Missing from Graphic A is representation of community leadership in the form of established community-based organizations. An official CBO or community development committee has not been established yet in Korle Gonno. We discuss this issue later in this chapter. But the question arises, if there are common development planning objectives among the key stakeholders, why is there no tangible evidence of a systematic, concerted effort underway in communities such as Korle Gonno? The answer likely revolves around a complex set of obstacles related to funding, capacity, coordination and political will. We aim to navigate within these issues by highlighting “spheres of accountability” - meaning, the role that key stakeholders can play within the scope of their responsibilities and how they can link up to each other programmatically. We do so for each intervention priority.

PRIORITIES FOR INTERVENTION

In the course of household surveys and in-depth interviews, community members were able to identify a number of priorities for intervention. Tables 1 and 2 show residents’ rankings of ways in which the AMA can make substantial improvements in daily life in Korle Gonno.

The top three services, drainage, sewerage and solid waste management, can be combined under the category of sanitation services¹ and are rightfully the top three priorities essential for basic public and environmental health.

Table 10. Resident ranking of issues requiring AMA intervention.

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

| Priorities for AMA intervention | Ranking |
|---------------------------------|---------|
| Drainage | 1 |
| Sewerage | 2 |
| Solid Waste Management | 3 |
| Job Creation | 4 |
| Roads | 5 |
| Street lights/electricity | 6 |
| Water Supply | 7 |
| Enforcement of bylaws | 8 |

Further, It is important to understand that significant improvements in municipal services will need to occur in order to draw private sector investment. These improvements will require financing at the national and local government levels.

It bears repeating: *as long as sanitation is as poor as it is now, there will be no serious interest among investors in developing Korle Gonno.*

The fourth ranked item – job creation – is the second crucial priority regarding which the AMA needs to assume leadership. For residents to be accountable for their role in the development of their community, they must be further empowered to do so. An increase in residents’ purchasing power also increases the local tax base, which provides local government the revenue to provide adequate municipal services. Moreover, Accra’s youth require and deserve a healthy and diversified labor market. To meet this goal, initiatives need to be developed to keep students enrolled in school, to improve SHS graduation rates and to make the curriculum more relevant to employers’ needs.

¹ Worth noting is that the enforcement of bylaws is ranked last. This may be due to a lack of understanding of the bylaws themselves but could also reflect a deep-seated sense of mistrust of local government. In reality, enforcement of public health-related bylaws and building permit regulations is crucial to maintaining improved sanitary conditions and drawing economic investment to the area.

Table 11 shows survey results indicating the types of jobs that Korle Gonno residents say they would like to see in their community in the near future. Many respondents expressed interest in manufacturing jobs. Asked why, they suggested that factory jobs offered regular work and wages. However, small-scale manufacturing industries are almost completely absent from Korle Gonno. Retail jobs were also popular, apparently reflecting the fact that most residents are better versed in retail work than in other possible jobs.

In short, responses from Korle Gonno inhabitants – as well as MCI’s field analysis – point toward targeting interventions towards improving sanitation services and revitalizing the local economy. We add two additional components to the discussion: improving education and skills development, and upgrading housing services.

Table 11. Expected businesses as indicated by respondents.

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

| Expected businesses | Percent |
|--|---------|
| Factories | 34.3 |
| Retail shops | 21.3 |
| Vocation/technical training and services | 16.1 |
| Supermarket | 9.4 |
| Health Center | 3.5 |
| Other | 15.4 |

PRIORITY I. IMPROVING SANITATION SERVICES

Key Goals and Objectives to Consider

Given the daunting presence of Lavender Hill and the absence of any existing sewer network, improving sanitation services must be the primary consideration of any worthwhile local economic development strategy for this community. For better or worse, the prospects for improvements in sanitation in the community depend on establishing more reliable liquid waste management facilities for the city, which remains a challenge. Lavender Hill continues to operate due to the absence of more sustainable sewerage alternatives. This is an urgent problem with many unacceptable costs, in terms of public and environmental health and essential human dignity.

MCI advocates the following goals for community development related to sanitation:

- 1. Significantly improve environmental health conditions along the beach and residential community, especially with regard to drainage and solid waste management**
- 2. Establish reliable sanitation services across Korle Gonno (including sewerage)**
- 3. Cultivate further entrepreneur/investor confidence in tourism development by creating and maintaining a healthy physical landscape**

MCI advocates the following programmatic objectives aimed at achieving the goals outlined above:

- **Establish substantive programs for sanitation and hygiene education and awareness, sensitizing locals on the importance of maintaining proper public and environmental sanitation standards.** This objective is critical. Such well-targeted and sustained educational programs will have two complementary results: 1) improving behavioral practices of the local population (over time, if program is sustained) and, more importantly, 2) inciting residents to demand “value for money” in sanitation services from both city authorities and service providers.
- **Eliminate the dependence on Lavender Hill by investing in renovation and/or establishment of new liquid waste treatment facilities.**
- **Permanently close Lavender Hill.**
- **Explore options for diversion of stormwater from drains to treatment facilities.** Otherwise, Korle Gonno’s seashore will continue to be contaminated by pollutant loading from faecal matter, wastewater and solid waste deposits coming from drain effluents.
- **Identify coastal management strategies that can fast-track restoration of the coastal environment.**
- **Identify appropriate technologies for sanitation networks in Korle Gonno, including stand-alone toilets, but also specific low-cost sewerage networks.**

Recommended Actions

The following actions are recommended to the AMA in order to accelerate meaningful progress towards realizing healthy public and environmental health in Korle Gonno:

1. Declare Lavender Hill a national sanitation crisis

The magnitude of the existing sanitation conditions in Korle Gonno –

and indeed, in Accra – is so enormous that it is beyond the capacity of local government resources, as evidenced by the fact that AMA continues to experience funding shortages for projects such as the sludge digester facility. As such, MCI strongly advocates to the AMA that it declare Lavender Hill and concomitant gaps in sanitation services as a national crisis and that it request financial and technical support from the national government (including the MWRWH). Lavender Hill, as well as polluted runoff from Korle Gonno drains, are destroying the coastal environment, which in effect also ruins prospects for sustainable tourism development. The sanitation crisis, with Korle Gonno at the epicenter, absolutely requires intervention at the national level.

It is urgent that the national government recognize the sanitation crisis in Korle Gonno (and Accra) and to consider it a funding priority. The MWRWH and AMA Sewerage Department can spearhead project implementation under the auspices of the ASIP.

2. Involve the religious community in sanitation and hygiene education/promotion

The conventional wisdom is to have public health professionals lead sanitation and hygiene awareness promotion. But inroads can be made by linking the religious community up with them, to “get the word out.” The religious community can and should play an instrumental role in this aspect by reaching out to their faith base and providing a platform for meaningful, consistent dissemination of information and awareness of hygienic behavior.

3. Establish a Community Sanitation Work Program in Korle Gonno

It is strongly recommended that the AMA establish a Community Sanitation Programme for Korle Gonno that would be tasked with 1) improving maintenance of existing drainage infrastructure, and 2) improving solid waste management. This program would hire youth from the community to maintain environmental sanitation conditions.

Improving maintenance of existing drainage infrastructure

While upgrading or installing new drainage infrastructure may significantly improve drainage services in the community, it is also expensive and does not address a critical problem in the short term: that is, the indiscriminate dumping of solid waste, wastewater and “flying toilets” into the drains, resulting in clogging the drainage channels. Sewage discharge from households – which contains fecal matter - increases pollutant loading, and when stagnant, serves as an incubator for pathogens and mosquitoes. This is clearly an environmental health risk and a disincentive for investment in economic and/or commercial development. Upkeep of drainage channels is required at bi-weekly intervals. Cleansing of drains should be a municipal service and should be provided consistently and reliably, but can be community-driven to make it sustainable and cost-effective. In that direction, an opportunity for local employment presents itself in the form of hiring youth to clean the drainage channels, as part of an overall community sanitation program. Indeed, the MCI focus group discussion participants, all of them young people, showed interest in the development of such a program.

As such, it is recommended that the AMA take the lead in this endeavor by **establishing a budget provision for a community sanitation program, including funding for hiring youth crews to clean drains on a bi-weekly basis**. The cleaning schedule could be staggered so that the crews have work at least once a week, working in one area one week and another area another week. This serves the twin-track advantage of providing jobs and holding community members accountable for the upkeep of their own environs.

Improve Solid Waste Management

Linking up with the YES-Ghana Youthworks program in order to engage youth in door-to-door waste collection may yield substantial benefits to the Korle Gonno community. This would provide yet another income source for youth, while placing the onus of effective solid waste management directly on the community. By all indications, Korle Gonno youth are

ready for this responsibility, if the appropriate inputs and capacity-building are provided. The AMA would benefit from partnering up with NGOs such as CHF International to provide these inputs and capacity. In conjunction with YES-Ghana, CHF International has already established a successful youth employment program in door-to-door solid waste management in James Town, which includes household source-separation. Such a program in Korle Gonno can also provide training to youth on hygiene promotion, with the intent of having youth spread hygiene sensitization campaigns across the community.

Inclusion of community-owned cesspit services would require an analysis of existing capacity and potential integration with a larger sewerage service network, which currently is virtually non-existent (except for Lavender Hill, which cannot be promoted as a sustainable form of liquid waste management).

Community Management of the Community Sanitation Program

An option for delineating the ownership structure of the Korle Gonno Community Sanitation Program could be as follows:

- The AMA Budget Office would set restrictions on how the funding provision would be used and would disburse funds to the Ablekuma South Submetro Office.
- The Ablekuma South Submetro Office would be tasked with ensuring that the funds be used as per those restrictions.
- The Submetro would release funds to a Community Sanitation Board to hire cleanup and waste collection crews and to assign tasks according to the areas of most need.
- The Community Sanitation Board would record where and when tasks have taken place and would also establish cleanup and collection schedules. Schedules can be established using community maps.

- The Community Sanitation Board's membership should consist of the Ablekuma South Submetro Director, the District Cleansing Officer, the Korle Gonno Assembly Member, youth group leaders and residents.

4. Explore Condominial Sewerage as an Appropriate Technology in Korle Gonno

Condominial sewerage is a sanitation technology developed in Brazil and used in such other countries as Nicaragua, Bolivia, Colombia, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Malaysia, among others (Mara, Sleigh, Taylor, 2001: pg. 3). The concept of condominial sewerage is based around a housing block sewer system design, rather than a road sewer system. The sewer network can go underground through the front or back yards of private properties, or can go under a lane, sidewalk or plot line within the block, still connecting every house, but with far less infrastructure and at far less cost. Condominial sewerage is recommended as a potential low-cost sewer technology, especially for communities with a population density of 150 hectares or more (Mara, Sleigh, Taylor, 2001: pg. 22).

The sewers are usually laid at depths shallower than regular or "conventional" sewers, with covers of approximately 100-400mm maximum (Mara, Sleigh, Taylor, 2001: pg. 3). The shallow network gives access to small-sized "chambers" that can be used for servicing, rather than using manholes, which are more expensive. This also allows for community involvement in maintenance of the in-block sewer, which drastically reduces maintenance costs for the municipal sewerage department or service provider and which can also provide jobs for trained workers in the community. The design of a condominial sewer network can be fit to a community's topographic features. See Figure 1 for routing options for condominial sewerage.

There are a few considerations to keep in mind when evaluating condominial sewerage as an option in Korle Gonno:

- Condominial sewerage can work only if there is a reliable water supply of at least 60 liters per person per day, on each plot of land (Mara,

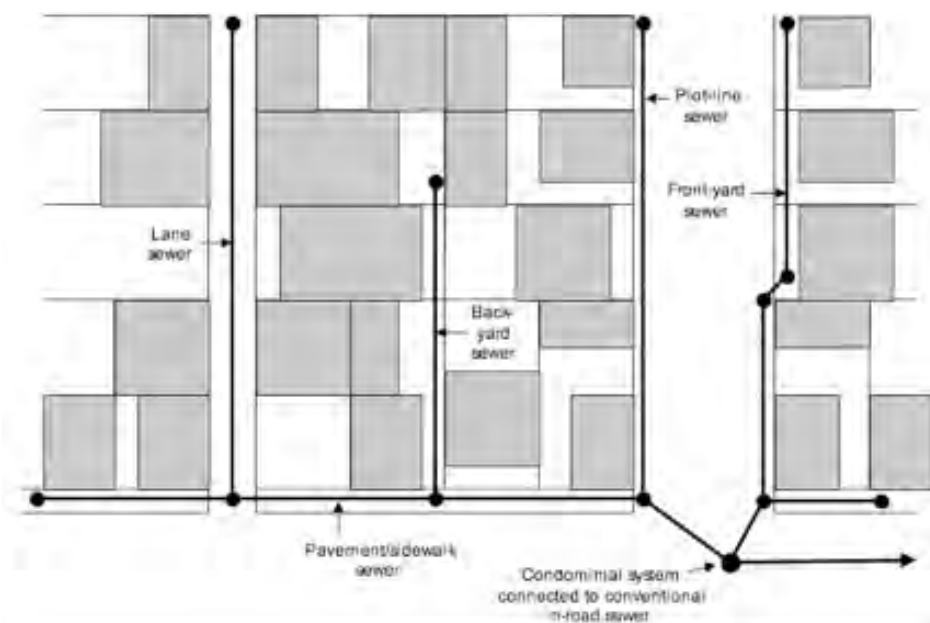


Figure 39. Routing options for condominial sewer network

Source: Mara, Sleigh and Taylor, 2001

Sleigh, Taylor, 2001: pg. 22). This only serves as yet another incentive to improve Korle Gonno's water network!

- Condominial sewerage, as in most on-plot sanitation systems, does not collect sullage (Mara, Sleigh, Taylor, 2001: pg. 22), so the transport and disposal of sullage needs to be accounted for in another way.
- Condominial sewerage works much better if it is eventually routed to a larger sewer collector (Mara, Sleigh, Taylor, 2001: pg. 23). The closest main sewer collector is located at Korle Bu.
- The locations of all piped water network connections – both legal and illegal – need to be known and documented, so that interference is avoided.

- The water table in Korle Gonno is high, so care must be taken that interference is minimized.
- Housing in Korle Gonno exists on both sides of a block and within the block. Holding discussions with residents is crucial, as they may not be willing to have a condominial network run through their property.

To facilitate a feasibility study on condominial sewerage in Korle Gonno, the AMA Sewerage Department may coordinate a scoping meeting with the World Bank's Urban Water Sector office.

5. Slab the “Sempe Drain” in Zone 1, in order to eliminate the option of defecating inside the drain.

This should be done after identifying a plan for improving toilet access to residents in the area.

6. In the medium-to-long term, all drains/gutters in Korle Gonno should be covered.

Again, this should be seen as a measure to improve the prospects for investment in economic development, such as tourism.

Facilitative Networks

Graphic B shows the optimal facilitative networks for transforming the aforementioned goals, objectives and actions for improving sanitation services into specific programs targeted for Korle Gonno:

- **The Ministry of Water Resources, Works and Housing:** tasked with providing financial and other resources related to crises in sanitation services.
- **The AMA Sewerage Department:** responsible for implementation of specific sanitation infrastructure improvement projects, under the Accra Sanitation Improvement Project. Currently, ASIP is financing a new liquid waste treatment plant in Legon, which aims to divert liquid waste



Graphic B. Facilitative Networks: Sanitation Services

from Lavender Hill; ASIP is also seeking financial assistance for a new sludge digester near Korle Gonno.

- **The Ablekuma South Submetro Office:** in charge of daily environmental sanitation management within communities under its jurisdiction, including Korle Gonno. This includes oversight of solid waste collection by private contractors, drain cleansing and the enforcement of sanitary bylaws.
- **The AMA Environmental Health Unit:** works in conjunction with Submetro Offices to educate communities on sanitation and hygiene promotion and to enforce existing sanitary bylaws.

- **Development Partners:** including the World Bank Water and Sanitation Sector Office, UN-HABITAT and NGOs such as CHF International and People's Dialogue for Human Settlements. These agencies facilitate essential projects aimed at improving the levels of service for sanitation across Accra.
- **Community leaders:** Local politicians, opinion leaders and religious institutions. Religious institutions can play a vital role in Korle Gonno by reaching out to its faith base on sanitation and hygiene education.

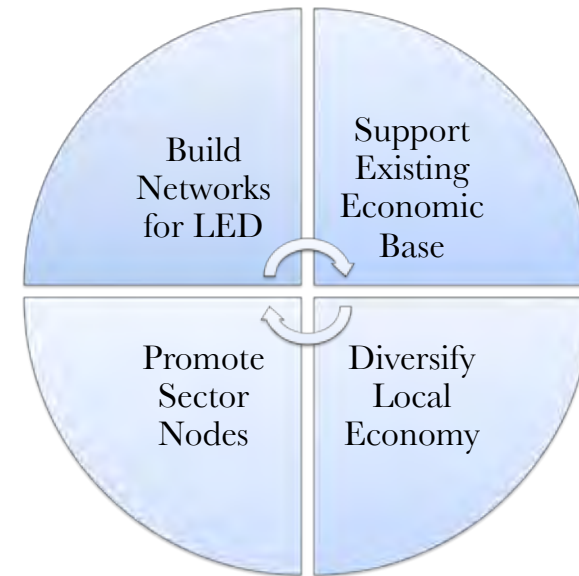
The conjunction of activities, emphasizing further national government involvement in improving sanitation services, together with strengthened community-level involvement, can facilitate needed inroads in meeting the envisaged objectives as outlined by the Millennium Development Goals, the Ghana National Urban Policy and the AMA Medium-Term Development Plan.

PRIORITY II. EVOLVE A ROBUST LOCAL ECONOMY

Local economic development as currently unfolding in Korle Gonno has very raw potential, but requires significant investment in time and resources to develop it into a reliable system tied to internal and citywide economic networks. A sincere and effective effort toward drastically reducing pervasive poverty in Korle Gonno should have at its forefront a reconfiguration of micro-firm and small-medium enterprise capacities, as well as the task of identifying new avenues for employment generation.

Key Goals & Objectives to Consider

This effort should be process-driven, centered around four foundational goals for local economic development (LED):



Graphic C. Building a robust economy

1. Build networks for LED

Currently, there is no business development committee or similar organization tasked with developing business ties and managing economic growth in Korle Gonno. Establishing linkages between entrepreneurs, workers, trade associations and other stakeholders can yield advantages, via sharing profits and knowledge towards innovations in product development and branding.

2. Support economic base

There are a number of existing economic activities - such as medical supply wholesale, construction and masonry and graphic design - that can be supported by providing both exposure to investors and access to financial capital.

3. Diversify the local economy

Promoting investment in Korle Gonno's budding tourism services, as well as in other emerging economic activities such as auto repair and graphic design services, can help transform a currently stagnant local labor market into a dynamic one by attracting new firms and customers into the community.

4. Promote sector nodes

Korle Gonno is fortunate to have three economic assets around which it can plan and develop strategically : Korle Bu Hospital, the beach and the Tuesday Market. Promoting economic corridors and revitalizing the Market can spearhead the LED process. We present specific planning and design proposals to promote these nodes in the following "Proposals" chapter.

The objectives below advance the previous goals into a gradually evolving process that takes into account institutional and organizational dynamics:

- **Provide a platform for visioning economic development in Korle Gonno:**

A good deal of sensitization will be needed to help develop cohesiveness among the Korle Gonno business community. Members of the business community will need to be drawn in and consulted on the potential scenarios for LED and regarding their preferences for the way forward. This can be accomplished through a series of visioning workshops with entrepreneurs, both with regard to formal and informal economic activities.

- **Organize/package services and products:**

Many home-based enterprises (HBEs) in Korle Gonno provide the same kind of products and services and earn low profits. This is due in part to the low purchasing power among customers within their area, but it is also related to the lack of organization in the marketplace. One viable option is to explore product consolidation and services by

encouraging entrepreneurs to partner up and "package" their products, thereby creating a readily recognizable niche for customers. This can also help create a local brand that can be reinforced by tourism marketing. For example, one of the common household businesses in Korle Gonno (and indeed in most Ga communities, especially James Town) is preparing and selling *kenkey*, a local cornmeal-based specialty made by different households in small quantities and sold within the neighborhood. In general, profits are generated by selling *kenkey* to local customers within a block or two of the enterprise. The customer reach may be expanded, however, by organizing the *kenkey* producers to pool their resources so as to help improve the product's quality and to move towards economies of scale.

- **Support programs for business management training:**

Improving managerial skills, particularly among informal businesses, can also improve business networks. Many businesses falter simply because of the lack of basic business skills in financial accounting, operations and management and leadership. Facilitating training in business skills will go a long way toward reducing business failures, as better financial and organizational management will increase investor confidence.

- **Identify and help bridge gaps in access to capital**

Enabling access to micro-loans for promising micro- and small firms will allow many of them to expand their operations, eventually leading to job creation.

- **Spur community tourism development**

Community-managed tourism

Recommended Actions

MCI submits the following recommended actions to facilitate an LED program in Korle Gonno:

1. Organize local business forums

The AMA can host local business fora and workshops aimed at 1) further identifying the needs, obstacles and shortcomings of the business community, and 2) visioning an economic development plan that they support.

2. Document informal economy firm operations

Working with informal businesses to document their operating activities will be key to enabling exposure and access to financing opportunities. This can be achieved through business firm surveys and interviews, but survey designs should take into consideration the dynamics of doing business in the informal sector and should not use inflexible indicators to measure operational efficiency. This data will be instrumental in preparing micro-enterprise proposals to SME lenders.

3. Promote cooperatives

Promoting the establishment of cooperatives, such as in the healthcare, tourism, food service and auto repair sub-sectors, can yield important long-term benefits for the local business environment. The AMA Metro Development Planning Unit can collaborate with the Ghana Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare's Department of Cooperatives in developing a process of promoting firm partnerships and cooperatives that would help solidify an LED network in the community.

4. Establish a GIPC liaison role

It is recommended that the AMA establish a GIPC liaison role within the Metro Development Planning Unit, the sole responsibility of which would be investment promotion and associated job creation. In the case of Korle Gonno, GIPC could develop a strategy to promote investment in auxiliary healthcare services, tourism, food services, auto repair services and graphic design. Such investment should follow concerted (aforementioned) efforts at better organizing those sector enterprises' capacities.

Facilitative Networks

Graphic D shows the optimal facilitative networks for integrating the

aforementioned goals, objectives and actions into specific programs targeted at invigorating economic opportunities in Korle Gonno:

- The business community in Korle Gonno: an amalgamation of mostly micro-firms and small-medium enterprises that are currently not organized into any associations, in part due to lack of political will or any incentive to do so.
- AMA Metro Planning Coordinating Unit: responsible for LED strategies and developing community business development plans for each AMA Submetro.

Ghana Investment Promotion Centre: a key potential partner for the AMA, tasked with promoting and facilitating local and foreign



Graphic D. Facilitative Networks: Local Economic Development

investment in most economic sectors in Ghana, including the textiles, food processing, ICT, consumer electronics and tourism industries.

- Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, Department of Cooperatives: functions to enable the establishment of new cooperatives.

The AMA Metro Planning Coordinating Unit, along with the Department of Cooperatives, can be tasked with building LED networks and organizing services and products. The GIPC and the MPCU can facilitate strategies for attracting investment in the relevant economic sectors in Korle Gonno.

PRIORITY III. IMPROVING EDUCATION AND SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

During a focus group with young adults on employment issues in Korle Gonno, the group was asked what kind of job opportunities they would like to see emerge in their community. One young woman responded as follows:

I think that any job is a job, and especially now that we are in the situation we find ourselves, we should accept all that is presented, since a beggar has no choice. I think the janitorial service business will be ok and (would) help a lot.

Her comment reflects the current reality that those devoid of any employment opportunity will accept anything, i.e., a job is a job. Representing oneself as a beggar reflects a stark sense of survivalism and hopelessness about securing a job. New job creation in janitorial services and retail sales provides short-term remedies, but does not address the underlying labor market problems, lack of education and skills.

To realize the full potential of Korle Gonno as a healthy, productive and self-sustaining community able to attract and sustain economic investment, its budding labor force will need to be up-skilled and re-skilled, in order to meet both the competency requirements of employers as well as workers' own entrepreneurial aspirations. The question is, how to make inroads when parents cannot afford to keep their kids in school, girls regularly become pregnant and drop out of school and childcare cannot be secured. These are problems with no easy solutions. A set of supportive services that take these factors into account needs to be identified and facilitated. An important dimension in this process is to explore the current state of vocational training in Korle Gonno.

Vocational Training

Technical vocational training services do exist in Korle Gonno. Feedback from local youth, however, reflect dissatisfaction with those services, indicating that the training on offer is outdated, unaffordable, too narrow and/or geared only towards economically stagnant trades (e.g., seamstressing). Aside from the crucial aspects of availability and affordability, it is important to understand to what sectors youth prefer to shift their career trajectory. To shed some light on this, the MCI team probed residents about the vocational training sectors they believe should be developed in Korle Gonno. The results are presented in Table 12.

Training in ICT skills piqued the highest interest, based on the perception that it would yield stable employment and opportunities for upward job mobility. Nursing received the second-highest level of interest among survey respondents, appealing in particular to young women.

Given the awareness of availability, affordability and the focus on technical education and vocational training as the primary issues, a set of "real world" goals, objectives and actions can be fashioned.

A fresh approach to vocational training is needed, one based on outcomes-based education and training – that is, training that meets occupational training standards and/or expectations set by industry employers.

Table 12. Desired vocational training skills in Korle Gonno

Source: University of Ghana, 2011

| Vocational training skills | Percent |
|---------------------------------------|---------|
| Information Communications Technology | 62.5 |
| Nursing | 57.3 |
| Automotive repair | 47.0 |
| Tourism | 44.7 |
| Fashion designing | 3.6 |
| Carpentry | 0.8 |
| Catering | 0.8 |
| Hairdressing | 0.8 |
| Media Communications | 0.4 |

Key Goals and Objectives to Consider

Key goals should include:

1. **Create an enabling environment for youth to complete SHS**
2. **Improve access to education and training for interested adults**
3. **Develop viable vocational training services tailored to meet the career aspirations of youth**
4. **Up-skill and re-skill the labor force to envisaged local economic sector growth**

Objectives should include:

- **Ascertain the feasibility of developing financial aid programs:** information should be gathered as to which families are facing the most difficulty in paying education costs for their children and what can be done to assist them in sending their children to school. This is

particularly important at the JHS level, where teens are more at risk of dropping out due to entering street trading or becoming pregnant.

- **Identifying non-financial incentives for adults to finish their education:** Aside from the obvious affordability factor, young (and older) adults may “shy away” from enrolling in school to finish their education for such reasons as the class schedule and their age (i.e., a 30-year-old’s discomfort with learning alongside 16-year-olds).
- **Promote Competency-Based Training programs:** The objective of CBT is to develop skills training that *reflects the needs of industry employers by designing curricula to match industry occupational standards*. Apprenticeships in both formal and informal economic sectors should be integrated within the program.

Recommended Actions

1. Facilitate establishment of childcare services

Childcare services offered during days and evenings, to give young parents the opportunity to attend classes at night

2. Establish night school for adults of similar age cohort

3. Facilitate skills development in the following areas:

- ICT
- Nursing/Health worker
- Auto repair
- Tourism
- Construction sector artisanship (carpentry, masonry, etc.)
- Food service
- Sanitation services (solid waste, cesspit, drainage, etc.)
- Ga cultural arts

4. Partner with the Ministry of Education’s Council for Technical Vocational and Education Training (COTVET) to design outcomes-based education and technical vocational training programs in Korle Gonno.

COTVET can provide key collaborative support in the form of needs assessments for learners, assessments of occupational standards and harmonizing training activities with various local trade associations.

Facilitative Networks

Graphic E shows the optimal facilitative networks for turning the aforementioned goals, objectives and actions into specific programs targeted at re-defining education and vocational training opportunities in Korle Gonno:

- The AMA Metro Education Department: tasked with the oversight of education services provided by public and private schools in all Submetros, including adherence to established education standards, as well as providing the necessary infrastructure for learning.
- The Council for Technical Vocational Education and Training (COTVET): within the Ministry of Education, responsible for developing policies for skills development in pre-tertiary and tertiary education systems, with an outcomes-based approach in both the formal and informal sectors.
- Community Vocational Training Centers: existing Centers in Korle Gonno providing vocational training services to the community.

MCI stresses to the AMA and relevant stakeholders the importance of investing in the human resource base of Korle Gonno, particularly in light of potential LED opportunities in the future. If the local labor pool is not well integrated into the local labor market, there will be considerably fewer inroads made in attenuating the poverty conditions currently so prevalent within the community.



Graphic E. Facilitative Networks: Technical Education, Vocational Training

**PRIORITY IV.
UPGRADING HOUSING AND
EXPANDING HOUSING SERVICES**

Growth in Korle Gonno’s population and crowding conditions have necessitated an approach for demand-responsive housing services. Of course, Korle Gonno is not the only community in Accra facing these challenges. That said, investing in upgrading in Korle Gonno may be more feasible due to the relatively secure tenure system in place. The graphic below illustrates a three-pronged approach to improving housing services, including physical upgrading, infill development and preserving the neighborhood’s historic character.

Upgrading housing in Korle Gonno is a process that extends beyond housing design. Success is highly dependent on the full and active coordination

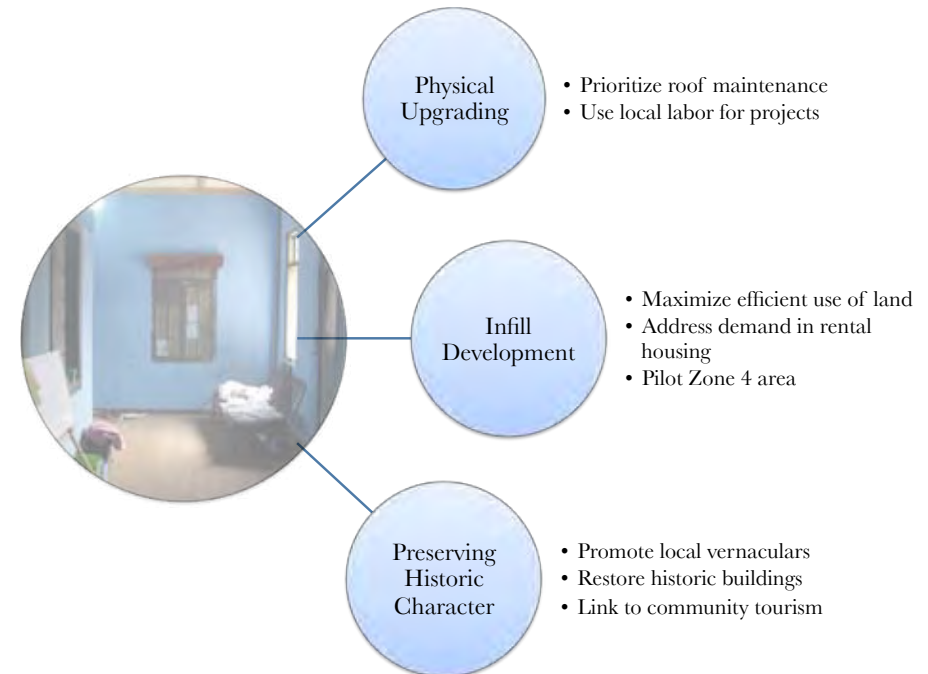
and participation of stakeholders, particularly those actually residing in Korle Gonno. A sustainable housing initiative takes into consideration homeowners' needs, as well as living conditions for all residents – including tenants. The process should begin clarifying needs so that these can be accommodated within an upgraded architectural form.

A fundamental step in the process is to create mechanisms for direct communication between the relevant AMA departments and the Korle Gonno community. Much of this work can be accomplished through workshops and meetings aimed, in part, at informing and guiding the upgrading process. Key topics for discussion include the sequence and timing for upgrading, community behavioral changes in incremental building and a community-city compact to guarantee maintenance and community sustainability. Residents, particularly landowners/landlords, should have a very clear understanding of the goals and objectives of the upgrading project, how it would affect their properties and appropriate mechanisms for compensation.

“Affordability is operationalized as a decent home for every family at a price reflective of their means (taking into consideration all income streams and household resources).”²

Landowners may be incentivized to engage in affordable housing renovations. However, low-income households have great difficulty saving for housing maintenance,³ so finance options offered via banking and finance institutions will be essential, with the AMA playing a critical facilitating role. Involvement of financial organizations will reinforce the goal of more sustainable planning and will discourage illegal squatting, encroachments and temporary and informal construction.

Another key step will be to generate design options - a tool box of potential



Graphic F. Components of Housing Upgrading Scheme

methods for residential development, drawing upon best principles and case studies. These options will aim to promote sustainable development, benefitting the entire neighborhood, individual owners and the government in the process. Design options should outline the investments required to support particular design interventions. Community feedback should be built into the design options, so as to obtain the community's full support and trust and to secure its ownership in the redevelopment process.

² Elmira Gur, Yurrdanur Dulgeriglu Yuksel, "Squatter Housing As a Model for Affordable Housing in Developing Countries," Open House international Vol:35 no.3 (2010):120-121

³ Elmira Gur, Yurrdanur Dulgeriglu Yuksel, "Squatter Housing As a Model for Affordable Housing in Developing Countries," Open House international Vol:35 no.3 (2010):121

Key Goals and Objectives to Consider

1. **Upgrade physical condition of housing as needed**
2. **Create more opportunities for residential and commercial development**
3. **Preserve/restore historic character of buildings**
4. **Promote investment in rental housing**
Measures should be taken to ensure that affordable tenant housing remains part of the housing landscape in Korle Gonno.

Objectives:

- **Improve efficiency of land for residential and commercial usage:** Many residential and commercial land plots are inefficiently used, even when considering space for domestic and cultural needs. Negotiations with landowners can include maximizing the use of floor area for the construction of rooms, sanitation facilities and space to engage in economic activities, all of which can serve as incentives.
- **Promote infill development both at corridors and inside community:** Infill development best serves the purpose of improving efficiency of land use in Korle Gonno. Infill can occur at either a vacant commercial plot on a corridor; a commercial plot with sufficient space for further construction; or a residential plot for further residential units or commercial activities.
- **Promote local vernaculars and link to community tourism:** Korle Gonno has a number of aesthetically appealing homes that can be both preserved and encouraged in new housing designs. Neighborhood building standards can be used to draw upon the existing architectural styles, in part so that they can draw tourists from the beach into the

community. In sufficient time, neighborhood tours can be established, so that tourists can appreciate the colorful design of houses that contribute to the community's unique "vibe."

Recommended Actions

1. Prioritize maintenance of roofing

During the inspection of various houses across Korle Gonno by the MCI team, it became apparent that roofing was often the structures' most dilapidated aspect. In addition, asbestos sheets are still very common, posing well-documented health hazards.

2. Use local labor for upgrading projects

There is a base within the community of masons, carpenters and other laborers in the construction industry who can be drawn upon to work on upgrading projects.

3. Establish housing upgrading project along the Sempe Drain area of Zone 1

MCI submits a strategic design proposal for upgrading of this area in the following chapter, "Proposals."

4. Explore feasibility for Zone 4 mixed-use and infill projects

Zone 4 has the lowest housing density in the community, with several plots inefficiently used. Conditions are *physically* favorable for infilling in this area, in order to promote compact mixed-use residential development. Such a project could coincide with the upgrading of the Tuesday Market area, as part of an effort to lure potential residents and entrepreneurs to settle within.

5. Undertake restoration of historic buildings

The police barracks houses and Aladdin House are among KG's historic buildings that can be restored as part of a community historic preservation effort.

Housing guidelines to consider

Each house can be divided into three parts:

- 1) Foundation and plinth
- 2) Body (walls, windows, doors, etc.)
- 3) Roof

Upgrading will be initiated with a comprehensive analysis of the three parts of each house. As shown in the elevation above:

- Most buildings have a base (plinth)
- Most houses have permanent walls
- The roofing of most houses is temporary and/or damaged

Priority should be given to improving roofing conditions by building new roof installations, which can also incorporate rainwater harvesting to generate another source of water supply for drinking (if properly treated) or non-drinking use.

Two other important steps in the upgrading design process would be 1) the drafting of a new urban ordinance that would safeguard existing courtyard spaces within compound houses, and 2) the promotion of vertical upgradation, maintaining a ratio between indoor and outdoor living space. The AMA Town and Country Planning Department can be tasked with determining the appropriate ratio after conducting their own analyses.

Early awareness can be facilitated by the introduction of several small-scale pilot housing upgrade projects. Suitable important pilot projects are:

- 1) Re-design of multiple compound houses into one integrated unit
- 2) Rainwater harvesting for a single compound roof
- 3) Mixed-use re-development of a compound house incorporating an adjoining commercial unit
- 4) Shared toilet between two compounds

Creating Identity

Various characteristics found in Korle Gonno's built environment, including its architectural styles, can help brand the community and distinguish it from other Accra neighborhoods. Korle Gonno can benefit greatly from building on its aesthetic strengths by inventing a coherent and vibrant visual identity. Creating such an identity will attract investment, tourists, build community pride, preserve a key historic neighborhood and possibly serve as a reference point for appropriate redevelopment.

Carving Out Public Spaces

Korle Gonno is comprised of two very distinct and contrasting physical characteristics: the planned underlying grid of the roads, and the clustering of houses within the grid that are diverting from the original spatial layout. Virtually absent from these forms are planned public spaces: footpaths, parks and recreational areas (including children's playgrounds), public toilets, etc. Land will need to be identified for public amenities. A pedestrian access network is also essential.

Facilitative Networks

Graphic G shows the optimal facilitative networks for turning the aforementioned goals, objectives and actions into specific programs targeted at improving housing services in Korle Gonno:

- AMA
- State Housing Company -- a state-owned housing company operating under the Ministry of Water Resources, Works and Housing
- UN-HABITAT
- CHF International
- Housing the Masses -- a NGO specializing in technical assistance for low-income housing development in Ghana.

- Private sector land developers
- Individual landowners

NGOs such as CHF International and Housing the Masses can provide expertise in accumulating the requisite physical, economic and social data on which housing development projects might be based. Partnerships between UN-HABITAT, the State Housing Company and the AMA can potentially accumulate financial resources in order to facilitate sustainable infill development projects, in conjunction with private sector land developers and landowners.

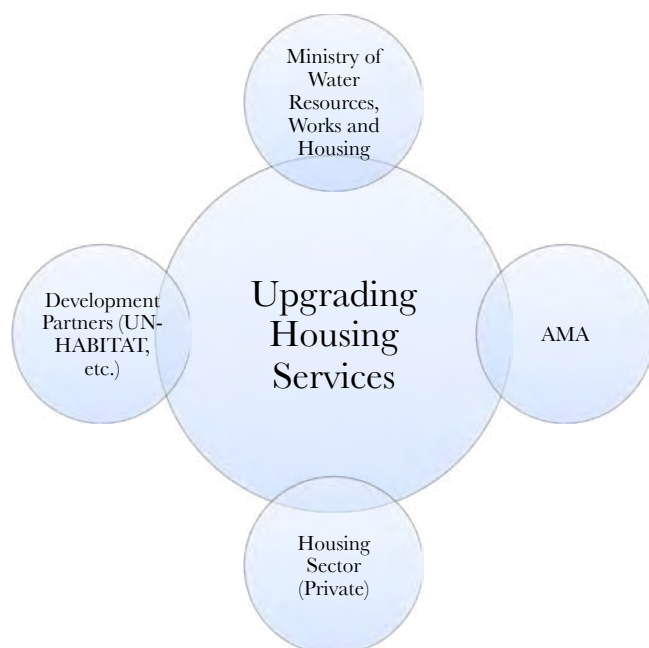
It is important to remain aware that a sustainable housing upgrading and infill development program cannot, in and of itself, serve as a means of

improving local economic development. In recent history, housing has been seen as the catalyst for economic development, but a more sober approach would be to recognize it as a necessary sector that feeds off of labor market and locational dynamics. MCI advises that the programmatic recommendations for upgrading housing in Korle Gonno be placed within the community's economic and social context, as well as within the programmatic endeavors for the local economy, skills base and sanitation services.

FOUNDATIONS FOR A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

A successful economic development program in Korle Gonno will not be possible without making significant inroads in two key areas: 1) integrating community stakeholders in deliberative processes in a sincere and effective manner; and 2) following through on planned activities.

Currently, community member activity in local development is low. The MCI team was not able to identify even one community-based organization while working alongside the local assemblyman, market association and residents. One possible explanation for this is poor networking among all local stakeholders – meaning that local CBOs may exist but are unknown to others. Another possibility is that community work is done on more individual levels, which also hints at weak organization. Yet another possible explanation is that community service – especially unpaid community service – is virtually non-existent in Korle Gonno. Through three months of site work, the MCI team did not witness any community service programs even among youth groups, which contrasts with the high level of involvement of youth groups in community service in Nima and other low-income communities.



Graphic G. Facilitative Networks: Upgrading Housing Services

Whatever explanation prevails, a sense of complacency is palpable in the community. This is likely due in part to an apparent (mutual) distrust and disillusionment between municipal authorities and neighborhood residents. Municipal authorities complain about residents' unwillingness to obey sanitation and building permit bylaws, which is a fairly accurate reflection of resident habits in general. Community residents and entrepreneurs, on the other hand, have developed a sentiment of mistrust of and pessimism regarding the AMA leadership. This is understandable, as residents are forced to cope on a nearly hourly basis with poorly maintained sanitation and waste management services and have not benefitted from any programs to support skills development, employment or entrepreneurship. However justifiable both points of view, the ensuing finger-pointing has not resulted in a great deal of progress.

There is no doubt that poor service provision has fostered many unhealthy sanitary habits that have become deeply engrained and have been passed on from generation to generation. Nonetheless, residents need to acknowledge that they are making matters worse. A sincere and sustained effort is needed to begin stemming these problems and changing behaviors. Conversely, the AMA, including the Ablekuma South Submetro, should ensure that resources are being maximized to meet the expected levels of service and that any announced projects be finished appropriately and quickly. Given the strained relations between municipal service providers and beneficiaries, some degree of mediation would probably be useful in moving things along.

Such a process should include the organization of all stakeholders interested in community development in Korle Gonno. A key group would be those successful professionals with deep roots in Korle Gonno, who can lead the way in sensitizing the community and monitoring upgrading projects. The problem here, however, is that such individuals have become disillusioned not only with the AMA, but also with their fellow residents. As one such successful professional commented,

“There is a lot of talking, but the actual improvements don't follow... and even if the drains get cleaned, they'll get choked in no time at all, because people don't follow the bylaws. It's not easy living here.”

Indeed, hopelessness is not an uncommon feeling in Korle Gonno, when discussing prospects for community upgrading and development. “People are tired of talk,” is a common saying. There is interest in facilitating change, but everyone wants to see tangible signs that both AMA and residents are “in it for the long haul.” These professionals can be pivotal in a community development process, as they have well-developed technical, business and leadership skills, and they know the community well. These are traits that can earn the respect of their neighbors.

The AMA needs to play a key role in achieving community “buy-in,” including from these disillusioned former residents, by giving better access to the deliberative processes at the Submetro level. This would include clarifying both the responsibilities of each department and politician and the structures of budget allocations – who disperses them, where they go and when. Ideally, a community development council would be tasked with documenting how budget allocations for community service are actually used.

Once all stakeholders – from residents and business owners to NGOs and local universities – are in agreement with the provisional development plan, implementation targets can be identified and financed. Upon acquisition of funding for projects, the necessary accountability streams can be developed and published, so that relevant community leaders can monitor progress.



Proposals

chapter 2 Sempe Drain Upgrade

INTRODUCTION

In Zone 1 of Korle Gonno lies a residential block with arguably the poorest housing and living conditions in the community. The block is situated between Nii Takie Owuowou Street and Glover Addo Road (east to west) and Tetteh Gbeshi Road and Arday Nunoo Road (north to south). The community's largest drain, dubbed "Sempe Drain" by locals, runs through the middle of the block, creating a near-bisection. This block contains a dense concentration of shacks created out of sandcrete and/or timber scraps. It also presents environmental health hazards due to three main issues: 1) residents use the drain for open defecation, especially during the early morning and late at night; 2) the drain and its surrounding has become a receptacle for solid waste, especially on the side near the St. Mary's School; and 3) groundwater seepage runs across the block running west-east, attracting mosquito breeding. After a number of site visits and

studies, it was clear that this block should be given priority for a physical upgrading.

Diagram A shows the boundary area for the proposed upgrading site. Using GIS technology, the area of the site measures 38,141.22 square meters. The building footprint data show 175 structures existing on the block, but the building footprint data are from 2006.

Diagram B shows Google Earth imagery for the site. When comparing the Google Earth imagery with the GIS map, it is obvious (unsurprisingly) that numerous new structures have been erected.



The Underlying Grid

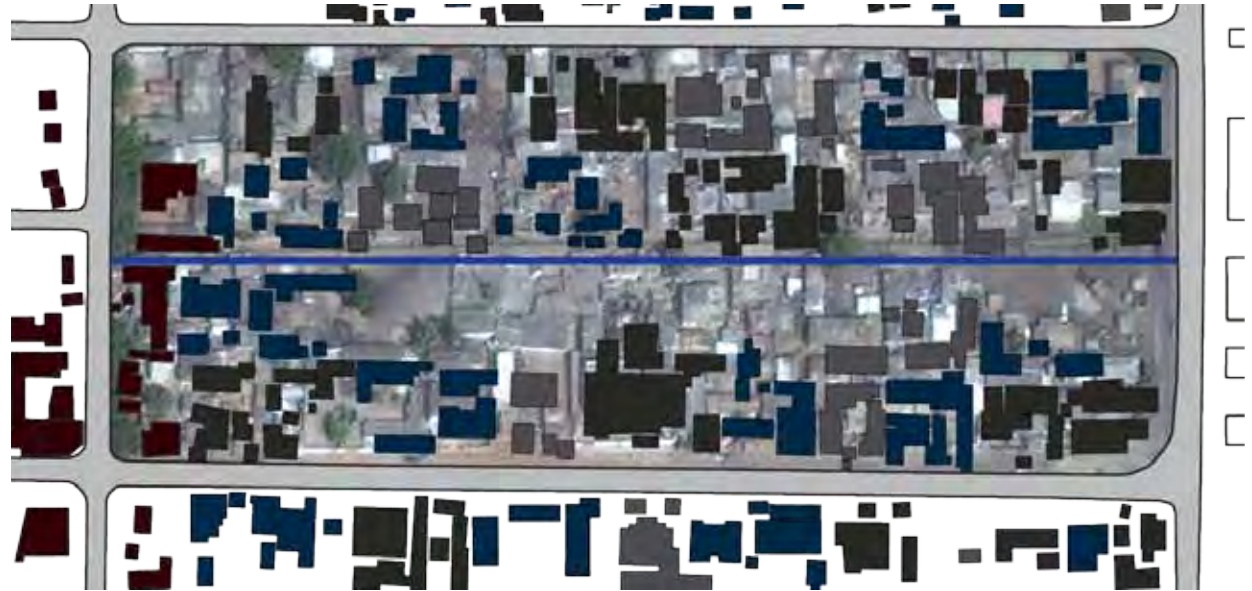


Diagram A. GIS Map of Sempe Drain Area



The Unplanned Built Fabric



Diagram B. Satellite Image of Sempe Drain Area

PROPOSED UPGRADING STRATEGY

The objectives for upgrading this site are 1) improving environmental health conditions along the block, and 2) improving the physical conditions of housing and access to basic services. To meet the first objective, it is necessary to eliminate the practice of open defecation along the drain. A necessary (but not the only) step in achieving this is to slab the drain itself, so that it retains its function as a conveyer of stormwater runoff. Before doing so, it is very important to consider how to improve provision of toilets in this area, given that slabbing the drain would take away many residents' place of convenience. The consequence of slabbing the drain without an alternative action for toilet provision could be a dramatic rise in "flying toilets" or increased open defecation along the beachside. Nevertheless, slabbing the drain will constitute an important step towards improving environmental health and sanitation in the area.

Additionally, the effect of slabbing the drain on the drain's own hydraulic capacity needs to be analyzed. While the hydraulic capacity of the drain within the block area may not be affected, it may nonetheless be affected further downstream. As such, the AMA Sewerage Department and the Drainage Office at the Ministry of Water Resources, Works and Housing's Hydrological Services Division should undertake these analyses, in order to plan a holistic approach to the slabbing of the Sempe Drain.

Currently, recreational space is extremely rare in Korle Gonno. Creating a recreational space for families to use would bring a needed service to the community and would be a powerful representation of a transformative process. The space can also be used as a convening place for cultural activities, youth group meetings and street fairs, all of which can attract commercial activity. One approach is to utilize existing internal pedestrian pathways between houses to carve public spaces and connectivity routes with a pedestrian network. Diagram Y illustrates how this can be accomplished using a Korle Gonno block with a large gutter. The area highlighted in green can be reclaimed for public use.

Using Carved Spaces

After the land is free of the encroached structures, it can be re-used to create multiple public spaces, playgrounds, community gardens, youth group sports facilities, public toilets, etc.

Housing upgrades that factor in new recreational spaces and toilet facilities would likely require the reconfiguration of housing along the southern side of the drain. These houses may or may not have land titles or some form of tenure security. If not, the structures would have to be re-sited on empty space nearby. Someone, of course, owns this "empty" space, so negotiations would have to take place in order to get approval for re-siting the structure. An incentive will need to be in place for the landowner to concede the land; such an incentive could come in the form of financial compensation or an agreement to upgrade his/her own house at little cost.

PROCEDURAL STEPS

The following guidelines are recommended to the AMA Town and Country Planning Department, as steps in the planning process that can improve the sustainability of the upgrading project.

- **Engage the block residents in deliberating over the type of upgrading that is appropriate.** The residents have a good understanding of what their housing and infrastructure needs are. A comprehensive needs assessment survey for this block would help raise everyone's awareness level, involve them in deliberations and provide critical data for design and construction schematics. The residents should have a clear understanding of the goals and objectives of the upgrading project, which houses will be affected and what options are available to them, including compensation mechanisms. Compensation should be factored into the original cost analysis for the project.
- **Confirm tenure security.** There are varying degrees of tenure security in this block: some have land titles, some have tenant arrangements with landowners and some have illegally built structures on land that is not theirs. Negotiations for upgrading, of course, should be made with the rightful land owners. Whatever the circumstances, every attempt should be made to integrate tenure security for all residents in the upgrading program. This is particularly true for female-headed households with children, as they are the most at-risk when faced with displacement.
- **Identify all structures in need of upgrading, and prioritize according to need.**
- **Determine the extent to which residents can contribute to funding the upgrading program.** This would ideally surface through a community enumeration. It is critical that the range of affordability for households be established, in order to gauge the sustainability of the project.
- **Conduct the necessary feasibility studies on drainage hydraulic capacity and appropriate technologies for liquid waste collection and disposal in the block.** A clear accounting is needed of the demand for toilet access.
- **Involve community members in providing labor for the upgrading project.** Clearly, such upgrading can provide job opportunities to skilled residents, rather than tendering the project to contractors. However, this assumes the resident laborers have the requisite construction skills to execute the project effectively. An alternative would be to partner resident laborers with contractors who will supervise the work and provide training for local residents where possible.

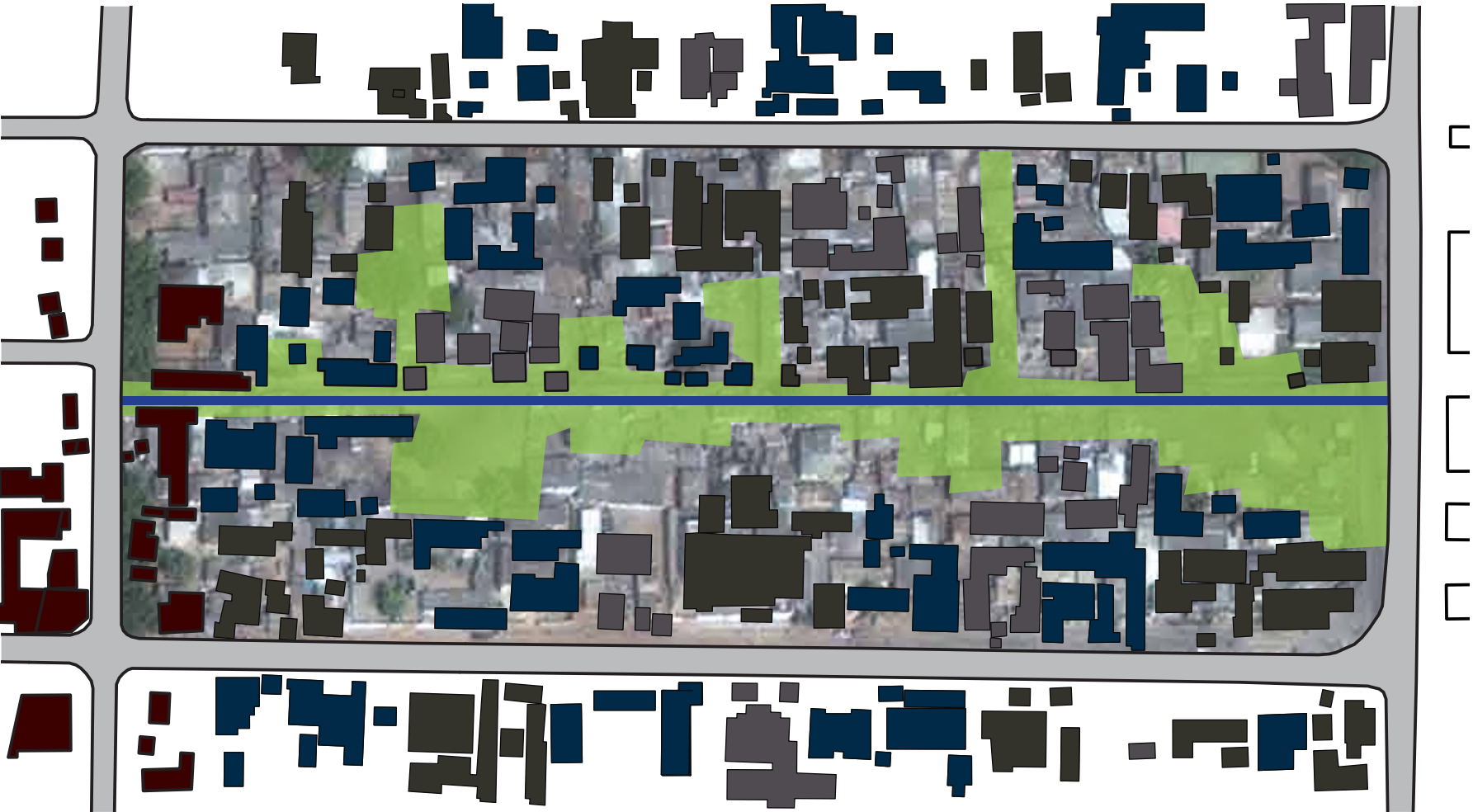


Diagram C. **Reclaimed Public Space Along Gutter Corridor**

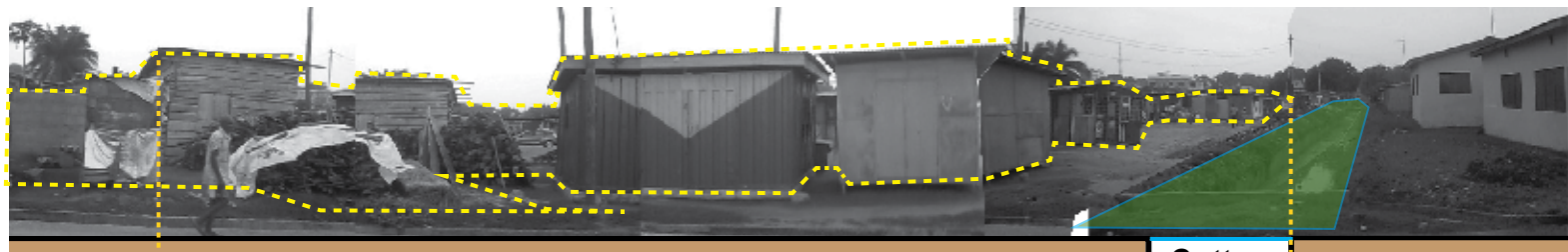


Gutter



Gutter

+ cover + vegetation



Gutter

Removing unnecessary clutter



Gutter

Reclaimed Public Space

Cluster shared Toilets



Credit: www.ghanaurbanplatform.org

Outdoor Public Seatings

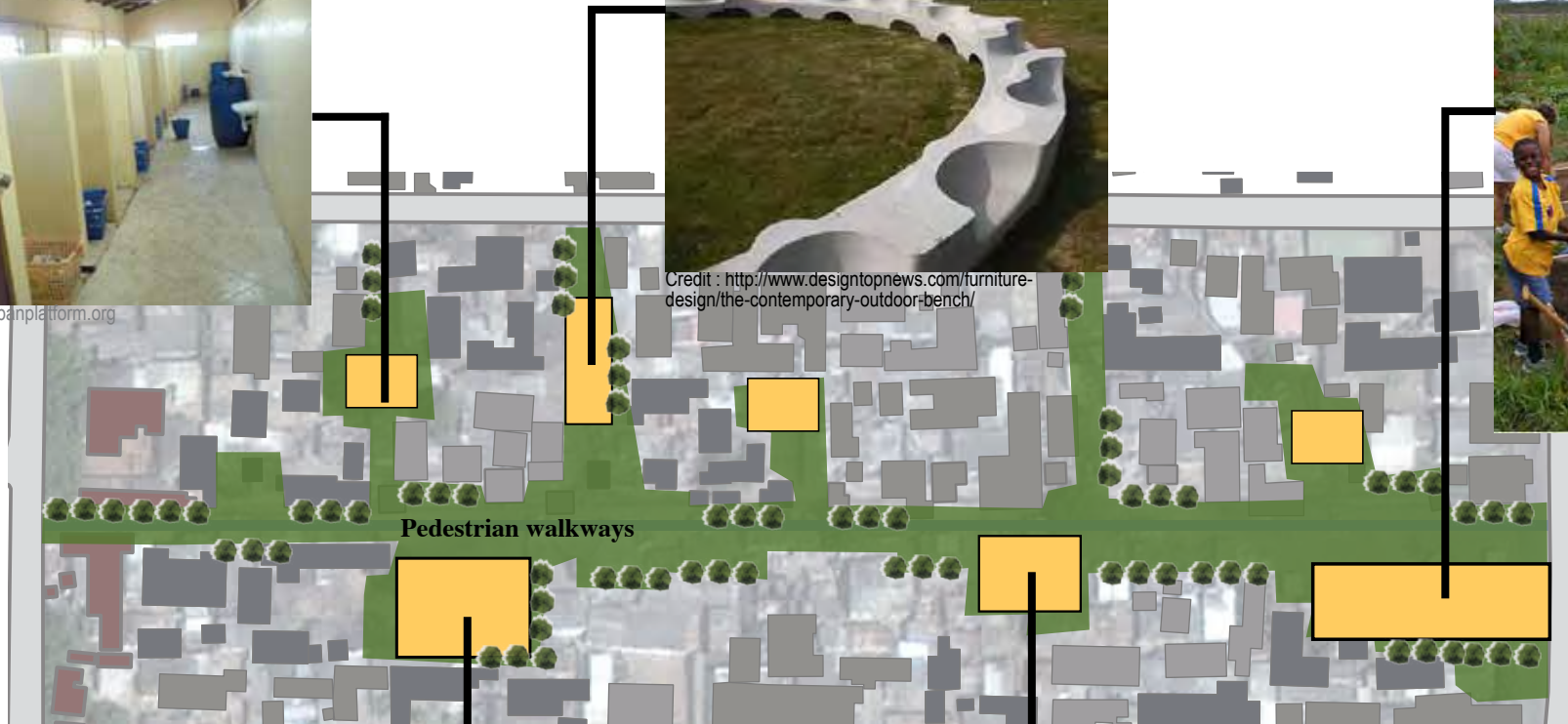


Credit : <http://www.designtopnews.com/furniture-design/the-contemporary-outdoor-bench/>

Community Garden



Credit: cacsow.org



Pedestrian walkways

Soccer Field



Credit : sirismm.si.edu

Playgrounds



Cover Drain = Public Spaces for every age group



chapter 3

Guggisberg Avenue Healthcare Corridor

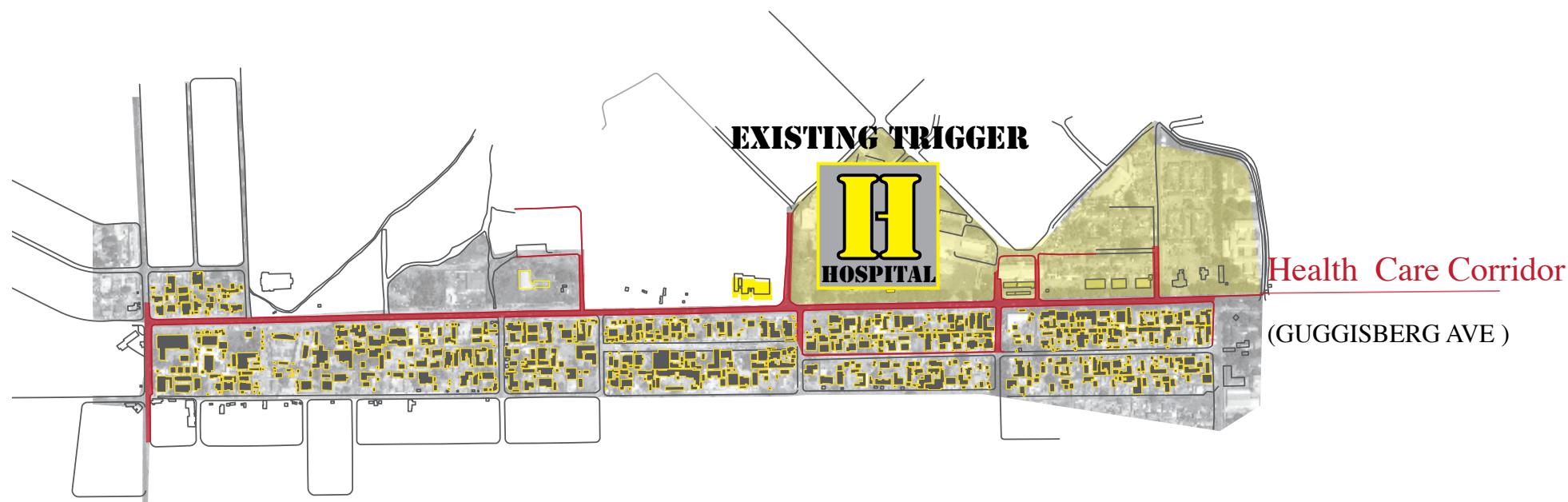
BACKGROUND

Guggisberg Avenue has evolved into a hub for healthcare-related services and products, albeit in a haphazard manner, with an array of micro, small and medium-scale firms continuing to open, taking advantage of the Korle Bu Hospital situated at its center. Along this corridor, economic development is occurring at a fast pace. The situation is a cause for both enthusiasm and concern. Concern arises out of the unplanned manner in which commercial development is occurring – any sort of business can pop up in a container or storefront, without much consideration for business district planning. A focused strategy for a healthcare services corridor would help ensure an organized rate of economic growth, benefitting entrepreneurs and customers, as well as residents.

PLANNING GUIDELINES

Clustering Strategies

In order to improve the area's economic attractiveness, competitiveness and, by extension, employment creation prospects, it is imperative to promote and support an area-specific business-clustering model. Clustering is a geographic concentration of a chain of businesses involved in the production of a particular end product, as well as their suppliers and supporting institutions (such as trade organizations, marketing boards and research institutes). Guggisberg Avenue currently exhibits a cluster of healthcare-related businesses revolving around the hospital. This comparative advantage can be positively exploited to improve economic development by leveraging resources in the direction of the greatest potential return. In other words, a more organized and strengthened clustering of specific businesses will not only establish Korle Gonno as a healthcare hub, but can also serve as a magnet to draw more complementary businesses to the area.



Since 1983, when, at the behest of the international financing institutions, the country went through the structural adjustment programme (SAP) and the subsequent adoption of trade liberalization and other neo-liberal policies, many businesses in Ghana have been faced with the burden of competing with imported products and business. Many indigenous businesses have therefore been compelled to operate at high overhead cost, simply to maintain their market share and stay in business. Accordingly, small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in Korle Gonno in particular can significantly improve their competitiveness by establishing inter-firm linkages and support institutions.

First, industry clusters help member companies improve productivity. When companies in the same industry co-locate, they have easier access to specialized labor and suppliers, shared transportation infrastructure and relevant market information. Physical proximity allows for more frequent face-to-face interaction among competitors, their suppliers and their

support institutions. This leads to greater access to knowledge regarding operational and strategic best practices, positioning the clustered firms to take advantage and to create companies and placing them at a distinct advantage over firms that are geographically dispersed.

Second, as companies and stakeholders group together, more suppliers and related organizations and companies seek to be part of the growing cluster. This success engenders more success, as information flows within a cluster lead to greater business creation. For example, local pharmacies may pull in a chain of pharmaceutical companies and diagnostic centers, including repair technicians, delivery companies and manufacturers, to meet and exchange ideas about improving facilities, thereby adding more value to their services for mutual benefit. The chain will also include downstream complementary businesses that serve the local business and its customers' needs, including restaurants, auto mechanics shops, grocers, beverage

establishments, accountants, advertising, facilities maintenance companies, etc.

As we mentioned earlier, Korle Gonno already has an existing cluster of businesses that exhibits a combination of characteristics and competencies. What is missing is development, in terms of acquiring advanced technology and improved infrastructure. This can be attained through coordinated investment in research and development (R&D) and by improving workers' skills. Thus, it becomes important to promote R&D uses in the corridor.

- **Establish Community Development Organizations.**

Foster a healthy foundation of commerce, culture, education and community services that focused on organizing and mobilizing all parts of the community to improve Guggisberg Ave. The AMA can build on local knowledge and capacity to achieve this objective.

- **Promote a cluster council and cluster network.**

One of the essential steps for business clusters to achieve their full potential as engines of economic development is by creating close contact and cooperation among businesses and between the public and private sectors. "Cluster councils" are official groups of cluster business leaders, whereas "cluster networks" are less formal information exchange networks among cluster businesses. Cluster councils provide an important structure for public-private communication and partnership, keeping local governments informed about the competitive opportunities and challenges of their respective clusters. Networking within a cluster can help identify shared concerns, joint purchasing opportunities, joint training initiatives and areas of common interest. Cluster councils and networks can also identify a set of business environment improvements that can be used to focus and coordinate local governments' business support activities. Individual associations already exist in Accra that can be harmonized by the AMA for effective communication and networking.

- **Establish form-based codes and design guidelines**, creating consistency and uniformity in facades of buildings, front and rear setbacks, massing and pedestrian walkways.
- **Promote infill development to maximize land space.** Businesses residing in illegally sited containers and kiosks can be relocated to small storefronts or space allowing container siting. In both scenarios, affordable rental space should be allocated; otherwise, local small-scale businesses will be priced out of the corridor. The AMA Town and Country Planning Department can coordinate this.
- **Encourage design of "mini-plazas" on south side of corridor**, with inward entry into healthcare service and commercial-retail firms. Walkways would have to be created from the south-side corridor for access.
- **Promote establishment of vocational training centers**, concentrating on healthcare-related skills development as well as the development of business management skills. Young adults from Korle Gonno should be the priority beneficiaries of this service, provided they meet educational requirements (e.g., graduating from SHS).

Infrastructure improvements

Business interviews in KG reveal that the lack of sanitation and proper infrastructure are severe competitive disadvantages for businesses. Basic physical infrastructure such as ample power supply, adequate water and sanitation, proper housing and advanced information and communication technology is required for business growth. The poor state of the local infrastructure makes small business operation difficult. For example, the unavailability of electric power will adversely affect pharmacies by damaging medicines requiring cold storage. Power outages also result in downtime during production hours, especially for artisans working on equipment such as appliances, computers, etc.

Infrastructure improvements will also be needed if infill development is to be promoted in the corridor, bringing with it increased demands on water, sewerage, electricity and solid waste management. Because these demands put further strain on the existing infrastructure capacity, there will be a need to pre-empt this effect by upgrading infrastructure. Although doing so will dramatically increase the cost of development, it is a worthwhile and necessary investment for economic development in the area.

DESIGN GUIDELINES

Diagram D illustrates the planning strategy proposed to promote different activities along the healthcare corridor. The type of activity to be inserted in the corridor is planned in relation to its distance from the trigger, i.e., from the Korle Bu Hospital.

3 – 5 Minute Walking Zone

Activities are targeted toward the constituency patronizing the immediate area surrounding the Korle Bu Hospital, i.e., patients and their families. This zone proposes the establishment of new pharmacies, diagnostic laboratories, X-ray facilities and other such amenities that need to be in close proximity to the hospital. Dental, eye clinics and physiotherapy rooms should also be encouraged to support the treatments offered in the Korle Bu Hospital. This area can also promote several small restaurants that offer takeout food, delivery to the hospital and that serve healthful products (e.g., fresh juices) needed by patients, patient's families and hospital staff.

Map 16 depicts a future scenario whereby land is acquired for use appropriate under the proposed 3-5-minute walking zone. Taking advantage of the adjacent hospital, a clustering of mixed-use healthcare services can take place in buildings that may have diagnostic laboratories, a pharmacy, an optometrist and a laundromat. In addition, retail uses such as a mini-mall could potentially thrive from business from hospital patrons.

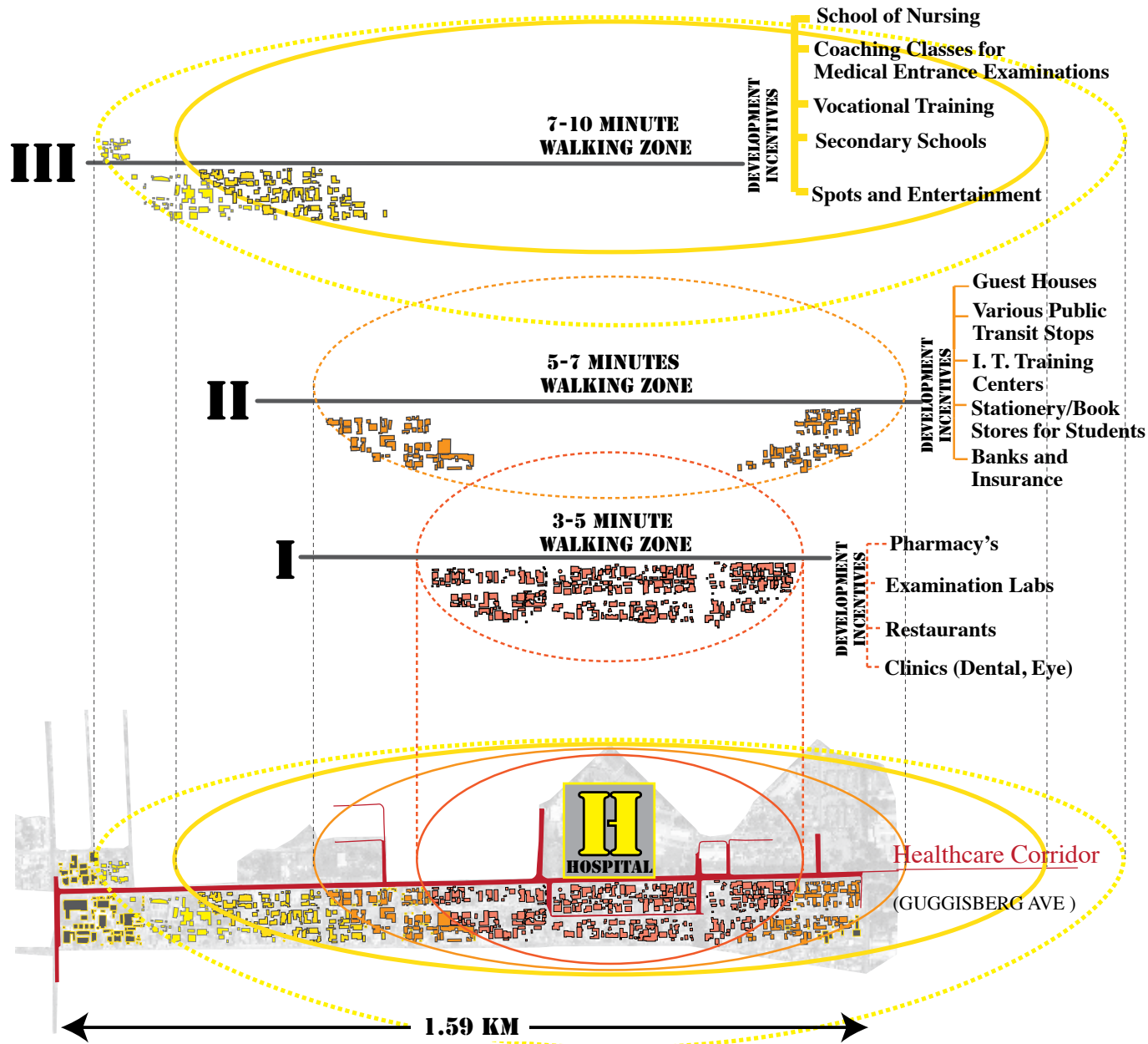


Diagram D. **Proposed Zones Along Guggisberg Avenue**

5-7 Minute Walking Zone

This zone is close to the hospital but is not a part of its immediate surroundings; therefore, activities are targeted towards public access, financial and accommodation facilities. This zone proposes the establishment of:

- Guesthouses providing temporary and affordable accommodations for the families of patients; hostels with clean rooms and toilets for students
- Public facilities such as *Tro Tro* parking, bus stops with access to public toilets
- Stationary and bookstores for students
- Banks with ATMs for easy access to cash
- Other related amenities, e.g., insurance agency offices, etc.

Map 17 shows the potential for this zone using a future scenario, with accommodations services playing a key role in the corridor. Currently, there may not be as many hotels and guesthouses as per the demand from patients and visiting relatives from all over Ghana. A shopping plaza can be sited adjacent to the hotels/guesthouses as a service to hotel patrons and passers-by. The general use for buildings in this zone should be mixed-use commercial, more than mixed-use health.

7-10 Minute Walking Zone

This zone is further away from the hospital, yet has a direct connection to it, in terms of accessibility. Therefore the promotion of activities sharing a conceptual link to the hospital and its immediate surrounds is encouraged. This zone proposes the establishment of: School of Nursing, which could be beneficiary to so many single mothers in Korle Gonno

- Coaching classes and tutoring, for entrance medical examinations
- Vocational Training Centre, for basic courses on administration and clerical jobs
- Higher Secondary Schools - these do not have to be located on this road itself, but might be located nearby, so as to offer lectures by doctors, nurses and medical students that might encourage students to study hard and enter the medical profession.
- Spots and Entertainment - the target group here could be medical students, staff and other occupants of the corridor, with the aim of enhancing the area's nightlife while improving the neighborhood's safety and income-generating potential.









Map 18 illustrates the advantage of siting businesses that require more space further away from the hospital. Such businesses include the existing post office, a proposed renovated cinema, a vocational training centre for healthcare sector skills development, a medical equipment manufacturing station, food court, residential halls for hospital staff and office space.



GUGGISBERG AVENUE: FUTURE SCENARIO

(Sample of potential development along 3-5 minute walking zone)

Land Uses

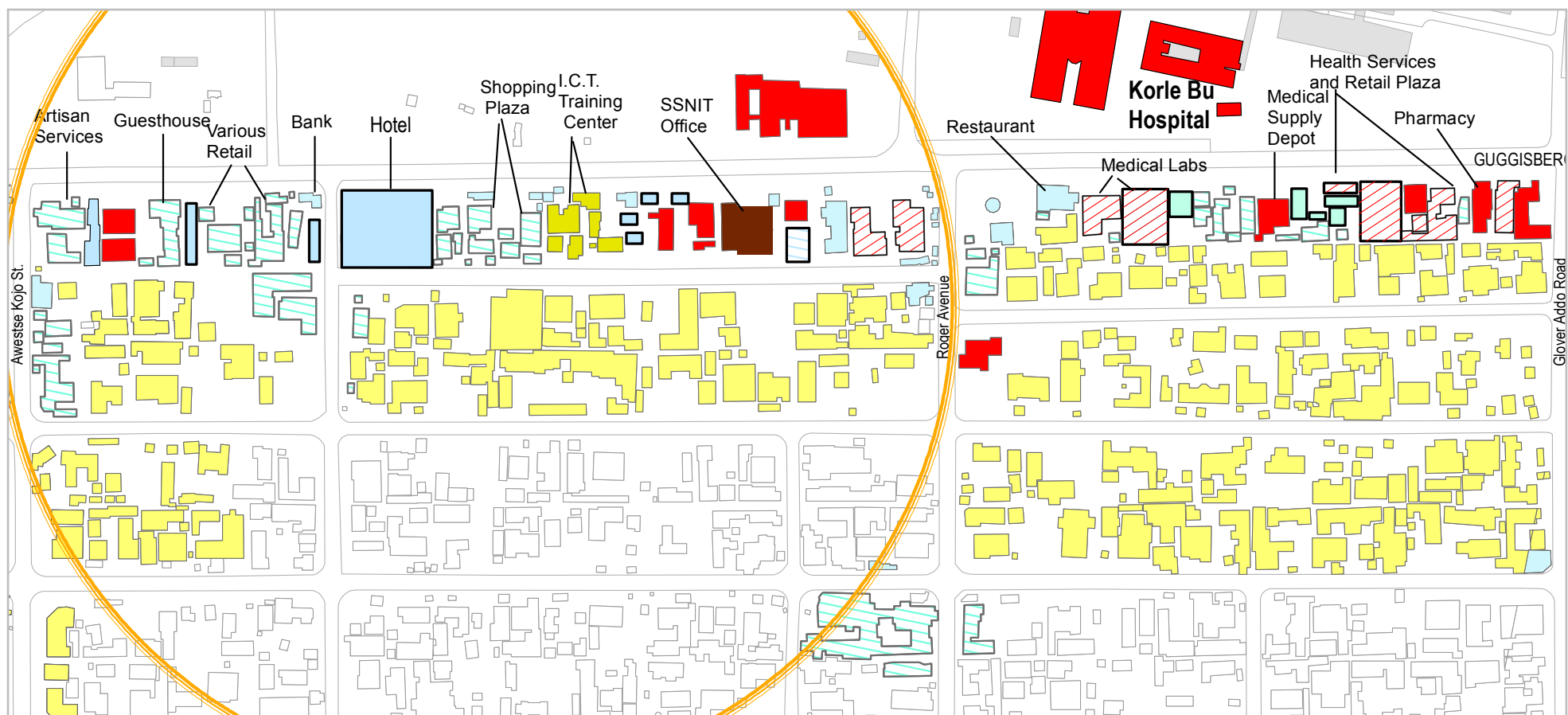
| | | | |
|---|--------------------|---|----------------------|
|  | Commercial |  | Mixed-Use Commercial |
|  | Education |  | Mixed-Use Health |
|  | Government Service |  | Residential |
|  | Health |  | Sanitary |



0 25 50 100 Meters

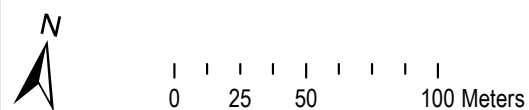
Map 15. GUGGISBERG AVENUE FUTURE SCENARIO: 3-5 Minute Walking Zone

Data Source: Urban Management Land Information System, Geological Survey Department and Earth Institute Millennium Cities Initiative

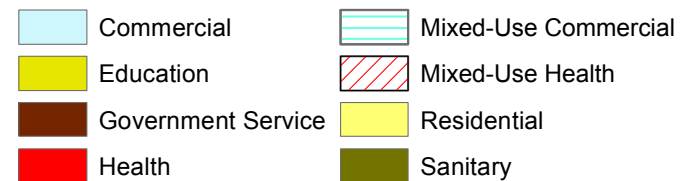


GUGGISBERG AVENUE: FUTURE SCENARIO

(Sample of potential development along 5-7 minute walking zone)



Land Uses



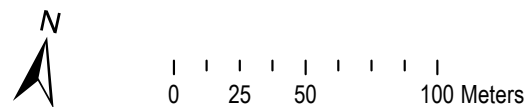
Map 16. GUGGISBERG AVENUE FUTURE SCENARIO: 5-7 Minute Walking Zone

Data Source: Urban Management Land Information System, Geological Survey Department and Earth Institute Millennium Cities Initiative



GUGGISBERG AVENUE: FUTURE SCENARIO

(Sample of potential development along 7-10 minute walking zone)



Land Uses

| | | | |
|--|--------------------|--|----------------------|
| | Commercial | | Mixed-Use Commercial |
| | Education | | Mixed-Use Health |
| | Government Service | | Residential |
| | Health | | Sanitary |

Map 17. GUGGISBERG AVENUE FUTURE SCENARIO: 7-10 Minute Walking Zone

Data Source: Urban Management Land Information System, Geological Survey Department and Earth Institute Millennium Cities Initiative



**TOURISM CORRIDOR
OLD WINNEBA RD**

chapter 4

Old Winneba Road Tourism Corridor

BACKGROUND

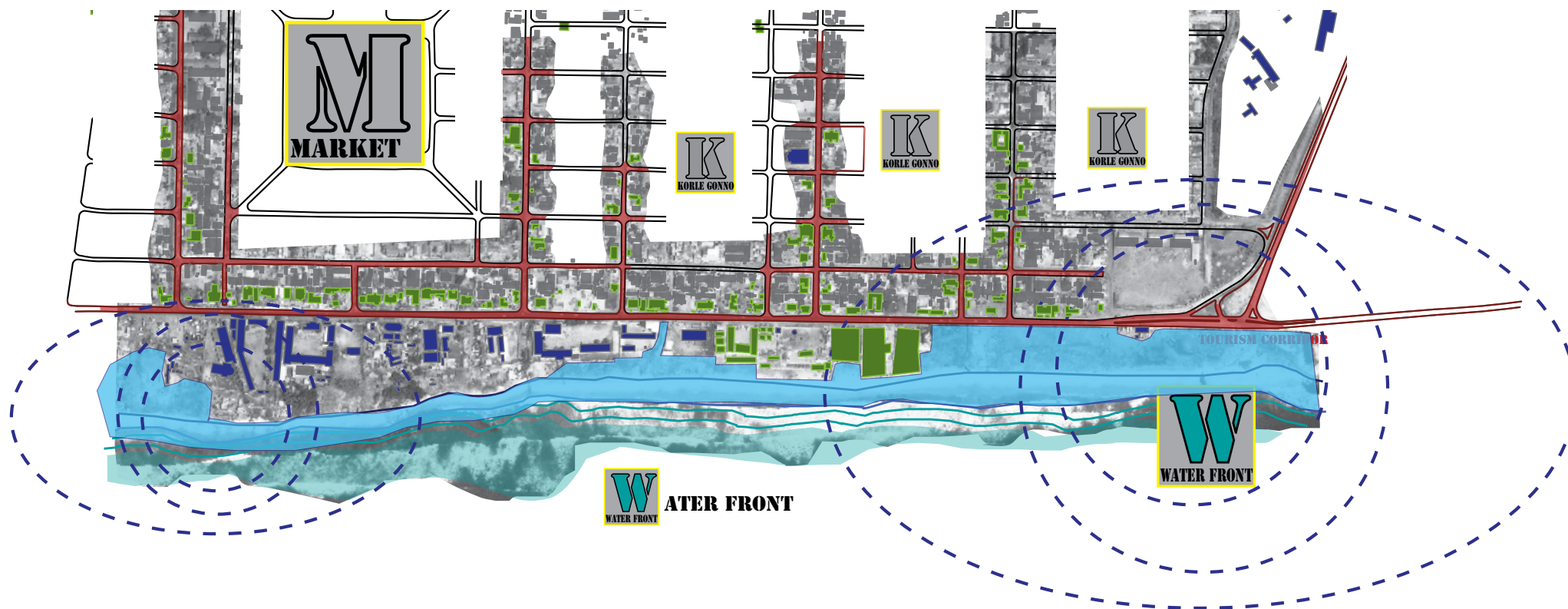
Old Winneba Road is a key corridor along Accra's coastline that links Korle Gonno to other coastal towns such as James Town and Chorkor, as well as to roads leading to the Central Business District. Residences, small business and schools occupy the right side of the cross-section, and a combination of makeshift and poorly operated hotels/resorts, churches and schools occupy the left side.

Senior citizens of Korle Gonno share fond memories of walking to the beach to enjoy the ocean views, play sports, swim and read below the coconut groves scattered throughout the landscape. It is said that the beach was once one of Accra's most cherished natural attractions. The story today is in stark contrast to this envied historical reality.

The presence of Lavender Hill, among other predicaments already alluded to in this report, has deformed the beach, corroded residents' perceptions of it and has attracted illicit activities (e.g., prostitution and drug use, themselves survival strategies of sorts). Additionally, many of the unemployed youth from the community have also taken to sand extraction at the beach as their main source of livelihood, thereby contributing to the fast degradation of the shore. When asked to identify what they like least about living in Korle Gonno, many residents cited Lavender Hill and the "beach activities."

It may take what one could call a "leap of faith" to look past the issues currently affecting the beachfront, but vision and imagination are exactly what is needed to redevelop this area and to use it as a means to diversify the community's economic landscape.

Despite its considerable challenges, the beach remains an area with much potential – particularly for tourism development. To revitalize the beach



area as a “hotspot” for recreational and tourism-related business activity, investment will need to be poured into Old Winneba Road as the link connecting the beach, the community and local and foreign customers. This proposal seeks to re-define Korle Gonno’s beach and Old Winneba Road as a tourism corridor.

As the leader of this potential effort, *it is very important that the AMA be mindful of the potential AND pitfalls of tourism development.* Whether tourism development helps trigger sustainable economic development or further erodes a community’s assets depends largely upon the planning strategies undertaken.

PLANNING GUIDELINES

MCI recommends a rehabilitative process towards inclusive tourism development that can be conceptualized under a five-tier program:

First Tier: Confronting sanitation challenges

As if improving sanitation services for public and environmental health reasons were not enough, one further incentive is the reality that tourism development will not be taken seriously by investors until Korle Gonno’s sanitation challenges are effectively resolved.¹

¹ For more discussion on strategies for improving sanitation services in Korle Gonno, please refer to the “Improving Sanitation Services” chapter, page 114.

Second Tier: Developing a vision for the corridor

A series of visioning sessions will be needed to integrate resident and entrepreneur perspectives on how the tourism corridor should be developed. This can include a discussion on what kind of tourism sector activities residents would welcome into their community; informing residents of the potential creation of jobs within the tourism sectors; discussing the level of presence of foreign and locally owned tourism businesses, etc. Discussions can also touch upon how to promote existing assets, such as architectural vernaculars, and how to better manage concerning issues such as the drug culture, sex tourism and noise pollution. Awareness-raising activities should supplement these sessions – for example, case studies can be shared with the public on successes and failures from other places, such as The Gambia, Costa Rica and Jamaica.

Third Tier: Establish the political will and capacity

Leaving tourism development to market forces without the monitoring and evaluation of programs can have very adverse consequences for the community and for city managers. This includes further encroachment of developments onto the seashore near the water's edge, deepening poverty by over-dependence on the tourism sector and the insufficient return of tourism revenues for the community. In order to manage the Old Winneba Tourism Corridor effectively, a constant monitoring presence is necessary. The following guidelines are recommended to evolve a successful strategy for the development of the corridor:

Conceptualizing function, access and identity

It is very important to carefully consider the aspects of function, access and identity in community tourism development. There often exists a dichotomy between what local investors want, and what foreign and local tourists want. All stakeholders want “modern” (e.g., fully functioning) water, sanitation, electricity and roads infrastructure services, as well as a range of transport options. The debates begin from there – local government planners and business investors sometimes aim for a “world-class” waterfront, with the best hotels, restaurants and recreational spaces. The “best” here more often than not refers to a notion that there is a global template for successful coastal tourism – this “template” is usually shaped by a combination of Western planning and design standards and the interests of transnational investors, whose objectives may or may not be suitable in the local context.

The irony is that the “cookie cutter” forms of tourism development that have taken place across the world repel many foreign tourists, the

same tourists whom investors are targeting. Foreign and domestic tourists seek a safe, clean and relaxing yet unique escape from their everyday surroundings. They seek exposure to the local ecology and cultural customs and arts. In other words, they want to experience the local identity. In the case of Korle Gonno, this would likely include Ga customs, the local architectural vernacular, the *kenkey* sellers, the tiny wooden drinking spots and the Tuesday Market activities.

Within this debate lie the interests of the community members themselves. While government planners and investors seek improvements in functionality, and tourists seek authenticity, local citizens seek equitable access to entrepreneurship and to the spaces that are intrinsic to their community (Chang & Huang, 2011). Thus, functionality, access and identity become powerful factors in tourism development. In the planning process, it is important for all stakeholders to examine what these three themes mean to them and how they want them to coexist. Functionality does not need to come at the expense of local identity or equitable access to environmental and economic resources.

- **Establish a Community Tourism Advisory Board**

A Community Tourism Advisory Board should be tasked with coordinating deliberations on tourism development in the community. This would entail integrating national and local government policies on tourism development with community stakeholder deliberations and preferences. Elected officials, Metro Development Planning, Town & Country Planning, the Ghana Tourist Board staff, opinion leaders and residents should comprise the advisory board membership, which should have a key role in how tourism in the community is marketed.

- **Enforce development regulations**

Enforcement of AMA bylaws related to the natural and built environment is necessary to help restore and preserve the coastline. It is well known that most of the hotels and resorts on the beach in Korle Gonno are violating the beach zoning ordinance. Despite this, further construction continues well onto the shore. Appropriate setbacks from the shore and tide are necessary for environmental and public safety reasons.

Further, the zoning and building permit bylaws should be revisited and revised as necessary, to reflect the envisioned visual character of the tourism corridor. These bylaws can be restricted to the community ordinance.

Sand extraction (“winning”) from the beach must be stopped, as it is contributing to coastal erosion. But effectively stopping this problem cannot be done with enforcement only; the underlying causes must be examined. Sand is extracted primarily to create sandcrete, which is used in constructing foundation walls for homes. Sandcrete is in high demand in Korle Gonno and elsewhere in Accra, due to its affordability. There are many sandcrete “mini-factories” throughout Korle Gonno, including on Old Winneba Road. Removal of sand extraction as an economic activity will require the introduction of other economic activities, perhaps within the construction sector. This serves as a further incentive to promote skills development in such emerging economic activities as graphic design and

auto repair. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the AMA can jointly address these issues.

Fourth Tier: Develop an economic strategy

Developing an informed economic strategy for tourism in the Tourism Corridor and in Korle Gonno in general is essential.

- **Open up access to the beach**

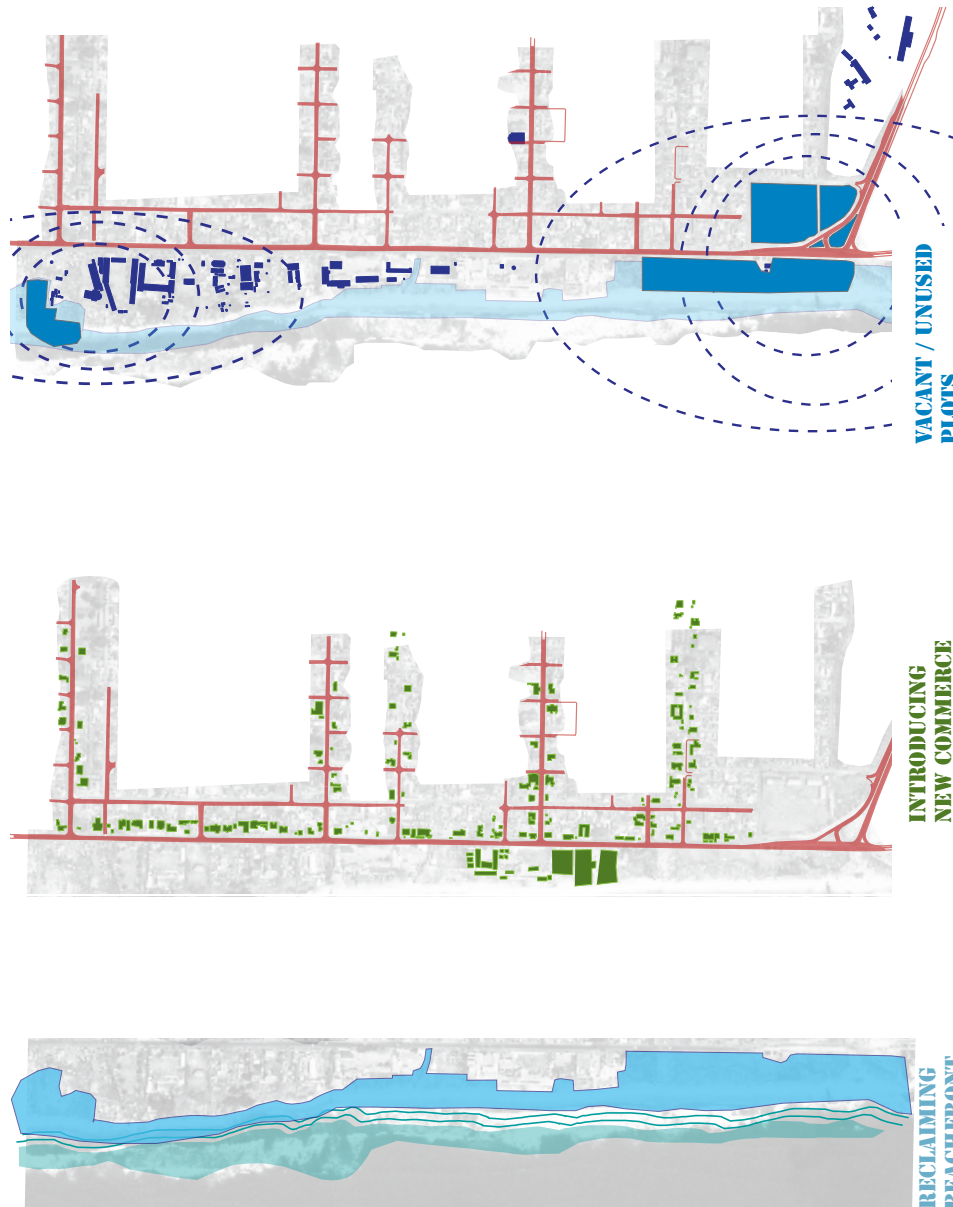
A family from Odorkor may want to visit the beach but may not be able to stay at a resort or may prefer not to. Yet they may very well choose to have lunch at the new tilapia “joint” across the street or to drop off some fabric at the tailor shop for fitting. They are still customers. Encourage easy, welcoming access to the beach to lure recreational and economic (especially customer) activities. There should be at least one large public space at the beach that is open to everyone and not only to private hotel or resort patrons. This will serve to draw a mix of people across income levels and with different preferences and will help draw an array of different customer transactions. Of course, to make this work effectively, upkeep of the public beach grounds is essential.

- **Promote “homegrown” local ownership of tourism sector businesses**

- **Identify what goods are needed by firms, and see if the indigenes can supply them**

- **Promote direct income, minimize income leakage**

Direct income is the amount of income that stays in the community after taxes. Income leakage is the income from tourism revenues that does not remain with the local community or workers, due to reasons such as the hotels being mostly foreign-owned. The AMA would be tasked with enacting the appropriate instruments to ensure a more beneficial capture of revenues.



Fifth Tier: Establish key funding mechanisms

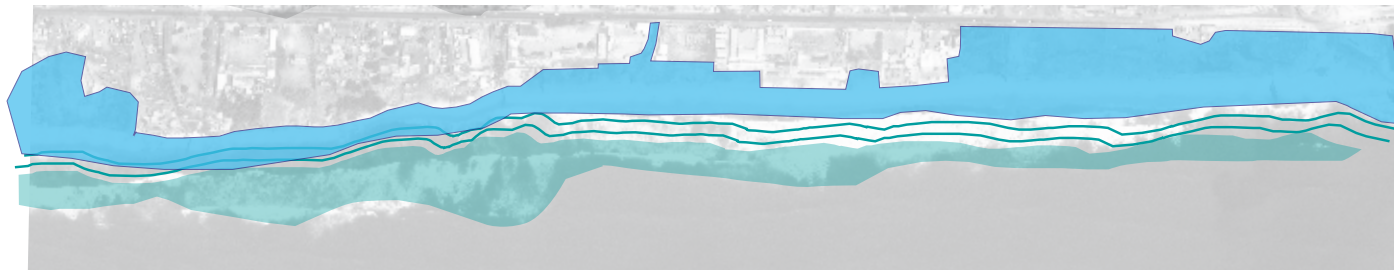
- **Facilitate access to credit for local tourism firms**
- **Foster Public-Private Partnerships to maintain natural resources**
- **Generate local government tax revenue**
A key reason for local government to invest resources in an Old Winneba Tourism Corridor is the ability to generate tax revenue. For example, a “hotel tax” can be collected from hotels on the corridor.
- **Encourage some profit revenues to be reinvested in community development initiatives**

DESIGN GUIDELINES

Diagram A illustrates the different zones that need development in order to unite Korle Gonno and its seafront and to regenerate the public realm of this corridor. These different Zones are:

- Zone 1: Reclaiming the beachfront
- Zone 2: Introducing new commerce
- Zone 3: Vacant/unused plots

Diagram E.
Old Winneba Road: Proposed Tourism Zones



RECLAIMING
BEACHFRONT

Monitoring water pollution

Planting more trees

Enforcing coastal zone policies

Sustainable building designs

Reclaiming Beachfront

Stop defecation on beaches

Treatment of drainage

Zone 1: Reclaiming Beachfront

The aim of this zone is to re-establish Korle Gonno's waterfront as a beautiful recreational area for the people of Accra as well as tourists, to enjoy and share memorable occasions.

The first zone is the beachfront. For the promotion of tourism corridor, ecological rehabilitation of this zone is critical. This can be done systematically, by introducing enforcement mechanisms as described in the third tier of the planning guidelines.

Additionally, It is very important to promote coastal vegetation for this zone. Planting coconut trees, shrubs and other plants along the waterfront will be critical to preventing sand erosion.

Example of Beachfront



Mauritius Beach, Indian Ocean

Source: www.bugbog.com



**INTRODUCING
NEW COMMERCE**

- Gift/ local handicraft shops
- Encouraging resorts
- Local and international Restaurants and bars
- Recreational activities
- Performance venues for music and dance

Zone 2: Creating new commerce and recreation

The aim of the second zone is to create a commercial strip that can promote local products and create jobs and investment opportunities for the hospitality and tourism industries. This commercial road aims to be a combination of an urban mall and a local market (bazaar).

For the promotion of tourism corridor, a local commercial and recreational strip is necessary. This can be done by:

1. Encouraging ecologically efficient designs for hotels and restaurants that would integrate coastal development regulations as established by national and local government authorities.
2. Introducing recreational activities such as parks, soccer field activity centers, gymnasiums, etc.
3. Establishing shops or galleries that can promote textile and handicrafts, such as fabrics with Ga designs. These shops can sell certified products,

Examples of Commerce and Recreation



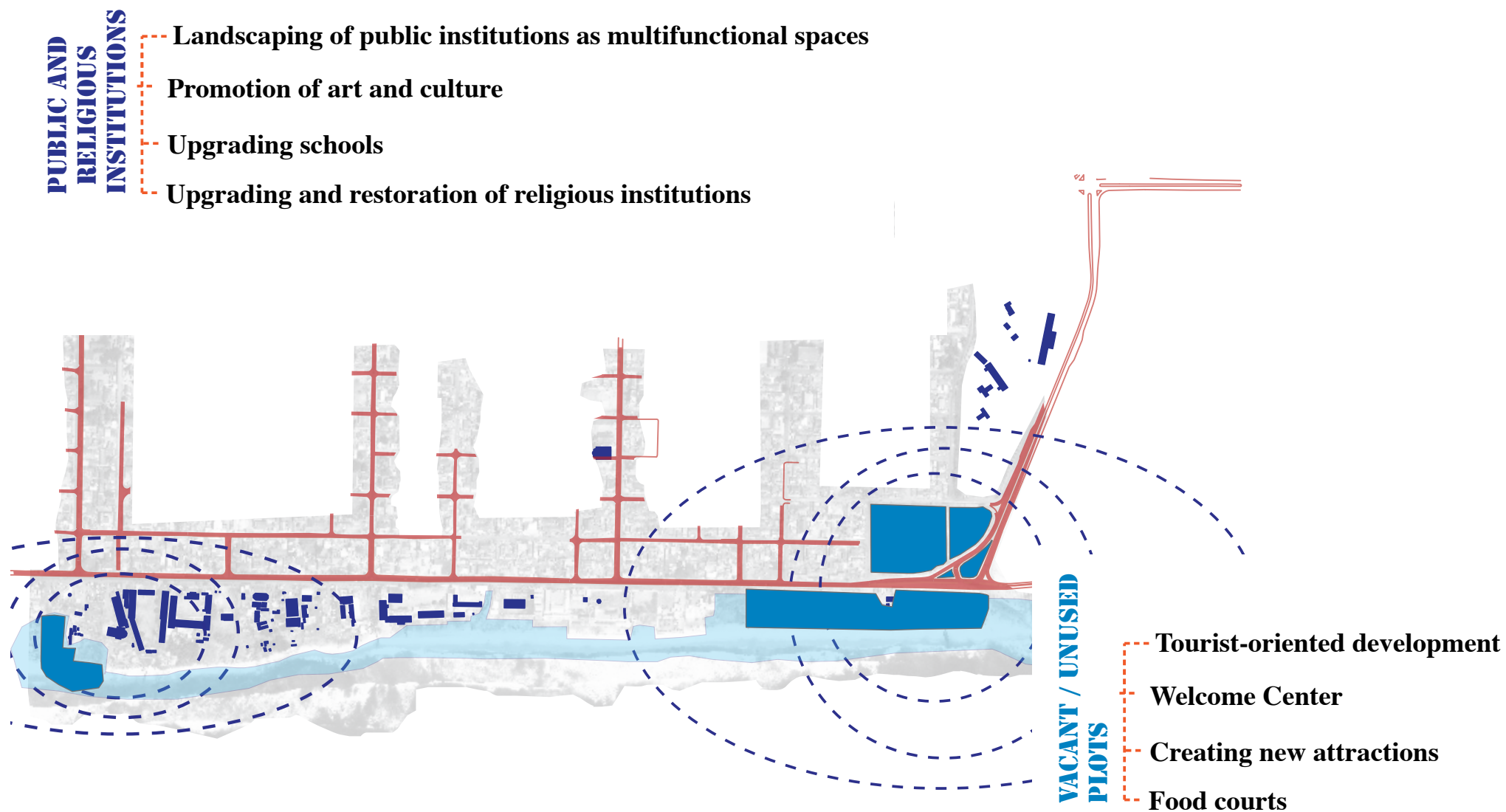
Outdoor Cafes and Souvenir Shops

Source: Mulberry Street, thepodanysttravel.blogspot.com



Covered Bazaar (Kapalı Çarşı)

Source: southern-turkey.co.uk



maintaining a reliable standard for tourists and others to rely on. Local handicrafts, tailoring and gift shops must promote the talent of Accra and also create products specific to the corridor, as a promotion and sales strategy.

Zone 3: Optimizing potential

The third zone is the Potential zone. The aim of this zone is to create multifunctional public spaces and also new facilities for tourists. Optimization, renovations and upgrading of existing public buildings and vacant plots is key for this zone. This can be done by introducing the following:

1. Landscaping, setting up of community gardens in the backyards of the public buildings along the waterfront. These public buildings include churches, primary and secondary schools.
2. Using vacant plots for the construction of basic tourism infrastructure, such as a visitors' center, tourist booths, toilets, food courts, etc.
3. Landscaping of streets, street furniture and promenades to create a pedestrian-friendly environment connecting internally all the activities on the corridor. Designing multifunctional venues for public gatherings, such as amphitheatres, parks etc.

The following design represents a future scenario where tourists (foreign and local), entrepreneurs, and residents can interact fully within the revitalized Old Winneba Road corridor.

Example of Corridor



Copacabana promenade - Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
Source: www.travelood.com



Visual 1. Conceptual view of Old Winneba Road Tourism Corridor





Proposals

chapter 5

Revitalization of Tuesday Market

BACKGROUND

The emergence of the problems confronting the Tuesday Market emanates from its early conceptualisation. The market was designed to serve as an avenue for the fishing folks to trade on Tuesdays, when, for religious reasons, fishing was and remains a taboo. With the passage of time, this objective has become irrelevant, as the market can now function on an everyday basis. Therefore, the design proposal for the market aims to introduce multi-use programs that can revitalize the market and facilitate benefits for community members who rely on it for their livelihood. Focal points for an effective transformation of the market are ownership, access and the monitoring of activities.

With the introduction of various programs, the market can be kept active at all times and can simultaneously cater to the needs and interests of different stakeholders in different age groups and professions.

PLANNING GUIDELINES

MCI proposes the following planning and management guidelines in order to optimize the effectiveness of the designs presented herein:

- **Prioritize access to the market for Korle Gonno residents**
All facilities included on the premises of Tuesday Market must give preference to the people of Korle Gonno. A conscious effort by the city authorities to involve the people in making the market a daily community economic entity is very important. The Assembly should improve upon providing and properly maintaining complementary infrastructure to make the market attractive.
- **Regulate selling activities**
The areas around the market should strictly be demarcated as “No Hawking” zones to encourage vending and traffic inside the market



Present Condition of Tuesday Market



Present Condition of Tuesday Market

complex, once sufficient space has been provided for vendors. The AMA, through the submetro, would need to enforce bylaws to ensure full compliance with the Assembly's rules and regulations.

- **Revise current system of access to market stalls**

It is necessary to take a different approach in providing market access to vendors. The current ownership structure has resulted in absentee stall ownership and contributes to the waste of space. Rather, the Ablekuma South submetro office, alongside the Tuesday Market Association, should consider a transition to a rental-only system, with diversified spaces to meet the needs of vendors selling specific products (i.e. a smaller rent fee for a smaller space used by a garden egg seller, vis-a-vis a higher rent fee for a larger space used by a yam or goats seller). Changing from an ownership structure to an equitable rental structure of space management can be done with or without a new market design and will yield functional improvements in of itself.

- **Establish daycare services within the market**

A daycare center can be opened within the marketplace, so that market women can have their children attended to while they are at work. Educational activities should also take place at the daycare center.

- **Require source-separation of waste**

Waste at the market should be source-separated, given the high generation of organic waste, which can be recycled or turned into fertilizer.

- **Provide cold storage facilities**

Tuesday Market can develop a reputation for quality seafood products (including fresh fish) prepared in a variety of ways. To do this, the market needs cold storage. It would be worthwhile to invest in cold storage and electrification in order to draw customers from all income levels to purchase fresh, roasted, smoked or grilled fish.

- **Re-claim bulk storage rooms**

Bulk storage rooms already exist in the market, but they have been converted to living quarters. The squatters will need to vacate the bulk storage rooms in order to restore the intended use of these rooms. Ideally, assistance would be provided in seeking alternative shelter for the squatters.

- **Parking provision should reflect transport mode preferences**

Most customers and vendors take *Tro Tros* and taxis to the Tuesday Market. *Tro Tro* and taxi stops can be sited outside the market compound. Parking should be provided for off-loading and as a service to customers with cars, but should not take an unnecessary percentage of the market floorplate.

Given the market's square-shaped plot, each of these functions can be given separate entrances and access.

1. The market receives an entrance and exit for costumer vehicles and service trucks. Separate entrance and exit gates can maintain a one-way flow in the market, making the traffic more manageable. Introducing 100 parking spots in the market will make it much more accessible and convenient for customers. Additionally, a designated parking area for the *tro tros* is sited just adjacent to the entrance to the market, making it easily accessible by public transit.
2. The Vocational Training Center enjoys pedestrian access from the Korle Gonno side to make it more approachable for the community.
3. The office building has a dedicated entry gate and parking. Gate usage will be limited to employees and visitors. After office hours, this entrance will be used by trucks supplying the Tuesday Market. These trucks also have designated parking and loading-unloading platforms which connect to the warehouses. Shared access between daily office users and trucks would preclude loitering by the trucks and would maintain cleanliness.

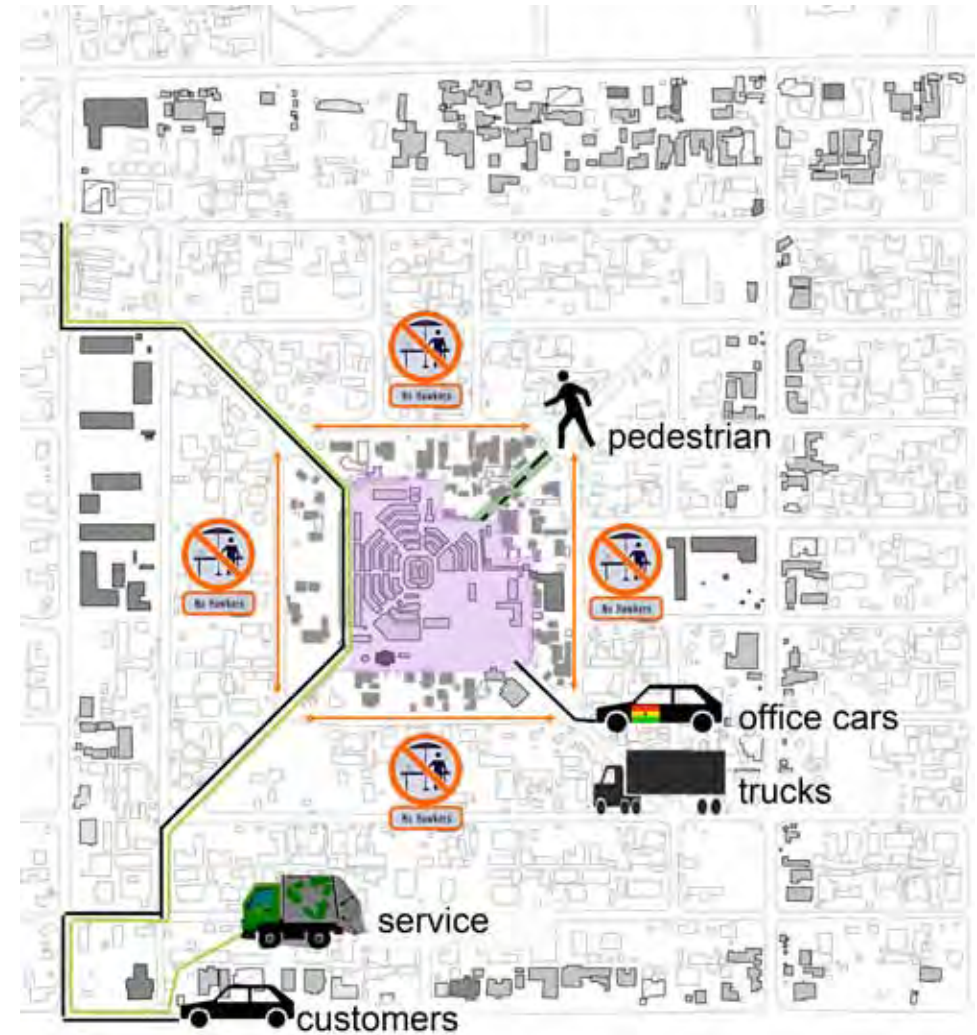
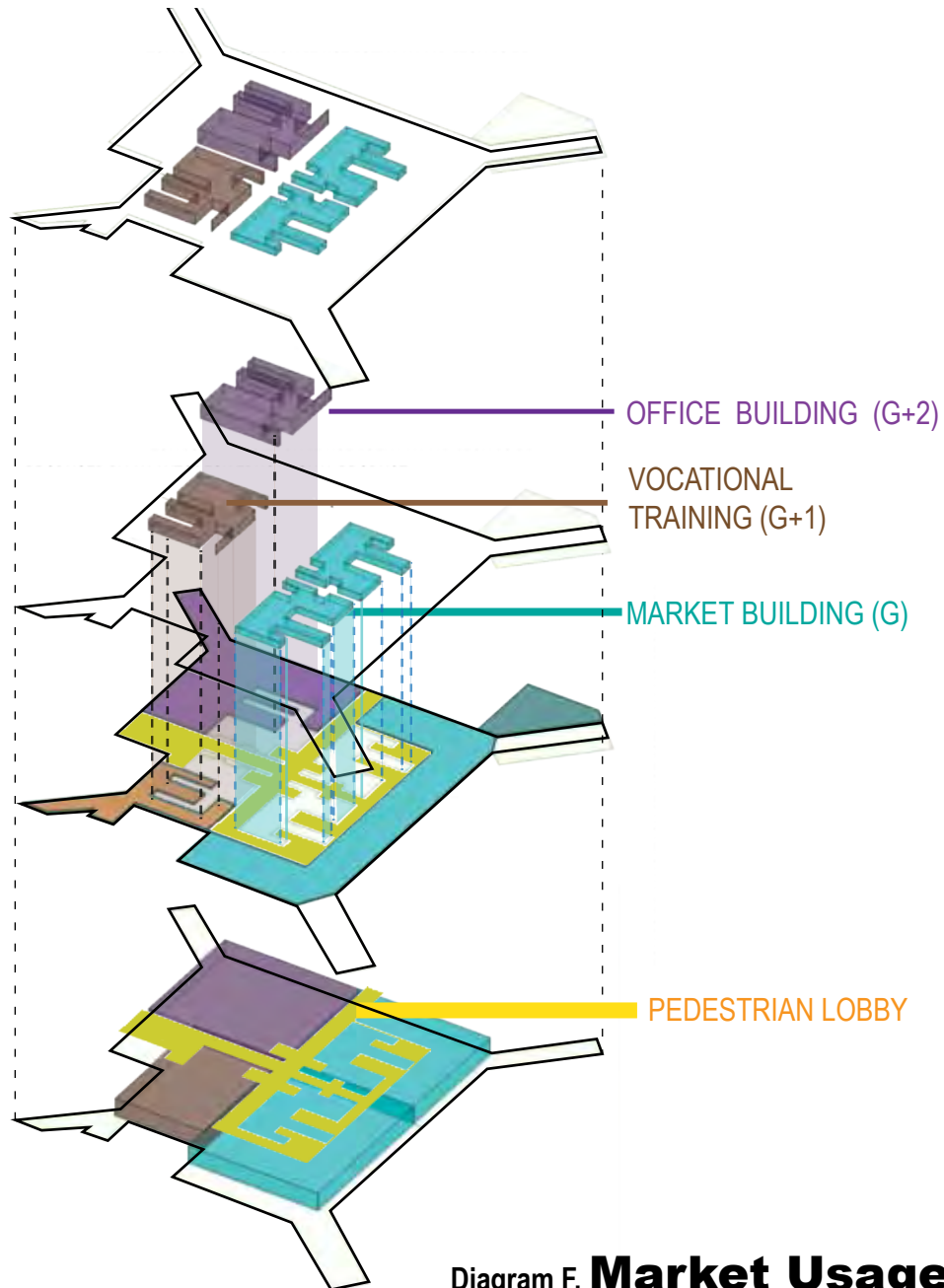
DESIGN GUIDELINES

MCI proposes the following design guidelines for the upgrading of the Tuesday Market.

Divisions of the Site

Diagram A shows four divisions of the site on the basis of usage; Diagram B shows four divisions of access to the site. The four main usages illustrated in Diagram A are:

1. Market (Blue)
2. Vocational Training Center (Brown)
3. Office Building (Purple)
4. Pedestrian market lobby (Orange)



The Ground Floor Plan

The ground floor plan of the new market complex includes:

1. Market Area:
 - a) Permanent Market
 - b) Temporary Market
 - c) Flexible Market
2. Warehouse and Loading Unloading Area
3. Vocational Training Center
4. Health Clinic Public Toilets
5. Other Amenities
6. Parking
 - a) Market Parking
 - b) Office Parking
 - c) Truck Parking
 - d) *Tro Tro* Parking

Market Area

The market area is designed to accommodate three distinct sets of circumstances:

The Permanent Market

The market is the key use for this plot. Thus permanent shops are designed as the spine of the ground floor, which connects all the built structures. The market starts functioning along a “street” that is always in motion, rather than being a stale destination. The Market “Street” becomes available to different users coming to the market for various other activities and is also easily accessible to people passing through the market to get to different parts of the neighborhood. The trees provide shade and canopy to create a

comfortable atmosphere for the vendors as well as for the commuters along the Market “Street.” The ground floor plan shows 135 units of permanent selling space, with an area of 4 sq. m.. each.

The Temporary Market

Respecting the traditional practices of Tuesday Market, open covered sheds are designed for vendors to come and sell their goods on Tuesdays. These spaces, which can be easily cleaned once the market is over on Tuesdays, can then be used for other social and seasonal functions and public awareness programs, including weddings or other private functions from which the market might earn additional rental income. The ground floor plan shows 314 units of temporary selling units of 4 sq. m.. each.

The Flexible Market

If in the future there is an increase in the market’s popularity and the market association finds itself struggling to accommodate more vendors, the parking area opposite the large covered shed is also demarcated as an area which could be used for the Tuesday Market. This might necessitate the addition of a roof in the demarcated zone shown in Drawing 2. A flexible usage area would encourage the multiplicity of uses, which would be beneficial for Korle Gonno. Additionally, time constraints placed on a particular use can avoid encroachments and can also maintain cleanliness on a daily or weekly basis.

Vocational Training Center

The Vocational Training Center is designed to host various professional training courses for the people of Korle Gonno. Training activities could include introductions to Information Technology and/or Tailoring. On the ground floor, the vocational training center has four small classrooms of 50 sq. m. each; the walls between two classrooms could be a movable partition, to combine two classrooms into one 100 sq. m. classroom space. Other amenities needed in the training center are toilets, a daycare center and a water cooler. The vocational center is very much needed in order to train the youth, school dropouts and adults in practical skills that can help



them enter a profession. It can make a vital contribution to the community, but will require sufficient space, special administration and responsible governance in order to have the right outcomes for the people of Korle Gonno.

Health Clinic

The Health Clinic on the ground floor of the market would provide healthcare services to the community. Its presence within the market premises will necessitate cleanliness, regularly scheduled garbage collection and easy access, particularly for residents of Zone 4.

Banks and other Stores

The ground floor area also has space to accommodate a small bank office -- preferably, a bank that is a part of a micro-financing system for various amenities and housing upgrading projects in Korle Gonno. Other supporting shops, such as a pharmacies, to support the clinic, and a bookstore, to support the vocational training center can also be included.

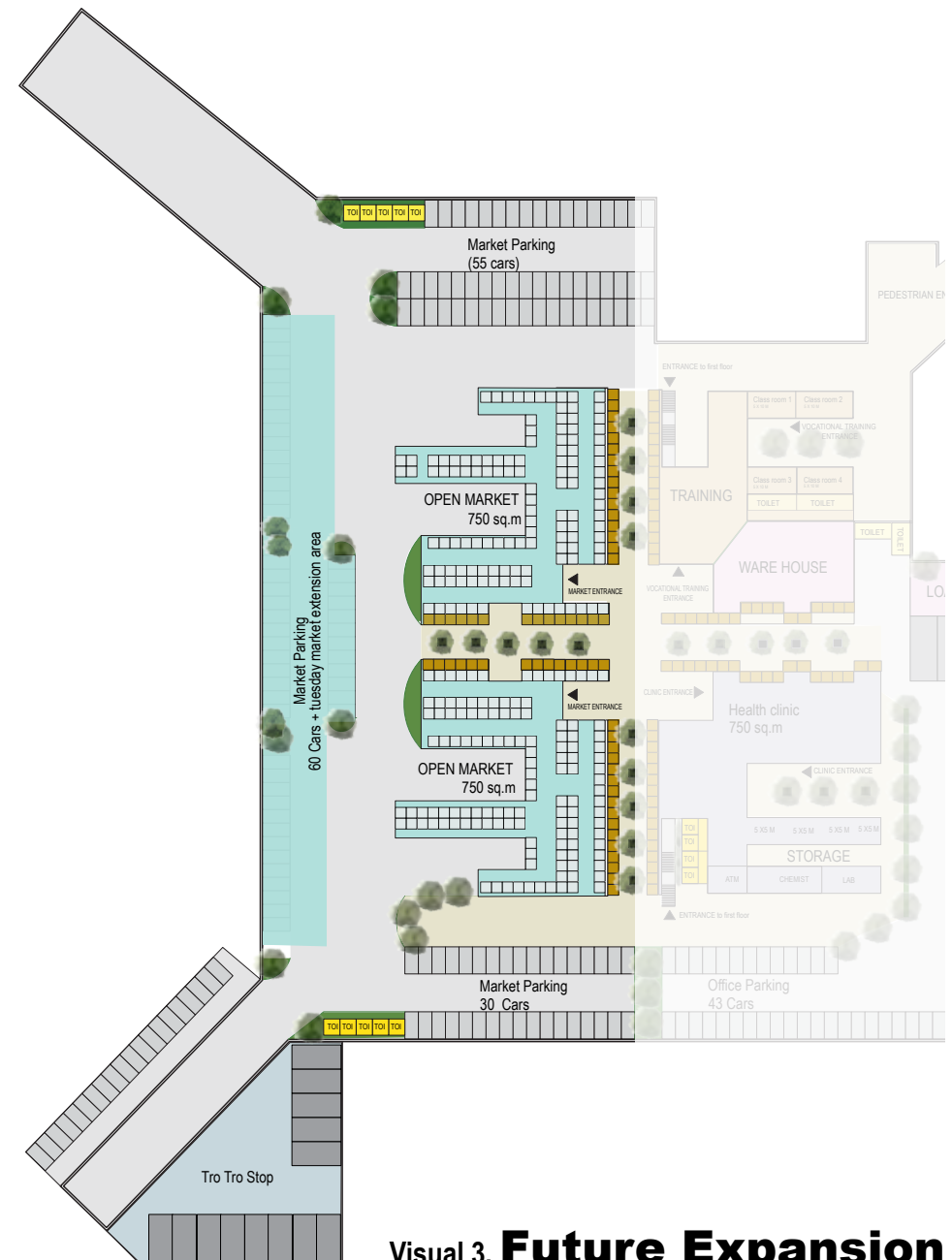
Public Amenities

Public amenities such as toilets and garbage collection points are strategically located near the entrance/exit gates of the market for easy access for service vehicle drivers. In future, the market - in collaboration with NGOs - should start composting programs within the market and use the manure for landscaping the market itself.

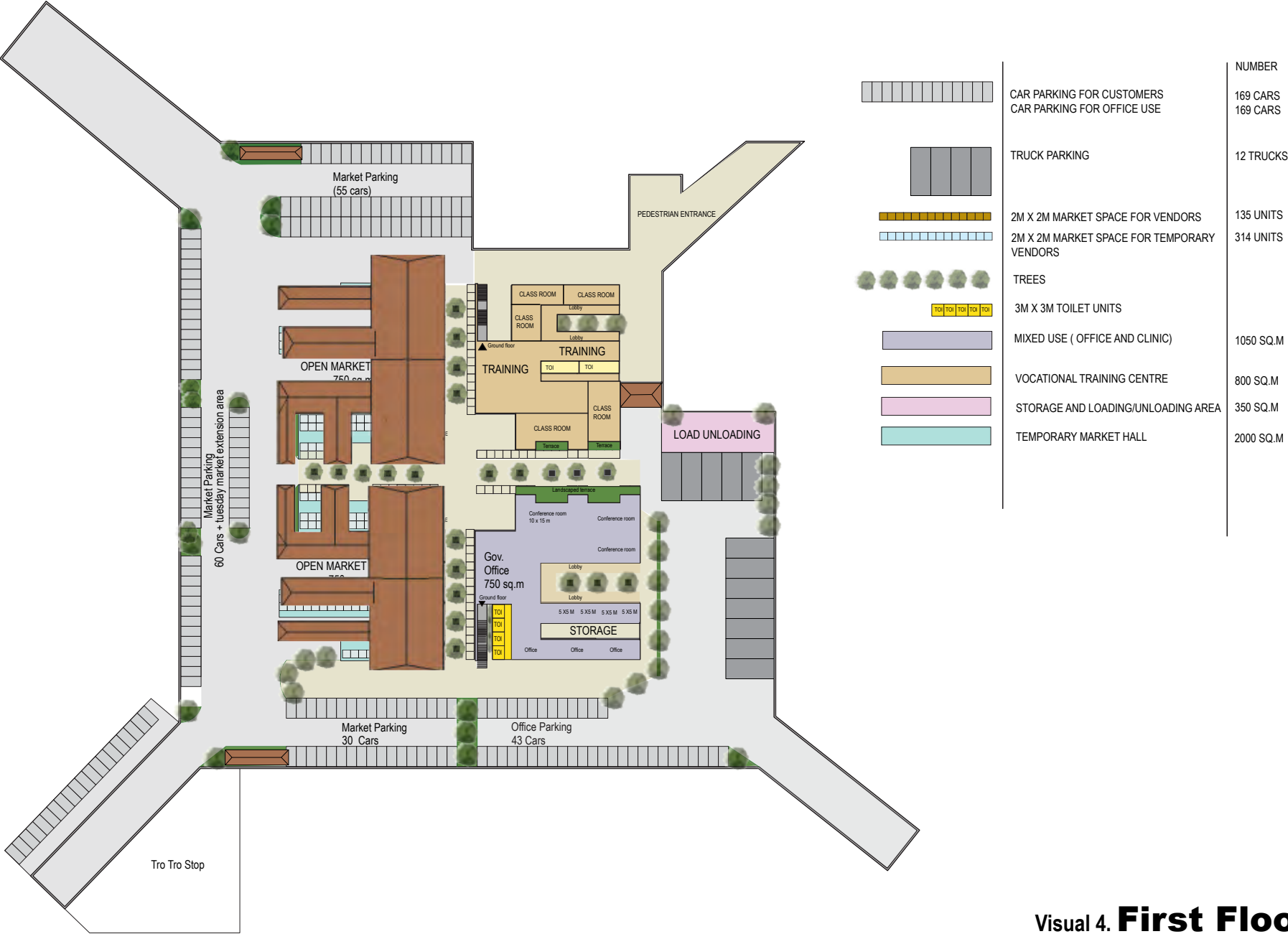
The First Floor Plan

The first floor plan of the new market complex is designed for:

1. Vocational Training Center
2. AMA and Market Association Office



Visual 3. **Future Expansion**



Visual 4. **First Floor Plan**

1. Vocational Training Center

The first floor of the vocational training center has more convertible classrooms of 50 sq.m each, along with one big training hall that can be used for youth group meetings and other educational events.

2. AMA and Market Association Office

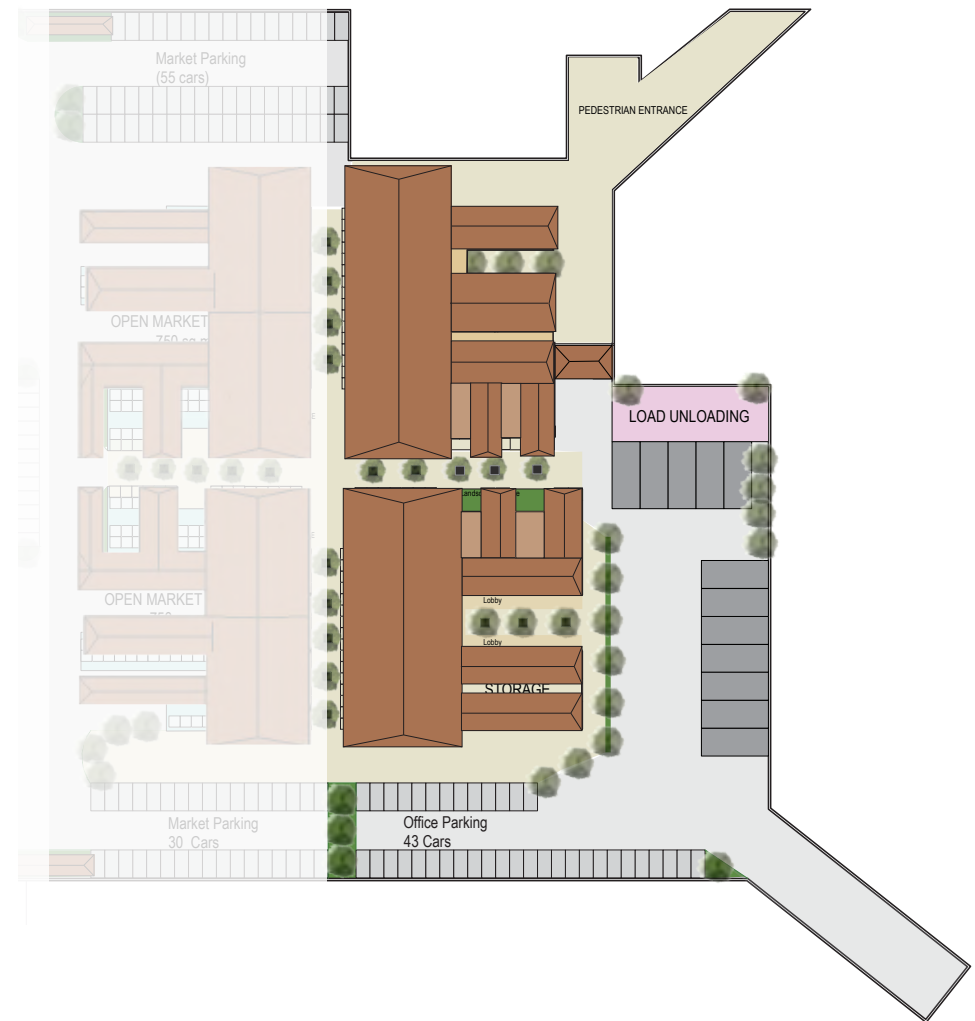
One major reason for the failure of the current market premises is that there is no one directly accountable for the market's maintenance and cleanliness. Nor can anyone be held individually accountable for the many encroachments and other illegal activities occurring in the market. Monitoring these activities, therefore, becomes an important function of the program. Tuesday Market has the potential to play a key role in Korle Gonno's development, but this will happen only if the uses proposed for the market thrive and are closely monitored and encouraged in the right direction on a regular basis, until they become a part of the lifestyles of the locals. The presence of an AMA office on the first floor of the market should therefore be encouraged, together with the Market Association office, which would keep records of the market and monitor it daily.

Other Design Guidelines

The roof of the market must be designed to support rainwater harvesting. The water harvested can be used for cleaning the market and for landscaping. The roof could also incorporate solar panels capable of producing electricity for the market and its surroundings.

A minimum of 35 trees planted within the premises of the market is recommended.

The ground cover of the market could consist of landscaped stone paving on soft ground rather than being fully covered with tiles.



Visual 5. **Roof Plan**



Visual 6. Conceptual View showing the Vocational Training Center, the Market Street and the Open Shed



Visual 7. Conceptual View showing the Office area and the Market





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