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A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
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GEBZE TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ

FEN BİLİMLERİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

GANA'DAKİ GECEKONDU ALANLARININ DÖNÜŞÜMÜNDE BİR YAKLAŞIM OLARAK KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜMÜN DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ

ABUBAKAR SADIQ ABASS

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

ŞEHİR VE BÖLGE PLANLAMA ANABİLİM DALI

DANIŞMANI

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GEBZE TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ	**YÜKSEK LİSANS JÜRİ ONAY FORMU**

GTÜ Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü Yönetim Kurulu'nun 10/10/2018 tarih ve 2018/51 sayılı kararıyla oluşturulan jüri tarafından 31/10/2018 tarihinde tez savunma sınavı yapılan Abubakar Sadiq ABASS'ın tez çalışması Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Anabilim Dalında YÜKSEK LİSANS tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

JÜRİ

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ONAY

Gebze Teknik Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü Yönetim Kurulu'nun ...…/……/……… tarih ve ……./…..... sayılı kararı.

SUMMARY

Over the years, various policies such as slum clearance, demolition, self-help and title regularisation among others have been implemented by governments especially in the developing world for tackling the slum problem. However, with slums across the world expected to increase in the coming years, it is clear that the previous policies have been insufficient and unsuccessful. In addressing this problem in Ghana, a different approach is needed. Urban regeneration is therefore considered in this work for recommendation for its possible implementation in Ghana. Concepts such as urbanisation and urban areas, slum and urban regeneration were reviewed to provide sufficient conceptual basis for this investigation. The Ashaiman slum was selected as the study area with resident household heads being the main subjects of the research. The sample selection was based on the systematic random sampling method which resulted in a sample size of 322. In addition to this, the purposive sampling method was also adopted in the selection of professionals in Ghana. The data collected were analysed using SPSS where statistical tools such as the chi-square and ANOVA were applied. The investigation revealed that over 90% of respondents indicated their support for UR. This study also established the categories of residents who are more likely to accept or oppose UR in Ashaiman. Contrary to similar studies, residents of the Ashaiman slum are not poor. Only very limited state support may be required by some residents in order to afford housing under UR in Ashaiman. With the requisite participation of all stakeholders, UR is expected to succeed in transforming Ghanaian slums. Finally, creating an urban regeneration fund (URF) as well as involving the private sector both local and foreign will help create the needed funding for the realisation of urban regeneration in Ghana.

Keywords: Ashaiman, slum, urban areas, urbanisation and urban regeneration.

ÖZET

Yıllar içerisinde özellikle gelişmekte olan ülkelerde çöküntü alanlarının (*slum*) ortadan kaldırılması ve temizlenmesi, nüve yardım ve tapulaştırma (imar barışı) gibi kentsel politikalar ile ele alınmış ve çözüm için uygulanmıştır. Ancak, önümüzdeki yıllarda dünya genelindeki çöküntü alanlarında artış beklentisi, bahsi geçen çözümlerin yetersiz ve başarısız olduğunu göstermektedir. Benzer problemin yaşandığı Gana'da da yeni çözüm yaklaşımları gerekmektedir. Dolayısıyla Gana üzerine yapılan bu çalışmada kentsel dönüşüm (KD) bir çözüm olarak önerilmekte ve değerlendirilmektedir. Bu çalışmada öncellikle kent ve kentleşme, çöküntü alanları ve kentsel dönüşüm gibi kavramlar irdelenmiş ve çalışmanın kavramsal temeli oluşturulmuştur. Gana'da Ashaiman bölgesinde bulunan çöküntü alanları çalışma alanı olarak seçilmiş, ikamet eden hanehalkı reisleri anakütlesi üzerinden örneklem alınmıştır. Örneklemede sistematik rassal örnekleme metodu kullanılmış ve toplam 322 örnekleme erişilmiştir. Gana'daki yapılı çevrede çalışan profesyonellere yönelik örneklem temini için, amaçlı örnekleme metodu kullanılmıştır. SPSS yardımıyla tanımlayıcı istatistiksel araçlar, ki-kare ve ANOVA gibi çıkarıma dayalı istatistiki teknikler kullanılarak veriler analiz edilmiştir. Araştırma sonucu olarak; katılımcıların %90'ının kentsel dönüşümü destekledikleri tespit edilmiştir. Ayrıca, çalışmada Ashaiman sakinlerinden en çok hangi kesimlerin KD uygulamalarını destekleyip desteklemeyeceği ortaya konulmuştur. Ayrıca, diğer benzer çalışmaların aksine, Ashaiman çöküntü bölgesinde yaşayanların ileri düzeyde yoksul olmadıkları ve Ashaiman'da yapılacak olan kentsel dönüşüm uygulamalarında az sayıda bölge hanehalkının sınırlı devlet desteğine ihtiyaç duyabileceği anlaşılmıştır. Sonuç olarak, tüm paydaşların katılımlarıyla, Gana'da kentsel dönüşüm yaklaşımının çöküntü alanlarını dönüştürmede başarılı bir yaklaşım olarak değerlendirilebileceği anlaşılmıştır. Ayrıca, kentsel dönüşüm fonunun (KDF) oluşturulmasının, yerli ve yabancı özel sektör yatırımcılarının sürece dahil edilmelerinin Gana'da kentsel dönüşümü gerçekleştirmek için gereken fonları sağlamada yardımcı olacağı ifade edilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Ashaiman, çöküntü alanları, kent, kentleşme ve kentsel dönüşüm

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LIST of ABBREVIATIONS and ACRONYMS

Abbreviations and Acronyms		**Explanations**
AESL	:	Architectural and Engineering Services Limited, Ghana
AHP	:	Affordable Housing Projects, Ghana
AKP	:	Justice and Development Party, Turkey
ANOVA	:	Analysis of Variance
AshMA	:	Ashaiman Municipal Assembly
CBD	:	Central Business District
CHP	:	Republican People’s Party, Turkey
ÇŞB	:	Ministry of Environment and Urban Development, Turkey
DA’s	:	District Assemblies, Ghana
DP	:	Democratic Party, Turkey
ECOWAS	:	Economic Community of West African States
EU	:	European Union
GDP	:	Gross Domestic Product
GoG	:	Government of Ghana
GREDA	:	Ghana Real Estate Developers Association
GSS	:	Ghana Statistical Services
GYODER	:	Real Estate Investment Partners Association, Turkey
IPEP	:	Infrastructure for Poverty Eradication Programme, Ghana
ISC	:	Indigenous Slum Community, Ghana
KCCLP	:	King’s Cross Central Limited Partnership, UK
LC	:	Low Cost (Housing)
LI	:	Legislative Instrument
MDG’s	:	Millenium Development Goals
MMDA’s	:	Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies
MP	:	Member of Parliament
MSC	:	Migrant Slum Community, Ghana

MWH	:	Ministry of Works and Housing, Ghana
MIZD	:	Ministry of Inner-City and Zongo Development, Ghana
NPP	:	New Patriotic Party, Ghana
NSC	:	the Newly Emerging Slum Community, Ghana
OECD	:	the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PHC	:	Population and Housing Census
SHC	:	State Housing Company, Ghana
SRU	:	Urban Rehabilitation Societies, Portugal
SUR	:	Support for Urban Regeneration
SWOT	:	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats
TAA	:	the Tema Acquisition Area, Ghana
TC	:	Republic of Turkey
TCPD	:	Town and Country Planning Department, Ghana
TDC	:	Tema Development Corporation, Ghana
TOKİ	:	the Mass Housing Development Authority, Turkey
TTC	:	Tema Traditional Council, Ghana
TÜİK	:	Turkish Statistical Institute
ULI	:	the Urban Land Institute
UN	:	the United Nations
UNESCO	:	the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Org.
UN-Habitat	:	the United Nations Human Settlement Programme
UNStat	:	the United Nations Statistical Institute
UR	:	Urban Regeneration
URF	:	Urban Regeneration Fund
URP	:	Urban Regeneration Project
WWII	:	the Second World War
ZDF	:	Zongo Development Fund, Ghana

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1. INTRODUCTION

Access to decent, affordable and sustainable housing is seen by the United Nations Human Settlement Programme (UN-Habitat) as one of the basic determinants of quality of life. In this connection, it can be said that the quality of life of a people is (in part) measured by the quality of housing available to them. As at 2013 however, approximately 860 million people in the world were reportedly living in slums [UN-Habitat, 2016]. Prior to this, a reported figure of 1 billion people lived in what the UN-Habitat [2007] referred to as 'unacceptable conditions of poverty'. Despite the efforts being made by governments around the world to *fight* against slum development, these figures are expected to increase in the coming years if adequate measures are not put in place to reverse the trend. It is therefore essential that the problem of slum is placed high on the agenda of governments and development partners around the world. In line with this thinking, the UN made it part of its development agenda within the scope of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's), known as MDG 7, Target 11 which commits member states of the UN to *'... by 2020 to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least one hundred million slum dwellers*' [UN-Habitat 2004 quoted in Martinez, Mbuop, Sliuzas and Stein, 2008; Khalifa, 2011].

The conversion of slum settlements into decent residential neighbourhoods has been a major issue for urban planners and city managers around the world especially in developing countries. Even though there still has not been a unanimously agreed definition of slum [Khalifa, 2011] among scholars for the purpose of universal application, in many instances, slum settlements portray very poor living conditions coupled with little or no basic social amenities and infrastructure [Marx et al., 2013: UN-Habitat, 2003]. Also, the UN-Habitat, in its bid to clarify what exactly constitute slum, came up with five shelter deprivation indicators. These have been discussed in detail in section 2.2 of this report. Among these indicators is 'lack of access to sufficient living space' which in other words means, 'overcrowding'. And according to UN-Habitat [2007], a dwelling unit cannot be said to be sufficient for human habitation if any of its available rooms accommodates three or more persons. This therefore means that, a dwelling is considered overcrowded if a room is shared by more than two persons. Quite interestingly however, in many slum settlements especially those in Africa, South America and Asia, there exist much worse situations such that according to Marx et al. [2013] many do not have access to their own private toilet facilities.

Quite apart from that, slums adversely affect the beauty, order and security of the urban space. Slum settlements like the unauthorised settlements on the fringes of urban areas are usually inhabited by the low-income earning migrants who could not find good paying jobs and therefore could not afford decent housing in the cities [Lloyd, 1979]. In this regard, both local and central governments in many parts of the world work towards the removal of slum settlements by adopting various interventions. One of these is "urban regeneration (UR)" which was first carried out between 1852 and 1870 in France where *'large swathe of medieval Paris was cleared to create a more ordered and modern layout, including better utility infrastructure, public parks, and monuments*' [Castree et al., 2013].

Even though the problem of slum has persisted for too long in the developing world, not much has been done in finding lasting solution to it. It is fair to state that, many countries facing the slum problem have attempted at solving it by adopting various interventions, which include outright demolition, resettlement, self-help slum upgrading, slum tourism among others [UN-Habitat, 2003]. So far however, not many especially from the developing and less developed countries have tried the use of urban regeneration in curing urban decay which often manifests in the form of slum. On the contrary, it is only evident in the developed countries that the concept of urban regeneration has been extensively applied in tackling a variety of urban problems including the decaying inner-city tenements [see Couch and Fraser, 2003 and Kandaloğlu, 2016].

In Ghana, there exists one of the world's biggest slum settlements known as Ashaiman [UN-Habitat, 2003 cited in Marx et al., 2013]. Despite this ugly feat, nothing concrete has been done to change the situation in this settlement. However, relatively high progress in the implementation of urban regeneration in different approaches and forms aimed at removing slums (illegal and/or substandard buildings) and settlements under disaster risks to make cities more liveable [Konbul and Cete, 2014] can be witnessed in countries such as Turkey. The emergence of various urban regeneration firms and the ongoing urban regeneration projects across Turkey are only a few evidences supporting this claim. Moreover, in 2012, Turkey initiated the biggest ever urban regeneration project in the country at an estimated cost of US$ 400 billion to span for over 20 years [Web 1, 2015; TOKİ, 2016; Kandaloğlu, 2016]. Under this project, between 5.3 million structures [TOKİ, 2016; Kandaloğlu, 2016] and approximately 7 million homes [Web 1, 2015] will be demolished and new ones reconstructed [Web 1, 2015; TOKİ, 2016; Kandaloğlu, 2016].

This report therefore contains extensive information on Turkey regarding her urbanisation process, slum history and the application of urban regeneration. This is mainly because the implementation of urban regeneration in Turkey is more recent than those of the developed countries, and also because the main objectives of UR in Turkey are quite similar to the reasons for which UR is being considered for implementation in Ghana. The purpose is to serve as a guide in the final proposition of urban regeneration as an alternative slum transformation approach in Ghana even though a general conceptual perspective of this policy has also been considered coupled with some examples from around the globe.

Over the years, Turkey has been experiencing a lot of natural disasters like floods, landslides and arguably the most devastating and most significant of these being earthquakes. In view of this, the state in its bid to providing safe places of residence to its citizens came up with various laws. The Slum Act, 1966 (Act 775) which aimed at '*improving the conditions of available slums in fairly good state, demolishing those in poor state and the prevention of creation of new ones*' was enacted and this law is regarded as the first law in Turkey that talks about urban regeneration [Candaş et al., 2016; Erman, 2001].

In the years that followed the enactment of the aforementioned law, at least five more laws related to urban regeneration were passed. For instance, The Mass Housing Act, 1984 (Act 2985); The Northern Ankara Entrance Urban Regeneration Project Administration Act, 2004 (Act 5104); The Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage through Renewal and Re-use Act, 2005 (Act 5366); the last and the most widely applied law till this day remains the Transformation of Areas Under Risks of Disaster Act, 2012 (Act 6306).

Before the passing of Act 6306, Turkey experienced the biggest and the most devastating disaster in her history known as the Marmara Earthquake in the year 1999 and even though in the aftermath of this disaster many buildings were declared weak and unsafe for habitation, it took the 2011 Van Earthquake to happen before relevant steps were taken to put in place measures to protect lives and properties which resulted in the enactment and implementation of Act 6306. This law is seen as the most fundamental among the disaster-prevention regulations in Turkey [Güzey, 2016 cited in Candaş et al., 2016].

As an urban policy capable of righting the wrongs of earlier (non)planning mistakes [Tallon, 2010], urban regeneration was thus implemented in Turkey with the purpose of not only to transform the existing gecekondus but also to replace weaker and older buildings with stronger and more resilient ones across the country [Candaş et al., 2016]. This has resulted in the reduction of slum prevalence in Turkey from about 30 percent in 1997 to about 11 percent in 2014 [Web 2, 2014].

1.1. Problem Statement

It has been identified that urban regeneration has over the years been applied in the tackling of a variety of urban problems across the globe [Roberts, 2000]. However, not many studies on urban regeneration in the developing countries especially Ghana can be pointed at. Studies on urban regeneration in tackling the slum problem are even more scanty in these parts of the world even though these are the parts of the world housing majority of the world's slums [UN-Habitat, 2007]. It is against this backdrop that this research was embarked upon.

In Ghana, there exist a number of slum settlements. Over the last thirty years, it is estimated that the urban population has increased from four (4) million to fourteen (14) million and of this figure, 5.5 million reside in slum settlements constituting about 40% of the urban population [Web 3, 2016]. It must also be noted that, some of the world's most chaotic slum settlements are found in Ghana. For instance, Web 4 [2016] established that, Nima, one of Accra's suburbs places 18th on the list of Africa's top 20 worst slums. Also, another report by Web 5 [2016] suggests that, Old Fadama, another suburb of Accra and home to about 100 thousand people sits at 7th place on the list of Africa's worst slums. The same Old Fadama, otherwise known to Ghanaians as 'Sodom and Gomorrah' is also regarded as the world's biggest dumping ground for electronic waste with about 50 million tonnes of e-waste dumped each year as shown in the image below [Web 6, 2014].

Image 1.1: Old Fadama Slum, Accra, Ghana

Despite these unfortunate trends, reaching a lasting solution to this menace cannot be seen to be taking place due to political and other reasons. On the contrary, the situation continues to worsen such that Ghana has once been described by the UN-Habitat [2007] as '*one of the developing countries that is off-track in finding solutions to slums and slum dwellers*'.

1.2. Objectives of the Study

As earlier hinted, this work aims at examining the prospects of urban regeneration as an alternative approach to slum transformation in Ghana. In doing so, it seeks to evaluate the various policies and strategies required for a successful urban regeneration in solving the other forms of urban problems in selected examples across the world. In the end, lessons shall be taken with regards to urban regeneration experiences of these examples with the purpose of examining the policy in the context of slum transformation for recommendation for implementation in Ghana. In summary, the objectives of this research include the following;

- To investigate the various forms of slums in Ghana and how they differ from those around the world;
- To examine the concept of urban regeneration and its application across the world;
- To draw lessons from the implementation of urban regeneration policies around the world and;
- To examine the policy of urban regeneration as an alternative approach to slum transformation in Ghana.

1.3. Scope, Justification of the Research and Organisation of Chapters

As the heading suggests, this section outlines the scope of this research while at the same time providing adequate reasons justifying the need to embark on same. The section finally concludes on how the various chapters making up this report were organised.

- Scope of Research

As indicated in the previous section, the scope of this work is to investigate the appropriateness or otherwise of urban regeneration as an alternative urban policy for Ghana in her quest to transforming the various slums and decaying inner cities across the country by studying Ashaiman which is one of such communities. It must be noted that, the scope of this work does not include investigating the economic viability of urban regeneration. Again, because it is also acknowledged that urban regeneration can be financially expensive urban policy especially for a middle income (lower division) country like Ghana, the financial ability of Ghana has been briefly explored mainly by analysing the views of professionals in the field even though this work does not seek to give any technical financial analysis of Ghana with regards to Ghana's capability (or otherwise) of implementing such policy in the coming years. It is therefore suggested that such investigations be carried out in separate studies altogether. In short, this study only seeks to investigate the prospects of urban regeneration in solving the slum problem in Ghana by studying key stakeholders such as household heads within the study area who were randomly selected. Fundamentally, the aim is to check the pulse of residents of the area regarding their support for (or otherwise) of a possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman.

Having stated that, the work also covers aspects such as the urbanisation dynamics and the consequent slum development in Ghana. Information regarding the various state and private institutions capable of handling any proposed urban regeneration project in Ghana has also been provided in this report. In addition to this, existing literature regarding the aforementioned subjects across the world including Turkey have been studied and reviewed to give a better direction to this study.

The choice of the aforementioned case study area of Ashaiman is due to the fact that Ashaiman is a mixture of all the three types of slums identified in Ghana [Abu-Salia et al., 2015; Paller, 2015] situated in one place. This therefore gives an easy access to on-the-ground information about the various slums in Ghana and with this, it is expected to facilitate the development of a workable strategy capable of implementation in any slum in Ghana. Details about the sample size of respondents within the Ashaiman slum have been discussed in Chapter Four of this report.

- Justification of the Study

As a member of the United Nations (UN), it is part of the medium-term goals of Ghana to contribute to the achievement of the eleventh target of the MDG where it is expected to contribute to improving the lives of at least one hundred (100) million slum dwellers across the world by 2020. The specific long-term goal of Ghana remains the riddance of her urban space of slums. Being areas of wanton poverty, poor living conditions among others, it is therefore of utmost importance that these parts of the cities are drastically transformed to a state where ordinary Ghanaians can live in dignity regardless of their income levels.

The seriousness of this problem was manifested in its featuring in the 2016 election campaign manifestos of the major political parties in Ghana. For instance, the then main opposition party (now in government), the New Patriotic Party (NPP) had it in its 2016 manifesto to transform the various slum communities in the country where it intends to *'…invest in rural, coastal, Zongo and inner-city communities'* [NPP Manifesto, 2016]. In fulfilment of this particular campaign promise, a new ministry, the Ministry of Zongo and Inner-City Development (MZID), with the specific focus of dealing with this problem was created by the new government soon after taking office in January 2017.

According to the manifesto, deprived communities which include the various slum communities in the country shall be given the needed infrastructural improvements as part of the government's Infrastructure for Poverty Eradication Programme (IPEP) so as to facilitate the overall development of the country. In this regard, an estimated amount of US$275 million is expected to be allocated to this programme in order to '*provide local solutions to local problems*' [NPP Manifesto, 2016]. Quite apart from this, a more specific fund, the Zongo Development Fund (ZDF), purposely meant for the development of the Zongo communities across the country is expected to be established if given the mandate by Ghanaians in the December 2016 general elections. As a step towards fulfilling this campaign promise also, the following was reiterated in the first budget statement of the new government, the 2017 Budget Statement when the Finance minister stated in paragraph 207 of the 2017 Budget Statement as follows;

"Mr. Speaker, as part of our efforts to develop Zongo communities, government will set up a Zongo Development Fund (ZDF) with seed money of GH₵219.5 million. The Fund will support the provision of critical infrastructure in education and training; health and sanitation; local businesses and centres of culture, as well as improve security in the Zongo communities. The ZDF is expected to leverage its seed fund to attract additional funding from Development Partners, private sector institutions, civil society organizations, and other non-governmental organizations" [Budget Statement, 2017].

In view of this seeming commitment of the Ghanaian government to deal with the deprived communities in Ghana, this work is expected to contribute to not only the slum discourse but also to make significant contribution to how these communities are transformed so that huge sums of tax-payers' monies are put to the best possible use in the transformation process of Ghana's slum communities. As it has always been the case in Ghana and in many other developing countries, poor implementations have often resulted in failure of many good policies. It must be noted that there is a subtle silence on the dwellings of the inhabitants of these communities in the intended government policies to transform the slum communities in Ghana. It is as essential to have citizens live in decent residential units as it is to have them get access to improved health and sanitation facilities. The decision to embark on this research at this time can therefore be said to be timely and justified.

It is abundantly clear from years of experience with slum clearance that many of the policies have failed especially in Ghana, leaving the country with about 40 percent slum prevalence. Urban regeneration has been seen to succeed in many countries around the world particularly in the developed and some emerging economies like Turkey due to government influence in terms of regulations and funding. Urban regeneration emanating directly from governments ensures formality of settlements and proper adherence to building codes and regulations unlike in cases where constructions are left in the hands of dwellers themselves.

- Organisation of Chapters

This study is organised in six chapters. The first chapter introduces the reader to the background and the problem statement. Also, the objectives, scope, justification of the research and organisation of chapters have been discussed in the first chapter. The literature review of this study has been compiled in two chapters, viz; chapter two and chapter three. In chapter two, concepts such as ‘urbanisation’ and ‘slum’ have been discussed. The final part of the literature review continued in chapter three where ‘Urban Regeneration’ as well as its applications around the world including Turkey was discussed.

The methodology adopted in data gathering and analysis has been discussed in chapter four. The fourth chapter also presents in detail the profile of the case study area. The fifth chapter presents the data collected from field surveys as well as their analyses and interpretations. The concluding chapter, in light of available evidence from field surveys evaluates the appropriateness or otherwise of urban regeneration as a sufficient enough tool for the transformation of slums in Ghana. This was done by providing thorough discussions of major findings. Suggested areas of further research as well as the limitations of this research were also presented in the last chapter.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, previous researches related to one of the main themes of this study have been reviewed. For the purpose of orderly presentation, and for the purpose of facilitating better understanding, these have been discussed under the following sections viz; Urban Area and Urbanisation; and Slum and/or Slum Development. The second part of the literature review section which talks about urban regeneration and related areas of interest is presented in the third chapter. In the opening part of this chapter where urbanisation is discussed, a theoretical explanation of this concept has been expounded by first introducing the concept and definition of an urban area. This is given prominence because of its relationship with slum development. A look back at history with regards to urbanisation and how it first emerged has also been done. A detailed account of the urbanisation dynamics in Turkey has also been presented because of reasons previously explained.

The second section of this chapter which comprises the topic of slum explains in detail the academic definition of slum. Also, the fact that slum has been and continues to be a global problem and not just a problem only found in developing countries has also been established. This was done by citing some examples from across the world in both developed and developing countries alike. Also in this part of the chapter, examples from Turkey and Ghana have also been well explored. These discussions were made possible by reviewing available literature relating to the various issues of interest. The following discussions on ‘Urban Area and Urbanisation’ set the tone for the crux of this study which follows a carefully determined order of logic.

2.1. Urban Area[1] and Urbanisation

Just like many other concepts as will been demonstrated later in this work, the conceptual definition of ‘town/city’ or an ‘urban area’ has not been without difficulties.

1 Throughout this work an ‘urban area’ is understood to be a ‘town or city’ and it is expected to be understood as such unless otherwise stated.

These difficulties emanate from the different criteria adopted by countries or organisations in their definitions of an urban land/area. In some countries for instance, population size and/or density, the nature of economic activities, the administrative functions and other urban features are the main criteria considered in defining an urban land/area [Amer, 2014]. Even in applying these criteria for the definition of urban land/area, there have been differences regarding the number and combinations of these criteria mentioned above. While some countries adopt only one criterion, others adopt a combination of more than two of the aforementioned criteria. It is also worthy of mention that there are some countries that either do not apply any criteria or they adopt ambiguous criteria in defining an urban area [Amer, 2014]. According to Amer [2014], 27% of countries in the world consider only administrative functions of places in designating them as urban areas; 20.8% use population size/density; and it is only in about 3.9% of countries across the world that urban functions as a criterion is used in defining urban land. However, it has also been reported that, no country in the world uses only the economic activities of a place to designate such place as 'urban' but economic activities as a criterion is often used in combination with other criterion or criteria [Amer, 2014]. The following table gives further details on this [UN, 2011 cited in Amer, 2014].

Table 2.1: Distribution of Countries according to the Criteria Used in Defining an Urban Area, 2011 Revision.

Criterion		Sole use	Used in conjunction with other criteria	Percentage according to sole use	Percentage according use in conjunction with other criteria
1 criteria	Administrative	64	118	27.7	51.1
	Economic	—	33		14.3
	Population size/density	48	107	20.8	46.3
	Urban characteristics	9	43	3.9	18.6
2 criteria	Administrative and population size/density	24	—	10.4	—
	Administrative and economic	—	—	—	—
	Administrative and urban characteristics	11	—	4.8	—
	Economic and population size/density	15	—	6.5	—
	Economic and urban characteristics	—	—	—	—
	Population and urban characteristics	15	—	6.5	—
3 criteria	Administrative, economic and population size/density	10	—	4.3	—
	Administrative, economic and urban characteristics	—	—	—	—
	Administrative, urban characteristics and population	1	—	0.4	—
	Economic, population and urban characteristics	—	—	—	—
4 criteria	Administrative, economic, population size/density and urban characteristics	8	—	3.5	—
	Entire population	9	9	3.9	3.9
	Unclear definition	3	3	1.3	1.3
	No definition	14	14	6.1	6.1
	Total number of countries or areas	231	—	100.0	—

As previously stated, the determinants of urban areas as distinct from rural ones differ from country to country and from period to period. In the ancient times for example, due to frequent wars between states, one of the striking differences between a city and a village is that a city has a formidable wall around its peripheries whereas a village lacks this defence system [Web 7, 1956]. And even though other criteria are considered in the definition of an urban area, one of the dominant criteria adopted in the definition of urban areas is population, and even with this, for those countries that use population as a criterion in defining a town/city, there is no uniformity with regards to the size or density of the population because the population threshold required of an area to be defined ‘urban’ differs from country to country. In Greece for instance, a place must be inhabited by at least 10,000 people while only 250 people are required of urban areas in Denmark [Keskin, 2014]. Also, in Pakistan, a place needs to be inhabited by at least 25,000 people

[Iqbal, 1998 cited in Keskin, 2014] while in Canada only 1,000 inhabitants are required [Keskin, 2014].

In Turkey, the definition of an urban area has also undergone a few changes. For example, the first law that differentiated between a rural and an urban area was the Village Act, 1924 (Act 442) where it provided for places with a population size of below 2000 to be considered rural areas, those with between 2000 and 20,000, towns and those with above 20,000 be regarded as cities [the Turkish Gazette, 07/04/1924 No. 68; 3 cited in Sağlam, 2016]. Despite this distinction, in March 2014, in line with the implementation of the findings of the 1982 report on "*The Urban Threshold Research: for the Definition of Urban Area in Turkey*", the above definition was changed to the effect that, as from the March of 2014, urban areas in Turkey shall comprise only of places with at least 20,001 residents while places of at most 20,000 residents shall be regarded as rural areas [WEB 8, 2014]. In the case of Ghana and many other Anglophone African countries, an area of more than 5000 inhabitants is said to be urbanised [Otiso and Owusu, 2008]. In terms of economic activities, whereas rural areas are basically dominated by primary economic activities such as farming, fishing and hunting, urban areas are dominated by secondary and tertiary economic activities such as industrial manufacturing activities and services such as banking, insurance and legal services [Keskin, 2014].

In a nutshell however, urban area is generally defined as 'a continuous built up area of subdivided land uses such as residential, institutional, recreational and the concentration of non-agricultural activities, specialisation and division of labour; and in terms of population, it refers to a more crowded settlement' of a specific minimum number of people as determined by countries under consideration. Another definition by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, OECD [2013] states;

"Urban land is defined as artificial land with built-up area cover or urban use. It includes, for example, residential and non-residential buildings, major roads and retail-ways and also open urban areas like parks and sport facilities".

As can be observed from the definition, there is no mention of population. Only the urban characteristic criterion such as the built environment was considered. It may however be assumed that since these built up areas are impliedly constructed by humans, there is an implied consideration of a resident population within those areas even though this was not explicitly mentioned. And as has been demonstrated above, the definition of urban area comes with the same complexities as that of ‘slum’ as will be shown later in this chapter. The difficulty in identifying the boundaries between rural and urban areas has resulted in the lack of a universal and encompassing definition of town/city [Amer, 2014]. The distinction between rural and urban areas is important for modelling and energy use estimations of these two distinct areas [Amer, 2014]. In trying to resolve these difficulties in the definition of an urban area, the UN came up with a suggestion. According to the UN, the most correct definition of city must originate from the legally recognised institution of state of the country under consideration. In this regard therefore, the urban data used by the UN are obtained from the respective countries themselves. Having said that, the UN itself has its own views of a city or an urban area. According to the UN [2012 quoted in Amer, 2014], a city refers to a;

“...population contained within the contours of contiguous territory inhabited at urban levels of residential density”.

The various definitions provided above in some ways acknowledge the importance of population. And generally, the most volatile of the three elements of population change is migration. The rate at which a place turns from a rural area to urban area in so many ways depends on the migration dynamics of the place. In other words, urbanisation is influenced extensively by migration. Even though it is said that no country has developed without urbanisation, the vast majority of policy makers around the world strive to prevent urbanisation rather than allow its occurrence [Spencer et al., 2009]. In fact, urbanisation does not appear attractive to many. It is related in a letter from Thomas Jefferson to Benjamin Rush in 1800 that, “*I view the great cities as pestilential to the morals, the health and the liberties of man. True, they nourish some of the elegant arts; but the useful ones can thrive elsewhere*” [Peterson, 1984 quoted in Annez and Buckley, 2009].

The importance of urbanisation in economic development is further highlighted in Spencer et al. [2009] who revealed that almost all countries reached 50 percent urbanisation before attaining middle income status and all high-income countries have urbanisation rates of between 70 and 85 percent. At this point, before proceeding further, it is essential to state a brief definition of urbanisation. In Web 35 [2010], urbanisation is said to be "*a process of urban concentration*" which…;

"…involves not merely the increasing numbers, size and density of urban settlements; it is the source of the new opportunities, attitudes and lifestyles that transform entire societies as they diffuse to smaller places and rural regions and stimulates the streams of migration that produce further rounds of urban growth".

2.1.1. Urbanisation throughout the Ages

Urbanisation is said to be the outcome of rural-urban migration [Keskin, 2014]. Even though this phenomenon was only first noticed in Europe in the 19th century [Web 43, 2015], other parts of the world had witnessed this phenomenon several thousands of years ago [Web 35, 2010]. For instance, it was learnt that urbanisation started in Lower Mesopotamia at least 5000 years ago; in the Indian Valley, 4,500 years ago; in the North China Plains, 3,000 years ago; in Mesoamerica, more than 2,500 years ago and in the Central Andes and Peruvian Coast, 2,000 years ago and in the Yoruba regions of West Africa about 500 years ago [Web 35, 2010]. It is also believed that the present day Middle East was the first to witness urbanisation some 10,000 years ago. In addition to the above, we are informed that the period between 1000 and 1900 saw the world's population rise from 300 million to about 1.6 billion people with urban population increasing four folds [Nunn and Qian, 2011].

In the past, only less than 10 percent of the world's population lived in urban areas and only about 300 years ago, less than fourteen cities in the world with population of at least 200,000 people existed [Web 35, 2010]. According to Web 7 [1956], it was only in the 17th century that cities with over 100 thousand people started to multiply across the world. The table below shows the biggest cities of the past (approximately 300 years ago) [Web 35, 2010].

Table 2.2: World's Biggest Cities of the 17-18th Centuries.

Place		Population
In the Ottoman Empire: Istanbul (formerly, Constantinople)		700,000
In Imperial China:	Beijing Hangzhou Guangzhou	650,000 300,000 200,000
In Feudal Japan:	Tokyo (formerly, Edo/Yedo) Osaka Kyoto	680,000 380,000 350,000
In the Moghul Empire:	Ahmadabad Aurangabad	380,000 200,000
In Iran (Persia):	Esfahan	380,000
In Europe:	London and Paris Amsterdam and Naples	Over 500,000 each Over 200,000 each

While these regions were recording high levels of urbanisation, same could not be said of other places around the world. For instance, in the 17th century, cities of Lower European countries were only 10 percent urbanised while urbanisation in England went over 30 percent in the same period reaching 70 percent by the start of the 18th century [Web 35, 2010]. At the advent of the 1900's urbanisation in Britain reached 80 percent; Holland 60 percent; Germany 50 percent; USA and France each reaching 45 percent and by that time, cities with at least one million residents numbered only 16 in the world while those with more than 100 thousand people were estimated to number about 287 [Web 35, 2010]. The industrial revolution may be the result of such high urbanisation in Britain as many people began migrating to the rapidly industrialising cities. It is said that, there was a mass movement of people from rural Europe to the industrialising cities of America such that about 60 million migrants from Europe were estimated to have entered the USA between 1860 and 1930 alone [Meriç, 2012:198-199; Chamber of Architects, 1971:45-46 cited in Keskin, 2014]. In the same 20th century, similar events emerged in the middle and lower income countries. This event according to Web 35 [2010] continued throughout the century and as a result of low income levels coupled with inadequate amenities to meet the ever-growing urban population, the 19th century experiences of the developed Western countries began to repeat in these less developed countries of today.

Currently, urbanisation in developed countries ranges between 80 and 90 percent and as at the year 2000, approximately 50 percent of the world's population lived in cities with 75 percent of this phenomenon happening in the developing countries [Web 35, 2010]. In other words, half of the world's population is urbanised and majority (75%) of this urbanised population is found in the developing countries of today. The implication is that, developing countries will need to take advantage of their urbanising population to trigger growth and development or they suffer the negative consequences of urbanisation which are already happening in many of these developing nations. As at the year 2000, while more than 800 cities across the globe each had a population of more than 500 thousand people, of these cities, four hundred of them each was home to more than 1 million people and 40 of them had in excess of 5 million people living in each of them [Web 35, 2010]. This means that, consistently, the proportion of urbanised population is not only increasing but the number of urbanised settlements is increasing in like manner.

There are various reasons given to this intense urbanisation. Over the years, the industrial revolution and advancements in technology arising therefrom such as the establishment of industries has attracted people from the rural areas to the urban centres in search of jobs in the industries. Interestingly, it has also been established by various studies that food production has also contributed to urbanisation. For instance, the discovery of potatoes was said to have contributed significantly to food production in Europe and according to conservative estimates, potatoes accounted for about 25 percent increase in the population of the *Old World* [Nunn and Qian, 2011].

2.1.2. Urbanisation in Turkey

The Republic of Turkey having taken its roots from the Ottoman Empire means that it is not out of order to commence this discussion from the Ottoman era in order to properly contextualise the subject. Even though there exist limited materials relating to urbanisation in the Ottoman Empire, a modest attempt to portray how this phenomenon took place in the empire has been made in this work. The Ottoman empire at its peak stretched beyond the present-day Turkey all the way to the borders of Vienna across the Balkans in the West and the whole of Anatolia in the East up to the Arabian Peninsula and portions of North Africa [Web 38, 2018]. Today's Turkey sits on two continents; the European and the Asian plates. Even though only 3 percent of Turkey is on the European plate [www.microarch.org/micro35/Turkey/DATA/FACTS.HTM], it participates in major European events including football tournaments and the European Capital of Culture among others. The remaining 97 percent land mass of Turkey on the Asian plate is what is called Anatolia (Asia Minor), locally rendered, '*Anadolu*' in the Turkish language.

Anatolia was barely settled even as late as the reigns of Fatih Sultan Mehmet (Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror) and Beyazid II whose eras corresponded to 1451 – 1481 and 1481 – 1512 respectively [Faroqhi, 1981]. The low populations in Anatolia was attributed to periods of prolonged warfare which forced population movements [Jennings, 1976]. There were however significant growths of towns beyond the aforementioned periods especially in the sixteenth century where the population of Anatolia grew by 59 percent between 1520/1530 and 1571/1580 [Barkan cited in Jennings, 1976]. Table 2.3 below summarises the urban population of some Anatolian cities in 16th century [Jennings, 1976].

Table 2.3: Urban Population of some 16th Century Anatolian Cities.

City / Year	1500	1523	1550	1585
Kayseri	6,861 - 8,005	7,092 - 8,274	10,590 - 12,355	24,753 - 28,879
Karaman	-	2,079 - 2,426	-	6,144 - 7,168
Amasya	-	5,970 - 6,965	-	9,978 - 11,641
Trabzon	-	4,419 - 5,156	4,923 - 5,744	6,366 - 7,427
Erzurum	-	0	100	1,644 - 1,918
Total	6,861 - 8,005	19,560 - 22,821	15,613 - 18,199	48,885 - 57,033

Even though growth of towns were seen throughout the empire, it is difficult to tell whether these growths happened at the same rate as population growths or whether the growths of towns were due to migration of populations after every conquest. In other words, it is difficult to tell whether urbanisation increased or decreased in the sixteenth century [Faroqhi, 1981]. What can however be stated with certainty is that, there was a general consistent increase in population as demonstrated in the selected cities above

(Table 2.3). Prior to the restoration of peace and tranquillity in Erzurum however, it had remained in ruins and '*emptied by wars*' such that even after the Ottomans' restoration in 1540, it was hardly inhabited for fear of outbreak of wars [Jennings, 1976].

Urbanisation was controlled even in the Ottoman era [Tunçer, 2015]. Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror used persuasive methods or sometimes by compulsion to make his subjects settle in newly conquered areas [Faroqhi, 1981] thus developing an urban settlement in the process. Also, Tunçer [2015] points out that, another way by which urbanisation was checked in the Ottoman Empire was to levy those leaving the rural areas for the urban centres.

It was reported that urban planning began late in the Ottoman period starting as late as the 19th century [Çetin, 2012]. In 1842, the first zoning plan was drawn with legal backings decreed later in 1847 known as the "Ebniye Regulation I and Ebniye Regulation II" but these were first implemented in 1849 [Çetin, 2012]. These laws provided for, among other things, proper alignment and spacing of buildings [Çetin, 2012]. This set of laws set the tone for future urban planning laws in the empire and later in the newly established Republic of Turkey. For instance, in 1854, for the proper planning and management of municipalities, *Şehremanetis* (municipalities) were established along Western standards [Çetin, 2012].

It is worthy of note that the desire to modernise did not start with the above, on the contrary, it started much earlier in the century in which according to Çetin [2012], a provision sighted in an 1839 document which indicated that narrow streets be widened; new buildings be constructed with stone blocks and new neighbourhoods be developed according to the principles of geometry. All these reforms in later years of the Ottoman Empire according to Yarasimos [1996 cited in Çetin, 2012] were aimed at transforming Ottoman cities into modern cities, the likes of which found in Europe. The Ebniye Law of 1882 was adjudged the Ottomans' most comprehensive urban law [Çetin, 2012] which entrusted the municipalities with the responsibility of drawing the maps of all burnt areas and the widening of roads [Tekeli, 2010: 60; Çelik, 1996: 37 cited in Çetin, 2012] within their jurisdictions.

This gives a brief description of urbanisation and city management and planning in the Ottoman Empire prior to the establishment of the Turkish Republic. It is quite clear that the process of 'modernisation' of Turkey did not start with the advent of the Republic. On the contrary, it started in the Ottoman days as indicated in the above literature. Even though it may be fair to criticise the Ottomans for the late adoption of modernism, an argument may be made to the effect that low population and scantily settled townships [Faroqhi, 1981] did not necessitate the drawing of urban plans to tackle urban problems which are only associated with high population growths and high urbanisation rates. Besides, there were no reported cases of sanitation problems or slum developments in the empire which further nails home the point that, urban problems may not be in existence in the early to middle years of the empire. Also, apart from the desire to modernise, the late adoption of urban planning policies can also be attributed to response to population changes as available reports indicate a consistent growth of urban population throughout the world.

Çetin [2012] maintains that even though modernisation started in the latter days of the Ottoman era, there is marked difference between the modernisation approach of the Ottomans and that of the Republican era. Whereas the Ottomans only sought to modernise certain areas of the empire, the Republican regime aimed at a holistic modernisation of Turkish society [Çetin, 2012].

The Republic era which took effect in 1923 commenced a period of new modernism with unique dynamics by adopting western ideals [Erman, 2001]. The creation of the Turkish republic culminated in the establishment of a new national capital. Istanbul, the historic capital of many great empires in the past had to cede governmental and state functions to Ankara, the new seat of government. This new status given to Ankara came along with it, a host of urban problems.

In the early years of the Republic, the most significant law relating to urban planning was the Village Law, 1924 (Act 442) which concerns the management and planning of villages, towns and cities [Sağlam, 2016]. In this law, distinction between rural and urban areas was made as previously indicated. The first population census that took place in Turkey was in 1927 and in that census, a total of 13,648,270 people was enumerated within the borders of the country [Sağlam, 2016]. The census also established that the population of Turkey was largely rural as only 24.22 percent of the total population lived in urban areas while the remaining 75.78 percent were rural dwellers [Sağlam, 2016;

TÜİK cite in Keskin, 2014]. This ratio remained almost unchanged until 1950 when a more significant wave of rural urban migration started [Sağlam, 2016; Keskin, 2014]. Before 1950, urbanisation across Turkey was less significant except for Ankara where the population increased from about 21,000 at the time it was made the capital to about 75,000 in 1927, more than tripling in the process [Sağlam, 2016].

Even though in the early years of the Republic migration did not significantly affect urban life across the country, a number of other phenomena however affected Turkey's rapidly developing urban areas. For instance, the 1922 Great Fires of Izmir which destroyed the city and its surroundings; and the intermittent Erzincan quakes which happened at least once every seven months between the years 1939 and 1944 which resulted in the collapse of about 200,000 buildings in Erzincan [Sağlam, 2016] significantly influenced urban planning reforms in Turkey.

Some new planning policies were adopted in the aftermath of the Great Fires of Izmir where the city was to be built anew and in the nation's pursuit of western modernism, Izmir was designed and rebuilt in line with western modernism, giving it a 'modern look' [Sağlam, 2016]. In addition to that, the existing housing problem at the time was tackled by adding about 3,000 new homes to the housing stock and bringing the fire raven areas under construction, reconstructing affected public buildings and adding new ones according to the needs of the day [Sağlam, 2016]. During the period of reconstruction of Izmir, in line with the 1925 agreement between the Turkish Government and the Government of Greece to exchange their respective citizens who lived on either side of the borders prior to the declaration of the Turkish Republican status, the '*refugees*' (Turks) who were brought from Greece were resettled in parts of Izmir and its environs [Sağlam, 2016].

The years leading up to the 1950's saw a systematic and consistent rural-urban migration [Sağlam, 2016: Keskin, 2014]. The mechanisation of agriculture in the rural areas; increase in cement production across the country; growth of construction sector and the gradual replacement of rural occupations by way of shifting production of goods for rural markets to the production of goods for urban markets among other reasons led to rural unemployment and rural poverty which necessitated rural dwellers to migrate to the cities [Keskin, 2014; Sağlam, 2016]. These factors formed the basis for the intense rural urban migration that hit Turkey in the 1950's [Sağlam, 2016: Keskin, 2014].

It is a well-established fact in Turkish literature that urbanisation started in earnest and in its most intense form in the 1950's [see, Candaş et al., 2016; Erman, 2001; and Keskin, 2016]. After 1948, much of the manual labour in the rural areas was replaced by machines, thus mechanising rural agriculture in the process [Sağlam, 2016: Keskin, 2014]. The major problem in Turkey's urban setting in the 1950's as identified by Keskin [2014] was lack of adequate industries due to insufficient number of technical people. Even though the industries in the cities were insufficient, the few available ones served as pull factors, drawing people from the rural areas in search of employment in the factories [Keskin, 2014].

The rural or the less developed areas of Turkey are largely the eastern and northern parts which are also the poorer regions in Turkey while the more industrialised and richer areas are the western and southern parts [Akarca and Tansel, 2015]. The movement of people over the years has therefore been from the poorer regions of the north and east to the much richer areas of the west and south [Akarca and Tansel, 2015]. It must be noted that, in a span of 60 years, 6-7 percent of the population of Turkey has moved from one province to another and as at 2015, about 39 percent of Turks lived in provinces other than their places of birth [Akarca and Tansel, 2015]. It is interesting to also note that, only 16 and 32 percent of residents of Istanbul and Ankara respectively were born there [Akarca and Tansel, 2015] indicating a majority migrant (non-indigenes) population in these two provinces. Akarca and Tansel [2015] also point out that, as at 2015, more than half of people born in 34 provinces of Turkey have moved to other provinces.

As earlier stated, urbanisation between 1923 to 1950 has fairly been stable, consistently within the range of 24-25 percent throughout the period [Çetin, 2012; Keskin, 2014; Akarca and Tansel, 2015] increasing to 42 percent in 1975; 65 percent in 2000; and then to 77 percent in 2011 [Akarca and Tansel, 2015]. However, as at the end of December 2016, with a population of 79,814,871, Turkey is 92.3 percent urbanised with the remaining 7.7 percent of the population living in rural areas [WEB 8, 2016].

Figure 2.1 Provinces of Turkey / bik.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/t%C3%BCrkiye-haritas%C4%B1.jpg

It is worthy of note that this high urbanisation rate in Turkey came about as a result of the decision to merge some rural communities with the nearest municipality for administrative purposes, thus becoming part of that municipality [WEB 8, 2016]. This process led to the illusively high percentage of urban dwellers in Turkey. The table below summarises the trend of urbanisation in Turkey [WEB 8, 2016].

Table 2.4: Urbanisation in Turkey since 2011.

Year	Rural Population	Urban Population	Total Population	Proportion of Urban Population (%)
2011	17,338,563	57,385,706	74,724,269	76.80
2012	**17,178,953**	**58,448,431**	**75,627,384**	**77.28**
2013	6,633,451	70,034,413	76,667,864	91.35
2014	6,409,722	71,286,182	77,695,904	91.75
2015	6,217,919	72,523,134	78,741,053	92.10
2016	6,143,123	73,671,748	79,814,871	92.30

The actual state of Turkey's urbanisation as has been pointed out by experts ranges between 75 – 80 percent. For instance, the World Bank [2015] estimated urbanisation in Turkey at 75 percent [Candaş et al., 2016]. Indeed, the last data prior to the merging of these rural areas with their respective nearby municipalities pegged urbanisation at 77 percent [WEB 8, 2016] as indicated in the table above. The Turkish Real Estate Investors and Developers' Association (GYODER) estimated that urbanisation in Turkey stands at 78 percent as at 2014 [TOKİ, 2014]. This is the state of urbanisation in Turkey and the following discussion introduces us to the situation in Ghana.

2.1.3. Urbanisation in Ghana

Urbanisation is said to be fed by migration [Keskin, 2014; Champion, 2012] and long before the arrival of the European colonialists, the people of West Africa had contact with those of North Africa in what was called the Trans-Saharan trade in which there was trading and exchange of scholars [Boahen, 1966 cited in Anarfi et al., 2003]. The arrival of the Europeans in the 15th century however changed the course of this interaction [Anarfi et al., 2003]. The movement of people, goods and services changed from south-north direction to north-south direction owing to the arrival of the Europeans along the West African coasts.

This phenomenon greatly influenced the urbanisation dynamics of Ghana as it will soon be seen in this section. As stated earlier, various countries have different definitions of an urban area. In Ghana, according to the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), a settlement is said to be urban if it is inhabited by at least 5000 people [WEB 39, 2012]. Urbanisation in Ghana is mainly skewed toward the southern half of Ghana with emphasis on the '*Golden Triangle*' of Accra-Tema; Sekondi-Takoradi and Kumasi owing to the natural endowment of '*exploitable and exportable*' natural resources in these parts of Ghana [Adarkwa, 2012; Cobbinah and Niminga-Beka, 2016; Yankson et al., 2012; Moller-Jensen and Knudsen, 2008]. For the purpose of clarity, Ghana has two major vegetation types which are the savannah zone in which the whole of northern Ghana is found and the forest zones covering most of southern Ghana especially the 'Golden Triangle'. Almost all the tradeable resources including timber, cocoa and precious minerals are found within the forest regions of Ghana.

The nature of Ghana's urban centres is to a large extent shaped by colonialism. The arrival of the British colonialists and their subsequent colonisation of the country influenced the Ghanaian urban fabric. The neglect of the northern parts of Ghana in terms of infrastructure development in favour of the well-endowed south later caused the influx of people from the north of Ghana to migrate to the south in search of *better life*. The existence of only few exploitable natural resources in northern Ghana [Dickson, 1968; Plange, 1979 cited in Fuseini et al., 2016] did not incentivise the British colonialists to *invest* in that part of the country as they did in the resource-rich south and consequently, the north became the 'labour reserve' for the mines and plantations in the south [Anarfi et al., 2003; Dickson, 1968; Plange, 1979 cited in Fuseini et al., 2016].

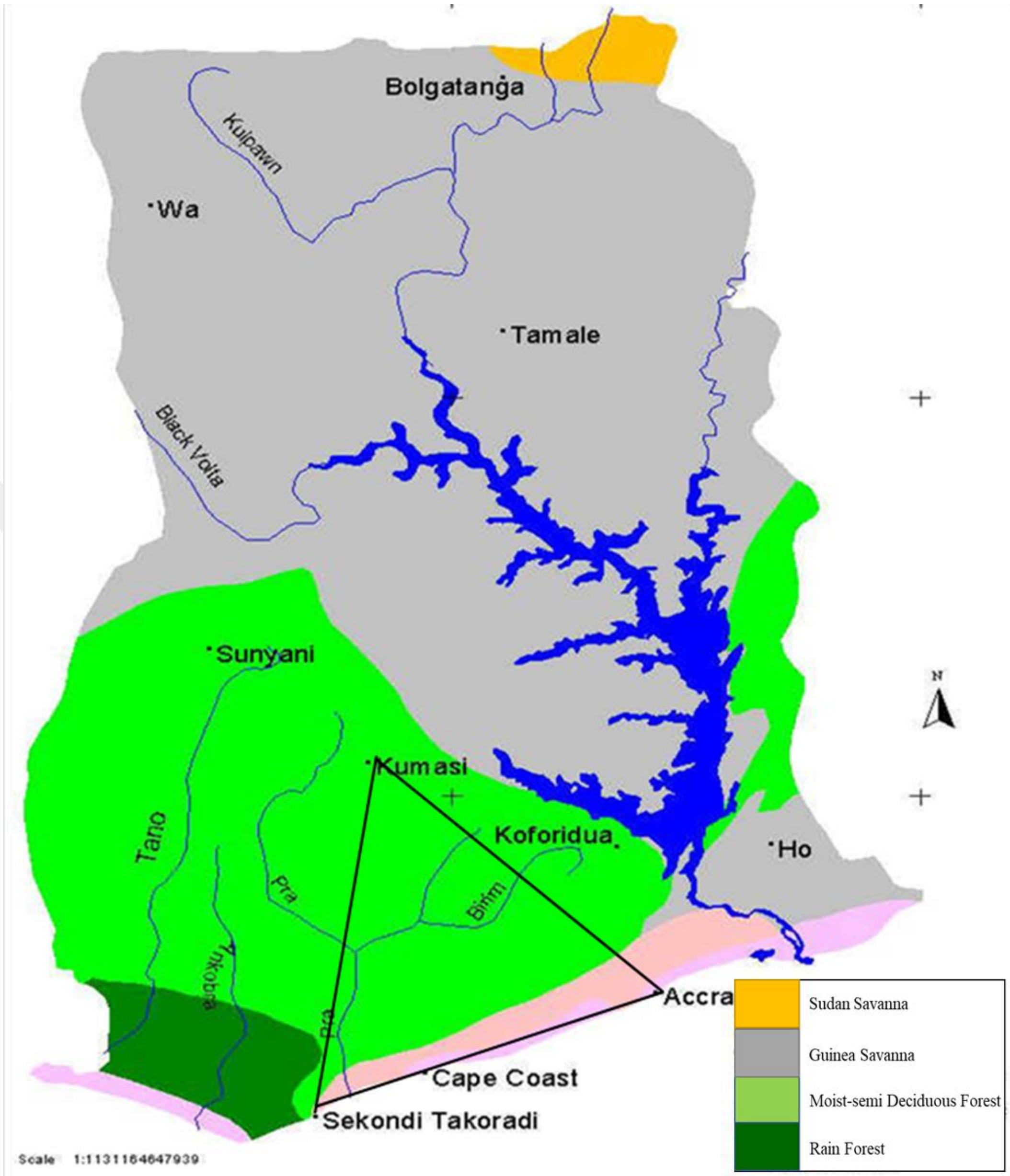

Figure 2.2: Vegetation Map of Ghana showing the 'Golden Triangle'

Even though the north of Ghana lacked the resources of the south, it still had some potential that could have been tapped into to balance the development gap between the two sides. For instance, Tamale, Ghana's third largest city [Adarkwa, 2012; Moller-Jensen and Knudsen, 2008] became the capital of the northern territories in 1907 [Staniland, 1975 cited in Fuseini et al., 2016] due to its strategic location. And by becoming the capital of the north, it became a centre of attraction, drawing people from all walks of life especially those from the rural north [Fuseini et al., 2016] and including Yorubas from Nigeria

[MacGraffey, 2006 cited in Fuseini et al., 2016] boosting its local economy in the process. Quite apart from that, the north was also endowed with cotton which was not exploited much earlier by both the colonial and post-independence governments [Fuseini et al., 2016].

On the contrary, the youth of the north were lured away from cotton production in the north to work in the mines of the south [Fuseini et al., 2016]. The 'acute' shortage of labour in the south -due to the unwillingness of the Akan people to work underground in the mines as they regarded it to be work for slaves only; and the shortage of supply of labour from Liberia due to the development of the rubber plantation in that country [Anarfi et al., 2003]- led the colonialists to lure the locals from the north to migrate to the mines in the south by organising regular tours of the mining towns so as to show the northern youth the *better life* experienced by their counterparts in the south, thus enticing them away from the north to migrate to the south [Dickson 1968 cited in Fuseini et al., 2016].

This affected the growth and development of Tamale and northern Ghana in general such that by 1945 some 45,000 people migrated to the south to work as labourers in the mines and by 1954 this figure rose to about 200,000 migrants [Anarfi et al., 2003]. It must also be noted that, World War II also contributed to the urbanisation dynamics of Ghana. For the purpose of enlistment into the army of the allied forces, large number of people from the West African sub-region made their way to Accra which was the headquarters of the Allied West African Military Operations [Yankson et al., 2012]. It is therefore not surprising that by 1960 only 13 percent of residents in the north lived in urban areas compared to the 72 percent of southerners [GSS 2005 cited in Fuseini et al., 2016].

The period after independence also saw significant rural migration from all over the country especially from the north to the urban centres [Fuseini and Kemp, 2015 cited in Cobbinah and Niming-Beke, 2016] in the south mostly Accra and Kumasi in which Cobbinah and Erdiaw-Kwasie [2016] described as 'the most dramatic social phenomenon' [cited in Cobbinah and Niming-Beke 2016]. Even though some maintain that, the high rate of natural increase in the 1970's may be the result of the rapid urbanisation of Ghanaian cities especially in the south [Yankson et al., 2012], WEB 39 2012 report however suggests that over 50 percent of residents in urban centres like Accra and Kumasi are migrants and mostly unskilled.

Available evidence also suggests that, during the early stages of urbanisation in Ghana, the huge development gap between the rural areas and the urban centres necessitated the movement of people from the villages and small towns to the cities as successive governments failed to reverse the infrastructure investment trends started by the colonialists. For instance, Songsore [2009] and Adarkwa [2012] reported about the continuous over-concentration of industries within the 'Golden Triangle' which further entrenched the north-south migration drive. Accra-Tema alone had about 60 percent of industries; Kumasi 16 percent; Sekondi-Takoradi 10 percent with only about 14 percent located outside of this 'triangle' [Adarkwa, 2012]. No wonder between 1950-1960 the urban population of Accra increased by a whopping 240 percent [Wood, 1970 cited in Cobbinah and Niming-Beke, 2016]. Since 1984 however, the urban primacy of Accra has reduced as some other urban areas have become centres of attraction, balancing the migration trend away from Accra in the process [The World Bank Group, 2015]. For instance, Accra's share of Ghana's total urban population reduced from 24.4 percent in 1984 to 16.6 percent in 2010 [The World Bank Group, 2015].

As a country, urbanisation has consistently been on the rise over the years [Moller-Jensen and Knudsen, 2008] increasing from 7 percent in 1921 to 50.9 percent in year 2010 through 9.4 percent in 1931; then to 13.9 percent in 1948; 23 percent in 1960; 28.9 percent in 1970; 31.3 percent in 1984; and then to 43.9 percent in 2000 [Abu-Salia et al., 2015; Owusu, 2010; Yankson et al., 2012]. Current estimates suggest that 55 percent of Ghanaians live in urban areas as at 2015 [Adarkwa, 2012].

Table 2.5: Proportion of Ghanaians in Urban Centres of Ghana.

Year	Percentage of Urban Population
1921	7.0%
1931	9.4%
1948	13.9%
1960	23.0%
1970	28.9%
1984	31.3%
2000	43.8%
2010	50.9%

It is therefore safe to argue that, this mass movement of people southwards necessitated the formal regulation of urban growth and this culminated in the promulgation of the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1945 (Cap 84) along with a host of other legislations which were passed in the 1990's initiating a nationwide urban planning regime [Cobbinah and Niming-Beke, 2016]. The Cap 84 provided the legal basis for the establishment of the Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD) which is tasked with the responsibility of managing 'Ghanaian cities, towns and villages based on the master planning approach which was used in separating conflicting land uses dating back to the 1800's in Europe' [Njoh, 2009; Wekwele, 1995 cited in Cobbinah and Niming-Beke, 2016].

The rapid rate of urbanisation in Ghana was met with great optimism because it presented a great opportunity for the country to pursue economic growth and development. Speaking at the Consultative Workshop for the Ghana Urbanization Review, on June 3, 2014, this view was re-echoed by the former Deputy Minister for Local Government and Rural Development, Hon. Baba Jamal (MP) when he said;

"*No country in the industrial age has ever achieved significant economic growth without urbanization. Hence, as Ghana is urbanizing rapidly, it is critical to find ways to surmount challenges associated with urbanization and devise strategies with accompanying investments that could leverage the benefits of urban development and management*" [quoted in World Bank Group, 2015].

Available evidence points to the fact that in the last three decades, the rapid urbanisation witnessed in Ghana did indeed coincide with rapid GDP growth [World Bank

Group, 2015]. However due to various reasons such as inability of Ghanaian cities to cope with rising populations; and low level of industrialisation of Ghanaian cities [World Bank Group, 2015], several problems associated with urbanisation have emerged, thus reducing the quality of life and 'impoverishing the environment' [Oteng-Ababio and Agyemang, 2012]. Urbanisation is therefore not the problem but failing to plan towards it, is. The former president of Ghana, H.E. John D. Mahama states;

"*[Ghana's] increasingly youthful and urbanised population presents great opportunities if we harness and handle it properly, or it could pose grave danger if we do not plan properly for it*" [quoted in World Bank Group 2015].

These statements by government officials indicate that the opportunities and threats of urbanisation have been recognised by the echelons of power and what now remains is commitment to pursue programmes and policies to harness the advantages of urbanisation while guarding against its threats. Even though the colonial approach to urban planning was deemed successful due to its strict compliance [Fuseini and Kemp, 2015], it was also criticised for contributing to segregation in planning as areas inhabited by the Europeans had the best of amenities with good layouts while those places occupied by indigenes lacked many of these amenities because different standards were applied in different places [Adarkwa, 2012; Grant and Yankson 2013 cited in Cobbinah and Niming-Beke, 2016]. This residential segregation can be said to set the tone for the emergence of what is to be known as 'slum settlement' in areas mostly occupied by the indigenes. It is worthy of note that, even after independence, this segregation continued in a form that replaced the Europeans with the wealthy local business and political elites residing in the well-planned communities. It is therefore a common occurrence in Ghana to find two diametrically opposing communities separated only by roads.

2.2. Slum / Slum Settlement[2]

To a large extent, the definition of slum remains localised. This is because, term *slum* as it is known, has local connotations in many places in different parts of the world

[2] These terms are used interchangeably in this work unless otherwise stated.

depending on which country or geographical location one is considering. For instance, in North America, terms like *shantytowns*, *ghettos* and *decayed inner-cities* in the case of European literature are used while referring to slum. In Brazil, the commonest term used is *favela* while the term *gecekondu* is the one used in Turkey to refer to slum settlements or slum buildings. In Ghana, event though no specific local term exists, a term like 'zongo' is commonly been used in public discourses. In Abu-Salia et al. [2015] and in Paller [2015] however, conscious effort was made to distinguish between the various types of slum settlements in Ghana. This has been explored further in subsequent sections of this work.

Over the years, *hairs have been split* among scholars as to what precisely constitute slum. The definition of slum for universal application has therefore remained a thorny issue till date [Khalifa, 2011]. Many forms of settlements, according to Khalifa [2011], by virtue of exhibiting some form of unacceptable living or regulatory conditions could constitute slum. Indeed, the UN-Habitat had earlier indicated in its 2006/7 State of Worlds' Cities' report that, there are buildings that could qualify as slums even though they may appear durable on the outside. In this circumstance, identifying some types of slums goes beyond just the physical appearances of those buildings. Settlements such as decaying inner-city tenements, squatter settlements, informal settlements and shantytowns could all constitute slums [Khalifa, 2011]. In Mexico for example, seven (7) types of living tenements with their distinct local terminologies all fall under slum condition [Sudra, 1982].

The UN-Habitat has proposed five characteristic features of a 'prosperous city' and among these is that, a city must strive to reduce poverty and inequalities among its residents. In achieving this, such city is expected to reduce the incidence of slum development. In rapidly urbanising developing countries however, there is high incidence of slum formation which is mostly associated with migration of people into the cities. From among the many reasons why people migrate to the cities is the hope of securing a better livelihood for the migrants themselves and their families [Lloyd, 1979]. However, since all, especially the unskilled and the less educated from among the migrants cannot secure better paying jobs, the 'unfortunate' from among them are compelled to put up with life 'on the margins of the economy' [Lloyd, 1979]. Again, once these groups of migrants are unable to secure proper paying jobs, acquiring a decent place of residence becomes out of their reach and in the end, allocate to themselves portions of urban lands for habitation and these habitations are usually found under unpleasant conditions [Lloyd, 1979].

Even though this migration argument as a cause of urban slum may hold true in many instances, Fox [2014] convincingly argued that, migration in and of itself does not give rise to slums. He buttressed his arguments further by intelligently comparing urbanisation in Accra, Ghana and Phoenix, Arizona, USA where both had witnessed rapid urbanisation between the years 1960 and 1990 and whereas the former had experienced slum growth, the latter had seen no slum growth even though it had seen higher urbanisation rate than the former. Fox [2014] therefore asserts that the underinvestment in urban areas, ineffective population policies, dearth of urban research among others are to blame for the wanton spread and persistence of urban slums in developing countries. He further maintains that indeed, slums can also occur due to urban population contraction as occurred during the de-industrialisation process of some industrialised cities [UN-Habitat 2003]. Quite apart from these, it has also been widely reported that some in their bid to escape payment of (high) rent and rates deliberately choose to live in cheaper residential tenements with poor living conditions and which in themselves qualify as slum tenements [Eyre, 1990]. Slums therefore, as maintained by Fox [2014], emerge and persist due to urban poverty and are therefore indications of underinvestment in housing infrastructure.

Generally, slum refers to an unauthorised settlement usually with poor quality house types that lacks adequate supply of services which results in poor sanitation, (in)security problems and a continuous poverty cycle among others. According to UN-Habitat, at least *one* out of the following five (5) conditions known as 'the five shelter deprivation indicators' is featured in a slum; inadequate access to safe water; inadequate access to sanitation and infrastructure; poor structural quality of housing; overcrowding and insecure residential status. These five criteria have been explained below by the UN-Habitat 2006:

"*1. Access to improved water: This indicator concerns the access to sufficient water for family use, at an affordable price, available to household members without being subject to extreme effort.*

2. Access to improved sanitation: This indicator concerns access to an excreta disposal system, either in the form of a private toilet or a public toilet shared with a reasonable number of people.
3. Sufficient living area: A dwelling unit is considered to provide a sufficient living area for the household members if there are fewer than three people per habitable room.
4. Durability of housing: This indicator shows the percentage of households living in a housing unit considered as 'durable', i.e. those houses built on a non-hazardous location and with a permanent structure that is adequate to protect its inhabitants from the extremes of local climatic conditions such as rain, heat, cold, humidity.
5. Security of tenure: Evidence of documentation to prove secure tenure status or de facto or perceived protection from evictions." [UN-Habitat, 2006 quoted in Martinez et al., 2008].

The implication is that, any settlement lacking at least one of the above can be subject to any slum upgrade project [Tomlinson, 2015]. The World Bank [2008 cited in Khalifa, 2011] also defines slums as 'informal areas suffering from problems of accessibility, narrow streets, the absence of vacant lands and open spaces, very high residential densities and insufficient infrastructure and services'. As previously stated, urban pressures exerted by uncontrolled flow of people into cities among other reasons give rise to slum development. Even though access to decent housing is regarded as a fundamental human right, a good number of people around the world live in deplorable housing. As at 2001, over 1 billion people -most of whom from developing countries- were living in 'unacceptable condition of poverty' and this figure is expected to rise in the coming years if nothing is done to reverse this trend [UN-Habitat 2006 cited in Desai, 2012; Martinez et al., 2008; Pitcher, 2009 cited in Khalifa, 2011].

The first time of use of the slum term in literature has also come under scrutiny. Various reports attribute its first use to various accounts. For instance, Dyos [1967 cited in Dürr, 2012] reported about the first appearance of the 'slum' term in literature in James Hardy Vaux's '*A New and Comprehensive Vocabulary of Flash Language*' [1812] in which it was defined as simply, '*a room*'. However, its meaning later in the 1820's went through various metamorphoses including;

'*a slang expression for various kinds of tavern and eating house for loose talk and gipsy language and more vaguely for a room in which how goings-on occur*' [Dyos, 1967: 7-8 cited in Dürr, 2012].

Desai [2012] also submits that, the term *slum* was first used in Europe in the 19th century to refer to;

'*areas of low-income housing, areas of overcrowded and dilapidated housing occupied by people who cannot afford even the cheapest dwellings available in urban areas*'.

It is further claimed that, it was first used to refer to a poor residential facility under unhygienic conditions and this occurred in the 1820's [Lemma, 2005: 9 cited in Khalifa, 2011]. In addition to these accounts, Ward [1976] and later Gilbert [2007] also indicated that, the term was 'originally used to refer to the overcrowded, squalid inner-city tenements of industrialising cities in Europe and North America' [both cited in Fox, 2014].

As unpleasant attributes were then associated with the term, thus giving it a generally disapproving tone, various calls have been made to the use of more *acceptable* term [Dürr, 2012; Ezeh et al., 2016]. The outbreak of diseases, contagion and congestion in the second half of the 19th century was also associated with the urban poor in Victorian England [Dürr, 2012; Kandaloğlu, 2016] hence, adding to the already disapproving meaning of the term. Owing to this degrading meaning of the term, others have therefore suggested terminology like 'informal settlement' be used in place of 'slum' [Ezeh, et al., 2016]. However, as seen in various literature today, the *slum* term which has now become a major distinguishing feature between cities of the developed North and those of the less developed South [Dürr, 2012] is continuously being used by the UN and other world bodies to refer to settlements lacking at least one of the five adequate shelter conditions outlined by the UN-Habitat.

The definition given by the UN-Habitat did not however emerge without criticism. It is argued that, the lack of encompassing and clearer definition of the term often led to overestimation of the problem in some countries and this affects appropriate policies to deal with the real threat it poses [Khalifa, 2011]. For instance, Khalifa [2011] points out that, the UN-Habitat's five characteristic features of slums failed to include the social dimension since all five were physical in nature. He further states that, these five features have not been ranked according to severity such that two settlements with different levels of deprivation of those features will both be regarded as slums. There are policy implications in this regard because each of these two settlements will require different levels of resource commitment and investments in order to rid them of the slums. He also argues that efforts made to improve one of the five shelter deprivation will still fail to move a settlement that suffers from more than one of the five deprivations from a status of *slumness* to a non-slum status.

With the UN-Habitat's definition in operation, Egypt for example was reportedly home to four (4) of the world's thirty (30) 'mega slums', constituting about 40 percent of urban residents across Egypt [Davis, 2006 cited in Khalifa, 2011], even though majority of those settlements were only 'deprived of improved sanitation' [Khalifa, 2011]. After a revision in the definition of 'adequate sanitation in urban areas', Egypt now has only about 17.5 percent of its urban population as slum dwellers, constituting about 5.4 million Egyptians [UN-Habitat 2008 cited in Khalifa, 2011]. The description of slum has thenceforth been given further clarity as recorded in the UN-Habitat 2008 report in which slums have been categorised into, 'moderately deprived (one shelter deprivation)'; 'severely deprived (two shelter deprivation)' and 'extremely deprived (three or more deprivation)'. With this new categorisation, only 1 percent of the urban population of Egypt lives under extremely deprived condition [Khalifa, 2011].

Another concept worthy of note is *squatter settlement*. The point must be made that, even though both squatter settlement and (some) slums are illegal settlements, it is opined that, their *illegalness* stem from different perspectives. The distinction between these two terminologies is necessary because of its likely effect on policy just like in the case of distinction between slums of varying levels of deprivation. That is to say that, policies that may be formulated for the purpose of slum removal need to acknowledge these differences so as to prescribe the most effective policy action. That said, it is essential to recognise that squatter settlements could also fall under the bigger 'umbrella' of slum [Khalifa, 2011]. In fact, Khalifa [2011] posits that, slum does not only mean 'indecent and miserable living conditions but also implies other aspects such as informality or squatter settlements.

A squatter settlement according to Desai [2012] refers to '*an illegal urban development usually predominantly residential, neither owned nor rented by its occupants*'. It is established from the above definition of squatter settlement that, the underlying principle is 'ownership' or 'right of entry' of the said property regardless of the physical characteristics and services available to the occupant. This does not however detract from the definition given by the UN-Habitat because the fifth (5^{th}) condition talks about title or ownership. Informal or squatter settlements come in various forms. They may be ‘substandard (construction methods or materials), illegal or disrespecting buildings laws and planning regulations’ [Khalifa, 2011].

For the purpose of this research however, the term ‘slum’ shall mean the definition given by the UN-Habitat since in the long run, all types of slum settlements have the same effect - signs of poverty in the urban setting. This problem got to a heed such that it formed part of the UN’s Millennium Development Goals (MDG’s), known as MDG 7, Target 11 which commits member states of the UN to ‘… *by 2020 to have achieved a significant improvement in in the lives of at least hundred million slum dwellers*’ [UN-Habitat 2004 quoted in Martinez, Mbuop, Sliuzas and Stein, 2008: Khalifa, 2011].

Generally, slums are said to originate spontaneously in a ‘*planless*’ fashion [Stokes, 1962], such that it becomes difficult to realign them with a city’s planning scheme, hence rendering them ‘*antiplan*’ [Stokes, 1962]. Both old and new literature allude to two basic types of slums based on the mental state of the inhabitants. These include, ‘slums of hope’ and ‘slums of despair’ [see for example Stokes, 1962: Dürr, 2012]. Whereas the inhabitants of the former foresee a time when they will move out of the slums to a more dignified environment, the latter lacks this kind of expectation [Stokes, 1962]. In the ensuing sections, the slum prevalence[3] in the two worlds - the developed world which mostly comprises countries in the global North and the developing world, which also comprises of countries mostly in the global South- has been examined.

2.2.1. Slum Prevalence in Developed Countries

Even though the first written meaning of ‘slum’ was reportedly done in 1812 [Dyos, 1967:7-8 cited in Dürr, 2012], the earliest known slum research was carried out in 1844 by Engel Frederick in England where English slums were reported to exist in the ‘worst parts of a town with congested housing of three to four rooms’ [Das, 2006]. This however seemingly contradicts Bose and Ghosh [2015] who posit that New York City created the

[3] Slum prevalence used throughout this work shall refer to what the UN refers to as the proportion of urban residents living slums.

first slum in the world in the 1820's based on Charles Dickens' 1842 'Five Points, Manhattan, 1825'. The two reports critically considered reveal that, it is quite possible to have an existing slum in New York without any study done on it, while a later study on slums in England could be the first to be conducted in the world. In any case, what is of essence is the fact that, documentary evidence suggests that slum occurrence in the world first happened in the most developed parts of today's world. It must also be noted that, the later slum studies in England were not based on the originally understood definition of *slum* but based on its commonly understood meaning of the time and of today's slum as highlighted in the wording of the findings of the report. Moving forward, it is safe to suggest that, the first emergence of slum anywhere in the world commenced in the 19th century.

Goff [2016] informs us of the various shantytowns in Concord, US of America in the 1840's where construction workers, mostly migrants from Ireland constructed various structures made of inferior materials of '*rough boards*' along rail-lines during the construction of the rails between 1843-1844. According to Thoreau, what distinguished a shanty from a house was 'time and intention' [Goff, 2016]. While he constructed his house leisurely, shanty dwellers built theirs in haste because they were homeless, hence while his intention was to live far away in the woods, that of shanty dwellers was out of necessity [Goff, 2016]. These shanties also existed in the 20th century in various forms and in today's America [see Stokes, 1962; Cross, 1990; Goff, 2016].

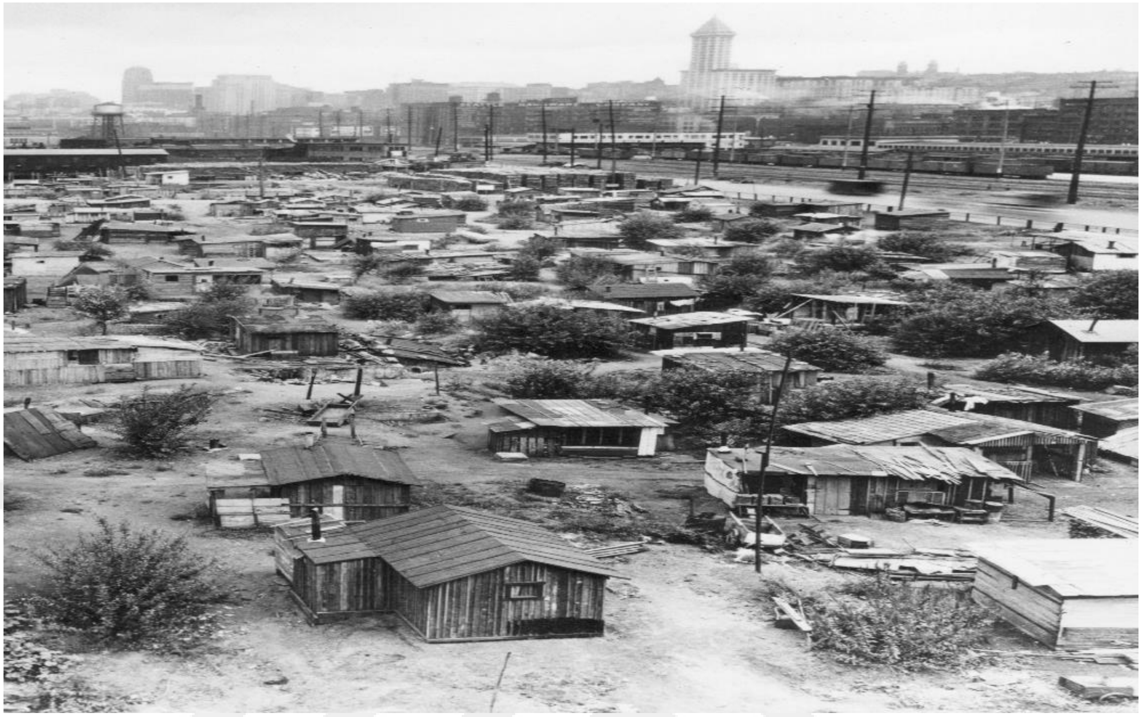

Image 2.1: '*Hoovervilles*' in Washington DC, 1932.

Slums, also known as shantytowns in the US of America continued during the Great Depression. It was reported that a group of World War I veterans who referred to themselves as 'Bonus Expeditionary Forces' came from all over the United States and encamped in Washington DC to demand from President Hoover and Congress that their bonuses be paid early [Goff, 2016]. This newly built shantytown which was named 'Hoovervilles' in 'honour' of President Hoover was however short-lived when about 100 troops were deployed to burn it down only weeks after its creation, by which time Hoovervilles had already spread to different cities across the country [Goff, 2016].

Image 2.2: ‘*Hoovervilles*’ in flames in 1932.

From the above, it is safe to suggest that the battle against slum formation in the US started at its birth. The 1930’s also witnessed a number of housing policies to tackle the slum phenomenon in the USA. For instance, in 1933, there was the Industrial Recovery Act which sought to address the problems associated with slums and in doing so, it permitted the use of public funds to finance public housing and slum eradication [Ejigiri, 1986]. There was also the US Housing Act which superseded the 1933 Act and can be credited with the later creation of the US Public Housing Act [USCA 1401 cited in Ejigiri, 1986]. The goal of providing ‘… a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family’ was envisaged in 1949 [Ejigiri, 1986]. To achieve this, various ‘ambitious’ housing programmes and policies were announced and implemented. They included; housing subsidies, public-private partnerships, rent supplements among others [Ejigiri, 1986]. Despite all these attempts at eradicating slums in the US, the dream of ‘providing decent homes to all Americans’ remains a distant reality [Welfeld, 1980 cited in Ejigiri, 1986].

Apart from the shantytowns of the 19th century and those of the first half of the 20th century, other forms of slum development emerged in the United States in the 1950’s and they continue to exist till today albeit proportionally less significant. These settlements are known as the ‘colonias’ and are formed along the Texas – Mexico border hosting more than 400 thousand people [Goff, 2016]. They have similar characteristics of slums around the world, be they the American shantytowns of old, the favelas of Brazil, the Bastees of India [Goff, 2016] and Bangladesh, or the Gecekondus of Turkey. These colonies lack basic amenities like piped drinking water, sewerage, electricity and many others [True, 1996 cited in Goff, 2016]. The existence of ghettos in the United States which are also forms of slums are well documented [see Cross, 1990]. Others include the Trailer Park; contemporary homeless encampments and informal migrant labour camps; and protest camps dotted across the country [Goff, 2016]. Owing to the 2008 financial meltdown, several shantytowns and tent cities emerged in some US cities such as Seattle, Portland and San Francisco [Goff, 2016].

Quite apart from that, there are some new forms of slums that emerged in the US due to (mis)planning and public policies. For instance, the experience in Windy Ridge, Charlotte, suggests that poor planning can result in slum development [Sorensen et al., 2014]. Also, public housing has been identified to have the potential of creating slums due to poor maintenance and management among a host of other reasons [Newman, 1973 cited in Ejigiri, 1986]. Newman [1973] further argued that, public housing is an embodiment of poverty when he note;

“The stigma of poverty and minority group membership has been stamped into public housing. It has been made to appear as different as possible from its surroundings by setting off their dwellings, stigmatizing them with ugliness; saying with every status symbol available in the architectural language of our culture, that living here is falling short of the human state’ [Newman 1973, quoted in Ejigiri, 1986].

Being the subject of the first ever written study on slums [Das, 2006], the topic of slum is hardly discussed without some mention of Great Britain. Despite the emergence of slums in England earlier in the 1840’s [Das, 2006], England only saw remarkable slum clearance policies between 1930’s and 1970’s during which period about a million buildings were demolished and some 1.6 million buildings reconstructed [Carter, 2012]. Much earlier before the 1930’s, there was a serious backlog of slum dwellings that needed replacement such that from the 1890’s, about 800 thousand houses were needed to replace the slums and at the same time, make up the already-existing housing deficit [Marmaras, 2015]. It was also reported that, in 1819, there was a housing deficit of around 610 thousand [Stevenson, 1984: p221 cited in Marmaras, 2015] and between 1875 and 1930, less than 200 thousand slum dwellers had been removed and resettled [Marmaras, 2015]. During that period, England had to grapple with two main issues, viz; slum clearance and decongestion of overcrowded dwellings [Marmaras, 2015].

In an attempt to deal with these issues, various legislations were enacted. For instance, the Artisans and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act, 1875 which empowered local authorities to clear entire 'districts of slums' [Marmaras, 2015]. There was also the Housing for the Working Classes Act, 1890 which facilitated the 'construction of housing for general needs' [Wohl, 1977 cited in Marmaras, 2015]. Notwithstanding the above legislations, the one legislation that gave the much-needed boost to the efforts of slum clearance was the Housing Act, 1930 which 'introduced a new subsidy system specifically for slum clearance' [Marmaras, 2015] and this along with other slum policies implemented after 1930 facilitated the demolition of about 1 million slums and the reconstruction of about 1.6 new homes [Carter, 2012].

Image 2.3: View of the Heygate Estate in the Walworth London, England.

As standards of living improves, it is expected that physical conditions of housing improve in like manner. After the 1950's, physical conditions of housing in England improved and as such, 'new standards' emerged in the definition of slum housing in the UK [Carter, 2012]. This further reiterates the position of earlier scholars about the difficulties in the definition of slum for universal application [see Stokes, 1962]. That said, the five (5) characteristics put forth by the UN-Habitat can be said to have, -to a large extent-, resolved this difficulty. Some of the standards that emerged in the definition of 'poor housing' included; repair works, modernity of bathrooms and kitchens and insulation standards [Carter, 2012].

By these 'new standards' it was therefore sufficient for a house to be deemed a slum if it fell short of the standards as shown on Image 2.3 above [gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo] and rightly so, as Carter [2012] maintained, there were parts of the 21st century UK that deserve the slum label despite the general improvements in physical conditions of buildings in the country. In 1996 for instance, as much as 53 percent of social sector housing and 43 percent of private sector housing failed to reach the new standards [Carter, 2012]. As maintained by Carter [2012], most parts of these slums had similar characteristics as any slum in any part of the world. Carter [2012] also reports that, 'the worst parts were dirty, dangerous and frightening places whose inhabitants live lives that were sharply distinct from those of most of their fellow citizens'.

Image 2.4: Roma Camp, France.

Just like many other European countries, France also faced a period of post-World War II reconstruction followed by slum clearance and then 'modernisation' of urban areas [Couch et al., 2011]. The slums in France are mostly confined to the inner cities where many high-rise buildings that were built in the 1970's to address the housing needs of the time are found [Couch et al., 2011] like the form demonstrated on Image 2.5 below [Web 28, 2016]. Other examples come in the form shown on Image 2.4 above [Web 29, 2016]. Owing to long periods of deterioration, these tenements were being abandoned by the well-to-do tenants [Couch et al., 2011], leaving behind a concentration of the urban poor in these neighbourhoods. Couch, Sykes and Bortstinghaus [2011] further report of the acute unemployment rate in these areas known as the 'critical urban zones' *(zones urbaines sensibles*) and in line with the real consequence of inequalities as a major feature of deprived communities, we have been informed again by Couch, Sykes and Bortstinghaus [2011] of major riots that erupted in many French cities in 2005 'leading to a renewed debate' on the 'crisis in the slums' (*crise des banlieues*).

Image 2.5: French *Banlieue*.

Reports of urban decline and a resultant formation of slums in Lisbon and Porto, Portugal's biggest cities have also been documented. Housing policy decisions by the government may have played a role in the physical deterioration of many Portuguese buildings. Branco and Alves [ca. 2016] report that, the freezing of rents at a very low level by the government did not incentivise or enable home owners to renovate and maintain their buildings. We are further informed that in Lisbon and Porto, many people lived without basic amenities like electricity and water in slums during the early years of the 20th century and this carried on up to the early 1990's [Branco and Alves, ca.2016].

As per the 2011 census in Portugal, Branco and Alves [ca. 2016] noted that, over a million buildings in Portugal required repairs and of these, about 400 thousand required significant works. Various measures were adopted by the Portuguese government to improve housing conditions across Portugal. These initiatives started in the 1960's and 1970's with laws and policies mainly seeking the protection of historical sites and the clearance of slums [Branco and Alves, ca.2016]. This further dragged into the 1980's and 1990's where more comprehensive housing and urban reforms took a holistic approach on poverty alleviation, urban pilot projects and others based on EU recommendations

[Branco and Alves, ca.2016]. The 2000's also saw the implementations of some policies based on 'public space and market-led urban regeneration [Branco and Alves, ca.2016]. Urban Rehabilitation[4] Societies (SRU) were established over the years with the responsibility of managing and implementing urban regeneration projects across the country in collaboration with the various municipalities and central government agencies [Branco and Alves, ca.2016]. The law establishing the mandate of the SRU's states;

"an integrated form of intervention on the existing urban tissue where the urbanistic and real-estate patrimony should be maintained, in its whole or in a substantial part, and modernized through remodelling works or improvements in urban infrastructures, urban or public spaces and equipment and through works of construction, reconstruction, enlargement, restructuring, recovery or demolition of buildings" [Law 32/2012, 14 August, Article 2 quoted in Branco and Alves, ca.2016].

Australia also had a fair share of slum presence. Like in many of the developed countries of today, the slum menace in Australia also dates back to the 19th century and were as deplorable as slums found in any part of the world [Mayne, 1995]. The following were statements attributed to one Melbourne Jeremiah concerning the presence of slums in Australia;

"Australian tourists who partake of those insipid experiences referred to as 'tours by night of London's slums and underworld,' need not pride themselves that 'there is nothing like that in Australia.' No, as yet we have not resorted to the stupid practice of taking mobs of pop-eyed visitors heaped into charabancs to have a peep at our 'slums and underworld,' ... [There were nonetheless] slum conditions in this city as miserably desolating as in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Birmingham, Hull or London." [Jeremiah, 1933 quoted in Mayne, 1995].

This proclamation testifies to the existence and reality of the slum problem in Australia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The problem continued to plague not just Sydney and Melbourne, but across all towns and cities in Australia up to the middle of the 20th century when various state housing agencies were set up to tackle this problem [Mayne, 1995].

[4] This term is used interchangeably with 'Regeneration' in Branco and Alves (ca. 2016).

Despite the fact that slum settlements are alive and well in the developed world of today, the efforts made -albeit not without difficulties- by these governments in the fight against this phenomenon over the years have helped reduce its prevalence to a large extent. As indicated, the various policies aimed at slum eradication and the provision of public housing in some cases have worked in the reverse. Failure of some of these previous policies have compelled many governments around the world especially in the developed world to adopt urban regeneration policies. As a major component of this research, a full chapter (third chapter) has been devoted to this concept. The next section however focuses on the slum situations in the developing world.

2.2.2. Slum Prevalence in Developing Countries

More than a billion people are reportedly living in slums around the world and without any change in government policies, this figure is expected to rise to 1.4 billion by 2020 [UN-Habitat 2006 cited in Desai, 2012; Martinez et al., 2008; Pitcher, 2009 cited in Khalifa, 2011]. The prevalence of slum settlements is highest in developing countries especially in Asia, Africa and in South America (UN-Habitat). As at 2005, 72 percent of urban residents of sub-Saharan Africa lived in slum followed by those of South Asia at 57 percent; East Asia at 37 percent and then Latin America at 31 percent [Beall and Fox, 2007 cited in Desai, 2012]. It is also estimated that 1 in 3 people living in cities of developing countries lives in slum [Desai, 2012] and this ratio is similar in the case of Kolkata where slum dwellers also account for one-third of the population [Schenk, 2010]. Hosting only about 13 percent of urban dwellers of developing regions, the slum problem is worst in Africa, contributing about 25 percent of total slum population of developing regions [Fox, 2014].

According to the UN-Habitat [2012] data however, the percentage of urban dwellers living in slums has reduced across the board in the above-mentioned regions of the developing world. For instance, Sub-Saharan Africa still remains the region with the highest prevalence of slum settlements at 62 percent; Southern Asia at 35 percent; Western Asia 25 percent; Latin America and the Caribbean at 24 percent and North Africa recording the least prevalence rate at 13 percent. The reduction in these rates should not be construed to mean a contradiction of earlier reports which predicted increase in the number of slum dwellers in the coming years. This is because the actual figures of these percentages are likely to have increased compared to the previous figures.

Various reports from India and the Indian sub-continent do not paint pleasant picture about the prevalence of slum in that part of the world. For instance, the slum experience in India is said to have started about 150 years ago especially in Kolkata [Bose and Ghosh, 2015]. And despite this long history of slums in Kolkata, various reports suggest that about a third of residents of Kolkata are slum dwellers [Schenk, 2010; Gupta and Baghel, 1999: Bose and Ghosh, 2015]. New Delhi, India's capital is not also without slum prevalence. A reported 50 percent of its 18 million residents live in slum [Delhi Human Development Report 2006 cited in Banergee et al., 2012]. Image 2.6 below provides a picturesque view of an Indian *bastee* [Web 42, 2015].

Image 2.6: Safeda Bastee slum, New Delhi, India.

Still in India, Eyre [1990] reported that, slums in Bombay were among the worst in any part of the world and by year 2000, a projected figure of 10.85 million out of its projected population of 15.70 million people were expected to live in slums. However, as at 2011, a confirmed estimate of half of its 12 million residents was reportedly living in slums [UN-Habitat, 2012]. It has also been reported that, Mumbai (Bombay) is the city with the most number of slum dwellers in the world [Subbaraman and Murthy, 2015].

Latin America and the Caribbean slums make up to 24 percent of the world's slum prevalent rate [UN-Habitat, 2012]. It is therefore befitting that the slum situation of some parts of this region is examined. Favela, as it is known in Brazil originally referred to a built-up area of poor housing that appeared in the late 19th century [O'Hare and Barke, 2003] or the early 20th century [Freire-Medeiros et al., 2013]. The term is now also extensively used to refer to squatter settlements [Freire-Medeiros et al., 2013]. Morro de Providencia was the biggest earliest favela to emerge in Brazil in the year 1898. This neighbourhood was annexed and settled by the veterans who took part in the fight against the 'rebel' Antonio Conselheiro and could not find shelter upon their return which resulted in the creation of about 100 shacks by 1904 [Web 37, 2014; O'Hare and Barke, 2003]. The growth of shacks increased steadily over the years and by 1910, there were about 1,314 shacks in Santo Antonio favela [Web 37, 2014]. The following image shows examples of favelas [Freire-Medeiros et al., 2013].

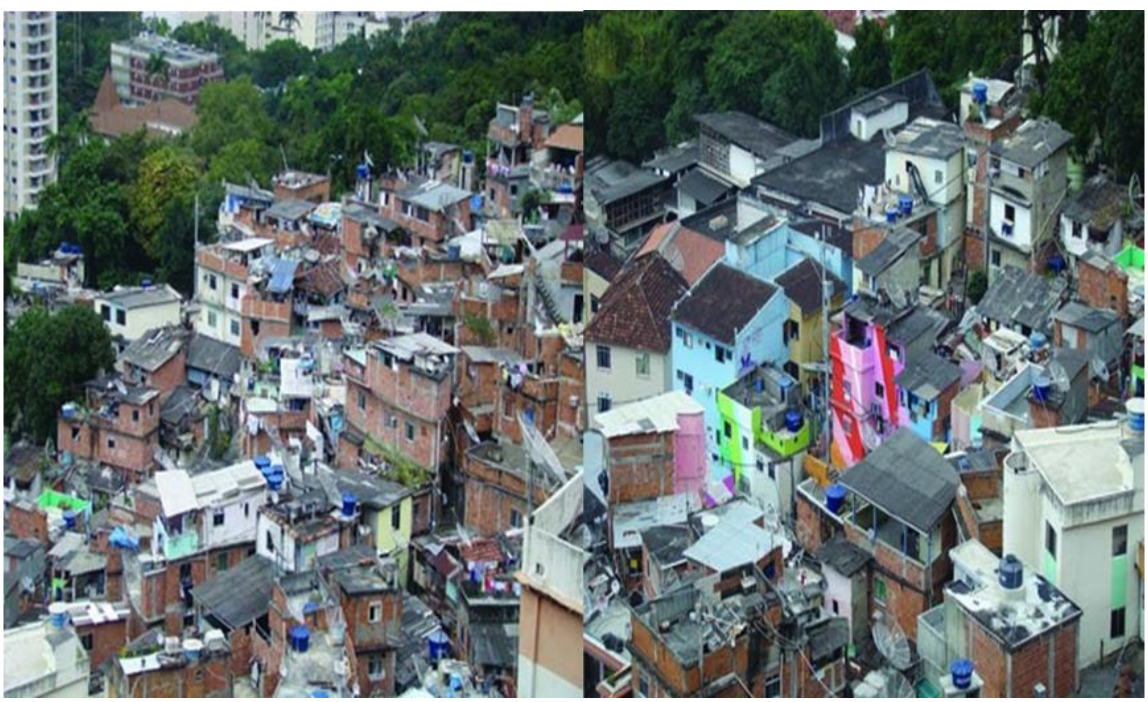

Image 2.7 Santa Marta Favela.

Migration has also been identified as a major cause of growth of favelas [O'Hare and Barke, 2003]. In Rio for example migration alone contributed to about 60 percent of its population between 1920 and 1940 and this coincided with a significant growth of favelas increasing from 26 [Bonilla, 1970 cited in O'Hare and Barke, 2003] to about 116 within the period and increasing further to about 384 by 1970 [O'Hare and Barke, 2003]. By 1991, about two million people which translates to about 39 percent of Rio's population at the time lived in substandard housing [O'Hare and Barke, 2003]. It must be noted that, in Brazil, just like in many other areas where slum settlements exist, more than one type does exist [UN-Habitat, 2003]. Besides the traditional slum that is being discussed here, there is also a group of substandard housing units known as the 'corticos' where mostly poor households live [O'Hare and Barke, 2003]. These are poor inner-city tenements with deteriorated buildings that the poor can access.

Just like in other parts of Latin America, slum prevalence in Mexico has been in existence for a very long time [Sudra, 1982; Ward, 1976] and various upgrading projects have been implemented over the years. The slum population in Mexico City for example increased from 14 percent of the city's population in 1952 to about 40 percent of the city's population in 1970 [Ward, 1976]. Also, growth of slum over the same period was estimated at between 10 and 15 percent annually [Turner et al., 1971 cited in Ward, 1976]. With this consistent growth of slums in Mexico, various upgrading projects were undertaken in the 1990's and 2000's which were generally evaluated successful [see McIntosh, Alegra, Ordonez and Zenteno, 2013 and Ezeh et al., 2013].

In many parts of Latin America, various schemes have been adopted in dealing with the slum problem. These include slum upgrading projects and slum tourism. Whereas both schemes have their *pros and cons*, the latter has been deemed controversial since many view it as some form of 'poverty tour' [Dürr, 2012].

The Asian situation is quite alarming with an estimated prevalence rate of 35 and 25 percent for southern and western Asia respectively [UN-Habitat, 2012]. With over 2 million or 5 million slum dwellers in Thailand according to UN-Habitat [2008] and CODI 2004 respectively [Archer, 2012], it was obvious that the need for intervention was imminent. In this regard, the Thai government launched the '*Baan Mankong*' (literally, secure housing) program which aimed at assisting members of slum communities to secure their own lands for the purpose of upgrading their living conditions [Boonyabancha, 2009; Archer, 2012]. The advantage of this type of intervention was said to be the fact that residents themselves got to build their own homes according their preferences [Archer, 2012]. Difficult financing schemes due to numerous rules and regulations had been identified as one of its downsides however [Boonyabancha, 2009].

With prevalence rate of about 62 percent, the slum situation is most acute in Africa [Fox, 2014]. In terms of country-specific scenario, the slum phenomenon is at its worst form in South Sudan where 96 percent of its urban residents are slum dwellers [UN, 2014]. The Central African Republic is also reported to have huge slum prevalence at 96 percent in 2009 [Ragheb, El-Shimy and Ragheb, 2016] but has seen a marginal reduction to 93.3 percent according to UN [2014] data modelling. And with about 23 percent of its urban citizens living in slums, South Africa could pride itself as the country from sub-Saharan Africa to have the least slum prevalence. The Northern African average of slum prevalence stands at 13 percent (UN-Habitat). As a home to over 500 thousand Kenyans [Web 30, 2009], the Kibera slum in Kenya as exemplified by the image below [Web 30, 2009] outsizes any other slum in Africa, making it the biggest slum in Africa [UN-Habitat, 2003 cited in Marx et al., 2013].

Image 2.8: Portions of Kibera Slum, Kenya.

Various attempts were made to explain the unique case of Africa. Even though it hosts just about 13 percent of urban population of developing regions [Fox, 2014], it serves as a fertile ground for the creation and growth of slums. Fox [2014] argues that, colonialism played a crucial role in making most African cities susceptible to slum formation. He made the point that, colonialism was a 'critical juncture' in the urbanisation process of African cities. Citing Home [1997], he reinforced his arguments by indicating that, African cities under colonial rule were not designed to accommodate a growing population but were instead, designed for a stable population because the colonialists did not expect the indigenes to live in the cities. An example was made of Lusaka, Zambia's capital city. With a population of more than 1.7 million as at 2017, it was designed to contain only 125,000 people under colonial rule [Home, 1997 cited in Fox, 2014]. Also, a point was made of the fact that, colonial underinvestment in African cities left many of them unprepared to absorb the ever-growing migrant population which occurred during the early years of independence [Fox, 2012 cited in Fox, 2014].

Table 2.6: High slum-prevalent countries from three developing regions[5].

Country	**Slum Prevalence (2014)**	
South Sudan Central African Republic Chad	96.00% 93.30% 88.20%	Africa
Afghanistan Bangladesh Cambodia	62.70% 55.10% 55.10%	Asia
Haiti Bolivia Ecuador	74.40% 43.50% 36.00%	Latin America

The table above shows the top three slum prevalent countries from the various developing regions of the world [UN Stats, 2014]. The first three are from Africa; the next three from Asia and the last three are the leading slum affected countries in Latin and South America.

[5] These countries were the ones with available data on slum prevalence.

2.2.3. Slum Prevalence in Turkey

Just like previously indicated about the difficulty in arriving at a conceptual definition of slum for universal application, the definition of the Turkish gecekondu[6] also went through some academic tussles as various definitions put forth were deemed unsatisfactory [Doğan, 1990]. According to the Turkish Encyclopaedia [1969] [Türk Ansiklopedisi [1969]] for example;

"Gecekondus refer to ramshackle residential structures built in one night on land(s) belonging to someone else especially the state, contrary to zoning regulations" [quoted in Doğan, 1990].

This definition according to Doğan [1990] does not satisfy the reality of gecekondus of the time. He asserts that, it is common to find in the big cities of Turkey, orderly built multiple-storey residential units on lands belonging to other than the developers and which in reality should qualify them as gecekondus but which the definition does not encompass. In other words, the qualifying word 'ramshackle' is of no relevance once the property is constructed on illegally occupied piece of land. The Gecekondu Act (Act 775) which was passed in 1966 also defined gecekondu as;

"buildings without permits constructed on lands that do not belong to the developer or without the consent of the land owner(s) and which construction violates the zoning and building codes and related laws in general" [quoted in Doğan, 1990].

From the definition put forth by the law, the following characteristics were identified as necessary conditions for a building to possess in order to be classified a gecekondu [Doğan, 1990];

---

[6] Gecekondu is a Turkish word which can best be translated to mean 'built-overnight' (Demirtaş, 2007). It represents the speed with which these structures were generally erected. This reminds us of Thoreau's distinction between a shanty and a house where he indicated that *speed* and *intention* distinguish between the two (Goff, 2016). Because of lack of ownership of the lands on which they are usually built, gecekondu dwellers tend to hurriedly build their structures to avoid being found out. Henceforth, 'gecekondu' shall replace 'slum' in the Turkish context, for the remainder of this work.

- The building does not conform to building codes and other related laws;
- The property is built on land(s) belonging to other(s)
- The property is built on land(s) belonging to other(s) without their consent and without obtaining a building permit.

The problem with this definition as identified by Doğan [1990] is the lack of mention of safety and health conditions, which may imply that unsafe and unhealthy structures constructed on one's own legally acquired piece of land may not be classified as gecekondus.

Having considered the various definitions and the characteristics of the existing gecekondus, the following definition was provided by Doğan [1990];

"Hastily constructed residential structures which are usually deprived of social amenities erected on lands belonging to other(s) and in violation of zoning regulations".

Attempts were made to distinguish between gecekondus and existing slums in the West. Doğan [1990], in his effort at doing so, outlined certain conditions which distinguish gecekondus from slums as known in the West. He stated among others the following;

- *The dwellers of gecekondus are mostly migrants from the rural areas;*
- *Gecekondu structures do not have building permits and are built in one night;*
- *The residents of gecekondus carry their rural way of life to the cities, are usually tied to their traditions and they have a strong family ties;*
- *These people are usually low-income earners; and*
- *They strove towards adapting to the new urban life*.

Slums on the other hand are fields that could be found either in cities or villages and are developed especially for residential purpose which are informal, deteriorated and overcrowded and/or with unsafe housing units that put the health and safety of the residing public in danger [Yörükhan, 1968 cited in Doğan, 1990]. Also, slums could be well constructed buildings found in planned settlements usually in the densely-populated city centres of western nations but due to prolong periods of deterioration, end up in unhealthy conditions and then as a result are occupied by low income earners [Doğan, 1990]. Slums were the results of the industrialisation process of the west. The occupants of these neighbourhoods are usually poor, less educated, either unemployed or at the lower level of the socio-economic ladder [Türkdoğan, 1982 cited in Doğan, 1990].

Despite the above differences identified by Doğan [1990], citing scholars like Keleş [1984], Türkdoğan [1977], Gökçe [1971] and Dönmezer [1986], he noted that there is no significant difference between gecekondus and slums. He further noted that, considering that many of the recent gecekondus were constructed with durable construction materials as in the case of Zeytinburnu and Gültepe and that, these places are also occupied by the urban poor and not necessarily recent migrants from the rural areas. This observation of Doğan [1990] is actually consistent with his earlier critique of the definition put forward by the Turkish Encyclopaedia [1969] in which he debunked the use of the adjective 'ramshackle', stating that, a structure needs not be ramshackle per se in order to be a gecekondu because this claim was not supported by empirical evidence.

Even though it is conceded that the Turkish gecekondus and what is known to the world as 'slums' are not different, Doğan [1990] concluded his discussion on the distinction between the two on a rather hopeful note, stating that, the residents of gecekondus still spot their Turkish national character, striving to conform to the modern city life and that, they are not as dangerous as their counterparts in the slums of the West. The differences identified by Doğan [1990] can therefore be said to hold true for the earliest classical gecekondus and same too could be said of the definition by the Turkish Encyclopaedia of 1969. As for the remainder of this work therefore, and as evident in Doğan's [1990] own work, the gecekondu term shall mean exactly the same as slum which had early on been defined in this report in line with the five-shelter deprivation given by the UN-Habitat.

The rapid urbanisation drive witnessed in Turkey in the 1950's owing primarily to the mechanisation of rural agriculture coupled with the unpreparedness of Turkish cities to cope with the increasing urban population gave rise to gecekondus which littered around the peripheries of major cities of Turkey for the first time in the 1950's [Erman, 2001; Candaş et al., 2016; Doğan, 2009; Uzun et al., 2010]. By taking the West as a model, the Republican Peoples' Party (CHP) which took the reins of government and founded the

Turkish Republic in 1923 sort to modernise the newly formed republic which it ruled from its founding in 1923 until its reign was ended in 1950 by the more liberal Democratic Party (DP) when for the first time in Turkey, multi-party democracy began [Erman, 2001].

From the effects of multi-party democracy is that, it creates fertile grounds for populism and clientelism where the ruling class or those seeking political authority through the people's votes compromise reality and sound judgement for votes [Demirtaş, 2007]. This scenario also played out in Turkey from the 1950's when multi-party democracy was first introduced. Doğan [2009] reported that, gecekondu development was somewhat justified as a housing solution for the rural migrants in the 1960's and 70's and so no tangible action was taken by politicians to *nib it in the bud* when it first *reared its ugly head* in the 1950's as 'clientele' relationship existed between the politicians and the gecekondu dwellers. The result was that, gecekondu growth increased as many of these settlements became established neighbourhoods in the 1960's and thus became fertile grounds for 'political business' [Erman, 2001] and by the 1980's nearly 6 million people were living in gecekondus [Doğan, 2009]. Others such as Baharoğlu and Leitman [1998 cited in Konbul and Çete, 2014] attributed humanitarian reasons rather than populism and clientelism for the lack of government action on gecekondu removal. The slum prevalence in Turkey continued with an increasing trend in the 1980's when about 30 percent of people across urban Turkey lived in gecekondus, becoming the only solution to the urban housing problem for the urban poor during the period [Doğan, 2009].

The three biggest metropolitan areas in Turkey were the hardest hit in terms of slum prevalence in Turkey starting from the 1950's. Erman [2001], Demirtaş [2007] and Doğan, [2009] all reported high proportions of gecekondu dwellers in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir. As at year 2000 for instance, 70 percent of Ankara; 55 percent of Istanbul; and 50 percent of Izmir was made up of gecekondu settlements [Erman, 2001]. These figures show a general increase in gecekondu prevalence in these cities since their early years of emergence. For instance, in the initial period of gecekondu developments, Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir recorded gecekondu prevalence of 59, 45 and 33 percent respectively [Demirtaş, 2007]. As for Doğan [2009], she reported, citing Danielson and Keleş [1985], about three-fourths of Ankara and two-fifths each of Istanbul and Izmir being under gecekondu settlement. By 1997, the population of gecekondu dwellers in Turkey reached

20 million [Erman, 2001] across forty (40) Turkish cities [Uzun et al., 2010], which represented about 30 percent of the population assuming a population of 65 million people at the time. Data from United Nations Statistics (UNStats) suggest that, as at year 2014, the slum prevalence in Turkey stood at 11 percent. The image below potrays a gecekondu settlement in Turkey [TOKİ, 2016b].

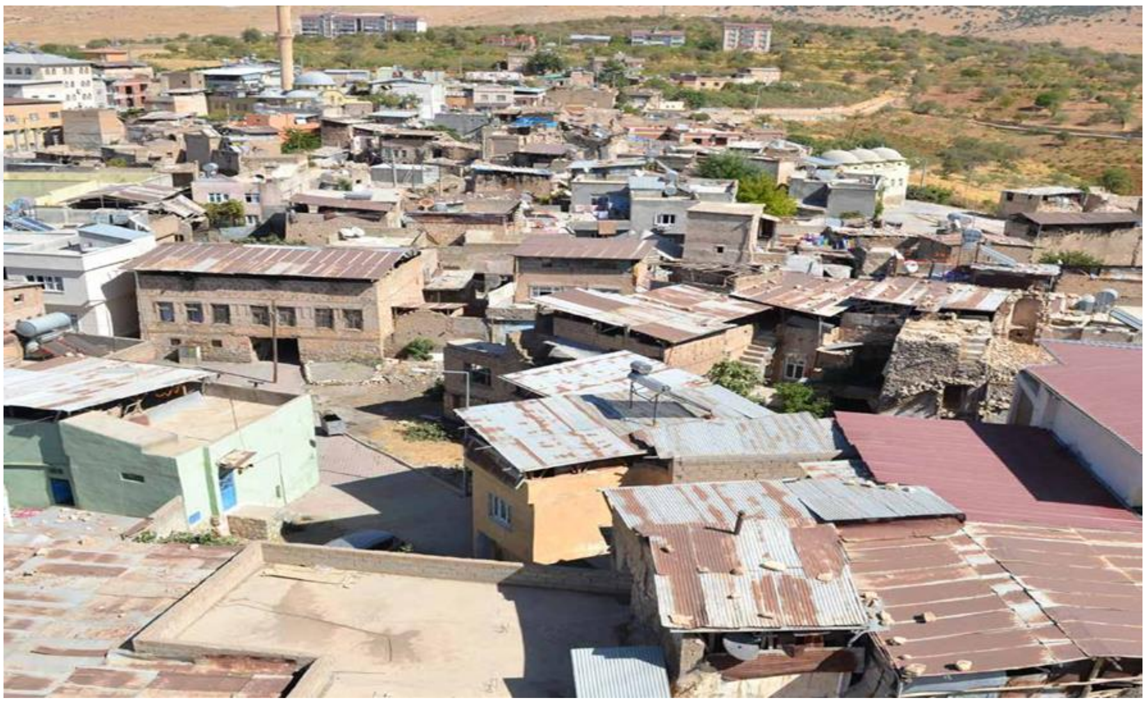

Image 2.9: A Section of Gecekondu Settlement before Regeneration, Gaziantep.

In Turkey, be it in academia or in the media, gecekondu dwellers have been (mis)represented in diverse ways over the years since the emergence of gecekondu settlements in the 1950's. These representations were generally negative in nature and they sought to 'serve the interest of the prevailing power structure' in ways that suggest that, the rural folks were culturally inferior to the modernising urban elites [Erman, 2001]. Indeed, Erman [2001] produced a chronological representation of the Turkish gecekondu dwellers over the years by both academia and the Turkish media. She recounts labels such as '*the Rural Other*' which was the first to emerge in the academic discourse of gecekondus in the 1950's and 60's [Erman, 2001; Demirtaş, 2007]. This label came about because the migrants who arrived in the cities maintained their '*rural way of life*' [Erman, 2001; Doğan, 1990]. And by 'rural way of life', it meant keeping the beard by men who wore any; wearing the head cover by women who wore any; and speaking in their local dialects by those of Kurdish origin [Erman, 2001]. Earlier scholars who wrote on gecekondus during the period therefore expected these migrants to embrace the '*urban life*', which according to them, meant doing away with the above-mentioned ways of life [Erman, 2001].

In the 1970's, a more sympathetic representation was made of the gecekondu dwellers in academic discourse due to 'Western intellectual influence' and the 'sympathetic leftist ideology' [Erman, 2001]. This led to the gecekondu dwellers being referred to as '*the Disadvantaged Other*' in the 1970's academic and social discourse [Erman, 2001]. Despite this newly adopted sympathetic representation of the gecekondu dwellers, the idea that they were still culturally inferior to the urban elite remained. Erman [2001] cited the representation of Türkdoğan [1977] who indicated that, the gecekondu culture was that of 'poverty', one that is 'fatalistic', 'irrational' and 'backward' among others.

Despite the emergence of gecekondus much earlier in the 1950's, it was only after 1965 that initial steps were taken to tackle the problem and the first attempt was launched in 1966 in the form of a law known as the Gecekondu Act, 1966 (Act 775) which aimed at 'improving the conditions of available gecekondus which are in fairly good state, demolishing those in poor state and the prevention of the creation of new ones' [Candaş et al., 2016; Erman, 2001; Uzun et al., 2010]. This law is largely regarded as the first law in Turkey that deals with slums and urban regeneration [Candaş et al., 2016; Erman, 2001]. Political, social and economic reasons did not allow the effective implementation of these laws by the ruling elites and so the number of slums increased over the period [Köktürk, 2003; Uzun and Çolak, 2007 cited in Uzun et al., 2010].

Laws in the 1980's were largely in favour of the gecekondu dwellers and so the dwellers were then accused of abusing those laws. Various laws in relation to dealing with the menace of gecekondu were enacted following the Act 775 [Candaş et al., 2016; Erman, 2001]. For instance, there was the Mass Housing Act, 1984 (Act 2985) which is one of the most significant laws relating to gecekondus [Candaş et al., 2016; Erman, 2001] and arguably, Turkey's turning point in housing delivery because it was this law that formed the legal framework for the formation of the Mass Housing Development Authority (TOKİ). A detailed discussion on TOKİ along with other relevant agencies has been made in Chapter Three of this report. The Development Act, 1985 (Act 3194) also followed the Act 2985 with the aim of ensuring that all physical developments are done according to set guidelines so as to discourage haphazard developments [Konbul and Çete, 2014].

In the 1980's, as Erman [2001] informs us, yet another hostile representation of the gecekondu residents emerged. They were referred to as 'the undeserving rich Other' and statements such as *'once they built their gecekondus in one night, and now they are becoming millionaires in one day'* were being repeated in public discourses [Erman, 2001]. Various laws and policies emerged during the period that encouraged intensive land use by way of high-rise buildings [Mutlu, 2007 cited in Uzun and Şimşek, 2015] and soon, many gecekondus were converted to apartment buildings, hence the commencement and widespread of '*apartmentalisation*[7]' of gecekondus in Turkey [Erman, 2001].

Candaş et al. [2016], Uzun et al. [2010] and Uzun and Şimşek [2015] recounted that, in the 1980's, permissive tenures (licences) were granted to settlers on government lands and this attitude encouraged further migrations into the cities. These policies were implemented because of failure of previous laws to tackle the problem. The legalisation of gecekondu settlements was therefore believed to be the long-awaited solution to the problem and that, the informal settlers would be encouraged to improve their conditions if they had sufficient title [Uzun et al., 2010]. Also, it was believed that legalising the settlements would aid in the collection of taxes and levies because this will mean bringing them into the formal sector [Uzun et al., 2010]. These rights were granted by the operation of the Squatting Amnesty Act (Act 2981) and this decision was based largely on populist politics [Uzun and Şimşek, 2015; Uzun et al., 2010]. These policies legalised gecekondu settlements without improving their conditions, thereby encouraging a high concentration of unhealthy and unsafe settlements [Uzun and Şimşek, 2015] and so, rather than solve the problem of gecekondu, they instead encouraged the development of new ones [Candaş et al., 2016; Köktürk, 2003 cited in Uzun et al., 2010]. By granting them legal status, it

[7] This term was used by Erman (2001) in her award-winning article, 'The Politics of Squatter (Gecekondu) Studies in Turkey: The Changing Representations of Rural Migrants in the Academic Discourse'.

became difficult to regard them as 'illegal' [Milz, 2013 cited in Uzun and Şimşek, 2015] even though they were still untidy and unsafe. Contrary to the expectations of the government, the legalisation policy could not tackle the gecekondu problem. It instead, led to certain problems [Uzun et al., 2010]. For instance, it created a means by which gecekondus perpetuated and it also led to the creation of more 'legal but unhealthy' neighbourhoods [Uzun et al., 2010].

Later academic writings in the 1990's portrayed gecekondu dwellers as *varoşlu*, highlighting their poverty and political activism [Erman, 2001; Etöz, 2000 cited in Demirtaş, 2007]. In other words, they, the gecekondu dwellers were seen as 'a danger' to the city, and even though they lived in it, they were deemed to be against it [Erman, 2001]. In demonstrating this aspect of the gecekondu dwellers, some scholars and media organisations highlighted some skirmishes by the gecekondu dwellers in the 1990's. For instance, the Gazi Episode of 1995 where there were some uprisings in an Alevi gecekondu in Istanbul and the May 1, 1996 Demonstrations where some buildings, cars and ATM's were destroyed were given more coverage [Erman, 2001]. The more hopeful representation given by Doğan [1990] as described earlier could be said to form part of the pre-1990's gecekondu discourse.

In sum, gecekondu dwellers were given various forms of disapproving representations. Terms like '*the culturally inferior Other*'; '*villagers in the city*'; '*Obstacles to modernity*'; and '*the undesirable Other*' were noted in both social and academic discourses over the years [Erman, 2001]. However, during the 1990's also, many researchers began to realise the '*useless and ideological nature of the terms*' and hence advocated for their discontinued use [Erman, 2001].

Beyond the policy of granting permits to the gecekondu dwellers in the 1980's, Candaş et al. [2016] reported that, there was a change in policy towards urban regeneration that resulted in the replacement of the gecekondus with decent housing. This policy according to Candaş et al. [2016] started with some demolishing exercises which were carried out on some gecekondu settlements in the 1980's. Slum transformations were carried out in these areas in collaboration with the residents and this saw massive capital investments which led to the construction of high-rise residential buildings, shopping malls, offices and business spaces [Uzun et al., 2010]. This formed a good base for the future adoption and implementation of urban regeneration policy across the country. Because many of the slum policies failed to effectively deal with the problem, urban regeneration as a flagship policy for the creation of safer cities in Turkey was adopted by the government after the UN-Habitat II conference held in Istanbul in 1996 [Güzey 2009 cited Uzun and Şimşek, 2015].

At the advent of the twenty-first century, the housing requirement of the country stood at 1.5 million [TOKİ, 2014; Keleş, 2006 cited in Palancıoğlu and Çete, 2014] and at the same time, gecekondus had reached more than 2 million across the country [Keleş, 2006 cited in Palancıoğlu and Çete, 2014]. The table below shows the number of gecekondus across Turkey over the years [Palancıoğlu and Çete, 2014].

Table 2.7: Number of Gecekondus over the Years [Keleş, 2006].

Years	**Number of Gecekondus**
1955	50,000.00
1960	240,000.00
1965	430,000.00
1970	600,000.00
1980	1,150,000.00
1990	1,750,000.00
1995	2,000,000.00
2002	2,200,000.00

The Turkish government declared a comprehensive plan to tackle this problem in which it adopted an emergency action plan in 2003 [DPT, 2003 cited in Palancıoğlu and Çete, 2014]. The intention was first, to prevent further growth of gecekondu while rehabilitating existing ones and second, to build sufficient housing units across the country [Palancıoğlu and Çete, 2014]. In this regard, the urban regeneration project (URP) was adopted and launched by the government years after the UN-Habitat II conference held in Istanbul in 1996 [Güzey 2009 cited Uzun and Şimşek, 2015]. A detailed review of urban regeneration as a concept and as a policy has been done in chapter three of this report. The table below summarises the nature of gecekondus in Turkey for two distinct periods [Maybarskan, 2013].

Table 2.8: Characteristics of Gecekondus after the 1960's and early 2000's.

Indicators	**After 1960's**	**Early 2000's**
Number of gecekondus	2 million	2.2 million
Infrastructure Availability	None	Improved
Location	City peripheries close to the factories	Within the zoned residential neighbourhoods; Inner-cities.
Ownership	Occupants themselves	Reduced owner-occupier ratio with increased tenancy ratio.
Physical condition	Poor, lacking aesthetics and having unhealthy physical conditions.	With the ongoing urban regeneration/renewal project, physical conditions of gecekondus are being improved.
Health Conditions	In unhealthy conditions.	Due to the amnesties granted, unhealthy situation is being corrected.

2.2.4. The Slum Problem in Ghana

In Ghana, even though evidence of urban poverty manifesting in the form of slums [Fox, 2014] exists especially in large towns and cities, there has not been a precise definition of slum [Web 40, 2014]. Having stated that, slums are generally regarded as housing forms that fall below a certain standard 'necessary for human development' [Web 40, 2014]. This indicates a lack of clear definition of slum in Ghana. In this regard, and as indicated earlier, for the purpose of this work, the criteria given by the UN-Habitat for the purpose of identifying slums have been adopted for the definition of slums in this work. Slums in Ghana are in various forms. Abu-Salia et al. [2015] using the Wa Municipality of the Upper West Region of Ghana as a case study came up with three categories of slums in Ghana. And according to them, slums take the following forms;

- The Indigenous Slum Communities (ISC) which are usually located in the Central Business Districts (CBD's), constituting the decaying inner-city tenements;
- There is also the Migrant Slum Communities (MSC) which are usually adjacent the indigenous communities.
- The third group according to them includes the Newly Emerging Slum Communities (NSC) which are usually found on the peripheries of the urban centres.

Thus, the third group accommodates recent migrants from other parts of the country which are usually the less endowed parts who come seeking greener pastures in the urban areas. Paller [2015] however chose to categorise slums in Ghana into the following manner: 1) the Indigenous Settlements 2) the Purchased Settlements and 3) the Extralegal Settlements. His classification may take a different form but can be said to maintain similar characteristics as that of Abu-Salia et al. [2015]. Citing Melara Arguello et al. [2013] he reports that the indigenous communities are said to be ignored in any development plans and have over the years as a result, rendered them slums. This assessment affirms those of Adarkwa [2012], Grant and Yankson [2013 cited in Cobbinah and Niming-Beke, 2016] who insist that the colonial style of town planning which emphasised segregation of European and Ghanaian settlements is to blame for the creation of slums in these indigenous communities. Examples of such communities include; Ga Mashie (which consists of James Town and Ussher Town), Chorkor and Shiabu in Accra and Ashanti New Town in Kumasi [Paller, 2015]. This group as determined by Paller [2015] fits in well with the first group of slums as categorised by Abu-Salia et al. [2015] and can therefore be said to represent a fair assessment of this group of slums in Ghana.

The second category which is referred to as the Migrant Slum Communities according Abu-Salia et al. [2015] has been termed, 'the Purchased Settlements' by Paller [2015]. According to him, they are purchased because the earlier settlers or founders of those communities bought the lands on which they settled. He buttressed his point by citing the following examples; Alhaji Futa who founded Nima in 1931 bought the land; Alhaji Seidu Kardi exchanged gifts with the traditional leaders for the land in Madina in order to 'play more important local role as local leader' [Peil, 1976:163 cited in Paller, 2015]; Malam Nelu Bako founded Sabon Zongo [Pellow, 1985 cited in Paller, 2015]; and Braimah founded Tudu in the early 1900's [Ntewusu, 2012 cited in Paller, 2015]. It must be noted that all these communities above are *Zongo* communities which he, Paller believes to form majority part of the Purchased Settlements.

Abu-Salia et al. [2015] however viewed the Migrant Communities as comprising all Zongos. In other words, the Migrant Communities can also be referred to as the Zongo communities. These communities are originally made up of foreigners from other West African countries like Nigeria, Mali, Burkina-Faso, Benin, Togo among others who migrated to southern Ghana in the 19th century to look for work in the prosperous cocoa farms [Schildkrout, 1987]. The ethnic compositions of these migrants are mostly Yoruba, Hausa and Mossi among others, along with some other ethnic groups from northern Ghana [Schildkrout, 1987]. Majority of these migrants are Muslims, which explains the dominance of Muslims in the Zongo communities of Ghana.

The word '*Zongo*' has been given various definitions in the past. For instance, it was defined as 'a camping place of a caravan, or the lodging place of travellers [Abraham, 1962:967 cited in Schildkrout, 1987]. The term was also used by the British during colonial era to refer to 'the section of the town where Muslim traders lived' [Schildkrout, 1987]. It was often used interchangeably with '*Hausa settlement*', '*Mohammedan settlement*' and '*stranger quarter*' [Schildkrout, 1987]. The implication is that, a Zongo community could be formed in any part of the country if the residents in that community exhibited the aforementioned traits of foreignness to the indigenous people of that town or city. In the case of the Kumasi Zongos for example, one main distinction of the people of the Zongos is that, 'they were neither Asantes (the indigenes of Kumasi), Southern Ghanaians, Europeans, Lebanese nor Indians' [Schildkrout, 1987].

The extralegal settlements emerged as political strongholds of people who felt marginalised and so felt the need to have a share in the national good [Paller, 2015]. They moved into the cities to appropriate lands for themselves without authorisation and soon developed into huge communities [Paller, 2015]. Examples of such communities include; Old Fadama (also known as Sodom and Gomorrah), King Shona, Abuja CMB in Accra, Tulaku in Ashaiman and Amakom in Kumasi.

Whereas the public view the extralegal communities as illegitimate and are therefore illegal, the legitimacy of the other two categories have not been questioned even though disputes arise from property rights especially in the purchased communities where there is a history of resisting eviction and demolition [Arn, 1996 cited in Paller, 2015]. Even though the indigenous and the purchased settlements had some legitimacy, slum settlements like Nima, Mamobi and Chorkor were designated as places that needed upgrading [Arn, 1996 cited in Paller, 2015]. In places like Nima, building standards were lowered to enable dwellers build within their means and this was called the '*relaxation of structural standards*' [Republic of Ghana, 1958:53-54 cited in Paller, 2015]. This relaxation of standards in some communities in the country was a feature of the colonial urban planning regime [Adarkwah, 2012; Grant and Yankson 2013 cited in Cobbinah and Niming-Beke, 2016] which can be blamed for the formation of this kind of slums in Ghana.

The distinction made of the three slum categories by Abu-Salia et al. [2015] and Paller [2015] is seminal in that, it goes against the subtle attempts to view all slums in Ghana as '*Zongos*', hence deliberately or otherwise, making the term the Ghanaian synonym for 'slum' just like the 'Favela' in Brazil, the 'Bario' in Mexico, the 'Bastee' in India and Bangladesh and the 'Gecekondu' in Turkey among others. Zongo is therefore an ideology of kinship which unites people from different ethnic groups, mainly from the Savanah and its northern neighbours upon the Islamic brotherhood [Schildkrout, 1987]. Even though it is conceded that many, if not all Zongo communities in Ghana have the traits of slums, the term, 'Zongo' itself must be viewed as a type of ethnic-mix rather than a spatial development and thus, it is inappropriate to liken Zongos with slums.

Like any other colonised African country, Ghana's urbanisation was greatly influenced by colonialism and for that matter, many of the cities in Ghana were not designed to accommodate any future increase in population [Home, 1997 cited in Fox, 2014]. The result is that, it contributed to making Ghanaian cities fertile grounds for the growth and subsistence of slums. The urban population in Ghana has more than tripled in the last thirty (30) years, increasing from four million to about fourteen (14) million [Web 3, 2016]. Out of this figure, about 5.5 million, constituting almost 40 percent of the urban residents live in slums [Web 3, 2016]. The following image shows parts of Nima, a migrant slum community [Web 9, 2012].

Image 2.10: A crowded Nima, a *Migrant Slum Community* during a Peace March, Accra.

Even with this rather high proportion of urban Ghanaians living in slums, Ghana may be construed to be doing better than many African states (as shown on Table 2.6) in the area of slum prevalence. However, there are some slums in Ghana that have attained global (dis)repute. Take for instance the report of Web 4 [2016] which reported that, one of Ghana's slums by name Nima, a suburb of Accra made it to the list of Africa's most chaotic slums at 18th position. Also, Old Fadama, which is also one of Accra's suburbs and home to over one hundred thousand dwellers is the 7th worst slum settlement in Africa [Web 5, 2016]. As though this were not enough, another slum within the Greater Accra Region of Ghana by name Ashaiman was named by the UN-Habitat on the list of World's Biggest Slums in 2003 [Marx et al., 2013]. The image below shows portions of Amui Dzor slum [Web 10, 2013].

Image 2.11: The Amui Dzor slum, in Ashaiman, near Tema, Greater Accra.

Again, due to differences of opinions regarding the definition of slums in Ghana, different figures have been churned out by different institutions regarding the slum prevalence in the country. Even though the slum prevalence in Ghana has seen consistent decline as per available data, Ghana has been described as 'one of the developing countries that is *off-track* in finding solutions to slums and slum dwellers' [UN-Habitat 2007]. For instance, the table below shows a consistent decline in slum prevalence in the country even though there are some discrepancies in some of the figures coming from different institutions [Abu-Salia et al., 2015].

Table 2.9: Slum Prevalence in Ghana over the years.

Year	Slum Prevalence	Reporting Authority
1990	80%	Republic of Ghana, 2012b
2001	69%	Republic of Ghana, 2012b
2001	61%	UN-Habitat 2008
2005	45%	Republic of Ghana, 2012b
2013	40%	UN-Habitat 2007

As previously indicated, the nature and form of slums differ from one geographical location to the other. These differences are usually borne out of the culture and economic development of place. The following table indicates the nature of typical Ghanaian slums.

Table 2.10: The Nature and Characteristics of Slums in Ghana.

Indicators	**Indigenous Slum Settlement**	**MSC / Purchased Slum Community**	***Extralegal* Slum Community**
Infrastructure Availability	Poor Infrastructure	Poor Infrastructure	Very poor infrastructure.
Location	Within the city	Within the city	Mostly on the city peripheries
Occupation	Mainly owner occupied with few occupied by tenants	Majority are tenants but with few owner occupiers	Majority of the structures here too are occupied by tenants with a few owner occupations.
Physical condition	Poorly constructed; haphazard arrangements of buildings; poor conditions; etc.	Poorly constructed; haphazard arrangements of buildings; poor conditions etc.	Mostly constructed with non-durable materials such as plywood or packing cases etc; haphazard layout etc.
Health Conditions	Unhealthy conditions abound in these settlements.	Unhealthy conditions abound in these settlements.	Much worse conditions than in the other two types of slums.
Land Ownership	Lands owned by families, clans or stools of which the occupants belong	Lands leased to the occupants by the relevant family, clans or stools.	Lands usually belong to the state or any other than the occupants who occupy without the permission of the landowner(s)

In a nutshell, it has been demonstrated thus far, at least by way of evidences from available literature on Ghana's housing and slum situation, that, previous policies have failed to solve the slum problem. This work therefore, as earlier indicated, aims at recommending an urban regeneration model as an alternative intervention to the slum problem in Ghana.

2.3. General Discussions on Slums in Ghana and in Other Places

The existence of urban poverty manifesting in the form of slums in the urban setting is a problem not just for the developing world but also for the developed world. Examples cited from current literature about this phenomenon in the developed world are sufficient evidence of its existence. However, the degree of severity of the slum problem in the developed world can be said to be at a relatively lower magnitude than that of the developing world, making the situation direr in developing nations like Ghana.

The disparities in intensity and form of the slum problem as witnessed from place to place can be said to be the major cause of disagreements in the definition of slum. Lack of precision in the definition of slum may result in either over-simplification or overestimation of the problem which may lead to either misapplication of resources or over concentration of resources in the struggle against slum development [Khalifa, 2011]. In view of this, studies of various regions and countries have revealed these disparities which led to the proper classifications of slums within the same location based on the marked differences among the slums. For instance, in Mexico, seven types of human settlements [Sudra, 1982]; two categories in India [Schenk, 2010] and in Turkey and three categories in Ghana [Abu-Salia et al., 2015; Paller, 2015], among others have been identified.

In an attempt to simplify the definition of slums, the UN-Habitat came out with the famous five shelter deprivation indicators against which settlements can be measured to gauge whether or not they can be regarded as slums and if so, to what extent. That is to say, these indicators serve as benchmarks to measure the severity of settlements identified as slums in terms of how many of the shelter deprivation indicators they possess. There is still the challenge of quantitatively measuring the extent to which a settlement or dwelling suffers from a particular shelter deprivation.

Also, due to the differences in the levels of shelter deprivations of each slum settlement, there are some slum settlements that are difficult to identify as such [UN-Habitat, 2007]. However, with the five shelter deprivation indicators, identifying slums can be said to have been made simpler. Yet still, the inability to measure the extent of deprivation by the defining criteria outlined by the UN-Habitat opens the definition up to further criticisms as identified by Khalifa [2011].

Slums in the developed world usually take the form of multi-storey buildings which have deteriorated due to prolonged period of neglect. Even though these tenements may have access to utility services and sanitation, they still experience overcrowding. Quite apart from that, owing to prolonged deterioration, the durability of these structures is usually compromised. From the table below [UN-Habitat, 2007], slums in the West can be said to best fit the 'atypical slum categories' and those in the developing world taking any of the five forms described by the table below depending on the severity of slum conditions they experience.

Table 2.11: Various Types of Slums.

Shelter deprivations and security of tenure	Visible and non-visible types of slums				
	Slum Stereotypes		Atypical slum households		
	Shantytowns at urban peripheries (single units, one storey)	Dilapidated houses within cities (single units, one-storey)	Multi-family flats in buildings within city centres	Multi-storey public housing projects	Multi-storey dormitories
Lack of access to water	√	√			
lack of access to sanitation	√	√	√		√
Non-durable housing	√	√		√	
Insufficient living space		√	√	√	√
Insecure tenure	√	√	√		

Juxtaposing the table above with the various forms of slums in Turkey and Ghana, it is fair to relate the following categories of slums with the specific shelter deprivation indicators that they possess as simplified in the table below. Note that this table was constructed bearing in mind the information in Tables 2.8 and 2.11.

Table 2.12: Various Types of Slums.

Shelter deprivations and security of tenure	Slum forms in Turkey and Ghana				
	Turkey		Ghana		
	Earliest forms of Gecekond u	Gecekondus from 1980's – 2010	Indigenous Slum Community	Migrant / Purchased Community	Extralegal Communit y / NSC
Lack of access to water	√		√		√
lack of access to sanitation	√	√	√	√	√
Non-durable housing	√	√	√	√	√
Insufficient living space	√	√	√	√	√
Insecure tenure	√				√

This categorisation has been done in line with available literature that were previously reviewed. In Ghana for instance, Old Fadama, which is an unauthorised or 'extralegal' settlement [Paller, 2015], ticks all the shelter deprivation indicator boxes. The migrant or purchased communities like Nima, Mamobi among others in Accra and Aboabo and Asawase among others in Kumasi can be said to tick all the boxes with the exception of insecure tenure because as reported by Paller [2015], their legitimacy has not been contested even though occasional challenge of titles between various parties arise. Also, these communities, mostly the *Zongo* communities were either acquired by their original founders [Paller, 2015] or were legitimately granted to the earlier settlers by the custodians [Schildkrout, 1987]. All these accounts go to strengthen the claim that these communities' have sufficient security of tenure. Image 2.12 below shows parts of another slum in Ghana [Duah, 2014].

Image 2.12: Some children of Anloga-Sobolo (which is a migrant slum community in Ghana) happily playing in the open without a constructed children's playground.

With regards to the indigenous slum communities, places like Ashanti Newtown in Kumasi as well as Chorkor and Shiabu in Accra for instance are known to suffer from basic sanitation facilities along with weaker buildings and high-density populations. Lack of regular access to water as a general urban problem in Ghana can also be said to be another feature of these settlements. As indigenes of the land, it can be assumed that there is sufficient security of tenure to the lands they occupy. In light of this, the indigenous slum communities have therefore been identified to possess four of the five shelter deprivations as indicated in Table 2.4 above. The *extralegal* communities also possess all the shelter deprivations. Some of them may however have durable buildings as potrayed below [Web 11, 2014].

Image 2.13: Portions of Chorkor, an 'Indigenous Slum Community' in Ghana.

The earliest gecekondus in Turkey can also be said to possess all the shelter deprivation indicators. This is rooted in the various descriptions attributed to the gecekondus of the time in many reports. Even though quantitative descriptors were often not used, the qualitative descriptors give a sense of the gecekondu conditions of the time. For instance, gecekondus in the 1950's were described as 'unhealthy' and 'disorganised'[8]

[8] The adjectives, sağlıksız and düzensiz used in their stead.

neighbourhoods [Söylemezoğlu, 1970's; Mar, 1961 cited in Şenyapılı, 2006] with 'completely broken moral fibres'[9] [Öğretmen, 1957 cited in Şenyapılı, 2006].

Others went further to indicate that these neighbourhoods are 'disastrous' and 'miserable [Kesler, 1949 cited in Şenyapılı, 2006]. The severity of the earliest types of gecekondu in Turkey was further highlighted by one media report conducted in 1947 as reported by Şenyapılı, [1998] which states that in Ankara for instance, about 40,000 people lived in 'cave-like' shelters with roofs made of tins that have holes perforated in them to provide natural light and are in 'desperate conditions' [cited in Demirtaş, 2007]. It has also been reported that gecekondus have been described by some of the dwellers themselves as 'poorly built, unhealthy places that are difficult to keep clean' and are threats to human lives due to poor construction methods [Erman, 1997].

Table 2.13: Descriptions of the Classical Turkish Gecekondu.

Indicators	Descriptions	Authorities
Physical Characteristics	Unhealthy/unsafe, disorganised, disastrous, miserable, cave-like structures under desperate conditions, poorly built, lacked access to water until the 1980's, difficult to maintain due to poor construction methods.	[Erman, 1997]; [Demirtaş, 2007]; [Şenyapılı, 1998 and 2006]; [Söylemezoğlu, 1970; Mar, 1961 cited in Şenyapılı, 2006]; [Kesler, 1949 cited in Şenyapılı, 2006].
Demographic/Social Characteristics	Regarded as places for informal activities; with 'completely broken moral fibre' etc; places of residence of lower income families.	[Şenyapılı, 1998]; [Erman, 1997]

Given the various descriptions of gecekondus in the initial years of their emergence in the Turkish urban space, it became obvious that the earliest forms of gecekondu possessed all five shelter deprivation indicators as indicated in Table 2.12. On the other

[9] ' ... birçokları ahlaki bağları tamamen kopmuş' was the phrase used.

hand, those that emerged in the 1980's and beyond can be said to possess only three out of the five shelter deprivations. That is to say, conditions of gecekondu improved in the 1980's in the form of improved tenure security and accessibility to water and other services. This was mainly due to the laws passed in the period which guaranteed security of tenure and reported instances of populism. Demirtaş [2007] for instance described how the gecekondu dwellers utilised their numerical importance in party politics to lobby for the extension of utility services to their settlements. And as noted by Uzun and Şimşek [2015], even though security of tenure was guaranteed by these policies in the 1980's, (physical) conditions in these settlements were not improved, leading to the concentration of unhealthy settlements. These settlements, despite being unsafe and unhealthy, it became difficult to regard them as 'illegal' thereafter [Milz, 2013 cited in Uzun and Şimşek, 2015].

2.3.1. Comparing Slums and Slum Dwellers in Ghana and Abroad

It is abundantly clear that for example, the gecekondu dwellers in Turkey, especially those of the earliest gecekondus are mostly migrants from the countryside who owing to reasons earlier discussed migrated to the cities. The various representations of this segment of urban Turkey was mainly due to their 'rural' origin. Many of them continue to maintain their traditional occupations like outdoor bakery, growing of vegetables and animal husbandry among others which also account for some of the very reasons why some of them prefer living in gecekondus to living in apartments [Erman, 1997].

The 2003 UN-Habitat report also mentioned some of the social and economic characteristics of the case studies in the report. It was observed that not all of these characteristics are found in every slum in the same way that not all slums share the same physical characteristics. For instance, while slums in the Republic of Ivory Coast are generally regarded as areas of squalor and wanton poverty characterised by people who engage in drugs and armed robbery, this cannot be said of the slum dwellers of Bangkok where only a few of them are said to be poor [UN-Habitat, 2003]. In India's Ahmedabad's *chawls* too, majority of the residents are said to be Muslims, scheduled casts (SC's) and other backward casts (OBC's) and these people are reportedly being harassed by municipal guards [UN-Habitat, 2003].

In general however, the education level of slum dwellers are said to be lower than those of non-slum areas [UN-Habitat, 2003]. These were the general descriptions observed from the said report concerning the social character of slum communities. And just like the social characteristics of slum communities, the physical characteristics of slums differ from slum to slum even within the same country or region. The nature of slum structures ranges from the use plywood or cardboards to the use of durable materials like sandcrete blocks for the walls. In terms of the legal dimensions, again, not all slum communities are illegal. Indeed, there are slums that resulted from planning mistakes [see for example, Sorensen et al., 2014].

Şenyapılı [1998] outlined three groups of low-income people who live in gecekondus. These were; the low income earning state bureaucrats, rural migrants from nearby towns and indigenes who were resettled by the state after disasters, wars or due to compulsory acquisition of their previous properties to be used for public purpose [cited in Demirtaş, 2007]. Even though gecekondu dwellers are considered by the urban elites as '*ill-mannered*', '*ignorant*' among a host of unpleasant attributes [Erman, 1997], what may be fair to state is that, gecekondu dwellers are relatively less educated than their apartment dwelling middle-class neighbours. It must be added however that, lower education may not necessarily translate into poorer manners or more ignorance and higher education may as well not translate into better manners and more knowledge. Besides, modern-day gecekondu dwellers may well be as educated and as well-mannered as their apartment-dwelling colleagues.

The demography of the slum dwellers in Ghana can also be grouped into three to reflect the distinct demographic characteristics of the dwellers of the three distinct types of slums mentioned earlier. The indigenous slum communities for instance are comprised of the indigenes of the particular city who are mostly low-income earners and are engaged in basic economic activities common to the particular place for instance those in the coastal areas like James town engage in fishing and petty trading [Razzu, 2005] among others.

Significant number of scholars [Adubofour et al., 2012; Awumbila et al., 2014; Stoler et al., 2015; Owusu-Ansah et al., 2015; Tutu, 2011; and Bormann and Agyeman-Duah, 2015] who worked on at least four different slum communities in various places of

Ghana including Ashaiman, Nima, Old Fadama, Asawase and Aboabo among others concluded that majority of the slum dwellers especially in the migrant and extralegal slum communities are mostly Muslims and/or people who migrated from the northern parts of the country.

In terms of the dominant occupations of the slum dwellers, even though many researches revealed the huge unemployment rates in these communities, those that are engaged in one form of economic activity or the other are usually involved in the informal sector [Adubofour et al. 2012; Awumbila et al., 2014; WEB 40, 2014]. And these informal sector employments include among others, food vending, hawking, hairdressing and load-carriage [Bormann and Agyeman-Duah, 2015; Awumbila et al., 2014]. Others are engaged in menial jobs such as cleaners, house-helps of the relatively richer members of nearby residential areas while others too work in the surrounding industries as industrial workforce [Bormann and Agyemang-Duah, 2015; Stoler et al., 2015].

A small proportion of them especially those from the northern neighbouring countries of Ghana such as Burkina-Faso, Mali and Niger also engage in some commercial activities. It must be added that, current generation of this group after having had higher education are engaged in decent 'white-collar jobs' in either government or private institutions [Awumbila et al., 2014; Adubfour et al., 2012] in various capacities such as messengers or entry level government officials.

With regards to the income levels of slum dwellers in Ghana, it has been abundantly proven by various researchers [including Adubofour et al. 2012; Awumbila et al., 2014; Stoler et al., 2015; Owusu-Ansah et al., 2015; Tutu, 2011; and Bormann and Agyeman-Duah, 2015] that majority of the dwellers are low income earners. However, the presence of some wealthy residents among slum dwellers is also a reality. Reasons such as unwillingness to leave their relatives behind are said to account for the decision of these rich slum dwellers to continue to live in those environments despite their wealth and hence, revealing a new phenomenon of what is known as '*the filthy-rich slum dweller'*[10].

[10] The author first heard this phrase from the lips of his lecturer, Dr. Bugri (now Prof. Bugri) of the KNUST, Ghana somewhere in 2011 during a lecture on Research Methods. The phrase "*filthy rich slum dweller*" was coined after discovering the existence of some wealthy slum residents.

The third group which comprise those within the extralegal slum communities are also mostly migrants from the most deprived regions of the country. They engage in some hazardous activities such as the collection, recycling, repair and refurbishment of electronic waste and the trading of scrap metals [Prakash et al., 2010 cited in Awumbila et al., 2014] among others.

Image 2.14: Migrants working in the e-waste business in Old Fadama, an *Extralegal Slum Community*, Accra.

In terms of the culture of these people, just like the case of gecekondu dwellers in Turkey, some aspects of their culture are apparent. For instance, a migrant slum dweller from the north of the country is easily identified by her distinct headgear which indicates her Muslim background. Even though these people are quick to adopt and use the most popular Ghanaian language while in the cities, their distinct 'northern' accent easily *gives them away*. With regards to occupation however, the Ghanaian migrant slum dwellers especially those settled in the extralegal communities do not carry on with their former rural occupations such as farming or livestock rearing which sharply contrasts with those in Turkey who tend to continue their rural occupations in the cities. The table below summarises the descriptions presented above.

Table 2.14: Comparing Slums in Ghana and Abroad (Summary).

PARAMETERS	GHANAIAN SLUMS	OTHERS
Origin / Major Cause(s)	Colonialism; migration	Migration eg Turkey; long periods of deterioration eg Western Europe and America etc; planning mistakes eg Windy Ridge, Charlotte/USA
Physical Characteristics	Building materials range from as weak as plywood to as durable as sandcrete blocks. Mostly served with water and electricity but characterised by poor sanitation. Usually lack green or open spaces due to overcrowding. Buildings are mostly single storeys with a few isolated multiple storeys.	The slums in Western Europe and America mostly multiple storeys. Served with municipal services etc. however lack durability due to deterioration. Those in the developing world share similar physical traits as those in Ghana. Those in India are mostly along rail-lines.
Economic Characteristics	Mostly inhabited by the relatively lower income group even though a few wealthy slum dwellers do exist especially in the migrant slum communities. There is low unemployment rate among Ghana's slum dwellers. Poverty however exists in Ghana's slums.	Differs from country to country. Most Indian slum dwellers are poor while only a few in Bangkok, Thailand are. Slums in Ivory Coast are said to be places of squalor.
Social Characteristics	Even though slums are generally seen as dangerous places because of insecurity, there is no class distinction or discrimination by virtue of living in a slum community.	In India for example, living in slum means one is either a Muslim or from a lower cast.
Legal Position	Legal titles of the two slum types are recognised. Only the third type is regarded as illegal settlement.	As in the case of Ghana, not all slums are illegal settlements even though some were illegally settled.
Interventions	Clearance and resettlement e.g. illegal settlements like Old Fadama; regularisation; self-help etc.	Participatory slum improvements; urban regeneration e.g. Portugal, Turkey.

2.4. Some Slum Interventions of the Past

Having underscored the fact that the slum problem was initially recognised as an urban problem in many cities especially in Europe, various interventions were undertaken to remove and curb its further growth. Its emergence on a widescale was witnessed in the

19th century when it was also met with stiff measures such as demolition and clearance [Carter, 2012; Marmaras, 2015; UN-Habitat, 2003]. Interventions in the 20th century however moved away from these to more of adequate housing construction with emphasis on social housing and this included housing allowances made available to residents, and mass housing for the urban poor. This approach failed in the subsequent years that followed as most of the reconstructed buildings deteriorated due to insufficient maintenance mainly because of the low rents charged for their occupation [UN-Habitat, 2003; Branco and Alves, ca.2016]. Other interventions were also witnessed such as direct subsidies. This intervention ensured that resident households were given financial support by their governments to secure their own housing, and this happened in places like Chile and South Africa [UN-Habitat, 2003]. It was reported that this policy helped add up to about one million housing units to the housing stock which was enough to house over five million more people in South Africa. However, it was also said that, similar approach failed in many other developing nations mainly due to improper execution and inadequate financial wherewithal in this regard.

Another slum intervention was regularisation of titles [UN-Habitat, 2003]. This approach was usually carried out in places occupied by encroachers. The rationale for embarking on such large-scale regularisation was that, once titles to the lands are secured, dwellers would have the confidence to invest adequate resources to make their housing conditions better, thus taking them out of the ‘slum status’. This approach was however later seen not to yield the expected outcome as many of the poor residents were ‘forced’ out of those places in pursuit of higher offers made to them by the richer middle and upper class. Neo-liberal policies implemented by many countries in the 1980’s also targeted slum dwellers where deserving households were giving adequate subsidies to improve their housing conditions [UN-Habitat, 2003].

In pursuit of integration of marginalised groups into the bigger urban community, some countries implemented policies to remove what is known as ‘spatial or ethnic’ segregation [UN-Habitat, 2003]. In doing so, better and more decent housing units were made available to these marginalised groups who lived in what can be said to be slum communities [UN-Habitat, 2003]. Even though this initiative may be a welcome idea in some countries, it tends to contradict the ‘cultural preservation’ theory where advocates of same maintain that special groups of people with long history of a particular tradition be allowed to exist as cohorts within the urban environment because integration to these advocates was seen as a subtle attempt at erasing the cultures of some targeted groups of people [see Uysal, 2012; Cin and Ergercioğlu, 2016; Yetiskul et al., 2016]. For instance, fears about the displacement and subsequent extinction of the culture of the Roma ethnic group in Turkey were expressed by the UN Commission on Human Rights and the co-chairs of the Helsinki Commission in American Congress [Uysal, 2012] when they were reintegrated into the Turkish urban environment after a decision to embark on urban regeneration in communities predominated by this ethnic group. In all of this, it is viewed that spatial integration is an effective way of dealing with unintended discrimination. For instance, there have been reported cases of people denied of jobs simply because of their places of residence [see, Cin and Egercioğlu, 2016].

It is further reported that most of the 19th century slum policies implemented in the developed nations of today were still being implemented by developing countries today. For instance, as an initial reaction, slums were generally neglected with the notion that the problem was due to poor economic situation and that the slum problem would be solved automatically once there is economic growth [UN-Habitat, 2003]. And in some cases, slums were generally not regarded as problems such that areas occupied by slum settlements were not even indicated on land use maps as settlement areas [UN-Habitat, 2003]. This issue of negligence has earlier been seen to have taken place in Turkey such that even though the gecekondu phenomenon was widely reported to have emerged in the 1950's, it was only formally recognised by the state in the 1960's with the promulgation of Act 775 [Candaş et al., 2016; Erman, 2001; Konbul and Çete, 2014].

Other interventions have been evictions, resettlement, self-help and inner-city slum upgrade programmes. Even though the self-help and inner-city upgrade programme were identified to be several times cheaper than many slum interventions, the end results have not been encouraging. In many instances, poor government commitments to maintain the upgraded infrastructure after the programme resulted in dysfunctional urban facilities such as lack of running taps and filled drains among others.

In light of the above inadequacies of previous interventions by policy makers to better the lives of slum dwellers, the participatory slum improvement programmes have been identified to be the best practice thus far [UN-Habitat, 2003]. Even though the participatory slum improvement programmes have been identified as the best practice at the time, the same report further asserts that these programmes were meant for the very poor and in cases where there were no markets. It further went on to recommend a comprehensive approach in dealing with the slum problem when it states;

"The best examples are holistic approaches to neighbourhood improvement, taking into account health, education, housing, livelihood and gender" [UN-Habitat, 2003 pp. 132].

It appears that the above quote was hinting at the main subject of this work, -urban regeneration- which aims at a comprehensive neighbourhood transformation in achieving a balance between economic upliftment, socio-cultural preservation and environmental/physical development. Ghana having adopted some of the earlier interventions is still grappling with the problem of slum. In Ghana for instance, interventions such as demolition, clearance with(out) resettlement and regularisation have been implemented in the past and some are still being implemented. However, as indicated previously, the slum situation is still far from being solved. It is therefore within this backdrop that the concept of urban regeneration which has been widely applied in many countries in the past and in recent times being applied in Turkey, having been seen to be achieving the desired results of slum transformation thus far is being considered for recommendation for its implementation in Ghana. The next section reviews relevant literature on urban regeneration.

3. URBAN REGENERATION

The twenty-first (21^{st}) century is said to be the century of the city [Tallon, 2010] because cities are expected to host majority of people for the first time in human history. Quite apart from that, more economic, political and administrative functions are expected to concentrate in cities in the twenty-first century. For instance, in the USA, constituting only about 1.5 percent of the total land area, metropolitan areas are said to host 75 percent of the population while about 89 percent of the population of England and Wales is said to live on urban lands which only make up to 7.7 percent of the land area [Tallon, 2010].

Like every aspect of human existence, cities undergo transformations over time making them what Jones and Evans [2008] refer to as never-ending projects due to the ever-increasing need for their changing urban land uses. Roberts [2000] captures this changing phenomenon of towns and cities quite succinctly when he stated:

"Towns and cities change over time, nothing is immune from either the external forces that dictate the need to adapt or internal pressures that are present within urban areas and which can precipitate growth or decline" [quoted in Hussein, 2015].

The quote above suggests that the changes that urban lands undergo may result in either growth or decline. Areas of decline otherwise known as 'brownfields' do not only comprise of the decaying industrial sites [Jones and Evans, 2008] but also extend to the unsafe and unhealthy residential parts of the inner-city tenements. These parts of the urban space have proven over time to be signs of both poverty and of economic decline [Hussein, 2015]. Over the years, governments have tried various urban policies in their bid to reviving these decaying parts of the urban landscape for the purpose of poverty alleviation, rebranding and/or beautification of urban areas among other reasons [Hussein, 2015]. For instance, in the early half of the 20^{th} century and in the late 19^{th} century, policies such as slum clearance, transport infrastructure improvements [Couch et al., 2003] and much later, urban regeneration were carried out in many European cities.

In this chapter, Urban Regeneration is discussed in light of how it affects the urban space. The reasons for adopting urban regeneration across the world and the key features of successful urban regeneration projects across the world have also been discussed along with some specific case studies. Also in this chapter, the urban regeneration experience in Turkey has also been discussed along with the roles of various key state institutions in the urban regeneration projects in Turkey. Finally, urban regeneration projects in light of slum transformation was also discussed. This wealth of information is expected to guide in the recommendation of urban regeneration as an alternative intervention for slum transformation in Ghana.

British cities became the first to experience the harsh realities of the deindustrialisation process which resulted among others in derelict infrastructure and social tensions in the inner-cities [Couch et al., 2003]. The deindustrialisation process was partly attributed to the emergence of less expensive but superior quality goods from the emerging economies of the far east namely Japan, Taiwan and Korea [Jones and Evans, 2008] and the decolonisation of European colonies abroad which resulted in huge shortfalls in industrial raw materials which led to mass closures of huge firms across Britain and other European countries. For instance, the closure of the steel plants in Sheffield in the 1980's and the decline of the motor industries in the West Midlands and the decline of shipbuilding industry in Newcastle are only a few examples of the mass industrial decline in Britain [Jones and Evans, 2008].

It was estimated that, between 1971 and 1981, Britain lost about 34 percent of her manufacturing industries resulting in the loss of about one million jobs [Jones and Evans, 2008]. Businesses started moving out of the major cities which resulted in huge remnants of obsolete industrial estates in major cities with its attendant problems of pollution and urban decay [Jones and Evans, 2008]. The need for urban policies to revive the cities became a major priority of the government which resulted in the adoption and implementation of various policies akin to urban regeneration but with distinct scope and purpose.

3.1. The Emergence, Evolution and Scope of Urban Regeneration

Even though what can be said to be 'urban regeneration' was first carried out between 1852 and 1870 in France where '*large swathe of medieval Paris was cleared to create a more ordered and modern layout, including better utility infrastructure, public parks, and monuments*' [Castree et al., 2013; Öngören and Çolak, 2016] the term in its current form emerged in the 1980's with a particular focus on a holistic urban transformation encompassing economic, social and environmental dimensions of transforming decaying urban spaces [Jones and Evans, 2008]. Urban regeneration was therefore said to be a tool for managing urban changes [Hussein, 2015] and for making cities more liveable [Konbul and Çete, 2014].

Urban regeneration as an urban policy is said to be peculiar to the last quarter of last century even though some semblance of it was implemented in the mid-19th century in France in what was called the Haussmann's restructuring of central Paris and also in the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire [Couch et al., 2003]. It has since emerged over the years as an urban policy capable of reshaping the urban landscape. This policy underwent various metamorphoses over the years, reflecting the scope in terms of what it sought to achieve during any specific period.

It is said that urban regeneration as a broad concept went through various evolutions in the course of time [Öngören and Çolak, 2016; Kandaloğlu, 2016] and in each period, a specific terminology was adopted and applied to reflect a specific scope depending on the policy of government of the day and depending on the economic, physical and environmental conditions of the period [Kandaloğlu, 2016]. For instance, 'urban reconstruction' was the frequently used term in urban policy which reflected the intent of rebuilding portions of European cities that were affected by wartime bombings. Also, from the early 1950's up to the 2000's terms like; redevelopment, renewal, revitalisation, conservation, rehabilitation, improvement, clearance, infill-development, refurbishment and renaissance emerged [Öngören and Çolak, 2016; Roberts and Sykes, 2008]. Some of these terms tend to be used interchangeably with urban regeneration by policy makers or academics [Tallon, 2010; Kandaloğlu, 2016]. Roberts and Sykes [2008 cited in

Kandaloğlu, 2016] grouped the various periods of evolution of urban regeneration in the following manner;

Table 3.1: The Evolution of Urban Regeneration.

Period Policy Type	**1950's Reconstruction**	**1960's Revitalisation**	**1970's Renewal**	**1980's Redevelopment**	**1990's Regeneration**	**2000's Renaissance**
Major Strategies and Orientation	Reconstruction and extension of older areas of towns and cities often based on 'masterplans'; suburban growth.	Continuation of 1950's themes; suburban and periphery growth; some early attempts at rehabilitation.	Focus on in situ renewals and neighbourhood schemes; still development at periphery.	Many major schemes of development and redevelopment; flagship projects; out of town projects.	Move to a more comprehensive form of policy and practice; more emphasis on integrated treatments.	More comprehensive and breath-taking projects.
Key actors and stakeholders	National and local government; private sector developers and contractors.	Move to a greater balance of public and private sectors.	Growing role of private sector and decentralisation in local government.	Emphasis on private sector and special agencies; growth of partnerships.	Partnership the dominant approach	Local organisations; public; private sector; NGO's and universities
Spatial level of activity	Emphasis on local and site levels	Regional level of activity emerged	Regional and local levels initially; later more local emphasis.	In early 1980's focused on site; later emphasis on local level.	Reintroduction of strategic perspective; growth of regional activity.	Societal-based applications with social, economic and physical dimensions; self-financing projects.
Economic focus	Public sector investment with some private sector involvement.	Continuing from 1950's with growing influence of private investment.	Resource constraints in public sector and growth of private investment.	Private sector dominant with selective public funding.	Greater balance between public, private and voluntary funding.	Creation of city economy capable of creating employment and positively developing its regional economy.
Social content	Improvement of housing and other living standards.	Social and welfare improvement.	Community-based action and greater empowerment	Community self-help with very selective state support.	Emphasis on the role of community.	Civil participation applications based on society's economic, cultural and social regeneration.
Physical emphasis	Replacement of inner areas and peripheral developments	Some continuation from 1950's with parallel rehabilitation of existing areas.	More extensive renewal of older urban areas.	Major schemes of replacement of new developments; 'flagship schemes'	More modest than 1980's; heritage and retention.	Plans of living areas integrated with nature and flamboyant architecture.
Environment approach	Landscaping and some greening.	Selective improvements.	Environmental improvements with some innovations.	Growth of concern for wider approach to environment.	Introduction of broader idea of environmental sustainability.	Sustainable green and smart city theme, energy efficient restructuring.

The use of any of these terms by either academics or policy makers had specific intended policy implications over the years [Lees, 2003b cited in Tallon, 2010]. For instance, it is reported that the term urban renewal in the 1960's depicted large scale redevelopment of overcrowded areas of the inner-city slums by the use of state resources [Couch, 1990 cited in Tallon, 2010] as against urban regeneration in the 1980's which focused on economic growth [Brownill, 1990:1999 cited in Tallon, 2010] in addition to physical and economical improvements and sustainability of worn-out urban spaces [Colantonio et al., 2009]. Kandaloğlu [2016] further adds that, urban renewal is concerned with curing the physical conditions of properties by way of physical developments whereas urban regeneration is a holistic urban policy that encompasses all three dimensions of economic, social/cultural and physical/environmental dimensions.

In post-war Britain for instance, the concept was about 'reconstruction' which reflected the main intent of not only the rebuilding of areas affected by wartime bombings but 'also the clearance of slums which housed the 19th century industrial workforce' [Jones and Evans, 2008]. In this sense, Jones and Evans [2008] contend that urban reconstruction was similar to '*Urban Renewal*' in the United States that saw large parts of inner-city areas demolished and replaced with various amenities such as major roads, mass housing and other urban infrastructure. Beyond Britain, similar urban policies of clearance and replacement of obsolete housing was implemented in other western European countries [Couch et al., 2003]. Couch et al. [2003] also reported that many countries had started to implement more 'sensitive programmes of housing renovation and improvement' in the 1960's.

The UK however became the first in Europe to come up with different urban policy after the passage of the 1969 Housing Act and then followed by the Netherlands [Couch, 1990 cited in Couch et al., 2003]. In the middle of the twentieth century, owing to urban decline as a result of the deindustrialisation process, various urban movements emerged in Britain to push one urban agenda or the other. For instance, there was the 'Garden City Movement'; the 'New Towns Movement' and the 'Modernist Movement'[11] [Öngören and Çolak, 2016]. The Modernist Movement sought the clearance of unhealthy parts of the

[11] The following terms were used in their stead; 'Bahçe Kent Hareketi', 'Yeni Kentler Hareketi', and 'Modernist Hareket'

urban area to make way for the creation of more green areas and other infrastructure [Öngören and Çolak, 2016].

In Germany, the major urban policy during the period was the policy of upgrading rental properties within the inner-cities which took effect after the passing of the *Stadtebauforderungsgesetz* in 1970 [Couch et al., 2003]. There was also the 'small-scale area improvement zones' in France known as *operations programmee*. By the mid 1970's in UK and by the mid 1980's across western Europe, changes had begun to manifest within the industrial structures of many industrial cities culminating into mass unemployment and urban deprivation in these cities [Couch et al., 2003].

Gibson and Langstaff [1982 cited in Couch et al., 2003] report that modern British urban policy dates back to only 1968 during which time were lots of social unrests in the inner-cities which prompted the then Labour government to introduce the Urban Programme. This social dysfunction was therefore among the initial problems identified in Britain's urban setting [Gibson and Langstaff, 1982 cited in Couch et al., 2003].

In the 1990's in Britain the term Urban Renaissance briefly replaced Urban Regeneration during the New Labour Party regime [Lees, 2003b cited in Tallon, 2010] but after the 2000's Urban Regeneration became the commonly used term by both professionals and academics [Tallon, 2010]. Urban renaissance under the New Labour government went beyond the physical change to include 'concerns for social inclusion, wealth creation, sustainable development, urban governance, health and welfare, crime prevention, educational opportunity, freedom of movement, environmental quality and good design' [ODPM 2003a; www.communities.gov.uk cited in Tallon, 2010].

3.1.1. Definition and Scope of Urban Regeneration

The term, 'urban regeneration' is said to have a religious connotation in that, it depicts some form of *moral struggle not only to rescue the economy but the soul of the nation* [Jones and Evans, 2008] and in the realms of biology, it reflects the healing process of dying parts of the body which occur in the form of sores and cancers [Furbey, 1999 cited in Jones and Evans, 2008]. Building on this understanding of the term, various definitions emerged over the years. For instance, a famous and widely quoted definition by Roberts [2000] cited in both Tallon [2010] and Hussein [2015] states that UR is:

"*a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental conditions of an area that has been subject to change*".

The definition above brings out the four dimensions of urban regeneration as outlined by Tallon [2010] which include; economic, social and cultural, physical and environment and governance. These dimensions have been expounded upon in the following table [Tallon, 2010].

Table 3.2: Various Dimensions of Urban Regeneration.

Dimension	Concerns
Economic	Job creation, income, employment, skills, employability, development.
Social / Cultural	Quality of life, health, education, crime, housing, quality of public services.
Physical / Environmental	Infrastructure, built and natural environment, transport and communications.
Governance	Nature of local decision-making, engagement of local community, involvement of other groups, style of leadership.

Even though the definition by Roberts [2000] has been widely quoted and adopted as some sort of *de facto* definition of urban regeneration, others like Couch et al. [2003] have also put forward a definition of urban regeneration. According to them (urban);

"*Regeneration is concerned with regrowth of economic activity where it has been lost; the restoration of social function where there has been dysfunction, or social inclusion where there has been exclusion; and the restoration of environmental quality or ecological balance where it has been lost*".

It is therefore concerned with ‘regrowth’ and ‘restoration’ of urban functions. Thus, it aims at ‘managing and planning’ the existing urban space rather than ‘planning and developing’ new urban places [Couch et al., 2003]. Even though urban regeneration is not a ‘one-size-fits-all’ policy, its implementation provides the flexibility to adapt to prevailing local circumstances hence creating some links between its theory and its practice [Tallon, 2010; Kandaloğlu, 2016].

The concept of sustainability was highlighted as part of urban policy and it formed part of the broader concept of urban regeneration along the course of its evolution. This was formalised in the 1992 Rio World Summit where member-states signed up to ensure that the physical environment of cities are not negatively impacted by other urban functions [Kandaloğlu, 2016]. In the 1990’s therefore, sustainability became a more comprehensive and a more integrated concept which later formed part of every urban regeneration projects across the EU [Kandaloğlu, 2016; Colantonio et al., 2009]. Urban regeneration thereafter is understood to be a more comprehensive urban policy that seeks to achieve a perfect blend of economic, social/cultural and physical/environmental dimensions that can attain a sustainable growth and development of urban places.

In exhibiting their commitment to sustainable principles, EU member states adopted the “*Urban Sustainable Development in EU: A Framework for Action*” in 1998 and in 2005 the “*Bristol Accord*” was approved by member states of the EU for sustainable communities [Colantonio et al., 2009]. Also, the “*Leipzig Charter*” on sustainable European Cities was also signed by European ministers [EU Ministers, 2007 cited in Colantonio et al., 2009]. Furthermore, in demonstrating their commitment to better urban development in the 21st century, all twenty-seven (27) member states of the EU outlined their visions for an ideal ‘European City of the 21st century’ [Colantonio et al., 2009].

In terms of scope therefore, a successful urban regeneration project must integrate all the three main dimensions as outlined above. And in all of them, the concept of sustainability must not be ignored. The ensuing sections of this chapter therefore introduces us to first, the objectives of urban regeneration and then the strategies adopted or that need to be adopted in the implementation of any urban regeneration project.

3.1.2. Objectives of Urban Regeneration

Urban regeneration as an urban policy is used by city managers as well as policy makers to achieve various objectives. Urban regeneration is seen as a tool to make cities more liveable [Konbul and Çete, 2014] and as a tool that allows for the re-planning of cities, thus correcting the planning mistakes of the past [Tallon, 2010]. In terms of aesthetics, it comes in handy for the re-designing and the beautification of the urban landscape. Urban regeneration as a planning tool can also be used to guide the development of a communities in terms of sustainable economic development, environmental protection and the prevention or curing of social inequalities. Roberts [2000] and Öngören and Çolak [2016] outlined some of the major reasons for embarking on urban regeneration projects among which include the following:

3.1.2.1. To Cure Decaying Physical Conditions of the Built Environment

Physical deterioration of the urban landscape started in the late 19th century and well into the 20th century. They comprised both the industrial and residential parts of the city. Areas of the city that had residential dereliction became what is known in literature as the slums/shantytowns/ghettos among other local terminologies. Urban regeneration as an urban policy was therefore implemented to respond to these problems of urban areas. It is still implemented today in many jurisdictions with similar objective of curing the decaying physical conditions of towns and cities. An example of its implementation to achieve this objective can be made of Turkey where it is implemented to achieve safer and more enduring physical developments across Turkish cities [Candaş et al., 2016].

3.1.2.2. To Narrow the Social Gap

It is said that there is a direct relationship between the poor physical conditions of buildings in the city and the social problems that the city faces [Öngören and Çolak, 2016]. They further assert that the decaying parts of the city are a result of societal breakdown which are the results of social inequalities in the cities. Urban regeneration is therefore seen as an effective tool for the correction of these social inequalities in towns and cities. In light of this, urban regeneration can therefore be implemented with the view of ensuring that the widening social gap is narrowed and thus curing of social inequalities.

3.1.2.3. To Improve Social Welfare and Quality of Life

In addition to the above, urban regeneration also aims at improving the welfare and quality of life of the inhabitants of the community [Öngören and Çolak, 2016]. This is evident in the integration of economic and social dimensions in its broader scope. In other words, within the broader concept of urban regeneration is social and economic improvement of the lives of the people whose community is being regenerated. This includes creation of new job opportunities, economic diversification and innovation and technology [Kandaloğlu, 2016].

3.1.2.4. To Revitalise the Local Economy

Another reason attributed to the decaying nature of some parts of the city is economic obsolescence [Öngören and Çolak, 2016]. This is mostly apparent in places that experienced huge industrial growth in the 19th and up to the mid-20th centuries and of which owing to economic decline and the consequent deindustrialisation process began to experience economic obsolescence. Examples of such places include Manchester [Lewis, 2009], Liverpool [Hussein, 2015], King's Cross [ULI, 2014; Kandaloğlu, 2016], Elephant and Castle [Kandaloğlu, 2016] among other English examples. Urban regeneration was therefore adopted in these places with the objective of ensuring economic revitalisation of these former economically vibrant parts of the country [Lewis, 2009; Hussein, 2015; Kandaloğlu, 2016]. The economic revitalisation of obsolete places as part of urban regeneration therefore promotes the welfare and quality of life of the inhabitants [Öngören and Çolak, 2016].

3.1.2.5. To Build Safe and Resilient Cities

This particular objective can be said to be unique to Turkey's case which has experienced a number of life-threatening natural disasters such as earthquakes and flooding. Urban regeneration was therefore adopted with the objective of building safe and resilient cities across Turkey [Web 1, 2015].

3.1.3. Strategies in Urban Regeneration

Despite the fact that urban regeneration is not a 'one-size-fits-all' policy [Tallon, 2010; Kandaloğlu, 2016], as part of achieving its desired objectives in light of sustainable economic, social/cultural and physical/environmental transformation of urban spaces, various strategies need to be adopted to ensure its success. This section reviews some of these strategies as indicated in the urban regeneration literature. The following are therefore some of the main strategies adopted for a successful urban regeneration project. Some of these strategies were outlined in Kandaloğlu [2016].

3.1.3.1. Energy efficiency

The concept of sustainability is hardly achieved without plans to ensure efficiency in both the production and use of energy. By this strategy, it is expected that an urban regeneration project will ensure that the adoption and production of energy from renewable sources is encouraged and at the same time more use of energy efficient appliances is encouraged. In line with this strategy, policies to reduce carbon emission are also incorporated into the broader energy efficiency strategies of urban regeneration. In this regard, necessary infrastructure to ensure energy efficiency are a major feature in the whole urban regeneration policy.

3.1.3.2. Integration of Economic, Social/Cultural and Physical Projects in Planning

Many urban policies started off with the goal of achieving economic revitalisation especially in the UK after the decline of industrialisation in the 1970's and 1980's [see Jones and Evans, 2008; Tallon, 2003]. Some also came off to cure the inner urban spaces of decongestion and its attendant problems such as contagions among others and this was among the initial signs of urban decay in the late 19th century in Britain [see Dürr, 2012; Kandaloğlu, 2016]. Others were also implemented to rebuild the urban areas after periods of wartime bombardments especially after the end of the WWII [see also Jones and Evans, 2008].

Under each of these eras, it can be said that the goal was to achieve one of either economic, social/cultural or physical improvements or transformations of the city but not all at the same time. However, with urban regeneration as it has come to be defined and understood, all the aforementioned three dimensions are currently being integrated within its broader concept and practice vis-à-vis the concept of sustainability in order to achieve a holistic approach to the urban regeneration policy.

3.1.3.3. Must not lead to increase in Poverty, Social exclusion and Inequalities

Urban regeneration is considered a mode of sustainable development at the local level [Kandaloğlu, 2016]. This means that it must seek to achieve the overall development of the community in which it is implemented. Indeed, urban regeneration would be needless if the above problems were inexistent and in the same vein, an urban regeneration project that fails to correct these problems may not be adjudged successful. For instance, urban regeneration implemented for the purpose of slum clearance must provide avenues for the future dwellers to continue to ply their trades or at least ensure that access to jobs is made easier. This is expected to improve the economic conditions of the people in the long term. In line with this strategy, urban regeneration must not be an avenue to enrich the wealthy and powerful in society. It must on the contrary, seek to reduce some of these social inequalities.

3.1.3.4. Strong Legal Regime

As a fundamental principle in achieving a successful urban regeneration project [Kandaloğlu, 2016], all laws related to its application must be well spelt out to avoid any ambiguity and arbitrariness. It must be linked up with the already existing laws related to lands. One of the difficulties as will be demonstrated later in the course of this work is that, its success could be derailed by objections raised by affected people in communities declared as urban regeneration zones. To have a smooth implementation of urban regeneration therefore, appropriate legislations must be well drafted and passed to avoid any potential challenge to any decision to embark on an urban regeneration project. These laws must also be drafted such that while they respond to the needs of the community, they also meet the aspirations of the people.

3.1.3.5. Must be Sensitive to the Cultures of the People

Cities are made of people and not bricks and mortar or concretes etc [Gleaser, 2011 cited in Kandaloğlu, 2016]. It is therefore necessary that while planning the living areas of these people, their cultures are considered. Urban regeneration must not therefore lead to '*cultural regeneration*'. It is not impossible to achieve a successful urban regeneration without replacing the cultures of the inhabitants. The cultures of the people may include the house types they prefer to live in, how they prefer to socialise their kids, in what form they choose to worship among others.

It is therefore important that before any urban regeneration project is undertaken, a prior survey of the people to be affected is carried out so as to ascertain their choices and preferences. Having done so, those that conform to the principles of sustainability and the general aspirations of the country are incorporated in the project and those that are likely to pose a threat to the principles of sustainability can be substituted with more appropriate ones that do not also entirely replace the cultures of the people.

3.1.3.6. It must not Destroy the Original Urban Identity

Every city has its own uniqueness. This uniqueness is to a large extent shaped by its residents, their cultural heritage and the natural environment among others. It is therefore imperative that any form of urban policy implemented in the city highlights this uniqueness rather than obscures it. Urban regeneration must therefore be used as an effective tool for projecting the image of a city by emphasising key features of the city that give the city its own unique urban identity.

3.1.3.7. Green Transport

This strategy is closely related to the strategy of energy efficiency. By this, it is understood that, a successful urban regeneration project will ensure less use of fossil fuels in transportation and this may be achieved in two ways which are; encouraging mass public transportation as against individual vehicular use. This will cut down on the number of vehicles plying the city roads. The second option is to encourage the use of non-fossil-fuel-powered vehicles. This brings in the discussion on the use of electric vehicles within neighbourhoods as a more sustainable option for the future of intracity transportation.

3.1.4. Sustainable Urban Regeneration

The concept of sustainability is increasingly taking a centre stage in almost every aspect of human endeavour especially in the twenty-first (21st) century. It connotes a situation, where human actions are guided such that, the environment is protected in a way that ensures equal access to its physical, social and economic benefits [Jones and Evans, 2008] by the current generation without compromising access to these benefits by the next generation. The growing concerns for climate change have necessitated the adoption of sustainability principles in the built environment. Issues such as energy efficiency and minimum levels of waste creation are increasingly incorporated in the designs of towns and cities [sd.commission.org.uk cited in Tallon, 2010]. This is because, it is now recognised that designs of cities can significantly affect the behaviour of our climate [Jones and Evans, 2008].

Sustainability has thus, become a major feature in many urban policies especially in urban regeneration projects such that it has become a key determinant of a successful urban regeneration project. In other words, an urban regeneration project is deemed unsuccessful if it fails the sustainability criterion. Even though (previous) urban regeneration policies are mostly designed to achieve economic rather than environmental or social revival of the urban space [Couch and Dennemann, 2000 cited in Tallon, 2010], the growing importance of sustainability in terms of each of economic, environmental and social benefits has ensured that modern urban regeneration projects adopt various sustainability principles.

Sustainable urban regeneration involves ‘environmental sustainability, financial viability contributing to economic regeneration, community spirit and cohesion’ [Roberts and Sykes, 2000 cited in Tallon, 2010]. Various thoughts have been expressed with regards to how cities can achieve sustainability through their designs in terms of what size is ideal for them [Tallon, 2010]. This, according to Tallon [2010] has resulted in several debates as to what the ‘optimal city size’ must be in order for a city to be sustainable. Discussions about optimal city size for sustainability have therefore been ‘complex and contested’ over the years [Tallon, 2010].

There are those [Blowers and Pair, 1999 cited in Tallon, 2010] who maintain that cities can only be more sustainable if they are designed to be more compact and more urbanised, thus highlighting the importance of ‘*densification*’ of urban spaces which is seen to be a solution to some of the major environmental problems such as traffic and air pollution at the local level [Tallon, 2010]. It has also been reiterated that, the more compact a settlement is, the more space it conserves, and thus, enabling residents to use more energy-efficient mass transport systems [Tallon, 2010]. Since the mid 1990’s in Britain, densification together with inner-city regeneration, infilling and brownfield development have formed major parts of both central and local government urban policies [Tallon, 2010].

In opposition to the sprawling city school of thought, Hall [2006 cited in Tallon, 2010] argues that increasing the size of a city is unsustainable because big cities require massive amounts of energy per capita and are usually more dependent on external environmental resources. In what may be seen as sufficient rebuttal, Tallon [2010] maintains that, large cities have a well-developed political and administrative infrastructure which enables them pool sufficient resources to tackle the various environmental problems affecting the cities. He further argues that, big cities as centres of innovation and technology can (rather than being affronts to sustainability) contribute to attaining sustainability.

The concept of compact city or urban densification having been met with controversies especially in the US [Tallon, 2010] where it has also been criticised as being 'impractical' because the suburbanisation process has proved inevitable and it is therefore impossible to avoid; it is also said to be 'unrealistic' because planning has limitations with regards to 'power and influence' [Tallon, 2010] and finally, it is said to be undesirable because people do not want to live in denser neighbourhoods [Senior et al., 2004 cited in Tallon, 2010].

Despite the arguments made in favour of big sprawling cities and against the compact city concept, advocacy of urban densification or the 'compact city' model has gained widespread popularity [Pacione, 2005; Hall, 2006 cited in Tallon, 2010] which has resulted in its adoption as part of urban policies of many countries including those of the European Union (EU) since the mid 1990's [CEC, 1990 cited in Tallon]. The compact city model represents 'liveability of cities' and it is connected to the principles of urban regeneration which represents the social and economic improvement of decaying parts of the city [Lees, 2002 cited in Tallon, 2010]. It is further noted that, the compact city concept provides an opportunity to protect the natural environment [Tallon, 2010] which is also an essential aspect of urban regeneration.

As previously indicated, the concept of sustainability being crucial to the success of urban regeneration, has made it essential for the principles of sustainability to be incorporated in the designs of cities especially in new housing [Tallon, 2010]. In this regard, Tallon [2010] citing CLG [2008] outlines some six elements of sustainable urban design for a sustainable urban regeneration which are as follows;

- *Sustainable urban design delivers value for money, and design costs are a small percentage of construction costs.*

- *It is through the design process that the greatest impact can be made on the quality, efficiency and overall sustainability of buildings.*
- *Encourages local community identity over big-brand 'anywhere, anyplace' anonymity.*
- *Ensures attention to creating places that respond to people's needs, and helps community cohesion.*
- *Improves longer-term 'liveability', management and maintenance of the built environment, including public places such as streets and parks, to ensure spaces can stay clean, safe and green.*
- *Contributes to the achievement of sustainable development by respecting historical context, making best use of resources, and being able to respond to change.*

Sustainable urban regeneration project is also closely linked to affordability of housing constructed under urban regeneration [Branco and Alves, ca.2016]. It is therefore imperative that any urban regeneration project makes provisions for the production and supply of affordable housing. Affordability is regarded as the percentage of cost of housing to household income [Branco and Alves, ca.2016]. Housing is said to be affordable if the cost of rent is not more than 30 percent of the net income of a household [Branco and Alves, ca.2016]. In ensuring affordability in housing Kemp [2012 cited in Branco and Alves, ca.2016] argues that, one of the following two or both ways can be adopted; one is the supply side and the other the demand side. On the supply side, favourable policies by the government to promote construction of more affordable housing can be implemented. These policies may include subsidies to construction firms who wish to construct affordable housing and tax reliefs among others [Branco and Alves, ca.2016]. On boosting the demand side too, housing allowances such as housing benefit, rent assistance, shelter allowances, accommodation supplements, housing vouchers, rent rebates among others can be reached out to the citizens [Branco and Alves, ca.2016].

In achieving a successful urban regeneration therefore, it is essential for the new designs to take into account the holistic concept of sustainability as discussed above and with this at the core of many urban regeneration projects across the world, some of those projects have been assessed successful. The next section of this work therefore presents global examples of some successful urban regeneration projects.

3.2. Examples of Urban Regeneration Projects across the Globe

In this section, some urban regeneration projects across the world that were considered successful by experts in the field have been discussed. Some of the examples include those from across the world especially Britain and other European countries such as the King's Cross URP, Elephant and Castle URP, both of which are examples from Britain. Others include; the La Defense URP in France; and the 22@Barcelona in Spain.

3.2.1. The King's Cross Urban Regeneration Project, London

The decision to regenerate King's Cross, one of Britain's major industrial hubs of the 19^{th} century came in the mid 1990's with the aim of creating;

'*a scheme which would be part of London, a busy place with lots going on, somewhere that could always surprise. It would have all the things that any other successful district of the city would have*' [Evans of Argent quoted in ULI, 2014].

Having enjoyed a period of vibrancy and opulence in the Victorian era, King's Cross was reduced to central London's district with the lowest office rent in the 1970's and 80's as a result of urban decay [ULI, 2014]. With a total land area of 67 acres (27 ha), it is currently being developed into a mixed-use zone including green areas and open spaces which were to make up about 40 percent of the total area [ULI, 2014] or about 10.5 ha [Kandaloğlu 2016]. Located in central London, King's Cross is a confluence of various transportation networks including six underground transport lines, two national train stations and an international high-speed rail linking England and France via Paris [ULI, 2014]. The following image shows portions of King's Cross [Web 12 2014].

Image 3.1: King’s Cross: the view looking north across Regent’s Canal.

Considered as the biggest construction project in Britain in the 21st century [Kandaloğlu 2016], its mixed array of uses comprising 316,000 sq. m of office space, 46,400 sq. m of retail and leisure and close to about 2000 homes is expected to serve a total of about 45,000 people daily when it is completed in 2020 [ULI, 2014]. With a ‘*comprehensive approach*’ to mixed uses, the development is expected to be an *around-the-clock* place of socialisation where there shall be vibrancy throughout the day and night [ULI, 2014].

Image 3.2: Aerial View of King’s Cross.

In order to achieve energy efficiency, the project is designed to first encourage walking, then cycling and finally the use of public transport [ULI, 2014]. Also, within this project, there is a provision for an ‘Energy Centre’ which is expected to meet most (99 percent) of the development’s heat energy needs [kingscross.co.uk] which is in line with the developers’ aim of providing one of Britain’s most sustainable projects [ULI, 2014; kingscross.co.uk]. With regards to socioeconomic dimension, the provision of the Skills Centre along with the King’s Cross schools programme is expected to meet the socioeconomic needs of the locals in terms of skills learning and access to new employment opportunities [kingscross.co.uk].

Even though planning was an important component of the entire project, there were rooms for flexibility. And one major lesson that can be learnt from the plethora of lessons in the whole project is the concept of place making. The developers understood that places emerge organically and so did not impose planning rigidity in terms of how the tone, character and feel of the neighbourhood should be but allowed for these minute details to emerge naturally in the course of time.

Image 3.3: An Elevated View of Granary Square, King's Cross.

The project which is estimated to cost about GB£ 3 billion is financed through a partnership of King's Cross Central Limited Partnership (KCCLP) along with other investment partners. This project albeit still ongoing has already been deemed successful considering its holistic approach in ensuring all major stakeholders of the urban society are catered for. There are provisions for affordable housing which comprises about 50 percent of the available housing along with provision for the high-income groups as well as those in between. Luxury brands like Louise Vuitton have also been catered for in terms of shopping spaces. The project has been widely applauded such that there are those who are less optimistic that there can ever be anything like it repeated in Britain [Web 12, 2014].

3.2.2. Elephant and Castle Urban Regeneration Project, London

This is a nineteenth (19th) century industrial land located in London which served as place of residence for industrial workers in the 19th century [Kandaloğlu, 2016]. It was a thriving place of commerce, entertainment and leisure in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Owing to increasing population, the place witnessed huge slum developments in the late 19th and early 20th centuries [elephantandcastle.org.uk]. Bombings during WWII also destroyed much of the area and soon, about 50 acres of its land were declared for redevelopment and by 1960, the Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre was built, making it the first of its kind in Europe [elephantandcastle.org.uk].

Image 3.4: Sections of the Development at Elephant and Castle / elephantandcastle.org.uk.

With an increasingly growing population and which is expected to reach 10 million by 2030, the need to make provisions in terms of housing and places of work for the expected population of London was necessary [elephantandcastle.org.uk]. In the year 1999, a decision was taken by the British government to redevelop the site using government funds with the following objectives [Kandaloğlu, 2016];

- *To move away from individual car ownership to the encouragement of use of public transport services;*
- *To turn the economic fortunes of the area from recession to economic success;*
- *To discourage human and neighbourhood exclusion to building of strong social integration and;*
- *To create a place that is attractive to people rather than a place that is avoided.*

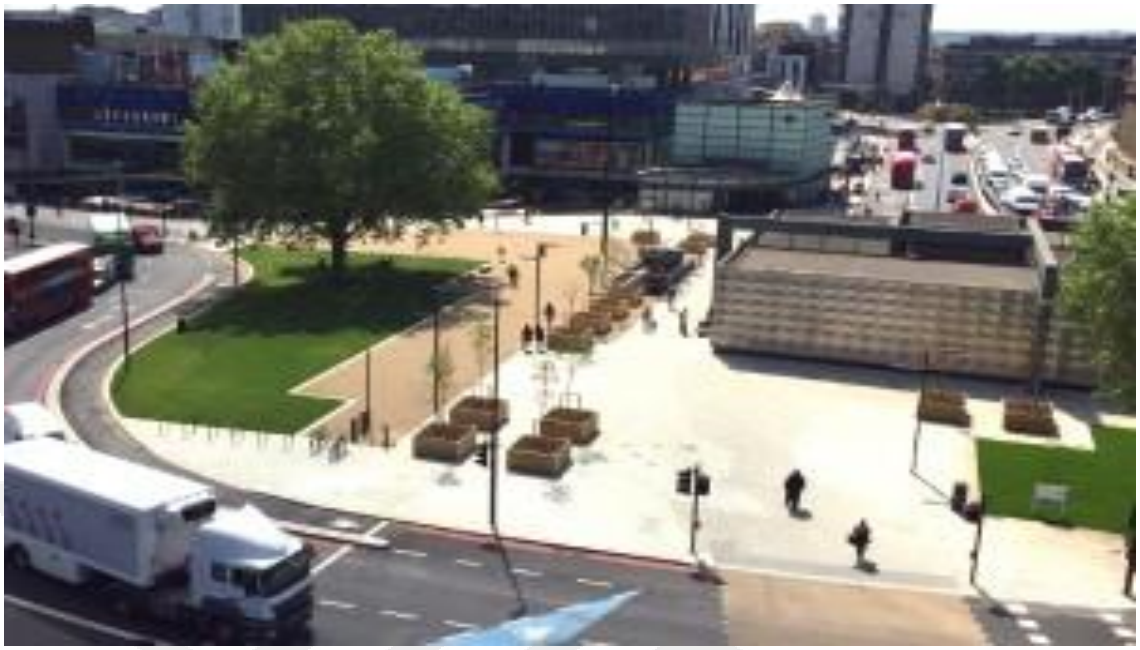

Image 3.5: Open Spaces – Elephant and Castle, London / elephantandcastle.org.uk.

The project is expected to comprise of mix use of 5000 new homes (1,650 of which are expected to be affordable) a town centre, largest new park in central London and 50 new shops, restaurants and cafes, three new public squares, parks and green areas by the time it completes in 2025 [elephantandcastle.org.uk]. In terms of environmental sustainability, the project is being developed into one of the world's most environmentally sustainable urban regeneration [elephantandcastle.org.uk]. The energy needs of the homes are expected to be met by the Energy Hub which is a Combine Heat and Power (CHP) plant and it is expected to supply a '*net zero carbon heating and hot water to all homes*' [elephantandcastle.org.uk].

By the time the project completes in 2025, the GB£3 billion regeneration project is expected to create some 10,000 new jobs and with the presence of two universities in the project area, education and culture are expected to be given a boost especially with the investment of about GB£240 million in that regard [elephantandcastle.org.uk]. Also, the over GB£150 million investment in transport is expected to boost road, cycling and pedestrian transport infrastructure within the development [elephantandcastle.org.uk].

Image 3.6: Sections of Green Areas at Elephant and Castle / elephantandcastle.org.uk

3.2.3. Paris La Défense, Paris

This is arguably the most effective urban regeneration project in France [Kandaloğlu, 2016]. It is a 130 hectare-land which was a former slum area [Kandaloğlu, 2016]. The project was motivated by the following three main principles [Ersoy, 2004; Demirsoy, 2006 cited in Kandaloğlu, 2016];

- *To build more and more skyscrapers;*
- *To remove the existing road network and;*
- *To separate vehicular and pedestrian traffic flows from each other.*

The project is undertaken by a public-private partnership in a 30:70 ratio respectively [Kandaloğlu, 2016]. The public sector was not so much concerned about the project's financial viability and therefore aimed mainly at the creation of a new urban space by the reduction of economic activities within the historical parts of the project area [Kandaloğlu, 2016].

3.2.4. Spain's 22@Barcelona URP, Barcelona

This project comprises approximately 198 hectares [Kandaloğlu, 2016] of Poblenou district of Catalonia. Poblenou was originally a small farmland which rose to become a major industrial hub of Catalonia owing to the advent of the steam engine and later electricity [Web 34, nd]. And as in the case of other 19th century industrial cities, this area also saw the development of slums which subsisted well into the second half of the 20th century [Web 34, nd]. The vibrancy of this neighbourhood was adversely affected by the intense deindustrialisation process that started in the 1960's [Web 34, nd] and for which reason left major parts of the city in dereliction. The hosting of the 1992 Olympic Games necessitated the regeneration of this part of the city, thus setting the stage for the 22@Barcelona URP [Web 34, nd].

Image 3.7: Aerial view of 22@Barcelona URP / [22@Barcelona Plan, 2012].

Thus, 22 ARROBA BCN, S.A was established in the year 2000 through the Municipal Council to '*develop and execute all types of urban-planning projects in the industrial and productive areas of the city of Barcelona with urban designation of 22@ or related*' [Web 34, nd]. The project is expected to span between 15 and 20 years consisting of a total of about 1,413 new homes of which 892 have already been constructed and another 521 underway; an economic dimension where the creation of new jobs by way of attracting new businesses into the neighbourhood is given priority [Web 34, nd]. Data from the business census indicate positive results in the area of job creation. Some 1502 new businesses have moved into the area since 2000 providing jobs to about 44,600 additional people [Web 34, nd]. There shall also be some additional 4,000 social housing to the existing housing stock of which at least 25 percent shall be for rental only [Kandaloğlu, 2016]. In line with its social objectives, the following activities were to be carried out under the project;

- *Draft urban-planning, building and civil works projects on its own or through subcontracting, adjudicate corresponding works, direct and supervise their execution and receive them;*
- *Draw up planning and urban-management instruments;*
- *Execute urban planning approved by the City Council through any of the legally established systems and sign collective urban-planning agreements, being the beneficiary of the urban-planning fees that come to be approved;*
- *Acquire, transmit, establish, modify and revoke all types of real and personal rights to personal and real estate as authorized by current legislation;*
- *Act as the beneficiary in expropriations;*
- *Sign agreements with competent bodies that may collaborate, given their competence, in optimizing management;*
- *Sell, if necessary beforehand, land resulting from the urban redistribution;*
- *Manage services implanted until they are formally taken over by the corresponding entity;*
- *Manage adjudication processes for facilities and equipment under the concession regime;*
- *Receive aid and subsidies and access capital markets through loan or other operations to obtain resources;*
- *Intervene, participate in, organize, carry out and manage any mercantile activities related to its social aims, from a financial, real estate, mortgage or register perspective on its own behalf or that of others;*
- *Promote all types of actions destined to raise awareness of the opportunities in the industrial areas of the city of Barcelona and attract and drive the establishment of companies and economic activities*. [quoted in Web 34, nd].

This project has also made provision for its own source of energy. There is at the moment one plant that uses steam from the urban waste incineration plants to produce energy for heating and cooling [Web 34, nd]. The city model type adopted for this project is the ‘*Urban-Cluster*’ model which integrates education and industries as well as other urban functions together [Web 34, nd]. It is seen as a good example of the compact city model where there is a fair balance of mixed urban land uses as well as sustainable models, making it ‘*a more balanced, more hybrid, more eco-friendly, economically stronger and more cohesive*’ neighbourhood [Web 34, nd].

The success of this project is highlighted in the fact that it has become a benchmark for the International Association of Science and Technology Parks (IASP) and The Competitiveness Institute (TCI) as well as for some major world cities like Istanbul, Boston, Rio de Janeiro and Cape Town in their urban transformation agendas [Web 34, nd].

3.3. Some Common Features of Successful Urban Regeneration Projects

The examples in the preceding section are only a few of the best practices in the area of urban regeneration. As previously stated, successful urban regeneration projects adopt integrated approaches to sustainable urban regeneration. And in the examples above, the creation of (new) employment opportunities, skill acquisition, protection of historical buildings as well as education and training all highlight the presence of social/cultural and economic sustainability dimensions. With regards to environmental sustainability, the provision of sufficient green and open spaces, self-energy-providing power plants and the widespread adoption of high rise developments to create a compact city all go to ensure protection of the environment and thus, ensuring environmental sustainability. A key component of every huge project is the issue of funding. And in all the successful urban regeneration projects, there has been sufficient partnership between the public and the private sectors. The following table summarises some of the key features of successful urban regeneration projects from across the world [Kandaloğlu, 2016].

Table 3.3: Global Examples of Urban Regeneration Projects Compared.

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="4">Project Name</th><th colspan="14">Physical Dimension</th><th colspan="3" rowspan="2">Economic Dimension</th><th colspan="5" rowspan="2">Social Dimension</th></tr>
<tr><th colspan="6">Strategic Planning Architecture</th><th colspan="3">Architecture</th><th colspan="5">Engineering</th></tr>
<tr><th rowspan="2">Participation</th><th rowspan="2">Energy Planning</th><th rowspan="2">Ecological Planning</th><th rowspan="2">Mixed Use</th><th rowspan="2">Construction Stds</th><th rowspan="2">Transp. Model</th><th rowspan="2">Green Buildings</th><th rowspan="2">Social Housing</th><th rowspan="2">Historical Heritage</th><th colspan="2">Infrastructure</th><th rowspan="2">Central Heating/Cooling</th><th rowspan="2">Energy Efficiency</th><th rowspan="2">Reduced CO2 emissions</th><th rowspan="2">New Job Opportunities</th><th rowspan="2">Economic Diversification</th><th rowspan="2">Innovation and Technology</th><th rowspan="2">Education</th><th rowspan="2">Job Opportunities</th><th rowspan="2">Security</th><th rowspan="2">Health</th><th rowspan="2">Vocational Training</th></tr>
<tr><th>High Quality</th><th>Poor Quality</th></tr>
<tr><td>King's Cross</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Elephant and Castle</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td></tr>
<tr><td>La Defense</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td></td><td></td><td>■</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>22@Barcelona</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td></td><td></td><td>■</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td></tr>
<tr><td>Liverpool King's City Centre</td><td></td><td></td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td></td><td></td><td>■</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Potsdam Square</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td></td><td>■</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Hafencity URP</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Sao Paulo City Centre</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td></td><td>■</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td>■</td><td></td><td>■</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
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3.4. Urban Regeneration Practice in Turkey

The decision to focus on the Turkish experience with urban regeneration or *kentsel dönüşüm* as it is known in the Turkish language had been previously explained in the opening pages of this work. The reason is due to the fact that, unlike the examples from Western Europe, the implementation of urban regeneration in Turkey is aimed at transforming both gecekondu and other settlements that have been declared liable to disasters. Apart from this, urban regeneration has been and continues to be a major topical issue in Turkey with lots of academic discourses regarding the subject. It is therefore more current, with several completed and ongoing projects across the country. In addition to lessons derived from the concept itself, more weight is given to the Turkish experience in this work. This section therefore reviews the Turkish urban regeneration experience.

3.4.1. General Background to Urban Regeneration Practice in Turkey

With the victory of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in the 2002 polls, major legal and institutional changes were initiated in line with the EU accession requirements which culminated in the passage of the Metropolitan Municipality Act, 2004 (Act 5216) and the Municipality Act, 2005 (Act 5393) which granted some form of financial independence to the municipalities to undertake some major urban projects within their jurisdictions [Yetiskul et al., 2015]. This decentralisation initiative resulted in municipalities leading the agenda on major urban development. They were able to constitute real estate firms to carry out urban projects; to facilitate urban land allocation; and to borrowing capital among others [Yetiskul et al., 2015]. Also, Act 5366 was passed during the same period to guide the redevelopment of historical sites and to supersede the Conservation and Zoning Regulations which restricted reconstruction in historical areas [Yetiskul et al., 2015].

These laws facilitated the commencements of major urban projects by the municipalities and in line with the neoliberal urban policy, many urban regeneration projects were launched across the country. Notwithstanding the above laws, many of the projects received widespread resistance leading to court cases which led to long delays in the implementation of some of the projects. In order to widen the scope of application of urban development powers of the government, and in order to seal off possible loopholes in previous laws, Act 6306 was passed in 2012 which became the major Urban Regeneration law in use in Turkey today.

Even though the first thing that comes to mind by the mere mention of '*kentsel dönüşüm* (urban regeneration)' in Turkey is 'gecekondu demolishing', the motivation for the adoption and implementation of urban regeneration policy in Turkey is not only for the purpose of slum clearance. In addition to that, one of the main motivations for the adoption of urban regeneration in Turkey is to rebuild Turkish cities to be strong enough to withstand disasters such as earthquakes, flooding and landslides among others [Konbul and Çete, 2014]. Some mentions were made of disasters that hit Turkish cities in the past and prominent among which were the Erzincan Quakes of 1939-44 [Sağlam, 2016], Marmara Quakes of 1999 and the Van Quakes of 2011 [Candaş et al., 2016].

It was revealed that, considerable number of structures built before the year 2000 did not comply with sufficient safety standards resulting in up to 7 million structures across the country declared unfit to withstand disasters such as earthquakes [Web 1, 2015; TOKİ, 2016a]. It is worthy of note that, Turkey as a country lies in major fault lines

[Konbul and Çete, 2014] covering about 40 percent of the land as revealed by the then Minister of Environment and Urban Development, Hon. Mehmet Özhaseki [Web 13, 2017]. Apart from the fact that many of the structures were poorly constructed -in terms of either the use of poor construction materials or the application of poor construction techniques- some were also constructed in disaster-prone areas. It is behind this backdrop that a large-scale regeneration of these settlements was deemed essential for the protection of lives and properties.

The Ministry of Environment and Urban Development (ÇŞB) estimates up to about 7 million dwellings which constitute about 40 percent of the total housing stock of Turkey to be affected by the urban regeneration projects and this is expected to cost the country between US$ 400 and US$500 billion over a period of 20 years [Web 1, 2015; Candaş et al., 2016; Ocak and Özçelik, 2014] with Istanbul alone taking about a quarter of the total cost [Ocak and Özçelik, 2014].

As a necessary component of any policy, relevant laws were enacted over the years as previously indicated, to ensure the smooth implementation of the various policies initiated in safeguarding lives and properties in Turkish cities. Even though the enabling legislation for the implementation of the current urban regeneration projects in Turkey remains the Transformation of Areas Under Risks of Disaster Act, 2012 (Act 6306) which was passed shortly after the Van disaster, a number of other legislations were enacted in the past for the same purpose of achieving liveable cities in Turkey. The various legislations enacted over the years as previously mentioned have been discussed in the section below.

3.4.2. Legal Frameworks for the Implementation of URP's in Turkey

In contrast to western European countries and north America, the practice of urban regeneration in Turkey was not borne out of revitalising decaying or derelict industrial sites or areas affected by wartime bombardments. It was on the contrary, borne out of struggles with gecekondu development and the need to rebuild stronger and more enduring cities that are capable of withstanding disasters. It is therefore worthy of note that majority of the laws that were enacted for the purpose of proper and equitable implementation of

URP’s in Turkey are focused more on housing especially housing for the lower and middle income earning groups [TOKİ, 2016a].

The first attempt at dealing with the gecekondu problem in Turkey with regards to legislation was the enactment of the Gecekondu Act, 1966 (Act 775) which aimed at ‘improving the conditions of available slums in fairly good state, demolishing those in poor state and preventing the creation of new ones’ [Candaş et al., 2016; Erman, 2001; Konbul and Çete, 2014]. Subsequent laws were passed to augment the above law in the same struggle against gecekondu developments. At least five other laws were passed in that regard and they include; the Mass Housing Act, 1984 (Act 2985); the Northern Ankara Entrance Urban Regeneration Project Administration Act, 2004 (Act 5104); the Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage Sites through Renewal and Re-use Act, 2005 (Act 5366); the Municipality Act, 2005 (Act 5393); the latest and the most widely applied law till today is the Transformation of Areas Under Risks of Disaster Act, 2012 (Act 6306). In fact, the Act 6306 is (un)officially known as the *Urban Regeneration Law*, signifying its importance as far as urban regeneration practice in Turkey is concerned.

The law provides for the relevant authorities mandated to take up the responsibility of implementing or overseeing urban regeneration in the country. These institutions as per section 1 of the Act include: a) The Ministry of Environment and Urban Development b) the various municipalities including metropolitan and municipal assemblies c) The Mass Housing Development Authority (TOKİ) and d) institutions or bodies authorised by any of the above. These institutions are responsible for the implementation of urban regeneration in Turkey and can undertake URP’s alone or in collaboration with other entities like the municipalities. Of all the statutory bodies entrusted with the implementation of urban regeneration in Turkey, TOKİ is the most relevant, embarking on the most comprehensive urban regeneration projects across the country which encapsulates the social, physical and economic regeneration and beautification of places under the risks of earthquakes and other disasters summing up to about 55 km^2 area [TOKİ, 2015; Haber Türk, 2015]. The next section gives some details about the various institutions responsible for the implementation of urban regeneration projects across Turkey. For the purpose of this work therefore, TOKİ’s work in URP has been studied and reviewed. In other words, the work of TOKİ in URP has been taken as example from the Turkish experience even though various forms of implementations are being undertaken by other entities as earlier indicated.

3.4.3. Institutions Responsible for the Implementation of URP's in Turkey

The institutions responsible for the implementation of URP's in Turkey can be grouped into two categories viz; local and central government authorities [Konbul and Çete, 2014]. The local government authorities include the various municipal and metropolitan assemblies whereas the central government institutions comprise of only the Ministry of Environment and Urban Development and TOKİ [Uzun et al., 2010 cited in Konbul and Çete, 2014]. The following discussions explain the mandates and roles of the various institutions responsible for URP's in Turkey.

3.4.3.1. The Municipalities[12]

The enabling legislation for the mandate of the municipalities in carrying out URP's is the Municipality Law, 2005 (Act 5393) which mandates the various municipalities to 'determine urban regeneration areas' and to implement URP's that aim to;

"…construct housing, industrial, commercial, public services, recreational and any type of social areas, and technological parks; renew outdated urban spaces; preserve historical and cultural assets; or take measures against earthquake risk" [Konbul and Çete, 2014].

In accordance with this law, any area declared as an urban regeneration area must not be smaller than 5 hectares and that, the stakeholders' mutual agreement may be sort in the expropriation process [Konbul and Çete, 2014]. Even though the law encourages what may be said to be participation by all stakeholders in the expropriation process, it

[12] The term '*municipalities*' in this context refers to the various local government units which may be metropolitan or municipal areas. In countries like Ghana where there is a three-level local government structure, they refer to the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDA's).

does not provide for the modalities for this to be done [Konbul and Çete, 2014] and has therefore been left to the discretion of the relevant authorities. In the course of any UR project in any area under this law, residents are only obliged to pay a quarter (1/4) of all development taxes [Konbul and Çete, 2014].

Various municipalities and metropolitan assemblies have therefore undertaken (and are undertaking) various URP's in their areas of jurisdiction. For instance, the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality has revised the masterplan of Örnekköy district for the implementation of URP in the neighbourhood [Web 14, 2017]. This URP covers an 18-hectare land which seeks to develop more green areas, market squares, recreational facilities, parks and public squares among others. A combined total of 1,291 single units comprising both residential and office spaces is expected to be constructed under this project [Web 14, 2017].

Image 3.8: Örnekköy District Declared as UR Zone by the İzmir Met. Municipality.

Quite apart from that, the Seyhan district of Adana Metropolitan Municipality has also planned and announced the regeneration of some communities within the district [Web 14, 2017a]. A total of 1,036,000 m^2 of land shall be utilised in the project which shall comprise a total of 356,000 m^2 of green areas, 680,000 m^2 of residential and commercial areas comprising some 6,926 units of new office and housing units [Web 14, 2017a]. This was made public by the District Chief of the area Mr. Zeydan Karlar [Web 14, 2017a].

Image 3.9: Proposed UR Project in Seyhan District, Adana.

Yet, in what is said to be Turkey's biggest URP, the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality announced in January 2017, the Kepez – Santral URP[13] in which about 2,500 (gecekondu) homes were demolished and ready for reconstruction [www.yenikepezsantral.com]. The project is expected to be completed and homes delivered to interest holders in 24 months after the demolishing [www.yenikepezsantral.com]. With a massive 99 percent acceptance by residents of the area, it is regarded as the biggest support any URP has received in any part of Turkey so far [www.yenikepezsantral.com]. Expected to be an enviable example of URP for the rest of Turkey, the municipality is determined to construct a total of 5,070 new homes which are to be constructed along with a 261,000 m^2 area of greenery and adequate spaces reserved for the construction of amenities such as public squares, museums, children's

[13] This project has been discussed in further detail in section 3.5 of this work.

parks, shopping malls, semi open arcades, places of worship (mosques), schools, hospitals, market squares and adequate transport nodes among others [www.yenikepezsantral.com]. The image below shows the cleared area for the Kepez-Santral URP [Web 16, 2017].

Image 3.10: Demolished Kepez – Santral URP Site.

3.4.3.2. The Ministry of Environment and Urban Development (ÇŞB)

The Ministry of Environment and Urban Development was first established during the Ottoman era when it was referred to as '*Nafia Nezareti*' which can loosely be translated as 'Ministry of Public Works' [www.csb.gov.tr]. The name-change continued in the Republican era for five times until in the year 2011 when it finally assumed its present form as established under the Ministry of Environment and Urban Development Act, 2011 (as amended, Act 644). Even though at various points in time, various roles such as Post and Telecommunications (PTT) among others were added to its main functions, its core functions of urban development and environmental protection remained unchanged over the years [www.csb.gov.tr].

The ministry operates under several laws in performing its wide array of urban and environmental functions. Its mandate of implementing and supervising URP's in Turkey is established under both Act 644 (as amended) and Act 6306. In the implementation of URP's, the enabling legislation requires that the ministry regenerates buildings at risk of disasters and in doing so, consultation with owners of such buildings is encouraged although the ministry or any of the statutory bodies under Act 6306 can enforce the state's power of eminent domain [Konbul and Çete, 2014]. Unlike developments carried out under Act 5393 where residents are expected to pay a quarter of the required developments taxes, developments under this law (Act 6306) do not attract any development taxes [Konbul and Çete, 2014].

3.4.3.3. The Mass Housing Development Authority (TOKİ)

In granting the rights of its citizens under the Turkish constitution with respect to provision of decent and affordable housing, this became a top priority for the Turkish state over the years. The increase in urban population over the years which led to enormous pressure on social amenities including housing in Turkish towns and cities especially in the 1980's resulted in the establishment of TOKİ under the Mass Housing Act, 1984 (Act 2985) which entrusted TOKİ with the responsibility of administering public housing to the Turkish people [TOKİ, 2014]. The following image shows portions of gecekondu [TOKİ, 2016a].

Image 3.11: Parts of a Gecekondu Settlement.

Act 2985 mandates TOKİ to solve the housing problems in Turkey and thus, becoming the lead government institution mandated by law to deal with housing and other human settlement issues [TOKİ, 2014]. It has thus in the process produced a total of 940 thousand housing units within a period of 19 years from 1984 to 2002 targeting mainly the lower and middle income earning groups [TOKİ, 2014] although a small percentage of luxury homes targeting the high-income earners too is being constructed in recent years. The Authority's production for the year 2016 increased by 40 percent to a figure of 64,822 housing units, which is an increase from an annual average of 46 thousand over the last fourteen (14) years [Web 14, 2017].

In addition to its duties under Act 2985, as indicated earlier, Act 6306 also mandates TOKİ to supervise and implement URP's across the country. And since the commencement of the implementation of urban regeneration in Turkey, TOKİ has been engaged in the regeneration of various settlements throughout the country. These settlements are usually gecekondus and/or areas liable to disasters. With a total of about 55,000,000 m^2 of land across the country at its disposal, a total of over 250 thousand housing units is expected to be constructed and supplied to about a million people across the country by 2020 under its '*Safe Buildings Beautiful Cities*' urban regeneration project [TOKİ, 2014]. In the earlier years of its implementation of URP's, TOKİ has had to deal with a number of criticisms. These criticisms were mostly borne out of utter dislike for the construction of buildings that were deemed culturally foreign to the Turkish society that TOKİ was engaged in. These buildings were usually high-rise apartments which hampered the neighbourly culture of the people. In its bid to retune its operations to encompass the main dimensions of urban regeneration, the '*Safe Buildings Beautiful Cities*' project was initiated.

This project is aimed at not only replacing gecekondus with decent settlements but also, in incorporating various innovative and modern city development concepts such as '*smart and sustainable urban regeneration*', '*social justice and development*', '*social integration*', '*local area development*', '*historic and cultural heritage*' as well as '*natural environment protection*', among others [TOKİ, 2016a]. To avoid similar experiences of resistance of URP's as occurred in the past, in this project, a strategic and a well-coordinated communication approach is being adopted by cooperating with relevant civil society organisations and the various interest holders in the implementation processes of URP's which is aimed at securing at least 80% acceptance rate [TOKİ, 2016a]. Urban regeneration being an avenue to right past planning wrongs, planning has become an essential part of this project. In the planning of new URP's, these four components are being critically considered;

- *An integrated and coordinated urban planning;*
- *Critical transportation decisions based on its possible spatial and environmental effects;*
- *Protection of true urban identity as well as neighbourhood's social and cultural values and;*
- *Unique plan for each project due to uniqueness of each setting.*

In addition to the planning phase of each URP under this project, the Initial preparatory works before the planning phase; the implementation phase and; the monitoring and evaluation phase complete the quartet of the fundamental stages of this project.

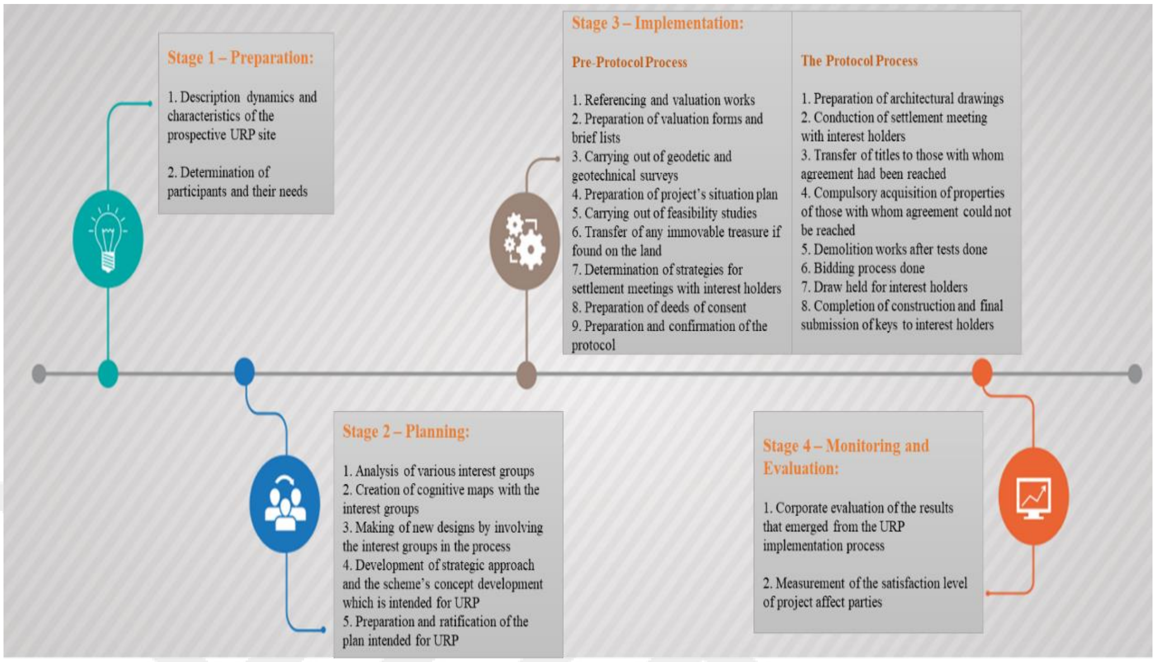

Figure 3.1: The Major Phases in TOKİ's *Safe Buildings Beautiful Cities* Project / TOKİ.

In line with its strategic plan for 2016 – 2019 and as part of its own major fundamental operational phases as described in Figure 3.1 above, annual satisfaction surveys are being conducted on completed and settled projects to gauge the satisfaction levels of beneficiaries so as to guide subsequent projects [TOKİ, 2016c]. And in its 2016 Satisfaction Survey where some 2059 respondents aged 18 and above from ten (10) completed URP's in six (6) different provinces were surveyed, a generally high satisfaction level was recorded even though some specific aspects recorded poor ratings.

By and large however, owing to the huge public outcry regarding the construction of high-rise buildings, horizontal development has become a major theme in TOKİ's new projects as can be observed from the images in this section.

Image 3.12: The Osmangazi - Doğanbey Mahallesi URP, Bursa.

Between 2002 and 2016, TOKİ has been operating in 54 provinces spread across 118 districts throughout the country in a total of 183 URP’s with 53 of such projects completed [TOKİ, 2016]. Within the same period, a total of 68,254 dwellings has been produced and delivered with some 189,795 more dwellings under construction which together make up a total of 258,049 dwellings expected to be completed by 2020 [TOKİ, 2016b]. As stated earlier, TOKİ is primarily concerned with the production of social housing and by this, lower and middle income earning groups are meant to be the major beneficiaries of TOKİ’s housing units.

Table 3.4: State of TOKİ's Urban Regeneration Projects.

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Region	No. of Project Provinces/ Districts	No. of Completed Projects	No. of Ongoing Projects	Total No. of Projects	No. of Dwellings Produced and Delivered	No. of Dwellings being Produced + Planned	Total No. of Dwellings (Completed and Planned)
Mediterranean	5 Prov / 9 Districts	4	14	18	4,519	18,820	23,339
Eastern Anatolia	12 Prov / 19 Dist	10	22	32	8,765	28,509	37,274
Aegean	3 Prov / 8 Districts	5	4	9	6,876	2,081	8,957
South-eastern Anatolia	6 Prov / 11 Districts	7	12	19	8,180	17,342	25,522
Central Anatolia	12 Prov / 24 Districts	17	26	43	28,050	55,901	83,951
Black Sea	10 Prov / 21 Districts	4	27	31	7,276	21,724	29,000
Marmara	6 Prov / 26 Districts	6	25	31	4,588	45,418	50,006
Total	54 Prov / 118 Districts	**53**	**130**	**183**	**68,254**	**189,795**	**258,049**

As stated earlier, TOKİ is primarily concerned with the production of social housing and by this, lower and middle income earning groups and those below these groups are meant to be the major beneficiaries of TOKİ's housing units. Even though TOKİ is a not-for-profit making organisation, adequate financing models have been developed to ensure that these projects are able to fund themselves. Different income earning groups have different repayment schemes developed by TOKİ. The images in Figure 3.2 below are some examples of projects completed by TOKİ [TOKİ, 2016a].

Figure 3.2: Photo Gallery of some random projects of TOKİ across Turkey.

At the outset of URP in Turkey, TOKİ employed the vertical or compact city development in its URP projects. However, in recent years, the horizontal approach to housing development has been favoured as observed in some of its new settlements which are made of low to medium rise buildings as encouraged by the President, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in one of his addresses [TOKİ, 2016]. Thus, the development of less dense settlements can be said to be TOKİ's new approach to urban development. Quite apart from that, TOKİ is said to implement the most comprehensive URP in the country which encompasses not only the economic and physical (re)development of buildings but also the social or cultural enhancements of neighbourhoods to reflect the true Turkish culture and its social setting [TOKİ, 2016].

Image 3.13: Portions of TOKİ's Projects Depicting Horizontal Development, Turkey.

TOKİ as a state institution that looks out for the less privileged in terms of decent housing provision has thus developed various models and strategies in reaching its intended target beneficiaries. For instance, it adopts the quota system in the distribution of its completed projects to deserving people. For example, 25 percent of all social housing by TOKİ is reserved for the retired [TOKİ, 2016]. Also, among the conditions for the continued ownership of TOKİ's housing unit is that until a mortgage is fully paid over a determined period, the property is not transferred and after the transfer is complete, only beneficiaries or their first-degree relatives are expected to live in them. In the event that it is discovered that someone other the above resides in the property, the conveyance is nullified, and property returned to TOKİ.

Like in every human institution, errors are bound to happen and what distinguishes sensitive organisations from insensitive ones is the recognition of those errors and taking steps to correct them. Available literature has demonstrated that TOKİ in responding to the needs of the people, has in addition to listening and responding to the public outcry about its operations, been carrying out self-evaluation which is part of its four quartet of major operational phases. And as a result, a more sustainable and comprehensive urban regeneration model under its '*Safe Buildings Beautiful Cities*' project was initiated as earlier discussed.

Again, funding being the fuel of every successful organisation can be said to be facilitated by the formal nature of the Turkish economy, in addition to strong government commitment. The various payment models developed by TOKİ for the different income groups may not have been successful if the economy were largely informal. This has resulted in making people who may never have been able to own their own homes, homeowners. Also, the allocation of 55 million square metres of free land by the government has in many ways eased the operational cost of TOKİ as land cost contributes significantly to the overall cost of housing.

As a recap, the following table summarises the urban regeneration approach adopted by TOKİ in the transformation of gecekondu and other risky areas in Turkey. The data used in the summary below were obtained from TOKİ's 2016 Satisfaction Survey of some selected projects across the country.

Table 3.5: Summary of TOKİ's Urban Regeneration Approach.

VARIABLES	EXPLANATION
Nature of Neighbourhood before UR	Gecekondus; risky areas
Basic Profile of Residents	78.7% of residents earn below ₺2,500; 40% had basic education, 24% high school and 12% university education
Nature of Ownership	67% of residents are homeowners; 30.2% tenants and 2.9% are non-rent paying residents
Nature of Projects	Residential neighbourhoods
Length of Projects	Took up to 5 years but TOKİ seeks to reduce project duration to 2 years
General Satisfaction Levels	The projects were generally appraised successful and that residents are generally satisfied albeit a few aspects need improvement.

3.4.3.4. Private Institutions/Organisations/Developers

The government's target of demolishing a combined total of about 7 million homes discovered to have either been poorly constructed or situated in risky areas and the reconstruction of new homes under the URP cannot be achieved without the intervention of the private sector due to its huge capital requirement. It is in view of this that the private sector from within and from outside the country was invited to take part in this agenda.

In Turkey, the Real Estate Investments and Development Partners Association (GYODER) is one of the main bodies that represents all real estate stakeholders in Turkey. Being only an association means that, membership of GYODER is not a requirement to participate in the private real estate sector in Turkey. It however represents a stronger liaison between its members and the government as well as potential investors be they foreigners or locals. GYODER was established in 1999 with the aim of being a useful platform for major players within the real estate industry [GYODER, 2014]. Its membership is not only limited to sectors directly involved in real estate investments or development. Its membership includes firms such as insurance companies, law firms, construction companies, financial companies like banks, valuation firms as well as real estate agencies among others altogether numbering over 270 companies and establishments as at February 2014 [GYODER, 2014]. Although GYODER's role in URP's has not been spelt out, some of its members continue to play significant roles in carrying out URP's in Turkey.

Image 3.14 Northern Ankara *Before* and *After* Regeneration / TOPBAŞ.

3.4.4. Examples of URP's in Turkey

In this section, some prominent examples of URP's have been presented. Urban regeneration across Turkey is expected to see about 40 percent of the total housing stock replaced with about 25 percent of this number coming from Istanbul alone. It is therefore not surprising that majority of the high-profile URP's in Turkey are being carried out in Istanbul. Even before the launching of the multi-billion urban regeneration project across the country, the policy was first officially introduced to Turkey after the UN-Habitat II conference held in Istanbul in 1996 [Güzey 2009 cited Uzun and Şimşek, 2015].

And in the early 2000's soon after the unforgettable Marmara Earthquake, various URP's were implemented across the country especially in Istanbul. Various legislations were enacted in the mid 2000's to facilitate the implementation of the new urban policy at the time. These laws include; the Northern Ankara Entrance Urban Regeneration Project Administration Act, 2004 (Act 5104); the Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage Sites through Renewal and Re-use Act, 2005 (Act 5366); and the Municipality Act, 2005 (Act 5393). As will be seen later in this chapter, implementing authorities encountered a lot of problems in the earliest URP’s. Even though there still exist some problems with some of the more recent ones, they have by far been improved upon owing to lessons learnt from previous experiences.

As previously stated, there are several URP’s being implemented across Turkey but for the scope of this work, in addition to TOKİ’s examples as previously discussed, only four have been considered and they include the Neslişah and Hatice Sultan (Sulukule) URP, the Tarlabaşı URP, the Gaziosmanpaşa URP all in Istanbul, and the Kepez – Santral URP in Antalya. These projects are mainly carried out or have been carried out by private companies in collaboration with the relevant municipalities and in some cases with some involvement of TOKİ as in the case of the Sulukule URP.

3.4.4.1. The Neslişah and Hatice Sultan (Sulukule) URP, Istanbul (2006 – 2013)

This is a neighbourhood located in one of Istanbul’s 37 municipalities (sub-metros), Fatih Municipality which is found on the Historical Peninsular (or *Tarih Yarımada* in Turkish) close to the ancient Theodosian Walls [Uysal, 2012]. Sulukule is one of the oldest settlements in Istanbul which was settled by the Gypsy Romany population (also *Çingene/Çigan* in Turkish) as far back as the Byzantine era according to conservative estimates [Meriç et al., 2006 cited in Ertürk, 2009]. This ethnic group is famous for its music and dance [Göncüoğlu & Yavuztürk, 2009; Yavuz & Göreci, 2008 both cited in Uysal, 2012]. They are also mostly engaged in waste collection, metal works, head porterage, fortune telling, horse-carting among other menial jobs [Meriç et al., 2006 cited in Ertürk, 2009]. Due to this neighbourhood’s rich cultural and historical heritage, it earned its place on the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation’s (UNESCO) list of World Heritage Sites at 356th place on the 6th of December 1985 [Ertürk, 2009]. The figure below shows the project area [Ertürk, 2009].

Figure 3.3: Location of the Project Area with Boundaries in Red Marking.

Even though the neighbourhood is one of the best accessed neighbourhoods in Istanbul [Ertürk, 2009], it is bedevilled with many urban problems including poor conditions of living making it what can be said to be *slum*. This is therefore one of the gecekondu communities that resulted not from migration [Korkmaz, 2013] but due to the closure of some of the houses in the 1990's because of reports of prevalence of drugs and other illicit activities which rendered the people unemployed as they could not provide any music and dance following the closures and so lacked the resources to embark on renovations and maintenance [Uysal, 2012; Çin and Egercioğlu, 2016]. Thus, in September of 2005, a protocol between the Fatih Municipality, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and TOKİ was signed to jointly undertake a comprehensive urban regeneration project in the neighbourhood which is made up of 91,731 m^2 of subdivided land of 12 blocks and which was to be carried out under the Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage through Renewal and Re-use Act, 2005 (Act 5366) [faith.bel.tr]. The project was to include, schools, parks, playgrounds, recreational centres, carparks, among other quality-life-enhancing amenities as well as commercial and employment-providing facilities [fatih.bel.tr].

A survey conducted in 2006 by the Fatih Municipality just before the commencement of the project revealed that, a total of 574 buildings existed within the project area and out of this figure, 71.5 percent were in poor conditions, 27 percent in moderate conditions and 1 percent in ruins [Ertürk, 2009]. And even though it may not be wrong to state that this neighbourhood was first settled by the Roma ethnic group which according to some studies, dates back to the 11th century [Marsh, 2008 cited in Uysal, 2012; Pitts and Butterfield, 2009 quoted in Ertürk, 2009], the current population as at the time of the survey by the municipality stood at only 17 percent of the resident population[14] [Ertürk, 2009].

Having gained some prior experience in previous URP's, TOKİ was to undertake the project on behalf of the municipality with regards to housing provision and other complementary functions [Ertürk, 2009]. As it was in the case of the other projects, the current values of the properties were estimated and compared with the cost of reconstruction so that any difference that arises was to be recovered by the deserving party. In the event that the cost exceeded the value before redevelopment, TOKİ was to recover the difference from the owner based on a determined flexible repayment model. And on the other hand, where the value exceeded the cost which was a rarity anyway, TOKİ was to pay the owner the difference. In the case of tenants, they were entitled to purchasing the social housing built by TOKİ located in Taşoluk and Kayabaşı some 40 km away from Sulukule -without any down payment- [Ertürk, 2009].

Even though the original plan of the project was to ensure full participation and agreement of all parties, due to lack of compromise reached with the relevant parties, the State through the municipality had to invoke its power of eminent domain to compulsorily acquire those properties. Whereas the municipality applied the power of eminent domain, TOKİ was responsible for the payment of compensation and or resettlement of affected parties [Ertürk, 2009]. About 2,735 people were expected to be accommodated in the new neighbourhood after the completion of the project [Ertürk, 2009]. And because the project site is near to various health facilities, there was no health centre built within the site but

[14] Other reports suggest that the Roma population in Sulukule constituted 80 percent of the resident population before the project (Radikal, 2007; Roma Foundation Sulukule Report, 2008 cited in Uysal, 2011).

that notwithstanding, the amount of green areas increased, a primary school, social/cultural centre, guest houses to cater for the tourism potential of the place were all part of the project plan [Ertürk, 2009]. In terms of transport needs, walking was preferred but roads measuring at least 7m in width were built to enhance intra-city public transport [Ertürk, 2009]. Population density was expected to decrease from 1054 people/ha to about 870 people/ha [Ertürk, 2009].

Being one of the poorest communities in Istanbul, this project was criticised on the basis that the new homes to be built under the project will be out of reach of the people especially the tenants and therefore was a recipe for gentrification [Ertürk, 2009]. A lot of criticisms also came from the international community namely the UN Commission on Human Rights and the co-chairs of the Helsinki Commission in American Congress who expressed fears about the imminent displacement of the Gypsi Romany population along with their culture and history [Ertürk, 2009; Uysal, 2012]. Indeed, this is one of the most fiercely opposed URP's in Turkey with probably only the Gezi Park Redevelopment Project protests being ahead.

Image 3.15: Portions of Sulukule Neighbourhood, Istanbul / fatih.bel.tr/icerik/1155/.

It must be noted that, despite these criticisms, the poor conditions under which the people lived could not be denied and that the need to improve their livelihoods was acknowledged. For instance, the STOP initiative acknowledged the need for transformation of the neighbourhood, but it was against displacement [Kuyucu, 2009 cited in Uysal, 2012]. The criticisms centred on how the project was undertaken without regard for the other components of URP's which are the social and cultural aspects of the people and despite several appeals coming from international organisations, the project was carried through. Final demolition ended in November of 2009 and approximately 500 families were reportedly *displaced* [Radikal, 2009; Çavdar, 2008 cited in Uysal, 2012]. Interestingly however, some [McDaniel, 2010; Schlebusch, 2008 cited in Çin and Egercioğlu, 2016] viewed the project as a success when considered as a 'slum clearance' initiative as it helped rid Istanbul of one of its slums.

It was therefore recommended that in subsequent URP's a more comprehensive approach be undertaken [Ertürk, 2009]. Also, a more effective participation of the affected population was encouraged even though some form of participation was acknowledged [Uysal, 2012]. The UNESCO Report recommended 'establishment of a balance between conservation, social needs and the identity of local communities' [UNESCO World Heritage Centre Report, 2009 cited in Uysal, 2012].

Image 3.16: State of Work on the Project Site / fatih.bel.tr/icerik/1155/.

It is also observed that, most of the concerns coming from the international organisations centred on the protection of the Roma population even though they only constituted 17 percent of the resident population in the project area. It is also noted with concern that, there is a subtle suggestion by some researchers [Uysal, 2012; Çin and Egercioğlu, 2016] that URP in Turkey is aimed at a particular ethnic minority like the Roma ethnic group rather than the transformation of the obvious urban decay in parts of the cities. However, this (subtle) claim may not be supported by any empirical evidence because transformation of such neighbourhoods constitutes only small fraction of the entire urban regeneration projects in the country.

It must be noted however that, this is in no way suggesting that minority rights if indeed those rights are under threat must not be protected but a more holistic approach in terms of expressing concerns about human rights would have been a much better approach. It is however acknowledged that, the Sulukule URP is a far cry from being the best URP considering the problems that emerged therefrom. Things could have been done differently to achieve a much better urban regeneration in that respect. It is therefore believed that lessons were learnt, and thus guided subsequent URP's in Turkey as will be seen in subsequent examples.

3.4.4.2. The Tarlabaşı URP, Istanbul (2006 – Ongoing)

Tarlabaşı is a community located in Beyoğlu Municipality. It was predominantly a Greek and Armenian community in the 19th century which had residential units, restaurants, churches, nightclubs among others, making it a bustling neighbourhood in the 19th century [Web 17, 2014]. Much earlier in 1535 when for the first time, nations started receiving representatives of other nations, the first diplomatic mission in the Ottoman Empire were the French and these were settled in Beyoğlu [beyoglubuyukdonusum.com]. Soon, the district became the main neighbourhood for foreigners who were mostly Levantines and non-Muslims, and who had both their homes and places of work including foreign missions, schools, banks and other financial centres in the neighbourhood [Yetiskul et al., 2016].

However, owing to years of economic decline, primarily due to the relocation of the various foreign missions to Ankara after the declaration of Republic and subsequent movement of seat of government to the city which also coincided with the arrival of migrants from the rural areas [Yetiskul et al., 2016], the once lively neighbourhood had become *a shadow of its former self*. The place had gone from a prime location inhabited by the wealthy Greek and Armenian businessmen [Web 17, 2014] as well as high level public officials of friendly nations [beyoglubuyukdonusum.com] to what can now be described as a slum. Also, the preference of the middle-class of living in suburban areas to living in the inner-cities also contributed to the rapid urban decay of Tarlabaşı [Yetiskul et al., 2016].

Image 3.17: Portions of Tarlabaşı before the Project / beyoglubuyukdonusum.com.

Even though the place still maintains its multicultural character, this composition went from non-Muslim foreigners to low-income people who are mostly from the East and South-eastern Anatolia and the Black Sea Regions of Turkey with other minorities such as Romanian and Kurdish population [beyoglubuyukdonusum.com] and more recently some migrants from Africa [Web 17, 2014]. The relatively low house rent in this part of Istanbul due to poor amenities, narrow streets and dilapidated buildings makes it possible for this demography who mostly work as waste collectors, hawkers, industrial labourers and other menial workers [beyoglubuyukdonusum.com] and who cannot afford decent housing to seek refuge in this neighbourhood.

The desire to redevelop Tarlabaşı began in the 1980's during which period the government adopted neoliberal policies in urban development which coincided with the vision of the then mayor of Istanbul, Mayor Dalan to make Istanbul a *'Global City'* [Yetiskul et al., 2016]. And under the vision of making Istanbul a global city, this part of Istanbul was to be redeveloped into a vibrant commercial hub and centre of tourism in Istanbul [Yetiskul et al., 2016]. The opening of the Tarlabaşı Boulevard, the creation of the Istiklal Avenue Pedestrian Walkway and the reinstallation of the historical trams and underground rails among other restoration projects on the ancient buildings contributed to making Beyoğlu the centre of culture, commerce and tourism [Yetiskul et al., 2016].

Image 3.18: Portions of Tarlabaşı before the Project / beyoglubuyukdonusum.com.

And in line with the neoliberal urban policy, in 2006, the Tarlabaşı 360 Project was launched, and GAP Constructions won the bid to commence the redevelopment of Tarlabaşı [Yetiskul et al., 2016]. With 40 percent vacant dwellings, the occupied portion is inhabited by either the owners, tenants or squatters with tenants making up to 71 percent of the residents [www.beyoglubuyukdonusum.com]. The high vacancy rate has been explained to result from abandonment by owners due to the risk the place poses [www.beyoglubuyukdonusum.com]. Interestingly however is the fact that this neighbourhood is surrounded by some of Istanbul's glamourous neighbourhoods like the famous Taksim Square, the İstiklal Avenue and the prestigious Nişantaşı High Street [www.beyoglubuyukdonusum.com]. The need to correct this urban contradiction and to give the place a facelift while maintaining its cultural uniqueness became an important agenda for the government and in 2005, the Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage Sites through Renewal and Re-use Act, 2005 (Act 5366) was passed which was to be applied in the regeneration of historical sites like Tarlabaşı [www.beyoglubuyukdonusum.com]. And consequently, in 2006 as previously stated, the Tarlabaşı 360 Project or the Tarlabaşı Urban Renewal Project was launched with the primary aim of protecting the cultural value of the place while redeveloping it into a luxury neighbourhood [www.beyoglubuyukdonusum.com]. The project covers an area of 20,000 m^2 which is divided into 9 blocks comprising 52 percent residential, 12 percent commercial including shops and malls, 17 percent touristic, and 14 percent institutional land uses including office spaces [www.beyoglubuyukdonusum.com].

Since 2007, the project is being implemented by GAP İnşaat, -a construction company with high profile projects across Europe and the Middle East- after successfully winning the bid for the project and signing a contract with the Beyoğlu Municipality to undertake the project. The client is the Beyoğlu Municipality and the project is expected to complete in 2018 [gapinsaat.com]. The project is said to be the first URP in Turkey to comply with LEED Gold Criteria and in 2013 it was adjudged the *'Best Urban Renewal Project of Europe'* at the 18th International Property Awards which took place in London, UK [gapinsaat.com].

Image 3.19: Proposed View of Streets in Tarlabaşı / beyoglubuyukdonusum.com.

As part of the project policy, affected owners were to be moved to new locations and all rent obligations were to be met by the project administration until they are returned and resettled in the new neighbourhoods [beyoglubuyukdonusum.com]. Also, expropriated parties who were tenants will be given the first option of purchase of TOKİ's social housing units without any draws made [beyoglubuyukdonusum.com]. Incomes in any form like rental incomes, incomes from businesses among others which were lost during the period of development as well as cost of movement were to be discussed and amicable compromise on how to deal with them arrived at by all relevant stakeholders [beyoglubuyukdonusum.com]. As for the squatters, no right of return has been proposed to them, but they are eligible to benefit from any business development and vocational training programs the project is expected to generate [beyoglubuyukdonusum.com].

The education of children has not been left out. New schools will be sought for in the new neighbourhood and children of affected families enrolled [beyoglubuyukdonusum.com]. Also, business development and vocational training programs will be provided, and they are expected to benefit everyone equally [beyoglubuyukdonusum.com]. In this project, academics were highly involved especially in the form of consultants. The consulting team was made up of academics from City and Regional Planning and Architecture departments of some universities in Istanbul.

The above proposals were put forward before the commencement of the project in 2008 as part of its broader scope. It however remains to be proven if indeed those proposals were carried throughout and to what extent. It is therefore suggested that, investigating these questions be taken up as an area of further research work. The next section presents the Gaziosmanpaşa (GOP) URP.

3.4.4.3. The Gaziosmanpaşa (GOP) URP, Istanbul (2008 – Ongoing)

Gaziosmanpaşa is also one of the thirty-seven (37) municipalities (sub-metros) of Istanbul. It is located near the centre of Istanbul and has a total population of more than 500,000 people [Usta et al., 2015]. Current data reveal that, Gaziosmanpaşa Municipality has a total of about 31,315 buildings comprising of about 164,133 independent housing units, 1,581 streets and some 27,596 number of offices or business units [Usta et al., 2014]. It is one of the municipalities with the greatest number of gecekondus in Istanbul some of which are said to be as old as 50 years according to the mayor of Gaziosmanpaşa [Web 19, 2017]. The image below shows a 'before and expected' view of the project [Usta et al., 2015].

Image 3.20: *Before* and *Expected* View after the Project the Project.

Despite being located close to the centre of Istanbul, it has one of the worst transport networks and on account of this, and as part of the URP, its transport system is expected to be revamped with a number of metro lines and a highway linking it to the Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge by 2019 [Usta et al., 2015]. Gaziosmanpaşa is easily identified as one of the worst places to live in Turkey owing to the worsening housing conditions, poor infrastructure, high number of gecekondu presence, poor transport networks and high rate of social exclusion among others [Usta et al., 2015; www.gaziosmanpasa.bel.tr]. These conditions along with others necessitated the implementation of urban regeneration in this district [Usta et al., 2015; www.gaziosmanpasa.bel.tr].

Out of a total land area of about 1,106 hectares identified as risk-zones within Istanbul and for which reason, slated for regeneration, about 432 hectares (i.e. 40%) of land is found in Gaziosmanpaşa Municipality which constitutes about 37 percent of the size of the municipality itself [Usta et al., 2015]. Also, whereas about 27,700 buildings throughout Istanbul have been found to be constructed in risk-prone areas and therefore requiring demolishing, 11,202 of this figure are located within this regeneration zone of Gaziosmanpaşa, which accommodates about 110,000 people which is about 21 percent of the population of the municipality [Web 18, 2017].

For the purpose of inclusiveness and public participation, a total of five (5) field offices spread across the thirteen (13) risky areas has been created to facilitate resident-participation in the entire process which will allow residents to get adequate responses to their concerns [Web 18, 2017]. Residents therefore have the opportunity to interact with authorities as well as keep track of progress of the project. There is therefore enough participation by all three stakeholders namely 1) the affected residents 2) the municipal authorities and 3) the investors. It is therefore not surprising that the project received a massive 95 percent acceptance by the public in the affected communities. According to the mayor of GOP, the municipality has been very meticulous in handling the concerns of the affected parties [Web 19, 2017].

Highlighting the zeal of the municipality to ensure full participation, he indicated that, in one of the communities, while agreements with 399 out of 400 family heads were concluded, the municipality had to wait for about 6 months for the last one [Web 19, 2017]. Also, even though the use of the state's power of eminent domain was at the disposal of the municipality, the municipality's top priority was to achieve full acceptance but after all persuasive methods were used and proved insufficient in a few cases, the municipality was left with no option than to apply the state's power of compulsory acquisition [Web 19, 2017].

As previously stated, the project area occupies a total of 432 hectares comprising about 11,202 buildings. These buildings are being demolished, and in their place, a new community of not just the replacements of the demolished homes but a well-planned community with all the essentials of a progressive and sustainable city is being developed [Usta et al., 2015; Web 18, 2017]. In achieving this therefore, the concept of sustainability was taken into account as the Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED)'s Neighbourhood Development Vision was applied in the masterplan which resulted in identifying ten (10) important issues along with strategies to handle the issues addressed by the plan [Usta et al., 2015].

Sustainable transport being important feature of any progressive society was also given a special attention in the UR masterplan for this project. The strategies for attaining sustainable transport system in this project are as follows [Usta et al., 2015];

- *Understanding existing and future transport demand;*
- *Design an efficient road network for GOP;*
- *Introduce new integrated public transportation systems and;*
- *Parking strategies.*

With the above strategies and owing to the intended use of smart systems, (traffic) congestion is expected to reduce by 25 percent while energy efficiency as well as water and waste management systems are expected to improve due to the intended use of smart technologies [Usta et al., 2015].

As at 2015, agreements in respect of 1,684 buildings involving 2,809 people have been concluded and about 1378 buildings evacuated and demolished. By the end of the project, within the GOP Municipality [Usta et al., 2015];

- *Educational facilities are expected to increase by 58 percent;*
- *Cultural areas/facilities to increase by 4 percent;*
- *Green areas to increase by 114 percent;*

- *Administrative/public spaces to increase by 16 percent;*
- *Sanitary areas to increase by 20 percent;*
- *Religious facilities to increase by 83 percent and;*
- *Parking spaces to increase by 382 percent.*

All buildings constructed under this project are to comply with the Energy Efficiency Regulations of Turkey which involves the use of solar energy as well as bioenergy [Usta et al., 2015]. Also, in attaining efficient water management, rainwater will be harvested and used for the maintenance and watering of landscapes and green areas [Usta et al., 2015].

As at the beginning of 2017, the first and second phases of the project had commenced which are expected to produce -in addition to all the required infrastructure- 5,000 housing units in 2 years and this is in line with the project's policy of resettling all affected residents 2 years after the commencement of construction and by this, the project is expected to complete in 10 years [Web 18, 2017]. The mayor stressed that not a *cent* was spent either by the municipality or by the central government. He indicated that all costs, including those of accommodating affected persons during the construction phase up to the time the keys to their new homes are handed over to them are borne by the investors [Web 18, 2017].

Like in any other major government policy which directly affects the lives of the people, this project has invoked some reactions from the residents. It must be stated that, even though only about 5 percent of the affected population with whom amicable negotiations could not be achieved [Usta et al., 2015], it is essential that this work records their grievances as reported by various local news channels. Among their grievances was that, they expected to receive a housing unit similar in floor space as the ones they were dwelling in at the time and that, the 55 square metres for 295 square metres proposed by the municipality was not acceptable [Web 20, 2016].

Others protested against the decision to evacuate them because they had no intentions of leaving their *roots*, indicating the attachment they have with the place [Web 21, 2015]. The possibility of gentrification occurring was therefore pre-empted and various protest marches held to demonstrate their displeasure. In the initial stages of the project therefore, there were some distrust from the public due to previous experiences with UR in other parts of Istanbul some of which were previously discussed in this work.

The establishment of field offices known as the Urban Regeneration Bureaus to further educate the public and address their concerns went a long way to solving some of these issues. The mayor also granted a number of interviews to various media outlets in his bid to providing adequate information to the masses on the goings-on in the project thus, allaying their fears. He stressed that, people who have right to shops will be given shops, those with rights to residential units, residential units in that order [Web 18, 2017]. Reading through comments of some published YouTube videos of the project, it is quite clear that the project has taken long to commence, and this delay can be explained by the lengthy periods of negotiations with various stakeholders especially the residents.

3.4.4.4. The Kepez – Santral URP, Antalya (2015 – Ongoing)

This project area encompasses an area of 132.7 hectares and it is located within the Kepez Municipal of Antalya Metropolitan Municipality. The area was previously occupied by gecekondus and like any other gecekondu settlement, it lacked sufficient infrastructure and social amenities even though about 3,245 people resided there [www.yenikepezsantral.com]. Before the commencement of the project, there were only 5 places of worship, 3 parks and 2 primary schools with about 97 percent of the buildings being 1 or 2 storeys [www.yenikepezsantral.com].

Figure 3.4: Project Area marked Red / yenikepezsantral.com.

As in the case of other URP's, the area was declared an urban regeneration zone on the 24th of December 2014 [www.yenikepezsantral.com]. The project is being implemented by the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality through the municipality's own construction firm, Antepe Constructions and Commerce Company Ltd in close collaboration with the Ministry of Environment and Urban Development [www.yenikepezsantral.com]. It was thus, launched by the mayor on 14th September 2015 and thereafter, several face-to-face interviews were conducted with the affected residents numbering up to 4,600 since the launch [www.yenikepezsantral.com]. In order to ensure sufficient participation, survey of the affected parties was conducted via the use of questionnaire forms with various questions bothering relevant aspects of the project especially its acceptability or otherwise [www.yenikepezsantral.com]. Also, a project office was set up to ensure frequent interactions between the project affected residents and the officials. As at January 2017 a record acceptance rate of 99 percent was reached, making it the most popular URP in Turkey thus far [Web 14, 2017].

Image 3.21: Project Office with Officials Attending to Affected Residents / yenikepezsantral.com.

On completion, the new settlement is expected to accommodate about 13,500 people who shall have access to all the necessary amenities like schools, health centres, places of worship, increased green areas, among others all in a bid to raise the living standard of the inhabitants [www.yenikepezsantral.com]. The project also aims to address the long-standing indeterminate property rights among residents as it will in the end provide not just housing units but housing units along with their registered deeds to all deserving parties [www.yenikepezsantral.com]. The economic aspect of the area has not been overlooked. The project also plans to revitalise the economic situation of the place by providing modern shopping centres and office spaces.

Image 3.22: The Proposed Outlook of the Area / yenikepezsantral.com.

The project also provided for the movement cost and rent of all affected parties from the time of movement to the time their new homes will be presented to them which is estimated to be 36 months [www.yenikepezsantral.com]. Every cost is borne by the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality under the guarantee of the Republic of Turkey (TC) without the involvement of any investor [www.yenikepezsantral.com].

3.4.5. Individual Initiative-Driven Urban Regeneration

Apart from the government-led (be it local or central government) urban regeneration initiative, Act 6306 allows for individual owners of gecekondus or structures under risks of disasters who wish to have them redeveloped under the law to apply to do so. In this regard, they stand to benefit from the incentives the law provides to those who seek to redevelop their buildings under the law. Some of the incentives include; rent support for the duration of reconstruction, free deed registration services among others. Obtaining these benefits however depends on a number of criteria. For instance, owner-occupiers who wish to do the redevelopment themselves without involving private investors are the main targets of these benefits whereas owner-occupiers with other tenants may also get some limited amount of support from the state. However, owner-occupiers who involve the services of private investors are also subject to different forms of support from the state.

In effect, two main groups of individual owners of buildings emerge from the above viz; Owner-occupiers and non-occupiers. A further sub-group can be created from these two groups. Under the owner-occupiers, there are those who have rented parts of the building to tenants and those who have not done so. Under each of these also, there are those who wish to do the redevelopment with their own resources and those who involve private investors to do so on their behalf. Each of these scenarios have different forms of support they stand to gain from the state. The other main group includes those who own but do not reside in the building at the time the decision to redevelop is made. This group can also be divided into two to include those who wish to redevelop with their own resources and those who wish to involve private investors to do so on their behalf.

3.4.6. General Comments and Observations

As noted above, urban regeneration in Turkey can be grouped into two main forms. Act 6306 allows for both the government (be it local or central) and private individuals to initiate urban regeneration. The table below summarises the differences and similarities of each of the scenarios in terms of implementation.

Table 3.6: Forms of Urban Regeneration in Turkey.

Points of Note	**State-led URP**	**Individual-led URP**
Initiation	In a state-led URP, a public declaration is first made concerning the area to be redeveloped.	Here, individuals of their own free will apply to the accredited bodies for their properties to be redeveloped.
Types	Central government-led URP using public funds only Central government-led URP using both public and private funding Central government-led URP using private funds only Local government-led UPR using private investors only Local government-led URP using both local funding and private funds	Resident individuals who intend to redevelop with their own resources; Resident individuals who intend to redevelop using private investors; Non-Resident individuals who intend to redevelop with their own resources; Non-Resident individuals who intend to redevelop using private investors
Size	At least 5 hectares. It is more comprehensive as it includes the complete transformation of a whole community	Can be as small as a single building and hence may not necessarily be comprehensive. It seeks to realign worn-out or weak buildings to suit the general character of the community
Implementing Bodies	TOKİ, ÇŞB, Municipalities	Private construction firms

Urban regeneration projects in Turkey have been implemented over the years to achieve a number of objectives. Even though the Turkish authorities maintain that the motivation to embark on urban regeneration is to primarily build strong and resilient cities across the country in light of threatening natural disasters like earthquakes and floods as well as improving the living conditions of its citizens, critics [Yetiskul et al., 2015; Uysal, 2011] of what is known to be neoliberal urban policy assert that the main motivation is rent-seeking where disadvantaged groups are dispossessed of their habitations and built in their steads luxury buildings which attract higher rents that are beyond the reach of the dispossessed people.

While transforming the lives of the people is encouraged, policies aimed at this must ensure that people do not become worse off than they previously were. As noted earlier, some of the earlier projects put affected tenants in worse situations as they were reportedly made homeless because of their inability to afford decent accommodation. It is also however noted in some of the latest projects that these concerns were taken on board and various strategies are being implemented to protect affected people. For instance, in both the GOP URP and the Kepez – Santral URP, affected people were guaranteed rent-payment till they are resettled in their previous neighbourhoods which are being redeveloped. In addressing one major difficulty faced by affected people even after resettlement which is their inability to afford maintenance cost and other outgoings that come with living in the new communities, under the GOP URP, as stated by the mayor of GOP, the project will provide resettled people with commercial spaces at the basements of the buildings, so they can start their own grocery shops so as to improve their economic wellbeing [Web 18, 2017].

Another major issue that came up was the issue of regenerating communities that are known to host the Roma population. The opponents of regenerating Roma dominated communities hinged their arguments on the fact that the social life and culture of this group of people was endangered, insisting that the culture of the Roma people does not comply with living in apartments among others. This was highlighted in the aftermath of resettling them in Taşoluk where they insisted that they could no longer practice their occupational mainstay which is music because of complaints of noise from co-residents. Even though this may be seen as an attempt to remove what some countries refer to as 'spatial or ethnic segregation' in their bid to integrating those regarded as minorities or disadvantaged groups -who mainly occupied the slum settlements- into the larger 'normal' urban setting by making decent housing available to them [UN-Habitat, 2003], this has been seen in Turkey by some as a subtle attempt to erase the cultures of these minority groups.

At its inception, despite the vehement opposition urban regeneration faced in the country [see Yetiskul, Kayasu and Ozdemir, 2015; Uysal, 2011] the *thick-skinned* leadership of the current administration has ensured that these projects continue unabated and in much bigger scales than initially started. This is indeed a seminal point to note.

Even though the best approach in every public policy is maximum participation by all stakeholders, there are times where strong leadership is needed to push through projects that portend good for the long-term benefit of the larger society. Let it be noted however that, as much as possible, public participation is essential to achieving success in URP's. Urban regeneration should rather be used as tool to integrate the cultures of people with that of the larger society rather than used to extinguish cultures. How this can be done still remains a subject for further studies as previously suggested.

Urban regeneration in Turkey is a national policy that seeks to demolish and redevelop a combined total of up to 7 million housing units in 20 years. The Turkish experience with urban regeneration as a national policy is only 15 years but can be said to have risen over the initial difficulties to a more successful urban policy. Urban regeneration experience in Turkey had moved from times that witnessed widespread demonstrations and protests upon any announcements of urban regeneration, to a time where even in some places, residents themselves send in requests for their communities to be regenerated. Table 3.7 below summarises the urban regeneration practice in Turkey.

Table 3.7: Summary of UR in Turkey.

COMPONENTS	DETAILS
Date Commenced	Early 2000's.
Legal	The Gecekondu Act, 1966 (Act 775); the Mass Housing Act, 1984 (Act 2985); the Northern Ankara Entrance Urban Regeneration Project Administration Act, 2004 (Act 5104); the Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage through Renewal and Re-use Act, 2005 (Act 5366) and the Transformation of Areas Under Risks of Disaster Act, 2012 (Act 6306).
Institutional	The Ministry of Environment and Urban Development; the Mass Housing Development Authority; the Metropolitan Municipalities; the Municipalities; the Private Sector.
Financial	The state; private sector financing; public private partnership etc.
Purpose	To transform gecekondu and other settlements under disaster risks.
Land use before URP	Mostly residential even though there are some historic or tourist sites and old industrial sites being regenerated.

3.5. Urban Regeneration Practice in Ghana

As a formal government policy, UR has not yet been implemented in Ghana. However, a number of projects have been viewed as possible examples of URP's in the country. For instance, Asante et al. [2015] conclude that, the new Achimota Bus Terminal passes for a model URP in Ghana because the project met all the criteria necessary for a successful URP. The issue with this conclusion however remains that, the new terminal was developed on another land different from the location of the old terminal. In other words, it was a new development to replace the old terminal which was causing a lot of traffic along the Achimota – Nsawam highway. Also, the project has on the contrary led to some economic decline as drivers have confirmed declining sales [Asante et al., 2015] and more recently, there were reports of commercial drivers planning to quit the said terminal due to declining sales [Web 22, 2016]. Admittedly however, the project has helped in solving some urban problems notably, the traffic congestion along the Achimota – Nsawam corridor. The image below shows portions of the new Achimota Bus Terminal [Asante et al., 2015].

Image 3.23: The New Achimota Bus Terminal.

Another project that can best be described as a URP in Ghana is the planned redevelopment of the Kaiser flats by the TDC which were deemed weak and therefore posed danger to inhabitants. This project was delayed because some residents took the matter to court and after several adjournments, TDC finally won the right to redevelop the area. Another project by the TDC that may pass for a URP is the Tema Community One, Site Two Infill-development Project which comprises gated community of five (5) blocks of 8-storey apartment buildings of two (2) and three (3) bedroom flats; supermarkets; retail shops and children's playground among other amenities [tdctema.org]. The challenge with these projects however is that, apart from their small scaled nature, they are targeted at the middle and high income earning groups and therefore have no components of social housing even though they are carried out by a state institution like the TDC.

Image 3.24: Design of the Comm. 4 Site 3 Infill-development / tdctema.org.

Other projects such as the Affordable Housing Project (AHP) have also been named as examples of URP's in Ghana [Asante et al., 2015]. However, urban regeneration being concerned with 'regrowth' [Tallon, 2010] means that, a place can only be said to have been regenerated if it previously existed. In other words, urban regeneration is concerned with the redevelopment of derelict urban settings and for that matter new projects cannot be said to come under URP's. In the case of the aforementioned projects (i.e. AHP's) however, these were projects started anew by the government in new locations in an attempt to reduce the housing deficit in the country.

Another initiative that was piloted in Amui Dzor in Ashaiman as a model urban regeneration project was the Tema/Ashaiman Metropolitan Slum Upgrading Facility Project (TAMSUF). The project was part of the UN MDG 7, Target 11 – Slum Upgrade Facility (SUF). It started in 2009 and it involved the construction of a mixed-use building which was to be a 'demonstration project' comprising of both residential and commercial uses. As a demonstration project, it was targeted at housing about 36 families [upfi.info/projects/housing-construction-amui-dzor-ashaiman/]. However, till this day, a large-scale implementation of urban regeneration in Ghana has not been witnessed.

Even though a handful of projects like those above can in some respect be said to be URP's, Ghana as a country is yet to launch URP as a national urban policy. According to the Ghana News Agency (GNA) [2013 cited in Web 23, 2013], the former president John D. Mahama hinted at government's intention to launch urban regeneration in Ghana especially in the Zongo communities to improve the lots of the people. This promise never got implemented till he exited office after losing the 2016 elections. The new government, as previously stated in the first chapter also plans to improve the lots of the people of Ghana's inner-cities and Zongo communities.

As seen in countries that have adopted URP's as part of official government urban policy, the state's force behind such projects contributes significantly to their successes. And as witnessed in the case of TDC, individual state institution's initiative can only take these projects as far as their resources can allow. These institutions are not only limited by physical or monetary resources, they are also limited by legislative constraints which for instance, caused the delay in the execution of the Kaiser flats projects because of a legal challenge. Had there been a national policy regarding UR, sufficient laws would have been passed to address some of these possible legal challenges.

This is the main crux of this work. This work is aimed at examining the possibility of adopting UR in Ghana as a national policy for the purpose of slum transformation in the country. The next section discusses the existing institutional and legal frameworks capable of handling URP's in Ghana if given the needed legal backing. Also in subsequent sections, various purposes for which UR can be implemented in Ghana have been discussed including what this work seeks to examine, slum transformation.

3.5.1. Legal Frameworks for the Implementation of URP's in Ghana

In Ghana, just like in any other Commonwealth country, the legal system is founded on the English Common Law. Article 11 of the 1992 Constitution provides for the laws of the Republic of Ghana which include the English Common Law and the Rules of Equity. Ghana has a well-developed legal system dating back to colonial times. In fact, many of the applicable laws in the area of land law were enacted in the early years of the Republic. Ghana became a Republic on July 1, 1960 and has since enacted for herself relevant laws that are still in use today. For instance, the Administration of Lands Act, 1962 (Act 123) which provides for the administration of all lands within the jurisdiction of Ghana by the Lands Commission and the State Lands Act, 1962 (Act 125) which is the basic law that provides for the expropriation and compensation rules.

With regards to the legal capabilities of Ghana in managing URP's therefore, even though new legislation(s) would be needed to provide a legal backing should the government decide to launch urban regeneration, the available laws relating to land issues are more than enough to provide adequate support to any law formalising the practice of urban regeneration in the country. The Local Government Act, 1992 (Act 462) is the enabling legislation for the creation of District Assemblies[15] (DA's) in Ghana. This law gives all planning functions of towns and cities to the DA's. In the event that urban regeneration is launched in Ghana, this law is expected to augment the rest of the other laws in the management and implementation of URP's. In the next section which talks about existing state institutions capable of managing URP's, some of the other laws have been mentioned.

3.5.2. State Institutions Capable of Overseeing URP's in Ghana

The huge housing deficit that Ghana inherited from her colonial past necessitated post-colonial governments of the Republic of Ghana to establish state institutions responsible for housing provision. The need to provide housing to the people of Ghana was therefore placed at the top of government's 1960-1965 National Development Plan [the Stateman, 2007 cited in Web 24, 2007]. According to Mr. Ohene Sarfoh, in his desire to provide adequate housing to Ghanaians, President Nkrumah adopted the mass housing production initiatives of European countries recovering from the ruins of WWII [The Stateman, 2007 cited in Web 24, 2007]. Various state-owned housing agencies like the TDC and the SHC were established to deal in parts, with the housing problem. The following are some of the housing agencies capable of overseeing URP's in Ghana if launched in the country.

[15] The DA's in Ghana are the equivalents of the 'municipalities' in Turkey. They include; the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDA's).

3.5.2.1. State Housing Company (SHC) Ltd

The main state institution responsible for the supply of housing in Ghana is the State Housing Company (SHC) which was originally established in 1956 as the Gold Coast Housing Corporation under the Gold Coast Housing Corporation Ordinance, 1955 [No. 31) with the mandate of increasing '*the availability of dwelling houses in Ghana'* [Web 25, 2014]. The name was later changed in 1965 to State Housing Corporation and was meant to be the state's main housing producing firm acting on behalf of the government for the provision of affordable housing to Ghanaians [Web 25, 2014].

SHC was therefore operating under government subvention over the years and therefore was not a profit-making organisation until in the mid-1990's during which time government's policy changed towards state enterprises. Under the Statutory Corporations (Conversion to Companies) Act, 1993 (Act 461), SHC was turned into a limited liability company in July 1995 with new orientation towards profit-making [WEB 25, 2014].

Even though the SHC has lost its focus of providing social housing, in many other respects however, it can be compared favourably to Turkey's TOKİ. Just like TOKİ, the SHC operates throughout the country. Re-orienting its focus towards the provision of social housing would be the first step towards making it better suited to handle URP's. TOKİ is also very similar to the SHC or any of Ghana's public institutions to be discussed later because it also operates under a ministry, the ÇŞB.

3.5.2.2. TDC Development Company Limited

Owing to the construction of a new sea port along the coast of what used to be a small fishing village originally called '*Tor man*' and corrupted to what is now 'Tema', the government at the time wanted to ensure a controlled growth and development of the newly created city of Tema. The Tema Development Corporation (as it then was) was therefore established in 1952 to manage the entire expanse of land within the catchment area totalling approximately 63 sq. miles or 163 sq.km [tdctema.org]. The catchment area is known as the Tema Acquisition Area (TAA) and was acquired by the state via the application of the state's power of eminent domain [tdctema.org]. The state, through the

Lands Commission (LC) which is the custodian of all public lands in Ghana then granted TDC a 125-year lease to manage the TAA starting from 1952 [tdctema.org].

The TDC since its establishment has undergone various legal and structural changes [tdctema.org]. It operated under Legislative Instrument, 1989 (LI 1468) and under this law, its main function was 'to Plan, Layout and Develop the Tema Acquisition Area' and in performing this function, the law allowed it to, in consultation with the relevant DA within the TAA;

- *Construct roads and public buildings*
- *Prepare and execute housing schemes*
- *Develop industrial and commercial sites*
- *Provide public utilities such as sewage and street lights*
- *Carry on such activities as are incidental or conductive to the attainment of the objects* [tdctema.org].

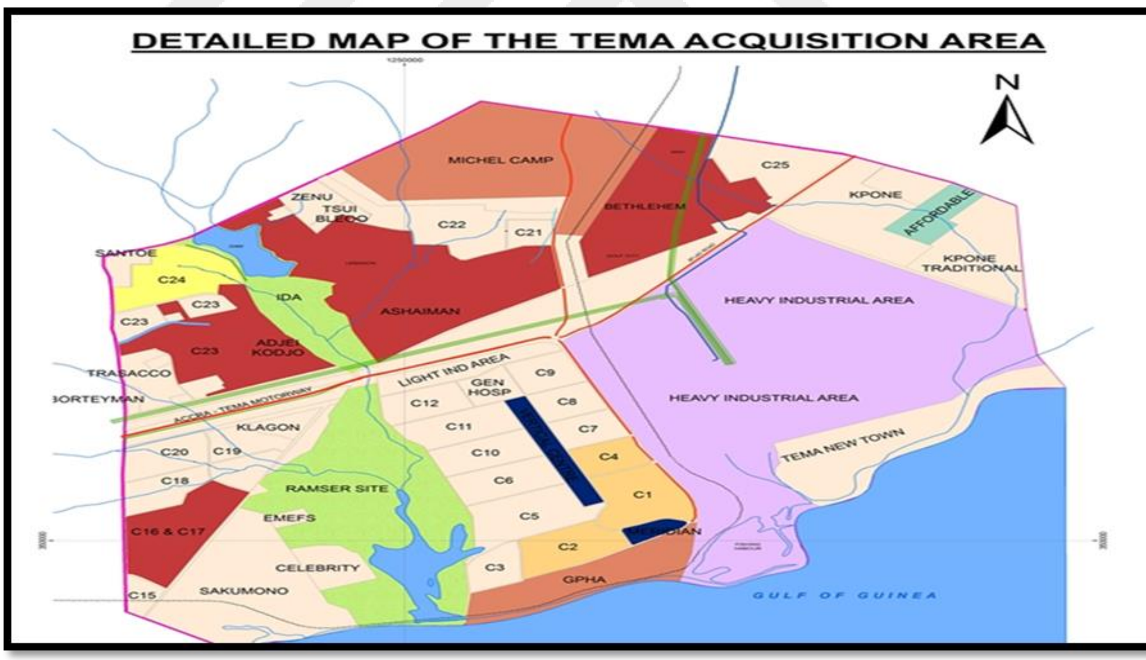

Figure 3.5: The full extent of the TAA / tdctema.org.

As can be seen from its roles above, the TDC can be said to be both a regulator and a player in the real estate industry. Its regulatory roles come in the form of issuing of sub-leases and building permits (in collaboration with the district assemblies). In addition to this, it has proven to be an important state institution in the real estate business, producing various types of real estate products including residential and commercial properties albeit within a limited domain of the TAA. In 2017 however, the Tema Development Corporation was restructured to extend its services to other parts of the country or even possibly to the outside world. In line with that, its name was changed to reflect its new mandate. It is now known as the TDC Development Company Limited, a structural change that enables it to operate beyond the borders of the TAA. And just like the SHC, the TDC is also more of a profit-making company than a social housing producer even though it is wholly owned by the state.

In light of its regulatory functions of land management within the TAA, it can be said that, the TDC and SHC only share one common trait which is the provision of housing across the country. With the new mandate of TDC, housing provision in the country by the state is expected to be improved significantly. However as indicated previously, both institutions being profit-oriented means that housing supply in any part of the country will only be influenced by economic rather than social considerations.

In terms of handling URP’s however, with its own inhouse professionals in the built environment like land economists, architects, engineers, planners, surveyors among others, the TDC has proven to be more than capable of handling any large-scale project. As indicated in previous sections, the TDC had on its own without any government support undertaken various projects such as listed in previous sections. Indeed, it can be said that its thirst for bigger challenges influenced its decision to extend its operations beyond the borders of the TAA. It is therefore maintained that, given the opportunity, the TDC would be one of the important state institutions cable of handling URP’s in the country.

3.5.2.3. Architectural and Engineering Services Ltd (AESL)

This state agency just like the previously discussed two above, also functions under the MWH. It was established to serve as the main government consultant in the area of engineering, architectural and surveying works. It is easily one of the most resourced government institution in terms of personnel as it is studded with variety of professionals in the built environment ranging from architects, engineers of various kinds, surveyors of all kinds, among others. This wealth of human resource is meant to enable it cope with the wide range of services it provides which include; 'Architectural Design, Civil and Structural Design, Feasibility Studies, Quantity Surveying, Land Surveying, Geo-technical' among others [aesl.com.gh].

AESL being state-owned, and which aims at serving every Ghanaian has regional branches across the ten (10) regions of the country and with a head office in Accra, the capital of Ghana. Over the years, it has specialised in the construction of stadia, bridges, health facilities, houses, schools, renovation/rehabilitation works, drainage, sewerage and water supply, valuation of assets, properties and estate management among a host of other areas of specialisations [aesl.com.gh]. Even though majority of its projects are those of the government or other government institutions, the services of AESL are also being sought after by the private sector.

In 1993, under the Statutory Corporations (Conversion to Companies) Act, 1993 (Act 461), the then Architectural and Engineering Services Corporation was among a host of other corporations that were converted to companies with the aim of being self-sustaining, profit-making businesses. Thus, it operated thenceforth under the name, 'Architectural and Engineering Services Limited (AESL)'. The AESL can best be described as the state's '*contractor*' wherein it bids for contracts just like any other company. It therefore survives on the number of projects it wins. Unlike the TDC and the SHC, it does not undertake projects on its own but only works as and when it wins any contract.

3.5.2.4. The Private Sector

In Ghana, and like in many other countries including Turkey, majority of the housing stock is produced by the private sector. The private sector in the real estate subsector in Ghana is composed of the formal and informal sectors.

The informal sector is composed of individuals who construct houses mainly for rental and sometimes for sale. These are not companies and are therefore not registered as service providers, but they constitute majority of private sector housing suppliers. These are usually wealthy people who build more than enough to accommodate themselves and their immediate families and therefore make some of the rooms available for rent or sale. This group of housing providers emerged when rent control laws were loosened after Ghana signed up for the Structural Adjustments Program (SAP) in the late 1970's [Stateman, 2007 cited in Web 24, 2007]. This opened up the land market and paved the way for the charging of economic rent by landlords. The increasing rent incentivised richer Ghanaians to enter the housing supply sector. This had a negative unintended consequence as it is cited as one of reasons for the emergence of slums because people tried to take advantage of the increasing rent by putting up ramshackle structures while others started 'converting closets, toilets and other small spaces into rental units' [Stateman, 2007 cited in Web 24, 2007].

The formal sector consists of registered real estate companies and this group can also be divided into two groups. There are those that are part of the Ghana Real Estate Developers Association (GREDA) and those that operate independent of GREDA. Even though membership of GREDA is not a requirement for the operation of any real estate business in Ghana, a sizable number of the private estate developers are members of GREDA constituting more than 140 members [Greda, nd] including some of the most influential estate development companies in Ghana. The idea of GREDA was borne after a series of meetings was held between the real estate developers and the Ministry of Works and Housing in 1988 after the Government of Ghana (GoG) embraced the SAP [Web 26, nd] which necessitated private participation in the real estate industry. GREDA was subsequently established under the Companies Code, 1963 (Act 179) as a Private organisation. Even though GREDA claims to be a not-for-profit making organisation [Web 26, nd], its members are strictly profit-making businesses. GREDA can therefore be said to be the Ghanaian equivalence of GYODER of Turkey.

Image 3.25: Newly Developed Community by Devtraco Co. Ltd, a Member of GREDA.

With regards to the possible role(s) of the private sector in urban regeneration in Ghana, the most convenient and reliable stakeholders would be GREDA and/or its members. As can be seen in the image above, this is only one of similar projects embarked upon by the various private estate companies in Ghana and so gives an indication about the capabilities of private estate construction firms in Ghana to take up URP's. All though the private sector is profit-motivated, appropriate incentives that will encourage private sector participation would have to be provided.

3.5.3. General Comments

The above institutions, considering their years of experience in project development are expected to cope seamlessly with the demands of URP's should the government launch it in Ghana. Notably absent from the above are the DA's and the Ministry of Works and Housing. The reasons for their omission are firstly, in the case of the ministry, all the institutions mentioned above are departments under the ministry and are therefore indicative of the role of the ministry in a possible urban regeneration practice in Ghana.

Policy directive only comes from the ministry and these institutions execute them. And in the case of the DA's, admittedly, many of the DA's in Ghana are less equipped to embark on a significant project like the UR. However, due to their planning functions as granted by Act 462, any government institution embarking on URP will have to work closely with any DA under whose jurisdiction any URP is taking place. In terms of funding, the aforementioned institutions above are limited liability companies and can therefore contract loans either from within or from external sources.

3.5.4. Reasons for which UR can be Implemented in Ghana

As a tool for making cities more liveable [Konbul and Çete, 2014], urban regeneration can be applied in the Ghanaian setting to correct some of the urban dysfunctionalities. If liveability connotes *'the sum of the factors that add up to a community's quality of life – including the built and natural environments, economic prosperity, social stability and equity, educational opportunity and cultural, entertainment and recreation possibilities'* [Partners of Livable Communities], then a significant portion of the Ghanaian urban landscape cannot be said to be liveable. With about 40 percent of the urban area submerged in slums [UN, 2014], it is important to improve living conditions in these areas so us to make the urban area more liveable.

The main reason for which urban regeneration can be implemented in Ghana can therefore be to convert the slum areas into decent residential areas with sound economic and social opportunities as well as creation of enough green areas, parks and playgrounds. The lack of enough open spaces even in the well-planned neighbourhoods calls for the implementation of UR that can, through land readjustments correct some of the urban malfunctions within the Ghanaian urban areas. Also, for economic revitalisation, urban regeneration can be applied in the economic revitalisation of some parts of the country notable among which are the Ghanaian waterfronts which are currently occupied by some deprived indigenous settlements which have been described as slums [Paller, 2015]. Urban regeneration can also be implemented in Ghana for city branding purposes.

4. METHODOLOGY AND CASE STUDY AREA PROFILE

In this chapter, the methodology adopted for this research has been explained in detail. This includes the research method, the sampling and sampling techniques among others. In addition to that, a brief profile of the selected case study area has been provided. Issues discussed here include the demography of the chosen case study area and the housing conditions among others.

4.1. Methodology

This section describes the various methods and processes employed in this study. It explains how various data types were collect, processed and analysed. For the purpose of this work, two types of data sources were used, and these are; a) Primary Data and b) Secondary Data

The secondary data comprised of published materials in the form of books, articles, academic theses, internet sources and any form of relevant existing resource including videos such as obtained from YouTube or from relevant websites. These resources served a useful purpose in the literature review chapter. The primary data also comprised of responses elicited from relevant respondents through the use of the questionnaire as the main instrument for this survey. In other words, the questionnaire was used to obtain the primary data. Determination of the relevant sample and arriving at a scientifically adequate sample size have been discussed in the next section.

4.1.1. Sampling Methods

The sampling methods employed in this research were both the probability and the non-probability sampling method. In probability sampling, each member of the population has a non-zero (equal) chance of being selected [Web 27, ca.2015; statpac.com]. Examples of such sampling method include; simple random sampling, systematic random sampling and stratified sampling. Non-probability sampling method involves the selection of members based on some other criteria other than chance and they include; convenience sampling, judgment sampling, quota sampling, and snowball sampling [Web 27, ca.2015; statpac.com]. The systematic random sampling method which is a type of probability sampling technique was adopted in the selection of various households for the survey. In achieving this, samples were taken from every thirtieth (30^{th}) count of a household. Since the average number of households in the study area is about 10,000 [WEB 40, 2014], a total of 322 respondents was systematically sampled after counting over 9,000 households. The rationale for adopting this sample size has been explained in section 4.1.2. The questionnaires were administered to the heads of these households. It must be noted that these household heads included landlords, caretakers, tenants or non-rent paying residents.

The non-probability sampling method also known as *deliberate* or *purposive* sampling method [Web 27, ca. 2015] was adopted for selecting professionals in the built environment practicing in Ghana. As stated above, this method includes convenience sampling, judgement sampling, quota sampling and snowballing. The specific method applied in this study was the convenience and judgement sampling methods. Convenience sampling as explained by Web 27 [ca.2015] refers to the selection of samples based on their availability and accessibility to the researcher. In this type of sampling technique, there are no set rules for the selection of samples other than ease of access [Web 27, ca.2015). The target respondents were professionals from both government and private institutions like; the the Tema Development Corporation (TDC) and; some selected planning officials of the Ashaiman Municipal Assembly (AshMA).

The profile of the selected slum for the purpose of this study has been described in detail in the next section of this report. Sample questions posed to the various respondents can be found on the appendix pages. The framing of these questions was guided by thorough study of questionnaires of previous studies related to this topic. Drafting of the questions were based on key parameters which have sufficient basis in literature. This has been explained further in subsequent sections.

4.1.2. Sample Size Estimation for the Resident Households

As previously indicated, under this study, a total of two (2) sub-surveys was conducted which include; Professionals practicing in the built environment across both state and private institutions in Ghana, and the other survey was conducted on resident household heads of the study area. Even though Ashaiman as earlier stated has a combined feature of each of the three (3) slum types, the selection of samples was not based on these cohorts. A systematic random sampling method was adopted as earlier explained.

Because the study area has an estimated household population of about ten thousand (10,000), the following formula was used in estimating the minimum sample, n for population larger than 10,000 [Newbold et al., 2013];

$$n \geq \left(\frac{z_{\alpha/2}}{E}\right)^2 \times \ \rho^*(1-\rho^*)$$

Where $z_{\alpha/2}$ is the confidence interval which in this work is considered to be 95%. And from the Z-table, $z_{0.025}$ = 1.96;

ρ^* is the unknown proportion for the population in which case it is assumed to be 0.5;

E is the allowable margin of error and for the purpose of this study it is also assumed to be 5.55%. And so from the formula above the minimum sample for population above 10,000 is estimated as follows;

$$n \geq \left(\frac{1.96}{0.0555}\right)^2 \times \ 0.5(1-0.5)$$

$$n \geq 311.8$$

Consequently, a sample of at least 312 households was determined to be sufficient for this study in order to achieve any statistical significance. And in achieving a systematic random sample, the total household population for the study area which was assumed to be around 10,000 was divided by an expected sample of 330 to arrive at 30. Thus, every 30th count of a household was taken as a target respondent for the survey which resulted in a sample size of 322. The following table shows the distribution of respondents across the study area.

Table 4.1: Composition of Households.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	A Block	50	15.5	15.5	15.5
	B Block	51	15.8	15.8	31.4
	C Block	51	15.8	15.8	47.2
	D Block	50	15.5	15.5	62.7
	E Block	60	18.6	18.6	81.4
	F Block	60	18.6	18.6	100.0
	Total	**322**	**100.0**	**100.0**	

4.1.3. Survey Instruments

The main instrument used for this survey was the questionnaire. It must be noted that, the questionnaires were administered to the target respondents by a field officer who translated all questions to the relevant local language of the respondents and whose responses were then translated back to the English language and transcribed onto the questionnaire. As for the more literate respondents from the various institutions, the questionnaire forms were distributed to them and then later retrieved after filling them out.

There were two (2) sets of questionnaire forms presented to the two (2) groups of respondents which are; the resident household heads of the case study area who held different residential statuses as described earlier and the other group was the professionals across some of the relevant institutions in Ghana (see, Table 4.3). The questions sought to elicit from respondents among other things, their opinions about UR and how accepting they are likely to be towards its implementation should it be adopted in Ghana. The results of the findings of this research have been presented in the next chapter of this work.

4.2. Question Typology

In this section, the nature and types of questions posed to respondents have been explained. Question typology in this context refers to the types of questions that were asked the separate groups of respondents.

4.2.1. Critical Parameters in Questionnaire Design

In this section, various parameters such as economic, social and physical dimensions that affect the success of every URP [Tallon, 2010] were explained. Beyond these other factors such as legal, institutional and socio-economic (demographic) factors have been explained to facilitate the smooth operation of any URP. For instance, Candas Flacke and Yamrolioglu [2016] discussed the importance of having adequate legislation that ensures equity in the implementation of URP. Roberts [2000] also highlighted the need for balance between the aforementioned three dimensions in ensuring a successful urban regeneration. He further stressed the need for the adoption of the concept of highest and best of urban land in urban regeneration projects.

As a comprehensive policy, the need for its sustainability is also at its core. In achieving this, the three dimensions -economic, social and physical dimensions- must be adequately catered for so that there is equal access to each of economic, social and physical benefits of any URP. Also, affordability of housing units under URP has been closely linked with sustainability [Branco and Alves, ca.2016]. Having stated the above, it has also been recognised that after having appropriate legislations in place, well-functioning organisations as well as adequate financing are equally critical to the implementation of any URP [Kandaloğlu, 2016].

In summarising the above, an operational urban regeneration must be one that ensures adequate balance between economic progress, physical/environmental protection and improvements, and social inclusion. In addition to these, it must be legal and equitable as well as financially executable. These ideals formed the main parameters for the design of the questionnaire. The table below summarises the discussion above.

Table 4.2: Critical Parameters in Questionnaire Design.

CRITICAL PARAMETERS	RELATED VARIABLES	RELEVANT QUESTIONS	SOURCES
Economic	Employment levels; occupation/profession types	Sample 1, Q2-6, 30, 31	Sekmen [2007]; Aslan [2017]; Kara [2012]
Social/Cultural	Family size; housing choice; bearer of housing cost; satisfaction level; types of amenities	Sample 1, Q1; Q27, 28, 38, 39	Sekmen [2007]; TOKİ [2016b]
Socio-economic	Proportion of income spent on housing; ability to afford housing under URP	Sample 1, Q29; Q31	Antalya [2016]; Aslanoğlu [2011]
Legal	Land owning arrangement; type of interest; need for operational law	Sample 1, Q43-46; Sample 2, Q37	
Institutional	Institutions capable of running URP	Sample 2, Q12, 13	
Financial	Income levels; financing arrangement	Sample 1, Q5, 6 and Q35; sample 2 Q14	Sekmen [2007]
Physical / Environmental	Distribution of amenities	Sample 1, Q39-42	Antalya [2016]

Thus, the above parameters guided the questionnaire designed for the two groups of respondents viz; the household heads of Ashaiman and the officials from the various institutions. The questionnaires were divided into various sections. The questionnaire for the households of the study area is known as *sample 1* (see Appendix A) and of the officials, *sample 2* (see Appendix B). The first section of *sample 2* which consisted of eight (8) questions in all (Q1-Q8) aimed at seeking the opinions of officials concerning the slum problem in Ashaiman. It sought to reveal officials' awareness or otherwise of happenings on the ground in Ashaiman. This is important in determining whether or not officialdom is aware of the problem and to what extent they see it as a problem.

The second section which starts from Q9 to Q20 comprised of questions relating to urban regeneration. This section can be said to be the main crux of the survey as it sought to elicit from respondents, information relating to their knowledge of urban regeneration; what they think about urban regeneration in Ghana; what they think about new communities under urban regeneration in Ghana as well as their views on how Ghana can fund urban regeneration. The third section is meant to validate and weigh the responses obtained. In that part of the questionnaire, questions relating to the rank of the official, the institution in which s/he works or worked, the profession and the number of years of experience s/he has had in the sector among others were asked. These questions are expected to inform why and how the questions were answered and to what extent those responses were influenced by the personal knowledge and experience of the respondent. The final section of the questionnaire was basically seeking to profile Ashaiman and those questions were directed only at officials of TDC and AshMA who took part in the survey.

In similar fashion, *sample 1* comprised six (6) main sections. The first section comprised of questions relating to household information of the respondents. These questions are important in determining household size; number of rooms generally occupied by households and whether or not the rooms were enough; household income from rent and total household income among others. These questions will be critical in policy recommendation as to how many rooms and room sizes households expect from any urban regeneration project. The section two (2) of the questionnaire for this group of respondents comprised of questions relating to quality of life in the case study area. Questions about when the respondents first arrived and from where, were asked. Also, whether or not respondents are willing to return was also asked. The reason is to gauge the number of people willing to stay even after regeneration and this will inform the decision to make adequate provision for resettlement costs among others. In the next section of the questionnaire, views about urban regeneration were sought. Whether or not residents are willing to accept urban regeneration in Ghana was determined from this part of the questionnaire. Also, the willingness and ability to pay more for improved housing under urban regeneration was also determined here.

In the fourth section of the questionnaire for the households, their housing and community preferences were taken to inform about the type of community they would prefer. In the fifth section, the biodata of respondents was taken and finally in the sixth section, questions relating to the current buildings were asked. The type of interest held; building type and nature of the development; facilities available in the buildings are expected to be revealed by the questions in this section. The questions in the last section were only expected to be answered by the landlords or their representatives (caretakers).

In the end, the following table shows the distribution of various groups of respondents who took part in the survey from each group.

Table 4.3: Summary of Participants.

Group	Count	Percentage
Resident Households	322	92.5
Officials/Professionals	26	7.5
Total	348	100

4.2.2. Forms of Questions

The form of questioning employed in this work was largely close-ended even though a few open-ended questions too were asked. This approach was not intended to evoke bias or to lead respondents into responding in a way favoured by the researcher. On the contrary, it was meant to provide ease in answering the questions by respondents. Considering the reluctance some people show in filling out questionnaire forms, this approach was deemed appropriate to remove any seeming difficulty in providing responses to questions. Quite apart from this, by providing possible answer choices, it puts the questions into the right contexts. In other words, possible answer choices contextualise the questions in that, they tend to give respondents clues about what kind of responses are expected from them. For instance, without possible answer choices, a question like '*type of house*' may result in answers based on number of stories for some respondents and answers based on materials used for other respondents thus, mixing up the units of measurement for this type of question. Close-ended questions also remove or reduce the tendencies of item non-response [Reja, Manfreda, Hlebec and Vehovar, 2003]. In addition to the possible answers made available to respondents, there was however a space provided for the '*other(s)*' so that respondents can include answers that were not part of the options available. Just like the questions, the possible answer choices too were obtained from literature. The outcomes of previous researches aided in the generation of possible answer choices used in this survey.

4.3. Observation as a Component of Research

Observation has been described as the *'bedrock source of human knowledge'* about the 'social and natural world' such that Aristotle was said to apply observation methods in his botanical research on the island of Lesbos and not only that, Auguste Comte who is regarded as the father of Sociology listed observation as one of the "four core research methods" [Adler and Adler, 1994 cited in Baker, 2006]. Observation has also been described as a data collection method by Williamson [2000 cited in Baker, 2006] because of its multiple applications in research work.

In the use of observation as a research or data collection method, it is required that the researcher gets involved in the activities of the target group while applying his or her five senses in the process [Baker, 2006]. In this regard, observations may either be *participatory* or *non-participatory* in nature [Baker, 2006]. Citing Chatman [1984, p. 429], Spradley [1980], Gold [1958] and Gorman and Clayton [2005], Baker [2006] explains that, participatory connotes that the researcher is involved in the activities of the target group while non-participatory only involves watching the activities of the target group either from afar or from within. He further states that, the researcher may also adopt the role of a '*complete observer'* in which case, s/he is present at the scene but according to Gold [1958] and Gorman and Clayton [2005], may 'not interact with the target group to a large extent' [cited in Baker, 2006].

In this work also, personal knowledge based on the author's personal encounter with the selected case study area as well as with its inhabitants served a valuable purpose. A few years prior to this research, the author has had about two and a half years of encounter with the case study owing to his role as an Estates Assistant at the TDC which involved field reports of unauthorised development, regularisation of tenancies of dwellers as well as site inspections of buildings of applicants for various services. It must be stated that, for most part of this period, the author was stationed within the case study area. Quite apart from that, his residence was not so distant away from the case study. Even though during the period of encounter, the subject matter of this research was not the objective, the closeness to the case study has earned the author some valuable knowledge by way of years of observations which was brought to bear on the data collection and analysis of this research.

4.4. Data Analysis Tools and Techniques

The adopted data analysis tool for this research was the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS). This computer programme afforded the opportunity for various analyses such as cross-tabulations, the Chi-square Test and F – Tests among others.

4.5. Case Study Area Profile – Ashaiman, Ghana

Ashaiman is among the 16 MMDA's of the Greater Accra Region of Ghana [ghanadistricts.com]. It attained municipal status in 2008 under LI 1889 which made it administratively independent of the Tema Metropolitan Assembly (TMA) [Web 40, 2014]. Ashaiman is bordered to the south and west by the Tema Metropolis and the Accra-Tema Motorway (N1 Highway) and to the north and east by the Kpone-Katamanso District [Web, 2014]. According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census (PHC), Ashaiman has a population of 190,972 which represents 4.8 percent of the region's total [Web, 2014].

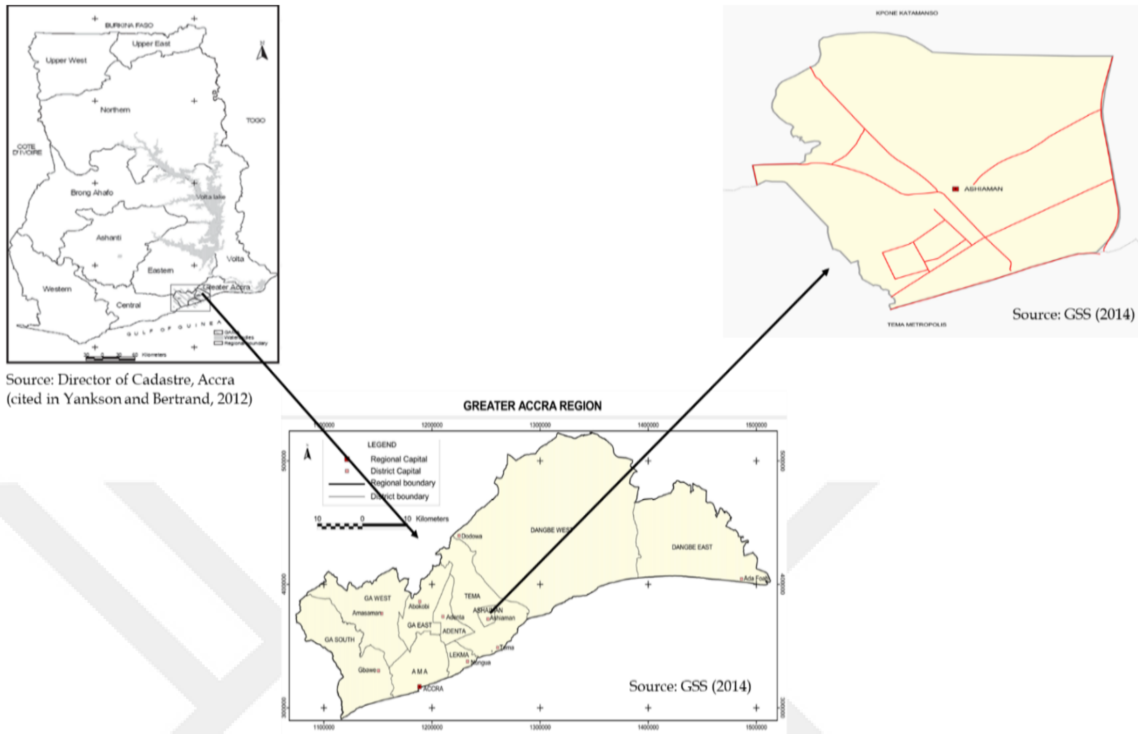

Figure 4.1: Location of Study Area

Ashaiman has a land area of 45 km^2 with a vibrant working population of with about 91.6 percent of those above 15 years engage in active employment [Web 40, 2014]. The employment distribution of Ashaiman is as follows; of the employed population, 1.8 percent work as skilled agricultural, fisheries and forestry personnel, 36.5 percent work in the service sector as sales personnel, 22 percent work in the crafts sector and 12.5 percent work as managers, middle level professionals and technicians [Web, 2014]. Its proximity to Accra and Tema makes it an attractive place of residence for those industrial workforce and others who cannot afford the high rent charges of Accra and Tema [Web 40, 2014].

The data above may not necessarily paint the sort of picture portrayed by Davis [2006] or the UN-Habitat [2003] when Ashaiman was identified as one of the biggest slum communities in the world. However, a cursory look at the housing conditions in many parts of the municipality gives credence to the fact that Ashaiman may indeed represent one of the world’s biggest slums. Despite the fact that some parts of Ashaiman may have decent residential units with orderly layout, the chaotic central business district along with the general character of the built-up area, the (in)security concerns, sanitation, traffic problems among others will continue to make Ashaiman the last choice of place of residence for those who can afford rent charges in Tema or Accra. Indeed, the not so good reputation earned by Ashaiman mainly due to the aforementioned chaos may well be the reason why some of its residents shy away from identifying themselves with the municipality as their address of resident.

Back to the municipality in general, out of a total of 190,972 residents across the municipality, there are 49,936 households[16] which presents an average household size of 3.7 which is lower than the national average of 4.4 [Web 40, 2014]. With over 52 percent of the population living in compound houses[17], Ashaiman has the highest number of people per house[18] at 11.2 shared by two (2) to three (3) households [Web 40, 2014]. In other words, across the municipality of Ashaiman, almost 3 (2.9 as per the census data) different households reside in a given house on the average. Majority of the houses are single storeys with ownership spread in the following manner: 54.4 percent private ownership with only 0.6 percent state/public houses [Web 40, 2014]. In the municipality, out of every 100 household members, 12 are spouses, 38 percent are children and another 23 '*are relatives, other relatives and non-relatives*' [WEB 40, 2014].

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[16] A household was defined for the purpose of the 2010 PHC by the GSS as a, "*a person or a group of persons, who lived together in the same house or compound and shared the same house-keeping arrangements*". For the purpose of this work also, this definition has been adopted. The definition implies members of a household need not necessarily be related by blood.

[17] The common house type in Ghana are 'compound houses'. They comprise a building with several rooms which may be occupied individually or in pairs or threes by distinct households. This means that in a compound house, it is typical to find more than one household. In fact, in the case of Ashaiman, the household per house was reported as 2.9 (Web 40, 2014)

[18] A house in Ghana refers to what the UN defines 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*" (Web 40, 2014).

Image 4.1: Typical Compound Houses in Ghana / communityledtotalsanitation.org.

In terms of facilities of each house, typically, members of a house share common washrooms and toilet facilities where the latter is available but not all houses have a toilet facility. Residents therefore resort to the use of public toilet. According to the 2010 PHC also, for an urban community like Ashaiman, the main source of lighting is electricity from the national grid which is connected to about 88 percent of the buildings. More than a quarter (25.6) of households cook in the compounds while others cook in the verandas indicating a lack of kitchen in these buildings. Also, more than 60 percent of households use public toilets which also indicates a lack of toilet facilities in the buildings. Table 4.3 below summarises the basic demographic character of Ashaiman.

Table 4.4: Summary of Major Demographic Characteristics of Ashaiman.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS	VALUE
Total Population	190,972
Number of Households	49,936
Average Household Size	3.7
Rate of Employment	91.6%

4.5.1. The Specific Case Study Area

Like any other municipality, Ashaiman is also subdivided into various neighbourhoods. There are about ten (10) subdivisions within the municipality. They include the 'A – H Blocks', then the 'NW Block' and finally the government's Low Cost (LC)[19] Area. Of these Blocks, only the G and H which together make up what is known as '*Middle East*' and obviously the LC Areas can be said to have settlements with orderly layouts linked to each other by roads and are better served with electricity, water, good sanitation facilities and other municipal services. Majority of the buildings in *Middle East* are detached or semi-detached single household homes whilst those at the LC Area are mostly two-storey apartments of four flats hosting four households.

Beyond the aforementioned areas which can be said to have decent housing conditions, the rest of the areas namely A – F and the NW Blocks have poor conditions and these places could possibly be the reason behind the general depiction of Ashaiman as a 'slum community'. It is therefore against this backdrop that the specific study area comprised of places within the A – F Blocks. The area under study approximates to 1,214,000 square metres[20] and it is incidentally situated within the central portion of the municipality as shown within the marked area in the map below.

[19] 'government's low cost' so stated because the area was developed and built by the government via the TDC but with later change in policy and under the House Ownership Scheme (HOS) by the TDC, most of the properties were bought and have thus become private properties.

[20] This figure was obtained from Google Earth after demarcating the marked area in Fig. 4.1.

Figure 4.2: Location of Study Area, Ashaiman.

4.5.2. SWOT Analysis of the Case Study Area – Ashaiman

The SWOT Analysis has been identified as an effective tool in evaluating a business' strengths, weaknesses, opportunities as well as the potential threats it faces. SWOT therefore stands for strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. The strengths and weaknesses are said to be internal to the organisation itself in terms of its capabilities and deficiencies whereas the opportunities and threats are external factors that affect the success of the organisation positively and negatively respectively [Berry, nd]. In this work therefore, the SWOT analysis of the case study area aims at assessing the strengths and weakness of Ashaiman as well as its opportunities and threats with regards to the implementation of UR.

Just like any other entity Ashaiman its own strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and possible threats. Its strengths lie in the fact that, it is strategically located between the two major metropolitan areas of the Greater Accra Region, Tema and Accra. This makes it a preferred place of residence especially for those who cannot afford the exorbitant rent in

Tema and Accra. Access to these cities from Ashaiman is flexible given the presence of major highways linking these places like the Accra - Tema Motorway. A good number of the residents of Ashaiman work in either Accra or Tema and there are others from the latter that also have their businesses or places of work in the former. Should urban regeneration be implemented in Ashaiman therefore, its premium can in this respect can only get better.

Another thing that can be said to reflect its strength is the booming commercial activities in the municipality. In recent years, many medium rise buildings have been constructed by private investors especially along the major roads. These buildings are mostly for both institutional and commercial purposes but not residential. Behind those wealth-making commercial buildings are the glaring urban decay that the municipality is plagued with. Urban regeneration in Ashaiman will only enhance these commercial activities while at the same time cure its urban decay.

With over 90% of its working population engaged in active employment [WEB 40, 2014], Ashaiman can be said to possess a population with some level of 'purchasing power'. This reflects a strength and therefore indicates the ability for residents to afford decent but affordable places of residence which urban regeneration in this context seeks to deliver. Also, one of the major setbacks to housing delivery in Ghana is access to encumbrance-free land. The Ashaiman lands being state lands and under the management of the TDC is an advantage because this will secure the interests of any potential investor if urban regeneration is implemented. A summary of the SWOT analysis of Ashaiman has been presented in Figure 4.2 below.

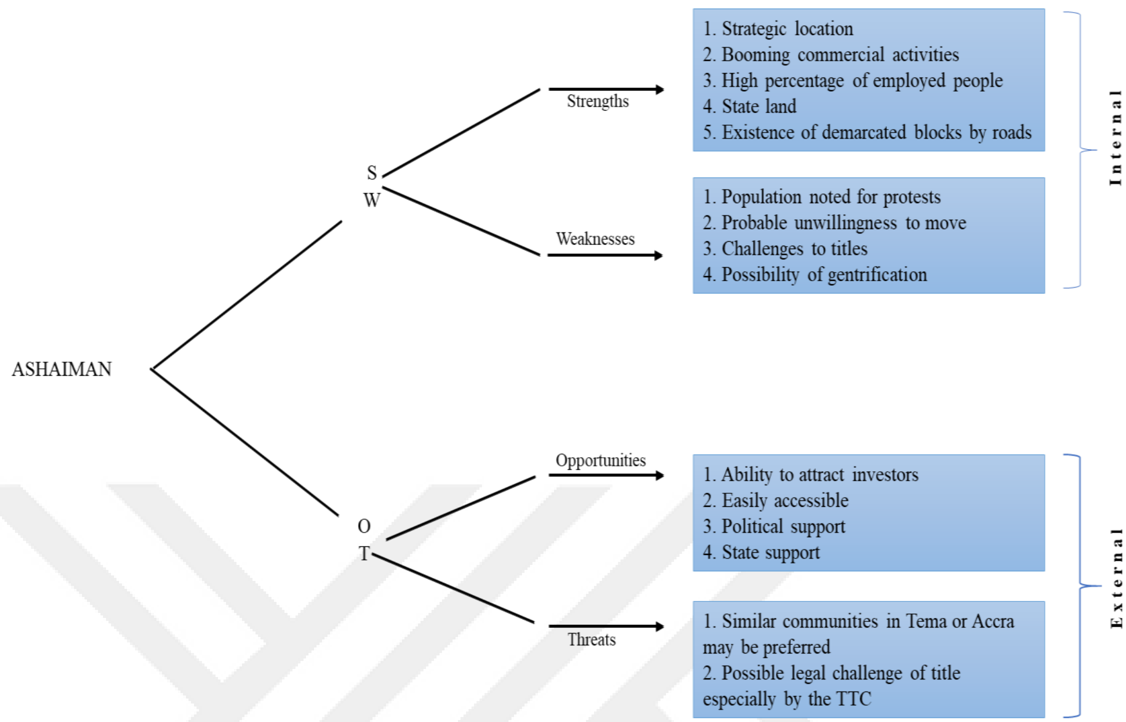

Figure 4.3: SWOT Analysis of Ashaiman.

4.6. The Land Tenure System in Ashaiman

Ashaiman is part of the TAA and as previously discussed (see section 3.4 of chapter three of this work), the TAA is made up of about 163 km^2 of land of which Ashaiman is part, taking up to 45 km^2 of the total area. All lands within the TAA are public lands and are under the management and control of the TDC. In Ghana generally, the hierarchy of (customary) land ownership is as follows: the allodial title which is held only by the Stools/Skins[21] on behalf of their subjects; customary freeholds/usufruct; leaseholds and sub leases -i.e. tenancies, licences etc- [Fosu and Derby, 2006; Sittie, 2006]. In terms of public lands however, individuals can only be granted leases or licences with the ultimate freehold interest vested in the president of the Republic of Ghana.

In Ashaiman, interests in land are either leaseholds or licences, both of which can only be granted by the TDC. A landowner in Ashaiman with leasehold title entitles him

[21] These are symbols of traditional authorities (TA's) (ie Chiefs and Kings) in Ghana. The Stool represents TA's in the south whereas the Skin represents TA's in the north.

or her to develop a permanent structure on the said land with rights of use and enjoyment for up to 60 years. However, a licence held in a land in Ashaiman only entitles the holder to right of entry and the erection of temporal structure but not permanent ones. There is however obligation on each of lessees and licence holders to pay annual ground rent to TDC. The existence of large number of temporal structures in the community is due to the existence of licences. That said, a large chunk of permanent structures is on licence as well. There is currently an ongoing regularisation exercise (RE) in areas within the TAA including Ashaiman that have been encroached by individuals.

5. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSES

As outlined in the previous chapter, data for this research work was obtained via the use of the questionnaire. A total of three hundred and twenty-two (322) respondents constituting household heads of the study area formed the main subject of the study. In addition to this, and as previously indicated, another group of respondents was sampled using a purposive sampling method. This second group of respondents comprised professionals in Ghana who work in the built environment. A detail breakdown of respondents has been provided in subsequent sections. The field work commenced on the 13th of February and ended on the 18th of March 2018. The data presented in this chapter have been grouped into two broad headings, viz; descriptive and inferential statistics. The descriptive statistics section has been presented in two legs, which are; observed characteristics and collected responses. These have been explained below.

5.1. Descriptive Statistics

This section provides the basic characteristics of the study area as gathered from the field. As previously indicated, the main features here have been grouped under two main headings, viz; observed characteristics and collected characteristics. The observed characteristics of the sample refer to features that are naturally inherent in the sample. These are therefore objective characteristics of the sample that are not influenced by any subjectivity. In other words, they refer to features associated with the sample as observed from the study. Characteristics under this include; gender, age, employment and job categories, income, household size and block distribution of respondents among others. These have been further grouped into one of social/cultural, economic and environmental/physical characteristics. Collected responses on the other hand refer to opinions or responses gathered from the sample. They also include but not limited to; opinions about urban regeneration, preferred house types under urban regeneration, preferred maximum storey counts under urban regeneration among others. This has been explained further later under the appropriate heading.

5.1.1. Social/Cultural Characteristics

These are characteristics observed within the sample that describe the social or cultural character of the observation. They include among others the religious affiliations of respondents, places of origin, gender, age, marital status and level of education of respondents.

5.1.1.1. Gender and Marital Status Distribution

Knowledge of the gender distribution of any society is important in policy formulation. In this regard therefore, eliciting the gender information of respondents was seen to be significant to this study. This research having centred on heads of households meant that the dominant gender was always going to be the male gender which is in line with every patriarchal society. It was therefore not surprising that majority of respondents were males constituting over 93% compared to the almost 7% females. The table below shows the gender distribution of respondents. The main reason for the presence of female household heads is because of the absence of their spouses mainly due to divorce (7), separation (4), death (4), spinsterhood (5) or spouse currently abroad or in another city (2). With regards to the marital status of respondents, of the 322 participants of the survey, 265 (82.3%) are married, 35 (10.9%) single, 11 (3.4%) divorced, 6 (1.9%) widowed and another 5 (1.6%) separated from their spouses. According to the 2010 PHC, more than twice the number of divorced or widowed household heads were females [WEB 41, 2013]. This also strengthens the position that female household heads exist due to the absence of their male spouses owing to reasons explained earlier.

Table 5.1: Gender Distribution of Respondents.

		Frequency	Share (%)
Valid	Female	22	6.8
	Male	300	93.2
	Total	322	100.0

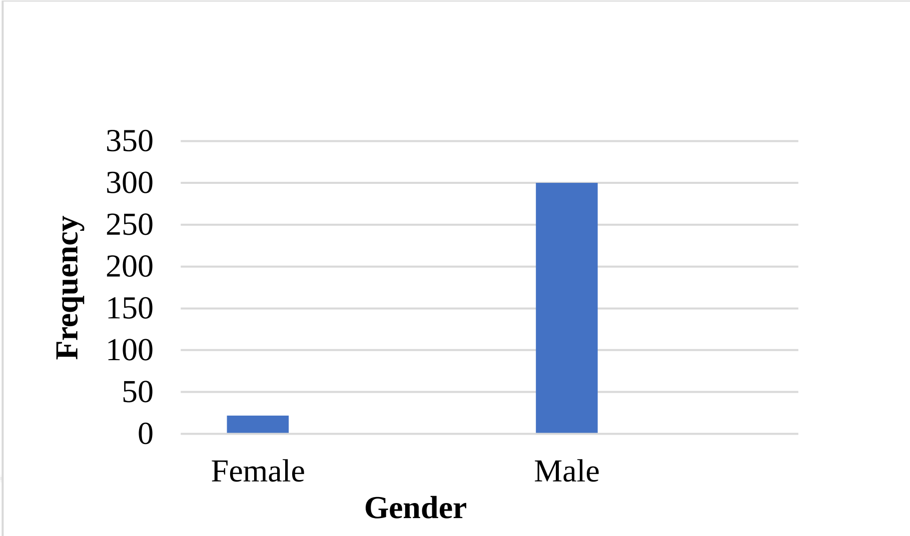

Figure 5.1: Gender Distribution of Respondents

5.1.1.2. Location Distribution of Respondents

As indicated previously, the case study area is made up of six residential blocks numbering from A to F. Because the various residential blocks are not the same in population, different number of respondents was observed within the sample as displayed on Table 5.2 below. The differences in population size of the blocks is because of differences in number of houses within each block. In addition to that, the number of households per house (residential building) differs from house to house (see, Table 5.7). Table 5.2 shows the distribution of respondents across the blocks within the study area.

Table 5.2: Block Composition of Respondents.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	A Block	50	15.5
	B Block	51	15.8
	C Block	51	15.8
	D Block	50	15.5
	E Block	60	18.6
	F Block	60	18.6
	Total	**322**	**100.0**

It can be seen that, each of the six residential blocks is fairly represented even though respondents were randomly sampled.

5.1.1.3. Place of Birth

Ashaiman being a multicultural community, residents moved into the area at different times. While majority of the residents (89%) are non-indigenes and thus, have come from various places across the country and even across the West African sub-region, some were born in the community. For the purpose of simplicity, the birth places of respondents were grouped into two, viz; In Ashaiman and Outside Ashaiman. And those in Ashaiman were deemed in this research as indigenes of Ashaiman. The distribution of places of birth of respondents are provided as follows;

Table 5.3: Origins of Respondents.

Place of Birth	Frequency	Percent (%)
Ashaiman	36	11.2
Outside Ashaiman	286	88.8
Total	322	100.0

In terms of regional distribution, the birth places of respondents were further grouped according to their geographical locations such as; the Northern Zone (Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions), Middle Belt (Brong-Ahafo, Ashanti and Eastern Regions), Southern Ghana (Central, Western and Greater Accra Regions), Volta Region and Ashaiman. Even though Ashaiman is located within the Greater Accra Region has been separated because it is the subject of this study. The Volta Region was also not included in any of the zones because it stretches from the middle belt to the south of Ghana. Finally, those from outside Ghana such as Togo (6), Mali (5), Niger (4), Burkina Faso (3), Nigeria (2) and the Ivory Coast (1) were grouped as ‘ECOWAS’. Table 5.4 and Figure 5.2 below provide a clearer representation of this data.

Table 5.4: Birth Places of Respondents: Geographic Regions

	Frequency	Percent (%)
Ashaiman	36	11.2
Northern Ghana	79	24.5
Middle Belt	82	25.5
Southern Ghana	76	23.6
ECOWAS	21	6.5
Volta Region	28	8.7
Total	322	100.0

This distribution reflects the findings of other studies that emphasised the influence of colonialism on the urbanisation dynamics in Ghana where residents of the deprived places of Ghana with emphasis on the northern belt were enticed away from the north to the mines and plantation in the south [see, Anarfi et al., 2003; Dickson, 1968; Plange, 1979 cited in Fuseini et al., 2016]. These findings suggest that the direction of flow of urban migrations are mainly from the most deprived regions of Ghana which are mainly the three regions of the north as about 25% of residents of Ashaiman were found to originate from the northern zone of Ghana. These findings also conform with the general character of the Turkish gecekondu dwellers who are said to also originate from the poorer and deprived regions of the east and southeast of Turkey [Erman, 2001; Demirtaş, 2007; Doğan, 1990]. Again, the Ghanaian urbanisation literature also point to the trooping in of foreigners from the West African sub-region in search of works in the mines or the plantations in southern Ghana [Schildkrout, 1987]. Another reason which accounted for the coming of West African nationals to Ghana (the then Gold Coast) was because of their desire to be enlisted into the army of the allied forces during WWII since Accra, the capital of the then Gold Coast was the West African Headquarters for the Allied Forces [Yankson et al., 2012]. With time however, due to trade liberalisation within the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), nationals of ECOWAS were able to move from one ECOWAS country to the other in search of greener pastures. This could also account for the presence of ECOWAS nationals in Ashaiman. The graph below shows the distribution of places of origins of respondents.

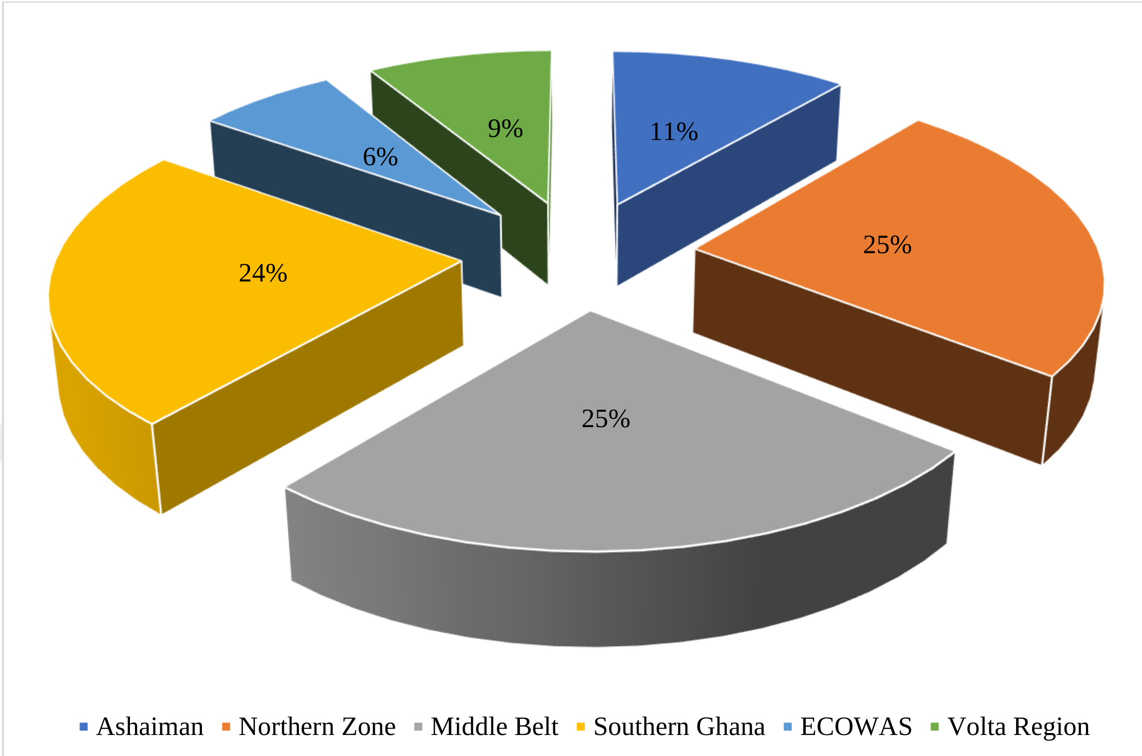

Figure 5.2 Birth Places of Respondents: Geographic Regions.

The following map provides a picturesque presentation of the geographical regions discussed above.

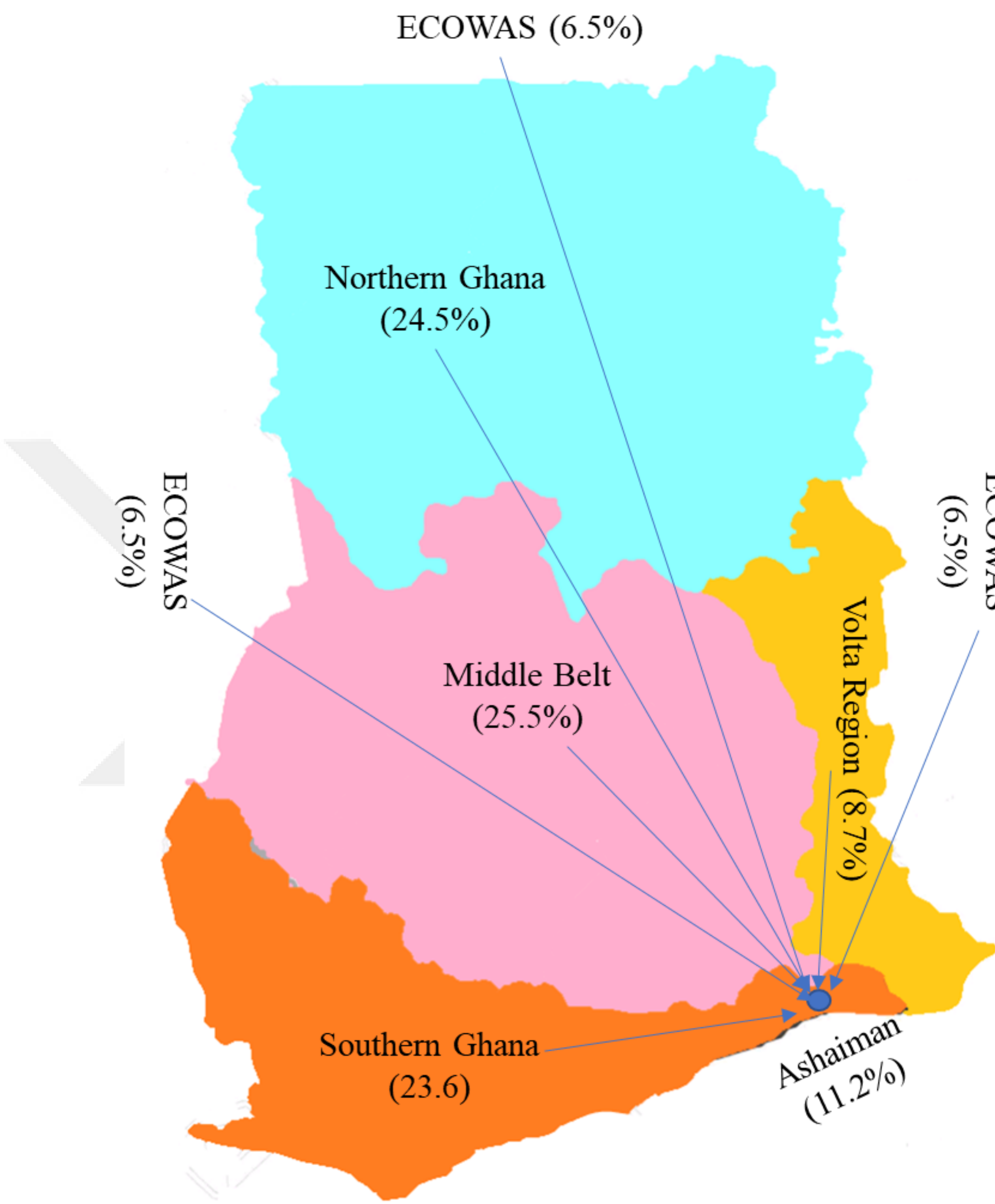

Figure 5.3: Map of Ghana Showing the Origins of Respondents.

5.1.1.4. Duration of Stay in Ashaiman

This refers to the length of time spent by respondents within the study area. This gives an indication about the age of Ashaiman as a human settlement. The data gathered from the field indicate that the latest arrivals to the settlement arrived only two (2) years ago while the oldest resident was born in Ashaiman about fifty-eight (58) years ago. The table below provides some statistics in this regard.

Table 5.5: Respondents' Duration of Stay in Ashaiman (in years)

Valid	322
Missing	0
Mean	21
Median	19
Mode	15
Std. Deviation	10.4
Minimum	2
Maximum	58

5.1.1.5. Religion of Respondents

Even though generally in Ghana there exist three dominant religions of Islam, Christianity and Traditional African Religion, the only observed religions within the study area were Islam (49%) and Christianity (51%). These figures indicate a concentration of Muslims in the study area, thereby creating some sort of a cluster. Whereas Muslims generally represent only about 18% of Ghanaians [WEB 41, 2013], the case study area records a whopping 49% Muslim population of respondents. Also, the study area reflects a concentration of Muslims because across the Ashaiman Municipality, just like the case across the country, Muslims only constitute about 17% of residents of the municipality. The study area therefore reflects the general character of the Purchased Slum Communities such as Nima and Moshie Zongo among others where these communities were initially purchased and settled by Muslim traders who migrated to Ghana in the early 20th century [Paller, 2015]. And for a community like Ashaiman having been described as a ‘mixed’ slum community comprising the features of all the three slum types [Paller, 2015], and with the premise that the Zongo community forms one of the three slum types (indigenous, purchased and extra-legal slum communities), this proportion of the community can be said to represent the Zongo community.

5.1.1.6. Residential Statuses of Respondents

Residential status in this context refers to residents’ interest in the properties they occupy. In other words, it refers to home-owning arrangements of respondents. In this connection, and in line with earlier findings, tenants represent majority of residents in the study area constituting about 70% of respondents, with landlords making up only about 19% of the respondents. Caretakers are people authorised by absentee landlords to manage the affairs of the property and they constitute about 0.6% of household heads in this study. Among the roles of caretakers include taking of rent from tenants, and carrying out of maintenance works among others. It is difficult or could actually be inaccurate to compare these figures with the municipal or national findings from the 2010 PHC carried out by the GSS. The reason is because, data on home tenure was carried out on every resident on the night of the census. However, this study was carried out on household heads only. Having stated that however, it is worthy of mention that, about 47% of all houses in Ghana are owner-occupied with about 31.1% rented while another 20.8% are rent free [WEB 41, 2013]. In similar manner, houses owned by members of households across the Ashaiman Municipality constitute about 32% of all houses found within the municipality [WEB 40, 2014]. The differences in the distribution of home tenure of the study area and those of the municipality and the nation at large can be explained to result from differences in the subjects of each of the surveys. The table below portrays a detail description of the various residential statuses of respondents.

Table 5.6: Respondents' Residential Statuses.

	Frequency	Percent (%)
Landlord	60	18.6
Caretaker	2	0.6
Tenant	220	68.3
Non-rent paying tenant	40	12.4
Total	322	100.0

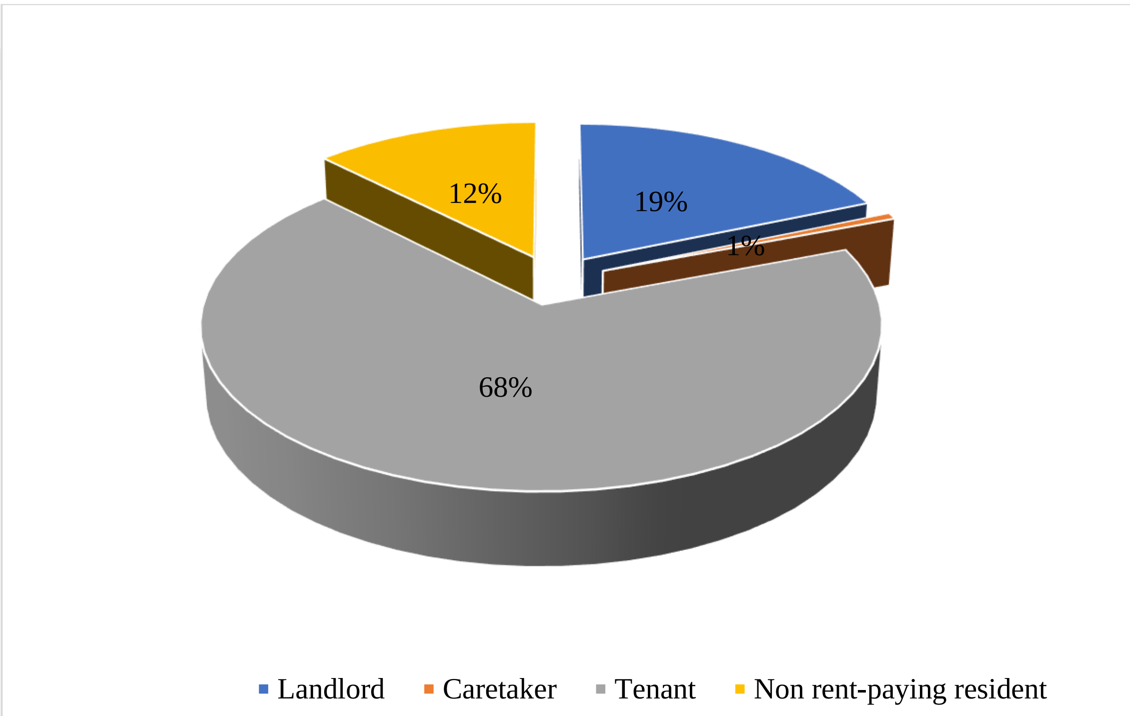

Figure 5.4: Residential Statuses of Household Heads.

Of the 18.6% of respondents who are landlords, more than half (56.67%) acquired or built the properties personally. Another 41.67% acquired the properties through inheritance while yet another 0.3% acquired the properties through *other* means such as holding on behalf of husband who is abroad.

5.1.1.7. Basic Household Statistics

This section presents the age statistics of households as well as the general character of households in the study area. Data presented here include statistics on household size as well as some data on household members. It was found that the youngest household head in the study area is aged 25 and the oldest, 74 years. With regards to household data, the smallest household has a size of 1 person whereas the largest household has a size of 7 members. Also, the highest number of employed household members was found to be 2, usually the head and the spouse as shown on Table 5.7 below.

Table 5.7: Basic Household Statistics.

	Age of Household Heads	Household Size	Members of Households Working	Number of Household Members in School	Number of households per house
Valid	322	322	322	322	322
Missing	0	0	0	0	0
Mean	44.42	3.84	2.24	1.35	6.20
Median	45.00	4.00	2.00	1.00	6.00
Mode	35[a]	3	2	0	7
Std. Deviation	9.188	1.406	0.840	1.240	1.853
Minimum	25	1	0	0	1
Maximum	74	7	6	5	12

a. Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

The table above shows that the study area has a mean household size of 3.84 and this is almost similar to the municipal average of 3.7 but lower than the national average of 4.4 [WEB 40, 2014]. However, the mean number of households per house (building) in this study area is higher (6.2 households) than the municipal, regional and national averages of 2.9, 2.2 and 1.6 households respectively. This indicates that buildings within the area under study are overcrowded. Also within the study area, while only 2.2% of buildings were occupied by single households, another 1.8% of buildings had at least ten

(10) and up to a maximum of twelve (12) households. With regards to room occupancy, almost one-half (49.4%) of households in this study occupy single rooms and this is almost consistent with the national and municipal figures of 54.4% and 69.3% respectively. This means that, there are more households across the country and across the municipality who occupy single rooms than there are within the study area.

Table 5.8: Number of Rooms Occupied by Households.

No. of Rooms		Frequency	Percent (%)	Cumulative Percent (%)
Valid	1	159	49.4	49.4
	2	98	30.4	79.8
	3	42	13.0	92.9
	4	19	5.9	98.8
	5	2	0.6	99.4
	6	1	0.3	99.7
	8	1	0.3	100.0
	Total	322	100.0	

And depending on the residential status of residents, rent payment could be payable or non-payable in which case the resident was either a landlord, a caretaker or a non-rent paying resident. However, the minimum rent paid by tenants was found to be GH¢ 20 and the maximum, GH¢ 200. The average rent paid by tenants is about GH¢ 65 while the modal rent paid is GH¢ 50. It is also worthy of note that resident households in the study area generally spend very little proportion of their incomes on rent and this can be attributed to the poor quality of the properties. The following table provides the basic statistics on this.

Table 5.9: Household Residential Statistics.

	Number of Rooms Occupied by Household	Monthly Rent Paid by Tenants (GH¢)	Renting Household Heads' Income (GH¢)	Renting Households' Income (GH¢)	Percentage of Household Income Spent on Rent (%)
Valid	322	218	220	220	218
Missing	0	104	102	102	104
Mean	1.8	64	1687.05	2959.5	3.26
Median	2.0	50	1200	2100	3.21
Mode	1	50	800	800; 1200	5.00
Std. Deviation	1.0	26.8	1291.87	2862.113	1.89
Minimum	1	20	0	0	0.24
Maximum	8	200	7000	21000	12.50

It must be noted that, despite the dominance of males as household heads, not all heads of households bear the cost of housing alone. It was found that only about 35% of households have their housing needs met by household heads only, while an overwhelming majority (64.1%) of households have their housing needs met by both the head and other member(s) of the household. Only about 1% of households have their housing needs met by other members apart from the head. This information suggests that households are generally supportive of the head in the matter of housing provision. It therefore stands to imply that household members may be willing to pool their resources together to acquire housing units under any urban regeneration in Ashaiman.

5.1.1.8. Education Level of Household Heads

The education levels of household heads in the study area range from no formal education to university graduates. However, majority of them are either basic school (41.6%) or senior high school (44.4%) graduates with only 1 person (0.3) without any formal education. By implication, only about 13% of respondents had higher than high school education with 6.5% graduating from the various post-secondary training colleges such as nurses and teachers training colleges or similar institutions while another 7.1% was found to have pursued a polytechnic (2.2%), first university degree (4.7%) or graduate studies (0.3%) which are together referred to as tertiary education in this work. These findings somewhat differ from the national statistics where according to the WEB 40 [2014], over 70% of household heads in Ghana did not have higher than basic school (middle school) education compared to the 41.9% recorded in this study. This variation could be explained by the fact that Ashaiman is completely urbanised with no rural population compared with the country's 50.9% urbanisation rate. And urban areas are more likely to have more people attain higher education than rural areas [see, WEB 41, 2013] and hence, the higher education attained by household heads in Ashaiman than household heads across the country. This finding is however very similar to that of TOKİ [2016b] who revealed that 40% of residents of its recently regenerated communities have up to basic education. The table below provides details about the education levels of residents of the study area.

Table 5.10: Level of Education of Respondents.

Eduction Level	Frequency	Percent (%)
Basic / No Education	135	41.9
Senior Secondary Education	143	44.4
Post-secondary Education (Training Colleges etc)	21	6.5
Tertiary Education	23	7.1
Total	322	100.0

5.1.2. Economic Data of Households and Household Heads

According to the 2010 PHC, about 92% of residents of Ashaiman Municipality who are within the working population are engaged in one economic activity or the other representing an unemployment rate of 8% across the municipality [WEB 40, 2014]. In this study, unemployed and retired household heads constitute only about 1 and 2% of respondents respectively while over 97% of respondents are gainfully employed which corresponds with the national figures where 'overwhelming majority' of household heads were reported as gainfully employed with only about 2.8% unemployed household heads [WEB 40, 2014]. This low unemployment rate within the study area compared to that of the municipality can be explained by the fact that this study was limited only to heads of households and not the general residents of the study area. The dominant (77.1%) economic activities carried out by the employed respondents are within the informal sector with only about 22.9% employed in the formal sector.

Table 5.11: Respondents' Sector of Employment.

Sector	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Formal Sector	72	22.9	22.9
Informal Sector	242	77.1	100.0
Total	314	100.0	

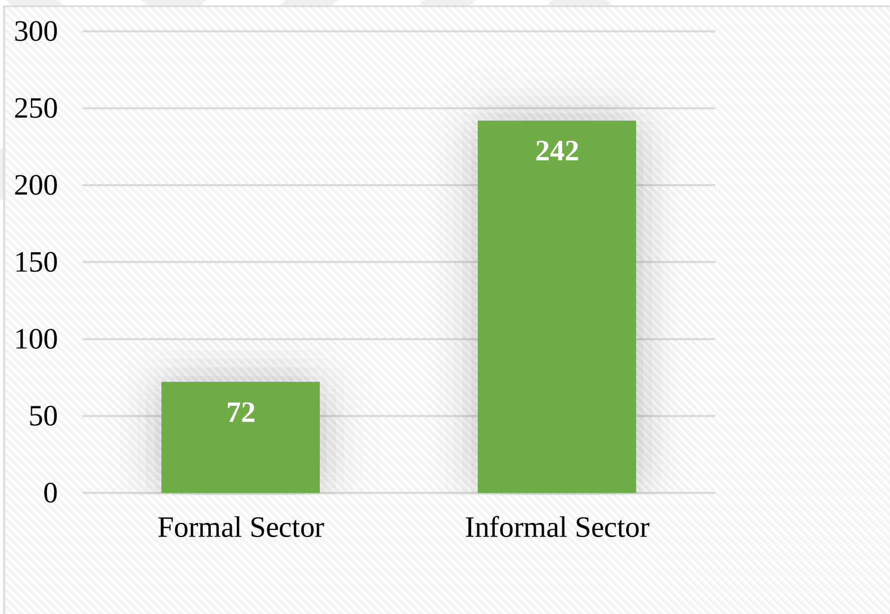

Figure 5.5: Respondents’ Sector of Employment.

This is almost in line with the findings of the WEB 40 [2014] in the 2010 PHC where 73.1% and 28.9% of the residents of the municipality are engaged in informal and formal economic activities respectively. When compared with the national figures however, it was found that the study area has higher proportion of its household heads employed in the formal sector than Ghana as a whole which has only about 18% of all households employed in the formal sector with the remaining 82% engaged in informal economic activities [WEB 40, 2014]. Quite apart from that, the findings in this work also reflect the economic character of the Turkish gecekondu settlements where informal economic activities are said to be dominant [see, Erman, 1997; Şenyapılı; 1998; beyoglubuyukdonusum.com].

Activities within the informal sector in the study area mostly manifest in the form of trades/crafts and less skilled jobs (50.9%) such as plumbing, hair dressing (including barbering), masonry, tailoring, butchery, auto mechanic, food vending/catering services, electrical works and carpentry among others. These also reflect the findings of other works such as Razzu [2005], Adubofour et al. [2012] and Bormann and Agyemang-Duah [2015] as well as the findings of the WEB 40 [2014] in the 2010 PHC for both the municipality and the nation. The informal sector also comprises small businesses or enterprises (37.9%) such as scrap dealership and construction works among others.

The formal sector on the other hand includes largely skilled and/or white-collar jobs in either the public or private sector. They include professionals such as; administrators, security personnel, teachers, nurses, sales personnel, mall attendants and engineers among others. This is also in line with the findings of Awumbila, Owusu and Teye [2014] and Adubfour, Obiri-Danso and Quansah [2012] who noted that, some of the current generation of slum dwellers after having had sufficient formal education are also employed in the formal sector of the Ghanaian economy. The aforementioned economic activities carried out by respondents have further been regrouped into three main job categories as shown on Table 5.12 below.

Table 5.12: Job Categories of Respondents.

	Job Categories	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	White Collar / Skilled	33	10.2	10.3
	Crafts and Trades / Less Skilled	164	50.9	51.4
	Businesses and/or Enterprises	122	37.9	38.2
	Total	319	99.1	100.0
Missing	System	3	0.9	
Total		322	100.0	

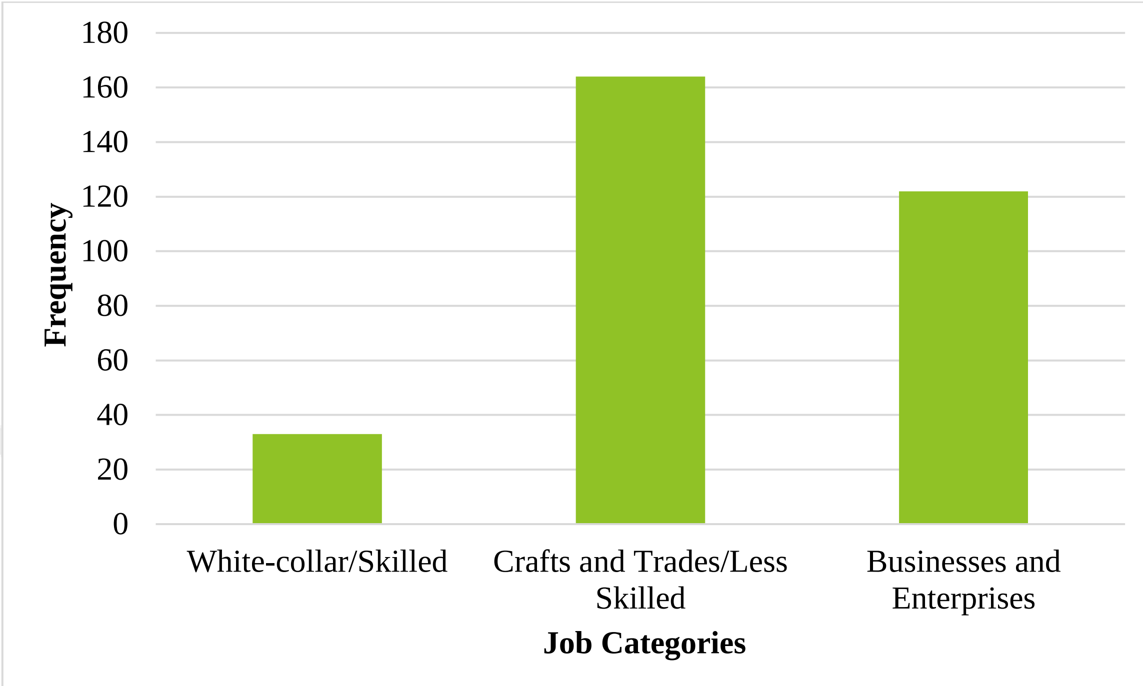

Figure 5.6: Job Categories of Respondents

It was also found that not all residents of Ashaiman ply their trades within the municipality. Three major places emerged as the places of work of respondents and these include Ashaiman itself (39.4%), Tema (52.5%) and Accra (5.6%), the capital of Ghana with another 2.2% non-response. It comes as no surprise that majority of the respondents work in Tema. Tema, as previously indicated is a major industrial hub of Ghana and just like the case of other slum communities around the world [see for example, Schenk, 2010], the Ashaiman slum can be said to be settled by people wishing to work in the nearby industrial city of Tema. Table 5.13 below provides some details.

Table 5.13: Place of Work of Respondents

		Frequency	Percent (%)	Valid Percent (%)
Valid	Accra	19	5.9	6.0
	Ashaiman	127	39.4	40.3
	Tema	169	52.5	53.7
	Total	315	97.8	100.0
Missing	System	7	2.2	
Total		322	100.0	

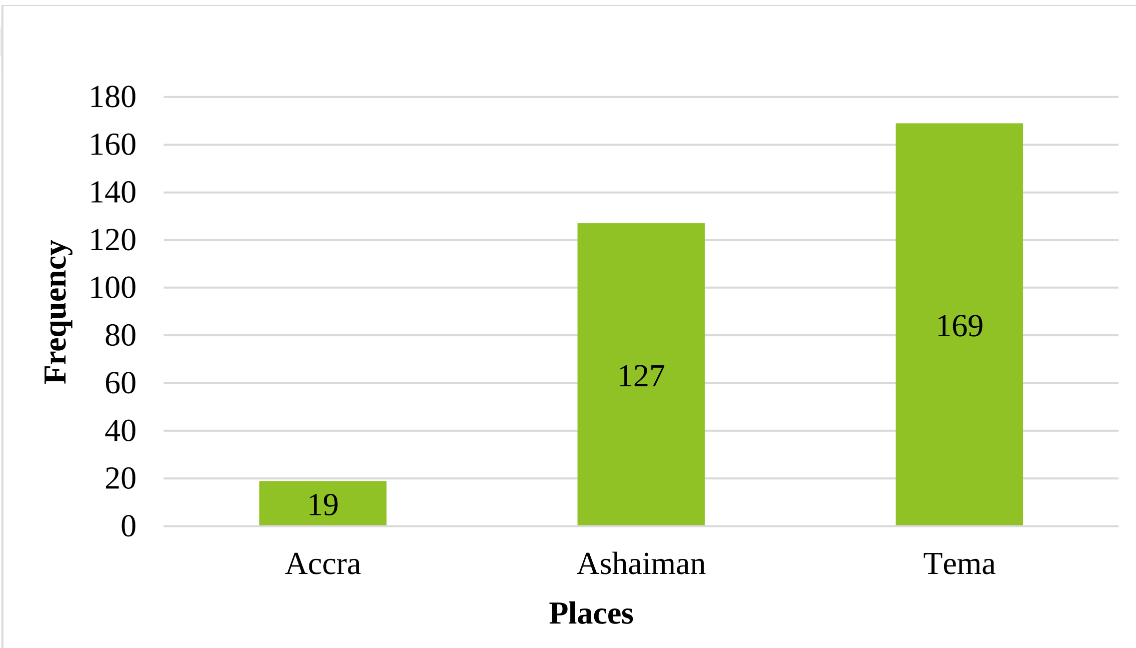

Figure 5.7: Places of Work of Respondents

The income distribution of respondents was also gathered. Employed respondents earn as low as GH¢ 200 and as high as GH¢ 15,000 per month. And even though the modal income of respondents is GH¢ 800, the mean income stands at a little over GH¢ 2000 and this includes 7 respondents with no monthly income. Data on household income however indicate that, the minimum household income stands at GH¢ 300 while the maximum was found to be GH¢ 35,600. The modal total household income is GH¢ 1,500 and the mean household income is over GH¢ 3,600. With over 90% of households earning beyond GH¢

1,000 (US$ 222)[22] per month, the Ashaiman slum cannot be said to be a place '*of squalor and wanton poverty*' as was said of slums in the Ivory Coast [UN-Habitat, 2003]. Also, the phenomenon of the '*filthy rich slum dweller*' is also present in the Ashaiman slum as about 11.2% and 20% of household heads and household families earn at least GH¢ 5,000 (US$ 1,111) each respectively. These findings are therefore in contrast with the general view of other scholars such as Adubofour et al. [2012] that slum dwellers are mostly low-income earners.

Table 5.14: Monthly Income (in GH¢) Statistics.

	Monthly Income of Household Head	Total Monthly Income of Household
Valid	322	322
Missing	0	0
Mean	2,037	3,614
Median	1,500	2,300
Mode	800	1,500
Std. Deviation	1,933.2	3,953.5
Minimum	0	0
Maximum	15,000	35,600

[22] A rate of GH¢ 4.5 to a USD was used because it was the highest quote during the month of March 2018 (see, https://currencies.zone/historic/us-dollar/ghanian-cedi/march-2018) during which time the field survey for this work was completed.

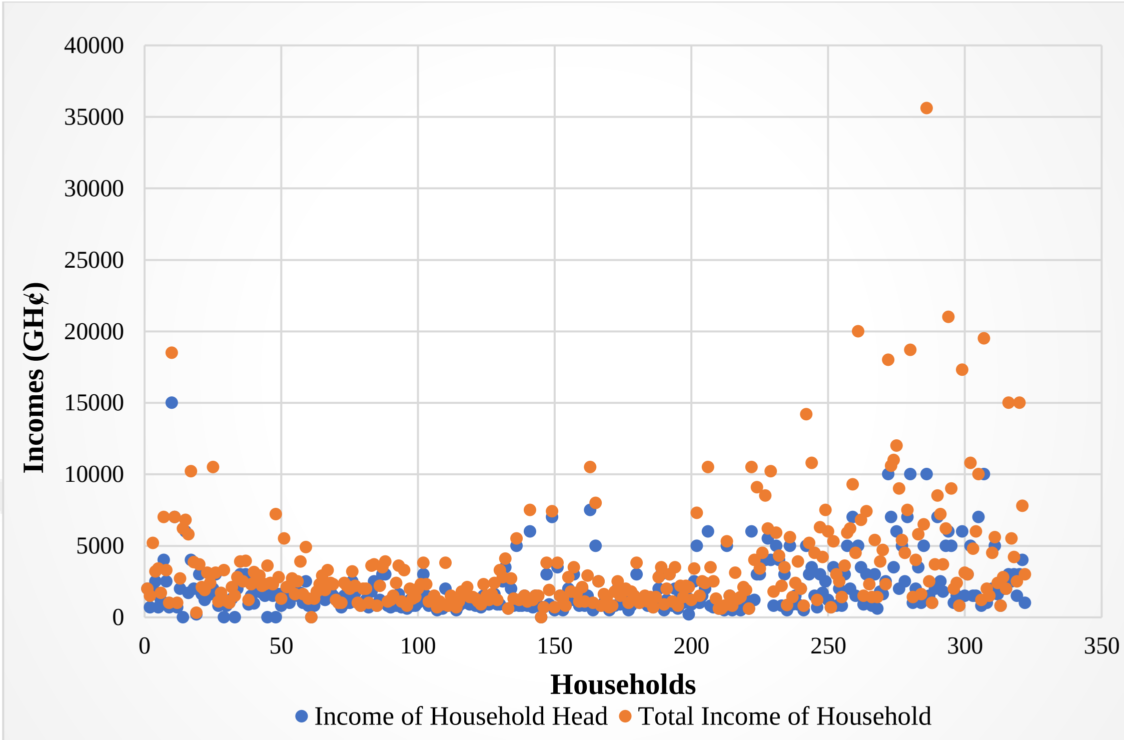

Figure 5.8: Monthly Incomes of Household (Heads) Showing Outliers.

5.1.3. Physical/Environmental Characteristics of Residential Structures

Like majority of housing types in Ghana [WEB 41, 2013], the dominant housing type in the study area is the compound house. It constitutes about 93% of all residential buildings occupied by the respondents of this survey. Compound houses across the country however constitute about 51.5% of all house types while almost four-fifths (78.3%) of all houses within the Ashaiman Municipality are compound houses. The reason for much lower proportion of compound houses across the country compared with those in the study area and the municipality of Ashaiman is that, the total housing stock of Ghana also includes those from the rural areas which are known to be dominated by 'stand-alone' houses such as huts, tents, kiosks and other dwelling units [WEB 41, 2013]. Also, all the residential buildings occupied by respondents were one storey buildings. And this is true of the general physical character of residential buildings in the study area. Multiple storey buildings are usually commercial properties with shops or office or mixed.

Compound houses by their very nature comprise of many rooms that are occupied by different households. In this study, the number of rooms per house (all house types considered) ranges from a minimum of four (4) to a maximum of nineteen (19). The mean number of rooms per house stood at ten (10) while the most frequently occurring numbers of rooms per house were found to be eight (8) and eleven (11) with each comprising 20.5% of all the houses surveyed. The other forms of residential structures in the study area include fully detached self-contained units as well as apartment buildings. Not all the rooms within a house are rented because some are owner-occupied. In fact, over 15% of all houses under this survey had none of its rooms rented out. However, an average of five (5) with up to a maximum of seventeen (17) rooms were rented across the sampled houses considered in this survey.

Table 5.15: Types of Residential Buildings.

Available House Types	Frequency	Percent
Compount House	299	92.9
Apartment	1	0.3
Fully detached self contained	22	6.8
Total	322	100.0

The nature of residential structures was also surveyed. This refers to the construction material of the walls of the structures. Structures within the study area were built with different construction materials with the main ones being cement blocks (52.5%), mud (26.7%) and wood (20.8%). These constitute the major construction materials for typical slum communities [UN-Habitat, 2003]. This distribution reflects the mixed nature of the Ashaiman slum which is composed of the Purchase Communities, Indigenous Slum Community and the Extralegal Slum Community [Paller, 2015]. The extralegal slum communities are noted for having structures built with temporal construction materials such as wood and cardboards due to lack of title [Abu-Salia et al., 2015; Paller, 2015; UN-Habitat, 2003]. The other two slum types are however built with more permanent construction materials such as cement blocks and mud albeit of relatively poor quality. The distribution of the nature of structures within the study area therefore demonstrates this mix of slums within the area. Across the municipality, 78.3% of structures was constructed with cement blocks while some additional 20.3% of structures was built with wood. Figures for the country in general however show that 57.5% of all houses was built with cement blocks while another 34.2% built with mud. The higher proportion of buildings constructed with cement blocks across the municipality may be the result of some increases in the construction industry in the municipality with new communities being developed. The data presented has been represented graphically as follows;

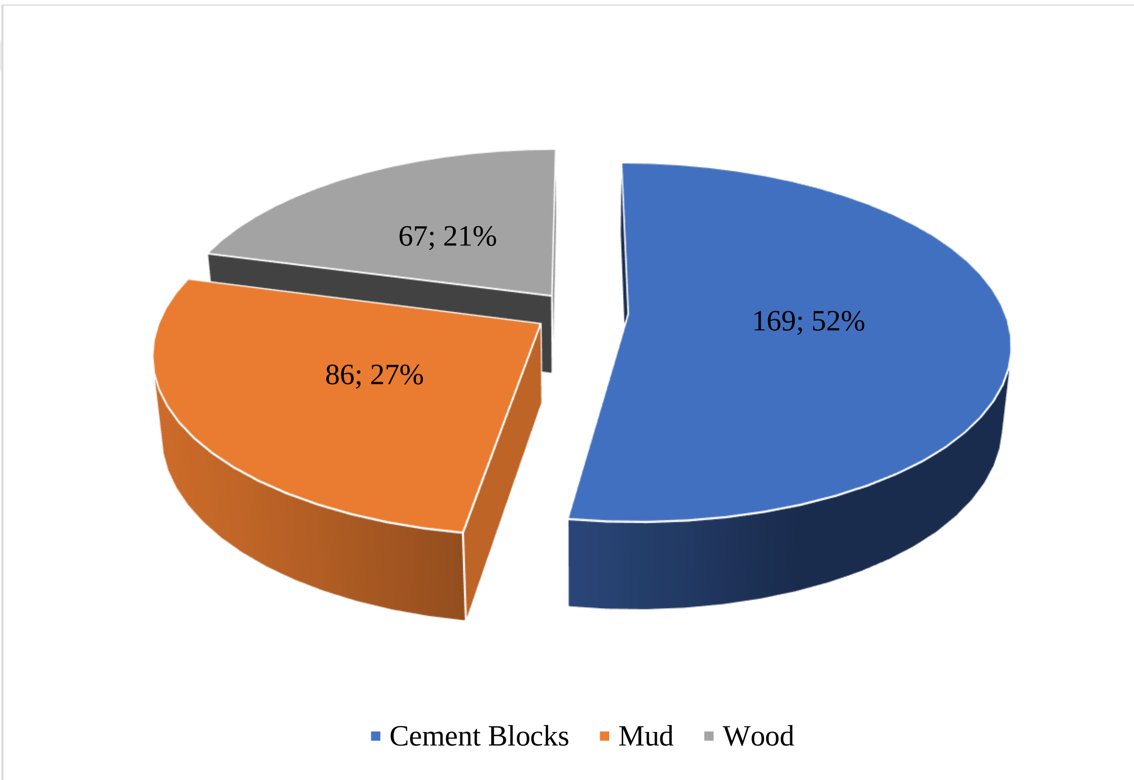

Figure 5.9: Nature of Buildings.

With respect to amenities within the residential buildings in the study area, the study area does not portray a different picture from any typical slum community in Africa. Even though almost all (99.7%) buildings are connected to the national electricity grid, same cannot be said about the source of water. Less than half (46.7%) of buildings are not connected to a source of potable water. Residents in buildings without pipe-borne water meet their water needs either from nearby houses or from water tankers. Sanitation issue being a major feature of many slum communities has also been identified in the study area as existent. Out of the 322 buildings surveyed, about 11% and another 63% do not have bath and toilet facilities respectively. Residents of such buildings make use of public places of convenience within the community which are usually unhygienic and constitute a major problem in the community as revealed by this study. The following table provides further details regarding the amenities buildings within the study area possess.

Table 5.16: Amenities available to Residential Buildings.

Amenities	Frequency	Total	% of Total
Toilet	118	322	36.6
Bath	286	320	89.4
Kitchen	55	322	17.1
Electricity	321	322	99.7
Piped Water	150	321	46.7
Garden	1	322	0.3

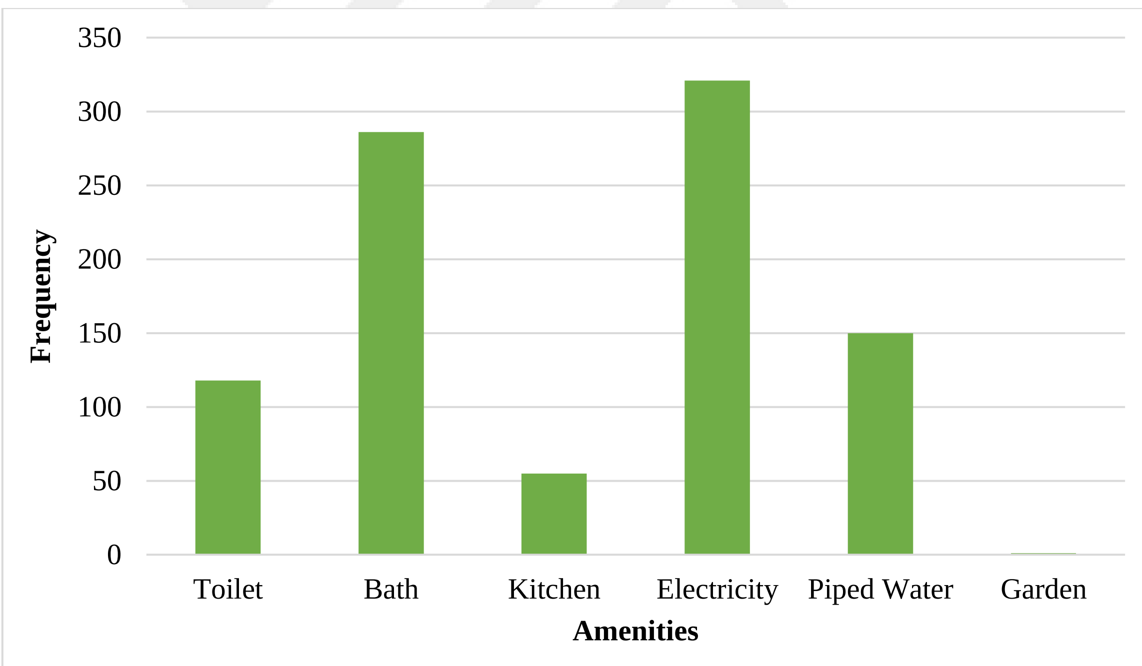

Figure 5.10: Amenities Associated with Buildings

As a component of this research, personal observations revealed that, the area even though is characterised by linear settlement type with access roads between buildings is still bedevilled by physical and environmental inadequacies. These inadequacies include the lack of open spaces and parks, congestion, lack of parking spaces, narrow roads, open drains, noise pollution especially during daytime and stench among others. These observations have also been confirmed by respondents as presented in the ensuing section.

5.2. Descriptive Statistics – Collected Responses

This section presents data regarding the opinions of respondents on various aspects of the research. Basic statistical presentation tools such as tables and graphs were used here just like in the previous section. Responses such as but not limited to; major problems of Ashaiman, reasons for living in Ashaiman, views about urban regeneration, preferred maximum storey count, preferred house and neighbourhood types under urban regeneration in Ashaiman have been presented in this section.

5.2.1. Reasons for Living in Ashaiman

Various reasons accounted for respondents' decisions to settle on Ashaiman in the midst of other places within the country. These reasons range from being born in Ashaiman to affordable rent in Ashaiman. These reasons have been presented in the following table and graph.

Table 5.17: Reasons for Living in Ashaiman.

Reason	**Frequency**	**% of 322**
It is closer to my relatives and countrymen	320	99.4
It is closer to my workplace	316	98.1
Transport system is easily accessible	300	93.2
Rent here is affordable	217	67.4
The possibility of making a home only exists here	120	37.3
I inherited this property	63	19.6
I was born in Ashaiman	34	10.6
Because of my spouse	24	7.5
This place is clean and calm	23	7.1
I am looking for a job	2	0.6

Respondents were allowed to select more than one option.

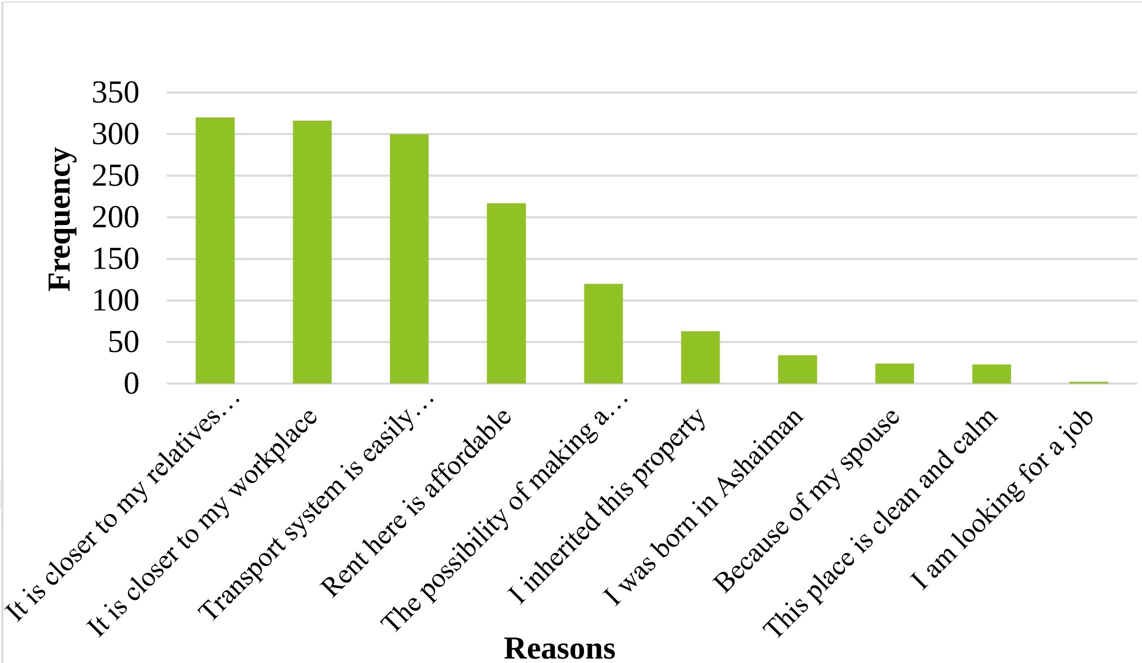

Figure 5.11: Reasons for Living in Ashaiman.

From the data above, it can be observed that the dominant reasons that influenced respondents' decision to live in Ashaiman include; nearness to relatives and countrymen (99.4%), closeness to workplace (98.1%), easily accessible transport system (93.2%) and affordability of rent (67.4%). These reasons do not contradict the very character of many slum communities as many of such communities are made up of people who are closely related in one way or the other. Also, many slum communities across the world are also mostly developed along transportation nodes making them easily accessible to the city centres where many of the dwellers work. The case of Ashaiman is not very different in this regard. Also, low quality housing will naturally attract cheaper rents which are within the reach of many slum dwellers. And so affordable rent being one of the dominant reasons for choosing to live in Ashaiman does not come as a surprise.

5.2.2. Level of Satisfaction with Life in Ashaiman and with life in Residential Building

Generally, majority of respondents were (very) dissatisfied with living in both the community (90.7%) and residential buildings (75.8%). However, respondents tend to be more satisfied with their houses of residents (7.5%) than the neighbourhood (2.2%) in general. In other words, only 2.2% of respondents indicated they were (very) satisfied with the neighbourhood compared to the 7.5% who were (very) satisfied with their places of residence. Even though the community is generally serviced with poor amenities, some individual houses have sufficient amenities that have contributed to residents' satisfaction. Others also attribute the affordable rent they pay for the housing units as the reason for being (very) satisfied with their house of residence. In addition to these, some residents live with their families and this was also mentioned as another reason for being satisfied with life in the house in particular. It must also be noted that, the same reason (living with family members) was also mentioned as a reason for being dissatisfied with the house because '*sometimes it is difficult living with family members*' as emphasised by some dissatisfied respondents. On the other hand, the main reasons that account for the poor satisfaction levels with life in residential buildings have been presented in the following table.

Table 5.18: Reasons for Dissatisfaction of Respondents with Residential House.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Cracked Walls / Old or weak Building	82	25.5	29.4
	Small Rooms / Insufficient Space	75	23.3	26.9
	Rodents (bugs, mice) infested house	12	3.7	4.3
	Below standard (mudddy compound during rains, poor ventilation)	18	5.6	6.5
	Stench from public toilet and uncovered drains	8	2.5	2.9
	Inadequate or lack of amenities (eg toilet, source of water etc)	65	20.2	23.3
	Others (lack of privacy, etc)	19	5.9	6.8
	Total	279	86.6	100.0
Missing	System	43	13.4	
Total		322	100.0	

The table above indicates that, weak and/or old buildings with many having either cracked walls or roofing systems that cause leakages during downpour account for more than 29% of the reasons for not being satisfied with life in residential buildings in Ashaiman. This is closely followed by the fact that many of the rooms are small and thus provide insufficient living spaces for households. Another dominant reason as can be observed from the table above is that, many of the buildings in Ashaiman are poorly served with amenities such as toilets, potable water among others. These have been previously explained. A graphical representation of these reasons accounting for poor satisfaction levels in the study area has been presented below.

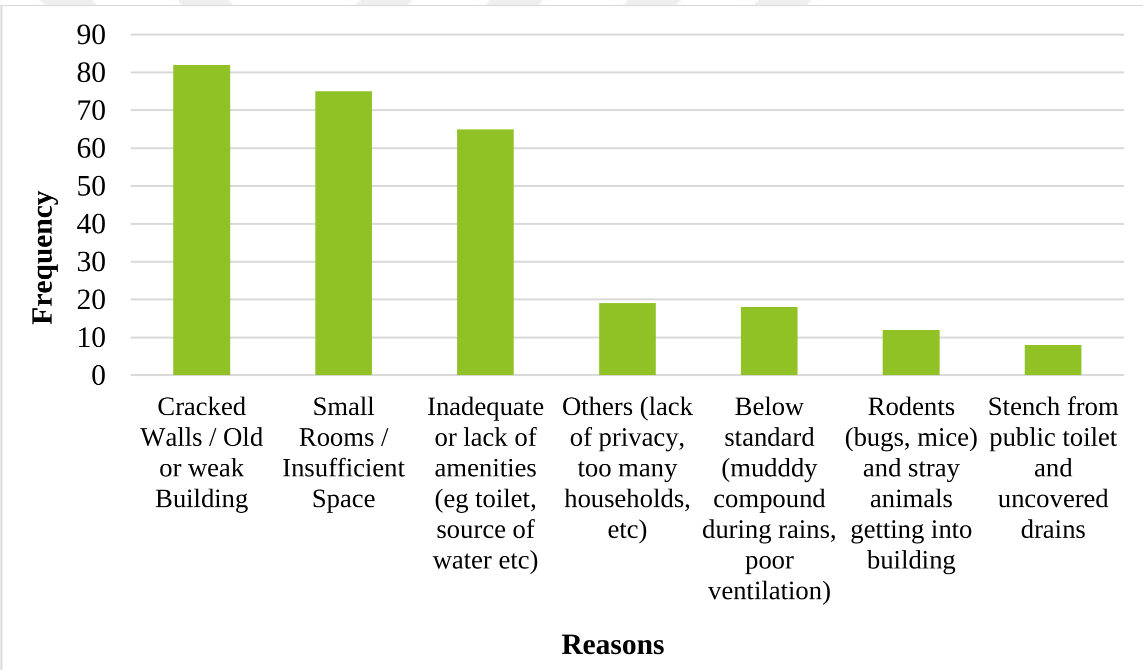

Figure 5.12: Reasons for Poor Satisfaction Levels in Residential Buildings in Ashaiman.

As stated earlier, an overwhelming majority (90%) of respondents are (very) dissatisfied with living in the community. It was found that, the insufficient social amenities and infrastructure in the community accounted for the biggest (23.5%) share of reasons why respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the community. Filth, which was expressed in various forms such as; littering of community, stagnant liquid waste among others also accounted for much (21.2%) of the reasons for the expression of dissatisfaction in the community. The various reasons that account for being dissatisfied with the community have been presented in the following table.

Table 5.19: Respondents' Reasons for Dissatisfaction with Ashaiman.

	Reasons	Frequency	%	Valid %
Valid	Air pollution (dust, stench etc)	20	6.2	6.5
	Noise Pollution	25	7.8	8.1
	Filth	65	20.2	21.2
	Congestion / Overcrowding (lack of open spaces)	54	16.8	17.6
	Insufficient Social Amenities / Infrastructure	72	22.4	23.5
	Insecurity / High crime wave	42	13.0	13.7
	Others (dislike for muslims, straying of animals, spread of rodents, lack of green areas etc)	29	9.0	9.4
	Total	307	95.3	100.0
Missing	System	15	4.7	
Total		322	100.0	

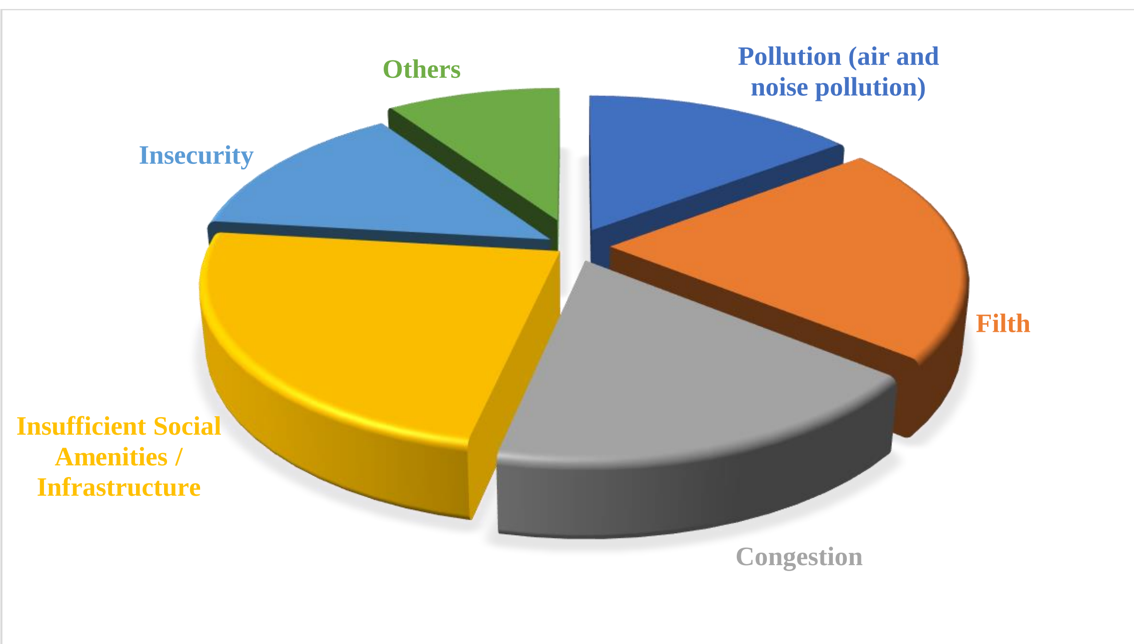

Figure 5.13: Major Reasons Accounting for Respondents' Dissatisfaction with Ashaiman

On the other hand, the main reasons for expressing satisfaction with life in Ashaiman by respondents were found to be that, Ashaiman was seen to be generally peaceful because residents live in harmony with each other without violence meted out against each other. And the other reason respondents indicated was that, life is generally cheaper in Ashaiman.

5.2.3. Major Problems in Ashaiman

As earlier indicated, Ashaiman, just like any other slum community faces almost the same kinds of problems. Data from the field indicate that, the dominant problems of Ashaiman include;

Table 5.20: Major Problems of Ashaiman.

Major Problems	**Frequency**	**Total**	**% of Total**
Sanitation and Filth	321	322	99.7
Noise Pollution	321	322	99.7
(In)security Issues	321	322	99.7
Infrastructure Problem	302	321	94.1
Weak and Old Buildings	286	322	88.8
Small and Insufficient Housing Unit	268	322	83.2
Insufficient Parks and Green Areas	248	321	77.3
Traffic and Transportation Problems	181	322	56.2

Respondents were allowed to select more than one option.

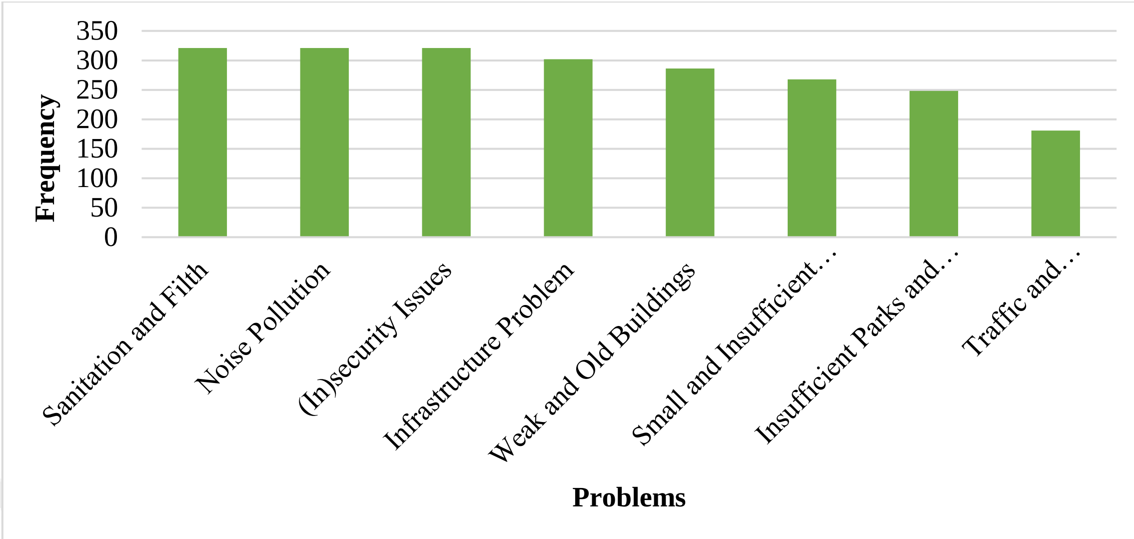

Figure 5.14: Major Problems of Ashaiman

It can be observed from the table above that, the dominant major problems in Ashaiman are sanitation and filth (99.7%), noise pollution (99.7%), security issues (99.7%) and infrastructure problems (94.1%) which reflect the views of over 90% of respondents as shown above. It is interesting to note that transport was identified by the least proportion (56.2%) of respondents as a major problem in Ashaiman. This reason could be because of the significant proportion of respondents working within the municipality as can be observed on Table 5.10 where about 40% of respondents indicated Ashaiman as their place of work. And as a consequent, the remaining 43.8% of respondents who did not indicate transport as a major problem in Ashaiman are more likely to represent those who work within the municipality and thus do not see transport as a major problem. However overall, because more than half of respondents view all these as major problems associated with Ashaiman, it is therefore difficult to identify which problem is more severe than the other. In avoiding this situation, respondents were further asked to rank the identified problems above from 1st to 8th where 1st represents the most severe and 8th, the least severe of the problems. The results of this have been presented in Table 5.21 and in Figure 5.14 below.

Table 5.21: Rank of Major Problems in Ashaiman.

Major Problems	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th
(In)security Issues	121	99	49	25	12	9	4	5
(%)	38	31	15	8	4	3	1	2
Sanitation and Filth	66	71	93	47	29	12	3	0
(%)	20	22	29	15	9	4	1	0
Noise Pollution	14	65	65	84	47	30	13	1
(%)	4	20	20	26	15	9	4	0
Infrastructure Problem	74	33	44	54	41	22	18	14
(%)	23	10	14	17	13	7	6	4
Insufficient Parks and Green Areas	0	2	9	15	59	63	48	46
(%)	0	1	3	5	18	20	15	14
Weak and Old Buildings	20	14	23	39	23	73	70	25
(%)	6	4	7	12	7	23	22	8
Small and Insufficient Housing Unit	21	29	24	38	51	22	61	20
(%)	7	9	7	12	16	7	19	6
Traffic and Transportation Problems	4	9	15	16	23	30	25	61
(%)	1	3	5	5	7	9	8	19

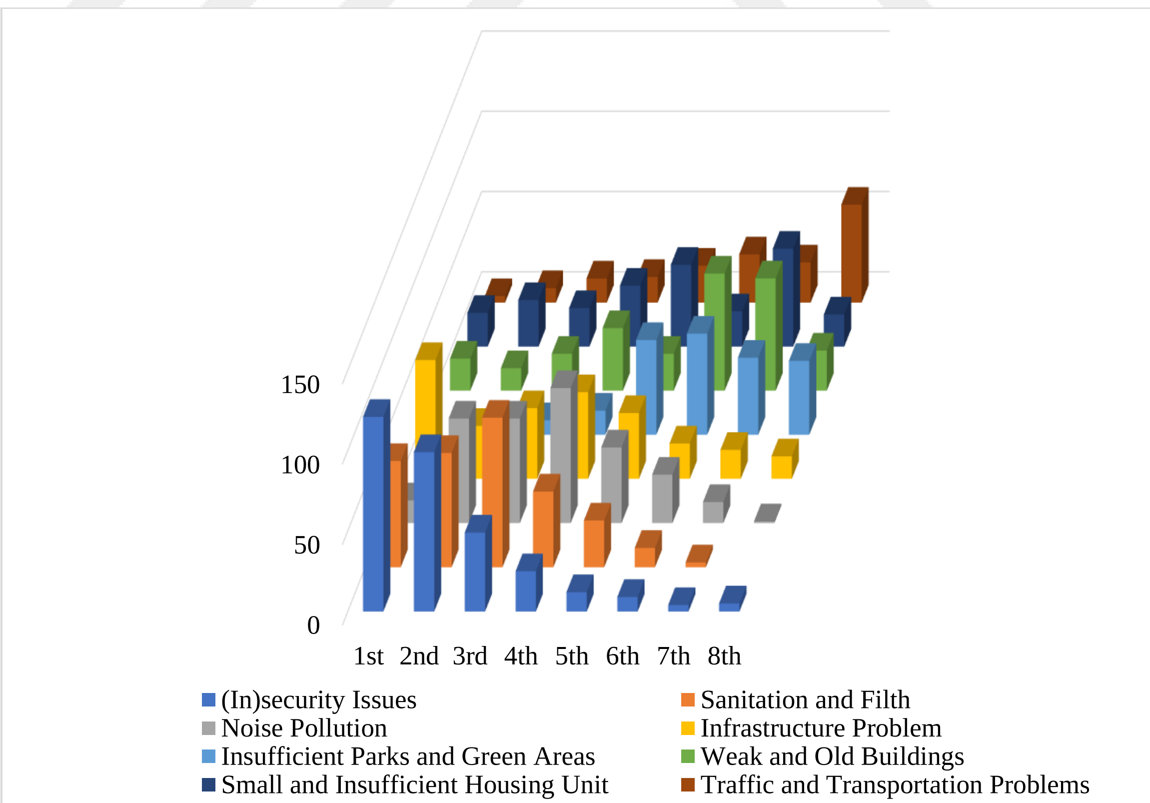

Figure 5.15: Rank of Major Problems in Ashaiman.

From the above, it was found that about 38%, 23% and 20% of respondents thought that security issues, infrastructure problems and sanitation and filth respectively are the most severe major problems of Ashaiman and for that matter were ranked at number one as seen above. On the other hand, insufficient parks and green areas, weak buildings and small and insufficient housing units were ranked at number eight, indicating that, in the face of other competing problems such as insecurity, inadequate infrastructure and sanitation and filth, these problems (insufficient parks and green areas etc) are less severe.

5.2.4. General Social Structure of Respondents

It can be mentioned that life in Ashaiman is characterised by communal living as over 93% of respondents indicated a good relationship between neighbours and that everyone is familiar with the other neighbour within the community. Despite the problems faced by the community, over 69% of respondents were not sure of moving out of Ashaiman. However, of the 16.5% who were certain of moving out of Ashaiman sooner or later, they attributed their desire to live in much better community (50%), their desire for safety and security (12%), intention to move back to hometown (10%) and the fact that life is generally uncomfortable in Ashaiman (10%) among others (18%) as their reasons for planning to move out of Ashaiman. The preferred destination of those who intend moving out of the community include; their hometowns (32%), better place within the Greater Accra Region (60%) and other places (8%). On the other hand, of the 12.7% who also indicated certainty regarding their intentions to continue to stay in Ashaiman, they emphasised that, peace (5%), affordable life (14%), business concerns (22%), family reasons (14%) as well as the fact that Ashaiman is seen as their home (31%) among others (14%) are their main reasons for not thinking of moving out the community.

5.2.5. Views about Urban Regeneration

As a major theme of this work, respondents were presented with various statements regarding urban regeneration and were asked to agree or disagree with each, using a 5-point Likert Scale ranging from ‘I strongly disagree’ to ‘I strongly agree’ through ‘I disagree', 'I am indifferent' and 'I agree'. Before being presented with these statements however, respondents were taken through the concept and approach of urban regeneration as well as the opportunity costs of embarking on same. As can be seen from the table, urban regeneration in Ashaiman tends to receive wide support as over 90% of respondents (strongly) agreed with the statement that 'urban regeneration should be implemented in Ashaiman'. Also, it can be seen that, over 90% of respondents are willing to pay much more than they currently pay in order to rent a housing unit under urban regeneration. More so, another 98.8 of respondents think that urban regeneration will lead to a higher quality of life in Ashaiman. Over 90% of the landlords among the respondents also demonstrated their support for urban regeneration in Ashaiman when they (strongly) agreed to give up their properties for better ones under urban regeneration in Ashaiman.

What also stood out from this enquiry is that, despite the huge support of urban regeneration in Ashaiman, over half (51.2%) of respondents were also wary of gentrification. They believed that if government does not get involved, the poorer residents who may not be able to afford housing under urban regeneration would be forced to leave the community. To avoid the incidence of gentrification, respondents believe that sufficient government subsidies, low interest loans, interest free loans but with higher instalments will go a long way to help in this regard. Further details regarding the views of respondents on a possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman can be found on the following table.

Table 5.22: Respondents' Opinions on Urban Regeneration.

Statements	I strongly disagree	I disagree	I am indifferent	I agree	I strongly agree	Total
Urban regeneration should be implemented in Ashaiman	6 (1.9)*	2 (0.6)	18 (5.6)	50 (15.5)	246 (76.4)	322 (100.0)
I would pay more to rent a dwelling in a regenerated Ashaiman	1 (0.3)	7 (2.2)	21 (6.5)	119 (37.1)	173 (53.9)	322 (100.0)
The socio-cultural and sports facilities will increase to a sufficient level	1 (0.3)	4 (1.3)	29 (9.1)	46 (14.5)	238 (74.8)	318 (100.0)
With UR in Ashaiman, I believe neighbourliness, family and kinship will be enhanced	2 (0.6)	9 (2.8)	93 (29.1)	52 (16.2)	164 (51.2)	320 (100.0)
With UR, I believe noise, traffic and pollution in general will reduce in Ashaiman.	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	15 (4.7)	51 (15.8)	255 (79.2)	322 (100.0)
I believe with UR, my new home will have a higher value	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (0.9)	30 (9.3)	288 (89.7)	321 (100.0)
With UR, I think new jobs will be established in Ashaiman	1 (0.3)	2 (0.6)	54 (16.8)	43 (13.4)	222 (68.9)	322 (100.0)
With URP, the quality of life in Ashaiman will improve	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	3 (0.9)	35 (10.9)	283 (87.9)	322 (100.0)
With UR, we shall have more durable and more comfortable homes	1 (0.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	34 (10.6)	286 (88.8)	322 (100.0)
I would give up my property to own a dwelling unit of equivalent value from those buildings if Ashaiman is regenerated (for landlords)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (8.3)	13 (21.7)	42 (70.0)	60 (100.0)
I think UR will lead to gentrification	62 (19.3)	34 (10.6)	61 (18.9)	40 (12.4)	125 (38.8)	322 (100.0)

*figures in brackets are percentages of the total response for the specific statement.

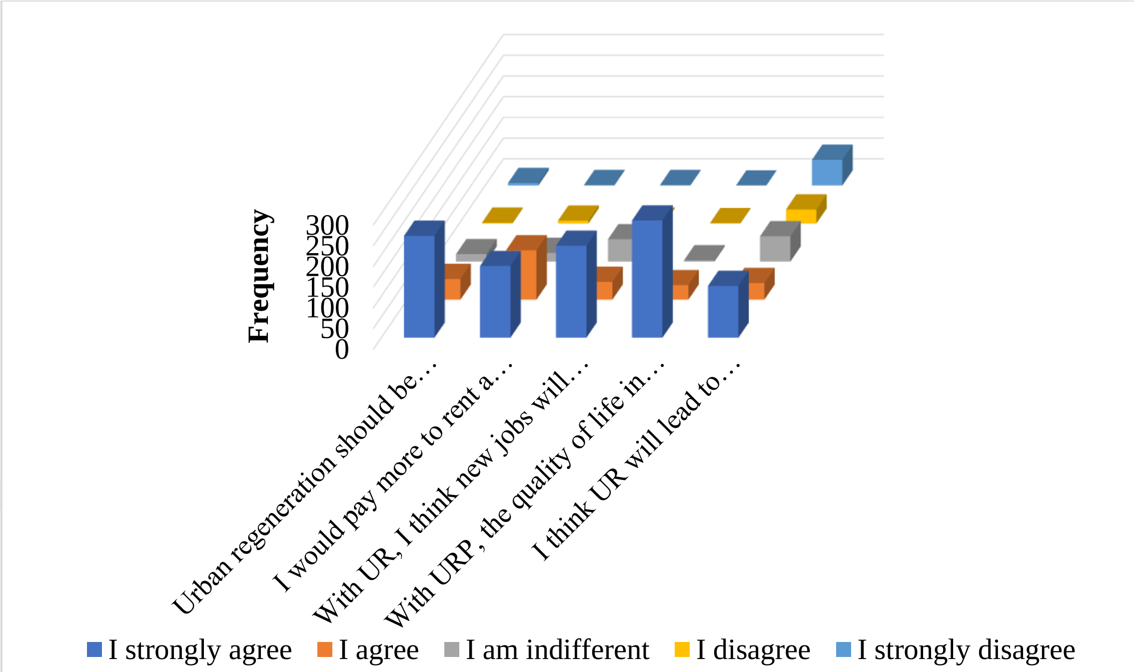

Figure 5.16: Views about Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman.

Respondents' expectations from a possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman was elicited. This was done to determine the exact expectations of residents from any potential urban regeneration. This is expected to guide policy directions of any urban regeneration project in Ashaiman or any similar community. The following table presents the various expectations of respondents from any possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman.

Table 5.23: Expectations from URP in Ashaiman.

No.	Expectations from URP in Ashaiman	Frequency	Total	% of Total
1	An increase in the socio-cultural amenities	315	322	97.8
2	To bring an end to insecurity problems	310	321	96.3
3	The reduction of pollution	285	320	88.8
4	Adequate provision of infrastructure	265	322	82.3
5	Demolishing of old buildings and the reconstruction of more useful ones	240	317	75.7
6	To be the occupant/tenant of a modern home	243	322	75.5
7	Durable homes that can withstand disasters	238	321	73.9
8	More useful and modern parks and green areas	224	322	69.6
9	To be the owner of a modern and valuable home	164	322	50.9

Respondents were allowed to select more than one option.

It must be noted that landlords were more expectant of retaining their status of homeowners under urban regeneration than other groups of tenants (see Appendix C, Table 7.7). Tenants were also found to be more expectant of keeping their tenancy statuses than other groups of residents (see Appendix C, Table 7.8).

As can be seen from Table 5.23 above, from among the highly expected outcome of any possible urban regeneration project in Ashaiman is that, any potential urban regeneration in Ashaiman is expected to bring an end to the insecurity situation in the community. This does not come as a surprise because it has previously been identified as one of the major problems in Ashaiman by almost all (99.7%) respondents as observed from Table 5.20. Quite apart from that, it has also been ranked as the most severe of all the major problems in Ashaiman as presented on Figure 5.14.

5.2.6. Preferences under Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman

This section presents the various preferences of respondents under any possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman. Data presented include among others; the preferred transport systems, preferred type of housing, size of housing, number of rooms and the preferred number of storeys respondents expect from any urban regeneration in Ashaiman.

To start with, relative to the other problems, even though transportation in Ashaiman was identified by much lower proportion of respondents as a major problem (see Table 5.20), and at the same time, was not ranked as highly as the other problems (see Figure 5.14), it remains an important aspect of any progressive society. Efficient transport system reduces the overall production costs and this consequently ensures economic growth and development [Küçükmehmetoğlu, 2017]. Respondents were thus, asked to identify their top three (3) most preferred transport systems under any potential urban regeneration in Ashaiman. Bus lanes (96.9%), pedestrian walkways (95.3%) and private cars (75.1%) were identified as the most preferred transport systems under any urban regeneration in Ashaiman. The high preference of pedestrian walkways by respondents could be said to be due to the nearness of respondents' places of work. Pedestrian walkways are thus, expected to ease commute to and from work. It is therefore worthy of note that, nearness of place of work as a reason for living in Ashaiman came up tops among the reasons for choosing to live in Ashaiman (see Table 5.17). The following table provides some further details.

Table 5.24: Preferred Transportation System.

Preferred Transportation System	Frequency	Total	% of Total
Bus Lanes	311	321	96.9
Pedestrian Walkways	306	321	95.3
Private Cars	241	321	75.1
Bicycle Lanes	53	321	16.5
Tramway Lines	53	321	16.5

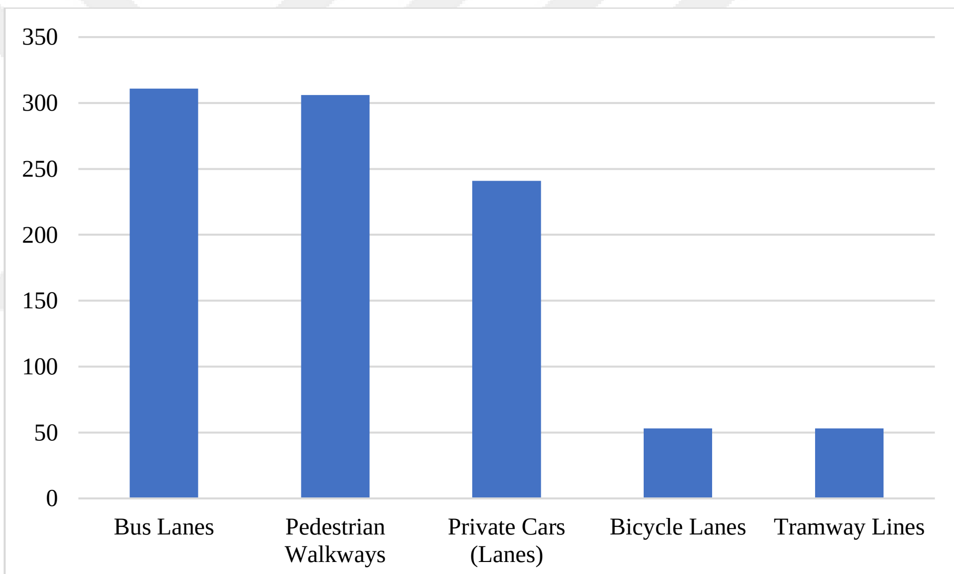

Figure 5.17: Preferred Transportation Types.

With regards to preferred housing types, majority (65.8%) of respondents prefer apartment buildings followed by semi-detached self-contain building (16.5%) and then fully-detached self-contained house types (9.3%). It is also worthy of note that, there are some (8.4%) respondents who still prefer the traditional compound house to any of the aforementioned. The huge preference of apartment buildings sharply contrasts with the available condition which is predominantly compound house types. The huge preference of apartments could be attributed to the overwhelming preference of medium to high-rise buildings as evident in the fact that over 90% of respondents preferred four (4) storeys or more. In addition to this, the WEB 41 [2013] reckons an emerging trend in Ghana where apartments are gradually being preferred which is evident in the widespread construction of apartment buildings. Table 5.25 provides further details on the preferred house types of respondents in this study.

Table 5.25: Respondents' Housing Choice Under URP.

	House Type	Frequency	Percent
Valid	Apartment	212	65.8
	Semi-detached self contained	53	16.5
	Fully detached self contained	30	9.3
	Compound House	27	8.4
	Total	322	100.0

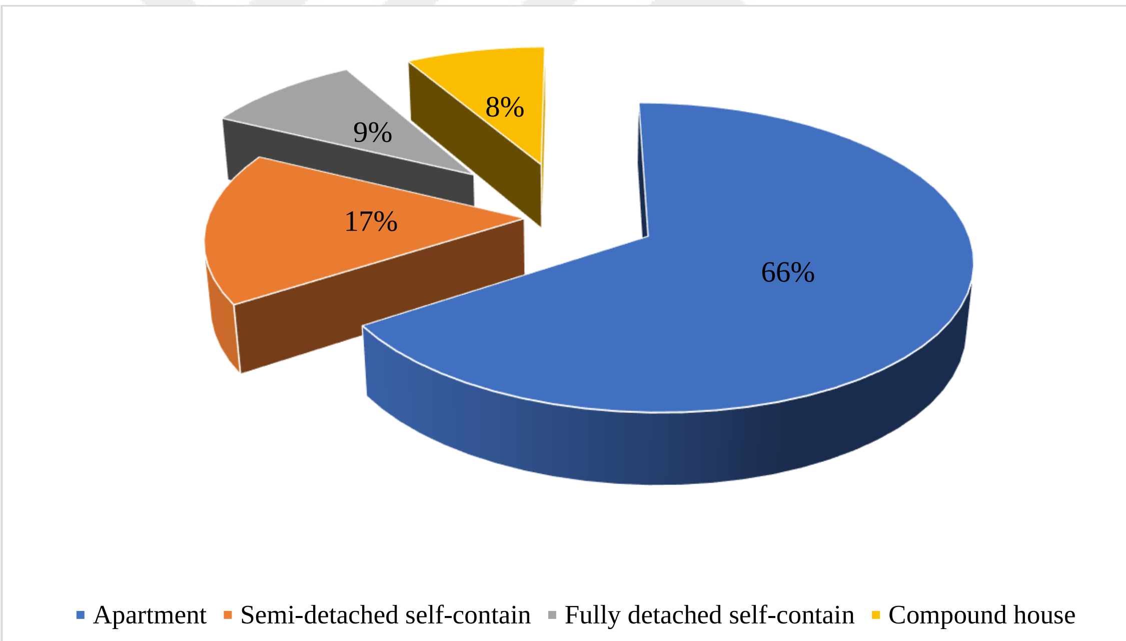

Figure 5.18: Preferred House Types of Respondents.

With respect to the preferred maximum storeys each building should have under any possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman, Table 5.26 provides some basic statistics pertaining to this. It is interesting to note that, these findings reflect a sharp contradiction between the preferences of respondents in this survey and those of the residents of gecekondus in Turkey, thus depicting some form of cultural and/or attitudinal differences between the Turkish and the Ghanaian societies in this regard. The widespread vehement protests against high-rise buildings constructed under the urban regeneration projects in Turkey have been widely reported [see, TOKİ, 2016]. The preference of medium to high-rise buildings by respondents provides an opportunity for intensive use of land in the community. Vertical development as argued by Tallon [2010] provides an opportunity to solve some of the major environmental problems. He also emphasises that, vertical development ensures land conservation as relatively smaller parcels are developed to house more people. Compact or vertical development is also seen to encourage more use of energy-efficient means of transport. This thought can be said to be in line with the preference of respondents of energy-efficient means of transport like the pedestrian walkways and public transport systems like buses (see, Table 5.24 and Figure 5.16).

Table 5.26: Respondents' Preferred
Maximum Storey Count.

Valid	317
Missing	5
Mean	9.6
Median	10
Mode	10
Std. Deviation	5.5
Minimum	1
Maximum	30

The concept of sustainability has increasingly been incorporated into several urban policies including urban regeneration. And urban regeneration having been seen as a tool to rectify earlier planning mistakes [Tallon, 2010] provides an opportunity to incorporate sustainability principles in the redesigning of the urban space. In this connection, respondents were asked to determine which ‘value-enhancing’ feature they would wish to find in their dwelling units under any potential urban regeneration in Ashaiman. These value-enhancing features are part of ensuring sustainable living regarding energy efficiency, technology in home-security services and water treatment technologies. It is therefore reported that, almost half (45.7%) of respondents indicated their preference for at least one of the aforementioned value-enhancing features at the expense of having a standard-sized housing unit. In other words, majority (54.3%) of respondents would rather have a normal standard-sized accommodation without any of the features than have a smaller-than-standard-sized housing unit with one or more of the aforementioned value-enhancing features. The distribution of preferred value-enhancing features is as follows;

Table 5.27: Preferred Value-Enhancing Features.

Preferred Value-enhancing feature	**Frequency**	**% of 322**
Smart home technologies that ensure security etc.	138	42.9
Solar panels	133	41.3
Water and waste treatment technologies	125	38.8
None of the above	175	54.3

As has been abundantly stated in this work, in addition to economic revitalisation and physical improvements of decaying urban areas, urban regeneration also seeks to ensure socio-cultural enrichment [Roberts, 2000; Couch et al., 2003). In line with this, the most preferred socio-cultural amenities of respondents were investigated. Just like education, it was established in this survey that, health is an indispensable amenity that no community wants to lack. This was ascertained by the fact that all respondents selected health as part of the top five (5) socio-cultural amenities they wish to find in a regenerated Ashaiman. Other amenities preferred albeit by a much smaller proportion of respondents include; theatre/cinema halls (32.9%), children's parks (30.1%), funeral homes (9.6%), walking/running tracks (5.0%) and museums (2.8%). Muslims were found to show higher preference for places of worship within a regenerated Ashaiman (see Appendix C, Table 7.5) than Christians who revealed a higher tendency to have funeral homes within a regenerated Ashaiman than Muslims (see Appendix C, Table 7.6). Further details on relational statistics have been presented in the next section. However, the following shows the top 5 most preferred amenities.

Table 5.28: Preferred Socio-Cultural Amenities.

Preferred Socio-Cultural Amenities	**Frequency**	**% of 322**
Health Centres	322	100.00
Market Squares	317	98.45
Food Processing Centres	313	97.20
Places of Worship	251	77.95
Sports Complexes	147	45.65

With respect to the distribution of green spaces within a newly regenerated Ashaiman, views were almost split in two halves. Those who thought that parks and green spaces should be smaller but many and fairly distributed closer to residential buildings constitute 46.7% of those who responded to this question while those who thought that parks and green areas should be few but large and must be at specific points within the community constitute the majority of 53.3%. Less than 1 percent (0.9%) of respondents abstained from responding to this question. It is also worthy of note that, majority (58.1%) of respondents prefer fenced communities to non-fenced communities. This could be explained by the obvious feeling of insecurity within the current community of Ashaiman as it is believed that fenced communities provide some sense of security. This again emphasises the point that security is a major concern in Ashaiman. Again, a small but significant proportion (20.8%) of respondents prefer non-fenced communities with the remaining 21.1% being indifferent about the community type they wish to live under a regenerated Ashaiman. The following provides some graphical representation of this data.

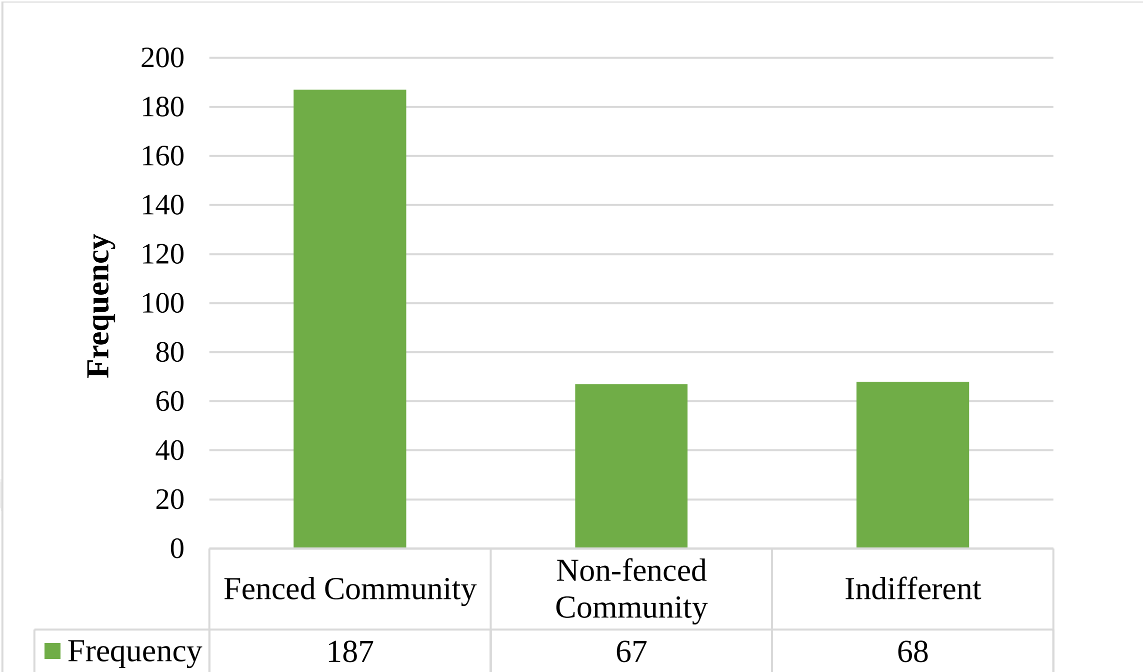

Figure 5.19: Preferred Community Types.

5.2.7. Gentrification in a Regenerated Ashaiman?

Even though Table 5.22 shows that about 40% of respondents (strongly) agreed that urban regeneration in Ashaiman will lead to gentrification, it is significant to note that only about 1.2% of respondents stated they will be compelled to leave the community should urban regeneration be implemented in the community. Almost half (44.7%) of respondents confidently stated they can be owners of housing units under any urban regeneration in Ashaiman when asked to project their residential status under urban regeneration in Ashaiman. This confirms the expectations of the 50.9% (see Table 5.23) of respondents who expect to be owners of (modern and valuable) homes under urban regeneration in Ashaiman. The remaining 54.0% of respondents were also convinced that they can at least be tenants under a regenerated Ashaiman. Based on these responses, it may be safe to state that gentrification is not expected to occur under regenerated Ashaiman given the current socio-economic situations of residents.

Having stated the above, some levels of support from government is envisaged as 50.9% of respondents indicated their need for some sort of support from government with majority of those who indicated this need preferring low interest loans (96.9%) to interest-free loans but with high instalments (3.1%). A significant proportion (40.7%) of respondents indicated their ability to afford housing units under a regenerated Ashaiman without any support from the government. It is worthy of mention however that, another 1.2% of respondents indicated their inability to afford any housing unit in a regenerated Ashaiman even with government support while yet another 6.2% needing support from both government and relatives in order to afford housing under any regeneration in Ashaiman. These admissions were informed by respondents' own perceptions of costs of housing units under urban regeneration in Ashaiman. And according to respondents' own estimations of housing costs under urban regeneration in Ashaiman, the mean cost of housing unit was pegged at about GH¢ 545,500 (US$ 121,200).

Of the 131 (40.7%) respondents who admitted to their ability to afford housing units under any urban regeneration in Ashaiman, the following table provides a breakdown of how they intend to raise funds for the housing units. These funding options are not mutually exclusive since it is possible to combine more than one of the options provided.

Table 5.29: Funding of Housing Units Under UR in Ashaiman.

Funding Options	**Frequency**	**% of 131**
Using my savings	129	98.47
Taking loan at commercial rate	100	76.34
Selling my current house	18	13.74

5.3. Inferential Statistics

Generally, inferential statistics enable researchers to make statistically plausible arguments about a population based on the observed differences within the sample. In this regard, relational statistics by way of crosstabulations were established as well as tests for significance in the various observed group differences were done using the chi-square test. Unless stated otherwise, all tests were done at an alpha level of .05. The section starts with the relationships between respondents' support (or lack of it) for urban regeneration in Ashaiman and other relevant variables such as physical, socio-cultural and economic circumstances of respondens. The purpose is to determine whether the differences in the aforementioned circumstances of respondents had any significant effect on respondents' support (or lack of it) of urban regeneration in Ashaiman. Having established the possible determinants of respondents' support (or lack of it) for urban regeneration in Ashaiman, another important component of any urban regeneration which is housing type, was also examined to determine its possible relationship with other variables.

5.3.1. Support for Urban Regeneration (SUR) in Ashaiman

With over 90% of respondents in support of any possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman (see section 5.2.5 of this work), it became necessary to determine what could possibly be the reason(s) for this level of support among the respondents and whether or not this level of support is to be expected across the resident population of the study area. In other words, the different responses to the statement, 'Urban regeneration should be implemented in Ashaiman' of various groups of respondents in terms of their birth places, residential localities, duration of stay in Ashaiman, religious affiliations, residential statuses, job categories, places of employment, income levels, preferred living accommodation among others were examined to see if being a part of any of these aforementioned groups influenced the decision of respondents to support the implementation of any urban regeneration in the community. In determining this, the chi-square test was used to see if the differences in the decision to support urban regeneration in Ashaiman was statistically significant relative to the differences in environmental, economic and/or social groupings of respondents.

5.3.1.1. Relationship between SUR in Ashaiman and the Birth Places of Respondents

Table 5.30 shows the relationship between respondents' level of support of urban regeneration in Ashaiman and their places of origin (birth places). In order to satisfy the condition of minimum expected count of 5 in each cell in SPSS, the birth places of respondents were grouped into two viz; Ashaiman and Outside Ashaiman. For the same reason, the five possible responses were also regrouped into three viz; I am indifferent / I (strongly) disagree, I agree and I strongly agree. Being indifferent about a policy such as urban regeneration that seeks to improve life was considered akin to rejecting it and hence, was grouped alongside '*strongly disagree and disagree*' response choices. '*Agree and strongly agree*' response choices were also separated to reflect the differences in the level of support shown by respondents. The chi-square test results show a statistically significant difference [$\chi^2(2, N = 322) = 26.345$, $p = .001$] between the birth place of respondents and their level of support for a possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman.

Table 5.30: Relationship between SUR and the Birth Places of Respondents.

Birth Place of Household		I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman			Total
		I am indifferent / I (strongly) disagree	I agree	I strongly agree	
Ashaiman	Count	10	9	17	36
	Expected Count	2.9	5.6	27.5	36.0
	% within Birth Place of Respondents	27.8%	25.0%	47.2%	100.0%
	% within I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman	38.5%	18.0%	6.9%	11.2%
	% of Total	3.1%	2.8%	5.3%	11.2%
Outside Ashaiman	Count	16	41	229	286
	Expected Count	23.1	44.4	218.5	286.0
	% within Birth Place of Respondents	5.6%	14.3%	80.1%	100.0%
	% within I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman	61.5%	82.0%	93.1%	88.8%
	% of Total	5.0%	12.7%	71.1%	88.8%
Total	Count	26	50	246	322
	Expected Count	26.0	50.0	246.0	322.0
	% within Birth Place of Respondents	8.1%	15.5%	76.4%	100.0%
	% within I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	8.1%	15.5%	76.4%	100.0%

Chi-square value: 26.345, df: 2, p value: .001.
1 cell (16.7%) has expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.91.

As can be seen on Table 5.30 above, majority (94.4%) of those born outside Ashaiman, in other words, migrants are more likely to accept the implementation of urban regeneration in Ashaiman than indigenes (72.2%). The reason for this as observed from the field is that, the 'strangers' or migrants felt that urban regeneration in Ashaiman will offer them an opportunity to be homeowners while indigenes harbour the fear of losing their homes (to migrants) under urban regeneration in Ashaiman. This was highlighted by the comments of some respondents. For instance, respondent number 174, who is an indigene and who is indifferent about whether or not urban regeneration should be implemented in Ashaiman stated:

"strangers too can own housing units under a possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman".

The above statement can be construed to mean a feeling of dispaire rather than a statement of hope for migrants to own housing units because of the respondent's lack of decisiveness in respect of his support for a possible urban regenration in Ashaiman. Indeed, this statement was further corroborated by another respondent (# 180), who is a migrant from Bogoso in the middle belt of Ghana and who *strongly agrees* to (support) urban regeneration in Ashaiman when he stated:

"This is an opportunity for strangers to own a property".

This last statement can be said to be borne out of hopefulness since respondent declared strong support for any potential urban regeneration in Ashaiman. A number of similar statements with regards to homeownership under a possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman was observed.

5.3.1.2. Relationship between SUR in Ashaiman and the Localities of Respondents

Locality in this context refers to the residential blocks within the study area. The distribution of respondents across these residential blocks has been previously provided. Even though six (6) residential blocks were covered, these blocks were regrouped into three groups of two to meet the requirement of a minimum expected count of 5 in each SPSS cell. The regrouping was done according to the physical and socio-cultural similarities of residents within the blocks as well as the geographical proximity of the blocks themselves so that A&B; C&D; and E&F were put together into groups of AB, CD and EF respectively. For instance, in terms of physical similarities of the blocks, it was observed that there is a higher concentration of mud (54.7%) and wooden (56.7%) structures in the E and F blocks than in the other blocks. Also, blocks with higher concentration of cement block buildings were the A and B (40.8%) followed by the C and D (38.5%) as observed on Table 5.31 below. Statistically, it was also found that there exists a statistically significant difference [$\chi^2(4, N = 322) = 44.021$, $p = .001$] between the merged blocks (as described above) and the nature of buildings (in terms of sandcrete, mud and wooden structures) found within the residential blocks.

Table 5.31: Relationship between Nature of Buildings and Location of Buildings.

Location of Buildings		Nature of the Building			Total
		Sandcrete	Mud	Wood	
AB Block	Count	69	15	17	101
	Expected Count	53.0	27.0	21.0	101.0
	% within Location of Buildings	68.3%	14.9%	16.8%	100.0%
	% within Nature of the Building	40.8%	17.4%	25.4%	31.4%
	% of Total	21.4%	4.7%	5.3%	31.4%
CD Block	Count	65	24	12	101
	Expected Count	53.0	27.0	21.0	101.0
	% within Location of Buildings	64.4%	23.8%	11.9%	100.0%
	% within Nature of the Building	38.5%	27.9%	17.9%	31.4%
	% of Total	20.2%	7.5%	3.7%	31.4%
EF Block	Count	35	47	38	120
	Expected Count	63.0	32.0	25.0	120.0
	% within Location of Buildings	29.2%	39.2%	31.7%	100.0%
	% within Nature of the Building	20.7%	54.7%	56.7%	37.3%
	% of Total	10.9%	14.6%	11.8%	37.3%
Total	Count	169	86	67	322
	Expected Count	169.0	86.0	67.0	322.0
	% within Location of Buildings	52.5%	26.7%	20.8%	100.0%
	% within Nature of the Building	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	52.5%	26.7%	20.8%	100.0%

Chi-square value: 44.021, df: 4, *p* value: .001.
0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 21.02.

In terms of socio-cultural similarities between merged blocks, it was also found that people of similar religious affiliations tend to be concerated in specific residential blocks. For example, Muslims were found to concentrate in the E and F blocks whereas Christians were found to be more concentrated in the A, B, C and D blocks. A statistically significant difference was also observed [$\chi^2(5, N = 322) = 15.523$, $p = .008$] between the locality of respondents and their religious affiliations (see Appendix C, Table 7.1). Figure 4.2 in the fourth chapter of this work also shows the geographic proximity of the merged blocks.

Having provided sufficient justification for the merging of these blocks, it now provides sufficient basis for the evaluation of the relationship between the locality of respondents and their level of support for urban regeneration in Ashaiman. Table 5.32 below shows the relationship between level of support for urban regeneration in Ashaiman and the locality of residence of respondents. With a statistically significant [$\chi^2(4, N = 322) = 14.548$, $p = .006$] difference observed between the locality of residents and their level of support of urban regeneration in Ashaiman, it can be seen from the table below that residents living in EF Block are more likely to support urban regeneration in Ashaiman whereas those who are least likely to support the implementation of urban regeneration in Ashaiman are located in AB Block. The reason for this is due to the fact that most of the poorly built structures which manifest themselves in the form of wooden or mud buildings within the community are concentrated within the EF Block whereas the somewhat better structures manifesting in the form of sandcrete block buildings are concentrated within the AB and CD Blocks as demonstrated on Table 5.31 above. Hence it stands to reason that people who hope to have better living accommodations under urban regeneration will give their utmost support for the implementation of urban regeneration in Ashaiman.

Table 5.32: Relationship between SUR in Ashaiman and Locality of Respondents.

Location of Buildings		I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman: I am indifferent / I (strongly) disagree	I agree	I strongly agree	Total
AB Block	Count	11	23	67	101
	Expected Count	8.2	15.7	77.2	101.0
	% within Location of Buildings	10.9%	22.8%	66.3%	100.0%
	% within I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman	42.3%	46.0%	27.2%	31.4%
	% of Total	3.4%	7.1%	20.8%	31.4%
CD Block	Count	6	19	76	101
	Expected Count	8.2	15.7	77.2	101.0
	% within Location of Buildings	5.9%	18.8%	75.2%	100.0%
	% within I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman	23.1%	38.0%	30.9%	31.4%
	% of Total	1.9%	5.9%	23.6%	31.4%
EF Block	Count	9	8	103	120
	Expected Count	9.7	18.6	91.7	120.0
	% within Location of Buildings	7.5%	6.7%	85.8%	100.0%
	% within I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman	34.6%	16.0%	41.9%	37.3%
	% of Total	2.8%	2.5%	32.0%	37.3%
Total	Count	26	50	246	322
	Expected Count	26.0	50.0	246.0	322,0
	% within Location of Buildings	8.1%	15.5%	76.4%	100.0%
	% within I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	8.1%	15.5%	76.4%	100.0%

Chi-square value: 14.548, df: 4, *p* value: .006.
0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.16.

5.3.1.3. Relationship between SUR and the Economic Situations of Respondents

Along with socio-cultural and physical dimensions, urban regeneration also seeks to improve the economic situations of communities. In achieving this, it considers each of these three dimensions in its implementation. In this regard, responses obtained from respondents were evaluated vis-à-vis the economic situations of respondents. This was done by conducting a chi-square test with various economic variables of respondents in this regard. It was observed that, a significant relationship [$\chi^2(2, N = 322) = 7.959$, $p = .019$] exists between the employment status of respondents and their level of support for urban regeneration in Ashaiman (see, Appendix C Table 7.2). Employed residents were more accepting of urban regeneration in Ashaiman than unemployed or retired members of the community. This is because, employed people tend to be confident of their ability to afford housing units under urban regeneration which is envisaged to produce better but expensive housing units.

It was also found that a statistically significant relationship [$\chi^2(2, N = 322) = 9.930$, $p = .007$] exists between residents' place of work and their likely support for urban regeneration in Ashaiman. As shown on Table 5.33 below, those working outside of Ashaiman are more likely to accept the implementation of urban regeneration in Ashaiman than those who work within the Ashaiman municipality. This situation may be due to respondents' expectation of more job opportunities in Ashaiman under urban regeneration so that they may be afforded the opportunity to work within the community rather than commute to places outside of Ashaiman.

Table 5.33: Relationship between SUR and the Places of Work of Respondents.

Place of Work of Respondents		I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman: I am indifferent / I (strongly) disagree	I agree	I strongly agree	Total
Ashaiman	Count	14	26	83	123
	Expected Count	9.4	19.2	94.4	123.0
	% within Place of Work of Respondents	11.4%	21.1%	67.5%	100.0%
	% within I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman	58.3%	53.1%	34.4%	39.2%
	% of Total	4.5%	8.3%	26.4%	39.2%
Outside Ashaiman	Count	10	23	158	191
	Expected Count	14.6	29.8	146.6	191.0
	% within Place of Work of Respondents	5.2%	12.0%	82.7%	100.0%
	% within I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman	41.7%	46.9%	65.6%	60.8%
	% of Total	3.2%	7.3%	50.3%	60.8%
Total	Count	24	49	241	314
	Expected Count	24.0	49.0	241.0	314.0
	% within Place of Work of Respondents	7.6%	15.6%	76.8%	100.0%
	% within I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	7.6%	15.6%	76.8%	100.0%

Chi-square value: 9.930, df: 2, *p* value: .007.
0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.40.

It was also established that income level has a significant relationship [$\chi^2(2, N = 322) = 12.245, p \leq .002$] with people's support for the implementation of urban regeneration in Ashaiman. Incomes of respondents were grouped into two viz; those earning at most GH¢ 1,500 and those earning over GH¢ 1,500 per month. Those earning a monthly income of at most GH¢ 1,500 were seen to be more likely to support urban regeneration in Ashaiman than those earning beyond this amount. The table below shows this relationship.

Table 5.34: Relationship between SUR and the Monthly Income of Respondents.

Monthly Income of Respondents (GH¢)		I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman			Total
		I am indifferent / I (strongly) disagree	I agree	I strongly agree	
≤ 1500	Count	21	36	130	187
	Expected Count	15.1	29.0	142.9	187.0
	% within Monthly Income of Respondents	11.2%	19.3%	69.5%	100.0%
	% within I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman	80.8%	72.0%	52.8%	58.1%
	% of Total	6.5%	11.2%	40.4%	58.1%
≥ 1501	Count	5	14	116	135
	Expected Count	10.9	21.0	103.1	135.0
	% within Monthly Income of Respondents	3.7%	10.4%	85.9%	100.0%
	% within I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman	19.2%	28.0%	47.2%	41.9%
	% of Total	1.6%	4.3%	36.0%	41.9%
Total	Count	26	50	246	322
	Expected Count	26.0	50.0	246.0	322.0
	% within Monthly Income of Respondents	8.1%	15.5%	76.4%	100.0%
	% within I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	8.1%	15.5%	76.4%	100.0%

Chi-square value: 12.245, df: 2, *p* value: .002.
0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.9.

As has been observed, the discussions above demonstrated the relationship between respondents' differing environmental, economic and socio-cultural groupings and their preference or possible acceptance of a potential urban regeneration in Ashaiman. It has been established that a person's environmental, economic and socio-cultural backgrounds such as discussed earlier are significantly related to a person's support for a possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman. For instance, it was found that migrant population are more accepting of urban regeneration in Ashaiman than natives. Also, the quality (or lack of it) of the current residential structures of the population of Ashaiman is a determining factor in people's tendency to accept or reject urban regeneration in Ashaiman. In this regard, it was observed that people whose current dwellings are made of poorer construction materials such as wood and/or mud were more likely to accept urban regeneration in Ashaiman than those with better constructed dwelling units.

The ensuing section presents further relationships between responses obtained from the study. In this connection, relationships between respondents' preferred housing types and other important variables such as education level, job category among others have been established.

5.3.2. Relationship between Preferred Housing Under UR and Other Variables

Admittedly, it is difficult to determine the factors influencing the housing choices of people. However, with statistical tools such as the chi-square, various tests were conducted to reveal possible relationships between variables and the housing choices of respondents under a possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman. Residents' preferred housing under any urban regeneration is one of the most important factors to be considered in the design of new communities under any urban regeneration project. Improper determination of this often results in wrong designs of communities which often leads to protests and lack of satisfaction by residents (see, TOKİ, 2016). In line with this, the preferred housing of respondents under urban regeneration in Ashaiman was surveyed in this research as presented in earlier sections of this chapter. This section provides various relationships between respondents' housing preferences under urban regeneration and other variables such as education level, job category, birth place, current locality of residence, as well as the preferred community type of respondents under urban regeneration.

5.3.2.1. Relationship between Preferred Housing and Education Level

At an alpha level of .1, the education level of respondents was seen to be significantly related [$\chi^2(6, N = 322) = 11.457$, $p = .08$] to the choice of housing of respondents under a possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman. The education level of respondents ranges from no (formal) education to graduate education. Details of this has previously been provided in previous sections of this chapter. Three major housing choices were established, viz; apartment, semi/fully detached and the traditional compound housing types. Details of these have also been explained in previous sections where apartment housing was identified as the most preferred housing choice under urban regeneration in Ashaiman. From the table below, it can be established that, while university graduates within Ashaiman least prefer apartment housing, residents who had at most high school education are likely to prefer this housing type. Compound housing is also most likely to be preferred by people whose education level is high school or lower while similar housing type is not expected to be preferred by people with education level higher than high school education.

Table 5.35: Relationship between Housing Choice and Level of Education of Respondents.

Level of Education of Respondents		Housing Choice under URP: Apartment	Fully/Semi Detached Self-contain	Compound House	Total
Up to Basic Education (including junior secondary education)	Count	91	31	13	135
	Expected Count	88.9	34.8	11.3	135,0
	% within Level of Education	67.4%	23.0%	9.6%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	42.9%	37.3%	48.1%	41.9%
	% of Total	28.3%	9.6%	4.0%	41.9%
Senior Secondary Education (high school)	Count	96	33	14	143
	Expected Count	94.1	36.9	12.0	143.0
	% within Level of Education	67,1%	23.1%	9.8%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	45.3%	39.8%	51.9%	44.4%
	% of Total	29.8%	10.2%	4.3%	44.4%
Post secondary Education (training colleges etc)	Count	13	8	0	21
	Expected Count	13.8	5.4	1.8	21.0
	% within Level of Education	61.9%	38.1%	0.0%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	6.1%	9.6%	0.0%	6.5%
	% of Total	4.0%	2.5%	0.0%	6.5%
Tertiary Education (including polytechnic)	Count	12	11	0	23
	Expected Count	15.1	5.9	1.9	23.0
	% within Level of Education	52.2%	47.8%	0.0%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	5.7%	13.3%	0.0%	7.1%
	% of Total	3.7%	3.4%	0.0%	7.1%
Total	Count	212	83	27	322
	Expected Count	212.0	83.0	27.0	322.0
	% within Level of Education	65.8%	25.8%	8.4%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	65.8%	25.8%	8.4%	100.0%

Chi-square value: 11.457, df: 6, *p* value: .075.
2 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.76.

5.3.2.2. Relationship between Preferred Housing and Job Category

A statistically significant relationship [$\chi^2(4, N = 322) = 12.654$, $p = .01$] was also observed between the preferred housing types of respondents under a possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman and their job categories. As indicated earlier, the jobs of respondents were categorised as 'white-collar/skilled', 'crafts/trades/less skilled' or 'businesses/enterprises'. It was found that people whose work involves business or crafts are more likely to prefer apartments to the other two housing types. Compound housing is mostly likely to be preferred by people engaged in businesses as well while semi/fully detached housing is mostly likely to be preferred by those engaged in crafts or trades.

Table 5.36: Relationship between Preferred Housing and Job Category.

Respondents' Job Category		Housing Choice under URP			Total
		Apartment	Fully/Semi Detached Self-contain	Compound House	
White Collar / Skilled	Count	17	16	0	33
	Expected Count	21.7	8.6	2.7	33.0
	% within Respondents' Job Category	51.5%	48.5%	0.0%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	8.1%	19.3%	0.0%	10.3%
	% of Total	5.3%	5.0%	0.0%	10.3%
Crafts and Trades / Less Skilled	Count	115	36	13	164
	Expected Count	108.0	42.7	13.4	164.0
	% within Respondents' Job Category	70.1%	22.0%	7.9%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	54.8%	43.4%	50.0%	51.4%
	% of Total	36.1%	11.3%	4.1%	51.4%
Businesses and Enterprises	Count	78	31	13	122
	Expected Count	80.3	31.7	9.9	122.0
	% within Respondents' Job Category	63.9%	25.4%	10.7%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	37.1%	37.3%	50.0%	38.2%
	% of Total	24.5%	9.7%	4.1%	38.2%
Total	Count	210	83	26	319
	Expected Count	210.0	83.0	26.0	319.0
	% within Respondents' Job Category	65.8%	26.0%	8.2%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	65.8%	26.0%	8.2%	100.0%

Chi-square value: 12.654, df: 4, *p* value: .013.
1 cell (11.1%) has expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.69.

5.3.2.3. Relationship between Preferred Housing and Household Size

This research reveals a significant relationship [$\chi^2(6, N = 322) = 13.919$, $p = .03$] between household size and preferred housing type under urban regeneration. In Ashaiman, larger households of 5-6 members are more likely to prefer the traditional compound house to any of apartment or semi/fully detached house. The reason is most likely because of the several rooms afforded by compound houses to accommodate members of households. However, it was also observed that much larger households of more than 7 members are most likely to prefer apartments to the other two housing types considered in this report. This is also because of the fact that larger households in Ashaiman often have richer household heads who is often the *bread-winner*. Richer household head means that they are able to afford more than one apartment housing unit to accommodate each member. This was evident in the fact that a statistically significant difference [$\chi^2(3, N = 322) = 20.466$, $p = .001$] was seen to exist between household size and income level of respondents (see, Appendix C, Table 7.3). In other words, high income (more than GH¢ 1,500) earning members of Ashaiman are most likely to have bigger households or vice versa. This is generally true for the Ghanaian cultural setting where *well-to-do* members of extended families (especially those in the cities) tend to take up the responsibility of catering for poorer members of the family and thus, creating a bigger household size in the process. Residents with smaller household sizes on the other hand are often likely to settle in for compound housing while medium sized households (3-4) in Ashaiman also tend to prefer fully/semi detached housing types as can be observed on the table below.

Table 5.37: Relationship between Housing Choice and Household Size.

Household Size		Housing Choice under URP: Apartment	Fully/Semi Detached Self-contain	Compound House	Total
≤ 2	Count	40	10	10	60
	Expected Count	39.5	15.5	5.0	60.0
	% within Household Size	66.7%	16.7%	16.7%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	18.9%	12.0%	37.0%	18.6%
	% of Total	12.4%	3.1%	3.1%	18.6%
3 - 4	Count	110	48	7	165
	Expected Count	108.6	42.5	13.8	165.0
	% within Household Size	66.7%	29.1%	4.2%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	51.9%	57.8%	25.9%	51.2%
	% of Total	34.2%	14.9%	2.2%	51.2%
5 - 6	Count	51	21	10	82
	Expected Count	54.0	21.1	6.9	82.0
	% within Household Size	62.2%	25.6%	12.2%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	24.1%	25.3%	37.0%	25.5%
	% of Total	15.8%	6.5%	3.1%	25.5%
7+	Count	11	4	0	15
	Expected Count	9.9	3.9	1.3	15.0
	% within Household Size	73.3%	26.7%	0.0%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	5.2%	4.8%	0.0%	4.7%
	% of Total	3.4%	1.2%	0.0%	4.7%
Total	Count	212	83	27	322
	Expected Count	212.0	83.0	27.0	322.0
	% within Household Size	65.8%	25.8%	8.4%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	65.8%	25.8%	8.4%	100.0%

Chi-square value: 13.913, df: 6, *p* value: .031.
2 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.26.

5.3.2.4. Relationship between Preferred Housing and Preferrd Community Type

In this work, respondents were asked to determine which community type in terms of fenced or non-fenced community they prefer to live in under any possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman. The results of this have previously been presented in this chapter. However, it was curious to determine whether the preference of a community type influenced the choice of housing under any urban regeneration in the community and vice versa. It can be reported that, at 10% alpha level, a significant relationship [$\chi^2(4, N = 322) = 8.306$, $p = .08$] exists between respondents' choice of housing and their community preferences. Thus, residents of Ashaiman who prefer fenced community are also likely to opt for fully/semi detached housing types followed by apartments and then compound houses. Those who also prefer non-fenced community are also likely to opt for compound housing type as can be seen below.

Table 5.38: Relationship between Preferred Housing and Preferred Community Type.

Respondents' Preferred Community Type		Housing Choice under URP: Apartment	Fully/Semi Detached Self-contain	Compound House	Total
Fenced Community	Count	120	56	11	187
	Expected Count	123.1	48.2	15.7	187.0
	% within Respondents' Preferred Community	64.2%	29.9%	5.9%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	56.6%	67.5%	40.7%	58.1%
	% of Total	37.3%	17.4%	3.4%	58.1%
Non-fenced Community	Count	42	16	9	67
	Expected Count	44.1	17.3	5.6	67.0
	% within Respondents' Preferred Community	62.7%	23.9%	13.4%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	19.8%	19.3%	33.3%	20.8%
	% of Total	13.0%	5.0%	2.8%	20.8%
Indifferent	Count	50	11	7	68
	Expected Count	44.8	17.5	5.7	68.0
	% within Respondents' Preferred Community	73.5%	16.2%	10.3%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	23.6%	13.3%	25.9%	21.1%
	% of Total	15.5%	3.4%	2.2%	21.1%
Total	Count	212	83	27	322
	Expected Count	212.0	83.0	27.0	322.0
	% within Respondents' Preferred Community	65.8%	25.8%	8.4%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	65.8%	25.8%	8.4%	100.0%

Chi-square value: 8.306, df: 4, p value: .081.
0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expect count is 5.62.

5.3.2.5. Relationship between Preferred Housing and Preferrd Storey Building

The maximum number of storeys each building must possess plays an important role in the success or otherwise of urban regeneration. The socio-cultural backgrounds of people determine what maximum storey count is acceptable (see, TOKİ, 2016). In this work, respondents were asked to determine what maximum storey height is tolerable to them (see, section 5.2.6). These collected building heights (in storeys) were then grouped into one of low-rise (1-3 storeys), medium-rise (4-6 storeys) or high-rise buildings (more than 7 storeys). A significant relationship [$\chi^2(4, N = 322) = 46.747$, $p = .001$] between the preferred storey height of buildings and housing type under urban regeneration in Ashaiman was observed. It was found that those who preferred high-rise buildings were also more likely to opt for apartment housing whereas those who opted for low to medium-rise buildings were more likely to choose compound house under urban regeneration in Ashaiman (see, Table 5.39 below). This finding is well in line with empirical evidence where apartment buildings are often associated with high-rise buildings while compound houses in Ghana often come in low-rise buildings.

Table 5.39: Relationship between Preferred Housing Choice and Maximum Storey Count.

Respondents' Preferred Maximum Number of Storeys		Housing Choice under URP			Total
		Apartment	Fully/Semi Detached Self-contain	Compound House	
Low-Rise (1-3)	Count	9	14	9	32
	Expected Count	21.0	8.3	2.7	32.0
	% within Respondents' Preferred Maximum Number of Storeys	28.1%	43.8%	28.1%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	4.3%	17.1%	33.3%	10.1%
	% of Total	2.8%	4.4%	2.8%	10.1%
Medium-Rise (4-6)	Count	38	28	10	76
	Expected Count	49.9	19.7	6.5	76.0
	% within Respondents' Preferred Maximum Number of Storeys	50.0%	36.8%	13.2%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	18.3%	34.1%	37.0%	24.0%
	% of Total	12.0%	8.8%	3.2%	24.0%
High-Rise (≥7)	Count	161	40	8	209
	Expected Count	137.1	54.1	17.8	209.0
	% within Respondents' Preferred Maximum Number of Storeys	77.0%	19.1%	3.8%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	77.4%	48.8%	29.6%	65.9%
	% of Total	50.8%	12.6%	2.5%	65.9%
Total	Count	208	82	27	317
	Expected Count	208.0	82.0	27.0	317.0
	% within Respondents' Preferred Maximum Number of Storeys	65.6%	25.9%	8.5%	100.0%
	% within Housing Choice under URP	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	65.6%	25.9%	8.5%	100.0%

Chi-square value: 46.747, df: 4, p value: .001.
1 cell (11.1%) has expected count less than 5. The minimum expect count is 2.73.

5.4. Other Inferential Statistics

Other relational statistics were also tested to see if the differences within and between the various groups were statistically significant. For instance, the analysis of variance (ANOVA) was done to see if the different incomes reported by respondents were significantly related with their places of work as well as the job categories of respondents.

It was found that, incomes of residents of the study area had a significant relationship with either of their places of work (p = .02) as presented in the tables below.

Table 5.40: Descriptives: Monthly Incomes of Household Heads.

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Accra	19	2,663.16	1853.289	425.174	1769.90	3556.41	700	7000
Ashaiman	127	1,728.35	1795.050	159.285	1413.13	2043.57	200	15000
Tema	169	2,281.95	2001.573	153.967	1977.99	2585.91	200	10000
Total	315	2,081.75	1930.263	108.758	1867.76	2295.73	200	15000

Table 5.41: ANOVA: Monthly Incomes of Household Heads.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2.906E7	2	1.453E7	3.973	.020
Within Groups	1.141E9	312	3,656,665.445		
Total	1.170E9	314			

As previously stated, significant relationship was found between income level of respondents and their job categories (p = .001). This has also been presented in the tables below.

Table 5.42: Descriptives: Monthly Incomes of Household Heads.

Job Category	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
White Collar / Skilled	29	1558.62	1060.834	196.992	1155.10	1962.14	800	5000
Crafts and Trades / Less Skilled	164	1457.62	1363.296	106.456	1247.41	1667.83	200	10000
Businesses and Enterprises Owners	122	3045.08	2318.524	209.909	2629.51	3460.65	600	15000
Total	315	2081.75	1930.263	108.758	1867.76	2295.73	200	15000

Table 5.43: ANOVA: Monthly Income of Household Heads.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.850E8	2	9.252E7	29.308	.000
Within Groups	9.849E8	312	3156731.944		
Total	1.170E9	314			

In addition to the above, a significant difference (p = .001) was noted between the length of stay of respondents in Ashaiman and locality of residence. The AB Blocks had the longest mean duration (23 years) while the EF had the least (18 years) as shown below, confirming the findings of Paller (2015) who classified the areas within the EF, AB and CD Blocks as *extralegal*, *indigenous* and *purchased* slum communities respectively.

Table 5.44: Descriptives: Length of Time Spent in Ashaiman.

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
AB Block	101	23.39	10.059	1.001	21.40	25.37	2	58
CD Block	101	20.26	11.571	1.151	17.97	22.54	2	51
EF Block	120	18.19	9.028	.824	16.56	19.82	2	56
Total	322	20.47	10.396	.579	19.33	21.61	2	58

Table 5.45: ANOVA: Length of Time Spent in Ashaiman.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1486.350	2	743.175	7.139	.001
Within Groups	33205.839	319	104.094		
Total	34692.189	321			

5.5. Professionals' Views on Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman

As previously indicated, this work also captured the views of professionals in Ghana working in the built environment consisting of land economists, engineers, quantity surveyors, planners and architects among others.

5.5.1. Basic Statistics

Respondents within this section comprised professionals from both the public and private sector. A total of twenty-six (26) professionals were surveyed constituting 19 males and 6 females. Of the total figure, 38.5% have at least ten (10) years of professional experience. Three (11.5%) of the respondents here have at least 40 years of professional experience. With regards to the ranks of respondents, majority (61.5%) classified themselves as senior staff while only two, constituting 8% of the total respondents are heads (CEO/MD/MCE's etc) of their respective institutions. Also, another 8% of respondents who participated in this survey are heads of departments within their current or last places of work. Most importantly, of the number of respondents who took part in this sub-survey, 14 of them were staff members of the planning department of the Ashaiman Municipal Assembly (9) and the TDC (5). The views of this group of respondents is more relevant to this study since these two institutions are the main bodies in charge of physical planning and development in Ashaiman.

5.5.2. Support for Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman

A possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman did not only gain sufficient support from the residents of Ashaiman but also from professionals across the built environment who participated in this survey. The table below indicates that 92% of respondents (strongly) agree to a possible implementation of urban regeneration in Ashaiman while only 8% thought otherwise.

Table 5.46: I will support UR in Ashaiman.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	I strongly disagree	2	7.6
	I agree	10	38.5
	I strongly agree	14	53.9
	Total	26	100.0

Urban regeneration was generally viewed by professionals as the '*direction to go*' in dealing with slums in Ghana. It is also seen as '*a good initiative*' capable of '*transforming slums into modern settlements*'. With knowledge of its economic dimension, it is also often viewed as one of the means of '*alleviating poverty*' in slum communities. Generally, the idea of urban regeneration as a way of transforming Ghanaian slums was met with optimism from professionals in this study. The general optimism of respondents regarding urban regeneration as the best alternative in dealing with slums in Ghana was highlighted by one respondent when he observed that;

"Increasingly, the urban housing crisis is displacing people and the ills of rapid urbanisation has not stopped. Therefore, wiping out or clearing up slums is not an option any more even though successive governments have kept to this tune. We now need to fashion out very responsive URP's to be able to turn around the face of our cities in order to improve quality of life" (Respondent #26, 2018).

5.5.3. Financing URP's in Ghana and the Role(s) of the Private Sector

Even though urban regeneration is considered as an initiative capable of developing modern cities the likes of which found in more advanced countries, the huge financial requirement needed to actualise this initiative was recognised by professionals. When asked about their views regarding Ghana's ability to finance urban regeneration in the country, over 35% of respondents were sceptical of Ghana's ability to do this even though over 92% of respondents support the idea of urban regeneration. In financing a possible urban regeneration in Ghana, about 92% of respondents agree with the idea that 'an urban regeneration fund (URF) be created which shall be fed in by a certain percentage proceeds from Ghana's natural resources such as oil, gold, cocoa etc'. Acknowledging that this source of funding may not sufficient, the private sector, be it local or foreign, was identified as a potential partner in this venture. In this regard, another 92% of respondents believe that the local private sector should be involved in a public-private-partnership (PPP) arrangement. This arrangement conforms with that of Turkey where the private sector along with state agencies engage in fruitful collaboration with regards to urban regeneration in the country. Other financing options such as municipal financing options like the Certificates of Potential Additional Construction (CEPAC's) were suggested by a respondent. On the other hand, the involvement of foreign entities was least favoured by professionals in this survey. For instance, borrowing from international funding agencies was not favoured by about 75%. Another 63% of respondents rejected the idea of involving foreign governments in this venture. However, more than half (58%) of respondents agreed to having foreign private entities involved in this initiative should Ghana decide to implement urban regeneration in the country. These findings can be said to reflect the growing displeasure of the Ghanaian middle class of having foreign entities' influence in local initiatives because of their perception of exploitative tendencies of these entities.

5.5.4. The Necessity for Urban Regeneration Laws and Implementing Institutions

Even though Ghana has a sufficient legal regime with regards to land governance, a successful implementation of a policy such as urban regeneration requires adequate laws to guide the implementation so as to avoid excesses by implementing bodies. This view was shared by 90% of respondents. Those who did not hold similar view felt that Ghana has sufficient laws to cater for the implementation of urban regeneration in the country. As an essential element of any successful urban regeneration project, the state institution(s) that need(s) to be mandated by any relevant law to oversee the implementation of urban regeneration was also elicited from respondents. Three major state institutions emerged viz; the State Housing Company Limited (SHC), the Architectural and Engineering Services Limited (AESL) and the TDC Development Company Limited (TDC). Even though professionals showed more support for the SHC (75%), the AESL (70%) than the TDC (54%), others (12%) were entirely unoptimistic about any of these institutions' ability to oversee any urban regeneration project in the country while others indicate that the National Spatial Development Authority (NSDA) working the aforementioned state institutions can be another option. Details of the current mandate of selected state institutions in Ghana with the potential of overseeing urban regeneration projects in Ghana have been given in section 3.5.2 of this work.

The private sector has also been identified as a key stakeholder in the implementation of any possible urban regeneration projects in Ghana. The private sector is seen to have both the financial and technical resources to embark of URP's in Ghana. This was emphasised by the following submissions of respondents;

"Private developers can do a lot to realise UR as they are now regenerating some areas into nice communities but they can hardly be afforded by the middle and low income classes" (Respondent #1, 2018).

"Projects like this involves huge capital investment. Without proper government interventions and the reduction of bureaucratic process in our various land agencies, the private sector will find it difficult handling urban regeneration" (Respondent #2, 2018).

"They will be the driving force of URP and since they are profit oriented they will make sure there is value for money" (Respondent #3, 2018).

"URP involves a huge financial outlay and the private sector has the financial wherewithal to undertake such a task" (Respondent #4, 2018).

"The private sector can handle URP but the cost of acquiring a unit of property will and always be high and this will make it difficult for most people to live in such housing units" (Respondent #12, 2018).

"The private sector has proven in Ghana to most often give returns on investment. Thus, it can handle such URP's in Ghana given that the private sector has in the past led some major urban transformations in Ghana (ie Accra). However, most often, the end result has been massive displacement of the original owners of such urban enclaves. This defeats the ideals of UR and thus, the private sector has to be close-monitored and regulated (so as) not to drive out the owners of the community. Thus, a strong partnership between private and public sectors can offer a better collaboration for any URP" (Respondent #26, 2018).

A careful consideration of the above responses reveals some support for the private sector to be involved in any UR in Ghana. However, there fears that the private sector being profit-motivated is prone to compelling some residents to leave the community hence promoting gentrification. In preventing this, a close partnership with the state was suggested.

5.5.5. Professionals' Preferences Under Urban Regeneration in Ghana

Professionals were asked to indicate from tramway lines, bus lanes, bicycle paths, private cars and pedestrian walkways, the top three transportation systems that need to be considered in any regenerated community in the country. It can be seen that professionals' transportation preferences are in line with those of respondents in Ashaiman (see, Table 5.24).

Table 5.47: Transportation Preferences of Professionals Under UR in Ghana.

Preferred Transportation System	Frequency	Total	% of Total
Bus Lanes	23	23	100.0
Pedestrian Walkways	17	22	77.3
Private Cars	16	23	69.6
Bicycle Lanes	8	21	38.1
Tramway Lines	4	22	18.2

With regards to the required socio-cultural amenities that need to be incorporated in any urban regeneration project in Ghana, respondents' views were not so different from those of the residents of Ashaiman. However, unlike the residents of Ashaiman, professionals saw sports complexes as more essential than food processing centres in any regenerated community. They also thought that children's parks are as essential as places of worship and therefore be incorporated in any urban regeneration project. The following table provides further details.

Table 5.48: Preferred Socio-Cultural Amenities of Professionals.

Preferred Socio-Cultural Amenities	Frequency	% of 25
Health Centres	24	96.0
Market Squares	22	88.0
Sports Complexes	20	80.0
Food Processing Centres	19	76.0
Places of Worship	16	64.0
Community/Children's Park	16	64.0

In terms of professionals' views about the ability of residents of Ashaiman specifically to afford housing units under a possible urban regeneration in the area, opinions were divided. Whereas some hold the view that residents can afford housing, others thought that many of the residents can only afford rental units. And regarding rental units, one respondent who is a planner by profession and a senior staff at his current place of work made the following submission;

"Rental housing has been a fair option in the housing market for the low to middle income (households). The biggest challenge is the amount of advanced payments households are burdened with, which is actually against the rent laws of Ghana. If that is corrected, households in Ashaiman can afford housing (under UR). Home ownership though a critical wish for all households, several studies have shown that its affordability is out of reach of many low to middle income households in the short term. Thus, any URP should focus more on rental housing" (Respondent #26, 2018).

6. DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

Even though the concept of urban regeneration is a well-researched and applied concept across the developed world, same cannot be said of this important urban policy in developing nations like Ghana. This study is thus expected to contribute to the growing body of scientific knowledge in this regard. Having demonstrated the application of the concept of urban regeneration in the solution of major urban problems such as economic obsolescence, physical deterioration and social isolations, its efficacy in the transformation of slum settlements was also abundantly demonstrated in this work. Acknowledging the varying objectives of urban regeneration as an urban policy, this work was rooted on four main objectives viz; to outline the differences between Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian slums; to examine the concept of urban regeneration and its application across the world; to draw lessons from the application of urban regeneration across the world and finally, based on these, to examine the concept as a better alternative slum intervention in the context of Ghana. In this chapter, a recap of major findings uncovered in this study is presented. Finally, taking the Ashaiman slum as a case study, the concept of urban regeneration as a better alternative slum intervention in Ghana was examined by considering the strengths and weaknesses of the community as well as the opportunities and threats associated with the implementation of a possible urban regeneration in the community. It is thus reckoned that, a possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman must acknowledge the varying slum forms within the community which manifest in the three forms as demonstrated by Paller [2015] in his study, and as confirmed by this work. Also, any UR in Ashaiman and for that matter, in Ghana, must involve the residents in its decision making process. The income levels of the residents must also be determined so as to aid in the production of affordable housing units. The following discussions outline the major findings of this work.

6.1. Major Findings

This section recaps the major findings of this work which include the socio-cultural, physical/environmental and economic characteristics of the study area. These are essential in demonstrating the major characteristics of slums in Ghana.

6.1.1. Socio-cultural Characteristics of the Ashaiman Slum

Just like most slums around the world [UN-Habitat, 2003], the study area is characterised by a majority migrant population who came from many parts of the country especially the middle and northern belts of Ghana. In line with other studies [such as Adarkwa, 2012], migrant population from the West African sub-region also abound in this community. Another major socio-cultural character of the area is that, household heads are mostly males which reflects the general character of the country as a patriarchal society. However, it must be noted that, some female household heads exist in this community. Households with female household heads are mostly characterised by either absentee male spouses or single-parent households. In terms of religious affiliations of residents in this community, residents were found to be almost equally divided between the two religions identified in the area, Islam (49%) and Christianity (51%).

With regards to home-tenure arrangement in the study area, four major groups of residents were identified viz; landlords, caretakers, tenants and non-rent paying residents. Vast majority (68.3%) of residents were found to be tenants which is also in line with the findings of the WEB 40 [2014]. The average number of households per house (6.8) identified in this study is more than the national, regional and municipal averages [WEB 40, 2014]. However, the average household size (3.86) within the community is almost similar to that of the municipal and national averages. The education level of household heads in this community is quite higher than that of those of other slums around the world as almost 20% of respondents were found to have had higher than high school education in this community which contradicts the findings of other studies in this regard [see, UN-Habitat, 2003]. This is however in line with other studies such as Awumbila et al. [2014]

and Adubfour et al. [2012] who indicated that current generation of slum dwellers have had higher education.

6.1.2. Physical/Environmental Characteristics

Generally, across the study area, buildings are arranged in a linear layout which suggests that the area was settled based on some sort of a masterplan. However, narrow roads, overcrowded buildings as demonstrated in the number of households per house, lack of parks and green/open spaces, presence of old/weak buildings, insufficient and in some cases the lack of basic facilities within buildings and the presence of open drains have in many ways contributed in making the community the slum that it is today. In this work, it was found that the dominant type of housing is the compound house. The skyscape is also characterised by single storey buildings with walls built with sandcrete blocks, mud or wood. However, some isolated cases of multi-storey units which are usually stores or places of work exist. Even though almost all buildings (99.7%) across the study area are connected to the national electricity grid, only about 40% of buildings have access to pipe-borne water. Indeed, almost all these physical characteristics of the study area can be said to be features of many slums across the world [see, UN-Habitat, 2003]. However, a major uniqueness of this slum in terms of physical characteristics is its linear layout as majority of slums across the world are usually haphazardly built.

With significant relationships established between the construction materials and locations of buildings as well as between duration of settlement and locations of buildings, it can be said that this study is in line with the findings of Abu-Salia et al. [2015] and Paller [2015] who categorised slums in Ghana into indigenous, migrant (purchased) and newly-emerging (extralegal) slum communities. And just like the aforementioned studies particularly that of Paller [2015], areas within the EF Block which are regarded as extralegal have dominant population of buildings constructed with wood and mud whiles those within the AB and CD Blocks are predominantly comprised of sandcrete buildings. In terms of ages of these settlements, the AB is found to be the oldest followed by the CD and finally the EF. With these findings, the EF can be said to be the extralegal [Paller, 2015] or the newly emerging [Abu-Salia et al., 2015] slum community while the AB and

CD as the indigenous and purchased/migrant slum communities respectively [Abu-Salia et al., 2015; Paller, 2015].

6.1.3. Economic Characteristics of the Community

With only about 3% of unemployed respondents which is below the municipal average of about 8%, unemployment cannot be said to be a problem in this community. This was also highlighted in the lack of mention of unemployment in the community by respondents as problem within the community. This can be attributed to the bustling economic activities witnessed in Ashaiman. Indeed, despite respondents' general dissatisfaction of living in the community, some were still willing to continue living in such condition due to business considerations because moving out of the community to them was akin to losing their customers. The dominant economic activities within the community were found to be within the informal sector. This is also in line with the findings of other works [see, Erman, 1997; Şenyapılı, 1998]. Formal sector activities such as teaching, nursing, engineering among others were also observed and this also confirms the studies of Awumbila, Owusu and Teye [2014] who observed a growing number of formal sector employees within the slums of Ghana.

The main places of work of respondents were found to be Tema, Accra and within Ashaiman itself. It was also found that, the place of work of household heads had significant relationship with their monthly incomes. Those working in Accra were found to earn higher incomes on the average than those working in either Ashaiman or Tema. And those working within Ashaiman were found to be the least income earners. Household heads were found to earn between a minimum of GH¢ 200 and a maximum of GH¢ 15,000 monthly while the monthly income of households ranged between GHs 300 and GH¢ 35,600. These findings confirm the phenomenon of '*the filthy rich slum dweller*' in Ghana. And despite the reality of very low income earning members of the community, the Ashaiman slum cannot be described as a place of '*squalor*' and '*wanton poverty*' since the average monthly income of household heads was found to be in the region GH¢ 2,000 whereas that of the household was found to be GH¢ 3,600.

6.2. Urban Regeneration as an Approach in Slum Transformation in Ghana

Having identified the inadequacies of previous slum interventions in Ghana and having studied the concept of urban regeneration with regards to its implementability in Ghana by taking the Ashaiman slum as a case study, this work posits that urban regeneration as an urban policy stands a greater chance of success in Ghana if adopted and implemented. This conclusion is based on the data obtained from the Ashaiman slum as previously presented. With over 92% of respondents in favour of a possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman, this policy can be said to have received widespread support and that residents are likely to meet it with acceptance.

Despite this widespread acceptance, it must be noted that not all segments of the Ashaiman community expressed similar level of support for any possible urban regeneration in the community. For instance, with significant relationship established between locality of residence of respondents and the building materials of their living accommodation, it was found that residents living in poorly constructed buildings are more likely to accept the implementation of UR than those living in relatively better constructed buildings due to reasons previously explained. The effect is that, it is recommendable to commence the implementation of any urban regeneration project from areas with concentration of poorly built structures. This is because, it will be met with acceptance by residents while at the same time help in getting rid of such poorly built structures and serving as an example for the rest of the community. From the analyses conducted, areas of concentration of poorly built structures are mostly within the E and F Blocks. It is therefore recommended that any possible UR in Ashaiman should commence from the E-F Blocks followed by the CD and then the AB Blocks.

In the implementation of any possible UR in Ashaiman, in line with acceptable practice, each of social, physical and economic characteristics of the community should be well integrated in the design. For instance, in achieving this for the case of Ashaiman, the incorporation of certain socio-cultural amenities (such as outlined before) across the community must be done. These amenities are expected to enhance the socio-cultural preservation of the residents. The current social structure of the community revealed a statistically significant relationship between religion of respondents and their localities of residence such that each of Muslims and Christians are concentrated in one locality or the other. For instance, this work revealed that Muslims are more concentrated in Blocks E and F whereas Christians, in Blocks B and D. This information is necessary in the incorporation of some socio-cultural amenities not commonly preferred by both adherents of these two religions so that such amenities are expected to serve as pull factors in the choice of which locality to settle in, under a possible urban regeneration in Ashaiman. For example, religion was seen to be significantly related to the preference of each of place of worship and funeral homes as socio-cultural amenities. Muslims were found to be more likely to prefer places of worship than Christians who were found to have higher preference for funeral homes within their neighbourhoods. In terms of the physical character, respondents wish to see a regenerated Ashaiman possess medium to high-rise buildings majority of which should be apartments.

With regards to expectations, some discussions have been provided in the preceding chapter. However, it is seminal to note that a strong relationship was discovered between expectation to own homes under UR and the residential status of respondents. Unsurprisingly, landlords were found to be more expectant of owning homes under UR in Ashaiman followed by others (caretakers, non-rent paying residents) and then tenants. This represents a growing expectation of residents to not only continue to live in the community but doing so as homeowners. In this connection, urban regeneration can be said to represent the life-long aspiration of many Ghanaians who wish to be homeowners. With regards to expectations of being a tenant under urban regeneration in Ashaiman on the other hand, expectedly, tenants were more expectant of continuing to live in the community as tenants while landlords were least expectant of being tenants under urban regeneration in Ashaiman. The supply of rental units is therefore encouraged in any urban regeneration in Ashaiman since not everyone has the ability to purchase a home under the policy.

With these expectations in mind, it is therefore recommended that any urban regeneration in Ashaiman must seek to avoid gentrification. This can be achieved by developing affordable housing units. Housing is said to be affordable if not more than 30% of household income is spent on housing [Branco and Alves, ca.2016] and at the current incomes and amount of rent being paid by households, less than 5% (3.3%) of household incomes is spent on rent (see Table 5.9) on average which means that with better homes constructed under UR, there is more room for households to increase the proportion of income spent on rent. With an average household monthly income of GH¢ 3600, housing units must not cost more than GH¢ 1200 per month on average across Ashaiman under any urban regeneration whether as rent or total cost of amortisation. With sufficient government subsidies to much lower-income earning households, gentrification is expected to be checked in any urban regeneration in Ashaiman. Subsidies in this regard must be targeted at those in real need of it and the amount must vary accordingly. Also, with majority (64.1%) of households having their housing needs met by both the heads and other household members, it can be said that households are generally supportive and hence are more likely to pool their resources together to acquire housing units under any urban regeneration in Ashaiman. Also, in order to develop suitable repayment schemes for residents wishing to own homes under UR, formalising the local economy would be the one sure way to achieving this. Whereas just about 80% (78.7%) of residents of newly regenerated TOKİ communities across Turkey earn less than 2,500 TL [TOKİ, 2016b], a similar percentage of residents in Ashaiman were found to earn less than 5,000 GHS. So if residents of TOKİ communities are able to cope with housing cost in those communities with this income level, residents of Ashaiman too should be able to do so given a well schemed out financing model.

Urban regeneration being capital intensive is a recognised reality. The creation of an urban regeneration fund (URF) which shall be fed by specific percentage of proceeds from some of Ghana's natural resources has been widely favoured by experts in the built environment as a primary source of funding of any proposed urban regeneration in the country. This direct use of public funds was also adopted by the British Government under the Elephant and Castle URP [Kandaloğlu, 2016; elephantandcastle.org.uk]. This may also be supplemented by a public-private partnership (PPP). Sourcing funds from international funding agencies is discouraged so is the involvement of foreign governments. However, a controlled involvement of foreign private investors is encouraged. Sufficient incentives may be provided by government to encourage local private sector participation as employed in the King's Cross URP [ULI, 2014;

kingscross.co.uk] while at the same time providing the needed regulations to avoid displacements and gentrification. With majority of respondents in favour of medium to high-rise buildings in any urban regeneration in Ashaiman, the private sector can be encouraged to develop sufficient housing units capable of providing the required housing to current land/homeowners while amortising the total cost of the project with the excess housing created due to the vertical development. This is the practice in countries like Turkey where agreements are entered with current landowners so that an agreed housing unit(s) or floor area commiserate with the value of the current development is/are supplied to the landowner after completion of the new development under urban regeneration [Candaş et al., 2016].

Having stated the above, it must be noted that the success of any policy to a large extent depends on two, viz; laws and implementing authorities. As had been discussed in previous sections (see sections 3.5 and 5.5.4) of this work, relevant laws related to UR must be enacted to augment the available land laws in the country. Also, with regards to implementing authorities, the SHC, the AESL and the TDC are seen as the foremost state institutions capable of overseeing UR in Ghana. These institutions can be likened to the TOKİ of Turkey and the SRU of Portugal who have been the main UR implementing institutions in these countries. With the relevant laws therefore, the aforementioned institutions in Ghana are reckoned to be capable of overseeing and/or implementing UR across the country and for that matter, Ashaiman. As had also been mentioned, the involvement of the private sector notably GREDA is indispensable to the success of any possible UR implementation in Ghana.

At a time when the Government of Ghana (GoG) is seeking to improve the conditions of Ghana’s Zongos and inner-cities as evident in the creation of a new ministry, the Ministry of Inner-city and Zongo Development, this study is expected to prove valuable in this regard. This study has demonstrated the possible success of urban regeneration as an alternative approach in the transformation of Ghanaian slums. It is therefore hopeful that this work shall serve as a guide in the implementation of any urban regeneration in any slum or deprived community in Ghana. Finally, in line with modern planning paradigm, strategic spatial planning, it is hereby recommended that any urban regeneration project must ensure maximum participation of all relevant stakeholders especially the residents. This must include all the relevant phases within the project.

6.3. Limitations of the Study

Considering the fact that slums do not have a universal definition and more so given that many definitions of slums have been challenged including the one put forth by the UN-Habitat, there are always going to be difficulties relating slums of varying cultures. Even though the purpose of this study is not to compare slums of different countries with those of Ghana, there is the likelihood to assume sameness for the slums of these countries because strategies for the implementation of urban regeneration projects depend on the typologies of the slums. With this in mind, conscious efforts have therefore been made to identify the uniqueness of Ghanaian slums in the proposition of urban regeneration as an alternative approach to slum transformation in Ghana.

Also, because the various descriptions of slums are qualitative in nature, it has created some difficulties in drawing parallels with the slums in Ghana. And the absence of sufficient basis for comparing the nature of the slums around the world and those in Ghana is likely to compromise the efficacy of any urban policy from another country that is expected to be recommended for implementation in Ghana with regards to slum transformation. The acknowledgement of this limitation proved invaluable to this work as appropriate measures have been recommended to make up for the apparent variations in the slum types in Ghana. Having stated that, it is worthy of note that despite the lack of quantitative descriptions of slums, the use of certain qualitative descriptors is viewed sufficient enough for the purpose of this study.

Again, the high non-response rate from professionals practising in the built environment in Ghana is viewed as a limitation. The low participation of professionals in this survey has rendered the data gathered from that sub-survey as a mere interview file information and therefore may not be enough sufficient basis for drawing conslusions regarding the true views of all professionals practicing in the built environment in Ghana. Having stated that, the participation of resident household heads who are actually the main subjects of this research is expected to prove vital for any decision regarding this subject.

6.4. Recommended Future Studies

It has been abundantly demonstrated that urban regeneration as an urban policy can and has been applied in solving a wide range of urban problems including; economic obsolescence as happened in the UK in the 1970's and 1980's during the deindustrialisation process [Jones and Evans, 2008; Tallon, 2003], overcrowding of inner-city areas [Dürr, 2012; Kandaloğlu, 2016], deteriorated areas that were subject to wartime bombardments [see also Jones and Evans, 2008] and weaker and slum developments prone to natural disasters such as earthquake [see, Web 1, 2015; Candaş et al., 2016]. As previously indicated, this work focused on the application of urban regeneration in the transformation of Ghana's slum communities. The work was limited to the responsiveness of residents of the Ashaiman slum as a case study to the possible implementation of urban regeneration in their community. Being a composite slum community, which is comprised of the three main slum types identified in Ghana, it is likely that different responses may emerge from the other non-composite slum areas like Nima, Ga Mashie among others. It is therefore recommended that similar work be carried out in such slum communities in the country.

Also, this work did not explore in detail the funding options of urban regeneration in a developing nation like Ghana. It is therefore also recommended that further studies be carried out in this regard. Along with this, even though this policy has proven profitable and economically viable in countries like Turkey from both the developers' and residents' perspectives a more comprehensive study focusing on its financial viability from the private sector perspective may also be explored in the future to give a more holistic picture of the implementation of this urban policy in developing countries like Ghana. Again, future studies focusing on how urban regeneration can help address the gaping housing deficits too is recommended as it was beyond the scope of this work.

Finally, in an increasingly competitive world where nations and even cities compete among themselves to attract investors, visitors and talents, urban regeneration has been widely applied in the construction of signature buildings to aid in this regard. It is therefore also recommended that further studies be carried out to identify the best way urban regeneration can be applied in countries such as Ghana in the urban branding process.

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BIOGRAPHY

Abubakar Sadiq ABASS was born in Bolgatanga, Ghana in the year 1988. He had his basic education at the Bolgatanga Anglican Primary and Junior High Schools. He proceeded to Adisadel College, Cape Coast where he had his high school education. He then went on to pursue his undergraduate studies at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), Kumasi, Ghana between 2008 and 2012 where he graduated with a BSc. (Hons) Land Economy degree. Sadiq commenced his professional life as an Estates Assistant at the Tema Development Corporation (now TDC Development Company Ltd) from 2012 to 2015 where he left for further studies in Turkey. He commenced his preparatory course in Turkish language at Kocaeli University, Turkey and earned his Proficiency Certificate in Turkish Language (C1 Level) in 2016 from the same university. He then went on to start his master's education at Gebze Technical University's Department of City and Regional Planning in Spring 2017. Sadiq has attended and presented a conference paper at the 2nd International Students Science Congress (ISSC), Izmir. He currently works with Golden Time LLC – Tbilisi, Georgia as Regional Director – Africa. Abubukar Sadiq ABASS can be contacted via sqidas2@gmail.com.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Questionnaire Sample 1

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESIDENTS OF THE CASE STUDY AREA, ASHAIMAN, GHANA – (HOUSEHOLD HEADS)

Section 1: Household Information

1. Household size: _____________
2. How many are currently working? _______________
3. How many are students? _______________
4. *Household members' information*

Household members	**Age**	**Gender**	**Birth Place**	**Educ. level**	**Employment status**	**Profession / occupation**	**Monthly Income**	**Place of work**
1st (Head)								
2nd (spouse)								
3rd								
4th								
5th								
6th								
7th								
						Total Household Monthly Income (GH¢)		

5. How many rooms are occupied by household (including hall): _____________
6. How much is the total monthly rent payable by this household (GH¢)? _________________

Section 2: Information about the community

7. What are the Reasons for choosing to live in Ashaiman? (*Choose as many as applicable*)

Because I was born here □
Because I am looking for job □
Because I inherited this property □
Because the rent here is affordable, I can only afford rent in this community □
Because it is closer to my relatives and *countrymen* □
Because the possibility of making a home only exists here □
I had to move here because of my spouse □
Because it is closer to my workplace □
Because the place is clean and calm □
Because transport system is easily accessible □
Other(s) ____

8. When did you move into Ashaiman? _______________ years ago.

9. Please indicate your level of (dis)satisfaction regarding the following**: 1= Very dissatisfied; 2= Dissatisfied; 3= Indifferent; 4= Satisfied; 5= Very satisfied.**

Items	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**Reason(s) for your response**
10.1 House of residence						
10.2 Community of residence						

10. In your opinion, what is/are the major problem(s) of Ashaiman (*choose as many as applicable*)

1. Traffic and transportation problems □
2. Sanitation issues / filth □
3. Noise pollution □
4. (in)security issues □
5. Weak and old buildings □
6. Small and insufficient housing units □
7. Insufficient parks and green areas □
8. Infrastructure problems □
9. Other(s) ____

11. Please rank your choices above from the most severe to the least severe (1st = most severe etc):

1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th

12. How is the relationship with neighbours in the community like?

13.1 Everyone knows the other and relationship here is good	
13.2 We meet once in a while and so relationship is okay	
13.3 There is no such thing as a good relationship here	
13.4 Other comment:	

13. Are you thinking of moving out of Ashaiman?

Yes □ No □ I do not know for now □

Please give reason(s) if your answer is either Yes or No: ____________________________________

14. Where do you want to move to? (if 'Yes' to Q13 otherwise select 'N/A')

Back to my hometown □

To a better community within the Greater Accra Region □

Other (pls specify): ________________________________

N/A □

15. When are you thinking of moving out of Ashaiman (if 'Yes' to Q13)? ______________

Section 3: About Urban Regeneration

16. Do you know about Urban Regeneration practice?

Yes □ No □

Please if the response above is 'No', respondents should be given a brief explanation of UR from the notes provided.

17. The following statements seek your opinions about a possible UR in Ashaiman. Please determine whether or not you agree with them and by what extent. **(1= strongly disagree; 2= disagree; 3= indifferent; 4= agree; 5= strongly agree)**

No.	Statements	1	2	3	4	5
17.1	Ashaiman should be regenerated					
17.2	I would pay more to rent a dwelling in a regenerated Ashaiman					
17.3	The socio-cultural and sports facilities will increase to a sufficient level					
17.4	With UR in Ashaiman, I believe neighbourliness, family and kinship will be enhanced					
17.5	With UR, I believe noise, traffic and pollution in general will reduce in Ashaiman.					
17.6	I believe with UR, my new home will have a higher value					
17.7	With UR, I think new jobs will be established in Ashaiman					
17.8	With URP, the quality of life in Ashaiman will improve					
17.9	With UR, we shall have more durable and more comfortable homes					
17.10	I would give up my property to own a dwelling unit of equivalent value from those buildings if Ashaiman is regenerated (if respondent is the landlord)					
17.11	I think UR will lead to gentrification					

The following set of questions seeks to gauge residents' expectations of URP, choices of house types and their willingness and ability to pay for improved conditions etc …

18. What do you expect from an URP? (*Please choose from the list below as many as applicable*)

To be the owner of a modern and valuable home ☐
To be the occupant/tenant of a modern home ☐
An increase in the socio-cultural amenities ☐
More useful and modern parks and green areas ☐
Durable homes that can withstand disasters ☐
Adequate provision of infrastructure like roads, transport etc ☐
To bring an end to insecurity problems ☐
The reduction of pollution ☐
Demolishing of old buildings and the reconstruction of more useful ones ☐
Other(s): ____

19. With any URP, what type of transportation system(s) would you prefer to have in the community? (*Please choose a maximum of 3 options*)

Tramways ☐
Buses ☐
Bicycle paths ☐
Private cars ☐
Pedestrian walkways ☐

Section 4: House Preferences of Respondents under a possible URP in Ashaiman

20. Concerning the size and number of rooms of the unit you may be entitled to rent/buy under an URP;

I want the same floor size with the same number of rooms as my current dwelling ☐

I want it to have the same total floor area but with *many smaller rooms* ☐
I want it to have the same total floor area but with *few bigger rooms* ☐
Other (please specify): ____

21. Your choice of housing under any URP is:

Apartment ☐
Semi-detached self-contained ☐
Fully detached self-contained ☐
Compound house ☐
Other(s) __________________________________

22. Please specify your preferred maximum NUMBER OF STOREYS a building must have: ____

23. In place of a standard accommodation size, do you mind taking a smaller unit if it has the following value-enhancing features or technologies? (*Please choose as many as applicable*)

I will choose housing units with solar panels that will reduce my electricity bills and will ensure there are no electricity bills for common areas or will ensure a reduced electricity bills of common areas ☐
I will choose buildings with smart home technologies that will ensure security, comfort and savings ☐
I will choose buildings that provide water and waste recycling with treatment methods which has antipollution and saving solutions ☐
I will rather choose a standard-size flat instead of any of the above ☐
Other(s): ____

24. With an URP, what type(s) of social or cultural amenities do you think should be made available in the new community? (*please choose up to a maximum of* FIVE 5)

Health Centre(s)	
Food processing centres e.g. Grinding mills; *Fufu* pounding mills; palm nut shredding etc	
Places of Worship	
Market Squares	
Community / Children's Park	
Funeral Home	
Theatre / Cinema Halls	
Sports Complexes (including football Pitch(es), basketball courts, tennis courts etc.	
Walking / Running Tracks	
Museums	
Other(s)	

25. What are your opinions about the distribution of green areas within a new Ashaiman under UR?

They should be small in sizes but many and closer to the houses ☐
They should be few but big integrated community parks ☐
Other(s) ____

26. By the end of the URP, per your life choice, what type of community living would you prefer?

Fenced Community ☐
Non-fenced community ☐
Indifferent (*anything goes*) ☐
Other (please specify): ________________

Section 5: Background of Respondent

27. Please which of the following best describes your marital status?

Married ☐ Separated ☐

Single ☐ Divorced ☐

Widowed ☐

28. Please specify your religious affiliation: ________________

29. Sector of employment:

Public ☐ Private ☐ Self-employed ☐ Unemployed ☐

30. Profession/occupation: ___________________

31. Please which one of the following best describes the nature of your employment?

Permanent employment ☐

Contract-based employment ☐

Seasonal employment ☐

Other (please specify): _______________________

32. What is your residence status in this house? (*Please indicate by a '√'*)

Landlord ☐

Caretaker ☐

Tenant ☐

Non-rent paying resident ☐

Other (please specify): _______________________________________

33. What do you think your residential status will be after UR in Ashaiman?

I can be an owner of a housing unit ☐

I can be a tenant of a housing unit ☐

I will leave the community entirely ☐

Other (please specify): _________________

34. Who pays for housing provision (in the case of tenants and non-rent paying residents)?

Head of household only ☐

Head of household with support from other member(s) ☐

All members ☐

Other members except the household head ☐

N/A (Landlord) ☐

Other (please specify): ______________________________

35. With your housing choice and preference under UR in Ashaiman in mind, how much do you think these housing units would cost today (in GH¢)?

Monthly rent (GHS): ___________________

Purchase price (GHS): __________________

36. ***With your preferences and income level in mind, please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements; (these questions are intended to gauge the purchasing abilities of residents) 1= I strongly disagree; 2= I disagree; 3= I don't know; 4= I agree; 5 I strongly agree***

No.	Statements	1	2	3	4	5
36.1	I can afford a housing unit under an URP without any government assistance					
36.2	I can only afford a housing unit with support from the government					
36.3	Even with government support, I can never afford to buy any housing unit under URP					
36.4	I can only afford a housing unit with support from both government and my relatives in order to acquire a housing unit under URP					

Note: If the response to the first statement (i.e. 36.1) is either 4 or 5 then please skip the remaining statements and proceed to Q37 below. Any other response shall require respondents to proceed to the next statement. Same rule applies if subsequent questions require a response.

37. If you can afford a housing unit under an URP without government support, please indicate how you intend to do this (please select as many as applicable).

By selling my current house ☐

By using my savings ☐

By taking loan at commercial rate ☐

Other (please state)______________________

38. If you would need assistance from the government in order to buy a housing unit under any URP, in what form do you expect the assistance to be?

Low interest loans ☐

Interest-free loans but with high instalments ☐

Other (please state)___________________________

N/A ☐

Section 6: Information about current building

39. Type of residential structure is it (eg compound house, fully detached self-contained etc? ________

40. Nature of building (eg cement block, mud, wood): ___________________

41. Number of storeys of the building: ________________

42. **Available facilities/amenities in the structure**

Facility/Amenity	Available '√' / Unavailable 'X'	Count / Source
Toilet		
Bathroom		
Kitchen		
Garden		
Source of electricity		
Source of water		
Other amenity (specify)		

- Source of electricity could be national grid, solar, plant/generator etc. And source of water could be pipe-borne, wells, boreholes, tankers etc.

43. **Type of Interest held by respondent**

Leasehold	
Licence	
Tenancy	
I do not know	
N/A	
Other	

44. How did you acquire the above interest?

I bought it personally	
I built it my self	
I inherited it	
It is a gift	
Rent payment	
N/A	
Other (please specify)	

45. Do you pay Ground Rent?

Yes	
No	
I don't know	
N/A	

46. Do you have any GR payment receipt?

Yes □ No □ N/A □

47. Last date of ground rent payment: _________________

48. Information about the rooms in the building:

48.1	No. of rooms	
48.2	No. of rentable rooms	
48.3	No. of rented rooms	
48.4	No. of household in this building	
48.5	Total annual rent receivable/payable (GHS)	

49. Any comment(s)? ____

END OF SURVEY!!!
MANY THANKS FOR YOUR TIME!

Appendix B: Questionnaire Sample 2

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PROFESSIONALS IN GHANA

This survey is for academic purpose only. The anonymity of respondents is guaranteed. This survey is an essential part of a master's degree thesis based on the topic above. The main target respondents are professionals in the built environment. The researcher may be contacted for further information via s.abass@gtu.edu.tr

Section One: Preliminary Questions

1. **Please how would you define the term 'slum/slum settlement' according to your understanding of the term in the Ghanaian context? ____**

2. **Would you refer to all 'deprived communities' in Ghana as slums?**
   Yes ☐
   No ☐
   Maybe (please explain): ____

3. **How well do you know Ashaiman?**
   Extremely well ☐ Well ☐ Barely ☐ Never been there ☐

4. **Would you say some parts of Ashaiman are slum communities?**
   Yes ☐
   No ☐
   Maybe (please explain): ____

5. **Which of the following parts of Ashaiman do you consider slum areas (*Please select all that apply*).**

A Block	☐	G Block	☐
B Block	☐	H Block	☐
C Block	☐	J Block	☐
D Block	☐	K Block	☐
E Block	☐	NW Block	☐
F Block	☐	Other(s) ________	

6. **Would you say the selected area(s) of Ashaiman above need(s) improvements?**
   Yes ☐
   No ☐
   Maybe (please explain): ______________________________________

7. **What do you think are the major problems of Ashaiman (*pls choose as many as applicable*)**

   a) Traffic and transportation problems ☐
   b) (In)security problems ☐
   c) Poor sanitation ☐
   d) Noise pollution ☐
   e) Overcrowding in public spaces ☐
   f) Insufficient parks and green areas ☐
   g) Infrastructure problems ☐
   h) Lack of repairs of the roads and sidewalks ☐
   i) Other(s) ______________________________________

8. Please rank the above problems in order of severity from the most severe to the least (i.e. 1 = most severe; 10 = least severe)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A

Section Two: About UR

Please if your answer to the next question is 'No', please refer to the brief notes on Urban Regeneration (UR) on the **attached sheet** before proceeding, thank you. This section seeks your opinions on a possible UR in Ghana.

UR : Urban Regeneration
URP : Urban Regeneration Project

Gentrification: This term was coined by Ruth Glass in 1964, and which can be defined as the gradual replacement of the working class (the lower income groups) with the wealthier middle class (upper and lower) due to the inability of the working class to afford the going rent/purchase price usually after a neighbourhood has been regenerated (or given a face-lift).

9. Do you know about Urban Regeneration?

Yes □ No □

10. *Please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements where* **1= strongly disagree; 2= agree; 3= indifferent; 4= agree; 5= strongly agree**

No.	Statements	1	2	3	4	5
10.1	I will encourage UR in Ghana					
10.2	I will encourage UR in Ashaiman					
10.3	I think with UR, the socio-cultural and sports facilities in Ashaiman and similar communities will increase to a sufficient level					
10.4	With UR, I believe neighbourliness, family and kinship ties will be enhanced					
10.5	With UR, I believe noise, traffic and pollution will reduce					
10.6	I think Ghana is capable of embarking on UR					
10.7	I think the Ghana Government is committed to improving slum communities					
10.8	With UR, I think new jobs will be established in communities that UR is implemented					
10.9	With URP, quality of life will improve in such communities					
10.10	With UR, such communities will have decent and comfortable homes					
10.11	So far with my knowledge of UR and its scope, I think URP's will require huge capital outlay					
10.12	I think Ghana has the financial capacity to embark on URP's					
10.13	I think UR will lead to gentrification					
10.14	If I had the power to influence government decisions I would ask for the implementation of UR in Ghana					

11. What do you expect from an URP? (*Please choose from the list below as many as applicable*)

Improved homes for Ghanaians ☐
Increase in the socio-cultural amenities ☐
More useful and modern parks and green areas ☐
Durable homes that can withstand disasters ☐
Adequate provision of infrastructure like roads, transport etc ☐
To bring an end to theft cases in slums ☐
Reduction in pollution in slums ☐
Demolishing of old buildings and the reconstruction of useful ones ☐
Other(s): ____

12. With any URP, what type of transportation type would you prefer to see in the communities? (Please rank them in order of priority/need ie **1= highest priority; 5= least priority and N/A= never a priority)**

Tramways __________
Bus lanes __________
Bicycle paths __________
Private cars __________
Pedestrian walkways __________

13. With an URP, what type(s) of social amenities do you think should be made available in the new community? (*Taking the Ghanaian culture into account, please choose up to a maximum of 5*)

Health Centre □
Food processing centres e.g. Grinding mills;
fufu pounding mills; palm nut shredding etc □
Places of Worship □
Market Squares □
Funeral Homes □
Community/Children's Parks (including green areas) □
Theatre / Cinema Halls □
Sports complexes (eg football pitches, basketball & tennis courts, etc) □
Walking / Running Tracks □
Museums □
Others (pls specify) ____

14. How can Ghana fund URPs? *(pls choose as many as applicable)*

By creating an urban regeneration fund (URF) which should be fed by a certain percentage of her revenues from her natural resources such as oil, gold timber, cocoa etc □
By borrowing from the international funding agencies □
By involving the local private sector in a PPP □
By involving foreign investors (private entities) □
By involving foreign investors (foreign governments) □
Other(s): pls specify ____

15. Which state institutions do you think can handle an URP? (Please choose up to 2)

State Housing Company (SHC) □
TDC Company Ltd. □
Architectural and Engineering Services Ltd (AESL) □
Other(s): pls specify ___________________________________

16. Do you think your institution can handle an URP in Ghana? **Yes** □ **No** □

17. What are your opinions about the private sector in handling URP in Ghana? ___________________
18. What are your general views on urban regeneration as an alternative approach to slum transformation in Ghana?
19. Do you think it is necessary to have adequate relevant law(s) in place before implementing UR in Ghana? Please explain:
20. Please share your view(s) regarding the current residents of Ashaiman's ability to afford homes (be it rental or purchase) under a possible URP in Ashaiman.

Section Three: Background of Respondent

21. Please indicate your gender**:** **Female** □ **Male** □
22. Current employment status
    In active employment □
    Retired □
    Unemployed □
    Other (Please specify): ______________________

23. Your current position in the establishment or the highest rank you attained in your last employment before retirement or before being unemployed (eg junior staff, senior staff, head of dep't, MD/CEO, Sector minister etc)? ____

24. Please indicate your current (if you are still active) or last occupation before retirement or before being unemployed.
    Civil Servant □
    Private practitioner □
    Government Appointee □
    Elected official □
    Other ________________________
25. Please state your profession (eg, architect, engineer, land economist/value etc): _______________
26. Please state the number of years of experience you have acquired in your professional practice: ___
27. Please state your current place (company name) of work or (in the case of retirees or those who have become unemployed) your last place of work before retirement or before being unemployed.?
    TDC Company Limited □
    Ashaiman Municipal Assembly □
    Land Title Registry, Tema □
    Other (please specify) ________________________
28. For how long have you worked in the organisation selected above? _______________ years
29. Please state your professional affiliation, if affiliated (eg. Ghana Institute of Architects, Ghana Institute of Planners, Ghana Institute of Engineers, Ghana Institution of Surveyors, etc): _______

Section Four: Questions specific to Ashaiman

Please this section is to be attempted only by those who chose the first, second or third options from Q27 above. Expected responses in this section are based on privileged knowledge and so questions can be left blank if respondents do not have access to such information. ***Any other person should kindly proceed to the last section****. Thank you.*

30. When was Ashaiman first settled (year)? _____________
31. What was the original nature of Ashaiman before settlement? ______________________________
32. Was there a masterplan for Ashaiman when settlement initially started?
    Yes □
    No □
    I don't know □

33. Is there a masterplan for the **whole** of Ashaiman at the moment?

Yes □
No □
I don't know □

34. Is the development pattern in Ashaiman in line with any master plan?

N/A □
Yes □
No □
I don't know □

If 'No' please give reasons(s) you think account(s) for this: ______________________________________

35. Is there any redevelopment plan for Ashaiman for the future?

Yes □
No □
I don't know □

36. Would you say Ashaiman requires any redevelopment?

Yes □
No □
I don't know □

37. Please give rough estimates of the percentages of interests held in Ashaiman lands by residents:

Leases : __________________
Licences : __________________
Other(s) : __________________

Final Section – Evaluation of Survey …

Thank you so much for making it to this final page. This section contains just one question and it seeks your general view(s) about the survey. Your response is expected to guide subsequent surveys. Thank you once again.

38. What are your views about this survey?

Fun □
Long □
Boring □
Confusing □
Difficult □
Educative □
Interesting □
Any comment? ____________________________

END OF SURVEY!

MANY THANKS FOR YOUR TIME!!!

Appendix C: Crosstabulations

Table 7.1 Relationship between Blocks and Religions of Respondents.

Location of Building Occupied by Household		Religion of Respondent: Islam	Religion of Respondent: Christianity	Total
A Block	Count	22	27	49
	Expected Count	23,9	25,1	49,0
	% within Blocks	44,9%	55,1%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	14,5%	17,0%	15,8%
	% of Total	7,1%	8,7%	15,8%
B Block	Count	18	33	51
	Expected Count	24,9	26,1	51,0
	% within Blocks	35,3%	64,7%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	11,8%	20,8%	16,4%
	% of Total	5,8%	10,6%	16,4%
C Block	Count	25	25	50
	Expected Count	24,4	25,6	50,0
	% within Blocks	50,0%	50,0%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	16,4%	15,7%	16,1%
	% of Total	8,0%	8,0%	16,1%
D Block	Count	15	29	44
	Expected Count	21,5	22,5	44,0
	% within Blocks	34,1%	65,9%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	9,9%	18,2%	14,1%
	% of Total	4,8%	9,3%	14,1%
E Block	Count	37	22	59
	Expected Count	28,8	30,2	59,0
	% within Blocks	62,7%	37,3%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	24,3%	13,8%	19,0%
	% of Total	11,9%	7,1%	19,0%
F Block	Count	35	23	58
	Expected Count	28,3	29,7	58,0
	% within Blocks	60,3%	39,7%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	23,0%	14,5%	18,6%
	% of Total	11,3%	7,4%	18,6%
Total	Count	152	159	311
	Expected Count	152,0	159,0	311,0
	% within Blocks	48,9%	51,1%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	% of Total	48,9%	51,1%	100,0%

Chi-square value: 15.523, df: 5, *p* value: .008.
0 cell (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expect count is 21.50.

Table 7.2 Relationship between Employment Status and SUR.

Employment Status of Respondents		I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman: I am indifferent and I (strongly) disagree	I agree	I strongly agree	Total
Employed	Count	23	49	241	313
	Expected Count	25,3	48,6	239,1	313,0
	% within Employment Status of Respondents	7,3%	15,7%	77,0%	100,0%
	% within I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman	88,5%	98,0%	98,0%	97,2%
	% of Total	7,1%	15,2%	74,8%	97,2%
Unemplyed / Retired	Count	3	1	5	9
	Expected Count	,7	1,4	6,9	9,0
	% within Employment Status of Respondents	33,3%	11,1%	55,6%	100,0%
	% within I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman	11,5%	2,0%	2,0%	2,8%
	% of Total	,9%	,3%	1,6%	2,8%
Total	Count	26	50	246	322
	Expected Count	26,0	50,0	246,0	322,0
	% within Employment Status of Respondents	8,1%	15,5%	76,4%	100,0%
	% within I will Support Urban Regeneration in Ashaiman	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	% of Total	8,1%	15,5%	76,4%	100,0%

Chi-square value: 7.959, df: 2, *p* value: .019.
3 cell (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expect count is .73.

Table 7.3 Relationship between Household Size and Household Head's Monthly Income

Household Size		Monthly Income of Household Head ≤ 1500	Monthly Income of Household Head 1501+	Total
≤ 2	Count	44	16	60
	Expected Count	34,8	25,2	60,0
	% within Household Size	73,3%	26,7%	100,0%
	% within Monthly Income of Household Head (Binned)	23,5%	11,9%	18,6%
	% of Total	13,7%	5,0%	18,6%
3 - 4	Count	104	61	165
	Expected Count	95,8	69,2	165,0
	% within Household Size	63,0%	37,0%	100,0%
	% within Monthly Income of Household Head (Binned)	55,6%	45,2%	51,2%
	% of Total	32,3%	18,9%	51,2%
5 - 6	Count	34	48	82
	Expected Count	47,6	34,4	82,0
	% within Household Size	41,5%	58,5%	100,0%
	% within Monthly Income of Household Head (Binned)	18,2%	35,6%	25,5%
	% of Total	10,6%	14,9%	25,5%
7+	Count	5	10	15
	Expected Count	8,7	6,3	15,0
	% within Household Size	33,3%	66,7%	100,0%
	% within Monthly Income of Household Head (Binned)	2,7%	7,4%	4,7%
	% of Total	1,6%	3,1%	4,7%
Total	Count	187	135	322
	Expected Count	187,0	135,0	322,0
	% within Household Size	58,1%	41,9%	100,0%
	% within Monthly Income of Household Head (Binned)	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	% of Total	58,1%	41,9%	100,0%

Chi-square value: 20.466, df: 3, *p* value: .001.
0 cell (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expect count is 6.29.

Table 7.4 Relationship between Locality and Religion of Respondents.

Location of Building Occupied by Household		Religion of Respondent: Islam	Christianity	Total
A Block	Count	22	27	49
	Expected Count	23,9	25,1	49,0
	% within Location of Building Occupied by Household	44,9%	55,1%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	14,5%	17,0%	15,8%
	% of Total	7,1%	8,7%	15,8%
B Block	Count	18	33	51
	Expected Count	24,9	26,1	51,0
	% within Location of Building Occupied by Household	35,3%	64,7%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	11,8%	20,8%	16,4%
	% of Total	5,8%	10,6%	16,4%
C Block	Count	25	25	50
	Expected Count	24,4	25,6	50,0
	% within Location of Building Occupied by Household	50,0%	50,0%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	16,4%	15,7%	16,1%
	% of Total	8,0%	8,0%	16,1%
D Block	Count	15	29	44
	Expected Count	21,5	22,5	44,0
	% within Location of Building Occupied by Household	34,1%	65,9%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	9,9%	18,2%	14,1%
	% of Total	4,8%	9,3%	14,1%
E Block	Count	37	22	59
	Expected Count	28,8	30,2	59,0
	% within Location of Building Occupied by Household	62,7%	37,3%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	24,3%	13,8%	19,0%
	% of Total	11,9%	7,1%	19,0%
F Block	Count	35	23	58
	Expected Count	28,3	29,7	58,0
	% within Location of Building Occupied by Household	60,3%	39,7%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	23,0%	14,5%	18,6%
	% of Total	11,3%	7,4%	18,6%
Total	Count	152	159	311
	Expected Count	152,0	159,0	311,0
	% within Location of Building Occupied by Household	48,9%	51,1%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	% of Total	48,9%	51,1%	100,0%

Chi-square value: 15.523, df: 5, *p* value: .008

0 cell (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expect count is 21.50

Table 7.5 Relationship between Religion and Preferred Amenities: Places of Worship.

Respondents' Preferred Social Amenities: Places of Worship		Religion of Respondent: Islam	Religion of Respondent: Christianity	Total
No	Count	24	46	70
	Expected Count	34,2	35,8	70,0
	% within Respondents' Preferred Social Amenities: Places of Worship	34,3%	65,7%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	15,8%	28,9%	22,5%
	% of Total	7,7%	14,8%	22,5%
Yes	Count	128	113	241
	Expected Count	117,8	123,2	241,0
	% within Respondents' Preferred Social Amenities: Places of Worship	53,1%	46,9%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	**84,2%**	**71,1%**	77,5%
	% of Total	41,2%	36,3%	77,5%
Total	Count	152	159	311
	Expected Count	152,0	159,0	311,0
	% within Respondents' Preferred Social Amenities: Places of Worship	48,9%	51,1%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	% of Total	48,9%	51,1%	100,0%

Chi-square value: 7.694, df: 1, *p* value: .006.
0 cell (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expect count is 34.21.

Table 7.6 Relationship between Religion and Preferred Social Amenities: Funeral Homes.

Respondents' Preferred Social Amenities: Funeral Homes		Religion of Respondent: Islam	Religion of Respondent: Christianity	Total
No	Count	144	137	281
	Expected Count	137,3	143,7	281,0
	% within Respondents' Preferred Social Amenities: Funeral Homes	51,2%	48,8%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	94,7%	86,2%	90,4%
	% of Total	46,3%	44,1%	90,4%
Yes	Count	8	22	30
	Expected Count	14,7	15,3	30,0
	% within Respondents' Preferred Social Amenities: Funeral Homes	26,7%	73,3%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	**5,3%**	**13,8%**	9,6%
	% of Total	2,6%	7,1%	9,6%
Total	Count	152	159	311
	Expected Count	152,0	159,0	311,0
	% within Respondents' Preferred Social Amenities: Funeral Homes	48,9%	51,1%	100,0%
	% within Religion of Respondent	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	% of Total	48,9%	51,1%	100,0%

Chi-square value: 6.553, df: 1, *p* value: .010.
0 cell (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expect count is 14.66.

Table 7.7 Relationship between Expectation of Home Ownership and Residential Status.

Respondents' Expectations from URP: Owner of Modern and Valuable Homes		Residential Status of Respondents			Total
		Landlords	Tenants	Others (caretaker, non-rent paying tenants etc)	
No	Count	2	126	30	158
	Expected Count	29,4	108,0	20,6	158,0
	% within Respondents' Expectations of homeownership under UR	1,3%	79,7%	19,0%	100,0%
	% within Residential Status of Respondents	3,3%	57,3%	71,4%	49,1%
	% of Total	,6%	39,1%	9,3%	49,1%
Yes	Count	58	94	12	164
	Expected Count	30,6	112,0	21,4	164,0
	% within Respondents' Expectations of homeownership under UR	35,4%	57,3%	7,3%	100,0%
	% within Residential Status of Respondents	96,7%	42,7%	28,6%	50,9%
	% of Total	18,0%	29,2%	3,7%	50,9%
Total	Count	60	220	42	322
	Expected Count	60,0	220,0	42,0	322,0
	% within Respondents' Expectations of homeownership under UR	18,6%	68,3%	13,0%	100,0%
	% within Residential Status of Respondents	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	% of Total	18,6%	68,3%	13,0%	100,0%

Chi-square value: 64.546, df: 2, *p* value: .001.
0 cell (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expect count is 20.61.

Table 7.8 Relationship between Respondents' Expectation of Tenancy and Residential Status.

Respondents' Expectations from URP: Occupant/Tenant of a Modern Home (tenancy)		Residential Status of Respondents: Landlords	Tenants	Others (caretakers etc)	Total
No	Count	34	42	3	79
	Expected Count	14,7	54,0	10,3	79,0
	% within Respondents' Expectation of Tenancy	43,0%	53,2%	3,8%	100,0%
	% within Residential Status of Respondents	56,7%	19,1%	7,1%	24,5%
	% of Total	10,6%	13,0%	,9%	24,5%
Yes	Count	26	178	39	243
	Expected Count	45,3	166,0	31,7	243,0
	% within Respondents' Expectation of Tenancy	10,7%	73,3%	16,0%	100,0%
	% within Residential Status of Respondents	43,3%	80,9%	92,9%	75,5%
	% of Total	8,1%	55,3%	12,1%	75,5%
Total	Count	60	220	42	322
	Expected Count	60,0	220,0	42,0	322,0
	% within Respondents' Expectation of Tenancy	18,6%	68,3%	13,0%	100,0%
	% within Residential Status of Respondents	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	% of Total	18,6%	68,3%	13,0%	100,0%

Chi-square value: 43.841, df: 1, *p* value: .001.
0 cell (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expect count is 10.30.

Appendix D: Photo Gallery: Some Shots from Ashaiman


Portions of Ashaiman Showing Linear Settlement Pattern


Portions of Ashaiman Showing Untarred Streets


Portions of Ashaiman Showing Inferior Building Materials


Portions of Ashaiman Showing Uncovered Drains


Portions of Ashaiman Showing Narrow-ways

Entrance of Ashaiman from Tema