Housing the Masses

FINAL REPORT

To

People’s Dialogue on Human Settlements
(People’s Dialogue, Ghana)

ON

Community-Led Enumeration of Old Fadama Community, Accra - Ghana

Submitted by:
Housing the Masses
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Old Fadama is a community in Accra which occupies 31.3 hectares of land along the Odaw River and the Korle Lagoon. From the 2009 enumeration the community has a population of 79,684 giving a population density of 2424.18 persons per hectare. The enumeration was undertaken to provide baseline data on the socio-economic profile of households, establish the number of persons and the various groups that live in the community to ensure realistic provisions made in the event of a relocation and establish the possibility of the residents relocating to other areas in the city or back to their places of origin.

Key findings from the enumeration revealed that most of the people in the community are there for economic reasons with very few of them being people who have fled from conflicts in the northern regions of Ghana. The majority of households (65.9%) come from the Northern region, of which almost 50% are Dagombas. People from the Volta region, form 10% of the community while the third largest region Eastern, with 5% of the population. There are people from all regions in the country and even foreigners from neighboring West African countries. However, Gas form the least of the population with only 1%.

The community has a high working age group of over 96% of respondents being employed. A majority of them are in informal employment and it is obvious that most people in the community are there due to the employment they find at the Agbogloshie market and the lorry station. It is therefore no surprise that a substantial number of people indicated that they would not change their jobs if they are evicted, indicating that their employment at the market, lorry station and the community is of high importance to them since it is their main source of income.

Education in the community is of very little importance. Whereas 65% of children under 18 years do not attend school, 49% of respondents have no education. It is therefore important for the community to be sensitized on the importance of education to ensure that their future generations will take education more serious. Also, it would be useful for them to be introduced to the possibility of adult education.

There is obvious overcrowding in the community, both with buildings being very close together and also the high presence of “kayayei” (female head porters) who share rooms in numbers of between eight to twenty; in dormitory style structures.

The community basically depends on the market and provides the city with a service, very important to the informal sector of Accra and the country indirectly. More than half of the community also has children dependents, while supporting other family members in other areas of the country and any loss of their employment or income could be of grave consequences to them.
It would therefore be important for a clear policy to be formed that would ensure a solution for the community without any loss of employment or minimal if any. This would give Ghana the opportunity to address the issue of slums in a comprehensive way that would include the prevention of new ones. This would be possible as the community is very open to development and dialogue to find a lasting solution for improving their living conditions.
1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Project Background and Objectives of Study

Project Background

The Old Fadama slum community in Accra faced eviction threats by the Accra Metropolitan Assembly during their decongestion exercise in August 2009. However, after series of discussions with the Metropolitan Assembly to find a lasting and more humane solution to the conditions the slum community presented the Metropolitan Assembly requested a baseline study on the community from People’s Dialogue on Human Settlements to inform their decision on the way forward for the community. People’s Dialogue (PD) then collaborated to conduct this community-led enumeration for this purpose from November to December 2009.

A previous enumeration exercise in 2007 recorded the population of Old Fadama as 48,280. However, this enumeration did not capture head porters who lived in group rooms. The population lives on 31.3 hectares of land along the Odaw River and the Korle Lagoon. The 2009 enumeration brings the population of the community including head porters to 79,684. The community therefore has a population density of 2424.18 persons per hectare located on a fan-shaped piece of land, most of which has been reclaimed from the Odaw river and Korle lagoon, through the filling up of the water logged area with saw dust from the Timber Market located across from the community.

The community was formed with the relocation of squatters from the Osu area for the construction of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) conference in Ghana around 1990, after settlers in the area had been relocated to different location which was named New Fadama. The community saw an increase in population when people fled the Kokomba-Nanumba war in the Northern part of the country. Subsequently, more people have moved to the area over the years and continue to move in due to rural urban drift and housing affordability which makes Old Fadama very attractive to young adults who come to Accra in search of greener pastures. Prominent among these are the young females for the northern regions of the country who come to work in Accra as head porters. Old Fadama over the years has received people from all the regions of Ghana, though some regions feature more prominently than others as will be realized in this report.

Project Objective

The primary objectives of the study are to:
1. Provide baseline data on the socio-economic profile of households
2. Establish the number of persons and the various groups that live in the community to ensure realistic provisions made in the event of a relocation
3. Establish the possibility of the residents relocating to other areas in the city or back to their places of origin

1.2 Scope of Work and TOR

Scope of Work
The study area lies across from the Agbogbloshie market. It covers the densely populated area along the Abossey Okai road from the second bridge from the Abossey Okai traffic light to the second bridge on the Abossey Okai road. It is bordered by the Odaw River in the shape of an arc, crossing the open earth drain which runs from the second bridge to join the Odaw River. See Map 1 below.

Map 1: Project Area Location Map – Old Fadama
The scope of work was to cover the socio-economic characteristics of the demarcated area as shown in Map 1 above, for each household in actual counts. Data to include the following data sets were to be captured for analysis:

1. Location
2. Population
3. Number of Households
4. Employment
5. Means of transportation to work
6. Cost of transportation to work
7. Age
8. Sex
9. Education
10. Income levels
11. Place of origin
12. Resident Status
13. Transit location before coming to community
14. Reason for coming to the city of Accra
15. Reason for choosing the community
16. Length of stay in community
17. Means of getting into the community
18. Likely place of relocation in case of demolition
19. Intention to go back to hometown
20. Age with age groups
21. Religion
22. Marital Status
23. Room occupancy
24. Remittance and financial dependency

**Terms of Reference**

People’s Dialogue was to conduct the following:

I. Sensitization/ Stakeholder Consultations
   a. Inform and educate the community and its leaders, Traditional Authority the Accra Municipal Assembly (AMA) and the national government on the baseline studies to be conducted.
   
   b. Mobilize the community with the aim of raising awareness on the enumeration and the period within which it will be conducted, who will be the enumerators and how they can be identified; how the survey will be conducted and which area it will cover.

II. Enumerators Training
   a. Train enumerators who will be selected from the Old Fadama community on the questions, questionnaire administration and appropriate communications skills, to ensure work carried out meet project objectives and is completed within project schedule.
III. Data Collection
   a. Develop an appropriate data collection process and a questionnaire for the collection of data.
   b. Collect data to include the foregone data sets under the scope of works at household levels.

IV. Quality Check of Questionnaire Information
   a. Verify information given during data collection to ensure that the correct information is collected as a form of quality check.

V. Data Entry
   a. Input and computerize all data collected into a format for easy analysis and processing
   b. Store processed data in a database for future use

VI. Report Writing
   a. Develop a report that documents the process of enumeration, the situation realized by the enumeration and analysis of the existing situation for lessons learned, replication and possible development of interventions and best practices.

1.3 Methodology for Enumeration
The community-led enumeration was undertaken by data collection only. There was no settlement profile.

PD and Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI) provided both technical and financial support for the process, however, Housing the Masses (HM) also provided technical support. The enumeration process or methodology included the following:

1. Allocation of Boundaries
2. Structure Numbering
3. Administering of Questionnaires
4. Quality Check of Information Collected

1.3.1 Allocation of Boundaries

There was a walk around the boundaries of the community to confirm the extent of the study area. The community was then zoned according to zoning areas established for the 2007 enumeration. All enumerators were taken round their zoned area of enumeration to for familiarization. The area was zoned into five in letters A, B, C, D and E.

1.3.2 Structure Numbering
Structure numbers from the previous enumeration were used for the exercise, however, since new structures spring up at least every week in Old Fadama, new houses identified were given numbers according to their groups of A, B, C, D and E as in the previous enumeration with the letter “n” for new. Thus the first new structure identified in Zone “A” was given the number “A1N”.

1.3.3 Community-Led Enumeration

Enumerators were shared into five groups according to the designated zones for administering questionnaires. Face-to-face interviewing was the mode of enumeration. Each household was interviewed with the head of household as the respondent where applicable. In cases where a head of household was not present, a person above the age of 18 was interviewed, except in the cases of head porters (kayayei) who were living independently but were below the age of 18. Each head porter who lived independently was enumerated as a single person household even if he or she was living in a group room.

Upon completion of the questionnaire administration process, information collected was verified by enumeration supervisors who went through the questionnaires to cross check the validity of the data recorded. A second quality check was conducted by a quality check team that cross checked all answers to ensure that all questions were answered and answers given were valid.

The enumeration process lasted for thirty eight (36) days including Saturdays and Sundays as these were days more people were found home and responses were therefore high. On weekends, however, more questionnaires were administered, which resulted in the early completion of the enumeration process.

1.4 Purpose of Report

The purpose of this report is to present to the Accra Metropolitan Assembly and the Government of Ghana the results and analysis of the community-led enumeration led by residents of the Old Fadama community under the supervision of People’s dialogue on Human Settlements and Housing the Masses. This report is to inform the two mentioned bodies in making a policy decision on the Old Fadama community for the determination of a way forward for the community and its residents.

1.5 Organization of Report

The report is organized into five sections. The first section is a summary of the project background, enumeration and its methodology. The second section is the results of the community profile and enumerations. The third section is an analysis of the results based on the objective of the project; the forth section is on challenges, opportunities and lessons learned from the enumeration exercise and the fifth section is on recommendations for a way forward for the community and other slum communities in general, future community-led enumeration exercises and conclusion.
2.0 ENUMERATION RESULTS
Results of the community-led enumeration are reported on the 34,066 households realized in the community. Details of the enumeration are as follows:

2.1 Population

The total population of the community is 79,684, of which 34,062 responded to questionnaires administered in the enumeration. Whereas 50.01% of the total population was males, there were 53.2% (18,129) male respondents. On the other hand, the total female population for the community was 49.99% with 46.8% (15,935) of respondents being females. See charts 1a and b below.

![Chart 1a: Population by Classification of Sex](image)

![Chart 1b: Population by Classification of Sex for Entire Residents](image)

Age

A major advantage for the Old Fadama community is its high number of able bodied residents. The community has a majority young population as shown in Chart 2a below. The community has 76.9% of its population aged 35 years or below. In comparison with Amui Djor, a slum community in Ashaiman, Old Fadama has a rather high population of working age in the percentages of 90.6% as against 63.7% in Amui Djor. For the child population of ages 0-18 years, Old Fadama recorded a figure of 29,709 (37.8%) as opposed to 33.9% child population in Amui Djor (Enumeration 2006). The national percentage of working population is 55% (2000 Census) while that for the child population is 42% (2000 Census).

Age groups of respondents in the community are shown as in Chart 2b below.

![Chart 2a: Population by Age for Old Fadama - 2009](image)

![Chart 2b: Percentages for Age Group of Respondents](image)
Tribal and Regional Origin
Charts 3a, 3b and Table 1 below describe the tribal and regional origins of residents of Old Fadama with their corresponding regional populations.

*Chart 3a: Population by Tribe for Old Fadama – 2009*

*Chart 3b: Population by Region of Origin for Old Fadama - 2009*
Table 1: Population by Regions for Old Fadama - 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION</th>
<th>NO OF PERSONS</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greater Accra</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>22447</td>
<td>65.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashanti</td>
<td>1449</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper East</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper West</td>
<td>943</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volta</td>
<td>3627</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brong Ahafo</td>
<td>783</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign National</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to note that Old Fadama reflects the regional, thus tribal mix of Accra as a city. The population mix even goes across the country’s borders to embrace other foreign nationals as shown in Table 1. The community has people from all ten regions of the county. However, Dagombas form almost half of the total population of the community. The second largest tribe is the Akan, followed by the Kokombas, Ewes, Baasares and the Mamprusis. See Chart 3a and b and table 1 above. Chart 3b which reflects Table 1 shows the Northern region having the highest population (65.9%) in the community. Over all, the three northern regions of Ghana constitute 72.4% of the entire population.

2.2 Settling in Old Fadama

Most of the respondents indicated to have come to Accra to do business or search for a job. This category of respondents form a high of 95% (32,608), with a very low number running away
from either conflict or forced marriage; 2% and 1% respectively (See Chart 4 below). In view of this, it is worth noting that a majority 86.3% of respondents settled directly in Old Fadama when they came to Accra, while only 13.7% stayed elsewhere before moving into the community, as shown in Chart 5 below.

**Chart 4: Reason for Coming to Accra**

![Chart 4: Reason for Coming to Accra](image)

**Chart 5: Location of Residents upon Moving into Accra**

![Chart 5: Location of Residents upon Moving into Accra](image)

It is important to note that 76% of respondents moved to Old Fadama because of housing affordability. Whereas rent in Old Fadama ranges between GH¢10 and GH¢20 a month, rent in other low-income communities in the city of Accra range between GH¢ 40 and 70 a month. Accessibility to the Agbogbloshie Market is the second most important factor for Old Fadama as a choice of destination for residents in the community. This clearly indicates affordable housing and earning a living as very important to residents of the community. While 77% came to the community on their own, 19.5% came by the help of family members and friends. Only 2.9% came to live in the community as a result of joining their husbands or wives. See chart 6 below.
Most of the residents (35%) in the community have lived there for 2 to 5 years and fewer have lived in the community for 5 to 9 years or more as shown in Chart 8a.

There are three different categories of...
These mobile residents, however, are very few. Permanent residents make up 70,808 of the population, temporary 6,600 and mobile 2,276 of the entire population. From this, it is clear that there is a high number of people who call Old Fadama home.

Household status for residents of Old Fadama is as in Chart 9 below.

*Chart 9: Status for Persons in Households in Old Fadama*
2.3 Expectations of Settlers in Old Fadama

Chart 10: Hope to go Back Home

It is interesting to note that only 19.9% (6,792) have intentions to go back to their hometown. 69.5% (23,675) do not intend to go back to their hometowns and 10.6% (3,599) may or may not go back.

Chart 11: Reason for not Wanting to go Back Home
Chart 11 above shows that of residents who do not want to go back home, 91% is due to lack of jobs in their hometowns, with a very low percentages being due to lack of infrastructure, political instability, conflicts or other reasons.

Chart 12 below also shows that of respondents who had the hope of going back home, 81% did not know when they intended to go home yet, while 5% hoped to return within 2 to 4 years.

*Chart 12: Period within which Respondents Hoped to Return Home*
Chart 13: Sleeping Room per Household

Chart 2.4.1 above shows a majority 95.3% of households having only one sleeping room, with 3.1% having 2 sleeping rooms. The percentage lowers with the increase of number of rooms up to 0.1% for 6 sleeping rooms. However, a surprising 0.2% had 7 sleeping rooms or more available to them. Of the 34,066 responding households, 62.1% do not share their rooms with anyone, the remaining 37.9% sharing with others as shown in table 2 below.

Table 2: Room Occupancy in Old Fadama – 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 &amp; above</td>
<td>5629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>21150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34066</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The community has a high percentage of single person households who are usually head porters and females, called kayayei, who share rooms with other kayayei. These are domitory style rooms where most girls stay, in groups. Chart 14 above shows 34% of the population living in group shared rooms. This is the population which was not included in an earlier enumeration exercise in Old Fadama in 2007.

Residence Status
The community has 89.7% permanent residents and 8% temporary residents who come to live temporarily in the community for short periods, every now and then. These residents are either traders from various areas of the country, especially from the northern region, or transiters who settle for a while and move to other communities. The remaining 3% are an interesting segment of the community who live from their small bags, motor bikes or bicycles, sleeping outside on benches or on the floor and moving from one place to the other within the community. See Chart 15 below.

A majority of residents (68%) say they have no where to go if demolishing occurs in the community. However, 14% of the residents would go back to their hometown if demolishing should occur. 9% of them would move to another community in Accra while another 9% would move to a different city.

2.5 Education

It is interesting to note that of the estimated 34,066 respondents from the community, 13,959 (41%) have no education at all. 6529 have primary school education, making 19.2%; 7448 (21.9%) have Junior High school level education, with 5351 (15.7%) Senior High School graduates. Tertiary level residents are only 475 with 263 having professional or vocational education. See Chart 17 below.
Of the 33,742 respondents with children, 65% of the children do not go to school while the remaining 35% attend school. The number of children who attend school are 11,732. The total number of respondent’s children is 29,709.

Of the 54% of respondents whose children attend school go to school within the old community, the remaining 46 attend school outside the community. Almost 50% of the school children attend school within walking distance from their homes as shown in Charts 19 and 20 below.
2.6 Social Status

Marital Status

Chart 21: Marital Status for Persons 18 yrs and Above at Old Fadama - 2009

Almost half (49%) of the population above 18 years are single; with about 43% being married. 4% are separated with a low percentage of this target group being divorced or widowed as shown in Chart 21.

The community has a majority Muslim population comprising
It is no surprise that employment rate among respondents is very high, with 96% of respondents being employed and only the remaining 4% being unemployed (Chart 23 above). The community is across the Agbogbloshie market with various other specialized markets around it, including the onion market, the yam market, the pineapple market and the tomato market. This serves as a huge employment source for head porters who serve both the wholesale and retail aspects of the specialized markets. There is also the main lorry station to northern regions of the country including the Navrongo station and this also serves as a huge source of employment for employment especially for drivers and helpers who assist with the loading of passengers and goods on into transports and trucks which offload goods that come to the specialized markets.

In addition to this, supplementary employment is generated to support the residential component as well as other supporting jobs to these sources of employment.

### Employment

**Sector of Work**

Of the employed respondents, only 15% are salaried workers or workers in the formal sector, while 85% are in the informal sector as shown in Chart 24 below.
Though most of the employed respondents are in the informal sector, income levels were estimated as shown in Chart 25 below.

There are 97% respondents who derive their main source of income from their employment, indicating a high employment rate in the community (See Chart 26 below).
The community shows a low level of second income earners as shown in Chart 27 below.

*Chart 27: Other Sources of Income*

Of the working respondents, 9% have a family or friends supporting their income, with 2% receiving remittance from other people. On the other hand, only 3% have sources of income other than their employment as their main means of sustainance, indicating they have another source of income that provides more needs than their employment.

Of the working respondents in the community, 56% work within the community while the remaining 44% work outside the community. See Chart 28 below.

*Chart 28: Employment Location for Old Fadama*
Of the respondents in employment 81% walk to work; with 13% going to work by car (See Chart 29).

Of the 32,630 working respondents in the community, 27,328 do not incur any transportation cost to their work places, 2655 incur GHC 1 or less a day to work, 1,721 have a daily work related transportation cost of between GHC 1 and 2, while the remaining 926 incur above GHC 2. See Chart 30.
Of the working respondents in Old Fadama, 62% use less than 30 minutes to travel to work, thus indicating they work within the vicinity of their homes. Another 29% travel less than 1 hour to their work places. The remaining 9% travel above an hour to get to work. See Chart 31 below.

More than half of respondent workers (54%) say they would not change their jobs if relocated. 30% would change their jobs and the remaining 16% were not sure if they would change their jobs if relocated. This depicts a majority of respondents as mostly satisfied with their jobs, thus a possible relocation without their jobs meaning a definite disaster to their daily income and general survival. See Chart 32 below.
3.0 ANALYSIS

3.1 Population
The community has more males than females with little difference in the figures. However, 90.6% of them are in the working age, between 18 and 55 years. This shows an able bodied community with very high human resource which could be imported to other communities if well nurtured, harnessed and utilized, to the benefit of the capital city and the nation at large. It has a very low child population and aged population (1.7% and 0.8 percent respectively), which is very good given the deplorable environmental and sanitation conditions in the community, as these age groups are very susceptible to the resulting diseases of these conditions.

Of the total population, 77% come from the three Northern Regions with 49% of these being Dagombas. The remaining, 15% are Akans, and the rest are Ewes and Dangbes. This is expected given the large flight of people from the Kokomba and Nanumba war, coupled with the large rural – urban drift from the three northern regions, especially from the northern region in search of jobs. It is very natural for people who sought greener pastures from the north to join friends and family members who had moved earlier into the community to flee the war.
Most residents do not have any education at all (42%), with another 35% having only basic education. The remaining have secondary education, tertiary education or vocational/professional education, with the tertiary education holders being only 2%. This could explain why they have moved into this community as it may have been difficult for them to find any formal job or jobs in general without much training. Though the human resource is high, the high able bodied population found in the community is geared towards intensive manual jobs found in the market and lorry station employment that surrounds them at their location.

Any relocation should therefore be mindful of their employment availability to ensure continuity of their income for their overall well being including that of their dependents.

### 3.2 Population Density

Though the area is densely populated with 2545.82 persons per hectare of land, their average number of persons per household is very low (2.84). This could be attributed to the high single person households in the community especially from the head potters (“Kaya”). It should be noted; however, that most of these head potters live in dormitories, making the room occupancy rate far higher than the person per household. This presents a situation of room overcrowding though household sizes are small; which results from the relatively high incidence of different people of different households sharing the same sleeping room. Overcrowding in the community is therefore two fold, on the structure to structure basis and in room occupancy.

The community also has a high occupancy of Muslims who have a sense of communal living, in large extended households. This may have also contributed to the overcrowding of the area as people want to live close to their relatives and friends to have a communal feeling. This is reflected in the high number of respondents (72%) who have relatives or tribe mates in the community.

### 3.3 Rational for Settling in Old Fadama

Of the total respondents, 75.9% have lived in Accra for between 2 and 4 years while 13.7% have lived in Accra for 1 year and 5.3% for 5 years. Of these, 81% moved directly into the community without living elsewhere in Accra. It is therefore clear that there was a strong pull factor as to the choice of settling in Old Fadama. The low cost of housing (rents of GHC10 per month – 82% of respondents) is also a pull factor for a person settling in Accra for the first time.

However, a majority of the community moved there on their own or to join their spouses, with very few getting help from friends and family to move in there. Only a few respondents were born in the community. This re-enforces the community as a preferable location for affordability of housing.

Though only 18% of respondents have achieved their aim of coming to Accra, 62% of them have intentions of going back to their hometown indicating jobs as a possible main reason for coming to Accra and as such, the community.

Of the respondents, 64.8% intend to live in a city even if demolishing occurs. The remaining 35.2% would go back to their hometown if demolishing occurs.
3.4 Land Ownership and Tenure Security Issues

There is quite a low number of residents that claim ownership with supporting documents, to the land on which they squat. It is, however, officially clear that the land is in the custody of the government and part ownership cannot be legitimately given to anyone. It may be important for measures to be instituted to stop people from paying any money to anyone to own any part of the land. Most people who claim to have purchased their land did so over a period of time. Which indicates the possibility of the community affording a decent housing unit over a period of time, as it is a clear indication of their familiarity with a long medium term loan system for valuable assets.

3.5 Housing

Majority of the housing are single storey detached and semi-detached housing types with some compound houses and a few double storey houses. Single storey is the predominant type, which may reflect the desire for affordability with the compound houses indicating their desire to live together, sharing facilities, again for affordability.

The 2,296 and 6,640 persons who roam the community without any shelter and base in the community temporarily clearly shows the need for dormitory style accommodation in the city of Accra for the very low-income and temporary visitors, for decent shelter provision.

In a previous survey conducted in 2007 by People’s Dialogue on Human Settlements, only 28.9% of responders are renters, despite a low rental cost. Respondents in the community who are self builders or purchased their housing units are 68.1%, suggesting a strong desire of housing ownership within the community.

There is a high housing maintenance culture in the community, which is not very common with our general national population and this could be attributed to the water logged nature of the location. Structure maintenance is carried out by 73% of respondent households, of which 87.9% maintain their houses every 1 to 4 years. This added to the housing cost suggest that the community could afford a decent low-cost housing over a period of time.

With the development of a low-cost housing program and the requisite infrastructure subsidy by the government (both local and national), there is the high possibility of the provision of decent housing for residents of the community and other low-income or slum communities in the country that would be affordable to beneficiaries.

3.6 Economic Ramifications of Eviction versus Relocation or In-situ Redevelopment

The economic ramifications of any eviction of the community will be detrimental to the residents and their dependents, both in the community and outside the community, in their hometowns and other parts of the country.

It is therefore no surprise that over 50% percent of respondents would not change their jobs if they are relocated. They would still need to come back to the community to work as their
employment is based very close to the community or within the community. A majority of the population who work in the community also provide services to the residents of the community including food vending, water provision, bathroom and toilet provision, and other household support services which depends on the population to thrive. Any disperse of the people will mean the termination of income for over 80% of the working population of the community which translates into about 25,920 people in Accra. This will dramatically increase the unemployment rate in the country thus significantly reducing the quality of life for a majority of low-income people in the city and the country, to include their dependents.

Alternatively, relocating the community or re-organizing them to a limited portion of the site with their employment source would ensure a continuity of their income or at worst a low level of income loss as minimal people would be negatively affected.

3.7 Social Implications

Majority of the population are of working age and remit family members back in their hometowns. It is therefore important to note that any disruption in their working life will not only have a negative effect on themselves and their immediate family members but also on their extended family members as well. Any relocation or removal of the community should take into consideration their economic life as it will have a negative chain effect on their family life which could include increased poverty and its resulting increase in crime rate, increase in dropout rate of school children due to lack of financial support by their parents and guardians and increased hunger.

Any eviction or poorly planned relocation without their economic activities would also mean separation of families, especially for those with children. This could also contribute to the dropout rate of school going children, while decreasing the already high illiteracy rate of the community and the entire Accra population at large.

This enumeration included structure numbering to aid identification of households. However, there must be caution that some of these structures were lost in the December 2009 series of fire outbreaks and would not be located. Any attempt therefore to locate families in the event of any social intervention should be directed to the community’s chapter of the Ghana Federation of the Urban Poor (GHAFUP) or Old Fadama Development Association (OFADA) for assistance in locating such families.

A careful intervention should be planned to address the issues of the community to ensure minimal social disruptions which could lead to other repercussions for the people in the community and extended to their dependents inside and outside Old Fadama.

3.8 Risks and Perceptions

Risks
There is the risk of violence occurring in the community if evacuation is effected by force without negotiations or consultation with the community. It should therefore be mandatory for effective and thorough consultations to be applied in any evacuation or relocation processes in the community.
Another risk is also the possible flooding and drowning of some residents in the case of a heavy and prolonged down-pour of rain as the area is low-lying and water -logged.

A third is the situation of inadequate funding for such a relocation process and project and its accompanying risk of people squatting on the land again if the current occupiers are evacuated or relocated without any tangible development on the open land.

There is also the risk of workers in the community losing their source of livelihood in a case of eviction which would have serious social repercussions on them, their dependents and the city at large.

There is the risk of some members of the community protesting any eviction or even relocation, thus the essence of effective consultations and communication with the community on the situation.

However, a carefully planned project would result in implementation with very minimal eventualities if any at all, that would prevent these risks from materializing.

**Perceptions**

Though it is assumed that the residents are low income earners from the physical characteristics of the community, most of them do not invest in the community due to the fact that they do not have tenure security. The perception of their inability to repay any housing loans or contribute to community infrastructure development may not be real.

Again, the perception of the community being habited by criminals and therefore being in penetrable and difficult to work with is also not entirely true, though there may be some deviants in the community. With effective and adequate consultation and collaboration, with mutual respect, it is possible to conduct a relocation or evacuation exercise for the community in a reasonably peaceful and cooperative manner.

### 4.0 Challenges, Opportunities and Lessons Learned

#### 4.1 Challenges and Opportunities

Due to the community-led nature of the enumeration, enumeration and verification periods are longer than expected as community members learn on the job. However, this approach afforded the enumerators to acquire new skills of enumeration, team work, with confidence building and public spiritedness which they could use later. They also gave enumerators and supervisors a temporary source of income.

The community also gained confidence in the Technical Team working with them and readily developed a strong partnership healthy for current and future work progress. This also presents the opportunity for building on participation processes and community cooperation for any future development projects involving the community.
Though the enumeration process is expensive, it has significantly improved on the community’s awareness on a possible relocation from the area while preparing them for it. It has also opened the community up to cooperation in that regard, thus making it less difficult to work with the community.

4.2 Lessons Learned

• Involving the community at an early stage of the enumeration process and for that matter any project is a huge asset as it ensures early understanding of the project and maximizes community cooperation.

• It is always important to adequately and clearly explain project objectives to the community and other stakeholders. This reduces resistance and encourages active participation.

• Newly hired community-member enumerators should be properly trained to prevent inaccurate data collection due to lack of the understanding of enumeration questions.

• Questions used for the questionnaire should be as simple and clear as possible and be written at JHS level English.

• Clear roles and responsibilities with timelines on the enumeration process should be given to each stakeholder before the start of the enumeration process. This prevents any unforeseen delays due to misunderstandings on the part of community members.

• Clearly defining timelines and sticking to them gains the confidence of the community and all other project stakeholders. It also compels them to also stick to any timelines given them for their responsibilities.

• Efficient quality check should be instituted and applied by enumeration supervisors to every questionnaire to ensure they are completed and re-checked by different quality control persons to prevent loss of data for analysis.

5.0 Conclusion

5.1 Recommendations

The following recommendations are therefore made:

1. That a clear policy is instituted for slums in general and the community in particular.

2. That a clear and comprehensive plan is developed with all resources for implementation secured to ensure immediate implementation commencement, before the community is relocated if necessary.
3. The community-led enumeration approach should always be used in slum communities as it results in maximum cooperation by residents, since they are familiar with the enumerators. It is more beneficial though it may take more time to complete.

4. That more of the community leadership are involved in finding a lasting solution for them.

5. That more sensitization programs are effected in the community on the negative effects of the environmental conditions in the community due to the vast refuse and insanitary conditions as well as the area being flood prone.

6. That more dialogue is held by all relevant stakeholders especially the necessary government agencies and leaders of the community in finding a lasting solution.

7. Lessons learned should be incorporated in the enumeration of the next slum community ear marked for enumeration.

8. Considering the time consuming nature of managing the socio-political characteristics of the Old Fadama community and its consequent negative impact, it is important to de-politicize the housing needs of the people in the community to ensure a peaceful and effective solution for the residents.

5.2 Conclusion

Previous enumerations and consultations with the community on their housing and living conditions has already created the awareness of a possible relocation as a means of improving their living conditions especially in shelter provision, sanitation and infrastructure. It would therefore be easier for government and other stakeholders to dialogue in consultation with the community to find the best possible solution to address the challenges of the community.

However, more sensitization should be done in the community with the involvement of a balanced representation of community leaders as there are various groups within the community.

It must also be noted that any dispersion of the community by relocating their economic activities to different parts of the city would only amount to distributing the challenges of the community into other low-income or slum communities in Accra. There could be the possible increase in squatter development as no shelter provisions are included. Given the community’s earning power, and their willingness to improve their housing conditions, it would be more rewarding to develop a feasible housing provision system for the community with their financial contribution.
In the previous enumeration in 2007, a majority of the community preferred any relocation to start between 2012 and 2013, which would possibly allow them the time to save for a new housing unit, whether rental or ownership in any newly relocated area or elsewhere.

The situation of Old Fadama is a clear opportunity for Ghana to address the issue of slums and squatter settlements in a comprehensive manner, it is also a chance for us to inclusively address our pertinent issue of high cost of housing, especially for the low to very low income group.

It is hoped that the reviewed housing policy by the Ministry of Water Resources, Works and Housing would address this issue and immediately implement it. It also calls for the enforcement of the Rent Control Act to ensure affordable housing for the low to very low income earners of our country.

The majority of residents in Old Fadama, from the study could afford a decent home at a gradual rate of payment if assisted with the necessary technical support.

All stakeholders should get involved under the lead of the government both national and local to ensure a lasting, efficient and replicable solution to the issue of inclusive housing, slum development and prevention in Ghana.