



# MINI REPORT

BUILDING SUSTAINABLE SECONDARY CITIES:  
THE CASE OF NINGO-PRAMPAM CITY  
EXTENSION PROJECT

# GOOD GOVERNANCE AFRICA

## MINI STUDY REPORT



### **BUILDING SUSTAINABLE SECONDARY CITIES: THE CASE OF NINGO-PRAMPAM CITY EXTENSION**

#### **Written By:**

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# **BUILDING SUSTAINABLE SECONDARY CITIES: THE CASE OF NINGO-PRAMPAM CITY EXTENSION**

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### **About Good Governance Africa**

Founded in 2012, the Good Governance Africa is a registered Not for Profit Organization (NPO) with centers in Accra, Ghana covering Anglophone West Africa except for Nigeria which has an independent center in Lagos. For Southern Africa, GGA has centers in Johannesburg, South Africa and Harare, Zimbabwe. New centers have been opened at Goree Institute in Dakar, Senegal to cover Francophone West Africa and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia called the AU Centre.

Good Governance Africa aims to promote good governance in Africa through applied research and critical debate (advocacy). Our publications include Africa in Fact, the African Survey and other projects. Research areas include local governance, land and natural resources, early childhood education and national security. GGA West Africa is also concerned with the promotion of local economic development, urban governance, right to information, justice and accountability, innovation, environmental sustainability (including climate change issues) and leadership.

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## FOREWORD

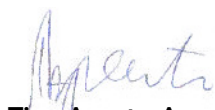
Ghanaian cities like Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi and Tamale are fast expanding and continue to attract influx of people who are either coming to reside within the cities or transact some form of activity within the city core. With increased investments for trade, commerce, manufacturing and other forms of industrial activities, these cities attract people from all parts of the country and from outside the borders of Ghana. This vibrancy in the development agenda of the cities is very critical for their growth and expansion. However, the weak coordination of expansion of these cities leads to saturation as the influx of people increases. Once buoyant economies become riddled with the negative repercussions of population expansion, threatening the cities' very survival. These development challenges in the cities is caused by rapid urbanization.

Urbanization has many benefits to cities such as attracting high end services, infrastructure, variety of goods and services as well as an introduction of varied cultures due to varied ethnic and cultural backgrounds of residents. Nevertheless, urbanization has unintended consequences such as over population, huge waste generation, overstretched infrastructure and high cost of maintenance, limited housing, high crime rate, etc. These challenges are a burden for city administrators who then have to find alternatives to bring relief to residents and city facility users. A common feature in most cities in developing countries is finding alternative housing for dense city dwellers and also in finding parcels of land to manage city waste for instance. The natural solution then is dependence on adjoining settlements to these big cities that possess the resources such as land space to help contain the excesses of the main cities. Unfortunately, with ill preparation (inadequate planning), such settlements often referred to as secondary cities end up sometimes worse off as they are soon overwhelmed excesses from the major cities.

The quest to build sustainable cities as spelt under the Sustainable Development Goals (Goal 11), requires that governments take steps to adequately plan urban settlements to offer quality services on all fronts to ensure better living conditions for city dwellers (UN, 2009). The UN Habitat has developed settlement modules to assist local governments of secondary cities to develop more robust settlements that will ensure they become a better alternative to major cities in developing countries. In Ghana, the first partnership the UN agency entered into was with the secondary city of Ningo-Prampram in the Greater Accra Region. The Ningo-Prampram District Assembly (NiPDA) in partnership with UN Habitat has been promoting the coastal district since 2014 to become an extension to the city of Accra (UN Habitat 2015). Dubbed the "Planned City Extension Project" the Ningo-Prampram city development is seen by policy makers and city administrators as a major step to taking off developmental pressure from the city of Accra.

The Planned City Extension Project which is expected to transition Ningo-Prampram from a mere dormitory and corridor district into a planned and sustainable urban settlement has led to challenging developments where individuals and companies have embarked on speculative purchasing of large tracts of land in the district. Aside, the purchase of these lands, individuals and estate developers have started developing physical infrastructures at times on the blind side of the permitting authorities. The entire coastline of the district which about two decades ago was the pride of the district and a big attraction to locals, other nationals and foreigners alike has suffered from this indiscriminate physical development. The worrying trend is the fact that like many of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District assemblies (MMDAs), the development of these structures outpaces their monitoring and control lenses. The capacity of the District (NiPDA) therefore must be enhanced to spearhead controlled developments within the district in order not to derail the good plans for the actualization of building a sustainable secondary city. The Good Governance Africa (GGA), a research and advocacy institution with the mandate to galvanize support to ensure the practice of good governance principles on the African continent came in to assist NiPDA further engage with stakeholders to address challenges the local authority is facing in controlling physical developments in the district.

The GGA – NiPDA led engagement with stakeholders in the city extension development agenda of Ningo-Prampram held in February 2020, discussed varied issues and made far reaching recommendations for the way forward for building a sustainable secondary city for the district. Stakeholders present included estate developers operating in the district, representatives from state institutions such as the Survey Department and the Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority and officials from NiPDA. The Team from the District which was led by the Mayor of NiPDA were very much abreast with the challenges confronting them in the discharge of their mandate whilst they appreciated very much, the expert contributions from other professionals at the workshop. It is the hope of the GGA West Africa Centre that NiPDA through this engagement will sustain the network and communication with the experts from the various institutions to facilitate their work.



**Tina Asante-Apeatu**  
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# ACKNOWLEDGEMENT



The Good Governance Africa – West Africa Centre (GGA-WA) will like to extend its special appreciation first to the District Chief Executive (Mayor) of Ningo-Prampram in the person of Hon. Jonathan Paanii Doku and his able team led by the District Planning Officer, Mr. Francis Essandor for assisting the Center organize a fruitful stakeholder engagement on the sustainable development of the district in line with the planned City Extension Initiative.

The Centre’s next appreciation goes to the PSS Urbania Team led by its resourceful director, Dr. Kwadwo Ohene Sarfoh for their professional handling of the stakeholder engagement and bringing to bear the Firm’s expert views on spatial and sustainable planning practices. To the many other professionals that joined the deliberations from the various state and non-state agencies like Ghana’s Survey Department, the Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority (LUSPA) and the various private estate companies, we say *“ayekoo” and thank you.*

To the GGA-WA Team, the Leadership of the Centre is extremely proud of your achievements and continuous push to engage governance stakeholders in advancing the ideals and beliefs of GGA. Together we can do more and see a progressive change in the governance of the Continent to the benefit of its people especially the vulnerable and marginalized in society.

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DCE		District Chief Executive
GSS		Ghana Statistical Service
GIS		Geographic Information System
MMDAs		Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies
NiPDA		Ningo-Prampram District Assembly
N1		National Highway 1
N2		National Highway 2

Most of the urban areas in Ghana are experiencing an influx of people due to increasing investments and the related growth in economic activities in these areas. Such influx of people from rural to urban areas has led to a high demand for land to provide housing and businesses, which has put considerable pressure on the city authorities to make provision for every land use. As the years have gone by, the pressure and competition in land use has fueled rapid development of peri urban settlements, frequently preceding the planning of such locations by city authorities. Accra, as the national capital and principal economic center of the country, has suffered significantly in this regard. The call has been made to look for alternative development solutions to enable cities and urban centers to make meaningful contributions to national development, rather than dissipating resources to correct the inefficiencies in land uses. Secondary cities have been identified to possess the requisite ingredients to forge the desired change in spatial development of urban centers and city authorities are putting measures in place to ensure proper and efficient planning and use of space. In attempting to curbing the excessive sprawl afflicting the Greater Accra metropolis, local and international built environment professionals and policy makers have sought to design and motivate the implementation of Ningo Prampram as a planned city extension, creating a legitimate but diversified local economy that is effectively connected by appropriate multi-modal transportation links, and adequately housing the majority of persons working in the different sectors. This model of development would exemplify the optimal pathway to efficient city development through sustainable land use planning, expansive stakeholder engagement and strategic investment and underpinned by a strong and visionary bureaucracy.

This brief report details principles derived from discussions held at a workshop of stakeholders and experts in spatial planning and city development to support the principal actors of Ningo-Prampram to deliver desired outputs. In the discussions, local and international case studies and best practices served as foreground to the specific context of Ningo-Prampram. In the process, participants were able to draw a thread between the ongoing social, economic and spatial developments with existing developments in Accra and Tema, with the locational advantages of Ningo-Prampram such as a node along the trans-West African coastal highway (spanning Lagos to Abuja), and with other national priority projects that hitherto had limited connection to the local economy. Participants were able to identify, outline, prioritise creative solutions to obstacles, taking into account a cascading timescale from the immediate, medium term and long term actions, and also equally importantly, the key partnerships and staff capacities.

In summary, what makes a secondary city to thrive significantly, such that it minimises the opportunities for the negative legacies of sprawling primate cities to take root in these smaller settlements, includes ensuring effective decentralisation so that local decisions have capacity to determine spatial development. Thus national policies give (primary or secondary) cities the opportunity to make certain decisions affecting the local economy. There should also be a wide geographic spread and hierarchy of cities with high levels of connectivity, comparative advantage, and a healthy dependence on other cities.

Cities like Accra and Kumasi are experiencing a massive influx of people which is putting enormous pressure on city authorities to meet the demands as well as address the needs of city dwellers and users. These cities also have competing development needs for the land spaces available thus making it difficult for proper and prescribed planning. Due to this difficulty, attention is increasingly drifting to secondary cities as the natural alternative to help contain such pressures. These secondary cities tend to have the land space to be used to provide some level of infrastructure to accommodate the overflow from the main cities. Infrastructure such as housing, markets and waste management sites are often a target for such new developing cities.

These secondary cities need to be planned and developed in such a manner that they do not create similar problems later, like the more established cities are facing today in Ghana. Proper allocation and use of land will ensure the secondary cities become sustainable cities as prescribed by the Sustainable Development Goal One. It is in this light that Ningo-Prampram, a fast-developing secondary city has been identified as one of the most promising urban settlements in Ghana. Institutions such as the UN Habitat have been working with the authorities of the district to put measures in place to ensure that the area develops into a well-planned human settlement.

The city extension project of the UN Habitat is partly to ensure that Ningo-Prampram becomes a city of choice for many residents of the city of Accra who may want to escape to a more serene area of abode. The area boasts of large tracts of undeveloped land with a fairly flat topography which is an attraction for many developers. In recent times, the government has indicated plans of siting some critical infrastructure in the area to try and ease the existing congestion in the city of Accra. All these developments have resulted in a mad rush for the acquisition and subsequent development of lands within the Ningo-Prampram District.

A workshop was therefore organized by Good Governance Africa, for land stakeholders to engage them on the need to reecho the need for land sustainability as well as identify critical development pointers which need to be addressed in the quest of building sustainable and inclusive city.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY CITIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

"Secondary city is a term most commonly used to describe the second tier, or level, in the hierarchy of cities below the primary level. " All over Africa, secondary cities have become a driving focus for most urban development initiatives, especially as the primary cities have failed to optimise the outcomes for all segments of society. The secondary cities, despite their unplanned and under-developed status, present the opportunity to apply the lessons learned from the primary cities suffering decay, inequitable investments, disproportionate financing of non-viable projects, over-centralised management systems and other inefficiencies. In reality, during the period of primary cities' downward spiral, these smaller cities are usually characterized by insufficient attention by governments and the private sector, lasting until the large cities atrophy. By the time attention is turned to them, the secondary cities would have developed an uneven footprint, inadequately mapped, under-developed infrastructure, organic land tenure and markets, poor planning and low-rise developments. For the secondary cities that neighbour the large cities, they turn out into dormitories, having one monolithic function - near exclusive residential developments and minimal commercial and service outlets to support the local population. For secondary cities to play the complementary role of diversifying growth and optimising national development, a window of opportunity exists that demands temporal awareness, and acute appreciation and forethought in planning, investment, social engineering and effective management regime. It requires a mobilisation of technical competences, social forces, disciplined visionary communication, sharp strategising coupled with dynamic implementation, not only to capture the opportunity but furthermore catalyse these ingredients into tangible outcomes.

A driving force for the development of secondary cities is its ability to integrate both rural and urban economies of a country. Such integration offsets the adverse externalities of primary cities like overcrowding, segregation, traffic congestion and pollution, and improves the quality of life of these areas. Although it may require a lot of effort to ensure proper development, these cities have the potential of curbing the linear rural-urban migration patterns and building self-sufficient and competitive areas.

There is urgency for a formal focus on the development of secondary cities across the African continent, not as the after-thought of elites but in recognition of urban migration fostering social inequities, a worrying trend in most countries. It is argued that policies that focus on distributing the growing populations to secondary cities will promote investment, and economic development in these cities and provide a stronger base for development in many African countries.

“

### *Secondary City*

*is a term most commonly used to describe the second tier, or level, in the hierarchy of cities below the primary level.*

**Box 1: Ten Reasons to focus on Secondary Cities**  
**According to Cities Alliance, there are ten reasons to focus on Secondary Cities:**

- » They are the fastest growing urban areas
- » There are a lot of them, especially in developing countries
- » Many are poor and struggling
- » They are the economic backbone of the world's largest cities
- » They are governance and economic centres
- » They can really boost a national economy
- » They come in all shapes and sizes
- » They are often eclipsed by primary cities
- » There is not much information about them
- » Few have the capacity for strategic planning



Figure 1. Ten reasons to focus on secondary cities

Source: [citiesalliance.org](http://citiesalliance.org)

In Ghana, Accra and Kumasi are almost at par in terms of primacy. Currently, Accra has benefitted from 80% of all urban development projects supported by donors, and contributes 20% of gross domestic products and 28% to total employment in the country. Tertiary educational facilities stand at 41% as at 2018 and 50% of banks are situated here in Accra. There are about 72% of businesses in Ghana that are registered with Accra addresses and 85% of foreign investment are geared towards the city. These figures show an improvement in the living standards of people in Accra thus an increase in the drive for property acquisition among the people living here. It has fueled a sharp rise in demand for space for property resulting in an ever growing sprawl to the peri urban areas. As more and more people live in the ever expanding peripheries, the city core hollowed out with respect to residential uses, just as commutes lengthened, and public health progressively became compromised for the peri-urban dwellers. The associated costs for the extension of networked infrastructure and other services to low density developments in the periphery escalated per household with every next addition to the city footprint. The prospects of Ningo Prampram through its City Extension project to serve as a secondary city holds dual advantages. Firstly, it helps to diffuse the rampant growth of Accra-Tema metropolitan area and, at the same time as it manifests as a new growth pole, it generates a new paradigm in spatial development for Ningo-Prampram and for the overall hierarchy of settlements in the country, maximising the utility of the investments in a sustainable trajectory, thus the workshop and the focus.

# NINGO-PRAMPAM DISTRICT (NIPDA)

## A PREFERRED SECONDARY CITY TO HELP DECONGEST THE CITY OF ACCRA

NATIONAL CONTEXT

GHANA IN PERSPECTIVE

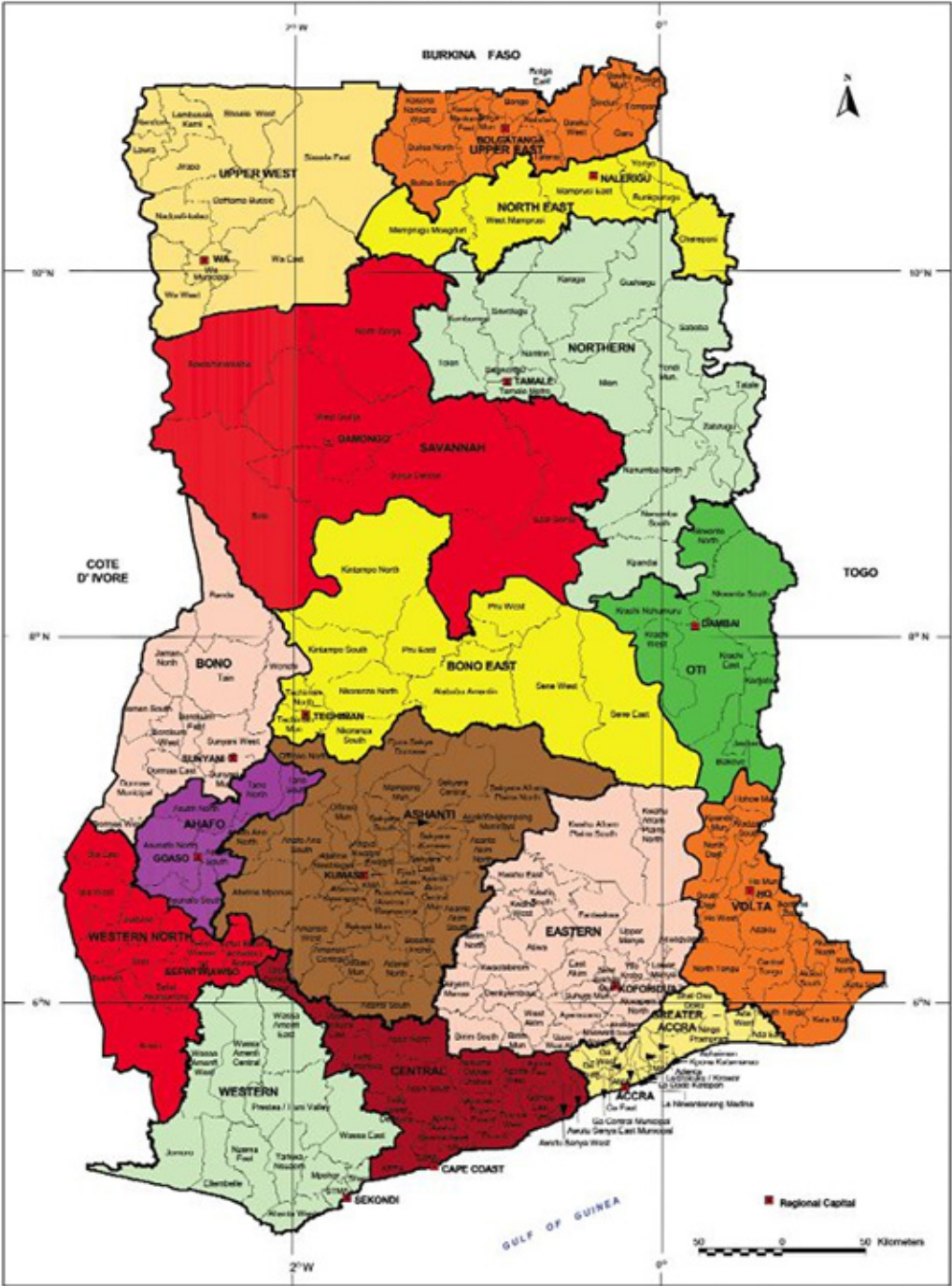


Figure 2. National Context

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, Geographical Information Systems (GIS) Section

REGIONAL CONTEXT



Figure 3. Regional Context Source:www.google.com

DISTRICT MAP OF NINGO-PRAMPARAM

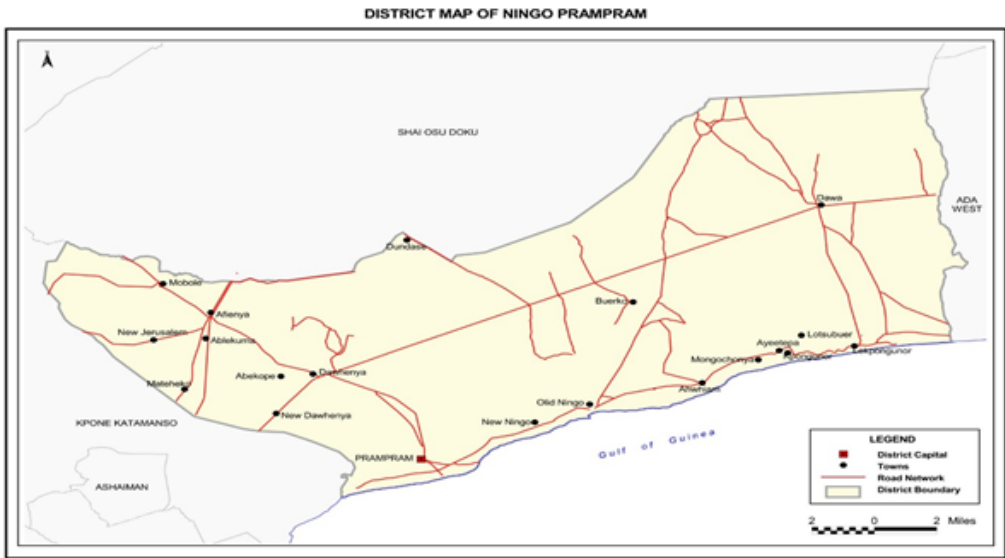
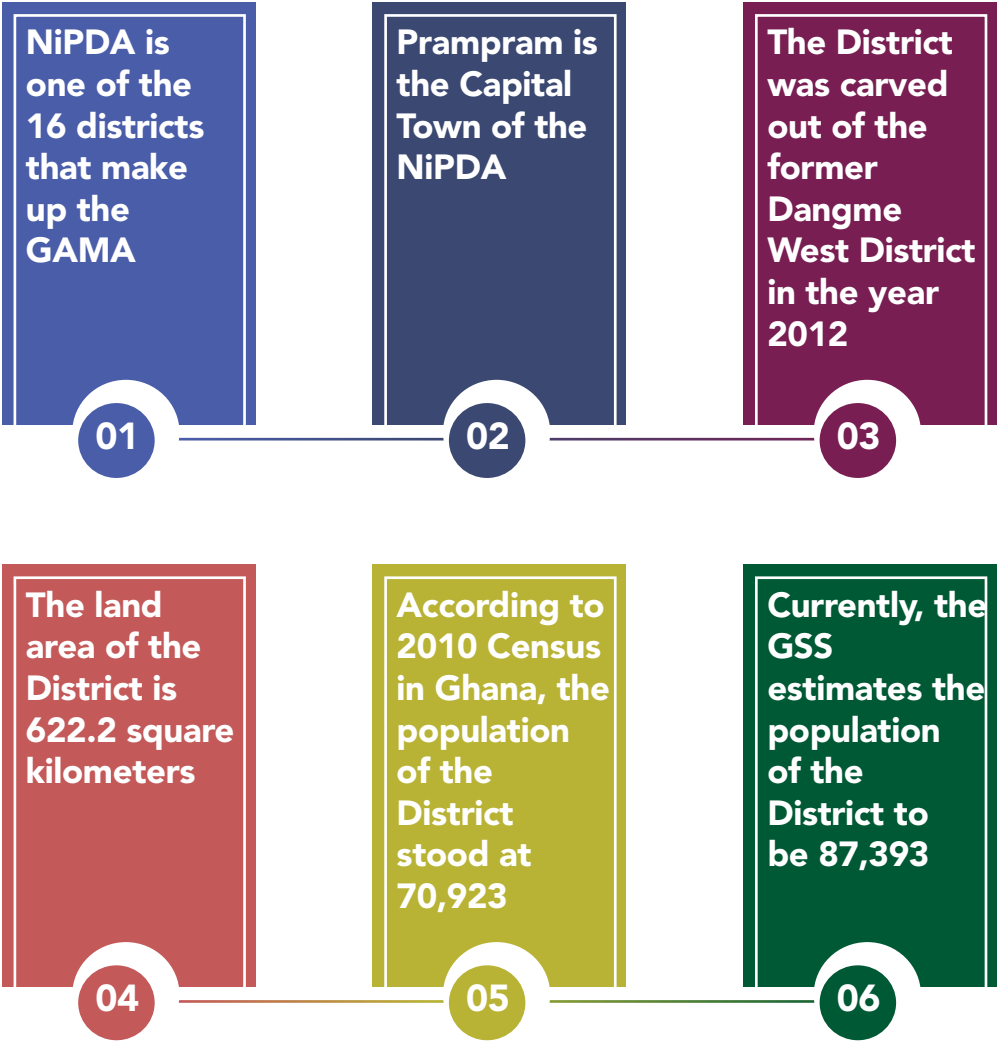


Figure 4. District Map of Ningo-Prampram Source: Ghana Statistical Service, GIS



# FACTS AND FIGURES

- NiPDA is one of the 16 districts that make up the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA)
- Prampram is the Capital Town of the NiPDA
- The District was carved out of the former Dangme West District in the year 2012
- The land area of the District is 622.2 square kilometers
- According to 2010 Census in Ghana, the population of the District stood at 70,923
- Currently, the GSS estimates the population of the District to be 87,393



## HIGHLIGHTS OF POTENTIALS OF THE DISTRICT

The Ningo-Prampam District has the following potentials, thus making it a very attractive place for a secondary city. The figure below shows an illustration of these prospects that were identified at the workshop



Figure 5. Highlights of potentials of the District

- **The Trans-African Highway which consists of the N1 and N2 roads.**

The location of the District of Ningo-Prampam along the trans-African highway presents a good economic opportunity for businesses and investments to move into the district. This affords businesses and industries to benefit from the larger West African market, which will eventually grow the economy of Ningo-Prampam.

N1 Road (Ghana) – this is a national highway in Ghana that begins at the border with Ivory Coast at Elubo and runs through Sekondi-Takoradi, Cape Coast, Winneba, Accra and Tema to the border with Togo at Aflao. It is the main highway along the coast of the country with a total distance of 540 kilometers (335.5 miles). This highway runs through four regions in Ghana; namely Western, Central, Greater Accra and Volta Regions ([www.en.wikipedia.org](http://www.en.wikipedia.org)).

N2 Road (Ghana) – this is a national highway that begins at the Tema Motorway roundabout in Tema and runs through Hohoe, Nkwanta, Yendi and Bawku to the border with Burkina Faso at

Kulungugu. It is the main north-south highway in the eastern corridor of the country with a total distance of 640 kilometers (397.68 miles). This highway runs through six regions in Ghana; namely Greater Accra, Eastern, Volta, Oti, Northern and Upper East Regions ([www.en.wikipedia.org](http://www.en.wikipedia.org)).

- **The prospective sub regional international airport**

Ghana's quest to develop its aviation industry to serve the West African sub-region presents the District a great opportunity to transform its territory into a vibrant aviation service delivery enclave. This is particularly so as the former government gave clear indications of plans to site a sub-regional airport in NiPDA given the vast land space in the district which also has the right topography (flat) for such a venture.

- **Civic Atlantic coastline (37km)**

NiPDA's vast coast line is one of the cleanest in the country currently attracting a lot of holiday makers from the city of Accra who are looking for alternatives to some of Accra's dirty beaches. Lands along the District's beaches are also a great source of investment attraction for hoteliers and other leisure ventures.

- **Urbanization**

The various factors (land availability, citing critical infrastructure, vast coastline, etc.) that has drawn attention of individuals and businesses to the District has fueled the rapid urbanization of the area. Residents in NiPDA can therefore enjoy variety of cultures, increased market for trade, improved infrastructure (roads, estates, leisure).

- **Large undeveloped lands**

The vast deposit of unused lands within the Ningo-Prampram District which have fairly flat topography is a major attraction for the citing of critical infrastructure and for individual and estate development.

- **Industrial parks example Dawa Industrial Park**

The presence of industrial parks such as the Dawa Industrial Park is a good signal of the readiness of the district to accept business. It is a motivation for both small and large industries to cite their infrastructure without singularly incurring high cost of having services such as water and electricity extended to their facilities.

- **Major tourist site. An example, the first police station to be built in Ghana is located at Ningo-Prampram District. The vast clean and well-maintained beaches in the District are also good sources of attraction for residents of Accra and other neighboring districts.**

- **Preferred destination for estate companies due to the fairly flat topography**

In developing Secondary Cities, a number of factors need to be taken into consideration in order to ensure a sustainable development.

### **Governance and Decentralisation**

One can argue that, the greater the levels of decentralization that secondary cities have, the more self-sufficient they are likely to be. They will not have to depend on the central government for a lot of funds thus giving them the autonomy to plan and put measures in place to build their economy. Disparities in the level of development between systems of cities are also significantly less.

### **National Policies on Urbanization**

Where there is a presence of urbanisation policies in countries, it is easier for the development of secondary cities and ensuring equity between cities. This is better than countries that do not have such policies, where the central government is solely responsible for the allocation of public resources leading to a disproportionate amount among cities.

### **Competitiveness of Secondary-Cities Development**

Once these secondary cities are developed, they must learn to be competitive if they want to be successful in trade and local economic development. To be competitive, information that should be in hand includes the city's resource base, strategic advantages and opportunities for synergistic collaborations and partnerships. Bureaucratic capacity, technical acumen and management skill has to be in place to forge the agenda and take the actions that enable competitiveness.

### **Tapping Into and Developing Latent Capital**

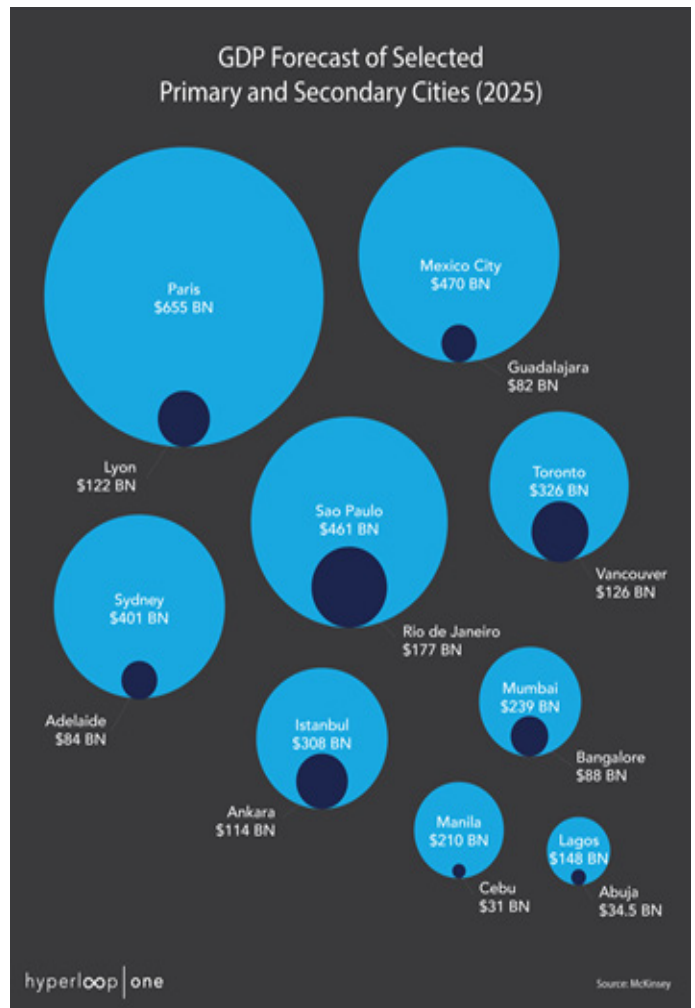
Latent Capital is a major resource for development thus the need to attract investments to ensure employment in these cities. In order for this to happen, the government has to put some policies in place to encourage secondary cities to capitalize and leverage assets to ensure local land, property, and financial markets function more efficiently. Authorities can utilise the uterine connections of non-resident indigenes to promote investments instruments targeting this category of investors. It falls in line with the long-acknowledged power of remittance investments from so called Diasporan capital, except it overlooks non-resident indigenes who are not overseas.

## Rectifying the Imbalances in Systems of Cities

The overconcentration of economic output in one (or sometimes two) very large cities also increases the vulnerability of national economies to catastrophic events and shocks. It is important to ensure that cities in a country have a good range of geographic spread and hierarchy of cities. There also has to be high levels of connectivity, competition, and trade between them to ensure a healthy competition and dependence among the cities. There may therefore need to be a review in existing systems to ensure this balance exists.

## Getting Urban Systems Integrated and Flowing

Flow systems are a priority when it comes to developing secondary cities. This is because usually, in existing urban systems, there is poor integration within the secondary cities as well as between the primary city and the secondary city. In developing secondary cities, there needs to be flow systems (material, information, finance, governance, and utilities) capable of supporting supply chains that keep government, business, and communities operating.



Source: <https://www.ge.com/reports/rising-importance-secondary-city/>  
Figure 6. GDP Forecast of selected Primary and Secondary Cities (2025)

## GETTING IT RIGHT IN NINGO-PRAMPARAM

There are few issues to take into consideration for the development of Ningo-Pramparam as a secondary city. The following were discussed during the workshop as a roadmap to help achieve the vision of Ningo-Pramparam being a secondary city.

1. Areas of water bodies must be restricted and protected to prevent people from encroaching on the water bodies.
2. Local plans should be revised and updated to capture and properly demarcate in detail all developments so that the planned layout reflects the current ground situation. The assembly will need personnel, technology for orthophotos and funding to aid them harmonize the ground situation with the local plans. The city planner should be empowered to implement the local plan accordingly.
3. Empower the citizenry by constantly communicating the local plans to them. When the authority is failing, they should be informed to help protect areas earmarked for community development.
4. Engage more stakeholders in the planning process and advertise local and spatial plans by displaying it at advantageous designated areas. When citizens get to understand and know what is on paper, they can help with the implementation of these plans.
5. Leverage academic and commercial interest of the community. Universities can be made a hub of research where research findings are linked to the activities of industrial establishments. Industry can share its needs with the research and academic communities who can conduct the required investigations to proffer solutions.
6. There is a need for the assembly to negotiate with people who have commercial interest in current land uses and development patterns in order to leverage funding in exchange for the output of the drone images as a way for the assembly to obtain up to date information on the spatial layout of the area.
7. Partnering and working through professional associations: The Ghana Institute of Surveyors have shown interest in partnering the assembly by assisting them with pilot surveying of small areas. The assembly when satisfied could extend this to larger areas.
8. Digest frequently asked questions or enquiries onto a flyer and make it accessible to all. This can be put on the district's website as well. This will help forestall the intrusions that are market induced.
9. The solution to the issue of responsiveness of the district assembly is to work through a task team. Build teams around assignments which helps with credible information flow for the assembly to be responsive to, especially, international partners.
10. Explore self-introduction to corporations and organisations and draw them in into the collective vision. Oftentimes businesses take spontaneous decisions in order to gain some market advantage. However, these decisions could become detrimental to the long-term development goals of the city if such decisions are not contextualised, especially as it pertains to locational choices.



11. Use the power of good examples to implement local plans. Partner with licensing surveyors to perform their duties according to the local plans. There must be a penalty of license withdrawal if a site plan signed by a surveyor is non- conforming to the spatial framework of the plans of the assembly.

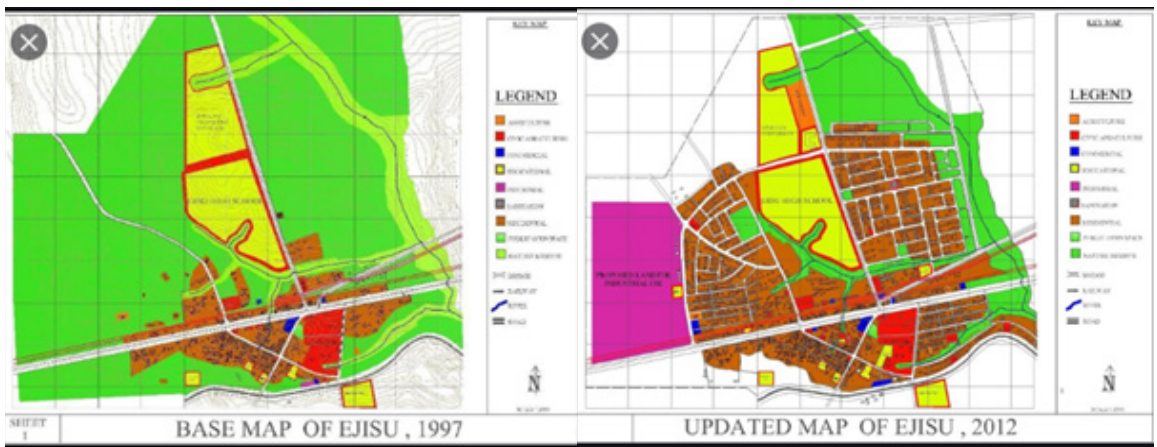
12. The assembly should seek real time spatial information and the use of a drone to get orthophotos of the district to help identify new challenges and unapproved developments for immediate resolution. This also helps cut down the cost of monitoring illegal land uses and constructions without permit.



Stakeholders at the GGA-NiPDA Engagement on Sustainable City Development

## CONCLUSION

The development of a Secondary City as discussed earlier benefits the economy of a country as it boosts the local economies of the communities involved. There however needs to be the buy-in of the central government as well as the local city authorities. This is to ensure that the planned development is achieved in the long run since it will require a long-term plan that may be affected overtime considering the nature of the governance system in the country. A critical part of implementing such an agenda of building a sustainable city as contained in the plan for the Ningo-Prampam City Extension Project, requires frequent flow of information to the residents of the area. The traditional leadership and their subjects must share in the progressive plan of the administrative body (local authority) to ensure the people do not derail the plans of the Assembly as being witnessed with the indiscriminate siting of physical structures in NiPDA. The figure below is a classic example of the development of a secondary city (Ejisu in the Ashanti Region) over time.



Source: (Cobbinah & Aboagye, 2017) A Ghanaian twist to urban sprawl

Figure 7. Map of Ejisu



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