The Spatial Dimensions of the Informal Economy in Kumasi, Ghana

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Abstract

The Informal Economy is a visible and unyielding phenomenon characterizing the space economy of cities of the developing world including Ghana. It comprises a whole array of small-scale labour-intensive enterprises which provide jobs and income for millions of people in these cities. This paper analysed the spatial dispositions of the activities of the informal economy in a Ghanaian city within the framework of the urban planning system. The analysis revealed different and complex spatial dispositions of these activities. It was observed that because no provisions were made for them in planning schemes, unoccupied public spaces always became their obvious targets. This process has resulted in encroachment of public spaces, distortion of the orderly implementation of planning schemes and the creation of all forms of spatial frictions including vehicular and pedestrian conflicts. To address this problem, there is the need to provide alternative sites for informal activities; resource and strengthen city planning institutions, introduce legislative reforms and public participation in the planning system.

Keywords: informal economy, space economy, home based enterprises, spatial conflicts

Introduction

In many cities of developing countries, many people seek livelihood outside the official labour market in a variety of small scale labour intensive enterprises generally known as the 'Informal Sector' which supply goods and services to a market principally made up of low income households and individuals (ILO, 1973). Research evidence from many countries show that the households involved in the informal sector constitute what is termed, 'the working poor' - people who are working and possibly very hard and strenuously, but their employment is not productive in the sense of earning them an income which is up to a modest minimum (ILO, 1973).

The concept of the 'Informal sector' was first introduced by Hart (1970) in his seminal paper on urban employment in Ghana in 1970. The ILO then ratified the concept in its World Employment Program Report on Kenya in 1973. The ILO has since been at the forefront of research and advocacy for the Informal sector in the Third World. According to the ILO mission report, an activity

could pass for an informal sector activity if it matched these criteria: relied on adapted technology, was owned mainly by families, operated on a small scale, was unregulated, used labour intensive technology, and indigenous resources, transferred skills through means other than the formal schooling system (ILO, 1972).

Currently, the term "Informal Economy" has become a more preferred definition to the "informal sector" as this is more embracing and better captures the many activities and workers who operate in the informal setting (ILO, 2002). It is evident from the literature on the Informal Economy that it is a vast terrain with several facets. Various studies place different emphasis on certain aspects depending upon the specific activity, the country in question or research interest. What is of interest to this paper is the 'Spatial Dimensions' of the Informal Economy.

Methodology

Although the paper looks broadly at the spatial dimensions of the informal economy in Ghana, in terms of data and analysis it focused specifically on Kumasi as a case study. The data for the paper were assembled mainly from secondary sources. In addition, field observations and informal interviews were carried out in Ayigya, South Suntreso, Zabon Zongo and Asawase. Some officers of the Town and Country Planning Department and the Kumasi Metropolitan Area (KMA) were consulted for data and their official views on the informal activity phenomenon in the city.

Overview of Relevant Conceptual Issues

As indicated earlier in the introduction, the concept has been intensively researched and discussed since the 1970s. With the passage of time, not only have the views of authors on the informal economy changed but also it has become obvious that it is dynamic and evolutionary. There has been the need then to derive definitions that adequately capture all the activities that come under this subject. For instance, Lund, Nicholson, and Skinner, (2000) used three features such as the causality of labour, self ownership and employment and illegalities or unregulated nature of the informal economy. Advocates of the informal economy have advocated for a definition that moves away from "enterprise based" definition to one that factors in non-wage workers (Chen et al, 1999). The informal sector has been placed into three broad areas namely: social, economic and political (Cheng and Gereffi, 1994). The social definition, of the informal economy takes the form of casual workers, unstable wage earners and small sized self-employed businesses. The political phenomenon perceives the informal sector as one that lacks official protection, trade unionization and official recognition (Amin, 1996). In an economic

sense, the size of the venture, its level of productivity and the competition are the barometers.

In keeping with the main theme of this paper, the review focuses primarily on existing literature on how the activities of the informal economy manifest itself in space. Space has broadly been defined as either public or private. Carr et al (1992) perceives public space as the common ground where people carry out the functional and ritual activities that bind a community whether in the normal routine of daily life or in periodic festivals. Madanipour (1999) on the other hand views private space as an area where strangers cannot enter without negotiation signified by actual or notional boundaries. Other definitions have listed areas of social importance such as parks, playgrounds, pavements, among others as part of public spaces. These dimensions according to Brown (2006), have mostly excluded spaces between buildings, vacant plots besides roads or river banks just to cite a few, and yet are mostly important sources of livelihood for many.

Literature on the informal economy reveals that the spatial disposition of these activities is equally diverse and complex. Whereas some are foot-loose (i.e., mobile) others take place in large organized locations, public spaces, residential neighbourhoods and within houses, road sides and walkways. Commenting on the increasing use of housing space for income-generating activities, Harvey (1989) saw domestic space as one that exists for social reproduction which is based on the Liberal Western distinction between "outside and inside" which has been criticized by authors like Drummond (2000). Using modern day Vietnam as an example, Drummond (2000) discovered that the above distinction no longer applies as little reproductive activities take place in domestic space. Based on a study in El Salvador, Stein (1989) reiterated that 'the house is not just a dormitory, but where people live, work and struggle for economic survival'.

In Dar es Salaam, a study conducted by Msikela (2002) revealed that street trading is prevalent in the Central Business District (CBD although it is regulated. The second category as described by Liviga and Mekacha (1998) and Msikela (2002) are those who use mobile stalls or boxes. Kombe et al (2001) also identified porters with tricycles or pushed carts in areas such as Kigamboni, Tamdale, Kariakoo and Tandika all in Dar es Salaam. In Kathmandu in Nepal, Sthrestha reported that in 2003, a survey of major vending area recorded an increase in number of traders in over 50 street trading locations. As it pertains in Dar es Salaam, street trading in Kathmandu takes either mobile or sedentary forms. Based on his findings in a count of traders in Johannesburg, Lund et al (2000) described the behaviour of mobile traders as 'shifting sand' as the number of hawkers he counted changed by 4000 within a short period in a day.

Most petty production and commercial activities exist in the realm of the misplaced attention generally given to informal or lower circuit activities in the space economy of the cities in the developing world (Boapeah, 1994; King, 1999). The lack of planned spaces for such activities has resulted in a characteristic location pattern wherever space is available and convenient. Examples of these spaces include; street corners, edges, niches, wall sides, in front of closed shops, and in vacant pubic open spaces (King and Dinye, 2002). The lack of alternative spaces in planning schemes for the informal street activities (King and Dinye 2002), for instance in Kumasi makes the enforcement of the byelaws highly unjustifiable and ineffective. In the Kumasi Metropolis, the role of these street activities as an integral part of the urban economy and the urban built environment appears not sufficiently recognised, tolerated, accepted, accommodated and promoted. The foregoing literature review provides the context within which the analysis is situated.

Spatial analysis of the informal economy in Kumasi

This section focuses specifically on the analysis of the spatial dynamics of the informal economy of the Kumasi Metropolis.

Size or Magnitude of the Informal Economy

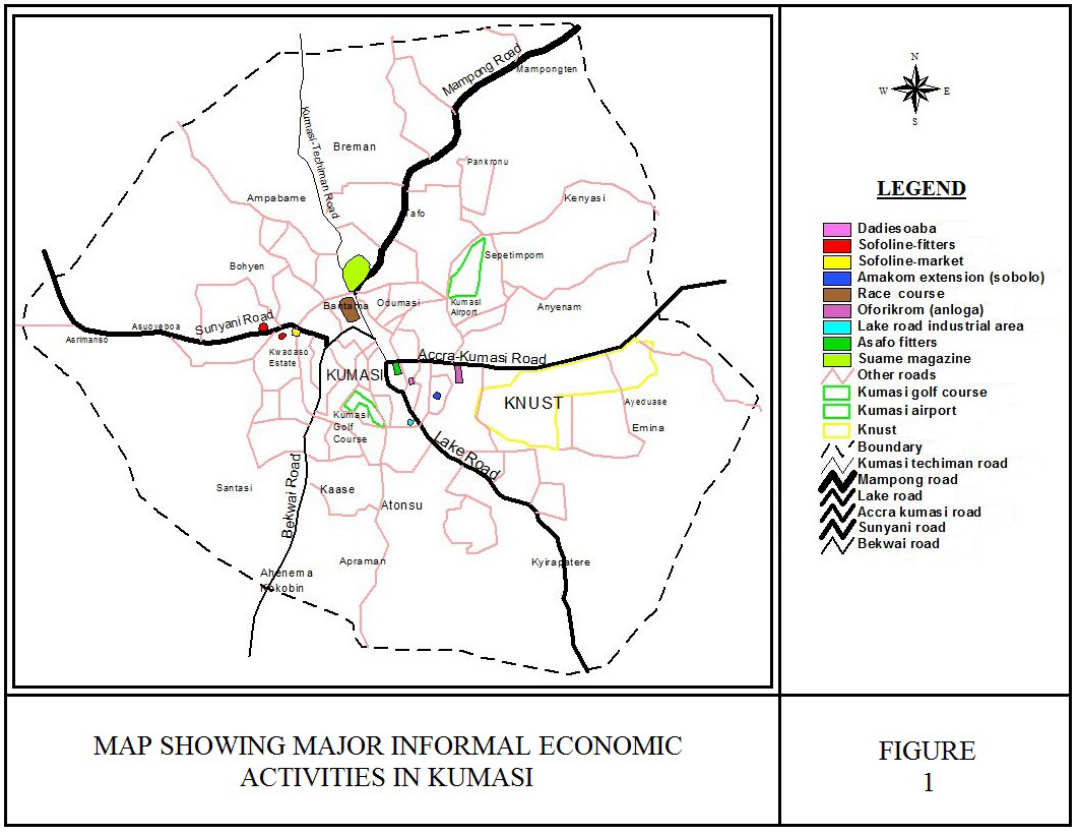
The informal economy has assumed an important dimension in the development of the economy of the Kumasi Metropolitan Area (KMA). For instance, in 1970, the informal economy employed about 54 percent of the labour force in Kumasi. This increased to about 65 percent in 1990 and is currently pegged at about 75 percent of the labour force in the Metropolis, and of this, self employment accounts for about 65 percent of the total employment (Boapeah, 2001; King and Dinye 2002). The dominance of the informal economy in Kumasi is expected to continue into the year 2020 and beyond as a result of the emphasis placed on the private sector-led economy and the Adjustment Programmes being pursued (Adarkwa and Post, 2001).

As indicated earlier, anecdotal evidence points to the fact that the informal economy manifests itself in space in a number of ways. Tacit knowledge points to the fact that the informal activities may be grouped broadly under sedentary and foot-loose activities. The sedentary group includes activities in large concentrated areas, public areas and home-based enterprises. The large areas accommodate activities like fitting/ garages including a whole array of auto-mechanical works, sale of timber and manufacture of wood products. The public spaces are pavements/walkways, parks, alleys, road shoulders, open

spaces, undeveloped parcels of land and nature reserves. Home-based enterprises comprise a variety of small-scale informal activities operating within housing space. The foot-loose category on the other hand consists of mainly street hawking and vending. The numbers involved are quite significant, but the exact size defies accurate measurement as a result of their mobile nature. The people involved in street hawking operate on almost all the major arterial roads in the Metropolis. The preferable locations are areas of traffic congestion often close to traffic lights and major junctions (Afrane and Ahiable, 2011).

Large Concentrated Activity Areas

Kumasi has a number of large areas either officially or unofficially used for the operation of specific informal activities. Although these areas may have a mix of many complementary activities, these sites are normally dominated or known for one major activity. These activities are fitting/garages including a whole array of auto-mechanical works, sale of timber and manufacture of wood products etc.



MAP SHOWING MAJOR INFORMAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN KUMASI

FIGURE 1

Fig. 1 (MAP)

TABLE 1

Large Informal Activity Areas in Kumasi

Area	*Major activity*	*Legal status*	*Land use*	*Planning problems*
Suame Magazine	Fitting/Garages	Greater part approved		105 acres Poor accessibility, poor sanitation, unauthorized structures, invasion of residential neighbourhoods
Asafo Fitters	Fitting	Approved	22.35 acres	Poor accessibility, poor sanitation, unauthorized structures
Amakom Extension (Sobolo)		Fitting	Unapproved	3.37 acres Poor accessibility, poor sanitation, unauthorized structures
Sofoline	Fitting	Unapproved	3.5 acres	Poor accessibility, poor sanitation, unauthorized structures
Lake Road Industrial Area (Near Brisco)	Farm and Animals Market	Unapproved	2.20 acres	Poor accessibility, poor Air and water pollution, unauthorized sanitation, structures
Sofoline	Market	Partly Approved	5.10 acres	Poor accessibility, Poor sanitation, unauthorized structures, traffic congestion
Oforikrom (Anloga)	Timber Market	Unapproved	35.17 acres	Poor accessibility, Poor sanitation, Air and water pollution unauthorized structures
Dadiesoaba	Fitting	Unapproved	3.0 acres	Poor accessibility, poor sanitation, unauthorized structures
Race Course	Market	Unapproved	75.15 acres	Poor accessibility, poor sanitation, unauthorized structures, traffic congestion

Source: Town and Country Planning Department, Kumasi, 2007

Although such sites are many in the city, the major ones are listed in Table 1 (see also Fig. 1). The table shows the major activities, the land size, the legal status in terms of whether it has planning approval or not and major problems associated with each of the areas identified.

As can be observed from the table, sites range from small (2.2 acres) to very large sites exceeding 20 acres with Suame Magazine being the largest with an estimated area of about 105 acres. The approved section of Suame Magazine is about 80 acres (Gerard, 1998). It has, however, spilled out of its overcrowded area and now stretches about one kilometre off the Suame Extension road and increasingly invading adjoining residential areas. The importance of Suame Magazine as a vehicle service centre lies in the existence of linkages and working relationships between firms, and the inter-dependence between highly specialized activities. It is estimated that the number of people at Suame engaged in activities that are not vehicle-related,

such as food sellers and hawkers are over 40,000 (King, 2006).

In terms of legal status, only one of the sites has planning approval, two are partly approved and the remaining 10 are unapproved indicating the illegality associated with the location of these major informal activity sites in the city. Since most of the areas exist without planning approval, they are engulfed by a number of problems including poor accessibility, poor sanitation, air and water pollution and unauthorized structures.

Public spaces

Like most cities in Ghana, public space in Kumasi has become the domain sustaining the activities and livelihoods of people in the informal economy. Thus public spaces, such as pavements/ walkways, parks, alleys, paths, road shoulder, right of ways, open spaces, undeveloped parcels of land and nature reserves that are hitherto reserved for public use, have continuously been encroached upon by petty commercial and commodity production activities. This is in keeping with the observation by King and Dinye (2002) that space in the informal economy all over the world is primal and depends on the availability of sites free from harassment by landlords. Thus, due to the relatively small size of land required by informal activities for their operations, most of them locate on parcels of land available on roadsides (right of way), public open spaces, nature reserves or undeveloped lands.

A study conducted by Sagoe (2006) in Kumasi on "Emerging Economic Activities" found that 92 % of the informal activities were located on roadsides, 5.4% were sited on nature reserves while 2.6% operated on open spaces. With the exception of car sales, most of the activities locating on the arterial roads require small spaces but high attraction of customers and therefore consider the roadsides as suitable and convenient locations. The major activities which are located on nature reserves and open spaces are car washing and

Table 2

Distribution of Activities by Category and Location

Category	*Accra – Kumasi*	*Sunyani Road*	*Lake Road*	*Mampong Road*	*Bekwai Road*	*Total*	*Percentage*
Craft	2	4	8	81	3	98	4.3
Artisan	89	158	69	122	56	494	21.6
Service	126	196	189	244	75	830	36.2
Commerce	217	139	180	223	109	868	37.9
Total	434	497	446	670	243	2290	100.0

Source: Sagoe, 2006

TABLE 3

Reasons for the Location of Activities in Space

Reason(s)	*Percentage*
Land availability	33.4
Proximity to customers	54.5
Nearness to place of residence	5.1
Service provision	1.0
Closeness to clusters	1.0
Available land	2.0
Convenience	2.0
Nearness to source of raw materials	1.0
Total	100.0

Source: Sagoe, 2006

block manufacturing which require large spaces.

The study went further to count the number of activities on the major arterial roads in the city and the results are presented in Table 2.

The figures in Table 2 reveal an overwhelming dominance by service and commercial enterprises along the major arterials which is a reflection of the situation in most Ghanaian towns and cities.

Rationale for Location

The study examined in detail the specific reasons that informed the location choices of the operators and the results are tabulated in Table 3.

The data amply indicate that majority of the respondents attributed the choice of location to availability of land (33.4%) and customer attraction (54.5%). Undoubtedly, these two factors are critical to their existence and survival. For instance, car dealers located on either roadsides or roundabouts linking major arterials and close to fuel stations because of availability of relatively large spaces and the visibility of such locations. It is important to mention that there are over 30 car sales locations dotted over the city. On the other hand, food vendors located on small spaces along the roads especially on sidewalks. Until a recent decongestion exercise in the city, many carpentry/ furniture products were located on the road shoulders and in some instances on nature reserves. The other factors listed on Table 3 were not very significant in the choice of business locations as indicated by their small percentage values.

Legal Authorization and Ownership of Land

Two key issues were critical here; namely; legal authority to operate and the ownership of the land on which the enterprises were located. Regarding the former, the study found that most of operators in the Kumasi Metropolis did not have official authorization in the form of permits issued by the KMA. About 77.6 % of the operators sampled did not have permits. On the other hand, about 24.4 % of the operators claimed to have been given authority by an official from the KMA. This was however not backed by any documentation, suggesting collusion with some officers. This observation gives credence to the assertion by King and Dinye (2002) that the authorities sometimes offer some economic benefits

and protection to political sympathizers since some of the operators have their licenses signed by some former chief executives of the Metropolis.

With respect to ownership of business premises, the study revealed that about 92.5 % of the operators were squatting on the lands on which they operated without any acceptable documentary claim of ownership. On the contrary, the 7.5 % who claimed to own their sites only possessed licenses for such premises which were mainly government lands and public spaces. It was, however, established that the KMA was collecting fees and taxes regularly from almost all the operators. About 97 % of the operators sampled were paying such fees. This disturbing contradiction unfortunately gives some legitimacy to the unauthorized operations of informal activities in public spaces in the city and consequently undermines the authority of the KMA to address this problem.

Home based enterprises

Another segment of the informal economy that has significant spatial implications is home-based economic activities. These are a whole array of small-scale informal activities which operate within the housing space. Although overlooked by urban planners, managers and researchers for a long time, recent studies (Afrane, 1993; Boapeah, 2001) show that home-based enterprise (HBEs) are increasing in numbers in residential neighbourhoods of both the rich and poor. In fact, this growing phenomenon in Kumasi confirms Stein's (1989) statement that "the house is not just a dormitory, but where people live, work and struggle for economic survival".

Two studies carried out by Afrane in 2003 and 2013 in some low-income communities in Kumasi provide considerable insights about the spatial dimensions of home-based enterprises. An enterprise census conducted in four

TABLE 4

Number of Home-Based Enterprises by Selected Communities in Kumasi

Type of Enterprise	*Asawase*		*Zabon Zongo*		*South Suntreso*		*Ayigya*		*Total*	
	abs	*%*	*Abs*	*%*	*Abs*	*%*	*Abs.*	*%*	*Abs*	*%*
Retailing	157	48.5	76	34.5	107	44.8	423	48.9	763	46.3
Food processing	62	19.2	54	24.5	42	17.6	132	15.3	290	17.6
Personal service	73	22.5	44	20.0	62	25.9	211	24.4	390	23.7
construction	2	0.6	4	1.8	8	3.3	27	3.1	41	2.5
Urban agriculture	0	0.0	2	0.9	1	0.4	2	0.2	5	0.30
Light manufacturing	25	7.7	36	16.4	17	7.1	59	6.8	137	8.3
Education	5	1.5	4	1.8	2	0.8	11	1.3	22	1.3
Total	324	100	220	100	239	100	865	100	1648	100

Source: Field survey, 2013

communities in Kumasi in 1993 reported a total of 1289 enterprises but a recent survey in the same communities indicates about 27.8 percent increase in the number of the enterprises. Table 4 provides the details in terms of types and numbers of activities in the communities surveyed.

Table 4 shows that the three top ranking enterprises were retailing (46.3%); food processing (17.6%) and personal services (18.3%). The predominance of these activities is explained by the fact they are domestic activities required mostly in residential areas and local entrepreneurs simply respond to the ready local market for such goods and services.

In terms of location, it was observed that while 76% of the enterprises were located on developed plots (i.e., in or around houses), 18% were on public spaces in the neighbourhoods. The remaining six percent were on undeveloped plots (i.e., plots without buildings). Although most of the enterprises were located on developed plots for the sake of convenience, not all were attached to houses. About half of this number was sited a few metres away from the living areas because like most informal activities, they tended to use small space. With the exception of schools which obviously required large space, majority (76 %) of the enterprises operated conveniently on lands less than 25 square meters.

It was also significant to note that whether the enterprises were attached to or detached from the domestic domain, most of them were functionally integrated into the daily lives and activities of households in three ways. These were in terms of labour participation in the running of enterprises, inseparable linkage of the business activities to domestic life of the household and lack of clear separation between business revenue from domestic household expenditure transactions.

The study also analysed degree of concentration of the enterprises in the

TABLE 5

Concentration of Home-Based Enterprises in Selected Communities

Community	*No. of enterprises*	*Enterprises per hectare*		
		Hectare	*Densities*	*Rank*
Inner-city location				
Zabon Zongo	220	8.3	26.5	1
Asawase	324	42	7.7	3
Peripheral location				
Ayigya	865	75.5	11.5	2
Suntreso	239	75	3.2	4

Source: Field survey, 2013

respective communities surveyed in terms of whether they are located close to the city-centre or at the periphery. The results of the calculations are tabulated in Table 5.

The concentration of enterprises in the study communities relative to proximity to the city centre reveals interesting dynamics. The study conducted in 1993 showed a relatively higher concentration of enterprises in the inner-city communities than the peripheral neighbourhoods. It was thus concluded that the degree of concentration of enterprises in a community is closely associated with its proximity to city centre (Afrane, 1993). However, the recent survey in 2013 of the home-based economic activities in the same communities reveals that such an observation has changed over time. Table 5 provides evidence to the latter phenomenon. It is evident that Ayigya, which was regarded as a peripheral area now records higher concentration of 11.5 enterprises per hectare than Asawase, which recorded only 7.7 enterprises per hectare.

It thus appears that whereas the CBD provides enormous market for the goods and services produced by these HBEs, other factors such as availability of space for increase in number of HBEs, and the extent of development control could influence the concentration of these enterprises in an area. There seems to be more space available in Ayigya for home-based economic activities, and as a result, HBEs spring up easily. It has also been observed that areas such as Estates (such as South Suntreso), or bungalows for government officials experience fewer changes in land use, due to a relatively strict development control (Afrane and Adjei-Poku, 2013) and as such, not much of HBEs are developed as compared to Ayigya, an indeginous community where there is not much adherence to development control.

Another spatial dimension of HBEs examined by the study was spatial linkages of the activities in terms of the proportion of the goods and service consumed within the local community, other communities within the city and outside the city. In sum, the study revealed that 68 % of the enterprises surveyed were confined to the neighbourhood economy, 28 % had customers in other parts of the city and 4 % had access to markets outside the city. These findings show that HBEs are not mere economic activities whose impact are confined to the neighbourhood economy, but are also vital to the growth and development of the space economy of the entire city and even the whole country.

Foot-loose or mobile activities

This category of informal activities comprises mainly street hawking and vending. Although it is common knowledge that the numbers involved are quite significant, the exact size defies accurate measurement due to its mobile nature. This explains why Lund et al

(2000) described it as 'shifting sand'. Their number in KMA is estimated to be over 300,000.

The people involved in street hawking operate on almost all the major road arterials in the Kumasi Metropolis. The preferred locations are areas of traffic congestion often close to traffic light and major junctions. The trading activities are not restricted to only the day but also continue into the night in some well lit areas. With regard to hawkers, three categories of space utilization are observed in the Kumasi Metropolis (Gerard et al, 1998) namely:

- the more or less sedentary who have a semi-fixed location, which could be a stall, table, verandah and sometimes the bare floor; (this category was severely hit by the current decongestion exercises carried out in some major cities in Ghana including Kumasi);
- those who are mobile sell their goods throughout the city centre; and
- those who move from one area to another throughout the city in search of customers.

This spatial movement of petty traders is carried out irrespective of the type of commodity sold. The movement of the traders is often facilitated through the use of trucks, itinerant carriers (popularly called Kayayoo), or motorized transport (taxi, trotro or private car). One major feature of these mobile traders is their resilience to public obstructions to their operations. They often return to the streets after evictions exercises are carried out by the municipal authorities.

Resultant planning and development problems

There is no doubt that the informal activities have contributed significantly to the various forms of planning and development problems in Kumasi and other cities in developing countries. Although some of these problems are diverse (e.g., under-employment, air pollution, destruction of wetlands, economic distortions etc.), this study focused mainly on space-related problems created by these informal activities. The spatial or physical implications of these informal activities have become a major challenge for city authorities. Some of the problems observed from the various categories of informal activities covered in this study include the following:

i. Beauty/Aesthetics: The indiscriminate location of activities on available open spaces within the city has created a lot of problems for landuse planning. Planning schemes have been purposely designed to ensure and sustain the aesthetic view of the city. The city view of beautifully constructed buildings is marred by the presence of these temporary structures which are located right in front of planned and well constructed buildings. In addition, some of the operators display their wares by

the roadsides with goods which impair the beauty of the main arterial roads in the city. This phenomenon also adversely affects property values.

ii. Pedestrian-Vehicular Conflict and Congestion: The location of the activities along the corridors results in a lot of way side parking either in the carriage way or on side walks. These in some circumstances hinder the easy flow of pedestrian and vehicular traffic whiles creating pedestrian-vehicular conflict. In some situations, the activities of hawkers by the roadside end up annexing part of the carriage way and consequently reduce effective road space for traffic flow with congestion as the obvious consequence.

iii. Spatial Conflicts: The locations of informal activities in the metropolis have also resulted in conflicts with some land uses. It was observed in almost all of the communities surveyed that, some HBEs were wrongly located on residential walkways and lanes or too close to domestic areas of housing causing all forms of spatial conflicts. Such spatial obstructions amplify the effects of environmental problems like noise, smoke and air pollution associated with the operation of HBEs on residents.

Recommendations

The key issues emerging from the analysis and problems identified provide some insights and inputs for formulating policy interventions to address constraints associated with the spatial dimensions of informal activities in our cities. The proposals to be outlined are inter-related and must be seen and implemented as such if they are to be effective in addressing the spatial problems identified.

Various studies have established that these informal entrepreneurs operate on unauthorized locations because no suitable space allocations are provided for them in official city plans. Given their visible and unyielding presence in the space economy of Ghanaian cities, there is urgent need for urban planners and city managers to provide alternate sites for these activities. One response is what is being considered in Accra as the "hawkers market". Although this approach of restricting some informal activity operators including traders and hawkers to fixed locations present real challenges, it is a novelty that requires more research, experimentation and fine-tuning along the process of implementation.

Second, there is the need to resource and strengthen municipal institutions especially the Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD) for effective planning and management of our cities. This should be in the form of new recruitments, capacity building of existing staff and the provision of logistics like means of transport and modern computer application support especially Geographical Information System (GIS). These will ensure effective planning and enforcement of development measures.

Thirdly, public participation in planning should be properly instituted and promoted at all levels of planning in Ghana. Land use planning must adopt participatory approach to design of schemes and layouts. Such a platform will aid TCPD to integrate the needs of people into planning schemes and consequently make planning more responsive to community needs. At the neighbourhood level, community leaders and residents should be involved in major planning decisions affecting their community. For instance, community leaders and Unit Committees should be empowered to assess and monitor the location and operation of HBEs in collaboration with the staff of TCPD. This is the most effective way to enforce development control at the local level and to minimize the various problems associated with inappropriate location and operation of such enterprises.

Finally, there is the need to review the entire settlement planning system in Ghana. This entails shifting from the conventional segregationist approach to land use planning to an integrative model which spatially integrates "where people live and where they make a living" This new planning model will ensure that 'there is a place for everything and everything in its place' (Perin, 1977).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the study has revealed indiscriminate location and operation of informal activities across the entire landscape of the city, resulting in encroachment of public spaces, distortion of the orderly implementation of planning schemes and the creation of all forms of spatial frictions including vehicular and pedestrian conflicts. The crux of this problem is the failure of city authorities to provide space for these activities in the space economy of the cities in the developing world. Coupled with the enormous contributions these enterprises make to the urban economies, there is the crucial need to provide them with alternative sites. Unless this is done, given their "resilient nature", they will continue to locate in unapproved locations and mar the image, beauty and functionality of our cities.

In addition, it is necessary to resource and strengthen city planning institutions, introduce legislative reforms and public participation in the planning system; and finally review the entire urban planning system in Ghana. This will require a departure from the traditional 'segregationist approach' of land use planning to an integrative model which ensures that '*there is a place for everything and everything in its place*' (Perin, 1977). Through this approach, informal activities would no longer be treated as an 'after-thought', in allocation of land uses in our cities but rather, adequate space provisions will be made for them in Structure Plans of cities.

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