

Challenges of Urbanization in Ghana

Paul W.K. Yankson and Monique Bertrand

Urbanization has been one of the most significant processes in transforming all societies, particularly since the early twentieth century. Everywhere, cities are synonymous with modernization, economic development, social progress and cultural innovation. However, the nature of urban development, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, including Ghana, seriously constrains the productivity of cities and hence reduces the extent to which they can effectively perform their role in national development. Lack of adequate infrastructure and service provision, poverty, pollution, overcrowding, congestion and shortage of affordable housing are undermining the traditional civilizing influence of cities (Uwe 2003).

Ghana has experienced a very rapid rate of urban growth since the middle of the twentieth century. The proportion of the country's population living in towns, as officially defined (any settlement with at least 5,000 people), has increased rapidly over the years: it rose from 9 per cent in 1931 to 31.3 per cent in 1984 and 43.8 per cent in 2000. Modern urbanization in Ghana, however, is focused mainly on Accra–Tema and two other urban nuclei in the country. Accra is a primate city not only in terms of the size of its population; its primacy also manifests in every respect: political, economic and cultural.

There is an increasing concentration of urban population in only a few very large urban centres in the country. It is interesting to note that around the two central cities of Accra and Kumasi Metropolitan Areas, and Tema Municipal Area, are fast-growing suburban areas such as Ashaiman in the case of Tema, Madina and Kasoa in the case of Accra. Ashaiman, with a population of 150,312 in 2000, is the fifth largest township in Ghana. Its population of 50,918 in 1984 increased almost threefold between 1984 and 2000. Ashaiman, a suburb of Tema, now has more inhabitants than Tema (141,479). Madina, another dormitory town of Accra city and lying to the north, is now the tenth largest settlement in the country. It has experienced rapid growth from 7,480 in 1970 through 28,364 in 1984 to 76,697 in

2000. From the west of Accra are emerging two very fast-growing townships: Kasoa, which in 1970 had only 863 people, had a population of 34,719 in 2000, while Buduburam, a well-known refugee camp, had only 40 people in 1984 but 18,713 in 2000.

The increasing rate of urbanization in Ghana, as in many countries in Africa, is the result of a combination of high rates of natural increase of the national populations and net in-migration to the urban areas. The two major processes reinforce each other, although their relative importance has varied over the years. A high level of internal migration, i.e. migration from rural to urban areas, particularly to the cities but lately from small towns to the cities, was the dominant factor in the early phase of urbanization. This was largely a function of the differences in the level of development between urban and rural areas, given the urban bias in development. Since 1970, however, a high rate of natural increase in the cities of Ghana has assumed a more important role than migration in accounting for rapid population increases. Though fertility levels are higher by about 15 per cent in rural areas (Ghana Statistical Service 1988), mortality and morbidity rates are much lower in the urban than the rural areas, in view of the overall concentration of modern health facilities in the cities, particularly in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA).

Another dimension of urban growth is the physical expansion of the cities, particularly the metropolitan areas of the country, beyond their official boundaries. Consequently, in the past, the legal boundaries of the major cities had to be adjusted so that the newly urbanized areas that were contiguous with the legal boundaries of the cities were annexed in order for services and infrastructure to be extended to such areas. Sub-urbanization is a major feature of modern urbanization, not only in cities of the advanced countries, but also in the exploding cities in the South. Two major factors are largely responsible for this. The first is demand-based and is associated with rapid growth of urban population and rising disposable income (Palen 1989; Herbert and Thomas 1990; Thorns 1980; Knox 1994). The second stresses the fiscal and social problems of central cities such as high taxes, low-quality public schools and other poor government services, racial tensions, crime, congestion and low environmental quality. These kinds of issues lead residents of the central city to migrate to the suburbs (Mieszowski and Mills 1993). Such factors operate differently both between and within cities in the industrially advanced countries (McGrath 1992), and between them and cities in the developing world such as those in Sub-Saharan Africa. Cities in the developing regions are rooted in different social and economic values to the extent that in Sub-Saharan Africa, a number of local, institutional, cultural and social factors such as 'colonial' land use and land management, as against the traditional land management practices and housing allocation, invalidate the assumptions of western models of the suburbanization process (Sada 1972; Ozo 1986; Onokerhoraye 1977). Much of the earlier literature on Ghana, for instance, focused on the movement of people from rural areas and from international migration into the cities in Ghana (Addo 1969; Caldwell 1969;

Bobo 1974). On the other hand, there has been very little research into the broad patterns of residential mobility within the cities, and movements between them and the rest of the country and beyond. The character of the micro patterns and movements within and between residential areas as well as within individual residential areas, including movements within housing compounds, have been little examined closely in Ghana and in other West African cities generally. Residential relocations of individuals, households and urban families, both within the metropolitan areas and outside them, are a product of housing opportunities, new and recent dwellings resulting from the suburban expansion, inner city renewal and rehabilitation among others and the housing needs and expectations of households that themselves are a product of income, family size and lifestyle (Knox 1982). The question is how these factors play out in a Sub-Saharan African metropolis like the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area. Also, it is worth ascertaining whether people are redistributed within the metropolitan area only in accordance with the hypothesis and characteristics of housing demand and supply, or whether family constraints and potentiality should also be considered.

Rapid population growth in the cities requires that adequate amounts of accommodation be available for housing. Various providers of housing – private individuals, private real estate developers and national bodies – have been active in acquiring land, mostly on the urban fringes, for housing development and other urban land uses. But land delivery for housing and urban development generally has been problematic in the urbanization of cities in Ghana. These problems include land use planning and physical development controls, urban land demand patterns and land delivery mechanisms, the institutional and legal arrangements for land development and the question of urban and peri-urban land markets. Providing land for low-income groups to provide their own housing is perhaps the most difficult issue (Asiama 1984, 1985). The viability of the housing delivery system to meet effective demand has created strains on existing housing stock and infrastructure in cities in Ghana, especially the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA). Increasing overcrowding, declining building quality and declining access to services characterize much of the housing stock in Ghana. A housing occupancy of 12.1 persons in Accra, for instance, is among the highest in Ghana, indicating the seriousness of the housing problem (Ministry of Works and Housing 2001). The results of the 2000 population and housing census show that of the 2,181,975 total housing stock, about two-thirds, was in rural areas and that while the rural stock increased by 53.1 per cent from 1984, the urban stock increased by 159.4 per cent within the same period. The stock of houses represents an increase of 77.5 per cent over the recorded stock in 1984, much more than the increase in population (53.8%) over the same period. The average number of persons per house reduced from 10 in 1984 to 8.7 in 2000 (Ghana Statistical Service 2002). But the situation in the cities is much worse than in rural areas despite the significant increase in number of houses in the urban areas. The Greater Accra region recorded the highest percentage increase in

housing stock. This is one of the most visible effects of economic liberalization. The liberalization programme itself indirectly contributed to the physical expansion of Accra (Grant and Yankson 2003). A similar development, though to a lesser degree, may have taken place in the other major urban centres in the country.

There have been two salient consequences of liberalization on the urban housing market. First, in response to the more liberal conditions of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), the expatriate community in the cities of Ghana, particularly in Accra, has increased in size, which along with an expanding middle class has intensified pressure on housing. In addition, the liberalization of the financial sector has enabled foreign currency transactions, and much of the money originates from Ghanaians working abroad and can be used for investments in real estate. Researchers indicate that Ghanaians in 1996 alone remitted US\$ 276 million from abroad (Briggs and Yeboah 2001:23). House-building also attracts investment from most middle-income Ghanaians seeking to insulate their savings from inflation. House-building has been a driving force in the expansion of Accra, with individuals prepared to utilize areas that are not serviced, in anticipation of future service provision, and to speculate on the lower land cost in these areas (Briggs and Yeboah 2001:21). Estimates suggest that up to 50 per cent of all buildings erected since the introduction of SAP went up without building permits (Yeboah 2000:99). Much of the residential development at the urban fringes of Accra has been rapid and uncontrolled, with serious consequences for land and environmental management of the fringe zone of the metropolitan area. All studies carried on in the fringe zone have pointed to the development of an active land market for residential and urban uses as well as for speculative purpose. This development is threatening the basis of the livelihoods of the indigenous residents of the old villages in the fringe zone (Yankson and Gough 1999; Gough and Yankson 2000; Kasanga et al. 1996) as agricultural land continues to be converted to non-agricultural uses at an alarming rate.

Despite the rapid expansion of housing units in Accra, the National Shelter Strategy Document (Ministry of Works and Housing 2001) indicates that about 85 per cent of the housing stock is provided by numerous small builders and individual owners. Only 15 per cent is provided by quasi-public corporations that operate somewhat like commercial developers, guided by the policy and programmes of the government, and the private real estate developers who operate under the umbrella of Ghana Real Estate Developers Association (GREDA). Almost all the houses constructed by members of GREDA are found in the cities, particularly in the Accra-Tema area. The housing units built by the private sector are targeted at the middle- and upper-income earners while those of the state corporations are targeted largely at the middle-income category of consumers. In the past, state housing agencies had tried to serve low-income households, but this attempt has not been very successful. Also, much of the housing stock provided by the state corporations is found in the cities and other large urban centres. The question then is, to what extent

do poor households have access to housing in the light of increasing demand and the inability of housing supply to keep pace with it.

The housing problem in Ghana is not just one of inadequate numbers to meet ever-increasing demand in the cities, but is also an issue of sub-standard housing in rural areas, the shortage of housing in urban areas and deterioration of the housing stock in the inner city areas. This generalization relates to the quality of the structures and inadequate housing stock in relation to population numbers (Owusu 1993). The urban areas are associated with serious deterioration in the structures and poor housing environment as a result of a long period of neglect. The issue of poor housing environment and the question of maintenance particularly of 'family homes' have been the subject of research on Kumasi, Ghana's second city (Tipple and Korboe 1995; Peil 1994; Korboe 1992).

A weak urban administration and governance system has been the bane of urban development in Ghana. This derives from the inadequate local government system inherited from the colonial era. The current municipal and metropolitan assemblies have proved incapable of providing and managing adequate levels of services and infrastructure/'frontline services' in their areas of jurisdiction; nor have the national parastatal organizations, and agencies that are responsible for providing particular services in them, been able to function efficiently. This has compounded the problem of poor urban households in their attempt to access adequate and decent accommodation in the cities. A significant portion of the urban poor population live largely in makeshift, unauthorized and unsafe housing, with the attendant health and other related problems. To a great extent, housing deficits have largely been tackled through the development of unauthorized housing. The lack of secure wage employment and the increased levels of unemployment and under-employment in urban areas have worsened the poverty situation of poor households in terms of their access to housing.

The great majority of households in urban areas are renters. In Accra, for instance, more than 60 per cent of households rented while less than 10 per cent owned their buildings in the 1980s. In other urban areas, comparable figures were about 50 per cent rental and about 25 per cent owners (Ministry of Works and Housing 2001). The urban housing stock in Ghana is dominated by the traditional compound house, which consists of large rectangular structures facing a courtyard. Usually, ten to fifteen rooms range around three sides of the courtyard facing inwards and with a veranda on the courtyard side. The fourth side typically contains a bathroom and kitchen. Most houses are now built of cement blocks, rather than the traditional rammed earth. In the main towns, there are a considerable number of two- and three-storey compound houses in which the upstairs rooms open on to continuous balconies around the courtyard, reached by an internal staircase. In both single- and two- and three-storey compound houses, households rent rooms, singly or in pairs, and share whatever kitchen, bathroom, toilet and water supply exist in the house (Ministry of Works and Housing 2001:6). This is the kind of housing available to the vast majority of tenants, particularly low-income households.

The question is whether this situation has changed in the face of the rapidly changing socio-economic and political situation in the country. In addressing the issues that have been raised above, it is pertinent to describe the study site, Accra, in order to appreciate its evolution and how these changes impinge on the issues addressed in this book. However, before these issues are examined in detail in the various chapters, it will be useful to present in a summary form the evolution of Accra so as to place the examination of the issues in proper context.

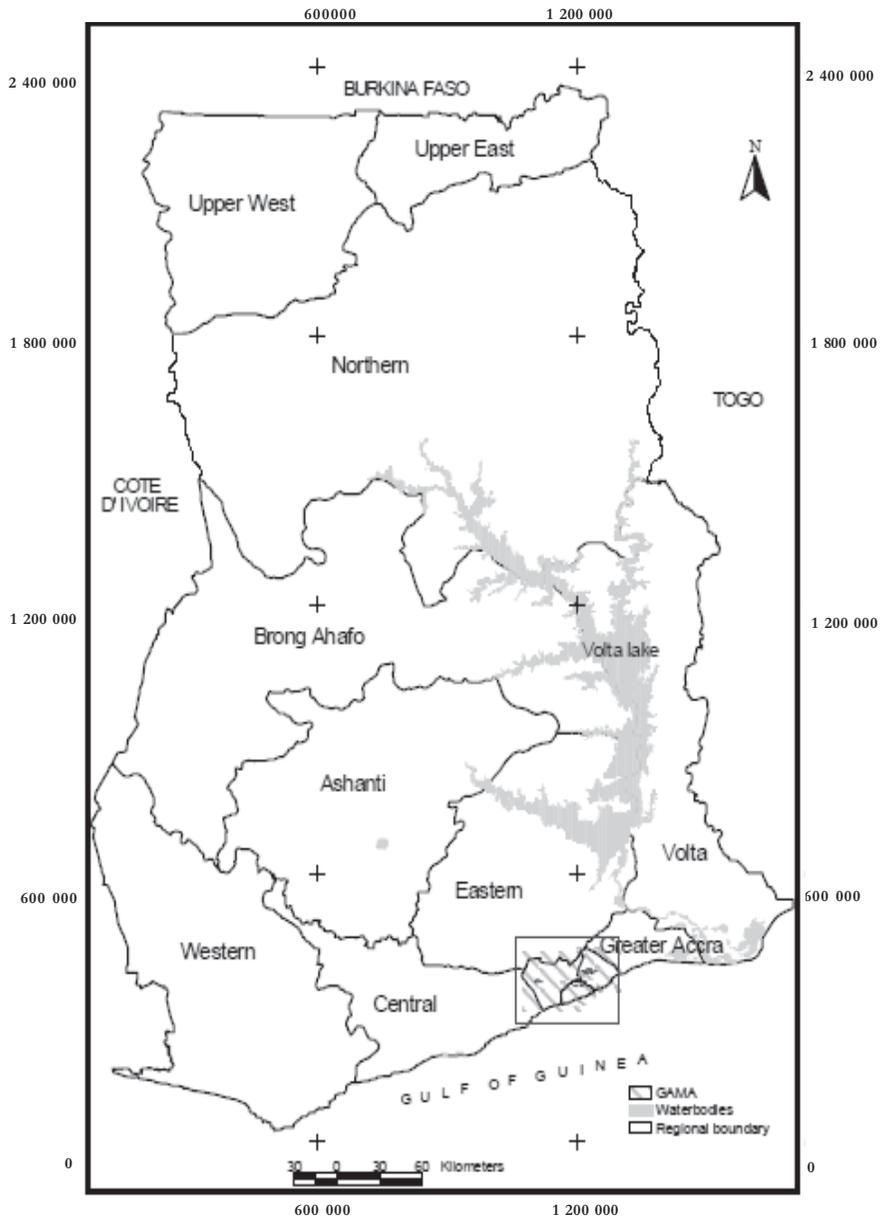
Growth and Physical Expansion in Accra

Accra, a coastal settlement to the south-eastern portion of the country (Fig. 1.1) was founded by the Ga, as a small coastal fishing village in the sixteenth century. This period coincided with the mercantilist era in Europe and it was not long before Europeans arrived in Ghana and provided the first impetus to urban growth by building trading forts and castles on the coast. Three were built in Accra: Ussher Fort was built by the Dutch in 1650, followed in 1651 by Christianborg Castle by the Danes, and in 1673 by James Fort built by the English. Accra's development, however, stagnated when the slave trade declined and there was a shift to export of agricultural produce. This gave more impetus to the ports of Ada and Prampram, to the east of Accra, which had better access to the main source regions for palm oil, rubber and kola. Accra's declining fortunes were revived when in 1877 it was chosen as the seat of British administration on the Gold Coast, despite its physical drawbacks, and activities were transferred from Cape Coast to Christianborg, Accra. Its advantages, including its drier climate and nearness to Aburi, which proved more congenial to Europeans, outweighed its disadvantages. Accra was malaria-free and its low incidence of sleeping sickness made it a healthy climate for horses (Amoah 1964:42-7, Dickson 1969:258-9).

This decision consolidated and secured Accra's future development. It ensured, for example, that Accra was chosen as the seaward terminus of the eastern railway. Later, it became the focus of the road system in the east, thus reinforcing its position as a port, and finally the only international port was located there. Improvement in accessibility expanded Accra's sphere of influence, and hence, stimulated its growth. The most important roads radiating from it include the Accra-Winneba, Accra-Nsawam-Kumasi, Accra-Aburi-Dodowa and Accra-Tema-Aflao roads.

Accra has experienced a rapid rate of growth and it is one of the fastest-growing cities in West Africa. The population of Accra in 1901 was approximately 18,000; by 1970 it was 35 times as large (Bobo 1974:71). The early decades of the last century witnessed the beginnings of the cocoa boom, with Accra established as the principal port of exit. The cocoa boom continued during the period 1924-38 and supplied the tax revenue for the development of Accra under Governor Frederick Gordon Guggisberg. Accra expanded both to the west of the Korle Lagoon in areas such as Korle Gonno, Mamprobi and Sabon Zongo and to the north beyond the railway station into Adabraka.

Figure 1.1: Regional Map of Ghana Showing GAMA



Source: Survey Department, Accra

A serious earthquake struck Accra in 1939. The colonial government responded to the earthquake destruction by initiating development of government housing in Korle Gonno, Osu, South Labadi, Kaneshie, Sabon Zongo and Abossey Okai. Increased employment opportunities occasioned by World War II attracted a large number of migrants to the city. Accra was established as the headquarters for allied West African Military Operations. Military establishments, Burma and Gifford camps, were constructed and the Cantonments and Airport sections to the north of Accra were expanded (Amoah 1964:77-8; Dickson 1969:299, quoted in Bobo 1974:71-2). There was extensive building in the area encircled by Ring Road between 1946 and independence in 1957. Construction included department stores, cinemas, banks and commercial office buildings in the Central Business District (CBD), government offices in the Victoriaborg area between the CBD and Osu, and private housing in residential sections. Kaneshie, Accra New Town and Nima expanded extensively during this period. While considerable extension was taking place to the west and north, there was also more crowding in the older section of the city (Amoah 1964:78-81).

The growth of Accra as a centre of political activities during the period prior to independence, and the availability of educational facilities in Accra compared to other areas, offered additional incentives to the migration of families with children, or children of schoolgoing age (Caldwell 1969). Accra attracted migrants from all parts of the country, most especially from regions contiguous to it, namely, the Volta, Eastern and Central Regions. Despite the role of migration in the growth of Accra, concentration of ethnic groups is marked in only a few areas. The indigenous Gas, the earliest settlers, predominate in the older parts of the city, namely, Ussher Town, James Town, Tudu, Christianborg and Labadi. Two domains of immigrant quarters in the 1950s were Sabon Zongo and Nima. Though these areas were considered as Hausa strongholds, they contained other tribes from the north who also settled there. The Hausas were originally moved out of James Town and Ussher Town, as those areas became increasingly congested, and were given land where Sabon Zongo and Nima now stand (Bobo 1974:75). The spatial growth of central Accra led to the gradual absorption of other coastal settlements, including Labadi, Teshie, Nungua and others (Acquah 1958).

The expansion of the Municipality of Accra (as Accra was known at that time) was consolidated further between the periods of 1919-27 during the governorship of Sir Gordon Guggisberg. Developments that took place include the Korle Bu Hospital and Achimota School. There was also the construction of more roads and more houses, which led to the establishment of Tudu and Adabraka as commercial and residential districts to the north of the original settlements of Ussher Town and James Town. Other residential areas of Korle Gonno, Korle Bu and Mamprobi were developed to the western part of the two towns in central Accra.

The further expansion of the municipality was as a result of deliberate government housing policy occasioned by natural disasters, the bubonic plague and the earthquake of 1939. Government estate policy also led to the development of such areas as North Kaneshie and Awudome estates in response to population growth, largely as a

result of in-migration (Frimpong-Bonsu 1999:33). Other areas such as Accra New Town, Asylum Down, Tesano, Odorkor developed later on for the same reason. These areas were mostly settled by non-Gas (Aryeetey and Anipa 1992). Their expansion also shows the importance of improved transportation networks in the spatial development of Accra. Industrialization and economic activity also contributed to the growth of the metropolitan area, attracting people to settle and work in Accra.

The city's early rapid growth, however, occurred without the benefit of physical planning. Accra's centre comprised a series of compact masses of thatched buildings arranged in haphazard manner and separated by narrow crooked lanes. From the very beginning, two spatial sub-systems developed side by side. These consisted, on one hand, of a well-planned European residential areas, around which clustered the houses of a few wealthy Accra merchants and, on the other, a mass of unplanned indigenous quarters. This rapid growth was also accompanied by very serious sanitation problems. This was partly the result of weak urban administration and management practices. However, improvement measures were taken by the British, including sanitation in 1885 (Dickson 1969:258). Under the Town Council Ordinance of 1894, the Accra Municipal Council was formed in 1898. However, for reasons of poor finance, the Council could not provide adequate municipal services. The people refused to pay municipal rates. It was not until the bubonic plague of 1907 that the inhabitants came to appreciate the need for municipal services.

The biggest impetus to Accra's growth and development, however, came after independence, when an urban-biased development strategy was vigorously pursued by the government of post-independence Ghana. In the early years of independence, a modernization strategy based on import-substitution industrialization led to several initiatives, which positively influenced the development of Accra. These new steps included the development of a new port and new township at Tema, which is twenty kilometres to the east of Accra, the creation of a new industrial estate in Accra and the rapid expansion of parastatals and the bureaucracy in general within Accra. All these led to employment opportunities within Accra-Tema. There was also the polarization of the head offices of major banking, insurance, commercial, industrial and other important activities. These processes within Accra, together with the creation of the satellite industrial township of Tema, generated a new and intensified cycle of rural-urban and urban-urban migration into Accra-Tema (PLAN CONSULT 1989). This resulted in the rapid expansion of the population of Accra and Tema, as shown in Table 1.1.

The economic malaise that the country experienced between the early 1970s and the mid-1980s affected Accra in many respects, not least the mass emigration from Accra-Tema and other large towns to neighbouring countries, particularly Nigeria. This affected employment opportunities in the formal sector of the economy and certainly had an effect on the growth rate of the population, which was not as high as in the preceding period. With the implementation of Economic Recovery Programme (ERP)/Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) since 1983, new life was injected into the economy of Accra in both the formal and informal sectors. One of the effects has been growth in population.

According to the results of the 2000 census, the population of the Accra Metropolitan Area grew at 4 per cent per annum between 1984 and 2000 as against a national population growth of about 2.6 per cent per annum. On the eve of independence, in 1957, the population of Accra was only about 190,000. It increased quite appreciably to 1,658,937 in 2000 from just under a million (969,195) in 1984. Accra Metropolitan Area together with the adjoining Ashaley Botwe New Town and the Ga District, which constitute the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA), had a population of almost 2.8 million people in 2000.

Table 1.1: Population Growth Trends in GAMA

Districts	1960	1970	1984	2000
Accra	388,396	636,667	969,195	1,658,937
Tema	27,127	102,431	190,917	506,400
Ga	33,907	66,336	132,786	550,468
Total GAMA	449,430	805,434	1,922,898	2,715,805

Source: Ghana Statistical Services, Census Reports: 1960, 1970, 1984 and 2000.

Another effect of economic liberalization is a boom in the housing sector. Trade liberalization has permitted much easier access to many commodities, including building materials, which has led to residential development around the perimeter of the city of Accra, extending them further into Ga and Tema districts over time, particularly along the major thoroughfares. The liberalization programme has indirectly contributed to the physical expansion of Accra (Grant and Yankson 2003). Moreover, major rehabilitation of the main arteries also helped to open up largely underdeveloped peri-urban areas to non-residential land uses. Another issue is the movement of low-income tenants from the inner city areas to fringe zones in search of cheaper rents. As a result of SAP, the housing market was so liberalized that the rent control system enforced previously no longer applied. This, together with deepening poverty and the ill-effects of the SAP, compelled low-income households and even some middle-income households to depart from inner city areas to fringe communities in search of cheaper rental units. Kasanga et al. (1996), Møller-Jensen and Yankson (1994), Kufogbe (1996), Yankson and Gough (1999), Gough and Yankson (1997, 2000) and Maxwell et al. (1999) are examples of work that has examined the impact of urbanization on the fringe zones of Accra and Kumasi.

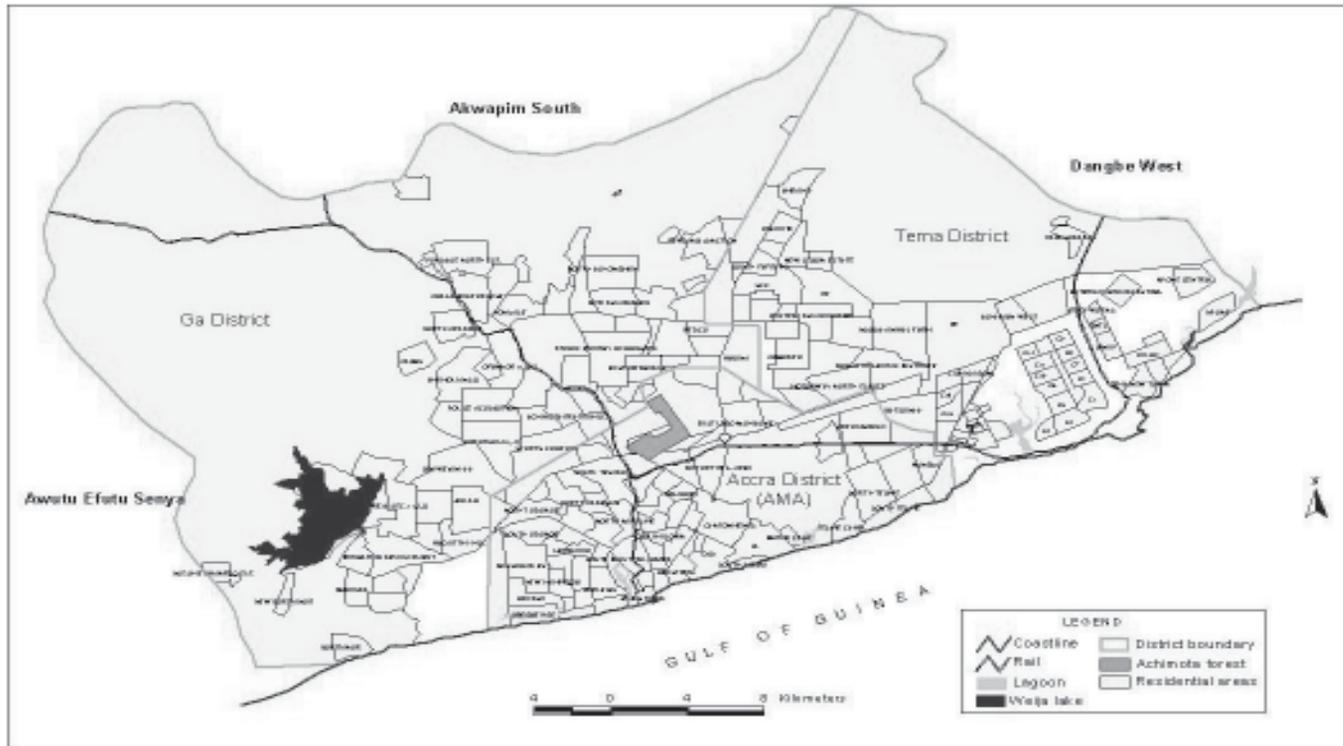
Accra's growth is partly explained by the periodic revision of the legal/administrative boundary of the city. The first demarcation of Accra city was done in 1924. This boundary was revised in 1943, when outlying areas such as Mamprobi, Labadi and the airport areas were formally included in Accra. In 1953, the boundary was again demarcated, providing a formal basis for the Accra Master Plan of 1958. Then, in 1963, the boundary was again adjusted and that of Tema also defined. The 1963 boundary continued to serve as the area of jurisdiction of Accra and Tema. However, large areas of Accra are such residential areas as the McCarthy Hill area, Weija and the Malam-Gbawe area. This continues through Gbawe North-east to Kwashieman.

Along the Accra-Nsawam road, a strong sector development has developed outside the northern boundary. These areas include New Achimota, Dome Christian Village, West Legon, Kwabenya, Haatso, Taifa, Ofankor and into Pokuase and Amasaman. Along the Accra-Aburi/Dodowa road are dormitory towns like Madina/University of Ghana Agricultural Research Station road where a number of residential satellites have sprung up in the last two decades or so, including Ashaley new town, Ashaley Botwe village and the area north of Ashaley Botwe New Town. Along the motorway from Accra to Tema, another sector of residential and commercial development is advancing towards Ashiaman in Tema. The largest segments of the new developments described are now under the administration of the Ga District Assembly Area.¹

The three districts of Accra Metropolitan Assembly Area, the Tema Municipal Assembly area and the Ga District Assembly area constitute the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (Ministry of Local Government 1992). Within this broad zone are several indigenous villages around which new developments have occurred and are still taking place. The Ga District Assembly area is the zone where undeveloped land is available, and it is the area that is absorbing much of the new physical developments in Accra (Fig. 1.2).

In addition to residential development, there is a general movement of people, mostly tenants from the inner city area, to the peripheries in search of accommodation, either self-built or rented, to escape prevailing high rental levels. The Ga District experienced a faster rate of growth of population between 1970 and 1984 and between 1984 and 2000 than that of Accra Metropolitan Area (AMA) and Tema Municipal Assembly area (see Table 1.1). Much of the growth in the Ga District has occurred in the urbanized areas, i.e. in the small settlements and towns along the main regional roads. On the other hand, there has been a slowing down in the growth of villages, particularly those sited away from the principal access roads. These settlements have experienced increased levels of out-migration owing to rural poverty, lack of services, employment opportunities and the perceived economic benefits of urban centres (Ministry of Local Government 1992:190). This rapid growth, however, has not had the benefit of consistent and coordinated planning. Consequently, Accra's growth is fragmented (Larbi 1996), with an amorphous and largely inefficient urban form. The construction around Accra has been so extensive that the boundaries between AMA and the surrounding districts are blurring. The Strategic Plan for GAMA, developed in the early 1990s (Ministry of Local Government 1992) with assistance from the World Bank, has not been fully implemented. The current administrative division of GAMA into three separate and independent districts has further impeded spatial planning. It also means that AMA has different planning elements and priorities than the largely peri-urban districts (Gough 1999). Much of the development in peri-urban Accra is taking place before any planning scheme has been prepared. In fact, no detailed plan has been prepared for the peri-urban districts, which have been neglected by planners and aid agencies alike with severe consequences for the environment (Yankson and Gough 1999).

Figure 1.2: Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA), Showing Residential Areas



Source: Jacob Songso, with the assistance of Ben Doe and Doris Tetteh of the Accra Sustainable Cities Programme and CERSGIS, 1999.

In addition, a robust land market has developed in the peri-urban areas where land is rapidly being converted from agricultural to residential and other urban land uses. This has had both positive and negative consequences for the livelihoods of the inhabitants of the indigenous villages (Gough and Yankson 2000; Kasanga et al. 1996).

It is not only the peri-urban areas that are receiving in-migrants from outside GAMA; this phenomenon is widespread throughout the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA). There are considerable amounts of residential movements among households within GAMA (Benneh et al. 1990; Quartey-Papafio 1995) in the form of inter- (movements between residential areas) and intra- (movements within residential areas) residential area movements (Benneh et al. 1990) found inter-residential area mobility to be the most significant mobility process within GAMA.

Coping with a Big City: Urban Family, Housing and Residential Mobility as Three Major Areas of Analysis

The organization of fieldwork and the structure of this book which presents the main conclusions arrived at derive, thus, from the main idea of residential mobility in a metropolitan setting. Two main study axes constitute the main hypotheses: that of city families on the one hand, and that of urban accommodation on the other. Much more than other capital cities of the same population size and comparable ports activities, the Ghanaian capital is plagued by a real lack of empirical measures at three territorial levels of the town. Neither have its real-estate market needs, nor the determinants of social and economic accommodation supply been clearly evaluated. The gravity of the problem is, however, felt everywhere in quantitative and qualitative terms: insufficient number and comfort of houses. The shortcomings of the studies are first and foremost methodological: policy actors who should reflect on the residential issue do not effect in-depth analysis of issues and lack adequate typologies for basic categories of analysis such as notions of the family and the mode of household occupation, geographical and economic characterization of individuals and their families. The lack is, besides, theoretical since the question of residential mobility is often not thought of (if it is not simply pushed aside) in an urban context of close to three million inhabitants, in constant territorial expansion.

At a moment when urban management on the African continent reflects globalized terms of reference and short-term “projects”, under the aegis of multilateral, bilateral and even decentralized co-operation, it is judicious to effect both upstream and downstream re-evaluation of erstwhile static research paradigms of development expertise. More than ever before, two imperatives came to the fore. The first was to foster urbanization and metropolitan recomposition processes which focused on a criticism of everyday statistics. Objects studied ought to be re-examined consonant with a multi-scale approach, in view of projecting, through renewed effort of contextualisation and typologies, city dwellers in the analysis, not as a collection of “target populations” defined *a priori*,² but more as plural actors of true decisions or

as complete homogeneous subjects of structural constraints. Since geography is our discipline of reference, the second necessity was to promote reasoned comparison of African contexts between them and urban study zones located between them.

This programme was thus motivated at the beginning by putting into perspective the social and territorial dynamics of two West African capitals with different geographical environments, political trajectories, institutional and historical heritages belonging to the Anglophone and Francophone milieux. We, however, decided to limit this presentation to the results of the study of Greater Accra only, which has already filled a substantial volume of seven chapters of both the work and conclusions. This decision was first motivated by the lack of knowledge highlighted above. In the prospect of creating an Institute of Urban Studies on the Legon University campus, this “Ghanaian monograph” seems precious today. This institute is expected to meet the need in expertise of funding bodies and to usher in multi-disciplinary and sustained academic dynamics, comparable to that of the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi (research on Architecture, Planning and Land Management). Besides, the empirical studies undertaken in Greater Accra were common ground for the Ghanaian and French teams. However, the methodological references and the problem developed in Bamako were used by the latter team, as will be seen in two chapters of the book.

For now, the monograph option has adequately produced invaluable results of the contractual research and its expectations:

- research training through research, for students likely to subsequently undertake local expertise or to give university potential new impetus;
- collaboration with seasoned researchers of a country little known to Francophones, considering the growing need to integrate Ghana into the scientific community of its West African neighbours;
- development of longitudinal³ databases likely to be used within the framework of local urban change observatories; and
- placing at the disposal of local authorities, town planning agencies and the technical services of ministries, useful data on accommodation, physical and socio-economic environment, and all other measures enhancing urbanization with which city movements interfere: local systems for the promotion of housing, real-estate markets, rentals, dimensions of gender and plurality of city families and social division of space.

There is no doubt that throwing more light on the territorial composition of a great West African town will continue to enable it to easily settle in the position it has started occupying both within the discipline and in other multi-disciplinary international scientific milieux. The contextualization of knowledge has, in effect, revolved around two axes which throw light on the determinants of residential mobility towards, from and especially within metropolitan spaces, and which the interplay of these flows, in turn, contribute to influence. It concerned:

- city households, the movement of young people in family residential systems, the surge in the number of women household heads and the role of guardians, to which the first part of this report was devoted (Chapters 2 – 4) on the one hand; and
- housing and its local profiles, as well as the segmentation of the rental market with respect to the financial and land ownership means of its promoters, are treated in the second part of this volume (Chapters 5 – 8) on the other hand.

Issues and Hypotheses

The two research perspectives thus outlined must first be placed within the entire dynamics that affect Greater Accra, like other African capitals that have crossed the threshold of one million inhabitants, beyond chronological discrepancies, differences of size, economic development and institutional configuration. One notes particularly:

- the reversal of the respective influences of the migration and natural balance in favour of the latter, in the whole demographic balance of the urban region;
- the combination of external flows and internal redistribution in the spatial redistribution of town populations;
- households movements from the old city centres to the peripheries of the town and beyond, towards suburban zones and rural fringes; the density and the annual growth rate thus show inverse gradients, respectively descending and ascending broadly from the central town agglomeration and its main economic satellites;
- an urban composition which pits “spontaneous” evolutions against planning and management mechanisms within institutional arrangements rendered complex by decentralization reforms;
- curbing access to property; the diffusion of rental markets in housing stocks of different generations and qualities;
- a chronology of these urban dynamics which often impacts on the national and international situation: changes and reversals in international emigration, political transitions and economic adjustments since the 80s, but equally evolution in the terms of reference coupled with the conditionalities of development posed by funding bodies; emphasis was thus put, during the last decade, on decentralized governance, the preservation of a sustainable environment and fight against poverty;
- the rather unimpressive balance sheet of local housing policies: inadequate management of housing facilities engendered by public demand, limits and privatization of modern housing supply, difficult rationalization of housing markets.

The unclarified issues which constituted the springboard for improving knowledge of residential positions within the finest urban systems did not only involve mapping out of the processes and the determination of their consequences. It equally involved

the conceptual tools capable of categorizing the on-going dynamics and defining the problems involved.

- Hesitating between the several definitions of households, understanding the social relations that constitute their framework, are not always resolved in the Ghanaian census. Turnkey nomenclatures continue to be transposed from an international reference corpus. This leads to a multi-analytical framework characteristic of Western terminology (Chapter 2, 3, and 4).
- In spite of a great contribution to the study of urban insertion processes, the demographic approach has a bias for migration and entry into the considered milieu while neglecting the remaining residential issues. Many measures lack intra-urban investigation and overlook territorial considerations for the most local city practices (residential co-habitation and urbanization in neighbouring space). Semantic variation of the terms “lodged” and “owners” that one finds as identical in censuses in Francophone and Anglophone Africa has not allowed for true discussion of the comparability of residential categories which refer to a historical and social production (Chapter 5).
- As compared to rental markets of Latino-American metropolitan areas, which have been the subject of several studies in the past last decades, the growth of leasing and its different forms clearly lack empirical studies in African towns (Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

At first sight, the expansion of Greater Accra seems subjected to patterning between two apparently contradictory processes: the complexity of residential mobilities of individuals and households on the one hand, owing to a combination of diversely oriented movements towards, from and within the urban components: blocks, quarters, localities and districts. On the other hand, it is also subjected to the effects of territorial anchorage and of demographic composition which such a strategic but equally socially selective investment provokes, than access to land and house ownership. This dialectic seems intimately linked to the modernity of major cities.

Upstream to globalized urban development diagnostics, three hypotheses prop this problem of town-related movements and anchorage. Today, they have been confirmed and constitute prerequisites for future research.

The first hypothesis is that residential mobility is not the result of free electrons in the urban mass, thus arousing a serious question about its interpretation in the long run: beyond “classical recomposition”, compared to other major cities. Do residential choices of city dwellers in Accra respect local and endogenous characters? Are they still indebted to an original substratum and historical heritage: land rights, community belonging to hometown? Or are they completely contrary and totally banalised by quasi-universal logic of life cycle, of standing of residence, access to transport and urban merchant services?

The second hypothesis is hinged on the political dimension of living in town. It was related to the issue of governance so sufficiently harped on by the World Bank in the drawing up of urban projects during the last decade. Collection of field

empirical data should, indeed, enable a critical examination of the pre-requisites at the time of decentralization policies:

- City dwellers ready for the community development, fiscality and local participation;
- A stable and well-identified territorial network at the base of urban intervention and management.

Matching urban research and expertise agendas with the terms of reference of new management is, in fact, obvious in Ghana as elsewhere in the African sub-region: transparency of public contracts, new partnerships sought for with local and world entrepreneurship, efficiency of decentralized financial resources, the quest for sustainable development by the “civil society”. The success of environmental studies concerning ecological and health risks, the town seen as a gendered milieu, the privatisation of proximity merchandise services, all show the relationship between academic orientations and the rhetoric of the “sustainability” of urbanization. However, in a context of widespread pauperization, it is inconceivable to sustain the impasse which many prospective studies, consecrated to investments to be mobilized and managed *in situ*, continued to make on town mobilities. On the contrary, the need to pay attention to it emanates from our interrogation of the popular responses given to the structural adjustment crisis and its urban dimension.

The main theme of our geographical research was thus an interrogation concerning the local level of a good governance promised by institutional reinforcing of districts, urban rehabilitation pilot programmes and targeted development projects. It required, especially, clarifying the composition in terms of densities of towns, residential practices, involvement of households in local real-estate markets, all of which are likely to enable an understanding of both the supply and the social demand of accommodation in a market still largely self-promoted. What was the coherence of these “communities” designated as quasi-natural actors of a participative good management, *a priori* available in all instances and identically too? Does this *essence* mean managerial sub-components of districts (*sub-metro, zonal and local councils, unit committee*)? Is it referring to re-planned quarters as a result of their own life cycle from the inception to ageing? Or again to neighbouring spaces that residential clusters attempt to circumscribe? One especially wonders if the most fluid practices observed in the urban space influenced or rendered the explanation of a “durable” town more flexible, as urban development experts are wont to think.

Intimately linked to the globalization of liberal management, the increasing promotion of locally-based decision finds serious echo in the growth of decentralized cooperation. It seeks justification in a culture of the territory which is in part inherited from rural communities and, in part surrendered to municipal pressures. In fact, such a project for the town promotes “target groups” that we identify by their attachment to places, especially the indigenous people, as stable owners and migrant tenants. They base their relation to the anchored space, even confined, on diverse investments – patrimonial or speculative – and signs of appropriation – material or

symbolic in the city. Given that the ability to mobilize at various levels – fiscal, electoral, associative – is based on territorial logic, the question of the appropriate spatial level of urban management arises: how to attach dormitory peripheries to the budgets of main localities? How to resettle on the reserved land of another community, those “evicted” from an irregular settlement and the victims of forced resettlement”.

Besides, what about “immature” city dwellers, who are ill-placed on the accommodation and labour market, those that an insufficient length of residence in town deprive of efficient networks and exclude from “canons” of participation? Most recent rural migrants, single persons in quest of adventure and opportunities, spouses moved from regions of origin before being sent back to the village as employment conditions of their husbands change; itinerant tenants, young unemployed graduates navigating between joblessness and the informal sector according to diverse accommodation, precarious city dwellers in unstable pluri-activities, last clients of the land owners, subjected to their cupidity and their dissensions: such a composite, but non-exhaustive entity, only expresses the constant renewal of towns by generations in the school of city-dwellership.

Therefore, instead of opposing mobility perspectives to those of territorial settling, the third hypothesis concerns dialectic relations that these two terms have in the metropolitan fabric. Are high level housing investments not managed from a distance, from international migration places, by expatriate Ghanaian, towards their countries of origin? Are many young persons not within pluri-localised residential systems? Are some housing arrangements still appropriate, for instance when men and wives do not co-dwell?

Developing Original Data for Urban and Local Expertise

Besides, the team constituted to contribute to the FAC Social Sciences project put in place a rigorous means of empirical investigation, commensurate with the preoccupations of our discipline and also the methodological repercussions imposed by the extent of city practices. The expertise thus gathered from the field – not less than five investigations carried out on about 2,500 domestic units, 35 study zones selected for their implementation, as well as the additional investigations linked to each contribution – is very different from the exotic or poor isolation of the African continent often observed on the international scientific arena.

The initiative is even more propitious as the Ghanaian University milieu still lacks precise data, reliable and especially sustained measures. The prospects of a University institute which federate urban studies, make these even more than ever necessary. Let us emphasize on the need for longitudinal analyses. These allow us to transcend methodological individualism which is, nonetheless, a persistent basis for the urban approach of social and spatial movement; to understand residential practices at work according to diverse temporalities, household movements from various perspectives, space/society interactions according to different territorial composition modes: structure-based (density, poverty or even mobility gradients), fragmented

(family types, cohabitation profiles), or even reticular (movement of young people, housing investment financed from Europe or North America).

Many prior diagnoses are necessary in the domain of urban policy; the need for evaluation by funding bodies is equally increasing as concerns the projects they have funded. However, the officials of the last census are delaying putting results at the disposal of researchers, if it does not simply boil down to selling the basic data expensively. The limits of already constituted corpora cannot therefore be sufficiently emphasized, in particular for a space-based treatment of issues relating to urban mobility, and the need for ad hoc measures.

With a demographic growth of 4.4 per cent per annum for Greater Accra, it is no longer necessary to harp on the time lapse between the little-credible Ghanaian census of 1984 and that of 2000, itself very under-exploited. Neither one nor the other, indeed, offers real opportunity for secondary analysis or crossing disintegrated data according to variables generally upheld as highly significant as concerns residential mobility: the age of individuals, the status of occupation of their accommodation, the main landmarks of their migratory trajectories, and the education level. Movements that are internal to the metropolitan space are hardly investigated. Revised from one counting operation to another, the enumeration sections hardly coincide, in the end, with the administrative limits of localities, which are in themselves changing, *a fortiori* with the space occupied by the population in their neighbourhoods. As for demographic investigations centred on migration, they remain nationally significant and neglect the local divisions of agglomerations.

To address these shortcomings, the team was forced to carry out a sampling of households – residents, investors, landlords and tenants – and their residential practices on a double territorial basis: discontinuity in the metropolis and proximity in the small study zone. The first warranted penetrating the quarters while resorting to the typology of “communities” that are likely to be selected amongst many possible choices. The second offered both students and researchers the possibility of administering a non-negligible number of questionnaires, and even to revisit the area under study several times, at a yearly interval.

Another methodological preoccupation that is common to several investigations was to follow city dwellers over time: through questions, more often retrospective than prospective, concerning the reception of new members in the families (Chapter 3) or the means and projects of real-estate owners (Chapter 6); and finally, by the two longitudinal orientations – residential biographies and continuous follow-up – of the “*Housing Practices and Residential Mobility in the Greater Accra Region, 2000 – 2001*” study (Chapters 4, 5 and 8). Such an approach is unprecedented in urban studies devoted to Ghana. This last protocol is even devoted to a much larger analysis of the temporalities of urban composition, on the one hand, and of the articulation, in these intersecting dynamics, of an englobing process and specific itineraries, on the other hand.

Notes

1. After the fieldwork of our research, the two Ga and Tema Districts have been twice re-organised in 2004 and 2008. In the eastern part of Accra, a former sub-metro Assembly has also been transformed into a separate municipal Assembly. These changes in local government bring to eight the number of territorial assemblies (metropolitan, municipal and District) in the former GAMA.
2. Deprived communities, female headed households, street children are some of the most commented examples in the last decade.
3. More precisely the Housing Practices and Residential Mobility in the Greater Ghana Region, 2002-2001 Study (M. Bertrand, IRD/University of Ghana, Legon).

Selected Bibliography/Sélection bibliographique

- Acquah, I., 1958, *Accra Survey*, London: University of London Press.
- Addo, N.O., 1969, 'Dynamics of Urban Growth in South-Eastern Ghana', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London.
- Amoah, F.E.K., 1964, 'Accra: A Study of the Development of a West African City', M.A. dissertation, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon.
- Aryeetey, E. and Aryeetey, A.J.R., 1992. 'Planning for a Distressed City', in E. Aryeetey (ed.), *Planning for Africa's Growth and Development: Some Current Issues*, Legon: ISSER/UNDP.
- Asiama, S.O., 1984, 'The Land Factor in Housing for Low-Income Urban Settlers: The Example of Madina, Ghana', *Third World Planning Review*, Vol. 6, pp. 171-84.
- Asiama, S.O., 1985, 'The Rich Slum Dweller: A Problem of Unequal Access', *International Labour Review*, Vol. 124, No. 3, pp. 353-62.
- Benneh, G., Nabila, J.S., Songsore, J., Yankson, P.W.K. and Tesfay, T., 1990, *Demographic Studies and Projections for Accra Metropolitan Area (AMA)*, Accra: Government of Ghana, Ministry of Local Government/ UNDP/UNCHS/TCPD/APDP.
- Bobo, B.F., 1974, 'Economic Factors Influencing Migration and Urban Growth and Structure, Accra, Ghana', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Briggs, J. and Yeboah, I., 2001, 'Structural Adjustment and the Contemporary Sub-Saharan African City', *Area*, Vol. 33, pp. 18-26.
- Caldwell, J.C., 1969, *Rural-Urban Migration: The Movement to Ghanaian Towns*, Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Dickson, K.B., 1969, 'Some Determinants of Urban Growth in Nineteenth-Century Ghana', *Ghana Social Science Journal*, Accra, Vol. 1, pp. 116-31.
- Frimpong-Bonsu, W., 1999, 'Intra-Urban Residential Mobility and Sub-Urban Growth: The Case of Awoshie, Mallam and Gbawe Areas of the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA)', M.Phil. dissertation, Department of Geography and Resources Development, University of Ghana, Legon.
- Ghana Statistical Service, 1988, *Ghana Demographic and Health Survey*, Accra.
- Ghana Statistical Service, 2002, *Population and Housing Census – Special Report on Urban Localities, Housing*, Accra.
- Gough, K.V., 1999, 'The Changing Nature of Urban Governance in Peri-Urban Accra, Ghana', *Third World Planning Review*, Vol. 21, pp. 397-414.

- Gough, K.V. and Yankson, P.W.K., 1997, *Contunuity and Change: Socio-Economic and Environmental Consequences of Urban Growth in Peri-Urban Area of Accra, Ghana*, Final Report to the Danish Council for Development Research.
- Gough, K. V. and Yankson, P. W. K., 2000, 'Land Markets in African Cities: The Case of Peri-Urban Accra, Ghana', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 13, pp. 2485-2500.
- Grant, R. and Yankson, P., 2003, 'City Profile, Accra', *Cities*, Vol. 20, No.1, pp. 65-74.
- Herbert, D. T. and Thomas, C. J., 1990, *Cities in Space, City as Place*, London: David Fulton Publishers.
- Kasanga, R. K., Cochrane, J., King, R. and Roth, M., 1996, *Land Market and Legal Contradictions in the Peri-Urban Areas of Accra, Ghana: Informant Interviews and Secondary Data Investigations*, Land Tenure Centre, University of Wisconsin-Madison, LARC, UST, Ghana.
- Knox, P., 1982, *Urban Social Geography: An Introduction*, London: Longman.
- Knox, P., 1994, *Urbanization*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Korboe, D., 1992, 'The Family Houses in Ghanaian Cities: To Be or Not To Be', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 7, pp. 1159-72.
- Kufogbe, S.K., 1996, *Urbanisation and Changing Pattern of Land Use in the Peri-Urban Zone Along the Airport–Ayimensab Transect of Accra, Ghana*, London: Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors.
- Larbi, W.O., 1996, 'Spatial Planning and Urban Fragmentation in Accra', *Third World Planning Review*, Vol. 18, pp. 193-214.
- Maxwell, D., Larbi, W.O., Lamptey, G.M., Zakariah, S. and Armar-Klemesu, M., 1999, 'Farming in the Shadow of the City: Changes in the Land Rights and Livelihoods in Peri-Urban Accra', *Third World Planning Review*, Vol. 21, No. 4, pp. 373-91.
- McGrath, B., 1992, 'Sub-Urban Development in Ireland, 1960–80', *Planning Perspectives*, No. 7, pp. 27-46.
- Mieszkowski, P. and Mills, E., 1993, 'The Causes of Metropolitan Sub-Urbanisation', *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, No. 7, pp. 135-47.
- Ministry of Local Government, 1992, *Strategic Plan for Greater Accra Metropolitan Area, Vol. 1: Context Report, Draft Final Report*, Accra: Department of Town and Country Planning, Ministry of Local Government.
- Ministry of Works and Housing, 2001, *National Shelter Strategy*, Accra.
- Møller-Jensen, L. and Yankson, P., 1994, 'Assessing the Land Cover Change in Accra Using Landsat TM Data', *Danish Journal of Geography*, Vol. 94, pp. 21-6.
- Onokerhoraye, A.G., 1977, 'The Spatial Pattern of Residential Districts in Benin, Nigeria', *Urban Studies*, No. 14, pp. 291-302.
- Owusu, S.E., 1993, *Transformations of Government Built Low-Cost Housing as Generators of Shelter and Employment: A Qualitative Study of Kumasi, Ghana*, Kumasi: KNUST, Department of Housing and Planning Research, Faculty of Environmental and Development Studies.
- Ozo, A.O., 1986, 'Residential Location and Intra-Urban Mobility in a Developing Country: Some Empirical Observations from Benin City, Nigeria', *Urban Studies*, No. 23, pp. 457-70.
- Palen, J.J., 1989, *The Urban World*, New York: McGraw Hill Inc.
- Peil, M., 1994, 'Urban Housing and Service in Anglophone West Africa: Coping with Inadequate Environment', in H. Main and S.W. Williams (eds.), *Environment and Housing in Third World Cities*, Chichester: John Wiley.
- Plan Consult, 1989, *Economic and Employment Study of the Accra Metropolitan Area*, Final Report, Accra: Accra Planning and Development Programme.

- Quartey-Papafio, J.J., 1995, 'Pattern of Residential Mobility in the Accra District', unpublished M.Phil. dissertation, Department of Geography and Resources Development, University of Ghana, Legon.
- Sada, P.O., 1972, 'Residential Land Use in Lagos: An Inquiry into the Relevance of Traditional Models', *African Urban Notes*, Vol. 111, pp. 3-25.
- Tipple, A.G. and Korboe, D., 1995, 'Housing Poverty in Ghana', in B.C. Aldrich and R.S. Sandhu (eds.), *Housing the Poor: Policy and Practice in Developing Countries*, London: Zed Books.
- Thorns, D.C., 1982, *The Role of the Family Cycle in Residential Mobility*, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham, Workshop Paper No. 69.
- Uwe, L., 2003, *Improving Municipal Finance: A Global Challenge*, United Nations Habitat Debates, April.
- Yankson, P.W.K. and Gough, K.V., 1999, 'The Environmental Impact of Rapid Urbanisation in Peri-Urban Area of Accra, Ghana', *Danish Journal of Geography*, Vol. 99, pp. 89-100.
- Yeboah, I., 2000 'Structural Adjustment and Emerging Urban Form in Accra, Ghana', *Africa Today*, Vol. 7, pp. 61-89.

The Mobile City of Accra

Urban Families, Housing and Residential Practices

Accra, capitale en mouvement

Familles citadines, logement et pratiques résidentielles



Elizabeth Ardayio-Schandorf
Paul W. K. Yankson
Monique Bertrand

The Mobile City of Accra

Urban Families, Housing and Residential Practices

Accra, Capitale en mouvement

Familles citadines, logement et pratiques résidentielles

Elizabeth Ardayfio-Schandorf

Paul W. K. Yankson

Monique Bertrand



Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
DAKAR

© CODESRIA 2012

Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
Avenue Cheikh Anta Diop, Angle Canal IV
BP 3304 Dakar, 18524, Senegal
Website: www.codesria.org

ISBN: 978-2-86978-181-8

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording or any information storage or retrieval system without prior permission from CODESRIA.

Typesetter: Sériane Camara Ajavon
Cover Designer: Ibrahima Fofana
Printed by Imprimerie Graphi plus, Dakar, Senegal

Distributed in Africa by CODESRIA

Distributed elsewhere by African Books Collective, Oxford, UK
Website: www.africanbookscollective.com

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) is an independent organisation whose principal objectives are to facilitate research, promote research-based publishing and create multiple forums geared towards the exchange of views and information among African researchers. All these are aimed at reducing the fragmentation of research on the continent through the creation of thematic research networks that cut across linguistic and regional boundaries.

CODESRIA publishes a quarterly journal, *Africa Development*, the longest standing Africa-based social science journal; *Afrika Zamani*, a journal of history; the *African Sociological Review*, the *African Journal of International Affairs*, *Africa Review of Books* and the *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*. The Council also co-publishes the *Africa Media Review*, *Identity, Culture and Politics: An Afro-Asian Dialogue*, *The African Anthropologist* and the *Afro-Arab Selections for Social Sciences*. The results of its research and other activities are also disseminated through its Working Paper Series, Green Book Series, Monograph Series, Book Series, Policy Briefs and the CODESRIA Bulletin. Select CODESRIA publications are also accessible online at www.codesria.org.

CODESRIA would like to express its gratitude to the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA/SAREC), the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), the Ford Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), the Danish Agency for International Development (DANIDA), the French Ministry of Cooperation, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Rockefeller Foundation, FINIDA, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), IIEP/ADEA, OECD, IFS, OXFAM America, UN/UNICEF, the African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF), and the Government of Senegal for supporting its research, training and publication programmes.